Toward A Theory of Entrepreneurship: The Significance and Meaning of Performance and the Emotion Management of Entrepreneurs

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Elizabeth Shaw

Brunel School of Business and Management

Brunel University

April 2011

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with how entrepreneurs' performance - the act of impression (Goffman, 1959a), is accomplished through emotion management - the work that an individual does to manage and display situation-appropriate feelings (Hochschild, 1983). There is literature that suggests that understanding entrepreneurs' emotion management is needed (Goss, 2008; Hampson & Junor, 2005) with Goss (2008) maintaining that entrepreneurs' management of emotion is integral to their activities. This thesis provides the specific consideration that has been lacking.

Empirically, drawing on data obtained from entrepreneur interviews, this study extends Hochschild's (1983) list of occupations that conduct emotion management to the field of entrepreneurship. Theoretically, Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotion management has been reconceptualised to become more interactionally sensitive. Influenced by a symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) with experiences, interpretations of meaning and actions drawn on to show how performance and emotion management emerge in interaction. Emotion management is conceived of as a negotiation where both 'normative' pressures such as the two sets of entrepreneurship feeling rules that have been identified – feeling of engagement and feeling of detachment, and interpretive conceptualisation, are taken into account in the development of a shared scheme of understanding. Goffman's (1959a) ideas around the presentation of self have been drawn on in rendering visible entrepreneurs' performance as embodied, relational co-operative, and professional and appropriate. Entrepreneurs are negotiators conceiving of their performance and emotion management as resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive work. This negotiated work is a process of 'fluid equilibrium', that is, a dynamic continuous process of negotiation where entrepreneurs' legitimation is produced and maintained. Entrepreneurs negotiate power dimensions drawing on strategies such as bounded disclosure where they manage the information they divulge. However the findings from this study also demonstrate that tensions and complexities can emerge resulting in lapses in performance. These are explained through issues of ambivalence towards emotion management, ambiguity over social boundaries and inadequacy in managing information flow.

2

Dedication

First and foremost, to my two wonderful sons, Alexander and Anthony, for your unwavering love. I love you.

To my Mum and Dad, for always being there, and for the sacrifices you have made in giving me the time and space I needed to get this work done. You have always been steadfast in encouraging and supporting me in my thirst for knowledge.

To my brothers Michael and Jason, and my sister Antonia, you are always supportive of me in whatever 'adventure' I decide upon.

So to you, my Family…

I give you this epitome of passion and ice

Laying in your hand

This work of expectations, accomplishment, and futures

Not just mine but *ours*

Say you think it's worth it

Say it's just what you expected of me

Your Love gives me the aspiration to 'experience'

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisors, Ruth Simpson and Raffaella Valsecchi for their invaluable tutelage during my research journey. Ever supportive in helping me make this a realisable goal.

I was homeless and then I happenchance upon symbolic interactionism and so it is my privilege to have Sheena Murdoch as my friend, and 'guide' through the interactionist arena. I have grown immeasurably under her sociological gaze and sociological inspiration. I also want to thank Rod Watson for sharing with me his invaluable insights helping me get oriented to symbolic interactionism.

I would like to extend my appreciation to those who got me started on my doctoral journey; Elspeth McFadzean, Steve Downing, Patricia Lewis and Nelarine Cornelius and those friends who took an interest in my work and continually egged me on, only some of whom are represented in this review, such as Chris Brewster, Mike Borgeaud and Alex Murdock. To Milo Crummie for his support, and to Piers Myers, Jan Rae, Mike Rigby and Dieu Hack-Polay for their useful criticism and incisive observations leading up to submission and my defense of it. Thank you too to Ian Shaw for his thoughtfulness and to my many friends, who over the years have always encouraged me, put up with my PhD scheduling and reminded me that it is possible for me to complete this intellectual enterprise. I should also express my gratitude to those entrepreneurs whose experiences provide the foundation for this thesis. This would not have been possible without their collaboration.

While this work is of considerable significance to me, I do seek the active participation of readers to my modest contribution and do hope that others may find something of significance for them within the folds of its covers.

I will end by saying – while this *apprenticeship* is over, the friendships and experiences gained from it are forever captured in my not so 'managed' heart.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter One

Locating the Research Foundations

1.0   Introduction

This thesis is a study of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. It is specifically concerned with how entrepreneurs' performance, defined as the act of impression (Goffman, 1959a), is accomplished through emotion management. Emotion management is understood as the work undertaken to manage one's emotions in order to comply with social rules and display situation-appropriate feelings (Hochschild, 1983). This facilitates an understanding of how entrepreneurs shape and are shaped by their experiences in terms of emotion. It is this 'doing' as an emotional-symbolic performance that this study is interested in. Drawing on George Herbert Mead (1925) a philosopher of the Chicago School of Sociology, this performance is one where entrepreneurs' management and display of feeling is conceived of as a symbol of the interaction with this symbol being drawn on by others in their interpretation of the situation. In this study this conjoint process where shared meaning emerges is understood through entrepreneurs' experiences, their interpretations of meaning and their performance (Blumer, 1969). Entrepreneurship, defined as the creation of new ventures (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996) has not been subjected to an investigation focused on rendering emotional labour visible, yet there are researchers that note its importance (Goss, 2008; Hampson & Junor, 2005). Furthermore, Hochschild (1993) indicates that we need to explore various roles to understand how they manage their feelings when she notes that a personnel manager needs to know about feelings and manage these, whereas an advertising agent that deals with the public, and does so at a distance, does not need to manage feelings in the same way. First of all, this perspective opens the door to any number of jobs as long as there are implications for feelings. Secondly, and more importantly, it emphasises the need to understand how individuals, entrepreneurs in this case, take account of expectations in managing their emotions. According to Goss (2008) entrepreneurs' management of emotion performance is at the heart of what entrepreneurs do, particularly

as this has import for legitimation, where the entrepreneur gains social validation (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002).

1.1   Focus of the Thesis: Its Purpose and Rationale

The aim of this research is to investigate how entrepreneurs manage their emotions during business situations and how this has implications for their performance. The study aims to understand the interactional process in which emotion management emerges and so how entrepreneurs make sense of their situation, how they make sense of what they take into account and their external display of managed feelings. This facilitates an understanding of how entrepreneurs manage their feelings, what this means to them and how this is rendered visible through their performance. In other words, the study's primary focus is entrepreneurs' emotion management; the interpretation and shared meaning that develops in managing and maintaining appropriate emotions in interactions. This draws on Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour as the type of work that is required to manage feeling rules, and defined as the work an individual does to alter, either suppressing or inducing their feelings to make them appropriate to the situation (Hochschild, 1979).

The Main Research question is:

How is entrepreneurs' performance accomplished through emotion management?

Sub-questions are:

Drawing on Goffman's writing on the presentation of self, what is the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why do they perform in this particular way?

What does Hochschild's concept of feeling rules help us to understand about entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management?

What are the tensions in entrepreneurs' performance, and how can these be explained?

At the heart of these questions is the concern with examining how entrepreneurs perform in terms of discovering the signification of legitimation for the entrepreneur. The research questions will be examined within the following contextual parameters 1) how entrepreneurs conceive of their social self, 2) how entrepreneurs orientate to rules and expectations and, 3) how entrepreneurs manage their emotional-symbolic display. These main issues are presented, to direct attention to how entrepreneurs manage their emotions during their performance. First, the entrepreneur is capable of self-reflection and during this process they define self. According to Blumer (1969) action takes shape through this self-definition and so is a key element in understanding what it is that entrepreneurs do. In addition, important to investigating emotional labour is the need to understand expectations (Hochschild, 1983). Expectations are understood as common meanings and values and through the learning of a culture individuals understand how to predict others actions and gauge how to behave towards one another (Rose, 1962b). As such the expectations for the entrepreneur will be different from that of the investor, the manager, the employee, the customer or any other role (Strauss, 1997). What is also important is the need to understand how entrepreneurs orient to the situation, thus in performing, managing their emotions (Goss, 2008). It is argued that this management of emotion is integral to entrepreneurs' performance. The study aims to address the research questions due to the limited view of the sociology of emotion as a feature of entrepreneurs' performance. Entrepreneurs' performance is central to gaining support, such as supplier support in providing favourable terms, buyers support in purchasing goods or services and investors support in providing funding (Baron & Markman, 2003; Baron, Markman & Bollinger, 2006; Brush, 2008). According to Goss (2005b) how entrepreneurs negotiate support through emotion management has been neglected. Yet Goss (2008) claims that the consideration of emotion management in the entrepreneurship arena is a conceivable thought. Consequently, there is in fact, fresh scope for conversations about emotional labour.

The set of acts addressed to feeling and termed emotional labour has developed into an important area of focus since Hochschild's (1983) seminal work. In the same way that the perception of the entrepreneur is changing from one associated with negative connotations where individuals are exploited to one conceived of as a positive driver of the economy (Sexton & Bowman, 1985) so too has the emotion at work literature been changing (Noon & Blyton, 1997). Rather than perceiving emotion management as a negative concept detrimental to the individual, it is argued here that it is a resource for the individual. Goss (2008) puts forward the view that entrepreneurs' emotional-symbolic displays can be managed for their gain. In arguing this point he presents a theory of entrepreneurial emotion and exchange where entrepreneurs gain exchange advantage and membership within an interaction ritual by drawing on shared emotionally charged symbolic meanings. There is a new challenge for researchers from that which Hochschild (1983) faced with this move towards a more positive view of emotion management where individuals take action and benefit from this. This provides the opportunity for this study to present a more interactionally sensitive understanding of how emotional labour is performed than that offered by Hochschild (1983).

The context of emotional labour has been firmly set in the service element of the commercial delivery (Hochschild, 1983) with Wharton (1993) emphasising the centrality of the service element in accounts of emotion management particularly with the changing culture of the service industry. In the 1980's, when Hochschild (1983) conducted her study of emotional labour, the service climate was generally one of industrial revolution and employment insecurity. The current environment, though still having employment insecurity, is one where there are diverse levels and types of economic and enterprise development with an entrepreneurial ethos prevailing (Stough, 2008). This ethos induces a culture where the values of self management (Callaghan & Thompson, 2002; Gartner, 1988), and self-interest are foremost (Lumpkin, Cogliser & Schneider, 2009) as well as one where emotionality is engaged in shaping performance (Goss, 2008). This presents the opportunity for presenting a more interactionist appreciation of emotional labour as a 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' performance rather than merely the result of

pressure from others. This will have far-reaching implications for any analysis of emotional labour and is a key contribution of this study.

There is an elaboration of Hochschild's (1983) thesis on emotional labour in the workplace later on in this thesis in Chapter Three, but for immediate purposes it will suffice to stress two things. First, Hochschild (1983) foresaw that one of the most important features of work life was going to be the movement of sociologists and scholars in other disciplines, such as management, to the 'emotion' school of thought. Her own fieldwork has pointed the way ahead in this regard. Recently, many scholars have been involved in developing this school of thought conducting research within conceptual frameworks capable of accommodating the sociology of emotion (Fineman, 2003; Goss, 2008). What has been consistent in these discussions is that emotion and the management of this emotion is being recognised as playing an integral part in organisational life.

The second issue is that Hochschild's (1983) definition presents a negative perception of emotional labour as exploitive of the individual acting it out. Hochschild (1983) conceives of the organisation gaining and the emotional labourer paying dues, where instead a more equitable view could be considered (Wouters, 1989b). Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour contends that the management of emotion is undertaken in order to comply with commercially prescribed display rules. In doing this, individuals are placing themselves in a powerless position, one of compliance, acting in accordance with organisational rules. According to Hochschild (1983) this is conducted in order to produce a psychological response in others leading to value for the organisation. Hochschild (1983) views emotional labour as a symptom of what she considers to be the malaise of capitalism with increasing standardisation of organisational roles. Standardisation involves the mechanisms of observation and discipline, work practices and processes (Harris, Saltstone & Fraboni, 1999; Hochschild, 1983). The result of these changes is increasing uncertainty and greater management control (Hochschild, 1983). The cash nexus is taking precedence over negotiation on an individual basis and interaction (Worsley, 1970). For Hochschild (1983) standardisation is central to

organisational emotional labour theorising representing recognition that emotions are manufactured for commercial consumption. Standardisation, as such, serves to increase organisational control over the employee (Hochschild, 1983).

In contrast to Hochschild (1983), Wouters (1989a) contends that emotional labour involves informalisation, that is, the personalisation of interaction rather than standardisation. The trend of informalisation that Wouter (1989a) suggests is based on the move towards self-management and as such less hierarchical organisations where norms are not necessarily governed by prescribed rules. While inequality, where there is unequal access to scarce and valued resources, does exist in society (Aron, 1950), the argument presented in this study is that both the entrepreneur and the other in the interaction have resources that both need and so a negotiation is in order. Wilson (1970, p. 698) notes that:

> Actions do not occur in isolation but rather are linked to each other as one actor responds to and anticipates the actions of others, and this is so even when an action is performed in solitude. Any particular action, then, is part of a process of interaction involving several actors responding to each other's actions.

This presents the interactionist view where action is relational and constituted through joint negotiations that occur to define the situation (Hall, 1972). According to Weber & Gobel (2006) venture capitalists and entrepreneurs engage in mutual exchange. Consequently, it is argued in this study, that power is negotiated leading to an entrepreneur-other interaction based on mutual consent and control where expectations are both self-imposed and other-imposed and emotions managed appropriately. This is understood as an ongoing negotiation of feeling rules to come to a shared understanding that is not fixed but rather has to be continually interpreted. This key interactionist view of interpretation and reinterpretation (Blumer, 1969) assists in providing an understanding of how entrepreneurs negotiate their performance and in doing so reframes emotional labour as a 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' frame for emotional labour. In seeking to explore and explain the 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' model of emotion management that has been drawn from the data, the conceptual issues surrounding Hochschild's (1983) development of emotional labour are illuminated allowing for the extension of her work in a more interactionist manner.

Alongside trends, such as standardisation, leading to the increase for organisations appropriation of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), are organisations' emphasis on the importance of the customer as sovereign (Bolton, 2005; Du Gay & Salaman, 1992) and as such their influence in monitoring workers. This sees organisational dynamics changing from mainly direct bureaucratic control to management perspectives where there is emphasis on indirect bureaucratic control (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). Customers have increased response capability to performance (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992), i.e. letters and customer surveys providing managers with the capability of controlling without direct involvement. In other words, managers have indirect control. This customer dimension serves to highlight the emphasis that organisations place on emotional labour. Organisations inculcate their ideas in various ways (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992) such as mission statements, motivational talk, coping training and display rules such as the presentation of the expected image. An example of expected image is the smile of the flight attendant (Hochschild, 1983). Embedded in this organisational socialisation is the company view that a flight attendant should smile and show that they love their job (Hochschild, 1983). Anger is not warranted and should be managed (Hochschild, 1983). The airline provided training on anger management through the organisation's own notion of how social engineering should take place and the technique of acting (Hochschild, 1983).

Hochschild (1983) states that emotional labourers are those who do not have the agency to direct the management of feeling. She presents a specific list of jobs that are considered as conducting emotional labour. However, some scholars are not in agreement (Wouters, 1989a). There is emotional labour literature that does suggest that emotional labour can be conducted in jobs not automatically expected to undertake emotional labour, such as those in non-hierarchical roles where self-management are the norm (Anleu & Mack, 2005; Harris, 2002). In compiling this list, Hochschild (1983) viewed professionals as outside the emotional labourer criteria, because they self-manage. In self-managing they take into account professional norms (Leidner, 1999) and client and others' expectations to supervise their own emotion management (Anleu & Mack, 2005; Harris, 2002). This, Hochschild (1983) professes, is where the difference between

emotional labour and emotion work is made apparent. Hochschild (1983) maintains that where emotion is self-managed it is not emotional labour at all but rather emotion work. In emotion work, external factors are not guiding the display but rather the individual has the agency to direct the management of feeling. The argument on the distinction between emotional labour and emotion work will be addressed later, for the purpose stated here of substantiating the foray into emotional labour literature in an entrepreneurship context, suffice to say that emotional labour can be performed based on self management, and as such *without* management control, rather than *with* management control, which is the basis for Hochschild's (1983) thesis. Harris (2002) reinforces this point of view in his study of barristers showing that emotional labour can be conducted in jobs that are not hierarchical in nature. The barristers in Harris' (2002) empirical study maintain that the practice of emotional labour is an essential aspect of their barristerial role. As such focusing on those jobs where emotional labour is monitored by supervisors is limiting, as individuals that manage their own feeling and performance do indeed practice emotional labour with this an intrinsic element of their work (Wouters, 1989a). Emotional labour is viewed as a performance with this central to social interaction (Noon & Blyton, 1997). It is this 'doing' as an emotional symbolic performance that this study is interested in.

Entrepreneurship is viewed as business ownership (Cooper & Dunkelberg, 1986; Cooper, Dunkelberg & Woo, 1988), that is, creation of a venture and the ownership of resources (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Kemper (1985) maintains that the definition of the situation would be different where an individual has ownership, as opposed to non-ownership like those employees in Hochschild (1983) account. Worsley (1970) suggests that where employees are separated from resource ownership, control and self-management in their work activities they become alienated from self. Kemper (1985) in his review of Hochschild (1983) suggested broadening her focus on employees, to include a comparison of the emotional labour of non-worker owned airlines and worker owned airlines. This would introduce the ownership element into the discussion of emotional labour implying that a different performance of emotional labour would occur in this context. Bolton (2005), maintains that the motivation of the individual will also result in different types of emotion management. The views of Kemper (1985) and Bolton (2005),

have implications for entrepreneurship presenting a different conceptualisation of how emotion management is performed, particularly as entrepreneurial behaviour follows from ownership of capital (Hanusch, 1988) and entrepreneurs' motivations influences their self-managing action (Weber & Gobel, 2006). In Tolich's (1993) conceptualisation of emotional labour alienation is associated with one's inability to direct one's own personal creativity. In entrepreneurs' case where ownership is central (Gartner, 1988), the individual can direct their self, having implications for the notion of alienation in the conceptualisation of emotional labour. Considering the ownership element, highlights the control entrepreneurs have over their own destiny and performance, particularly as ownership provides the basis for self management (Goss, 2005a; Kuratko, Hornsby & Naffziger, 1997).

It is for the above reasons and the questions that are raised, that the thesis is focused on the entrepreneur, their performance and their emotion management. A considerable amount has been written on emotional labour within the organisational confines stipulated by Hochschild (1983) and while generalisations are difficult, the review of the studies on emotional labour has identified some key themes. These will be summarised here and elaborated later on within the thesis:

1. The studies present an interactional model of emotional labour that offers a social view of how individuals come to assess, label and manage emotion.
2. Emotional labour has previously been seen as invisible work, where how individuals manage their emotion for the appropriate display of feelings has been subsumed for more task-focused pursuits. However there is evidence that it is a performance that needs to be recognised.
3. Emotional labour is conducted in a wide variety of occupations, both in traditional occupations where managerial intervention is the conventional mode of control and more flexible occupations where there is minimal managerial intervention.
4. Emotional labour has been found to be a component both in those jobs where it would be expected, for example in customer service work and those jobs where it is not automatically expected, for example in the work of barristers.

5. Rules and expectations have implications for the performance of emotional labour.

6. In assessing, labeling and managing emotions, individuals' self-management is engaged in their performance of emotional labour.

The questions raised, the discussion and this summary, chart a trail of primary reference points for the more detailed discussion later on in the review.

1.2   Research Parameters and Definitions

An understanding of the work that entrepreneurs do in performing emotion management is understood through focusing the study on the individual, the interpretive process and the interaction.

The individual is the entrepreneur, defined as having achieved business ownership through venture creation (Gartner, 1988). For this study the entrepreneur can be part of an establishing entrepreneurial team (Kamm et al., 1990; Neergaard, 2005) or an individual entrepreneur (Carter & Jones-Evans, 2000). It is on this terminological basis that the argument is laid and will precede in the succeeding sections.

As part of the interpretive process, self-reflection plays a key part. Individuals make active choices in how social processes are used in their performances (Blumer, 1969). Through their self-reflections, individuals adjust their feelings and actions to others' indications and the meanings that emerge in interaction. In other words, the management of emotion is based on an emergent shared scheme of interpretation (Blumer, 1969). In managing feeling Hochschild (1983) argues that the individual is undertaking emotional labour. This is defined as managing feeling and acting these out based on the propriety of emotional display (Hochschild, 1983). In her seminal work, *The Managed Heart* published in 1983, Hochschild (1983, p. 7) defines emotional labour as:

> The management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; (which)… is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value.

Many emotional labour scholars define emotional labour along the same lines. The following account put forward by Taylor (1998, p. 85) provides a rich description of what Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour entails:

> Firstly, [emotional labour is] feeling management which is performed as part of paid work, serving the interests of an employer in maximizing surplus value; secondly, being predominantly undertaken during social interaction within the workplace – the product of emotional labour is often the state of mind or feeling within another person (most often a customer or client) – however, we can also posit the possibility of emotional labour being directed at the self if it is demanded by an employer in order to serve the dictates of capital accumulation; thirdly, there must be some managerial attempt to prescribe, and/or supervise and measure employee performance of emotional labour.

A more succinct definition that captures the essence of the term is one given by Mulholland (2002) who states that emotional labour is the management of feeling while working. The key issues identified from the definitions are 1) the psychological focus that an individual's personality is engaged to influence theirs and others' emotional state; and 2) the sociological focus that this sociability is used and controlled by occupational structures (Hochschild, 1983). These form the bedrock of Hochschild's (1983) account of emotional labour highlighting that the commodification of feelings is the essence of emotional labour.

According to Korczynski (2002) scholars tend to accept the main tenet of Hochschild's (1983) work, though there are concerns around the various terms she presented, that is, emotion work, emotion management and emotional labour. As such a definitional note is in order to gain some clarification of the relationship between these terms. 1) Emotion management is viewed as the active control over one's emotions using various strategies to alter feelings. It is not necessarily home or workplace related. 2) Emotional labour is defined as the commodification of feelings for the workplace and during this process of commodification an individual makes use of emotional management. This 'commodification work' has exchange value. According to Bolton & Boyd (2003) this commodification of emotionality is directed by the incursion of management into this action. Hochschild (1983) concentrated on commercial enterprises, yet with the emphasis on societal needs, other types of organisations not categorised as commercial entities are subject to the commodification of feelings. Some examples of such organisations include churches, the police service, and communities (Gibb, 2002). In these organisations

workers have contact with others where there is a need to elevate their status or influence them. 3) Emotion work is defined as the use of emotion management in the private arena. However due to this 'work' being undertaken in the home: the private arena, Hochschild (1983) deems it to have no exchange value. Rather she classifies it as having 'use' value. Emotion work in the home, for example caring for one's elderly parents, could be seen to entail emotion management where this is needed to give dignity. This element of caring is on a voluntary basis and not paid for in the commercial sense. However, it has social benefits and if equating to a commercial exchange theory does demonstrate this relationship between the market and capital. The commercial benefits are that this care does not have to be bought in. This example highlights that; emotion management can have both use and exchange value. Consequently, based on this discussion of the definitional issues, it is argued that the distinction between the two terms emotional labour and emotion work is problematic and so the distinction is not clearly warranted. Furthermore, even with Hochschild's (1983) distinction of how these terms are defined, she still refers to emotional labour and emotion work interchangeably (Bolton, 2005). For instance in Hochschild's (1983) discussion of the expected outcome of emotional labour – she states that, "…*flight attendant do emotion work to enhance the status of the customers…*" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 16). Here she presents emotion work in the public arena, with the additional note that where employees need to employ emotion work in the public arena it is exploitation. The question raised here is, 'can the distinction between the two terms: emotional labour and emotion work still be part of the conceptualisation of emotional labour if the dualism is not conceptually sound?' For these reasons, and for its applicability to both paid and unpaid work, the term emotion management will be adopted.

Emotion management is required in order to accomplish something (Steinberg & Figart, 1999a). For the purpose of this research inquiry, the two terms feeling and emotion will be used interchangeably. This follows on from Hochschild (1983) who sees feelings as emotion. Here, Hochschild (1983) acknowledges the biological element of emotion along with the sociological perspective. This social view is understood through the

consideration of social graces borne from social rules and codes of conduct and is taken into account in what should be felt in a particular situation.

Interactions are social arenas viewed as symbolic arenas of gesture and dialogues (Goffman, 1959a; Mead, 1925) where communication, interpretation and value is assigned by an individual to the acts of the other individual involved in the interaction (Blumer, 1969). During the interaction these individuals continually adjust their behaviour due to the meanings they jointly develop (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1925; Schafer, 1974). Mead (1925) whose thinking on social behaviorism was the basis for the social interaction perspective described this interpretive interaction as a symbolic interaction. In symbolic interaction, it is this interpretation that is the basis of action where the meaning of actions of those involved in the interaction, the definition of the situation and indications as to how one should act are ascertained (Blumer, 1966). Blumer (1966) gives an example where an individual can interpret the shaking of a fist (an indication) as meaning aggression. Emotion develops in the interaction (Staske, 1996), and hence the meaning of emotion and emotion management has an interactive nature (Noon & Blyton, 1997). It is through significant symbols, gestures of shared meaning, either verbal or non-verbal, that individuals negotiate the social interaction (Noon & Blyton, 1997; Staske, 1996) and influence how others should act (Blumer, 1969). This brings into focus action defined as behaviour meaningful to the individual (Wilson, 1970). Considering this study, entrepreneurship activities are a microcosm of social life where interactions have an emergent, dynamic quality with the meanings that the entrepreneur assign to various objects in the interaction shaped by theirs and others' interpretations, management of emotion and subsequent performance. Performance is defined as the act of impression (Goffman, 1959a). Acccording to Hochschild (1983) the type of emotional labour performed is dependent on the situational characteristics. Consequently, it is important to understand these characteristics. However rather than the positivistic view Hochschild (1983) presents where the situational characteristics are fixed, by analysing emotion management and entrepreneurship in symbolic interaction terms; that is conjoint interpretations of the situational characteristics a more interactional approach will be taken. This has the advantage of providing insight into the 'how' of the action. Shott

(2005) does note that symbolic interactionism is amenable to gaining insight into emotions.

Entrepreneurship within this study aligns itself with the classical notion of entrepreneurship as the creation of new ventures (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996), and sustainability of these (Kuratko, Hornsby & Naffziger, 1997). The central idea then is that, in entrepreneurs' motivation to act and develop new ventures they need to gain the support of others. In their bid to gain the support of others entrepreneurs draw on symbolic resources, such as emotions, to convey to others that they are worthy of their support (Zott & Huy, 2007). In these interactions entrepreneurs display appropriate impressions (Zott & Huy, 2007). Consequently, the interactions of interest are business interactions where entrepreneurs seek support for their business. The interactions where entrepreneurs seek support for their venture are generally critical interactions due to its emotionally charged and memorable nature (Cope, 2003) where decisions are made in favour of, or against entrepreneurs. It is a situation where individuals can agree on discrete and definable parameters with time and space delimitations (Goffman, 1974). It is a non-deterministic emergent process where the participants perform and negotiate. The primary meaning of these support-seeking interactions is to assign meaning to the interrelated business idea, business plan, product, service and presentation of these by the entrepreneur (Zott & Huy, 2007). The other in the business interaction seeks validation of the venture but more so there is an aspiration to understand the entrepreneur (Weber & Gobel, 2006). As a consequence, the interpretation of each other's behaviour in this negotiation influences the patterns of behaviour between the entrepreneur and the other interactant in pursuance of venture-specific objectives (Zott & Huy, 2007). It could be argued that the other exercises control due to the nature of a capitalist marketplace where they create the demand for the commercialisation of feeling due to their command of the resources required by the entrepreneur (Sandberg, Schweiger & Hofer, 1988). For instance, in the early stages of development, in particular, it could be argued that entrepreneurs are dependent on the investor for the success of their business due to entrepreneurs' financial need or as another example; entrepreneurs are reliant on customers over the whole duration of their business, as success is dependent on sales.

Within these interactions the dimensions of social order: the construction of trust and solidarity, the regulation of power, and the provision of meaning and legitimation are, according to Eisenstadt & Shachar (1987) key considerations. Even with taking these into consideration, it is argued that the relationship between the entrepreneur and the other such as investor or customer is a mutual one. A collaborative pattern of interaction can be seen in Rafaeli (1989) study on the service interaction, where customers are seen as members of the organisation. Rafaeli (1989) has drawn on Miles & Morris' (1986) work where the term 'partial employees' has been used to suggest that customers are organisational members because their involvement is crucial to the service delivery. This issue of the involvement of the 'partial employees' in Rafaeli's (1989) study would be suggestive, to a degree, of the involvement of the investor, customer or significant other in the entrepreneur business interaction. As such it is argued that the other is a participant in the commercialisation and growth of entrepreneurs' vision. The implication of this is that the concept of emotional labour is no longer defined in this study based on transmutation from the private to the public domain (Hochschild, 1983) but rather can be conceptualised based on who is in control of the emotion management (Tolich, 1993) whether situated in the public or private arena. Consequently, others forming a reference group, that is, a frame of reference for the individual (Shibutani, 1955) could be viewed as participants in the commercialisation of entrepreneurs' product and as such a part of the entrepreneurship team (Amit, Glosten & Muller, 1990). Hence, the argument put forward in this study is that emotion management is joint action. This follows Blumer's (1966, p. 188) view that:

> The process of interpretation in the individual is markedly guided by stimulations, cues, suggestions and definitions he secures from other people.

Emotion management is a process of joint interpretation and negotiation. To adapt Hochschild's (1983) work to have more congruence with the symbolic interactionist approach influencing this study, her concept of adaptability takes on a more interactional stance with joint interpretation and negotiation a key addition.

1.3   A Natural History of the Research: Reflections on Theoretical Development

A researcher's values and beliefs guide their choices and so reflexivity is a key issue to consider in the process of research development. This process of reflexivity is one where learning and unlearning occurs with the researcher engaged in critical self-reflection of biases, research dilemmas and vulnerabilities (Kleinsasser, 2000). Consequently, this reflexive first person narrative is provided for insight into the learning journey.

From the beginning my research topic has been framed in terms of emotional labour. Since then the way of looking at this has changed to reflect what I have been reading, not significantly but rather marginally, until my readings of Blumer's work starting with *Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead* (Blumer, 1966) when a significant reframing of the research question took place with a focus on the conception of self, interpretation and meaning. I had taken much time in reading and writing up on emotional labour and entrepreneurship turning out conference papers to assist me in developing my literature review. On reflection I realise that this was done without clearly understanding the theoretical underpinnings of the works I was evaluating and using for my study. Hence more depth was needed. With my study focusing on social phenomena and in particular meanings of feelings and motives it was important to understand sociology in more depth than understood previously – rather limited coming from an objective deterministic background as I did. Much of my current theoretical development can be traced back to reading that I was doing, on the behest of my current supervisor and colleagues. I had been finding it rather difficult breaking away from my positivisitic thinking – I *was* after all a scientist having studied the Sciences for my undergraduate degree and sticking with a positivist stance for my Masters. A deterministic approach assumes consequentiality, and here I was seeking to change my mindset to accept a non-deterministic view of the world, where an individual takes account of things and assigns meanings to objects, in an emergent process of negotiation. Delving into the sociological arena to understand everyday life has led me on a road through sociological thought that has been enlightening as it has been frustrating. My foothold into sociological thinking

was social construction. It is certainly a valid theoretical endeavour and it is one that I can identify with on certain levels. However, Alfred Schutz writings were not easily accessible to me. Berger & Luckmann (1967) did put together a readable exposition of their work and in doing so they have drawn on the symbolic interactionsim school for the social-psychological presuppositions needed for their analysis of the internalisation of social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This lead me towards the behaviouristic theories of Mead (1913) and the symbolic interactionsist perspective that he inspired in Blumer (1966). This reading of symbolic interactionism has lead me on a road to a tradition that I feel affiliated with and could, at that time, see myself drawing on to develop my research study. This has led me to develop an understanding of 'meaning', which is a central element in unraveling social experience (Blumer, 1969; Douglas, 1970).

Towards enlightening myself and 'becoming' a social 'scientist' of symbolic interactionist persuasion, I was reading my way through work influenced by it, such as Goffman's (1959a) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. This had a large part to play in Hochschild's (1983) study of emotional labour and it is a study on which I am basing my research. Goffman's (1959a) work on interaction is described, in part, through his use of impression management. This is the notion that an individual slips in and out of character and that there is a private arena of informality and a public one of formality that needs the donning of a mask. This is one main area that Hochschild (1983) has drawn from Goffman (1959a) to support her argument in the conceptualisation of emotional labour. My reading of Hochschild (1983) encouraged theoretical confusion. At one point I had viewed Hochschild's (1983) work as a purely interpretivist piece of work however I could not really place her in one particular tradition over another. There are constraints and ambiguities in Hoschchild's (1983) work leading to fundamental irreconcilable tendencies in her position. On further reflection Hochschild (1983) has been placed in the middle of a number of competing traditions. She displays some views of both an interactionist of structural persuasion and a positivist in the manner in which she perceives the world. In presenting a structural perspective Hochschild (1983) considers horizontal status divisions, and the social relations that relate these to each other. More specifically, in terms of her study she views management as one social group that has

power over employees: the other social group. Her analysis also takes a political stance where social controls allow one group to make demands of another.

In respect of my study, I view emotion management as interactional where the situation is taken into account in managing feelings and in the expression of these managed feelings. Impression management and deep acting practices are drawn on to impress the others involved in the interaction, these others interpret this impression. This clearly integrates Hochschild's (1983) view of emotional labour and Goffman's (1959a) notion of performance to present an appropriate impression. My general underlying assumption is that to understand meaning and action one has to understand and therefore draw together the individual, the social interaction and society. Earlier on I mentioned that I had taken on the conception of self as a central tenet of my research. This focus hinges on the understanding of Mead (1912, 1913), Blumer (1969) and Goffman (1959a). All of these authors highlight that the individual gives something of themselves in the interaction and to be able to do this the individual takes account of the situation and themselves in interpreting the situation and coming to an understanding of what it means for them and how they will then act. This comprehension of the self as central to meaning making is that self is a product of the performance emerging from it. All of these considerations provide a basic framework for the interpretation of entrepreneurs' emotion management and how they negotiate support for this performance assigning meaning to social norms and expectations during business interaction. Symbolic interaction allows insight into the emergent meanings for entrepreneurs' conceptualisation of self, others and their inter-relationships.

In presenting any theoretical concept there has to be points of contact between the discussion presented and existing approaches to theorising. From my discussion I would say that my 'couch', in other words, my theoretical influences for this thesis, are laid out on Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionist perspective, Hochschild's (1983) distinct contribution of the emotional labour concept, and Goffman's (1959a) dramaturgical analysis and assumptions of impression management because entrepreneurship is a performance (Anderson, 2005). With the theoretical explanation, and the fulcrum on

which this study balances, laid out and decided upon, following through on analysing the data being collected was another hurdle to be addressed. According to Douglas (1970), being aware of the philosophical orientation is important as this will guide the choice of method to be used in obtaining data to understand the phenomenon under investigation. Yet, analysing the data collected has been a rather frustrating exercise. Rendering meaning visible through analysis in keeping with the symbolic interactionist tradition was fraught with uncertainties, merely because various studies used various approaches, some which did not seem to me to be in harmony with the interactionist perspective. Brittan (1973) notes that it is difficult to escape reductionism, with sociologists succumbing to this. Insight into my struggle against succumbing is provided in Chapter Two where my methodological foundation is expanded. To conclude this section, the writing here is both a consideration of the past as it is a development of my future thoughts and direction as I locate myself within the symbolic interactionism arena.

1.4   Overview of Chapters

This first chapter presents the rationale for examining entrepreneurs' performance drawing on emotional labour to understand their performance. It has been discussed here that entrepreneurs' emotion management is produced and maintained through an emergent process of interpretation and that this process is a 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' one undertaken to gain legitimation of their performance. In addition, the journey that the researcher has taken has been described highlighting the turn to symbolic interactionism and its relevance for this study of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management.

The thesis is structured to locate the methodology chapter prior to the literature review chapters. The rationale for this organisation is to develop the understanding of the symbolic interactionist perspective to subsequently critique Hochschild's (1983) interactionist underpinnings. This logic evolved out of the review of Hochschild's (1983) work identifying her under-privileged treatment of the interpretivist roots underpinning her work. The concern then is to ensure the symbolic interactionist position is fully

understood prior to the review of literature that shows that her interactionist underpinnings have been underdeveloped and prior to the critique of her work against the premises of symbolic interactionism. This review allowed for the emergence of the research questions focusing on the investigation into how an interactionist perspective would be useful in understanding entrepreneurship and the re-conceptualisation of emotion management.

In Chapter Two the Normative and Interpretive paradigms are discussed to develop an understanding of each paradigms conception of performance and emotion management. The discussion into these two competing paradigms demonstrates how, in general, those theories of entrepreneurship and emotion management that are underpinned by the assumptions of the normative paradigm fail to address the intersubjective meanings and definitions of entrepreneurs in their interactions. This argument is put forward because even though researchers in the interpretivist paradigm argue that they are focusing on rendering visible meanings and interpretations their discussions are embedded within decontextualised meanings and psychological reductionism (Murdoch, 1999). The discussion around theoretical and methodological presuppositions leads the discussion toward the symbolic interactionist framework that influences this study. The premises of symbolic interaction are detailed and in doing so shared meaning, joint action and interpretation are explained. This framework lays the foundation for all other discussions.

Chapter Three aims to explore the sociological explanations of entrepreneurship performance expanding the view of entrepreneurship as an interactional process where emotion is integral and in doing so shows how researchers describe and understand entrepreneurship. Investigations reveal how entrepreneurship has developed from a functional focus through psychological to the more recent focus of the behavioural perspective. With the focus on behaviour it is understood that interaction shapes an entrepreneur however there is little consideration of how an entrepreneur shapes performance through their interpretation and development of shared meaning in interaction. With this gap identified an interactonist perspective of performance is introduced with Goffman's (1959a) theory of presentation discussed. In addition to this

focus on performance, the chapter also aims to develop emotion management within entrepreneurship theory. The chapter shows that emotion has only recently become a main focus in studies within this paradigm. Many of those that have studied entrepreneurs and their emotions have focused on giving insight through a psychological lens.

Chapter Four focuses on conceptualising emotional labour beginning with an overview of emotion and Hochschild's (1983) location within emotion theorising. Hochschild's (1983) study forms the foundation for exploring how entrepreneurs' performance is accomplished through emotion management as such her conceptualisation of emotion management is examined. The analysis reveals the normative considerations in Hochschild's (1983) work. Some of the areas where her work diverges from an interactionist perspective are detailed in the critique against symbolic interactionist premises detailed by Blumer (1969). A number of other emotional labour studies are drawn on in presenting a perspective of the field. The overall aim of Chapter Four is the presentation of a conceptual understanding of Hochschild's work on emotional labour and its foundational concepts: organisational rules, expectations, and the compliance towards these that signifies emotional labour.

In Chapter Five, the discussion brings together both theories of entrepreneurship and emotion management. It provides a view of how these two concepts are intertwined. It is aimed at understanding how emotion management is experienced in the entrepreneurship performance and how interpretation and meaning is developed.

The subsequent three chapters: Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight provide empirical evidence of the performances of entrepreneurs and how emotion management is produced and maintained in the negotiation toward a shared understanding with others on their legitimation. Chapter Six draws on Goffman's presentation of self to analyse the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why they perform in this way, indicating that it is an embodied, relational co-operative, and professional and appropriate performance. Chapter Seven explores how entrepreneurs conceive of their emotion management through Hochschild's concept of feeling rules giving explication to entrepreneurs' feeling rules,

management and display of emotions. Chapter Eight explains the tensions and complexities that arise during entrepreneurs' performance of emotion management.

Chapter Nine provides evidence of addressing the research questions with contributions this study has made and further research possibilities discussed. Included in this chapter is the entrepreneurship emotion management framework that has been developed from the understanding gained from this research. This provides recognition of variability in entrepreneurs' interpretation of rules and how the performance is produced and maintained.

1.5   Conclusion

This study seeks to address how entrepreneurs' performance is accomplished through emotion management. Emotional labour has been considered in the workplace with many studies focused on frontline workers (Hampson & Junor, 2005; Leidner, 1999; Peccei & Rosenthal, 2000). Emotional labour researchers are extending this practice to other members of the organisation and the professional sector such as paralegals (Pierce, 1999), image consultants (Wellington & Bryson, 2001), barristers (Harris, 2002), magistrates (Anleu & Mack, 2005). While Hochschild (1983) provides a finite list of occupations that she suggests conducts emotional labour she did also suggest that it is only by asking workers what they actually do and understanding others' expectations of them, that one would be able to state whether an occupation requires emotional labour. This study has undertaken to do just that, taking the concept of emotional labour a step further by questioning and examining the performative social practices of the entrepreneur during their business interactions, and so rendering visible their emotional labour. The researcher has developed an understanding of entrepreneurs' performance through entrepreneurs' experiences gained through interviews. The symbolic interactionist influence assisted in unraveling the meanings of the entrepreneur social group gaining access to how entrepreneurs understand their performance and their emotion management. This symbolic interactionist orientation is required in an attempt to facilitate a qualitative change in how both entrepreneurship and emotional labour are viewed and addressed.

Chapter Two
Research Methodology: The Process Toward Discovery

2.0   Introduction

This Chapter turns to the methodological framework important for conducting the research. This is located early on in the thesis, prior to the literature review to provide an understanding of the normative and interpretive forms of sociological explanation for the subsequent critique of emotional labour conceptualisation and in particular Hochschild's (1983) 'interactionist' approach.

The role of research is to provide a method for obtaining answers by inquiringly studying the evidence within the parameters of the science(s) in question. The three questions that need to be addressed when investigating a phenomenon are the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. Different ontological and epistemological assumptions shape the aims of research inquiry, the roles of the researcher, and the researcher-respondent relationship (Jean, 1992). As such there are methodological choices to be made based on these ontological and epistemological assumptions. The ontological question 'what is the nature of reality?' is based on a position relative to reality: objective or subjective. Symbolic interactionism is based on a pragmatic view of the world that accepts reality as 'out there' standing over against the individual (Blumer, 1977, 1980). However, from the pragmatic position this objective world is not fixed and free from individuals' perspectives but rather is a changeable reality dependant on human conscious experience and how they act towards it (Blumer, 1977; Mead, 1912).

The epistemological questions, 'what is knowledge?', 'how are the social meanings to be made visible? How should data be truthfully and reliably obtained to address sociological research and theory? What methods of analysis should be used? and 'what do people know?' is informed here by the interpretation of everyday life (Douglas, 1970). Morgan & Smircich (1980) views an understanding of assumptions as a vital link between theory

and method which must be addressed. Consequently, the purpose of this chapter is 1) to present the two different forms of sociological explanation 2) illustrating the philosophical position of symbolic interactionism, laying the foundations and providing justification of this proposed methodology for this study, 3) the exploration strategy; data collection and data analysis methods used in meeting the research objectives are also discussed. This chapter is arranged in this logical sequence to address the objectives of this chapter. In the sections that follow, the interview sample is discussed, as well as the analytical tools utilised to make sense of the data collected from them. Because the research questions developed from the literature require data on meanings, interpretations and emotions, and this data is not publicly available, primary data will be collected from those who hold the knowledge on meanings, interpretation and emotions of interest to this study: entrepreneurs.

2.1   Normative versus Interpretive Forms of Sociological Explanation

The aim of this section is to review the normative and interpretivist paradigms and how these affect the thesis. This section presents insight into different epistemologies in sociological thinking to understand the methodological issues concerning the normative paradigm and as such develop an understanding of social interaction as an interpretive process. This assists in developing the interpretive conception of social interaction specifically the influence of symbolic interaction for understanding entrepreneurship and emotion management. Thus this also assists in developing a sociological theory of entrepreneurship and emotion management where the interactional elements are illuminated.

The first epistemological issue to be considered is what knowledge is and what are the principles and rules by which an understanding of everyday life can be known? Knowledge in this study is regarded as 'social'. Social objects do not exist in the same way that physical objects do. They are not subject independent, in other words they cannot have a human independent existence. As such this is based on an understanding of knowledge as shared knowledge constituted through language and meaning, and steeped

in symbolic interactionist approaches (Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interactionsim epistemology accords that in a social context individuals will interpret and interact collectively for meaning making. Such an approach would also start with the assumption that the central dynamic behind emotion management is meaning and interaction and that within this concern for the interaction a relationship between the entrepreneur and the significant other does exist. However, what gives it meaning is the interpretation of the participants in that interaction. As such this study views individual's emotion, interaction and social processes and practices, motives and interpretation as meaningful components of the social world where emotional displays are treated as features of the interaction as much as features of the individual (Burmeister, 2003). According to Briner (1999) it is the relationship between the individual and the social context and how this unfolds over time that is most important consideration for understanding emotions. This provides substance for the focus on the experiences and accounts of an individual, which is an epistemologically explainable method consistent with the ontology presented. It is not possible for facts or observations to be independent of actors, cultures or social practices (Sexton & Bowman, 1985). The symbolic interactionist perspective is of the opinion that knowledge develops within the social context (Douglas, 1970). According to Zimmerman (1970) to make decisions about social processes the basis of the situation needs to be clarified. In the case of emotion it would be considered a narrow reductionist point of view to see it solely as a biological process without consideration of the situation.

The second epistemological consideration is how knowledge is acquired and how knowledge can be demonstrated? The beliefs presented here about the nature of reality and knowledge guides this study in the choices made and the questions asked. What is believed needs further explanation (Bleier, 1991). The underpinning assumptions here are that there are multiple realities, and that individuals interpret meanings based on their experiences leading to an understanding of what they are experiencing (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). The next section expands on the epistemological assumptions of the normative and interpretivist paradigm to provide further explanation into what is believed.

The Normative Paradigm

According to Wilson, (1970 p.697) methodological thought in sociology is that *"patterns of action are to be explained using the deductive form of explanation found in the natural sciences"*. This 'reductionist' view has been challenged by Blumer (1956) in his discussion of *Sociological Analysis and the "Variable"* where he argues against this reduction of human interaction which he says has taken hold, invading sociological analysis. This reductionist perspective Blumer (1956) notes has become acceptable. However, what Blumer (1956) is being explicit about in the opening discussion of this article is that the 'variable' approach has developed a lackadaisical approach to understanding social life and that in addition it has various shortcomings. The first shortcoming that Blumer (1956) notes is on the selection of the variable and the importance of ensuring that the problem has been understood. Blumer (1956) goes on to suggest that thorough and careful reflection in thinking about the problem to understand its constituent parts is necessary to do this. This 'thinking' to illuminate the parts requires immersion into the empirical and analytical schemes that might illuminate the problem. Blumer (1956) suggests that variable analysis does not take cognizance of this.

Blumer's (1956) second concern is that there is an absence of generic variables. A researcher needs to provide abstract knowledge, abstract categories for the ability to generalise to human life rather than provide isolated, disconnected and competing ideas. Blumer (1956) notes that the ability to provide abstraction is the core of empiricism. Consequently, the variable should develop comprehension of the problem by providing this abstraction of human life enabling it to be applied, in any spatial, temporal or cultural dimension, rather than being localised to the context of the local problem and bound. As such, generic variables should not be tied to context, such as historical or cultural context, which confine the discussion to a particular cultural setting.

The third shortcoming of variable analysis that Blumer (1956) brings to the fore is that data and findings are viewed as 'here and now' with the result that analysis is localised and temporal. Blumer (1956) questions this, as the understanding of the everyday 'here

and now' *context* is diminished. He argues that the approach taken in variable analysis presents stable context free meanings removing the complex layers that would enable an understanding of context. This is also acknowledged by Wilson (1970) in his paper on the interpretive conception of social interaction and associated methodological issues, who notes that in the normative paradigm the focus in on stable context free meanings with a clear causal link between the situation and the individual's actions. Stable context free meanings are meanings that are independent of the context within which they emerge (Sexton & Bowman, 1985; Wilson, 1970).

In other words, the argument Blumer (1956) puts forward is that variable analysis is reductionist, in that it reduces comprehension of human life to a set of variables that are not embedded in any contextual insight. This review of the shortcomings of variable analysis provides a basis for the discussion on the alternative, the interpretivist paradigm and its suitability in understanding everyday life.

Interpretive Paradigm

Blumer (1956) puts human interaction forward as an interpretive process where interpretation and definition are central features. In understanding the meaningful elements of everyday life that interpretivism emphasises (Douglas, 1970) there is a need to understand the interpretative practices that goes on during interaction as this is central to the comprehension of society (Blumer 1956). According to Zimmerman (1970) the situation and individuals' interests, perspectives and interpretations are important aspects of the interaction. The main assumption of the interpretivist philosophy is that an individual shapes their own social context (Brittan, 1973).

Where the interpretivist paradigm differs from the normative paradigm is in the underpinning assumption that meaning is based on interpretation and that the process of interpretation re-defines stable meanings, which then become the stable meanings (Blumer, 1956). Blumer (1956) contends that meaning does not carry its own meaning but rather meaning has to be conferred upon the object. As such meaning is not

predetermined as there can be a reinterpretation of the meaning of an object even where there was a previously fixed and stable meaning. This reinterpretation in interaction is what Brittan (1973) refers to as the 'negotiation of meaning'. As such meaning is not intrinsic and universal but external and variable in its state. This negotiation has been described earlier in this study as 'fluid equilibrium', ongoing negotiation to come to a shared understanding. This emergence of new meanings is an ongoing interpretive process. *"Interpretation is a formative or creative process in it's own right"* (Blumer, 1956 p.687). It is not controlled by the independent variable as it has shifting and dynamic content. The processual elements of interpretation cannot be seen as constant variables in a stimulus-response model because these are dynamic ongoing self-indications (Brittan, 1973). However the normative paradigm does see meaning predetermined by the variable and fixed and context free.

In including interpretation into the analytic scheme, the process of definition between the experience and the formed behaviour needs to be illuminated. This takes into account that a sociological variable is complex, dynamic and diversified. It cannot be given a unitary, distinct or abbreviated term of empirical reference. What needs to be answered is how the concept enters into the experience of people. Both the complexities of action and interpretation needs to be visible not concealed and misrepresented. The normative paradigm cannot illuminate both as its focus is on causal explanations of observed phenomenon and the relationships between these as opposed to interpretation and form of reason of society. The assumptions of the interpretive paradigm have been discussed providing a backdrop for the discussion on symbolic interactionsim, my philosophical position.

In selecting a philosophical position and method for this study further questions have been raised. Is entrepreneurship about reconstructing a world out there or is it a creative activity? Are we seeking one truth or do we acknowledge multiple perspectives? Are we looking for an overall theory or for locally valid theories? These questions are ones that Steyaert (1998) raised to gain understanding of how knowledge is conceived in the entrepreneurship domain. This study acknowledges the complexity of social life and as a

result is attempting to give an effective rather than 'true' understanding of reality that seeks causality and the pursuit of final laws (Watson, 1980). The research is inductive in nature. It is also empirical in nature because it is accepted that the data collected provides evidence and understanding of an objective reality. While researchers in the interpretivist tradition are value laden, a certain amount of objectivity is required (Watson, 1980). What is required in the interpretivist position with regards to objectivity is the openness as to the assumptions guiding the study, where data comes from and reflexivity to enable others to make their own evaluations of the work undertaken and the conclusions drawn from this (Watson, 1980). Emotion can be viewed both on a subjective level where an individual has a feeling that is there without regard for the appropriateness of the feeling or on an objective level where there are objective rules providing the conditions under which an individual is entitled to feel certain emotions, in other words, objective standards for the elicitation and enactment of emotions (Finkel & Parrott, 2006). According to Mead (1913) the subjective consciousness is experienced and then further conscious experience occurs. This has implications for the methodology. A researcher should be reflexively aware of their subjectivity (Symon, Cassell & Dickson, 2002) as the researcher's emotions and beliefs guide their research choices (Gray, 2008). Consequently, what is important is that my values as researcher are considered and taken into account to maintain a value-free lens through which one can search for truths. Claims can be made from sense-experience. Knowledge incorporates individual and private sense-experiences (Turner, 1996) and as such the researcher's subjectivity is engaged in the production of knowledge. With my epistemological shift away from positivism that had previously informed my thinking toward an interpretivist viewpoint, the belief that social structures should be viewed as challengeable facts that can be questioned became the foundation for this study's thinking. The focus here is on the determination of these underlying forms of social life to yield insight into social processes (Blumer, 1967).

Within the emotional labour literature Hochschild (1983) has clearly stated that emotion is a way of knowing the world, a way of testing reality. This could conceive of the idea that reality is not fixed but rather is based on the individual's view of the world. This search for meaningfulness is more fully appreciated through an exploratory inductive

approach (Chapman, 2000). This would understand emotion management as multidimensional phenomenon in a social context. This pluralistic nature of the phenomenon being studied may not satisfy those who prefer a statistically viable causal model demonstrating relationships. However, an exploratory approach requires more than assessing the magnitude and significance of correlations. Emotional labour is a response to sets of cultural definitions and societal expectations that could be more deeply explored using an interpretivist approach. My review of empirical studies in the emotional labour field indicates that it lends itself more readily to an interpretivist epistemology. Hochschild (1983) acknowledges a broadly interpretivist philosophy in her study to understand what it means to be a member of a particular social group. The proposed philosophical position of an interpretivist epistemology accords that:

> Human beings, far from merely responding to the social world, may actively contribute to its creation…[and as such] the dominant [positivistic] methods become increasingly unsatisfactory, and indeed, inappropriate (Morgan & Smircich, 1980 p. 498).

Waldron (2000) asserts that a positivistic approach to understanding emotions is restrictive. It is the focus on meaning that is important as both Mead (1912) and Tudor (1974) note that in studying the social that it is meaningful interaction that makes man distinctive. This study focuses on the meaning of emotion management in the entrepreneur-business interaction where the social practices of emotion management are likely to be performed. During this interaction, expectations, rules, evaluations, enactment, and interpretations are negotiated. I uphold this set of basic assumptions that underpin the symbolic interactionist tradition. Against the backdrop of the normative and interpretivist paradigms, the rationale for adopting a symbolic interactionist approach is discussed. The normative approach is viewed as explaining events from 'out there' while the interpretivist approach acknowledges this, at the same time it follows the view that to understand social phenomenon one must look at individuals' interpretations (Blumer, 1977; Douglas, 1970). To date, the issue of emotional labour has been studied both in an interpretivist manner (Callaghan & Thompson, 2002; James, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990; Stenross & Kleinmann, 1989; Sutton, 1991; Tolich, 1993) and normatively (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Holman, Chissick & Totterdell, 2002; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Those that have followed a normative approach have been interested in identifying the associated variables and their

relationships while those with an interpretivist focus have been interested in understanding the meaningfulness; the how's and why's, of emotion management (Chapman, 2000).

In concluding this section on philosophical paradigms, it is understood that questions on ontology, epistemology and methodology need to be answered when addressing a phenomenon, particularly as these have different approaches to how the research would be conducted. For instance, the normatively located researcher would suggest that there would need to be an assessment of that which is observable. The focus in this paradigm is on the orderly relationships between processes where relationships are more important than the processes themselves. The interactionist would advocate that reality is not fixed but rather fluid, and revised dependent on an individual's actions and beliefs (Ogbor, 2000). Consequently and according to Douglas (1970), being aware of the researcher's philosophical orientation is important as this will guide the methodology used to gain understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Consequently, the presuppositions of the two paradigms: normative and interpretivist have been set out, highlighting the dichotomy between the two philosophies and providing the backdrop with which to frame the research. Drawing on this discussion and recapitulating the key differences indicates that the interpretivist philosophy views knowledge as contingent on human interpretation and social experience and is predominantly guided by an interpretive and naturalistic approach to its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Thoughts, emotions and motives depend upon action (Anderson, 2005) and as such an interpretive approach would seem more apt in understanding these. Symbolic interactionism located within the interpretivist paradigm is the philosophical position taken and is discussed in the next section.

2.2   Symbolic Interactionism: The Researcher's Philosophical Position

This study is influenced by the symbolic interactionist tradition to assist in providing the concrete instances of empiricism. The value for being influenced by this perspective is in the ability to gain an understanding of how meanings are produced and maintained and how these meanings are taken into account in entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. This provides a departure from previous studies on entrepreneurs' emotionality allowing for the development of entrepreneurship as an inter-subjective shared social interaction. The adoption of an interactionist position assists in developing Hochschild's interactionist analysis. This allows for the development of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management as embedded in emergence and the process of becoming where interpretation is the basis of social interaction as meaning only emerges through an individual's experience and interpretation of the culture and social practice of their social world.

The discussion sets out the key concepts and premises of symbolic interactionism, which according to Rose (1962a) is a necessary step due to the theory's diverse origins and hence the lack of total agreement on these. I have chosen to adopt this perspective because according to Blumer (1936) in order to understand the act – in this case the management of emotion and subsequent performance - the researcher needs to show how the social self is conceived and acted out, how emotions emerge through decisions made about feeling rules and indications and how tensions emerge from the performance acted out. Symbolic interactionsim can assist in explaining these. The main proponents of the symbolic interaction perspective that are relevant in putting forward this explanation are Mead and Blumer. Mead's (1863-1931) work emphasises the self and experience which he saw as being located within society (Luckmann, 1978). Herbert Blumer (1900-1986), a student of Mead, coined the term symbolic interaction in 1937. He based this on Mead's pragmatic consideration of the self and interpretation.

The foundation for this study of everyday life is that human consciousness actively constitutes the object of experience. Human consciousness - the self - is central in Mead's

(1913) work. The social interaction is symbolic interaction where individual's interpret each other's gestures and act on the basis of the meaning derived from the interpretation and thus the Meadian self is a multiple self that depends on the situation, and as such there are as many selves as there are situations (Burmeister, 2003). This is the argument that Blumer (1967, 1969, 1977) put forward when he presented the symbolic interactionist perspective located within the cultural and symbolic realms of meaning where individuals articulate their action. Blumer (1966) argues that an individual can decide whether to act towards an object or not, and if they decide to act towards the object they can act towards it as they wish, and when they wish. Such objects are social products produced and maintained by the interactional interpretive process and can be either physical such as one's home, a car, a book or social objects such as behaviour, social groupings, values, expectations, rules. Individuals experience a world of objects that do not have intrinsic meaning but rather the individual interprets and acts on the meaning they assign to the object. In an attempt to understand experience and meaning questions around self-conceptualisation, societal objects, activities and relationships were included in the research protocol.

The position taken here is that entrepreneurs are emotional beings and that their emotions are not viewed in terms of a biological response to stimuli or an appraisal-response model, but rather are based on an interactional model built around a social context. Blumer's (1936) paper on social attitudes and non-symbolic interaction brought emotion into consideration during interaction. It is necessary when studying emotion to engage in discussion of self-interaction subsequent to action. This argument is put forward based on Blumer's (1955) assertion that consideration of the process of self-interaction is imperative when studying the act. Blumer's (1955) view is that emotion does not control the act but rather that it assists in its development. This is aligned with my main research question, 'How is entrepreneur's performance accomplished through emotion management? For Mead (1912) this experience develops through role-taking where there is a dynamic process of interpretive activity amongst individuals during which the self is both reflective and reflexive. Thus, following Blumer (1980), 'reality' is a socially shared one with entrepreneurship viewed as an inter-subjectively shared symbolic interaction.

This perspective will enable me to capture the complexity and richness of entrepreneurs' performance and give it meaning. In aiming to understand entrepreneurs it is important to view them in relation to others where both entrepreneur and other are reflective individuals that interpret social life in a way that is meaningful to them. This view is based on the orientation towards a subjective view of everyday life where an understanding of the organisation of action and the associated practical reasoning can provide access to explanations of performance and emotion (Anderson, 2005). The implications for this thesis is that while entrepreneurs are creators and managers of meaning (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff, 1991) and enactors of their own vision (Gartner, Bird & Starr, 1992) they are involved in a process of role-taking where they perform according to the indications of other people. This is joint action, that is, a collective form of action where a number of lines of conduct are fitted together in defining objects and situations. This thesis will demonstrate how entrepreneurs conceive of their performance and emotion management during this inter-subjective activity. Access to an understanding of inter-subjective activity was drawn out through questions of support, role of others and social life that were included in the research protopcol.

This discussion has provided an understanding of the underpinning assumptions for my study. Blumer (1969) embedded these in three key premises of symbolic interactionism of which any study of this ilk must ground itself. According to Blumer (1956, 1969) the first premise of symbolic interactionism centres on 'meaning', extolling the view that human experience is based on the meaning individuals have for objects. The significance of this for the research protocol is that the questions seek to understand what entrepreneurs experience, what objects such as ideologies and rules, enter into this experience and what meanings they attach to these. In doing so coming to an understanding of how this defines self. The second premise is focused upon interaction and social relationships. Blumer (1969) notes that it is in interaction that individuals are always connected to others. In putting forward the third premise Blumer's (1969) position is that meaning is managed within an interpretive process. This is a *"vast interpretative process"* (Blumer, 1956, p. 686) where meaning is assigned and individuals are capable of making "*invisible experience visible*" (Inoue, 1980 p. 2). This process is an ongoing

development and modification where lines of action are continually being negotiated (Blumer, 1966). This emphasises process and emergence, which according to Rose (1962a p. ix), is viewed as *"in process"* at no time *"in equilibrium"*. In other words, this 'in process self' is always in the process of shifting and becoming, involved in a formative process that is never fixed and immutable (Blumer, 1956). Here there are dynamic situations with unstable outcomes. The implications of this are that interactionist researchers focus on studying streams of activity along with their adjustments and outcomes. Consequently for this study the ontological act of becoming where the entrepreneur is continually negotiating their legitimation is an emergent in process act of legitimation shaping entrepreneurs performance where the situation and the meaning attached to the situation is dynamic, always changing (Strauss, 1997). These two premises are reflected in the research protocol with questions on managing emotions and relationships to ascertain patterns of inter-subjective ongoing activity. Furthermore, the notion that experience is an ongoing process is reflected in the understanding that the research protocol though developed from the literature is not fixed but flexible to additions from empirical understanding.

Symbolic interaction is one perspective that enables the exploration into the how and why of performance and emotion management. Bolton's (2005) study is influenced by interactionism, though this is not presented as her main guiding intellectual tradition. Bolton (1999) draws on both constructionist and interactionist ideas with this eclectic approach based on the need to address what she sees as deterministic deficiencies in the constructionist tradition. Further studies such as Strauss et al.'s (1982a; 1982b) study of nurses, which Bolton (1999) also mentions, are examples of interactionist research that examines the 'how' of the interaction. They explore 'composure work': the work one does to maintain one's own and others' composure. This 'keeping up of spirits or courage' has parallels with Hochschild's (1983) work on emotional labour. Thus this study draws on the influence of symbolic interactionism and on those elements within it that allow an understanding of the nature of performance and emotion management and how these can be explained.

Hochschild's (1983) put forward a list of criteria that need to be fulfilled to admit a job as requiring emotional labour. From this list she proposed that jobs such as those undertaken by a waitress, or bill collector, call for emotional labour. These types of jobs have three characteristics in common, 1) interaction with the public, 2) eliciting an emotional response in another individual and 3) the employer has the opportunity to exercise some control over the emotional activity of the employee to monitor the practice of emotional labour. The three principles Hochschild (1983) has built her work around highlight the need to focus on the interaction and the conjoint negotiation of meaning. As such this study follows a sociological tradition that is known as symbolic interactionism that provides access to meaning.

2.3   Data Collection

A major aspect of field research are decisions around who to collect data from and in what way data should be collected from them (Jack & Anderson, 2002). This section provides insight into my working principles for data collection explaining why and how specific methods were used. As this study's research question requires data on self-indications and feelings, data from those, entrepreneurs in this case, who hold the knowledge of these indications and feelings of interest to this study were approached for interviews. The entrepreneurship sample is made up of individuals defined as those involved in venture creation and their development. To ensure sampling where knowledge-rich subjects are selected I drew up and applied a set of criteria. This principle for selection provided the logic for sample selection where participants were deemed relevant for this study (Burgess, 1995). This is compatible with an symbolic interactionist orientation with Tremblay (2000) also using a set of criteria to assist in selection of their key informants in gaining relevant data. A similar approach has also been used by Corbin and Strauss (1990) in their open sampling strategy.

This study's principles for entrepreneur selection are:
1) An entrepreneur who has been involved in opportunity recognition, idea generation and commercialisation of the venture. This venture should be independently owned rather

than an innovative corporate project. The entrepreneur could be a sole owner or part of an entrepreneurial team.

2) Located in the London and surrounding Home Counties of the UK. This locality has been selected for convenience.

This study employs insights from entrepreneurs generally from within the South East region of the UK. While all entrepreneurs satisfied the criteria set out, assigning the term entrepreneur to the individual was a decision that they made by accepting to be interviewed although the label was one for discussion during the interview. A table detailing the entrepreneur sample details is provided:

Entrepreneur Sample				
Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Age Range	Ethnicity	Sectors
Alejandro	Male	30-40	Black Caribbean	Leisure/Building - Maintenance and Service
Bob	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Product Engineering
Carolina	Female	40-50	Black African	Management Consulting
Dee	Female	40-50	White Caucasian	Advertising Marketing Services
Ernie	Male	40-50	Black African	Recruitment/Debt management
Flynn	Male	40-50	Black African	Computer - PC Management
Garvey	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Gaming
Hernandez	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Design
Irini	Female	20-30	White Caucasian	Media
Jayne	Female	30-40	White Caucasian	Design
Karl	Male	40-50	White Caucasian	Management Consulting/ Education
Larry	Male	50-60	White Caucasian	Management Consulting/Charity
Mac	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Solar Energy
Nadia	Female	20-30	Black Caribbean	Retail - Apparel/Media
Ola	Female	40-50	Black African	Advertising Marketing Services/Web Development
Quinn	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Education
Richard	Male	30-40	White Caucasian	Product Engineering
Taaj	Male	20-30	Asian	Retail - Wholesale Sales
Victor	Male	40-50	Black African	Technology Development
William	Male	20-30	Black Caribbean	Entertainment - Sales
Zoe	Female	40-50	White Caucasian	Education

Table 2.1 Details of Entrepreneur Sample

It is important to recognise that while the participants are homogeneous in as much as they are entrepreneurs, they are on the whole regarded as a heterogeneous group (Kets de Vries, 1985). The characteristics of the interviewees varied in age, background, ethnic composition and type of venture with each participant bringing their own experiences. As such the sample allowed for emergence and variability in experiences and shared interpretations to describe emotion management (Patton, 1987). The sample for this study consisted of 21 entrepreneurs engaged through personal contacts; the Internet and snowballing where some of the entrepreneurs interviewed offered up referrals of other entrepreneurs. Snowballing has been used by other interactionist studies (Korczynski & Ott, 2005; Taylor & Tyler, 2000). Because more referrals were made to men, approximately 67% of the interviewees were men. This sample size is regarded as reasonable considering that Creswell (1998) recommended up to 10 individuals as a reasonable sample size for describing the meaning of a phenomenon. Furthermore, Schatzman & Strauss (1973) note that even if a sample appears small it can offer up great insights. The sample size was flexible, without a set number from the onset, as what was important was the development of understanding entrepreneurs' experiences and their symbolic performances.

To undertake a valid and reliable study of entrepreneurs, their meaning making and emotion management performances, the data needs to be collected at the micro level; from the entrepreneurs themselves, through their accounts of lived experience, to enable me to gain an understanding of their norms, their understandings and their language. This stance follows from my epistemological position that knowledge can be known on the grounds of presupposed experience. To gain this insight, I sought theoretical saturation (Locke 2001). Material was gathered from 20 in-depth interviews, with an additional interview to ascertain saturation (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Both Glaser & Strauss (2002) and Strauss & Corbin (1998) note it is not possible to decide on the sample size before hand when undertaking inductive research. Rather, as Glaser & Strauss (2002, p. 61) highlight the researcher *"can only count up the groups at the end".*

Empirical studies examining entrepreneurship and emotion management highlight the range of methods that researchers have considered. These range from surveys through to the more prevalent methods such as in-depth interviewing and participant observation (Thoits, 1999). As I seek to understand the emotional symbolic performances of the entrepreneur drawing on their experience and meaning, the specific technique for data collection that I am using are interviews, aiming through these to gain access to entrepreneurs' own perspective and account of their emotion management and interactions with others. Interviews are a commonly used technique (Goel & Karri, 2006). It is possible to capture experiences, meanings, interpretation and verbal cues to emotion management in interviews.

Symbolic interactionism acknowledges that the world is understood through symbols and shared meaning and so that verbal reporting of the subject to represent, or recollect, those states is valid (Hopfl & Linstead, 1993). I attempted to gain the 'insider view' of what it is like to be a member of a particular group, trying to unravel the meaningful world of the entrepreneurship social group. The value of this approach lies in its inductive, theory discovery methodology that sensitized me to the subjects' experience and common sense understanding of everyday life where truth can be understood from the interpretation of this everyday life (Douglas, 1970). This provides reliable empirical evidence as it remains close to source (Douglas, 1970). The approach to interviews is consistent with my philosophical stance as the interview is a performance that is negotiated, localised and interactional where both interviewer and interviewee are necessarily and unavoidably active (Aaltio, 2002; Goel & Karri, 2006; Raz, 2005). Consequently, to understand entrepreneurs' social world, in-depth interviews were conducted.

As already noted, the focus of the study is not based on objectivist assumptions but rather on a subjective view of entrepreneurs' lived experience, the stages or phases of social activity that an individual goes through in a career, on the way to some end goal (Blumer, 1969). Consequently, a natural history dimension is needed to understand entrepreneurs' experiences and how this is taken into account in their interpretations and assignment of meaning, behaviour and interactions. To emphasise this point, a study conducted by

Holman, Chissick & Totterdell (2002) is considered. The results in this study were contrary to expectations, specifically, the relationship between deep acting and dissonance was found to be unrelated. The authors cite Grandey (2000) in highlighting that this points to the difficulty of studying emotional labour through survey-based methods that are viewed to be more aligned to a positivistic stance. As a consequence of this and for the benefit of this research I have adopted a symbolic interactionist stance with interviews. Interviews with the entrepreneur are a legitimate approach in order to understand these dimensions from their point of view. Kvale (1996, p. 1) highlights that interviews are appropriate with the statement that:

> The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, and unfold the meaning of peoples' experience.

In accordance with Goffman's (1961) view, entrepreneurship is singled out for study providing context. It is a situated role that is a bundle of activities visibly performed before a set of others. The part that an individual plays during this situation expresses something about them, providing people with a meaning-making tool to fashion a sense of that person and provide an understanding of their identity (Goffman, 1961). Consequently, understanding the performance and how emotion management facilitates the achievement of this is the key focus. To do this, loosely situated, in-depth interviews are a suitable data collection tool. The entrepreneurs encountered in the fieldwork were advised of my status and asked whether they would be willing to participate in the study. All entrepreneurs participated voluntarily with assurances that names would not be divulged. Pseudonyms have been used. Each interview typically lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. My aim in interviewing entrepreneurs was to obtain insight into their experiences (what they understood by emotion, how these emerged through interaction, how emotions were managed, their orientation to social processes, to others and the tensions evidenced in their performance).

Emotion is based on individuals' interpretation and cultural policy influencing how they refer to emotion (Hochschild, 1983). Some entrepreneurs had not consciously thought about their emotions or how they managed these. Hence to facilitate discussion around emotions I asked probing questions relating to specific situations that they brought up

during the interview along with associated feelings. Watson (1999) notes the difficulty in making visible the aspect of individuals' experience that is invisible. Katz (1990) indicates that emotion can be understood through talk. Becker (2009) notes that 'probes' can be used and with the entrepreneurs talking the language of emotion with feelings uncovered, I gained more understanding. It needs to be re-emphasised that emotion has meaning, which is assigned to it through interpretation. This is a premise of the symbolic interactionist perspective that I am adopting.

Prior to obtaining the specific data for this study, I had undertaken pilot interviews with 5 entrepreneurs. These were undertaken to ascertain the validity of my focus on emotional labour and entrepreneurs. The findings confirmed that entrepreneurs do engage their emotionality in the presentation of an appropriate display. The pilot data has not been included here as the interviews were rather brief. In addition these pilot interviews had been conducted during the early stages of my research with research questions needing further consideration. The importance of the pilot was for me immense, as it assisted in developing confidence in the subject area and also assisted in guiding the development of my interviewing skills.

I developed an interview guide in an organised attempt to cover the topic under investigation. Tremblay (2000) notes that an interview guide is a necessity. My interview guide is presented in the appendices. It includes the themes and main questions drawn on in gaining an understanding into entrepreneurship performances and emotion management. I used the guide to initiate, develop and maintain a collaborative conversation where shared meaning emerged enabling me to collect relevant data for addressing the research question (Raz, 2005). I understand interviews are joint developments (Raz, 2005) and so due to the interdependent negotiation of the interview, the questioning was not prescriptive. Rather it was flexible, attuned to what each of the entrepreneurs was saying. In essence entrepreneurs had a 'voice' freely expressing their own concerns (Anderson, 2000). I encouraged this and did not restrict interviews to 'pre-determined' concerns, particularly as any information given provides a valuable route toward the discovery of the interviewees' organisation of action (Martinez-Inigo et al.,

2007; Murdoch, 2010). I used open-ended questions, some of which were included in the guide and some which were not, to pursue the development of further understanding into the ideas emerging from the 'conversation' (Speier, 1970). This pattern of 'inter-subjective interviewing' enabled me to gain insight into the ongoing dynamics occurring in entrepreneurs work. During the interview the interpretive scheme entrepreneurs used in undertaking sense making was illuminated with me observing the behaviour the interviewee was talking about (Speier, 1970). This observation formed part of my research notes. One example of sense making during the interview was where, having talked about values, one entrepreneur said; *"That's interesting that honesty isn't high up my list anymore"*. Revelations and reflexivity during the interview enabled the entrepreneur to make sense of for-granted assumptions demonstrating the naturally occurring dimension of the interview process.

Entrepreneurs' motives for getting involved and sharing their experiences has implications for their performance and the information they share (Huber, 1973). I had not previously known all interviewees prior to the interview yet there appeared to be rapport and trust during the interaction. An entrepreneur previously unknown to me evidenced this trust when he said; *"...[if] it wasn't you I probably wouldn't tell you"*. This draws on the notion that the interview is a social production (Raz, 2005). With my trustworthy performance negotiated with the entrepreneurs, they acknowledged and discussed feelings associated with negative connotations. This provides, what Becker (2009) would say is the opportunity for gaining access to the 'insider view' where entrepreneurs' cynical and idealistic perspectives were shared with me. In addition, most of the entrepreneurs orient to me as a research expert. They were keen to ask if their experiences reflected what I had found through other interviews conducted and also asked whether there were areas that they could consider developing. This provided the participation framework for the interaction between entrepreneurs and me during the interview.

To conclude this section, interviews contextualised entrepreneurs' experiences, playing a useful role in providing insight into the way the entrepreneur views the world and performs emotion management. During and after completion of the interview, recordings

and notes were taken and transcribed enabling me to revisit the data, become immersed in it and hence familiar with it. This process of familiarisation and analytical empiricism is discussed next.

2.4   Data Analysis

This section discusses the procedures for undertaking the analysis of data. The data analysis draws on symbolic interactionism as a methodological tool that emphasises dialogue between subject and researcher. The raw experiential level has been analysed using an interpretive scheme steeped in Blumer's (1969) methodological perspective. In analysing the experiential data, emergent interpretations came 'alive' for me revealing how entrepreneurs organise their activities. In advancing the underlying principles of symbolic interactionist inquiry, context, interpretation and meaning were central in taking account of the interviewed entrepreneurs' experiences and interactional dynamics.

It is convenient to structure the data analysis discussion as a separate section of the methodology chapter however I do not view the data analysis as a distinct stage of the research process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The analytical examination started during the interview process where I was constantly reading through the data, making connections with it and adapting the content of the interviews as a result (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). For example, included under the theme 'self-conceptualisation' was a sub-theme on 'authenticity of values and emotion in how performing' and under the theme, 'image of society' a sub-theme 'values and struggles'. This was part of the 'feedback' (Anderson, 2000) meaning making process. In seeing and understanding further the participants' views and the meaning that entrepreneurship had for them in the written word, I listened to the taped recordings of the interviews. As I developed perceptiveness to the data through familiarisation, reflection and conceptualisation, the significant features became visible (Watson, 2009). This helped in putting things into perspective, again revisiting the data to come to further conclusions and enable analytical coherence to develop.

Analytical Difficulties

The pressures for going down the coding route were all encompassing. Many of the symbolic interactionist work I had read did not clearly detail their method of analysis. Charmaz (2004) supports this view, mentioning that Erving Goffman, noted as a symbolic interactionist, is one such example of a researcher who does not lay bare the threads of their analytical approach. As Charmaz (2004, p. 977) notes:

> Goffman shared his views of methods privately with his closest students and colleagues but provided little concrete advice for his readers.

Consequently, it has been difficult gaining access to the analysis undertaken. Charmaz (2004) shares her struggle in her key note address to other researchers at the Fifth International Advances in Qualitative Methods Conference, when she (Charmaz, 2004, p. 977) says:

> I wish to consider methodological premises, principles, and practices that I have struggled with for years and continue to struggle with now.

Those symbolic interactionists that do briefly mention their methods show the variety used within this tradition. Indeed some had used grounded research, ethnographic work that had been coded using statistical analysis (Wilkinson, 1974), coded using computer software programmes and a multitude of other reductionist approaches. Furthermore, other studies (Dohan & Sanchez-Jankowski, 1998) suggest that computer assisted analysis is a useful approach in symbolic interactionist studies even though they acknowledge that this approach to analysis aligns to a more positivist point of view - hard data, computation, and objectivity. This aggregate data analysis misses important symbolic dimensions as well as emphasising explanation at the expense of interpretation and definition. In addition, Dohan & Sanchez-Jankowski (1998) note that in using computer programmes the principles and procedures involved in analysis needs to be explicit and able to be codified. I have already mentioned that there is limited discussion around the explicit approach taken to analysis in the symbolic interactionist tradition. Dohan & Sanchez-Jankowski (1998) do acquiesce that symbolic interactionists principles are difficult to codify. My search for a 'best' way of analysing the data in keeping with the tradition chosen was frustrating and had a paralysing effect. How could this be?

Could the study be conducted differently? I was concerned about moving away from the predominant method of analysis for coding, to a more interactionist stance and how this approach was going to be articulated and defended. Indeed, as Mauthner & Doucet (2003) and Denzin & Lincoln (1998) contend, analysis is a subjective and creative interpretive process. So, in view of this, I focused on gaining insight into the data with a view to articulating a 'creative' method in developing lines of enquiry and showing the 'fit' with the concepts being investigated and the tradition whose stance I have adopted.

A reductionist approach presents codes or categories that break up the interview into indescribable chunks. The reference to indescribable here means that it is removed from the meaning the interviewee has for it. It is removed from the context and so this undermines emergence and variability that is central to symbolic interactionsism. It invariably indicates that all interviewees have the same meaning and interpretation for each of the coded words and the language used. There is evidence from the data that this is not the case. Hence, an important consideration underpinning the symbolic interactions perspective needs to be noted as this has consequences for the interview situation where meaning is derived from interaction. Interviewees did strive to reach a mutually shared definition of the situation with me and so there was an engagement in joint action (Foddy, 1995). This shared meaning developed through further explication of the terms being used by both of us. Consequently, this push towards the need for 'coding' was highly frustrating for me. In a symbolic interactonist perspective this is seen as a reductionist mode of analysis and so coding does not 'fit' with this. I was not taken with the idea of fragmenting data and sought an inductive method of analysis where significant features emerge from the data, as opposed to applying a set of criteria to the data.

'Inspection' and Interpretation: Toward the Emergence of 'Analytical Elements'

On reviewing various methods of analysis and being frustrated by the reductionist predominance, I finally came upon a more 'gestalt' view offered by Hollway & Jefferson (2000). This approach presents a process to making sense of the data. First, I developed research notes and interpretation based on the interview material. This was followed by attempts to make analytical connections that were developed resulting in this study's entrepreneurship account of performance and emotion. I undertook this process as an iterative cyclical approach rather than a linear process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In drawing on this approach to the interpretation of the interview material, I drew on Blumer's (1969) notion of 'inspection', that is, the scrutiny of empirical instances. According to Blumer (1969, 1973) understanding develops through an focused, ongoing, flexible and shifting examination of the empirical instances.

As part of the first 'step' research notes were produced. These included interview frames of reference, interview summary, and interview analytical notes. In developing my research notes, I first wrote up an interviewee frame of interpretation:

> She presents the impression of a confident lady. She appears straight talking, strong willed and direct. She conveys an intelligent persona. She is dressed in a dark suit presenting what she considers to be professional. Appropriate dress has been mentioned in the interview.

As part of my research notes I also compiled a summary of the interview, which included the name of the interviewee and other demographics, family and friends, entrepreneurship, emotion and critical events. An extract from one interview summary is presented:

> While they are a start-up venture and they treat their buyers 'differently' to other design companies, by being more personal in their approach, they are still expected to provide the goods and services in a fashion meted down by their buyers. This personal approach builds up a certain image. They are striving to have others meet them in the middle with shared responsibility for the business interactions and deals where others are not out to exploit them. The issue here is overcoming exploitation.
>
> To ensure a successful launch and sustainability they have what they see to be a survival strategy based on providing expectations and drawing on others' advice. While commercial awareness is expected, a certain presentation style is also customary for legitimacy.

They want respect. This seems central to their conceptualisation of doing entrepreneurship and performance. They feel it is a co-production.

Having developed an initial familiarisation of the interviewee and interview material, I developed further understanding with a more in-depth consideration where interpretation of the interview data through interview analytical notes started taking shape. An extract from one is included:

> Information sharing: In interacting with others selective information is provided. This sharing of information depends on who the other is (their role) in the interaction. The entrepreneur still feels that this is being authentic. While the good side of the company is shown there is still an attempt to address any issues. This presentation helps the entrepreneur get what they want from the other in the interaction. How does the other respond to this? Others in the interaction expect this. They expect a negotiation. Later on the entrepreneur mentions that honesty helps in building trust. The entrepreneur does not view withholding information as being dishonest. The entrepreneur notes that in business it is expected that not all the cards are put on the table and so still authentic because this act plays by the rules.

To ensure familiarity of the data, interpretation of each of the interviews brought forth an understanding of the meanings entrepreneurs hold for their experiences. I undertook a focused examination where the transcribed interview material and field notes were reviewed numerous times to understand empirical instances: interactions the entrepreneur is involved in, their actions and emotions, assisting in making sense of the data and providing conceptual coherence (Blumer, 1969). Some of further thoughts from this process were: Defines self in relation to others, seek authentication, emotion undercurrents there to be managed.

The second 'step' in the analytical process is the development of analytical connections. The document is titled, '*Making links*' where one link is initially developed with further links developing through growing interpretation of the data. An extract from one of these is included:

> The entrepreneur does not want to be viewed as similar to other design companies and designers and so will perform differently by challenging some business practices in order to be perceived by the other party as different. However, in some situations, for instance during negotiations and presentations they will engage in similar business practices that others engage in. Both practices are focused on gaining legitimation. Legitimacy in acting differently is based on providing a personal touch, something extra at odds with expectations of impersonality. While legitimacy in acting similar is based on providing expectations: *"we have to prove ourselves."* Both approaches assist in building the respect and legitimation they seek. During this process of legitimisation the interaction is charged and challenging with the

engagement of 'self' and investment of emotion. Yet the tension here is the need to get the other party to engage their self as well as not exploiting them. This would indicate respect and reciprocity. What is the antithesis of respectability and legitimation in the entrepreneurship world? Not gaining credibility would lead to failure and so the ultimate concern is legitimation with a fear of not being accepted by others driving this performance. This is a recurring 'analytical element'.

I went through this process for each of the interviews conducted. From all the documents developed: interview frame of reference, summary of the interview, interview analytical notes and making links, key 'analytical elements' emerged. These analytical elements are: Self interest, motivations, authenticity, others' expectations, others' perception, active management of emotion, reflection on emotion, relationships, image, role as entrepreneur, self preservation, inner voice, sense of worth, dis-identification, 'conformity the norm', 'breaking the mould', 'act of avoidance and dissimulation for acceptability'. These elements some in form of metaphors (Huberman & Miles, 1998) were examined to make sense, noting connections. During this process I kept revisiting the literature to understand how what the entrepreneurs were saying made sense for me. This meaning making exercise moving between the literature and the data helped in reinforcing the emerging analytical elements. According to Blumer (1954) this assessment of the analytical element is a critical part of the analytical process.

'Interpretive Synthesis' in Constructing 'a Portrait of the Whole'

Becker (1998) notes that interpretation is about developing and the presenting a 'portrait of the whole'. During the creative process of interpretation already described, I became aware of the main premise being put forward by the data, that is, entrepreneurs' legitimation. This came through from the interview readings and their interpretation with me drawing together the data that rendered this visible, what can be described as a form of interpretive syntheses. This was a continuous process of interaction (Blumer, 1977) where my further readings of the data, the literature and my developing writing illuminated new connections leading to new discoveries from the data. Such new connections were boundaries leading to 'bounded disclosure', and 'business coded emotion'. A further example of a connection leading to new discoveries was negotiation leading to 'negotiation of power dimensions' and 'fluid equilibrium'. Passion also

emerged through this process as a specific emotion to be used as a resource as well as managed.

Understanding the relationship between each of the accounts is part of the 'making links' process. This homogenising exercise led me to see the underlying general premise from the entrepreneurs' experiences. During this exercise what could be seen as 'negative evidence' became illuminated, that is, evidence of difference between accounts. I drew this out as a separate phenomenon. Managing difference in this way is a valid approach (Becker, 1998). This negative evidence illuminates the differences in the ways entrepreneurs perform. For example this gave rise to the discussion on lapses in performance and emotion management.

The emergent analytical elements developed further as my writing took shape, with depth to the concepts developing just like artists developing their sketches, the portrait of the whole was getting dressed in conceptual exposition. This is akin to Wilson's (1970) view that meaning is illuminated after analysis has begun to take shape.

My approach to data analysis has been detailed, however as Rose & Webb (1998, p. 561) have concluded:

> ...some of this process [data analysis] took place at a creative level that I am not able to translate entirely in terms of concrete language simply because it takes place at a level that is too abstract to be represented concretely.

Blumer (1969) emphasises that the researcher respect the nature of the empirical world and organises a methodological stance to reflect this respect. I have attempted to take this into consideration with the approach I have developed.

2.5   Methodological Concerns

My overall intent is to provide understanding of the emotion management performed by entrepreneurs. There are some obstacles to the development of research into understanding the social practices of emotion management in this context. The first overarching methodological concern is that emotion management can only be revealed in some way from the interview and the sharing of experiences by the participant, similar to Becker & Geer's (1970) thoughts on gaining access to student's feeling of change. The retrospective account of past emotion depends on memory and the account that the individual wishes to convey (Lazarus, 1999). This dependence on self-reporting can be limiting, however, Becker and Geer (1957) note that there are good reasons of research design for undertaking interviews. According to Callahan, (2000) the key component of Hochschild's (1983) theory focuses on the conscious management of the experience or expression of emotion. This focus on the conscious management of expression is more clearly understood in an interview, which could draw out this management of emotion more than observation. While there are a range of techniques available for the study of entrepreneurs and emotion management, such as participant observation, gathering primary data on entrepreneurs in this manner can be difficult. Access to the entrepreneurship arena for this method of data collection proved to be difficult for me due to entrepreneurs' time and space constraints and sensitivities. While Becker & Geer (1957) do note that participant observation provides more comprehensive insight than any other method, they do suggest that interviewing can take on some of the characteristics of participant observation. They suggest that the researcher needs to understand the common meanings around which the group being interviewed organises action (Becker & Geer, 1957). Becker & Geer (1957, p. 29) go onto say that:

> Members of churches speak differently from members of informal tavern groups; more importantly, members of any particular church or tavern group have cultures, and languages in which they are expressed, which differ somewhat from those of other groups of the same general type. So, although we speak one language and share in many ways in one culture, we cannot assume that we understand precisely what another person, speaking as a member of such a group, means by any particular word.

This issue of learning the language that Becker & Geer (1957) mention is one that I have addressed. I have gained an understanding of entrepreneurship language and its use in

context through interactions with entrepreneurs over the period of several years in the role of management academic. From Becker & Geer's (1957) point of view this knowledge helps to address the problems they perceive with the interview process. A further characteristic of participant observation that could be considered is the view that interviewees are looking at things from their own perspective, which may be a distorted view of the situation. Becker & Geer's (1957) argument is that this situation would be difficult to fathom in interviews whereas it could be identified more readily during participant observation. My study is focused on gaining the entrepreneurs' perspective, their interpretation and development of meaning for their performance and emotion management in the interactions they are involved in. Hence, the concern while having some justification is one that has limited relevance here. This is particularly so as according to Raz (2005) questions of truth or falsification are not necessary as what is provided is a reflection of the entrepreneur during the interview situation.

Secondly, according to Elias (1956) the need for detachment in research is an institutionalised normative conceptualisation. I have attempted to address the problem of objectivity by detailing research methods with consideration of the effect they have on the research study (Douglas, 1970). Within the interactionist position, it is important to consider how the research process and my status as management academic affects what entrepreneurs will convey. Within this paradigm, I can interact fully with those being researched. Consequently, the researcher, the research process and its purpose could affect what entrepreneurs relate in interviews. For instance my role as management academic could shape how entrepreneurs presented themselves, with them using managerial and theoretical language rather than a relatively unmediated language of personal experience. However, because the issues to be discussed are of a personal and emotive nature they do not rely on managerial or academic discourses.

The aim is to make it possible for partial reproducibility where the research procedures can be replicated for similar results (Douglas, 1970). According to Corbin & Strauss (1990) there are key questions that must be asked in any enquiry. These are around validity, generalisability and reliability. What is important in internal validity is the need

to addresses the credibility or truth-value of a study's findings. In the symbolic interactionist position this would focus on whether the subject of the enquiry would find the researcher's analysis accurate or credible. The focus on validity is concerned with how far findings are generalisable. However the study seeks conceptual and analytical rather than statistical generalisability. The symbolic interactionist stance translates a rationalist statistical sampling generalisation into an alternative analytical generalisation that asks whether the conceptual findings are transferable to other situations. Reliability concerns itself with the framework of the study and consequently its replication. It also concerns itself with whether the study objectively develops accurate measures of the concepts it describes. Interactionists are not concerned with accurate measures but rather confirmability of the data is of more interest.

2.6   Conclusions

Specificity in methodology is important. Hence, the purpose of this chapter to present my methodological persuasion, detailing the research philosophy and research approaches adopted in addressing the research question. This chapter presents insight into the research methodology providing the methodological foundation for the study. The research builds on a lineage of qualitative approaches to studying emotional labour. The interactionist approach assists in making sense of the meaning entrepreneurs place on their actions and the interaction they find themselves situated in. This provides richness and delves into the complexities of the study. The sample, data collection method and analytical approach have also been discussed. This research allows researchers to pose new set of questions about the experiences of entrepreneurs.

Chapter Three

Entrepreneurship as Performance

3.0   Introduction

This chapter introduces the entrepreneurship phenomenon with the entrepreneur and their performance taking centre stage. It begins with these terms being defined in the first section of the chapter. There are various perspectives in the entrepreneurship literature with a large body of this literature focusing on the psychological and functionalist perspectives framing much of the earlier discussion on entrepreneurship. The psychological perspective plays a part in understanding entrepreneurs' motivations while the functionalist perspective is interested in the utility of entrepreneurship performance. The sociological perspective concentrates on meanings and interpretations in interaction. This study draws heavily on the sociological frame to assist in underpinning the investigation into what entrepreneurs do to gain support and legitimation during their interactions. Recent years have witnessed a growing change in how entrepreneurs are perceived with rising value placed on individuals perceived to be entrepreneurs (Gibb, 2002). The entrepreneurship literature presents much insight into what is needed to be entrepreneurial. However, as already noted, there is a limited view of the sociology of emotion as a feature of entrepreneurs' performance. The conversation in this chapter visits how the entrepreneur is labeled, what is expected of them, what they feel and what they do. First of all, an understanding of the entrepreneur is necessary as grounding for subsequent discussions.

3.1   Who are Entrepreneurs and What Do They Do?

The term entrepreneur was developed from the French term *entreprendre,* which means 'to do something'(Long, 1983; Swedberg, 2000). This 'doing' is the focus of the study, where 'doing' is performance. In the middle ages, the term entrepreneur was translated as between-taker or go-between (Hisrich, 1990, p.209). By the 15th century this developed

into the corresponding noun – entrepreneur, with Richard Cantillon, a French economist, the first to formally use this term. He described the entrepreneur as an arbitrageur, an individual buying at a certain price and willing to sell at an uncertain price (Blaug, 1986). Cantillon defined the entrepreneur as one that was self-employed. Cantillon's mention of uncertainty could be viewed as an attempt to highlight the difference between being self-employed and employed; the uncertainty surrounding self-employment (Long, 1983). A further distinction between the entrepreneur and those that are employed, is also emphasised by Aron (1950) who drew on Marx's reference to economic categories for his categorisation of the worker. The categories were first, those that work for entrepreneurs and referred to as the employee and second, those that own the means of production referred to as the entrepreneur. This distinction separates the entrepreneur from the collective (Zaleznik, 1977). In understanding the entrepreneur further and what they do, the different perspectives of entrepreneurship are laid out. The dominant perspectives in the entrepreneurship literature are the Functional Resource perspective, the Psychological Perspective and the Behavioural Perspective.

1) The Functional resource perspective of entrepreneurship focusing on the effects, utility and issues of opportunity and resources on the economic system, as well as the role the entrepreneur plays in this process (Fayolle, 2003; Katz, 2003). This Neo-classical economic perspective emerged around the turn of the nineteenth century (Swedberg, 2000) with this entrepreneurial school rooted in economics (Fayolle, 2003; Katz, 2003; Morris, Lewis & Sexton, 1994). The economists of this persuasion tend to focus on the context of systemic optimisation and the economic outcome from this based on the existing means-ends nexus dealing with optimisation problems within given constraints (Baumol, 1993; West III, 2003). In other words, the functionalist approach to examining entrepreneurship concentrates on the economic function of entrepreneurs and the means-ends nexus (Spicer & Jones, 2006) with many economists presenting entrepreneurship definitions with the value added towards economic development. This entrepreneurship focus evolved mainly from the works of Schumpeter (1934) the founding father of entrepreneurship (Barringer & Bluedorn, 1999). Schumpeter's (1934) prime objective was to focus on the socio-economic function of carrying out new combinations (Long,

1983). He regarded entrepreneurship as the catalyst for innovation and developed the phrase 'creative destruction'. Schumpeter (1934) described this as the process of causing disequilibrium by destroying existing products or services with this leading to 'new combinations'. Consequently, the Schumpeterian entrepreneur changes the means-ends framework put forward by the neo-classical perspective, by creatively innovating. Both the European and American perspectives place emphasis on creativity and action. Researchers emphasise the opportunistic elements of entrepreneurship, viewing entrepreneurship as the act of innovation embodying innovation activities (Schumpeter, 1934; Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990; Zahra et al., 2001) and as a type of innovation (Hornaday, 1992) including the pursuit and capture of business opportunities (Muzyka, 2000). Furthermore, central to any conceptualisation of entrepreneurship is the view that there is diversity in entrepreneurship situations and that entrepreneurship is a process resulting in desired outcomes (Bygrave, 1993).

In attempting to analyse the place of entrepreneurship in the work role of economic productivity most approaches have adopted some variation of an activity model. Many models, such as Bhave (1994) have presented a core of activities most common to the entrepreneurship process such as opportunity recognition, business concept development and the actual creation of the organisation. Bhave (1994) presents a process model of entrepreneurial venture creation which presents entrepreneurship as a reiterative process and focuses on reassessing the business concept. This model posits the need for re-evaluation highlighting the need to constantly reinvent identity. The concern with this model is the focus on opportunity recognition that provides a narrow view of the new venture creation process. Activity-based models omit any reference to emotion dimensions that are associated with social interaction and self-conceptualisation. Furthermore, they do not comprehensively investigate the influencing of significant others during the entrepreneurship process. In conclusion, the term entrepreneurship in economic theory is used almost exclusively to refer to the value adding actions of the entrepreneur through innovative or market equilibrating activities that are performed by individuals or firms in conditions of uncertainty. Economists developed this view

recognising the importance of bringing together all the resources required for production, including capital, which led them to focus on the entrepreneurial role (Marshall, 1920).

Assumptions centre on institutional determinism, and the focus on business start-ups. Entrepreneurship is viewed as pivotal for job creation and growth, competitiveness, unlocking personal potential and for societal interests (Baumol, 1968; Commission, 2003) as well as organisational growth, performance and increased innovation (Chell, 2000). Recently, there has been a global drive to encourage the development of an enterprise culture in the economy with the notion that entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur is a driving force for improvement and economic growth within society (Busenitz et al., 2003; Chell, 2000). There is a political imperative which assumes that entrepreneurship is inherently good having advantages for the economy (Gibb, 2002). A major part of this imperative is the government's focus on developing entrepreneurship activity. This has re-branded entrepreneurship by presenting it as a panacea for economical growth and regeneration, providing a frame and vocabulary by which government policy, entrepreneurs and the public apply an entrepreneurship perspective. Consequently, entrepreneurship literature is tied up in the pervading ideological acceptance of economic rationalism in policy, governments, institutions and organisations. Rationality is defined as the calculated use of resources for goal achievement in the most efficient and cost effective way. Classically, literature and research on entrepreneurship relies, predominately, on this universal model of economic rationality (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004). This focus on rationality is in evidence in the cultural symbols required for legitmiation that are embedded in the entrepreneurship discourse and literature such as entrepreneurial characteristics (Freid & Hisrich, 1994; Hustedde & Pulver, 1992), business plan and business characteristics (Burmeister, 2003; MacMillan, 1985; Mason & Stark, 2004; Timmons & Gumpert, 1982), characteristics of the industry (Sandberg, Schweiger & Hofer, 1988), and financial considerations (Schilit, 1987; Zider, 1998). These cultural symbols are grounded in the rationality tradition and have implications for the way that entrepreneurs present themselves and their business, generally responding in a rational manner (Worsley, 1970). Thus, the global drive to assist in the emergence and development of new and small firms through the facilitation of entrepreneurial learning

and development of the required competencies. The proliferation of schemes and training provides evidence of this. This rationality perspective indicates one predominant way of examining entrepreneurship.

2) Entrepreneurship from a Psychological Perspective has been a mainstay of entrepreneurship theorising since its foundation at the beginning of the 1950's. This perspective is steeped in the psychological philosophy that examines the aspects and characteristics of entrepreneurship from a psychological perspective concentrating on the personality traits and interests of an individual entrepreneur. It can be argued that the functional perspective continued through this emphasis on the personality of an entrepreneur focusing on what specific characteristics assist in rent making possibilities. The key personality theory focuses on this identification of specific traits to address the question of who, and why, which has as its base hypothesis that the entrepreneur is different from the non-entrepreneur (Fayolle, 2003). Following McClelland (1961) and others, researchers are still attempting to confirm Schumpeter's (1934) view that entrepreneurs are different from non-entrepreneurs (Begley & Boyd, 1987; Chell, Haworth & Brearley, 1991; Chen, Greene & Crick, 1998; Gatewood, Shaver & Gartner, 1995; Ginsberg & Buchholtz, 1989; Mintzberg & Waters, 1982). In isolating the entrepreneurial personality the aim is to acertain why some individuals are more successful as entrepreneurs than others. The most frequently cited personality traits of an entrepreneur tend to focus on need for achievement, proactive personality, risk propensity, autonomy. McClelland (1961) claims that an individual with a high 'need for achievement' (nAch) has a strong desire to achieve and be successful (Brockhaus & Horwitz, 1986). However, the concern here is that the situational environment was not taken into consideration in McClelland's study (Swedberg, 2000). Furthermore, it has been argued that the research on traits is not conclusive (Chell, 1985). A response to this critisism was the adoption of the social cognitive approach that viewed cognition as having an impact on behaviour. Such approaches focus on encoding strategies, expectancies, beliefs, affect, values, and skills. According to Rotter (1966) an individual perceives that the outcome of an event is within his personal control (internal control) or beyond his personal control (external control). Entrepreneurs have been identified as

having internal control expectations which is associated with learning, and so the motivation to actively strive for continuous improvement (Littunen, 2000). Miller (1983) posited that internal locus of control increases innovative behaviour. Entrialgo, Fernandez & Vazquez (2000) qualified this statement, claiming that this was as a result of the situation. In addition, risk-taking propensity has been supported by a number of studies (Brockhaus & Horwitz, 1986; McClelland, 1961). However, risk taking does not appear to be a strong distinguishing feature (Brockhaus, 1980). This finding was supported by Masters and Meier (1988). A further cognitive construct relevant to the entrepreneur is self-efficacy which is underpinned by positive beliefs (Krueger Jr, Reilly & Carsrud, 2000). Entrepreneurs are characterised by a high self-efficacy (Ensley, Carland & Carland, 2000; Hatch & Zweig, 2000). Unlike trait models of entrepreneurship, contingency models of entrepreneurship are bound with the context: environment and prevailing situation. In other words, models based on contingency thinking posit that entrepreneurial characteristics should be framed by the environment and the existing situation (Littunen, 2000).

In conclusion, the trait and socio-cognitive literature emphasises the general lack of consensus on what constitutes an entrepreneur. Focusing on the characteristics of an entrepreneur has proven to be a source of controversy in this stream of research (Morris et al. 1994) casting doubt over whether there is an influencing affect of characteristics on entrepreneurship. According to Amit, Glosten & Muller (1993) no essential set of entrepreneurial characteristics has been identified. Busenitz & Barney (1997) supplement this agrument by stating that no individual-level variables have been found to generate significant differences between entrepreneurs and managers in large companies. Continuing in this vein, Herron & Robinson (1993) attest that there is no correlation between characteristics of an entrepreneur and performance. Yet, even though some scholars maintain that attempting to profile the typical entrepreneur is futile (Low & MacMillan, 1988), researchers are still focusing on this area to clarify this dimension of entrepreneurship (Ensley, Carland & Carland, 2000; Hatch & Zweig, 2000), using the characteristics as the basis of their research (Littunen, 2000). According to Gartner (1990) this conflict does not assist in understanding the individual who is regarded as

epitomising entrepreneurship (Gartner, 1990). Yet while the characteristics may be under question, researchers do attest to these playing an important role in shaping entrepreneurial behaviour (Chell, Haworth & Brearley, 1991). This leads the discussion onto the behaviourial perspective of the entrepreneur.

3) Entrepreneurship from a Behavioural Perspective

This perspective is a response to the view that it is actually what the entrepreneur does that is important rather than what traits they have (Jansen & van Wees, 1994). This behavioural view is interested in entrepreneurial action. In other words, defining entrepreneurship as the sum of activities that the entrepreneur undertakes. Wickham (1998) accentuates this, claiming that what really makes an entrepreneur is the ability to act and the changes they create. While Schumpeter's (1934) work was initially steeped in the functional perspective he did consider the behaviours required of an entrepreneur to change the means-end. Schumpeter's (1934) typology identifies five main types of entrepreneurial behaviour: 1. the introduction of a new product; 2. the introduction of a new production process; 3. the opening of a new market; 4. obtaining a new source of supply of raw material; and 5. the creation of a new organisation (Goss, 2005b; Schumpeter, 1934; Swedberg, 2000). Carland et al. (1984) are in alignment with Schumpeter's (1934) view that entrepreneurs exhibit innovative behaviours. Much of the research on the entrepreneurship process tends to agree that there are some key processes to the creation of value such as those that Schumpeter (1934) noted. Gartner (1985) is one such scholar who highlights that the general one-dimensional view of the new venture creation phenomenon that focuses on entrepreneurial characteristics does not hold up under scrutiny and to address this he developed a model of the new venture creation process. In building his theory of the entrepreneurship process Gartner (1985) developed a framework that has four dimensions; the individual, organisation, process and environment. This framework shows the multidimensional nature of new venture creation showing that each stage of the entrepreneurship process engenders specific entrepreneurial behaviours. Consequently, as Gartner (1985) notes, authors that focus on the entrepreneurship process need to concentrate on what it is that entrepreneurs do as

well as the associated behaviours. Here he draws on six common behaviours to inform his model: locating the business opportunity, accumulating resources, marketing, producing the product, building the organisation, responding to environmental factors such as government and society. This focus on behaviour has implications for any study of entrepreneurship where emphasis is on what an entrepreneur does in accumulating resources (Leibenstein, 1968; Schumpeter, 1934). Throughout the discussion of the behavioural perspective there has been reference made to activity. Activities are regarded as performances with these performances enacted during interaction (Messinger, Sampson & Towne, 1962). Performance is a central feature and hence the need to understand entrepreneurship behaviour from an interactionist standpoint.

This section has reviewed how theorists have defined the term entrepreneur, what they do and society's expectations of them. This study adopts the view that what the entrepreneur does is a process enacted in everyday practices and so embedded in emergence and the process of becoming (Anderson, 2005; Steyaert, 1998) which is central to the symbolic interactionist premise. Understanding these underlying patterns of everyday life will yield insights into entrepreneurs' interactions and performances.

3.2   Performance and Role-Taking

Performance is a processual act of 'doing', 'accomplishing', 'acting' (Turner, 1982). The terms also highlight the active nature of the performance. As Kirby (2003) notes it is 'done' by the individual. Goffman (1959a, p. 26) defines performance as:

> …all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants.

Entrepreneurs are conceived of as performers (Anderson, 2005) acting out an impression to accomplish the legitimation of self. Literature on the individual as performer draws on theatre-as-metaphor to examine what happens in social interaction (Schreyogg & Hopfl, 2004). Turner (1982) draws on stage, act and drama in illuminating performance, just as many other theorists that consider theatre in their conceptualisation of social life (Brissett & Edgley, 2007; Mangham & Overington, 2007). Ervin Goffman's (1959a) work in this

67

area provides an in-depth examination of how individuals control the impression they give off during face to face interactions explained through techniques commonly associated with theatre. This study is influenced by Goffman's work as much of the discussions in this arena have been inspired by his work (Brissett & Edgley, 2007).

Goffman's Theory of Performance

In explicating social presentation, Goffman's (1959a) notion of performance, sometimes referred to as impression management (Williams, 1986) and the dramaturgical approach (Anderson, 2005; Chriss, 1999), will be drawn on to sensitise the researcher to an understanding of entrepreneurs' performance.

Goffman's (1959a) perspective can trace its origins from symbolic interactionism (Hare & Blumberg, 1988). Goffman's (1959a) work on the presentation of self is concerned with face-to-face interaction. In investigating this Goffman (1959a) takes Mead's (1925) perspective on the role of the other, which includes when an individual is articulating emotion (Watson, 2010). Along with this Goffman (1959a) adds that individuals also try to control how the other perceives them (Watson, 2010) achieving meaning in their life (Brissett & Edgley, 2007). This impression management forms Goffman's (1959a) thesis. Central to Goffman's (1959a) analysis of an individual's impression management is social interaction. Goffman's emphasis is on this interactional process rather than on cognition. Social interaction is a performance (Hare & Blumberg, 1988) and according to Goffman (1959a) the performance has to be appropriate for the interaction.

Goffman's (1959a) approach to investigating how individuals perform during interaction is founded upon the metaphor of social life as the stage work that individuals draw on in expressing self. In explaining this Wilkinson (1974, p. 144) notes that:

> Dramaturgical analysis requires explication of: activities and elements which affect or contribute to the actions of individual performers; characteristics, modes of action, and influences experienced and exerted by audiences; dimensions emanating from symbiotic relationship of performer and audiences; and finally, aspects of the all pervading influence exerted by the nutrient social matrix in which these elements are immersed.

When Goffman (1959a) refers to an individual taking on a character, he is suggesting that an individual takes on a role. Roach (1985, p. 15) points out that 'building a character' and 'creating a role' are central to performance. This is also Burke's (2003) position who notes that this process draws on social processes. Goffman (1959a) follows through with the notion that an individual takes on a role with the view that an individual can act out multiple characters. Hochschild (1983) differs in this respect with her actor building a fixed and stable character. In explicating role, Goffman (1959a) draws on an interactionist perspective to explain role taking. Those involved in interaction negotiate to develop a sense of the other. As Goffman (1959a p.88) put it, being 'in the know'. According to Turner (2007) this is a continuous negotiation.

Interaction develops through rules and expectations (Goffman, 1959a). It is these interactional dynamics that pattern the performance (Goffman, 1961b, 1967b; Hare & Blumberg, 1988). In following rules an individual performs in a way so that others impute a desired perspective of the individual an in turn act accordingly (Goffman, 1959a, 1967b). As such the rules of interaction provide a framework for defining self where performance confirms this self for both the individual and the other (Goffman, 1967b). It can be argued that in confirming 'self-in-role' the individual is negotiating their legitimation. In the interactionist tradition rules are used as a frame for the interaction where a disregard or re-framing of the rules can occur and new meanings and symbols emerge through performance (Brissett & Edgley, 2007; Turner, 1982). Goffman (1959a, p. 116) notes that individuals act to *"buffer themselves from the deterministic demands that surround them"*. Hochschild's (1983) individual differs in this regard, as she depicts them as rule-bound by a 'fixed' set of social conventions.

Goffman (1967b) notes that an individual's interpretive scheme is engaged in the impression being projected. In putting forward an impression the individual expresses and those involved in the interaction are impressed by them (1959a). This impression - expression, inferences, 'giving off' - is what Blumer (1969) refers to as indications. Goffman (1959a) gives an example of indications in his description of Preedy's bodily action at the beach. There is mutual control with the individual engaging in impressions

made to influence the definition of the situation. In doing this, the individual is acting according to a 'plan' (Goffman, 1959a; Hare & Blumberg, 1988). Goffman (1959a) notes that individuals can have various motives for engaging in interaction.

Consequently, performance can be highly stylised or of a more spontaneous nature (Hare & Blumberg, 1988). Stylised in the sense that it can be calculating where the individual is aware of their actions in this regard, as well as calculating where the individual is unaware unconsciously acting out an impression (Goffman, 1959a). Performance is *"a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery, false revelation, and rediscovery"* (Goffman, 1959a, p. 20). As such performance can be 'make-believe' (Goffman, 1959a, p. 9) what could be described as acting 'as if'. Actions are sometimes acted out unconsciously (Goffman, 1959a). Goffman (1959a) views language as an impression an individual 'gives' as opposed to 'gives off' as language has attached meaning whereas symbolic representations such as dress, aura and facial display do not. Language is easy to control and manipulate with Goffman (1959a) suggesting that acts that are 'given off' are the ungovernable elements of the performance. The individual attempts to control this through impression. According to Hochschild (1979, p. 555) this attempt at impression management is what she refers to as 'consciously designed appearances'. In acting these 'appearances out interactional capital is employed, what Goffman (1961b, p. 28) refers to as 'realized resources'. These resources are the line an individual takes. It is their face and their social value.

Goffman's (1959a) work highlights that individuals affect and are affected by social processes in significant ways. Goffman (1959a) notes the routines individuals use in their performance of everyday reality. In adopting the interactionist perspective, the entrepreneur's self is viewed as emerging through social presentation with others (Brissett & Edgley, 2007). During this interactional performance those involved in the interaction are engaged in a conjoint production where selves emerge (Brissett & Edgley, 2007) and where there is shared language, expression, and expectations (Roach, 1985).

Role Taking

The discussion draws on the ideas of George Herbert Mead (1912, 1925), Herbert Blumer (1969) and Erving Goffman (1959a) to understanding the meaning entrepreneurs attach to the entrepreneur role, their identification with it, and equally, how others view them in this role.

In understanding entrepreneurs' performance, Mead's (1925) concept of role-taking is drawn on. Mead (1925) posits that self develops through social interaction and by internalising societal norms. Through internalisation an individual is able to reflect on the social world. This relationship between the self and performance is understood through role-taking where an individual sees themselves from the other's point of view (Mead, 1912). In other words, a role is the characteristic and act one takes on to play a part in relation to others (Worsley, 1970). As such a role exists only in relation to other's roles. According to Mead (1912), this reflexive ability where the individual reflects and act towards or upon itself, that is, the individual views themselves as objects of their own thought, rather than merely being reactive and responding, is undertaken through communication and gesture, of which language and symbols are a part and key elements of this experience. During the process of interaction, others engaged in the interaction respond to communication and gestures, which instigate responses in and from them. In this social process the self is established through self-interaction as well as interaction with others (Blumer, 1969). In undertaking self-interaction the individual turns their attention to an object to be interpreted (Inoue, 1980). This act, Blumer (1967) termed indication. In constructing an act the individual takes into account the things they indicate to their self (Blumer, 1967). These indications could be focused on oneself, such as the individual's wants, feelings, goals, or could be focused on others such as their actions, expectations and demands, the rules of the group. Indications could also be focused on physical objects such as the business plan or the office. The individual deals with these objects as symbols and uses their understanding of these to handle them and thus organise their conduct (Blumer, 1967). Before action an individual seeks an answer to the question, 'Who am I?' 'Where do I belong?' In response to these questions Hochschild (1983)

suggests that an individual is seeking a solid, predictable core of self. The solid, predictable self is not possible, as it is argued that the self is relative (Brissett & Edgley, 2007). In seeking social anchorage the individual draws on the situation which produces not one stable self but rather multiple selves (Goffman, 1967b). In other words, the self is changeable and fluid dependent on the situation (Brissett & Edgley, 2007) This process where the entrepreneur seeks to exploit an opportunity is synonymous with being an entrepreneur, where their performance is focused on their legitimation. Strauss (1997) posits that when an individual performs according to the norms and rules of a group, they are validated by both members of the group and by those outside of the group. In attempting to gain access to a group, the individual's attribute is regarded (Goffman, 1961b). To gain admission to a group may require a certain standard of conduct and performance with certain experiences and feelings associated with this (Strauss, 1997). In some cases it is the profile of the entrepreneur themselves that raises the question of credibility in the minds of stakeholders. Investors will consider whether they have the appropriate skills to start-up and make a success of their business (Timmons & Spinelli, 2004), customers will ascertain viability for making decisions on purchasing (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). The entrepreneur needs to allow for information sharing enabling a process of co-operation and trust (Weber & Gobel, 2010). This is an open awareness context where each of the interactants are aware of the situation and identity of the other (Glaser & Strauss, 1964, 1965). Consequently, it is crucial for the entrepreneur to present an accepted professional performance (Shaw, O'Loughlin & McFadzean, 2005; Tidd, Bessant & Pavitt, 2001). Entrepreneurs are constantly immersed in a social milieu that has implications for how they interpret what they and others indicate to frame, deliberate and act out their performances.

Entrepreneurship as a Symbolic Performance

Entrepreneurship is seen as a symbolic performance where entrepreneurs can be defined by the dramaturgical features of their performance (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff, 1991; Hester & Francis, 1994). Entrepreneurship is interpreted as a performance where relationships and legitimation are central features (Anderson, 2005). According to Zahra (2005) entrepreneurs' performance can have a major impact on venture success. Influencing others for gain is the essence of the performance (Baron & Markman, 2000).

Performance is about the development of self and the expression of this, in this case, during entrepreneurship interactions. It is a continuous and dynamic process over the moral career of the entrepreneur (Hester & Francis, 1994). Goffman (1959b) refers to this moral career as a course through an individual's life where legitimate performances are ideally acted out. Where the negotiation is successful, the interactants have come to a conjoint understanding and so the interaction proceeds without any diversions. According to Goffman (1959a), to facilitate this authentic performance an individual needs to behave as the situation calls for during an interaction. This he called 'interaction tonus' (Goffman, 1963a p.25). As such an entrepreneur needs to behave as an entrepreneur is expected to behave within a business interaction (Hester & Francis, 1994). Investors and other significant stakeholders develop an interest based on this interaction tonus, with Baron & Markman (2000) making reference to how entrepreneurs stage self as central to engaging others. Drawing on Goffman's (1959a) offstage and onstage dramaturgical terms, entrepreneurs see themselves as onstage where they need to present a display that gains one access and legitimises them. Furthermore, this performance is undertaken through role taking. In doing this, the entrepreneur performs based on their interpretation of the information they obtain from their interaction (Baron & Markman, 2000). The impression they put forward needs to be authenticated by the audience and so the entrepreneur negotiates their performance (Hester & Francis, 1994) similar to other individual's collaborative acts (Staske, 1996). Consequently, considerable importance has been accorded to performance as a resource in entrepreneurs' success (Bird & Jelinek, 1988).

3.3   The Signification of Legitimation

According to Strauss (1997), meeting a challenge is crucial for one's self-conception. Schumpeter (1934) viewed the entrepreneur's motive to be: 1) the dream and desire, 2) the will to succeed, and 3) the challenge. He perceived the pecuniary result of venture creation and development to be a secondary motive. Precipitating factors such as dissatisfaction, opportunity and encouragement (Powell & Bimmerle, 1980) have a part to play in an individual embarking on an entrepreneurship 'career' and negotiating one's legitimacy. In a sense, the entrepreneur's intention to actively exploit opportunities shapes their behaviour, actions and decision-making (Chell, 2000). This view is situated in the psychological perspective where motive is understood as a need disposition influencing individual action (Maslow, 1954). This has been the dominant view. However, from the sociological perspective, motivation is not viewed as solely internal to the individual but rather as outside of the individual where an assessment of experience and justifications is situational and so in the social act that takes place (Burger, 1977; Strauss, 1997). Motive is taken into account during their self-interpretation (Strauss, 1997). This involves the individual imputing motive on the other to attach meaning to their action (Mills, 1940; Strauss, 1997).

There has been a movement in organisational democracy where the corporation threatens rather than protects the interests of its stakeholders. Examples of this are rife, with organisational change initiatives that redesign structures, processes and practices (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). This has driven individuals to consider setting up their own business (Heilman & Chen, 2003). Entrepreneurs' doubts about modernity's legacy, rationality, and the desire to manage their own interests has resulted in the entrepreneur basing their actions on their symbolic emotional interactions rather than on society's rationality (Goss, 2005a) and striking out on their own to start-up a venture. This study takes from Schumpeter (1934) the view that the entrepreneur needs to influence significant others with an interest in the venture.

A significant aspect of entrepreneurship work is situated around legitimation (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Legitimation is viewed as social validation, a desirable, but more often than not, an essential ingredient for success (Stone & Brush, 1996; Tornikoski & Newbert, 2007). In discussing legitimacy the focus is on the 'doing' of legitimation negotiations during interaction. This performance of legitimation provides an understanding of the dynamics associated with legitimacy and consent. This furnishes insight for the argument on control through negotiation. According to Goffman (1967d) an individual is open to scrutiny during social interaction and so during the start-up process it is essential that entrepreneurs enact a successful entrepreneurial orientation which assists in removing uncertainty (Hytti, 2000). This is important as it has been argued that the entrepreneur is intrinsically linked with their business (Cardon et al., 2005). In many cases it is the entrepreneur themselves that sells the product or service, in the sense that, while the product may have good commercial potential, stakeholders such as investor, customer, supplier, are not only interested in the idea but are also interested in the individual. For instance, investors invest in the person as well as their idea (Hoehn-Weiss, Brush & Baron, 2004). Yet, many of the entrepreneurship models in the literature such as those of Timmons (2004) and Bhave (1994) have not considered investors' acceptance of individuals' entrepreneurship orientation. It is important that the entrepreneur constructs a legitimate entrepreneurship persona to obtain the necessary resources.

Examination of the entrepreneurship literature confirms that there is much diversity in views and approaches to why some entrepreneurs are more successful than others in starting up new ventures (Baron & Markman, 2000). However one important success criterion is the ability to access financial capital (Baron & Markman, 2000, 2003; Hoehn-Weiss, Brush & Baron, 2004). In an increasingly fragmented capitalist reality where resources are concentrated and as such generally scarce, the ability to access resources is crucial to the development of successful ventures. Research has identified a number of factors that influence resource acquisition, such as entrepreneurial descriptors which include individual traits, personal fitness, knowledge and skills (Powell & Bimmerle, 1980) as well as investment readiness of the venture which involves having the necessary

skills, and all elements of the business and its presentation put together in a convincing manner (Mason & Harrison, 2004). The implications of this is that the entrepreneur is viewed as central to the funding process and their ability to present their idea is paramount (Holaday, Meltzer & McCormick, 2003). There can be various bases for interaction as individuals within social groups enact assigned positions (Strauss, 1997). In the entrepreneur's case, they are the front for their venture, just in the same way that the front-line worker represents their organisation. In other words, both types of workers; the front-line worker and the entrepreneur occupy boundary-spanning roles (Dollinger, 1984; Maguire, 2001; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Boundary-spanning positions require visibility in social interaction. The concept of visibility is conceived of as presence and display (Becker, 1956). According to Paperman (2003), visibility is performed in boundary-spanning roles with her analysis focusing on visibility through dress. The entrepreneur performs visibility through their boundary-spanning role.

Boundary spanning enables the entrepreneur to conceive of trust, giving meaning to significant others. It is widely accepted that a 'good' entrepreneur could have difficulty in making a success out of a poor opportunity; however they do provide a better bet than an individual that does not present a promising entrepreneurship orientation and identity (Powell & Bimmerle, 1980). Entrepreneurship literature suggests that the entrepreneurship activity can be a relatively stressful experience (Becker & Geer, 1957; Rose, 1945; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), particularly where the investor appraises the entrepreneur fit with the opportunity. During this process of evaluation, the investor assesses the entrepreneur to understand how the individual thinks and behaves (Freid & Hisrich, 1994). In other words, the investor assesses attitudes, values, vision and behaviours. This captures the essence of uncertainty and change in the entrepreneuship process, which according to Timmons and Spinelli (2004), is central to the conceptualisation of the entrepreneurship process. This has implications for the decision to invest in the entrepreneur where the constraints placed on the entrepreneur could be problematic and viewed as a process of exploitation where divulging information could reduce entrepreneurs' power to the investor (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996). Other than this view on exploitation, some literature (Chell, 2000; Johannisson & Monsted, 1998)

does highlight the high degree of agency that an entrepreneur can display. Entrepreneurs are viewed as active participants with them having a choice and selecting investors whose objectives are consistent with theirs (Timmons & Spinelli, 2004).

During interactions between the entrepreneur and significant others, entrepreneurs' performance, which includes their authenticity and their entrepreneurial acts, are under scrutiny. Their performances are evaluated in light of their success and they are either accepted into the group or rejected. To understand how this process occurs, it is important to understand how during interactions some entrepreneurs are successful in gaining business or funding or support and others are not. During the interaction there is joint action. Joint action in Meadian (Mead, 1913) terms is a social act fundamental for the analysis of society. This social act is distinct from the act that is self-directed instead it refers to the collective form of action where a number of lines of conduct are fitted together. The joint action is noted by it being identifiably distinct and comprising of an 'articulation of the acts' of the participants of which there could be two or more individuals or organisations. During this joint action, negotiation is at play, with participants having their own position and undertaking their own specific acts. This highlights that commonality in joint action is not necessary. However, what is necessary is that these various acts fit together, through a process of definition and interpretation where the participants understand the definition of the situation, the social processes of that social world and their connection with the other. The basis for negotiation of membership is social interaction where according to Goffman (1967a, p. 116):

> The individual must phrase his own concerns and feelings and interests in such a way as to make these maximally usable by the others as a source of appropriate involvement; and this major obligation of the individual qua interactant is balanced by his right to expect that others present will make some effort.

Consequently, the importance of the relationship between the entrepreneur and the significant other could be viewed as a peer relationship, that is a relationship where there is mutual identification (Zaleznik, 1977). This interaction 'springboard' is one where the entrepreneur needs to put forward a legitimate performance, due to as Bouchikhi (1993) notes, the outcome of an entrepreneurial activity is of an emergent quality based on the interaction performance. This non-hierarchical relationship has implications for power,

self-management and negotiations. No distinction has been made between the investor and the entrepreneur in classical entrepreneurship literature with the entrepreneur regarded as the provider of capital to the business enterprise (Blaug, 1986). Within the more recent entrepreneurship literature, investors, in some cases, are still regarded as entrepreneurs (Landstrom, 1998; Osnabrugge, 1998). In view of this, would-be entrepreneurs could be seen as aiming to gain access to the group to be identified as entrepreneurs. Individuals that do not behave as expected may be subject to rejection. In contrast to the view that investors are entrepreneurs, other research presents a distinction between the two groups and as such stress the distinct sub-worlds of entrepreneur and investor. In this case, the entrepreneur group is seeking legitimation from the resourcer such as the investor group, seeking to band together with them. According to Blumer (1967), objects are whatever people refer to. All objects; both physical and social, are social objects with meanings bestowed upon them by the individual rather than meaning being intrinsic to it.

This section has noted that legitimation is a pronounced feature in entrepreneurs' performance.

3.4 Relationships and Trust

Aristotle's philosophy was that people are basically social animals (Knight, 1944). Hence, the necessity to consider the social interactions entrepreneurs engage in. According to Blumer (1958, 1969) social life constitutes negotiations with others where the sharing of indications such as emotion is central. According to Blumer (1967) individuals are connected to each other constructing shared meanings to interpret their social situation. As such social interaction influences individuals' behaviour and the way they interact (Nuttall, 2004). During interpersonal interaction interpretation and meaning emerge from the observed display and performance. Emotion management, language and the rituals that are employed are important in this process (Goffman, 1959a, 1983). For Goffman (1959a, 1983) this consciously shared symbolic interaction is engendered through self-awareness and disclosure where individuals develop a sense of themselves. The

interactional picture discussed here provides the general framework within which the interplay goes on (Strauss, 1997). The basic components emphasised by much of the entrepreneurship literature is that the ability to develop relationships is important (Baron & Markman, 2003). Many empirical studies on entrepreneurship note the importance of relationships discussing this through, in many cases, a predominantly structural approach to understanding the impact relationships have on a venture's social network (Holaday, Meltzer & McCormick, 2003). What this study takes from this entrepreneurship perspective is that relationships are important. However rather than the predominantly structural approach that social network theory is embedded within, the focus is on the meaning that entrepreneurs attach to relationships that O'Donnell (2001) notes is an area that has not been considered in much depth. Thus in turning the discussion toward the contours of the entrepreneurship relationship an emphasis on interpretation and meaning in interactions are important considerations that will assist in addressing the question of the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and how this performance is accomplished through emotion management.

This social relationship of entrepreneurship work can be conceptualised in terms of competency, role, style, vision and emotional bonds (Chell & Tracey, 2005; Wouters, 1989b). A number of entrepreneurial skills have been identified such as the ability to see what is not there, to see the path between the current situation and the proposed reality (Carland, Carland & Stewart, 1996; Carland, Carland & Busbin, 1997) and to interact effectively with others to make this an actual reality (Baron & Markman, 2000). Chell & Tracey (2005) suggest that a shared understanding is important with this developed through entrepreneurs' ability to cultivate shared perception, communication and judgement. This is what Goffman (1959a) viewed as a shared definition of the situation. In other words, entrepreneurs should possess interpersonal sensitivity shaping the conjoint emergence of perceptions of fairness and meaning in their interaction with others. In seeking to produce and maintain an accepted and shared definition of the situation entrepreneurs negotiate and develop shared meaning for trust expectations during interactions. Entrepreneurs act co-operatively in developing trust particularly where they are acting 'as if', that is, acting out in accordance to the expectations of their role (Baron,

2008), performing for a leap of faith (Bandelj, 2009). In developing trust in this way, individuals conceive of trust as 'placing faith in' another, 'placing them beyond doubt', 'having confidence in' or 'believing in' them (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 p.487). Furthermore, according to Watson (1967), trust is a reciprocal and a locally embedded performance and as such the contextual understanding of how this is produced and maintained is essential.

3.5   Entrepreneurs' Emotionality

In negotiating the relational dimensions discussed in the last section, identification with the role of entrepreneur has implications for their emotionality and performance. Entrepreneurs' presentation of self needs to convey a clear vision and in this way provides a context for subsequent actions (Langfield-Smith, 1992). An acceptable presentation of self is important as investors will be bearing in mind that ventures have the tendency to take on the character of the entrepreneur (Timmons & Spinelli, 2004) with their vision providing the rationale for investing in an idea (Afuah, 2003; Bird & Jelinek, 1988). Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) have suggested that individuals that identify with their role will feel more authentic and as such would not conceive of emotion management as an effort or exploitation. Entrepreneurs engage with their emotionality showing passion towards venture activities and goals (Cardon, 2008; Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009; Fineman, 2005) and in this way are able to focus others attention towards the development of an emotional bond comprising of trust and mutual respect (Chell & Tracey, 2005). With emotion brought to the fore, the next section provides a review of emotion within the entrepreneurship arena.

There is one strand of writing on entrepreneurs' emotionality that concentrates on the psychological view that emotional awareness is central to entrepreneurial success (Cross & Travaglione, 2003). Cross & Travaglione (2003) draw on the increasing amount of interest from both theorists and practitioners of organisational literature in emotional competence to develop insight into entrepreneurial emotionality. They specifically draw on Goleman's (1996; 1998; Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2002) view of emotion in the

workplace operationalised as emotional intelligence. This is a psychological concept focusing on the capacity to understand one's and others' emotions (Mayer & Caruso, 2002). The concept of emotional intelligence was first formally formulated as theory by the seminal work of Salovey & Mayer (1990), and subsequently addressed by a number of researchers (Bar-On, 1997; Cross & Travaglione, 2003; Dulewicz & Higgs, 1999; Jordan, Ashkanasy & Hartel, 2003), most notably Goleman (1996; 1998). Goleman (1996) defined emotional intelligence as the ability to manage one's emotions and in so doing to motivate oneself and empathise with others. As such, Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee (2002) argue that it plays a crucial role in relationship management. Here, emotional intelligence is viewed as an ability to be developed (Caruso, Mayer & Salovey, 2002). Competencies are defined as the specific skills required to successfully perform a role (Burgoyne, 1989). The recognition of emotional intelligence as a skill is aligned with the trend that started in the 1990's of an increasing emphasis on interpersonal effectiveness and a more empowering management style (Fineman, 2000). These two aspects are based on the two broad domains of personal effectiveness and people management skills respectively, which could be viewed as the soft aspects of management style (Kettley & Strebler, 1997). A study of 130 executives by Walter V. Clarke Associates found that how well people handled their own emotions determined how much people around them preferred to deal with them (Cherniss, 1999). Competency research in over 200 companies and organisations worldwide does suggest that about one-third of this difference is due to technical skill and cognitive ability while two-thirds is due to emotional competence (Goleman, 1998).

However, even with the popularity of emotional intelligence it is viewed as a controversial concept (Emmerling & Goleman, 2003; Jordan, Ashkanasy & Hartel, 2003). This is due predominantly to a critique of the measurement of the construct. For instance Goleman's (1998) model is considered to contain non-emotional intelligence variables and is also considered to use achievement-motive, leadership, communication and personality-trait theories as opposed to intelligence constructs (Cross & Travaglione, 2003). Dulewicz & Higgs (1998) question the foundation of the Goleman (1996) model, suggesting that it is highly derived and anecdotal. The instigators of this construct, Mayer

& Salovey also have concerns about how emotional intelligence is being developed and how it has morphed since their conceptualisation of the construct (Mayer & Caruso, 2002). Further to these issues, emotional intelligence literature does not consider societal expectations and interaction in any depth. This moves the discussion on to the contrasting strand of entrepreneurial emotionality that takes into account societal rules and norms. At the centre of the sociological perspective of entrepreneurs' emotionality is an emphasis on how emotionality should be understood in relation to social practices.

Building on Goss (2005b, 2008), this study seeks to take a sociological stance to further explore emotion within the entrepreneurship process. What are the patterns of perception and expectations that entrepreneurs feel? Hochschild (1983) highlights that these patterns and expectations manifest in the name attached to the feeling and as such culture is inherent in this process. Culture is involved in shaping how we feel, how feelings are named and thus the expectations of a situation, how this situation is understood and focused on. In other words, how individuals make sense of the situation and present the expected and appropriate emotional display. Goss (2008) advocates an interactional approach with a focus on emotional energy. His focus on the interactional approach is core to this study rather than the psychological approach that Cross & Travaglione (2003) adopt for their exploration into emotionality. In any case, the general consensus is that entrepreneurs' rationality is involved in the process in terms of a means-ends framework. During business negotiations indications such as fairness are drawn on to make decisions about how to feel and behave (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996). Perceptions of justice based on the problem of inequality guide how people feel, their emotional energy and act (Goss, 2008). From an interactionist standpoint, it is argued that entrepreneurs make judgments regarding significant others indications and actions. An understanding of this interpretation could draw on an organisational justice framework (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996). This framework is useful in understanding self-indications during interactions providing insight into how entrepreneurs' feelings are produced and performed.

3.6   Conclusion

The review of literature shows that interpretation, meaning and interaction are central to any conceptualisation of entrepreneurship. There is considerable research demonstrating that legitimation plays an important role in entrepreneurship. There are however few accounts that develop the knowledge of the performance of legitimation at the micro-level, with much of the empirical work making visible legitimation at an organisation level. Within this focus on the organisation as a whole rather than on the entrepreneur and the interactions they are involved in, there is a gap to be addressed. This study addresses this gap of legitimation by developing the notion of entrepreneur's 'gesture of legitimation'.

The pattern that emerges from the review is that entrepreneurship is a dynamic rather than fixed phenomenon, and multidimensional rather than monothematic. The main perspectives of entrepreneurship that have gained recognition are the functional, the psychological and the interpretive perspectives. These do have a shared understanding recognising that there are many different meanings shaping the field of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 1990). All scholars mentioned in this discussion on entrepreneurship could be thought of as contributors to a conversation about entrepreneurship, yet none of them developed a discussion on emotion management. Consequently, this study seeks to render visible how entrepreneurs' performance is accomplished through emotion management. The next chapter discusses emotion management to illuminate its key characteristics, such as rules and control. The discussion highlights the normative underpinnings associated with the 'traditional' conceptualisation. Hochschild's (1983) work is evaluated against Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionst premises to ascertain whether her work is of an interactionist persuasion. The discussion demonstrates that Hochschild (1983) under-represents the interactional elements that she espouses.

Chapter Four

Emotion Management

4.0   Introduction

This chapter starts out with a view of the philosophical roots of emotion to assist in understanding what is meant by emotion and emotion in the workplace. This is important as current theories and debates within emotion management cannot be fully understood without some comprehension of the past. Recently, emotion studies that focus on work have moved towards examining the interactional aspects of emotion. However, while there is a growing body of research on workplace emotions, there is little research into the emotionality of entrepreneurs (Goss, 2008) and where there is, the majority of the work emphasis a cognitive perspective (De Carolis & Saparito, 2006). This illuminates the neglect of emotion as interactional. Where studies on emotion as social interaction have been found, these neglect much of the meaning and interpretation within the interaction. In addition, this chapter sets out the key viewpoints within the emotional labour literature relevant to presenting a clear argument for developing emotion management in entrepreneurship. In doing so it presents the methodological weaknesses in understanding the conjoint interpretations of emotion and the development of the meaning of this within interactions.

4.1   Locating Emotional Labour in Theories of Emotion

This section discusses various emotion perspectives and Hochschild's (1983) relation to these thus providing a foundation for examining emotion management. Following on from this, the discussion turns to developing an understanding of how emotion management has been conceptualised.

Several perspectives of emotion provide the ability to understand the dimensions of emotion as a human phenomenon. The three key emotion theories that call for attention

are: 1) the organismic model describing emotion in terms of a biological response to stimuli; 2) the cognitive perspective describing emotion in psychological terms as an appraisal-response model (Ortony, Clore & Collins, 1988); and, 3) the contemporary view of emotion based on an interactional model built around the social context (Domagalski, 1999; Fineman, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). These theories of emotion provide the theoretical grounding for defining emotion and locating emotional labour.

The organismic model of emotion is viewed as the traditional theory of emotion (Fineman, 1993). From Darwin's 1872 book *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* (Cornelius, 2000; Lutz & White, 1986) to contemporary analysis, the perennial defining dimension of emotion has been biological. The central tenet of this theory is that emotions are a biologically given sense and part of genetic heritage (Hochschild, 1983). Darwin drew on this in his evolutionary framework in understanding emotion and the expressions associated with these. Darwin's theory provides the basis for subsequent models in this genre (Fineman, 2003). William James (1884) made the distinction between the long-standing duality of body and mind in emotion theorising by focusing on emotional experience. The thesis surrounding emotional experience is that emotion is the result of bodily changes (Cornelius, 2000). According to Oatley (1993) emotion is the perception of an action. The implication of this is the need to understand that perception is central to feeling.

This leads us to the discussion on the second theory of emotion where cognitive theorists (Ashkanasy, 2002; Jett & George, 2003; Lazarus, 1982; Lin, 2004) view emotion as developing from a cognitive response. Here sense judgments and evaluation of what is seen and heard are made. During this process of cognitive appraisal, the memory, knowledge and experience are drawn on, leading to the resultant feeling and emotion (Arnold, 1960; Lazarus, 1999; Ortony, Clore & Collins, 1988). Hochschild's (1983) orientation to Constanti Stanislavski's (1963) work follows this 'internal' process of appraisal through her concept of 'deep acting' which is a technique for changing internal feeling. Stanislavski (1963) examined the 'inner' work that an actor has to do: their psychological preparation to build a character and act out a role (Martin, 2003). This

emphasises the psychological link between emotion and reason where the actor sets out a list of actions to facilitate the manifestation of spontaneous emotion. Another cognate perspective is Freud's (1922) psychoanalysis theory where an individual's consciousness presides over emotions and as such emotion is attached to the individual. While Hochschild (1983) claims the development of a social theory of emotion she appears to locate some of her explanation within this perspective with her defining emotion as a *"bodily cooperation with an image, a thought, a memory-a cooperation of which the individual is aware"* (Hochschild, 1979, p. 551). This definition attaches emotion to the individual as well as viewing emotion as a psychological state of arousal (Denzin, 1983).

The third emotion theory is one where interactionists advocate that emotion is markedly social in origin. According to Cornelius (2000) this social perspective obtained agency in the 1980's with contributions from Averill (1980), Denzin (1983) and Harre & Parrott (1996). The interactional model of emotion takes cognisance of the view that social factors are central to experiencing emotion (Denzin, 1983). This is an important and growing field of study, particularly as emotion is recognised as integral to the workplace (Miller, 2002). Hochschild (1983) positions herself in this category advocating that emotion develops through social interaction with her using a socio-psychological lens to inquire into the nature of emotional labour. The research questions that guided Hochschild (1983) intellectual project are, 'How do institutions control how we "personally" control feeling?' 'What do we do when we manage emotion?' 'What is emotion?' 'What are the costs and benefits of managing emotion?' 'What are the costs and benefits of managing emotion in private life and at work?' 'What is emotional labour?' To address these questions Hochschild (1983) presupposes that the emotional labourer is a manageable resource (Bolton, 2005).

Consequently, the socio-psychological perspective provides a view of the mind as a theoretical space, with bodily reactions such as emotional demeanour an outcome of how the mind is affected. According to Hochschild (1983), the development of emotion is done in three stages: First there is codification which focuses on psycho-cognitive process of internal representations and interpretations. During codification the feeling is

identified, transmitted and assessed. There is a process of evaluation where meaning making occurs. The second stage is management. According to Hochschild (1983) this stage focuses on the social factors impinging upon the emotion felt and so social rules are taken into consideration to ensure that the appropriate feeling is felt for the particular situation. This leads to the management of emotion. The third stage is the display of the felt emotion. Here the display manifests as a facial expression or some other social symbol such as language. Hochschild (1983) draws on this conceptualisation to present her model of emotional labour applying, to a degree, the idea of meaning making that is core to Blumer's (1969) theory. In other words, feelings are shaped by the social rules taken into account in the second stage.

Sociological models of emotion, such as Kemper's (2009), Shott's (2005) and those reviewed by Thoits (1970), are rooted in the understanding that emotion takes place not in the mind alone, but in the social world (Fineman, 2005). Advocates stress the importance of this perspective in providing insight into how emotion is produced and maintained by the social context, rules and language (Fineman, 1993, 2005). In following a symbolic interactionist model of emotion, there is an ongoing interpretive negotiation over personal freedom (Strauss, 1993). Blumer (1969) also acknowledges this. As such any social emotion system needs to be based not only on the rules within society but also on individuals' interpretations of these rules. According to Briner (1999) it is this relationship between the individual and the social context and how this unfolds over time that is most important consideration for understanding emotions. Symbolic interaction enables an understanding of the 'how' of this relationship; how individuals are shaped by and in turn shape the social context (Denzin, 1969). Emotion emerges from social interaction (Albrow, 1992) and as such, it can be argued that emotion should not be taken out of context as it reflects an individual's sense of self-relevance for any given situation (Hochschild, 1983). Interactionists speak of emotions as 'active' with individuals making use of their emotions to accomplish their goals, to motivate thought and action and to influence others. Emotion can be used to cloth one's self, they are donned for the occasion, and are part of professional and role performances (Finkel & Parrott, 2006). This is aligned with Goffman (1959a) and his ideas on acting. Goffman (1959a)

pioneered this view with his theory of rules and theory of self. In other words, reality and its expression are negotiated and produced through interaction and the interpretation of symbolic cues and social processes as individuals strive for meaning (Blumer, 1969; Fineman, 1993; Goffman, 1959a).

The difficulty for researchers and practitioners is that emotion has typically been associated with negative connotations in western society (Hochschild, 1993; Lynd, 1958). Traditionally organisational theory focused on the bureaucratic aspects rather than the emotional aspects of organisational life, with the general view that emotion was an inhibitor of organisational performance (Briner, 1999; Domagalski, 1999). Hochschild (1983) specifically highlights that academics ignored emotion, or if they did consider it, they played down its significance, subsuming it under some other conceptual umbrella and presenting it as something other than what it actually is. According to Briner (1999) the reluctance to see emotion as a central part of organisational life has led to the consideration of workplace emotion being rather narrow with much of it focusing on feeling states such as stress and satisfaction. Hochschild (1983) extended this narrow focus to examine the social dimension of emotion through the exploration into the propriety of emotive display and associated feeling rules, which she introduced as emotional labour. The review of emotion perspectives provides some insight into how and why Hochschild (1983) presented emotional labour as she did and how and why there are variations in how the concept is viewed and applied.

The review of various perspectives in theorising emotion also highlights the complexity and multifaceted nature of emotion. Fineman (2004) presented the opinion that emotion requires various approaches to understanding it, due to its complexity. Two clear themes emerge from the discussion here. First, that emotion is an existential reality and second, that emotion is a social reality. It is made apparent that while psychologically based theory developed emotion as an area of enquiry (Domagalski, 1999) the social perspective offers up the notion that emotion is central to everything an individual does, shaping thoughts and actions (Fineman, 2003). Consequently, emotion cannot be considered in isolation from the social context that it occurs in (Domagalski, 1999). The

development in how emotion is viewed as sociological has implications for this study of entrepreneurs' emotion management. However, even though Hochschild (1983) and other recent researchers view emotion as interactional (Bolton, 2005) there is room for a more interactionally developed conceptualisation of emotion management particularly with the negotiation of meaning within the interaction a rather under-privileged consideration.

4.2   Conceptualising Emotional Labour

This section provides some background into the development of Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour. The ideas drawn on in Hochschild's (1983) development of emotional labour were based on her 1974 study of students. The findings from this study focused on will, and the choice of how feelings were regarded. Central to this enquiry was the investigation into the awareness of emotion management. Hochschild (1983) investigated these through metaphor focusing on the semantics of the word emotion: checking anger, or putting a damper on love. This focus on the semantics assisted her in the analysis of emotion use and the appropriateness of this use in a particular situation. The following statement from Hochschild's (1983, p. 43) work sums up the use and appropriateness of emotion:

> I was shocked, yet for some reason I didn't think my emotions reflected the bad news... I thought that I should be more upset by the news than I was.

The 1979 work underpinning Hochschild's (1983) study developed a typology of emotion management. This typology is associated with coping, that is, assessment and management. This typology presented four categories: 1) The instrumentalist's whose worldview was that external factors were open to change. Consequently, they acted upon this view and portrayed themselves as activists. Their actions were as a result of feelings. These feelings did not need to be changed; the need for change was not a consideration and internal factors were consistent. In this category the theme is in action where emotion is seen as a basis for action. An example of a metaphor an instrumentalist would use; 'My anger spurred me on'. 2) The accommodators who changed behaviours and attitudes rather than the underlying feelings. This group has parallels with the concept of surface acting that Hochschild (1983) developed later on in her construction of emotional labour.

Those in this category presented a self that they did not perceive as authentic, yet the feelings were authentic and true remaining unchanged. The key theme in this category is acting to mask unchanged 'true' feelings. Examples of metaphors here would be 'putting on a face'; 'masking feelings'. 3) The adaptors whose worldview was that external factors were fixed. Consequently, they had to change and they portrayed themselves as fluid and malleable. As such their actions mirrored this view of themselves and they saw their feelings as changing naturally with no effort on their part. The overriding theme is passive adaptation. Emotion was not experienced as a basis for action. An example of a metaphor here would be; 'My feelings just changed'; and 4) the emotion workers whose worldview was that feelings could be altered and that this took place through the application of effort. They spoke of their feelings as something to be managed or worked on. Acts upon their feelings such as suppressing their anger or trying to feel happy are a few indications of how the individuals in this category manage their emotions. Examples of the metaphors used in this section were; 'I psyched myself up', 'I made myself have a good time'. The key theme to be synthesised from this category is active adaptation. Hochschild's (1983) study provides evidence that emotions have social roles. This is in accordance with Averill's (1980) view. In presenting the social side of a social theory of emotion, Hochschild (1983) takes cognisance with the notion that individual feelings can be managed presenting a different type of metaphor. In any case, upon examining Hochschild's basis for emotional labour there is the question of why a more ideographic stance was not taken. Hochschild (1979, 1983) takes an essentialist stance that views individuals' position as fixed.

4.3   Control through Organisational Rules and Expectations

The performatory role of emotion is embedded in social processes that shape interpersonal relationships and the emotions expressed (Fineman, 2004). As such this section provides an exposition of how Hochschild (1983) conceives of her underpinning concepts of exploitation, rules and expectations, and how these inform her thinking about emotional labour. This also includes an exposition of Hochschild's (1983) normative view of control and power toward developing how these should be conceived of from an interactionist perspective.

Rules

Rules and expectations are patterns of behaviour that require an individual to act in a particular way (Wilson, 1970). Sumner (1906) refers to rules and expectations as folkways. He notes that these norms are standards defining what appropriate conduct in certain interactions is and so these are constraints to be complied with. Examples of these are etiquette and appropriate dress. Expectations are understood as common meanings and values that individuals draw on in their dealings with others (Rose, 1962b). Hochschild (1983) and other emotional labour researchers (Morris & Feldman, 1996) use terms such as feeling rules or display rules for the norms that indicate how one should express emotions in the workplace. Emotional labour is built around the dictate of rules. Piaget (1950, p. 156) notes that:

> Society…changes the very structure of the individual, because it not only compels him to recognize facts, but also provides him with a ready-made system of signs, which modify his thought; it presents him with new values and it imposes on him an infinite series of obligations.

This statement explicitly presents rules as what Zimmerman (1985) describes as fixed, possessing stable context free meaning. It is these fixed idealisations that frame Hochschild's (1983) development of emotional labour. This normative view recognises emotion as a social pattern, as a product and producer of history, where the notion that individuals draw on their interpretive process to employ rules in the various situations they are involved is underprivileged (Sexton & Bowman, 1985). Consequently, from

Hochschild's (1983) perspective, emotion is defined as onto-formative that constitutes reality. Tolich (1993, p. 364) exemplifies this fixed and exploitative understanding of rules, *"Supermarket clerks are emotional labourers in that their performance of customer service is not left to their discretion"*. Control is conceived through feeling rules that suggest what emotions are expected in a given situation. These rules pervade the pattern of socialisation; the development of insight into how things are done and acquisition of interactional competencies (Manning, 1970). Individuals are sometimes unaware that they are following a set of rules, often a result of socialisation (Hochschild, 1983). The process of socialisation can lead to the internalisation of rules with the rule becoming an integral part of the individual and understood as a belief, conviction or habit and as such individuals more readily conform (Worsley, 1970). Hochschild's (1983) perspective follows a normative stance that individuals must follow rules and in doing so must subordinate personal self-interest for the good of society, and more particularly, the organisation. Hochschild (1983) contextualises this with an example of a bride on her wedding day and the feelings she should be experiencing and displaying. In presenting this example, as well as within the various groups in society, Hochschild (1983) makes the assumption that the individual has been 'socialised' and as such understands what is expected in a given situation. Other studies of emotional labour follow these same assumptions (Drnovsek, Cardon & Murnieks, 2009).

To develop these concepts in an interactionist manner, this study presents rules as 'patterned adaptations' (Goffman, 1971, p. 14), a negotiation where the individual seeks to construct and reinterpret the definition of the situation and meanings around expectations . As Misztal (2001, p. 315) notes:

> Rules can only be partial guides to conduct because they always depend upon 'situational propriety', that is, a sense of the local context.

Rules are presented as meaning making practices for those within interactions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The interpretive and interactional aspects of this practice are important as rules need to be linked to the situation (Baron, 2008; Paperman, 2003) and then according to Cicourel (2003) rules act as an appropriate funnel for behaviour.

Exploitation

The discussion on rules has shown that Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotion management is exemplified by stable context free meanings where individuals are presented as automatons. The discussion therefore turns to understanding Hochschild's (1983) frame of reference where she puts forward an interaction where individuals are exploited by their organisations. Hochschild (1983) draws on class to present her arguments. In social production there is the owner of production and the employee, in essence this is a class division. The Marxist perspective that Hochschild (1983) extols is that individuals work for other individuals, in her words 'the capitalist state' and thus her argument is based on the concept of exploitation where economic relationships involve control and power with the balance in favour of the employer/owner of resources. Hochschild (1983) understands the changing competitive landscape and labour force dynamics as instigating the emergence of emotional labour, stating that emotional labour is like a commodity that is produced for the exchange of labour. It is influenced by supply and demand. The need for emotional labour and the demand for emotional expression are on the increase with the growth of the service economy. Emotional labour is an intrinsic and typical product of the service economy with the recognition that emotions are manufactured for the external ends of commercial consumption. In other words, the individual's co-ordination of feeling becomes integrated into the commercial offering being sold. For instance, marketing strategies exploit the individual's emotion. Examples are the airlines that place the smile at the centre of their service (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild (1983) views this integration of individuals' emotion into the commercial offering as the commodification of emotion.

With this consideration of exploitation, the notion of alienation was brought to bear, with Hochschild (1983) emphasising loss of personal freedom. She extolled the view that workers have feelings of estrangement from self due to the lack of their power over such things as the means of production and the products of their labour. The implication here is that the employee's position in the workplace and relationship to work, particularly as work gives identity, status and difference, have an impact on how individuals are treated

(Worsley, 1970). However, rather than this study embedding the interaction in the notion of exploitation where negotiation is subsumed, it is being argued that individuals are active negotiators. They negotiate meaning and their emotion management with others in the interaction. It is argued here that without the consideration of how individuals negotiate meaning, the management of feeling cannot be fully understood.

Control

With exploitation central to Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotion management, the discussion turns to explicating her notion of control. Hochschild's (1983) view of control is similar to her ideas on rules, where control is fixed with individuals bound by this constraint. This assumption presents a positivist position where individuals are reactive to unchallengeable external stimuli. For Hochschild (1983, p. 19) reality is 'external control' where the individual sells their emotional self. This emotional self is altered due to assumptions about the capitalist labour process, organisational feeling rules and how to control feelings. In this sense, Hochschild (1983) emotional labourer is one who reacts and adapts to the organisation's control motivated by their profit motive. Typically within organisations' employees are subject to management control which can be defined as the process through which management intentionally affects an employee's behaviour, feelings and actions (Tannenbaum, 1966).

In applying the notion of control to emotional labour, Hochschild (1983) developed control systems around behaviour and feelings. The control system focused on behaviour is the positional control systems, and that focused on feelings, thoughts, and intentions is the personal control systems. Positional control systems are steeped in hierarchical systems of control that are often discussed in relation to association. Her observations have drawn on behaviour to assist in understanding the personal control of emotion. Such a social theory of emotions includes both a psychological and social side. As Hochschild (1983, p. 228) notes:

> We need a theory that allows us to see how institutions-such as corporations-control us not simply through their surveillance of our behaviour but through surveillance of our feelings.

Hochschild's (1983) consideration of control brings forth the need to understand this further drawing on the relational perspective that her study emphasises (Steinberg & Figart, 1999b) and this study shares with her, Fiske (1992), Bolton (2000a) and other emotional labour scholars. The relational model put forward by Fiske (1992) presents four categories: 1) communal sharing where individuals identify with one another i.e. are members of a group, and as such treated each other as equals 2) authority ranking where individuals are placed in hierarchical order. The key concern here is an individual's positioning in this order. Those in higher positions have authority and so control subordinates actions. Hochschild's (1983) study has the characteristics of the authority-ranking category. 3) On the other hand there is equality matching where the relationship is based on a model of justice and balance. This inward focused control is where individuals believe that outcomes are dependent upon their actions, attitudes and behaviours. According to Anderson & Schneier (1978) inward focused control does suggest a preponderance for task performances as opposed to emotion performances. 4) This category focuses on market pricing where individuals attend to exchange value such as salaries, rent and cost benefit relationships. Individuals combine these depending on the situation. This relational model presented by Fiske (1992) draws on self-interest to present the categories bearing close resemblance to Bolton's (2000a) typology and lends further credence to it. Hence, emotional labour can be viewed as strategic and self-initiated (Finkel & Parrott, 2006) providing further evidence that emotions can be managed. Hochschild (1983) tends to overlook the strategic resourceful nature of emotion management for the individual. This has implications for entrepreneurs' emotion management particularly as there is a need to draw on resources in the development of their ventures.

The discussion highlights that in Hochschild's (1983) pursuit of understanding emotional labour she focuses on the power an organisation has over its employees. This presents a one-dimensional view of where power resides. Lupton (1998) situates Hochschild (1983) in the structuralist camp where the theorising of emotional labour is shaped by societal patterns put forward by institutions, social systems and power relations (Lupton, 1998). One archetypical pattern that Hochschild (1983) pays close attention to is the bourgeois

pattern of inequalities of social groups. This informs her study of genderised groups where she appreciates the domestic, private and interpersonal spheres of personal identity formation and socialisation. The issue is that Hochschild (1983) uses this inequality to analyse the emotional labour performance focusing on how the patterns of inequality are reinforced, with limited consideration of the negotiated power dynamics at play between the manager-employee relational interactions.

Hochschild (1983) holds to the a priori assumption that organisations act out of self-interest and that individuals pursue this organisational mission without question. Some studies question the notion of organisational control as the main proponent of emotional labour (Callahan, 2000). There are also emotional labour studies that view the customer as the purveyor of feeling rules (Bolton, 2005). The new managerialism ideology introduces the customer as sovereign and consequently bestows some of its power on the customer (Bolton, 2005; Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). As Bolton & Boyd (2003) point out that it is not always the organisation that sets the emotional agenda and emotion management does not negate individuals' subjectivity. Bolton (2005) notes, that with the customer controlling the service interaction the front-line worker must provide a quality service. There are studies that suggest that where customers expect that emotion is part of the service ideal, sales are affected (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). In addition to studies rejecting the notion of organisational control for customer control, there are studies that view emotional labour as collective emotional labour (Korczynski, 2003). Collective emotion management is where individuals support colleagues and is usually in occupations or roles where there is agency in the emotional labour process (Bolton, 2005). Hochschild (1983) did engage with this concept, yet did not show the agency to expand thought. In Korczynski's (2003) study of call centres, supportive collegial relations provided the community of coping that was needed to alleviate stress when confronted by irate customers. Korczynski (2003) develops this theme of collective emotional labour which he states Hochschild neglected to develop in her investigation of emotional labour. Korczynski (2003, p. 55) goes on to state that:

> The structure of workers' social situation means that they are likely to turn to each other to cope with this pain, forming informal communities of coping.

This appears to be a double edged sword for management as this collegial support made management intervention more difficult as the social order was made less open to permeation by management. Evidence of this is also provided by Moallem (1999) where it was found that the culture created as a result of the community of coping had implications for the extent by which management control was affected. Mazhindu (2003) reaches a similar conclusion to Tracy (2000) when she examined the emotional labour of nurses. Her study like Tracy's (2000) study of cruise ship employees dispels the notion that emotion control is isolated to management and that it also involves peers. Mazhindu's (2003) study was based on 36 health care professionals in higher education institutions. She found that these nurses were more concerned with what their colleagues thought of them than the patient's thoughts. Another study that contributes to the view that emotional labour is conducted for co-workers and not just clients or patients is Timmons & Tanner (2005) whose study was based on theatre staff. The investigation into the emotional labour performed by theatre staff presents a similar view to that of Pierce's (1999) study of paralegals where her findings demonstrated paralegals 'looking after' barristers. This view is based the emotional labourer maintaining, as Timmons & Tanner (2005, p. 89) put it, the 'sentimental order' - the maintaining of a required mood and atmosphere in a particular situation. This is derived from Glaser & Strauss (1965) who ground the 'sentimental order' in involvement and appropriateness in interaction. According to Timmons & Tanner (2005) the theatre nurses maintained the sentimental order. It can be concluded that emotional labour is constructed by interaction, communication and occupational social norms.

The discussion indicates that there are a number of stakeholders in the emotional labour process. Stakeholders have indirect control on organisational members and as such have power relations within the organisation. A study of university lecturers by Ogbonna & Harris (2004) found that emotional labour is influenced by self-imposed, professional-ethical standards. The gatekeepers of these standards are the academics themselves with both the individual and the social group that they belong to influencing the emotional labour process. Consequently there is the need to understand a group's social processes and how these guide the emotional labour display. As such a further implication for any

study involving emotional labour is the need to consider stakeholders, group expectations, cultural cues and rules as well as the individual's orientation to these. To understand emotional labour, power needs to be accounted for in rather explicit terms indicating emergence and variability, which was not accounted for in this manner by Hochschild (1983). As a consequence, this inquiry seeks to address this omission and in doing so assists in taking off the conceptual blinkers that have constrained emotional labour as a concept where power is imposed into a concept that focuses more closely on social interaction outside hierarchical positions and boundaries where power is negotiated.

While Hochschild (1983) overlooks the analytical development of power distribution in interactions with her view that individuals are organisational 'pawns', she does acknowledge that individuals do posses agency. Hochschild (1983) provides evidence to suggest that an individual can put up a resistance to organisational feeling rules. The following example from her data provides this evidence. A flight attendant who had been provoked by a passenger feigned a trip to purposefully spill a drink over this aggravating passenger. This is a clear example of resistance to regulated power. Here the flight attendant has reinterpreted the interaction and disregarded organisational rules. Deviation from rules has not been privileged with Hochschild (1983) assuming that employees' subjectivity is subject to control by the organisation. A concern that this study therefore raises is that Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation underestimates the power of the individual to transform organisational structures, and over-estimates the power of managers to control individual feeling and performance. In contrast, the argument in this study is that individuals can intentionally act upon their feelings, which has implications for how feeling rules are drawn on. This draws on Blumer (1966) who states that even where a rule is designated, as with organisational rules, an individual is free from being coerced to respond to it. Consequently, this review of rules, exploitation and control provides the potential for developing interactionist understanding of feeling rules and what their implications are for entrepreneurs' emotionality.

4.4   Acting: Authenticity and Acting 'As If'

In developing an understanding of authenticity and acting this section provides some understanding of why feeling rules are drawn upon. In conceptualising emotional labour Hochschild (1983) draws on the growing value placed on authenticity (Ball, 1964; Hochschild, 1983), that is, acting in high moral regard (Smith & Lorentzon, 2005) over sincerity, known as honesty and integrity in the expression of emotion (Ball 1964). Sincerity is a psychological concept viewed as an 'internal' feeling, in essence what is felt inside (Ball, 1964). Authenticity differs from sincerity through its external focus. It is a social phenomenon that must be conferred on the individual (Goffee & Jones, 2005). The rising emphasis on an 'authentic' performance (Vannini & Williams, 2009) where 'unmanaged' feelings and spontaneity is presented (Hochschild, 1983) is due to the increasing focus on how a service is delivered (Noon & Blyton, 1997). Organisations' quest for difference (Handler & Saxton, 1988) with the recognition that stakeholder perspectives are key to organisational success (Noon & Blyton, 1997) is resulting in the 'professionalisation of two-facedness' (Roach, 1985, p. 137). Goffman (1959a, p. 133) articulates this as a 'two-faced world of front region and back region behaviour'. Falsity is the price paid for the search for authenticity (Hochschild, 1983). The notion of 'unmanaged' feeling is the ideology that, for Hochschild (1983) at least, is hidden in the private arena.

Hochschild (1983) draws on Goffman (1959a) to develop insight into authenticity with his conceptualisation of front and back regions (Douglas, 1970). In these regions feelings are managed, disguised, suppressed or faked and the body language is based not on deceiving ourselves but rather on deceiving others (Goffman, 1959a; Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild (1983) presupposes the existence of a 'true' self. The implication is that the self is conceived of as relatively unified and stable. This was the essence of early parodies of emotional labour. On the contrary, however, Wouters (1989a) and other emotional labour scholars such as Bolton (2005) argue against this perspective, advocating that the self should not be viewed in such a deterministic way but should be viewed as pluralistic. Goffman (1967a) maintains that individuals are capable of

possessing 'multiple selves'. The situation conceives of the self and hence there are as many selves as there are situations (Goffman, 1967a; Watson, 2010). In drawing on the assumption that there is a unified self, Hochschild (1983) contends that the commercialisation of private feelings in the public domain is what fractures this 'true' self. Hochschild (1983) maintains that when an individual denies the 'true' self and presents a mask, that is, an image of what is expected rather than what they are actually feeling there is a separation of the self into the 'true' self and the 'false' self. It is the 'false' self that is then presented as the public face (Anderson, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). Acting is a clear category within Hochschild's (1979, 1983) model of emotional labour. She presents acting as managing the display of emotions that can be performed either as 'surface' acting or 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983). For Hochschild (1983) the presentation of a false self is likened to 'surface' acting where individuals' emotionality is not engaged but rather the appearance of engaging emotion is acted out. Goffman (1959a) suggests that an individual can manage outward impressions which is not reflected inwards to any degree, in order to manage feelings. This focus on the outward display of demeanor is viewed as surface acting and is used to influence the audience but generally lacks conviction resulting in an 'inauthentic' display (Hochschild, 1983). Sturdy (1998, p. 32) likens surface acting to 'smiling but not meaning it'. Ogbonna & Wilkinson (1990) suggest that checkout operators comply with organisational rules on how to act during their interactions with customers yet distance themselves from the normative message conveyed in organisations' customer care messages. This acting without commitment is surface acting.

'Deep acting' is the other form of acting Hochschild (1983) develops in her conceptualisation of emotional labour. Deep acting is defined as the management of feeling where memories and feeling elicit the corresponding expression (Hochschild, 1983). It is undertaken to convince the individual doing the activity that what they are feeling is real (Hochschild, 1983). Consequently, deep acting is based on a cognitive change that convincingly deceives both the individual doing it and others. For example the instructor in Hochschild's (1983) study put herself in the role of the flight attendant to remove her anger and in so doing influenced the behaviour of the flight attendant. This

presents insight into how flight attendants act out authenticity through self-narrative. Bolton & Boyd's (2003) findings were however in contrast with Hochschild's (1983) findings on flight attendants' deep acting. In Bolton & Boyd's (2003) study the flight attendants employ surface acting – empty performances with no feeling, fully aware of passengers attitudes, acting out their role obligations without internalising the organisational norms. In particular work environments, such as the airline industry or nursing there is a need to convey that all is well even when they are potentially not. These 'empty' performance - surface acting - can be likened to acting 'as if', that is, acting out fiction (Gartner, Bird & Starr, 1992). Gartner, Bird & Starr (1992) note that entrepreneurs act 'as if' something is the case rather than acting out how something actually is. According to Anderson (1994, p. 598) entrepreneurs perform both reality and fiction in their performance where the venture is *"both real and yet unreal"*. Morris & Feldman (1996) and Kirby (2003) note that acting is generally recognisable. Thus performing authenticity has implications for others' acceptance of the performance (Gartner, Bird & Starr, 1992; Peccei & Rosenthal, 2000).

Hochschild's (1983) predilection for acting and display appears to privilege an inner psychological orientation to acting, resulting in the actual 'doing' of performance being under-theorised. Goffman (1967c) maintains that performance is conceived from social process as opposed to psychological inclinations. According to Bolton (2000a; 2000b, 2005) different expressions of emotional labour can be performed with individuals drawing on a number of issues, such as, the nature of work, the type of clientele, the individual's or other's status, or the length of service to the organisation. In doing so Bolton (2000a) acknowledges that there are a variety of feeling rules that can be drawn on depending on these various situations. The feeling rules Bolton (2000a; 2005) draws on to inform her study are: 1) Social rules that are put forward by a capitalist society with an emphasis on the need for quality on the service encounter due to the growing control by the customer (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). 2) Organisational prescribed feeling rules that are expectations of how an employee should act and are materially instrumentally motivated. These commercial rules place an emphasis on outcomes such as the performance task. 3) Professional feeling rules are explicit and based on occupational

norms and expectations. These feeling rules inform Bolton's (2000a; 2005) four distinct types of emotion management: 1) pecuniary (emotion management for commercial gain) where the individual perform with no feeling. This would appear to be less a result of emotion work and more about 'face work'; 2) prescriptive (emotion management according to organisational/professional rules of conduct) where individuals internalise feeling rules to present an 'authentic' self; 3) presentational (emotion management according to general social rules); and 4) philanthropic (emotion management given as a 'gift') where individuals are committed to providing a sincere performance based on their altruistic motivations. Bolton's (2000a; 2005) typology is utilised as an organising framework of commercial and social life to provide the basis for viewing the emotional labourer as an active skilled manager. Bolton (2000a; 2005) highlights that individuals can choose to enact either one or a variety of the various emotion management practices that she presents in her typology. It is not simply a matter of adopting one stance and adhering to it, but rather individuals negotiate their emotion management through a continuous interplay between motivation and interactional dynamics using different emotional labour techniques in the presentation of self (2000a; 2005). This follows an interactionist perspective in recognising that individuals are self-organising, continually re-negotiating and reinterpreting rules (Blumer, 1969; Bolton, 2005). Hochschild (1983) notes, but did not privilege this variability in the performance of emotion management.

4.5   Resistance

The focus on resistance has been running parallel with the Hochschild (1983) perspective. Bolton (2005) challenges researchers to give more sustained attention to agency where they have control over their own emotions as opposed to the assumption that the employees' subjectivity is completely controlled by the organisation. Bouchikhi (1993) argues that individuals are never totally constrained by the formal rules of the organisational or social system. Bolton (2005) presents agency as a central aspect of her conception of emotion management with her framework appreciating that in certain situations individuals may not have control yet in others the individual will have control. Different motivations draw on different feeling rules (Bolton, 2000a; Bolton & Boyd,

2003). Bolton (2005) maintains that 'space' for social time and activities in an organisation should not be viewed as 'misbehaviour' but rather as time to act out 'socially motivated feeling rules'. This recognises that within organisations 'space' is needed for a variety of performances such as being a friend and confidante, and for resistance and resolution (Bolton, 2005; Mazhindu, 2003).

This follows the interactionist position that social conditions shape action but that these conditions are in turn shaped by individuals (Strauss, 1993). Hence, control and feeling rules are variable contingent on the interaction. Individuals' interpretive process has a part to play in influencing 'resistance' to rules, norms, expectation and ultimately control. Tolich (1993) posits that both the organisation and the individual are featured in the power dynamic. There is regulated emotion management controlled by organisation's managers and autonomous emotion management controlled by the individual (Tolich, 1993). Sturdy's (1998, p. 32) view of 'smiling but not meaning it' is an example of this. Sturdy (1998) also shows that 'smiling and sometimes meaning it' demonstrates resistance where there are times when employees will feel committed and times where they will distance themselves from organisational values. Rafaeli (1989) highlights the struggle for control between cashiers and customers with customer expectations and comments not always aligned to management rules.

Based on these findings Rafaeli (1989) developed a typology of emotional labour strategies employed by supermarket clerks to regain control of the service encounter. This typology presents four distinct types of emotion management: ignoring customers, rejecting customers' right to control, reacting to customers' attempt at control, and engaging customers so that they do not try to seek control. Strategies can be traced along a continuum of actions ranging from passive, reactive through to proactive. This typology acknowledges agency, resulting in a performance of resistance. In addition, Sutton & Rafaeli (1988) found that store clerks were guided less by organisational display rules in times of much through traffic in the stores. This study confirms that cashiers are less likely to express positive emotions during times where the store is busy than when it is not. This has implications for the nature of the interaction. In considering the nature of

the interaction, it is a finding of Whalen & Zimmerman (1998) that a different type of performance of emotional labour is required where the situation is not clear. An example of this can be found in their research on police call centres. The caller's situation is not transparent to the service representative and it is only though vocalisation that this is gleaned. In separate studies of the emotional labour in police call centres, Whalen & Zimmerman (1998), and Shuler & Sypher (2000) suggest that emotional labour is constructed through interaction. In the study of 911 phone call data, Whalen & Zimmerman (1998) came to the conclusion that interaction rather than cognition or social systems impact the social construction of emotion. Shuler & Sypher (2000) agree that emotional labour is fundamentally a communicative accomplishment. This was also a finding in Sutton & Rafaeli (1988) where it was found that expression of emotion was utilised as a strategy to stay in control in the cashier-customer interaction. Resistance and the resourceful nature of emotion management have implications for how emotion management is performed.

This discussion on individuals' interpretation for action throws doubt on Hochschild's (1983) view that individuals are organisational 'pawns'. Evidence to question Hochschild (1983) a priori assumption that organisations act out of self-interest and that individuals pursue this organisational mission without question can be obtained from the literature, such as, Gatta (2009) and Tolich (1993) that provides empirical evidence to suggest that while organisations draw on employees for their own interests, employees do have some control in the service interaction. In Tolich (1993) study of 65 supermarket clerks, the customer is regarded here as the driver for emotional labour and in this regard the argument is not dissimilar to Hochschild's (1983) where she states that management controls the employee-customer interaction. However, the extension to Hochschild (1983) is made with the explicit inclusion of discussion on autonomy, discretion and the satisfaction gained from the employee-customer interaction. It appears that the supermarket clerks in this study hardly articulated emotional dissonance. As such these findings do not support the argument that emotional labour is solely alienating for the individual. Rather the discussion highlights that emotional labour is not only about organisationally prescribed rules but also incorporates non-alienating and liberating

actions on the part of the performer. In this study there is evidence to suggest that the clerk is aware of the customer as sovereign and the issues associated with this, such as the uneven balance of power dynamics. The employee satisfaction stems from the alleviation of the monotony of the job, the honour involved in the job and the relationships built with the customers. Tolich (1993) clearly states that it is here, in the relationship that Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour loses some of its utility, as it does not take into account the emotion significance of the employee-customer interaction for the performer of emotional labour. As such with the exclusion of this element of the interaction from Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation, there is a gap where the performers' interest, the space and discretion that they draw from this relationship is not privileged in discussions. The distinction based on who owns the emotional display - exchange value and use value respectively, is not clear cut and is problematic, as such Tolich (1993) suggests that the definition of emotion management should be based on the presence or absence of employee control; regulated emotion management and autonomous emotion management. The value of Tolich's (1993) study is the perspective that individuals can give a special service, in other words, that little extra at work. The clerks view themselves as agentic individuals in charge of their own emotional management.

Variability through Individuals' 'Resistance' To Rules and the Act of Gifting

In presenting individuals' ability to challenge rules, extant emotional labour literature draws out variability in emotion management. An example of this is demonstrated through the notion of 'gifting' where rules are disregarded or reinterpreted. Taylor & Tyler (2000) provide evidence of this in their study of telephone sales agent where rules were disregarded or reinterpreted when supervision was absent or where they were involved in interaction with rude callers. Korczynski (2003) study found that customer service representatives derive pleasure from the customer interaction, specifically from helping and satisfying customers. An interesting revelation is the communal rituals that celebrated the pleasures of customer contact work. This reward of emotional labour is not in terms of financial reward but rather as emotional reward with the emphasis on personal

pride from management recognition of employees' work. Mulholland's (2002) study compares team working during the day and team working that occurred at night. This comparative view highlights the emphasis on 'caring' where empathy and compassion are given on the night shift as part of the interaction with the caller. Callaghan & Thompson (2002) demonstrates that customer service representatives are fully aware that taking the time to chat with lonely pensioners affects their organisational efficiency yet they still 'gift' this. In her study of nurses, Bolton (2000b) highlights that work is emotionally complex but that the 'traditional' conceptualisation of emotional labour does not cater for the different forms of emotion management within the nursing context or other workplace situations. According to Bolton (2000b) nurses' work is not closely supervised and as such nurses are different from those workers that Hochschild (1983) states undertake emotional labour. This has implications for entrepreneurs who are also not closely monitored. Nurses' status allows negotiation - though there is a caveat – within the confines of the professional norms and client expectations (Bolton, 2000b). Nursing students are ingrained with a set of feeling rules that help them maintain a professional demeanor, though this is not an explicit part of their education (Bolton, 2000b). In Bolton's (2000b) findings, nurses were found to show a caring face with emotional attachment showing their professionalism. Yet nurses also offer more than a professional caring role, they offer a gift exchange, that is, something extra, and in doing so express their agency (Bolton, 2000b). Amongst themselves this 'something extra' is a sense of community and support to each other and with patients the gift is unconditional with nurses deriving satisfaction from it (Bolton, 2000b). Smith (1992) gives an example of a nurse 'breaking the rules' to bring her an Easter egg, symbolising the notion of caring and safety. This meaning emerges from individuals drawing on the values of altruism, relationship and the well-being of others in their interpretation of rules. Bolton (2000a; 2005) and Bolton & Boyd (2003) extend the discussion on emotional labour by arguing that emotional labour can be performed in a number of different ways. The findings confirm that *both* the employee and management direct the workplace emphasising that it is not always the organisation that sets the emotional agenda.

106

To conclude, the discussion in this section has focused on rules and the resistance and negotiation of these rules. This has implications for the re-conceptualisation of emotion management, where rules are challengeable and fluid rather than immutable and fixed. According to Strauss (1993, p. 255), while rules exist these are not *"precisely prescriptive or peremptorily constraining"*. New meanings can be produced which either change or reinforce future behaviour. Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour underestimates the power of the individual to transform organisational structures, and over-estimates the power of managers to control individual feeling and performance. A counter trend to the dominant tradition of emotional labour that privileges the analytical primacy of management control is the resistance to management control evidenced by Tolich (1993). This indicates that rules and expectations are not stable, context free and fixed but rather that there is a process of negotiation through interpretation that indicates the dynamic and fluid nature of social order (Strauss, 1993). An interactionist would present the individual as one who acts upon their feelings based on their interpretation of the situation rather than Hochschild's (1983) deterministic account where emotional labour is caused by events and the individual has limited influence. It has been argued that different performances of emotion management can occur. There are implications for tensions that may arise during interactions where resistance is not accepted as well as implications for variability in the investigation into emotional labour.

4.6   Emotion Management as Public or Private: The Debate and Implications for Rules

In discussing control with negotiated rules as the frame for discussion, Hochschild's (1983) dualistic analysis distinguishing between the home and the commercial arena is brought under scrutiny. This private and public face of an individual is considered problematic (Tolich, 1993). The private-public distinction is premised on Hochschild's (1983) argument that the public commercial face is a product of capitalism where there is commodification of feeling. First of all this is as Giddens (1982) argues a misnomer, as everyday life represents a commodified existence. Even though work used to be seen as

work away from the home (Worsley, 1970) other socialisation environments, including the private sphere, are now used as areas of commercial activity. Hochschild's (1983) view of work is that it is separate from the home and in the context she was operating in this may have been likely at least for the majority. However, the notion of networking where ties of kinship may have an input in making introductions to assist in an individual's progression undermines this view, highlighting that the home and work cannot be isolated from each other. They are connected, having a dynamic interrelationship (Worsley, 1970). Furthermore, with technological advances and different ways of working being introduced in the twenty-first century, working at home is now the norm with flexible working patterns and virtual teams (Worsley, 1970). The implication of this change is that the home is both an area of consumption and an area of productivity and as such neither totally privatised or totally commercialised (Worsley, 1970). Secondly, the privatised family environment that Hochschild (1983) argued for is not distinctive, as socialisation of feelings also takes place in other arenas. The implication of this for emotional labour is that there is an overlap in the informal aspects of socialisation that focuses on social skills and values. In essence, this distinction is not clear and hence Hochschild's (1983) use of the term may have less relevance, as work is no longer clearly marked off in time or space. What Hochschild (1983) did highlight was the competing influences various institutions have on individuals' understanding of the socially acceptable norms and rules of behaviour (Worsley, 1970). The implication of this is the possibility of struggles and ruptures in performances of emotion management.

For Wouters (1989a) in contrast to Hochschild (1983) the concept of emotional labour plays a role that defines it as a phenomenon that is intrinsically entwined in both the public and private domains. However, Hochschild (1983) argues that there is a distinction between the private and public self. She presents the self as having two universes: the internal universe where one's emotionality resides and the outer universe where emotionality is engaged (at a cost). She has physically located them. The private self is embedded in the private arena (out of public scrutiny – the 'at home face') and the public self is embedded in the public arena (under public scrutiny – the 'at work face'). Even with this private-public distinction that Hochschild (1983) makes, she mentions the

possibility of an individual having a private arena at work. This is confusing, as Hochschild (1983) clearly sees the public arena as the 'at work face', particularly as she makes use of the terms public and commercial interchangeably (Bolton, 2005). Hochschild (1983) drew on Goffman (1959a) for her discussion on this private- public divide developing the notion that there is a true private self and a false public self. This view however was not Goffman's intent (Chriss, 1999). Goffman's (1959a) use of the terms private and public is a conceptual representation of experience (Foddy & Finighan, 1980), for instance, concealing or not providing information (Tseelon, 1992) or framing the self from view (Chriss, 1999).

The argument laid out in this thesis is that individuals engage with their emotionality as a means of role maintenance with them ascertaining the meaning of indications made by others as to the appropriateness of the display (Blumer, 1966; Foddy & Finighan, 1980). This occurs whether the performance is physically located within what Hochschild (1983) considers the workplace or the home. Wouters (1989a) stresses that the public-private divide is invalid as feelings do not stop at the borders of these two domains. Central to Hochschild's (1983) theory development is the concept of 'transmutation', which she devised to manage this private and public divide. This term is however conceptualised as a psychological concept with the focus on managing 'inner' feelings. In explaining this concept, attempting to have feeling - a private act, and the public act of summoning up feeling are referred to through a psychological perspective (Hochschild, 1983). In the fit-perfecting performance, that is, making feeling fit for public-contact work, Hochschild (1983) notes that an effort is involved. Hochschild (1983) considers this effort 'transmutation'. This process entails acting on the individual's emotional system. It can be considered a link between the conscious feeling and the conscious engineering of the emotion for public consumption. In other words, transmutation can be defined as the relationship of feeling to the resultant expression and behaviour. Hochschild (1983, p. 19) notes that, *"the individual cannot sustain psychological distance from organisational feeling rules and their emotions"*, because their emotional system is transmuted by the social engineering and profit motive of the capitalist labour process. Hochschild's (1983) observations of emotional labour brought on a debate about its negative consequences

with her study putting forward the view that managing one's emotions is detrimental to the individual. Hochschild (1983) defines these negative consequences as 'emotional dues' or 'emotion taxes': the harmful effects of organisational power. These can have a cost to the individual (Hochschild, 1983; Rosenthal, 2004) because "…*to manage feeling is to actively try to change a preexisting emotional state",* (Hochschild, 1983, p. 229). Though Hochschild (1983) locates herself in the social realm of emotion, her work emphasises the psychological realm. Thus the fundamental concern for this study is that Hochschild's (1983) account of emotional labour is psychological and normative with cost explained through the psyche. This is apparent in her conceptualisation of transmutation: the fusing of self to the work role, and the psychological effort involved for the individual (Wharton, 1999).

According to Wouters (1989a) the process of transmutation is a misconception devised to bridge the two distinct areas: the private and the public. Price (2001) asserts that the sociology of emotion defines the essentially intrinsic aspects of individuals' emotional labour, and as such asserts that the private aspect of everyday life should not be characterised as positioned outside of the context where individuals utilise the instrumentalisation of emotion for personal gain. Further, Henderson's (2001) study of the caring work of nurses examined emotional engagement versus emotional detachment and highlights that there is no divide between the public and private self. To substantiate this Henderson (2001, p. 134) presented one nurses comment:

> Who you are when you step behind that curtain is really going to turn the tide. You can't separate the woman from the nurse.

Henderson (2001) explains that an individual's personal identity cannot be separated from their professional identity and vice versa. Taking the argument further, Tolich (1993) does highlight supermarket clerks' private performance within the public commercial arena. While there is no doubt that organisational power is high and organisations are attempting to further increase their influence and power over employees, Tolich (1993) argues that individuals can resist such attempts to control their subjectivity. He demonstrates how supermarket clerks make the interaction less impersonal by drawing out the interaction, engaging with the customer, and so also engaging 'self' in

the interaction. The issue raises Hochschild's (1983) obscured consideration for resistance and variability in this sense.

To conclude the discussion on the private-public divide, Hochschild (1989) herself did acquiesce that the term was ambiguous. Critiques of Hochshild's (1983) private to public dichotomy developed largely in response to what is perceived to be a largely improvised conceptualisation of emotional labour (Wouters, 1989a). As a consequence this study seeks to put forward a different conceptualisation of emotional labour where there is dialectical unity between the internal psychological universe of autonomy and self-interest and the external social universe of performance. For instance, entrepreneurs would not be able to perform if interpretation were not a social activity. Entrepreneurs are fully involved in their endeavor and passionate about their venture (Bouchikhi, 1993; Fineman, 2005). According to Bouchikhi (1993) and Brush (1992) entrepreneurs do not see any distinction between the public and private lives, but rather their business activities are fully integrated into their life. Drawing on a vignette presented by Bouchikhi (1993) conveys this view – days out with the family were a business outing where the entrepreneur and his family spent their time visiting building sites. Here it shows that the, at 'home face' is very much the at 'work face'. Furthermore, the majority of entrepreneurs gain their initial funds from family and friends before going on to access funds from other sources (Kao, Kao & Kao, 2002) and as such the private arena is no longer just that, but also a place of work and as such a place open to emotional labour.

The model of emotion that Hochschild (1983) puts forward appreciates that emotion management is social. However, in theorising this social aspect her study appears to 'hold up' the existential cognitive aspect to emotion theorising. The interactional element to emotion management where the focus is on the meaning of the emotion, that is, how it is experienced and interpreted in interaction and the meaning that emerges is subsumed to the psychological. The concept of emotional labour should no longer be defined using the 'cognitive brush' in constructs such as transmutation (Hochschild, 1983) but rather can be conceptualised based on interactional dynamics asking questions around who is in control of the emotion management (Tolich, 1993). Thus it is argued that Hochschild (1983)

111

could take a more interactionist stance.

4.7 Theoretical Critique of Hochschild from A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

The study of emotion management stems from Hochschild's (1983) work with studies in this area underpinned by her epistemological position. An illumination into Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour starts with how she views emotion with the previous discussion on the various models of emotion locating her within the interactionist paradigm. This locates her assumptions on which her conceptualisation of the emotional labour theory was built. This section is restricted to a review of Hochschild's (1983) position for the reason that her work provides the platform for discussions of emotion management within the organisational context as well as her supposition that she offers up her work as an interactionist piece. In evaluating her position there is an attempt to contribute to the interactionist development of emotion management with particular reference to how this shapes entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management.

So where is Hochschild positioned? She exhibits an eclectic fusion of traditions - Is she a constructionist, a functionalist, a structuralist or a symbolic interactionist? Hochschild (1983) positions herself as an interactionist in her approach, where interaction and interpretation are central themes. However there are a few areas of her work that do not conform to this tradition's premises as set out by Blumer in his (1969) work.

Does Hochschild Exhibit Shared Meaning?

The first premise focuses on meaning where individuals act on the basis of the meaning they construct for an object and as such the key features are action and the importance of meaning. It is through significant symbols, gestures of universal meaning that individuals negotiate the social interaction and the influence how others should act (Blumer, 1967). Hochschild (1983) does take, in part, the first premise into consideration. She does this by illustrating signs of shared meaning through language in use. One instance of this is the

term 'phony', and the shared understanding between flight attendants in not wanting to be associated with it. Hochschild (1983 p.134) notes that flight attendants in her study shared a common belief that being labeled 'phony' was a stigma and to dissociate from the stigma and retain self-esteem they redefined their job. They did this by seeing the job as one where their role was to give off a false impression. While Hochschild (1983) introduces stigma into her analysis, the discussion on stigma is illuminated through examples giving a sense of the concept, and as Blumer (1954 p.5) notes this is what 'good teachers' do. However, there is limited scrutiny of stigma's empirical instances, that is, identification of what the concept means, which, as Blumer (1954) notes, is imperative in developing theory.

In providing further evidence of shared meaning Hochschild (1983) draws parallels with Goffman's (1959a) notion of staged performances when she makes reference to debt collectors off stage signs and symbols and the on stage presence of Great Danes as stage setting for debtors. These signs and symbols are shared, transmitting a shared image of the debtor industry. So here, Hochschild (1983) indicates that she is providing sight of how shared meaning is developed through symbolic products.

For Hochschild (1983) rules are external, fixed, independent and imposed upon the individual (Worsley, 1991). Hochschild (1983) sees the social world as one where rules are drawn upon for constructing the *appearance* of a shared social world rather than the social symbolic view that sees meaning and as such rules as emergent from the interaction. This would suggest that Hochschild (1983) considers reality as 'out there'. Wilson (1970) posits that the casual link is a rule and as such Hochschild (1983) is drawing on a normative framework as opposed to an interactionist one. In drawing on this normative framework, Hochschild (1983) suggests that perceptions of emotion are due to our 'cultural policy', i.e. the set of rules that individuals follow. According to Hochschild (1983) individuals' understanding of cultural signposts, such as social norms, can shape their feelings. Emotion management plays a role in the social milieu due to the emphasis on the learned and cultural nature of emotion management (Finkel & Parrott, 2006). Hochschild (1983) draws on the notion of socialisation in presenting her notion of shared

meaning. Hochschild (1983) discusses how an individual acknowledges rules and how to feel by drawing on what they have learnt in childhood. This happens through internalisation (Grbich, 1990). However what this does suggest is that the learning in childhood is a persistant and stable feature of the individual's interpretive scheme resulting in a determinate form of action (Grbich, 1990).

The notion that rules are internalised, learned or institutionalised is a normative assumption (Wilson, 1970). Hochschild's (1983) study highlights acculturation and embeddedness into the job, drawing on what is understood to be a normative assumption that forces 'act on' individuals (Brittan, 1973). Hochschild (1983) does provide extensive insight into the airline industry and the flight attendant's socialisation process, giving a view into the expectations that they draw on to assist them in their interpretation of meaning. Hochschild's (1983) example of flight attendant's induction and the 'way things are done around here' approach provides her normative frame of reference for shared meanings and meaning making. For new flight attendants the formulation of competencies takes place in-house and during this process the individual is inculcated with the values of the family, of the company, the values of the role, and how they present themselves to customers emphasising the management of emotion. Trainers use the analogy of the home to encourage flight attendants to commercialise their private emotion for the benefit of the organisation. This helps them identify with the company, and to think of the passenger as their friend and personal guests in their home. Where an individual has to act 'as if' one is at home (private) in the commercial setting (public) then they are in the business of selling themselves. Hochschild (1983) notes that according to flight attendants' organisational norms anger and frustration were not acceptable emotions to express and so the trainers discussed various ways on how not to display these emotions. This is a 'acted upon' causal explanation (Brittan, 1973) where position rather than roles is taken to describe behaviour. This normative view does not allow for the interactional basis of socialisation where an individual's subjective meanings are part of the process (Baumol, 1993). Hochschild (1983) does allow that the cabin-home analogy is vulnerable as it personalises an impersonal relationship between the flight attendant and passenger where the passenger has different interaction rules. Yet

114

even with the acknowledgement that individuals involved in the interaction could be drawing on different rules and so could be defining the situation differently, Hochschild (1983) overlooks the need to develop this line of thought with the notion that the process of interpretation can vary the shared meaning developed out of interaction.

Does Hochschild Privilege Interaction Exhibiting Joint Action?

The second premise is that meaning is fabricated through social interaction and that individuals are always connected to each other. Individuals' actions emerge from a co-joint scheme of interpretation where lines of conduct are brought together.

In addition to the notion of socialisation to put forward a shared scheme of understanding Hochschild (1983) also draws on the notion of role taking, that is, the process where taking the role of the other develops a shared scheme of understanding for how those involved in the interaction should act. Hochschild's (1983) example is where the trainer advises the trainees to think about what would make the other person behave in a certain way and use that to excuse their behaviour and move on drawing on this meaning during interactions. However, here Hochschild (1983) is subsuming the indication of the other and focusing on how the trainee uses their imagination as a tool for changing their feeling. As such, there is an *appearance* of shared meaning. What appears to be missing here is a closer inspection of the interactions that the airline stewards are acting within. Hochschild's (1983) attempt at interpretation is her notion of transmutation. Her notion of transmutation is developed around the move from private to the public realm where emotion work, feeling rules and social exchange are the prime characters in the emotional system. However while transmutation is contingent upon external rules, it focuses less on meanings and their interpretations based on others' situation dependent indications (Blumer, 1969). Rather Hochschild's (1983) notion of transmutation accounts for others' expectations as fixed, viewing the self as an organisational 'pawn' with little power to negotiate within an interaction. Hochschild (1983) work is characterised by what Wilson (1970) argues is cognitive agreement, where the assumption is that individuals share

115

established symbols and meanings. Hochschild (1983) puts forward the appearance of shared meaning where she subsumes others' indications.

Furthermore, while Hochschild (1983) adopts interaction as a central theme and appears to draw on Blumer's (1969) joint collective action in presenting interactional process with her examination of collective emotional labour. Her understanding of joint action is not exactly how Blumer (1969) perceives it. The collective action that Blumer (1969) espouses focuses on how interactant draw on lines of action to collectively define the situation. Instead, Hochschild (1983) understands joint action as teamwork, appearing to draw on Goffman (1959a) in this respect and his notion of teams and how teams can manage the backstage emotional turmoil and smooth out the wrinkles for a smooth and polished front stage performance. This is one element of the interaction the other being the other involved in the interaction (Goffman, 1959a). While Goffman (1959a) draws on the audience in his expose, Hochschild (1983) under represents this.

Hochschild (1983) adopts an 'action as reactive' stance though this is at odds with the agentic competence that an interactionist perspective espouses. Individual action as reactive is evidenced by the functional view that Hochschild (1983) draws on, that sees the social system as natural and unchallengeable. This is a normative view of the social. This study seeks to take emotional labour away from viewing individuals as having no control over their emotions to one where individuals have the ability to negotiate and conceive of meaning in managing their emotions. Blumer's (1969) thoughts on the interpretive process is that interpretation and definition of the situation is central to the performance and hence in taking note of rules as Hochschild (1983) does, she would need to show how individuals not only adjust their actions based on societal rules and norms and their understanding of these but also that prior to acting on rules they assess the validity of these for the situation being negotiated through their and others' actions (Cicourel, 1970). In adjusting their conduct based on their understanding of the situation, the others' indications and the norms and values, the individual is attempting to develop a shared scheme of interpretation (Cicourel, 1970). This is done through the dual process of definition and interpretation.

Does Hochschild Demonstrate a Dynamic Interpretive Process?

The third premise of symbolic interactionism that Blumer (1969) puts forward is that meaning is managed within an interpretive process. This interpretive process is an ongoing process where meanings are emergent through streams of activity (Blumer, 1966). In other words, meaning is interpreted and reinterpreted. Hochschild (1983) presents her scheme of interpretation as transmutation. This process entails the transmutation of an emotional system and can be considered a link between the conscious feeling and the conscious engineering of the emotion for public consumption (Hochschild, 1983). This relationship of feeling to the resultant socially generated feeling is explained through external control and the psychological work an individual does during transmutation (Hochschild, 1983).

Hochschild's (1983) views are rather psychologistic viewing emotion as attached to the individual rather than showing how emotion emerges in the interaction. Hochschild (1983) does not privilege how individuals receive, interpret, and reciprocate in maintaining emotion management within the interaction. This indicates some incongruence with interactionist thinking although she espouses this as her methodological approach. As a consequence she overlooks the possibilities for varying accounts of individuals' interpretation of the feeling rule in play. Hence, what she presents is a nomothetic person. Hochschild (1983) has taken a uniform stance where all individuals appear to have the same understanding of the situation. According to Finkel & Parrott (2006) in an evaluative theory one must consider the subjectivity of the individual resulting in a variable account across individuals. This variability that Finkel & Parrott (2006) mention can be looked at from an interactionist perspective that extols meaning and the assigning of this meaning on an object based on individuals' interpretation of situation, hence, a changeable contextual view of emotion management. While Hochschild (1983) drew on Turner's (1976) work to highlight issues of self premised on the value of human feeling and will, this has been used in a rather limiting manner to highlight that in the work context where others have the control and authority it is not a priority to provide the opportunity for individuals to locate their true feelings. A

117

consideration of variability in performing emotional labour where individual's interpretations also take prevalence is missing in her account.

In considering the dynamic process of interpretation, Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour does not provide for the dynamism and unstable outcomes that considering streams of activity would allow. While for Hochschild (1983) adaptability is emphasised as central to the conceptualisation of emotion in her work the notion of adaptability as emergent meaning is overlooked. During the process of definition and interpretation, the schemes of interpretation are only valid so long as they are seen to be continually affirmed by others and as such it is an ongoing process of emergence and streams of activity which is not privileged in Hochschild's (1983) work.

Hochschild's (1979) field study reduced her discussions to one category in her typology: the emotion worker based on her essentialist assumptions. As such Hochschild (1983) under-theorises the complexity of the concept, even though the base elements of her work clearly show that the individual has alternate ways of sensing feeling rules – internalising (deep acting) and externalising (surface acting). This lack of consideration for complexity is something that she, herself, has been critical of. In her review of Schafer's (1976) language for emotion she states that, *"…his action language seems to me too simple an apparatus for coping with the complexity of everyday emotional life"* (Hochschild, 1983 p.213). This study in moving away from the 'static' view presented by Hochschild (1983) towards an analytical discussion where complexity and variability are taken into consideration assists in capturing more closely the nature of emotional labour. A fluid position would have considered the possibility of variability, with individuals moving between categories depending on the situation. Bolton (2005) picked up on this issue of variability and by drawing on a fluid position presented a perspective that highlights variability. Her model of emotion management clearly shows that an individual can draw on the full range of emotion management strategies. This study takes on the broader ideographic stance and examines emotion management of which emotional labour is one element. This research study seeks to understand individuals' management of emotion and hence the dynamics that shape this action. From the discussion so far, it is argued that

emotional labour is presented as evaluative (Kahan & Nussbaum, 1996) where the individual draws on the evaluation of the situation and associated feeling rules to alter feelings as appropriate. Consequently an individual's evaluation of the situation could result in different performances (Kahan & Nussbaum, 1996), and thus the argument for Hochschild (1983) to privilege interpretation in her study. Symbolic interaction holds that rules may vary from person to person, depending on their interpretations and what meaning they assign to the various objects in their encounters (Blumer 1966). As such, not every individual behaves in the same way or in a socially acceptable manner, perhaps because they have differing understandings of the situation, do not see the need to act in a certain way or do not have the motivation to do so. Thus, it is argued that individuals' meaning and interpretation are key elements of emotional labour. Taking interpretation into account would have allowed Hochschild (1983) to develop the notion of variability in her conceptualisation of emotion management. Hochschild's (1983) data does provide access to this with her acknowledgement that the flight attendants' rules could differ from passengers' rules of interaction.

On reviewing Hochschild's (1983) work against Blumer's (1969) premises, essential for an interactionist piece of work, it is found to deviate from the interactionist foundation she espouses. While Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour has made an important contribution to the literature there is still scope for this study to develop this further, particularly with the ambiguities in her 'interactionist' conceptualisations. In developing Hochschild (1983) in a more interactionist way, shared meaning, joint action and variability of emotion management will be rendered visible. The mainstay of emotional labour literature is focused on the worker in the services of an entrepreneur. Now through the analysis of entrepreneurs, emotion management can be analysed from the ownership perspective. Hochschild (1983) provides empirical evidence to suggest that employees' performance of emotional labour is embedded in organisational norms and culture. However, entrepreneurs operate under their own cultural cues rather than through organisational norms. This suggests that entrepreneurs' performance of emotion management will be different from that of employees.

Despite the conceptual differences that this study is seeking to address, this study shares with Hochschild (1983), that an individual is an emotion manager. Though here, as in Bolton's (2005) study individuals are viewed as self-interpretive individuals rather than passive victims coerced into complying with organisational rules. As highlighted in Smith & Lorentzon, (2005) the complexities that abound in entrepreneurs' performance needs to be understood. This study seeks to examine how entrepreneurs' performance is accomplished through their emotion management.

4.8   Conclusion

At this point, a summary of the conceptual difficulties with Hochschild's (1983) work would be a convenient way to reaffirm this study's argument and position. Hochschild's (1983) model of emotional labour is presented on a normative framework where the focus is on fixed and determinate. Thus emergence and variability are overlooked. This study seeks to address this area.

Hochschild's (1983) framework is also based on a hierarchical model where the distribution of power dynamics outside of this control-command framework is under-theorised. Both Hochschild (1983) and Bolton (2005) focus on the organisational context. Entrepreneurship provides one context with which to view emotion management from a less hierarchical position. The importance of Bolton's (2005) work is its role in bringing out the 'active' individual and presenting a more complex view of emotion management than Hochschild (1983) and many other scholars of emotional labour. This study is appreciative of this 'active' individual perspective in its development of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. Bolton (2005) shows individuals' motive through the incorporation of interest into her conceptualisation of emotional labour practices. This could be developed for further insight into how interest is taken into consideration and how this has implications for self-reflection. Hochschild (1983) focuses solely on the imbalance in pecuniary reward for labour power. Bolton (2005) extends this focus and is not transfixed by the appropriation of value by the employer but rather is interested in a broader spectrum of how society operates as a whole.

The review of published works on emotional labour reveals a vast range of research supporting the concept of emotional labour and showing the different ways in which emotional labour studies can be taken into account. The literature converges on some key points: control, authenticity and performance. These key conceptual elements serve to present emotional labour as social, considering how individuals come to assess, label and manage emotion during interaction. The discussion has presented various debates on Hochschild's (1983) fundamental ideas and evidence. Hochschild's (1983) examination of emotional labour is undertaken in relation to wider social structures though the difficulty with her conception is that it is does not privilege interpretation as a means for bringing about emotional labour. In addition to this Hochschild's (1983) study is not value sensitive and as such does not represent individuals' values as having an impact on their emotional labour performances. Some studies contend that individuals put up resistance to organisational control (Callaghan & Thompson, 2002; Taylor & Tyler, 2000). This study seeks to redress the possible tendency of Hochschild's (1983) work to under-theorise resistance where rules are challengeable. Joint action needs to be applied more thickly to the model of emotional labour, resulting in a conceptual argument that presents power as negotiated and as such multidimensional. In this respect Bolton's (2000a; 2005) work adds a useful vantage point to Hochschild (1983), presenting control as a multipart phenomenon that has implications for how emotional labour is viewed. Bolton (2000a; 2005) has attempted to reformulate the definition of emotional labour in this regard, with her new conception of emotional labour. This has implications for the development of the research questions that frame this study with consideration of feelings rules as normative and as negotiable and the potential for tensions where resistance is an issue.

It can be seen that the debate surrounding Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour is still unraveling. Hochschild's (1983) ideas have been the subject of debate due to concerns of scholars in the field. Wouters (1989a) sets the terrain for much debate by stating that Hochschild (1983) could have provided more conceptual rigour and empirical evidence. In this Hochschild (1989) does concede, agreeing that she could have provided more insight in her overall design of emotional labour resulting in a more

rigorous conceptual framework. Empirical evidence from recent emotion work studies question aspects of Hochschild's (1983) work (Anderson, 1993; Tolich, 1993). The critique raises questions that are not answerable by Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation, thus identifying limitations and suppositions in her work (Anderson, 1993; Bolton & Boyd, 2003). The overall message is that Hochschild (1983) has made an important contribution with her conceptualisation of emotional labour. The value for the sociology of emotion is to allow researchers to see how emotion workers manage their feeling into what is acceptable. Wouters (1989a) and Hochschild (1983, 1989) share an important insight in this regard, maintaining that emotional labour requires interaction. It is on these reflections that the whole complex issue of the management of emotions in the workplace becomes rich, and consequently points the way ahead indicating scope for further research. To ascertain Hochschild's (1983) interactionist position an evaluation of her conceptualisation of emotional labour against the key premises of symbolic interactionism has been undertaken. This evaluation uncovered her normative 'leanings' suggesting that there is scope for an interactionist redefinition of emotional labour. This study seeks to address this.

Certainly, the concept of emotion management has the potential to be taken further and taken to contexts, such as entrepreneurship, that operate to challenge social processes. According to Smith (2003) the notion of emotional labour in nursing has allowed scholars to make the conceptual connections between care, feelings and emotions. Within this study, connections are being made between emotion and performance. A focus on performance needs to be more centrally located in discussions of emotional labour, particularly as work is about 'doing'. Hochschild's (1983) work on emotion management and Goffman's (1959a) work on the presentation of self provide the propellant for this study to bring together the entrepreneurs' performance and their emotion management. These literatures have at their centre interaction and the act of 'doing'.

Chapter Five

Entrepreneurship: A Negotiation of Performance and Emotion Management

5.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the argument for bringing together emotion management and entrepreneurship performance. It focuses on emotion management as an entrepreneurship practice contributing to the understanding of how entrepreneurs' performance is accomplished through emotion management. This is an important pursuit as emotion management is 'part-and-parcel' of an entrepreneur's performance (Bandelj, 2009). In order to make this emotion management visible, a synthesis of the key conceptual 'guiding lights' from the literature reviewed are detailed. This interpretation of the literature will guide this study in its quest for theory development of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management where they interpret the world based on their indication to self and others' indications. With this process entrepreneurs develop an orientation to emotion: what it means in relation to the situation, how to manage it, how to behave, and how others behave. In essence an understanding of the display rules and the management of feeling according to their interpretation of these display rules.

This study draws from the symbolic interactionist tradition the focus on meaning, self and social interaction. It is posited that what is needed is depth perception and the ability to perceive the world in different dimensions. As already noted, this orientation is needed in an attempt to facilitate a qualitative change in how entrepreneurship is viewed and addressed. The study casts emotion management in the entrepreneur 'drama'. In the entrepreneur drama there are two leading actors: emotion and performance. The performance presents the tale of how emotion management is interpreted and acted out and ultimately how support is gained. In this performance, self-reflection shapes behaviour as do the values the entrepreneur holds. It is envisaged that entrepreneurs' value for challenging social process for innovation (De Carolis & Saparito, 2006) will

render visible their performance of emotion management. As a consequence of this the emotion management undertaken is the essence of their performance.

5.1 Conceptual Intersection between Performance and Emotion Management

It is the intention in this particular section to present insight into the intersection between entrepreneurship performance and emotion management. As Roach (1985) notes, the management of emotion is an integral aspect of performance. Bringing together performance and emotion is a pursuit that Hochschild (1997) condones. In her discussion of Goffman's work, Hochschild (1997) notes some areas that need further development arguing that Goffman's (1959a) work on the presentation of self under-represents the 'internal' account of how emotion is managed which her study sought to address. This Hochschild (1983) does through her focus on inner feeling and analysis on how individuals act on this, giving much insight into the psychological 'inner' workings on emotion. In doing so Hochschild (1983) tends to under-represent the social in a way that does not clearly connect what Hochschild (1979 p.557) sees as the management of 'outer impressions' - the Goffmanian perspective of emotion display, with the management of 'inner feelings - Hochschild's perspective of how individuals try to feel. This study argues that the focus on entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management is one theoretical juncture that can develop a closer relationship to the social role than the psyche.

Hochschild (1983) draws on both the psychological and social spheres in her conceptualisation of emotional labour. She considers the social by linking to appropriateness for the situation, however with her consideration of the cost to the psychological self and the analysis of surface and deep acting linked to the psyche, her cognitive grounding is over emphasised. In drawing on cognitive roots, Hochschild (1983) presents emotional labour as being based on 'pretense' and 'authenticity'. This approach to analysis is one where she does not privilege individuals as active and able to shape the social world. Hochschild's (1979) active individual is only active on inner

feeling. Consequently Hochschild (1983) differs from Goffman's (1959) stance in this respect.

5.2   Entrepreneurs' Interactional Performance of Emotion Management

Social interaction is fundamental in configuring the emotional labour process (Hochschild, 1983). For Mead (1912) emotion is social, being expressed in social interaction. According to Hochschild (1983) emotion reflects an individual's sense of the self-relevance of a perceived situation and hence an individual's emotionality and the management of this involves understanding the nature of the context (Hochschild, 1983). The relevance for entrepreneurship is that entrepreneurs' emotionality takes on a different form in different situations (Gartner & Birley, 2002). Entrepreneurs are emotionally proactive as part of their persuasive performance (Cardon et al., 2009; Foo, Uy & Baron, 2009; Goss, 2008). The emergent theme from the review of literature indicates that entrepreneurship is 'acted out' and so performance is a key element of this acting out. Current definitions tend to agree that to be entrepreneurial is to act and in doing so, pursue opportunities. During this act of doing, the entrepreneur takes action where emotion is integral. According to Goss (2005b, p. 205):

> Schumpeter's insights into the sociology of entrepreneurship point toward a theory of entrepreneurial action where social interaction and the emotions are the key variables.

This has profound implications for entrepreneurs' performance. Emotion management uses performance as its principal instrumentality with most authors that examine emotion management having made reference to performance and its importance (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Hochschild, 1983; Tyler & Taylor, 1998).

In considering these two areas: performance and emotion management, both Hochschild's work and Goffman's ideas are considered in relation to each other. Goffman (1956, 1961b, 1967c) notes that emotion is a social feature of interactions which Hochschild (1979) does acknowledge. However, Hochschild's (1983) critique of Goffman (1959a) is that he does not consider emotion in any depth, with his individual a

non-feeling interactional ambassador. However, Goffman's (1956) article *Embarrassment and Social Organization* focuses on the emotionality of the individual. In addition, Goffman (1961b, p.23) clearly states that an individual feels and manages these feelings to display situation appropriate emotions:

> 'Courteous service' points to the common expectation that an employee will show invariable good humor...participants will hold in check certain psychological states and attitudes, for, after all, the very general rule that one enter into the prevailing mood in the encounter carries the understanding that contradictory feelings will be held in abeyance.

The need to act out situational appropriate emotions is what Goffman (1967c, p.9) terms 'expressive order'. Goffman (1959a) notes that in taking the role of the other, an individual tailors their act to the other' act. According to Goffman (1967b) during this process of role taking and role preserving the individual manages their emotion.

The views presented in Erving Goffman's (1959a) classic work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, highlight the importance of performance in interpersonal relationships. Leidner (1993) states that sales techniques of insurance salespeople include scripting of their presentation, standardised body language, intonation and emotion to influence potential clients. This demonstrates how emotion can influence others. Goffman's interest in performance is steeped in his dramaturgical approach to action referred to as the interaction order. His definition of what is social is concerned with what individuals do during social interaction. According to Wellington and Bryson (2001, p.940):

> There is no doubt that it is through aesthetically saturated acts, gestures and clothes that identities are constructed and programmed and self-positioned in the competitive market place.

The implication of this is to consider how different forms of emotion management might be performed. Hochschild's (1983) account suggests that emotional labour is conveyed through the media of language and content of interaction. Language can take a variety of forms such as statements, practices, and story (Grant, Keenoy & Oswick, 1998; Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2000). Goffman's (1959a) ideas on performance provides a useful place to start in understanding how entrepreneurs gain legitimation, particularly as interaction is viewed as a dramatic process (Strauss, 1997). According to Goffman (1961b, p. 55) an individual must perform an 'appropriate expressive role'. This needs to be performed in such a way that the impression conveyed is compatible with the role

being acted out (Goffman, 1961b). For instance, an airhostess is supposed to be amenable (Hochschild, 1983); a judge to be sober (Goffman, 1961b); a bride to be happy (Hochschild, 1983); a pilot to be cool (Goffman, 1961b); and a nurse to be caring (Smith & Gray, 2001). This role appropriate quality, effectively performed and combined with the individual's status in a particular role provides the basis of self for the actor and others. The self then needs to perform based on expectations to develop an image. Based on this argument, it is posited here that entrepreneurs can control their emotions and hence their performance. This link to role appropriate performances provides room for agency in conceptualising emotion management within the entrepreneurship paradigm.

Entrepreneurship is an agentic concept (Goddard, 2009) with entrepreneurs engaging in a dynamic process of boundary work (Dollinger, 1984; Maguire, 2001; Pachucki & Breiger, 2010). Boundary work is understood as managing social boundaries (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010). The boundary spanning nature of the entrepreneur role has an impact on how entrepreneurs perform (Hester & Francis, 1994). In this boundary-spanning role, entrepreneurs interact with many individuals who come to the interaction with various motives and perspectives. This would suggest the performance of different forms of emotion management emerging from different feeling rules and situation specific indications. Boundary work allows for the negotiation of how the entrepreneurs and their venture are perceived (Rao & Sivakumar, 1999). During this boundary work information is exchanged (Dollinger, 1984) and managed (Rao & Sivakumar, 1999) According to Williams (2003) emotion management is a cultural performance. It is argued that the boundary work undertaken provides an interactive channel for the management of emotion.

5.3 The Social Organisation of Entrepreneurship Emotion: A Focus on Rules, Expectations and Shared Understandings

In organising entrepreneurship emotion an understanding of rules, expectations and shared understandings is necessary. This section provides an appreciation of these concepts toward consideration of how Hochschild's (1983) ideas can be drawn on in understanding entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management.

Rules and Expectations

According to MacMillan (1983), entrepreneurs cannot neglect the management of the politics of the new venture. Entrepreneurs are seeking access to limited resources and at the same time those that have the resources are becoming more selective (Timmons & Gumpert, 1982). Those that have the resources have expectations of what emotional expressions the entrepreneur should display. This has implications for the entrepreneurs' display and can therefore be viewed as a display rule. The fact that the investor has the influence to provide funding for the entrepreneur suggests that they have the power in setting these display rules. This idea highlights the notion that emotion management is not limited to organisationally desired display but can be extended to stakeholder requirements and beliefs. Consequently, rules and expectations are not automatically determined but rather individuals actively select how emotional labour structures are used (Blumer, 1969; Bolton, 2005). As such, using emotion management as a resource will increase entrepreneurs' chances of gaining funds. This proposition is grounded in the interpretive nature of emotional labour. It proposes that this conception of emotion management as a potential entrepreneurship resource may help understand further how entrepreneurs can utilise emotion in their attempt to influence others such as stakeholders to gain buy-in; investors to gain funds, buyers to gain their business, and suppliers to gain favourable terms. This notion of emotion management as an entrepreneurship resource is not widely explored in the extant literature. Yet the empirical examples discussed previously, locate such possibilities within entrepreneurship and suggest the usefulness of further research attention. Such attention would resonate with analysis of emotion

engagement as eliciting positive responses from stakeholders (Henderson, 2001). Emotion management brings social norms which both constrain (Hochschild, 1983) and enable interaction (Bolton, 2000a). In essence, social norms and rules are reflected in entrepreneur's actions, based on an interactive response.

There is some extant literature that places a great deal of emphasis on contextual factors. Holmquist (2003) highlights that the context within which entrepreneurship is acted out is an important focus for entrepreneurial studies. So for instance, contextual factors influence the investor's decision to provide financial support to entrepreneurs. Ideological conditions referring to a mode of thought attitudes, beliefs, and values (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Powell, 1962) justify the social order: the relationship between ideas and the social context of society, by providing a theoretical interpretation of the world. Entrepreneurship has typically been grounded in the individual, society and culture (Carter & Jones-Evans, 2000). Consequently, the way that entrepreneurship is talked about shapes it (Steyaert, 1998). Within the entrepreneurship domain there are some taken-for-granted assumptions that guide this talk, such as the polarisation between individual voluntarism with the focus on the individual as the unit of analysis (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson, 2007). Entrepreneurship is an institution which has significant patterns (Holmquist, 2003) with research within the field reinforcing the individualistically oriented and stereotypical image of the entrepreneur. The imperialism of rules is a phenomenon more greatly associated with organisations rather than with entrepreneurs. Instead entrepreneurs have been seen as mavericks or have been depicted as heroes (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson, 2007). However, this is dependent on the success of the entrepreneurial individual and on how they portray themselves in the pursuit of their goals (Downing, 2005). As such, success plays a role in how entrepreneurship is viewed. Ogbor (2000) states that entrepreneurship language reproduces and maintains this dominant individualistic view of the phenomenon.

Hochschild (1983) embedded her discussion of specific rules and resources for social action in the structural features with the intent that the goal and values underlying the social processes of emotion work are used in the social interaction. One way of aligning

these social processes of organisational players, is through the concept of emotion work (Dormann & Zijlstra, 2003). According to Tolich (1993) the degree to which the job provided freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out was constrained due to the labour market conditions, where workers were only employed on part-time contracts. This labour market structure was a controlling feature and had a significant impact on how the supermarket workers responded to the workplace and the role. Emotional labour is a system based on individual acts of emotion work, social feeling rules and social interaction (Hochschild, 1983). This perception of emotional labour as a social construction and a system provides a view of emotional labour as encompassing both the individual and collective levels of a social system (Callahan, 2000). The role of the entrepreneur like the bride exists before and after the event, but rules about how to feel and behave during the event are linked to an understanding of the event itself. Mazhindu's (2003) study of nurses also establishes societal structures as important when it was pointed out in her study that how nurses felt about their role was developed during the process of their socialisation and experiential development, which suggests that emotional labour is based on socio-cultural aspects of society. Entrepreneurship is social being produced by the social context (Staske, 1996). Consequently, it is important to consider the social processes that conceive of entrepreneurship. However of note is that the social context is not determinative but that as Anderson (1979, p.91) remarks:

> Entrepreneurs interpret their own version of the environment, rather than merely reacting to it. In turn, they enact this interpretation which forms the basis of their businesses.

This interpretation of the social context is central to this study where the interpretation of social processes such as occupational expectations, rules and scripts that conceive of action will be taken into account in rendering visible entrepreneurs' emotion management.

Shared Understandings

In considering the social organisation of entrepreneurship, Strauss' (1993) negotiated processual ordering framework: work orders, normative orders and feeling orders has been drawn on to enlighten further the shared understandings of standard setting, embodying and evaluating aspect of the legitimation process. First of all, work orders are those explicit organisational rules that assist in presenting the operational guidelines. These organising principles are how work and interactions get done. Drawing on the entrepreneurship-investor relationship in respect of funding as one example of the entrepreneurship interaction, provides some insight into work orders. This presentation is generally based on the rationality model of decision making with a great deal of emphasis placed on the business plan (MacMillan, 1985) which has largely written emotion out of the world of entrepreneurship. Yet it is argued that, in decision making the influence of emotion must be taken into consideration (Freid & Hisrich, 1994). This consideration is embedded in the concept of investor fit (Mason & Stark, 2004) where business angels seek involvement that produces emotional and intellectual reward (Holaday, Meltzer & McCormick, 2003; Mason & Stark, 2004). This emphasises the interactional and emotional aspects of the entrepreneurship process. Furthermore, Schumpeter (1934) emphasises the need for gaining funds to engage in new combinations and highlights investors as a valid option over self-financing. In Penrose's (1959) general theory of the growth and development of enterprising firms she highlights the need for the entrepreneur to possess fund-raising ingenuity along with creativity (Long, 1983). Freid & Hisrich (1994) argue that in decision making processes, the influence of perception, emotion and cognitive processes must be taken into consideration to gain an understanding of this decision making process. These substantiate the argument for using an interpretive framework for understanding entrepreneurs.

The normative guidelines are the implicit rules of the organisation. These are based on the tacit knowledge of the organisation. Entrepreneurs' performance is not generally supervised and as such they can act with limited investor mechanisms of observation. However, entrepreneurship is still bound by mechanisms of observation through their

131

dependence on investors. The entrepreneur must gain the trust and commitment of these investors to be able to appropriate resources and work towards the success of their business (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996). Thus the success of the organisation is contingent on the decisions the entrepreneur makes (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). As such while it could be argued that the entrepreneur is in control being responsible for the venture and its future, power needs to be identified, negotiated and understood by all those involved in the interactions taking place (Chell & Tracey, 2005).

Feeling orders or 'rules' as articulated by Hochschild (1983), are those that shape emotions experienced during interaction. It is argued that entrepreneurs are emotive (Douglas & Shepherd, 2002; Fineman, 2005) and that during their emotional-symbolic performances self-management is important (Bird & Jelinek, 1988). Therefore, while entrepreneurs are expected to be passionate about their venture idea (Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009), they are not expected to express negative emotion such as frustration. Consequently, these negative emotions need to be suppressed so that an appropriate positive outward display of emotion, such as passion, can be evidenced. This is similar to other professional roles where a 'professional mask' is donned to manage undesirable emotions from being expressed (Lewis, 2005). They must maintain a certain distance from the idea to show that they are not so wrapped up in it that they can not see the flaws, if any (Douglas & Shepherd, 2002). They need to demonstrate that they can devolve authority where required and think about exit strategies. The maintenance of this professionalism in entrepreneurship requires emotion management.

To conclude this section, the defining interactional process of the entrepreneur focuses on two key phenomenon: entrepreneurship performance and emotion management. The concept that draws these together is the interaction conceptualised through negotiation and legitimation. These are discussed in more detail.

5.4   Entrepreneurs' Negotiation of Rules: 'Resistance' and Variability

Subsequent discussion has charted a course enabling the argument to be put forward that rather than exploitation there is a negotiated interpretation of rules in performing emotion management. Hence, in contrast to Hochschild's (1983) notion of exploitation, where subordination and exploitation is the status quo, Constanti & Gibbs (2004) note that emotional labour emerges under the voluntary notion of exploitation proposed by Steiner (1984) in his liberal model of exploitation. This allows for the consideration of different forms of power.

The notion that rules are not fixed but rather can be negotiated is the basis on which this study's conceptualisation of emotion management as emerging through negotiated power will be presented. According to Blumer (1969) the development of shared meaning emerges through interpretation of objects within the interaction. This provides the basis for negotiation and the conceptualisation of a symbolic interactionist study of emotion. Meaning making is an adaptive process where individuals draw on their consciousness to appraise experiences and feelings that shape their response action (Worsley, 1970). While the consciousness is involved, the whole process is undertaken in relation to others (Mead, 1913). An individual exists within a social world and so this act of meaning making is social (Mead, 1913). Within this social world their behaviour is guided through the appropriation of social protocols and individuals' interpretation of this social 'equipment' (Worsley, 1970). Entrepreneurs, like other individuals evaluate their experiences, finding meaning in their actions and those of others. Meaning making activities are performed to manage feelings and present the desired behaviour. Goffman (1959a) views the characteristics of a performance to be constraints that the individual takes into account resulting in a performance, as opposed to merely an activity. The individual will undertake their activity but also convey appropriate expressions and acceptable feelings associated with this. This is necessary to imbue the impression being fostered. As such, during the process of interpretation, the entrepreneur draws on what they have indicated to themselves along with their feelings. A point to consider is the meaning of work for the individual. In general, literature espouses the sense of self and self-management the

entrepreneur seeks, in addition to the profit making aspect (Du Gay & Salaman, 1992). In this case, the issue of exploitation is not a central argument (Worsley, 1970).

The research is located in the temporal career of entrepreneurs' negotiation, which is constituted by entrepreneurs as a development of their venture (Kuratko, Hornsby & Naffziger, 1997). Career as defined by Goffman (1961a, p. 119) is a 'course through life'. In addition to entrepreneurs' status, others goals are also considered during the interpretation of the situation. Wouters (1989a) stated that Hochschild does not consider that the various parties in a negotiation could have common interests. This has implications for the focus on exploitation. On the other hand, Schumpeter (1934) did note that in this sense the stakeholder, for instance, investor, customer or supplier does have some power over the entrepreneur, as they are not always committed to the same goals as the entrepreneur. Not all entrepreneurship relationships are successful or beneficial to the parties in the relationship. In light of these considerations, different forms of emotional labour are required during the negotiations, dependent on whether values are shared or not. In these discussions variability has been noted and is of importance.

5.5   The Role of Entrepreneurs' Motive in Interpreting 'Emotion' Rules

Understanding motive is necessary for an understanding of the organisation of the phenomenon under consideration (Anderson, 2005), in this case, emotion management and performance. With various entrepreneurs' motives different entrepreneurship performances can emerge (Hisrich, 1990) and hence different emotional management. Korczynski & Ott (2005) identifies two contrasting emotional labour performances in their investigation. One approach, 'dogs and mercenaries', focuses on economic gain through pecuniary and instrumental means where trust was non-existent. In this approach social relations were instrumental, conflicting and competitive. The key issue synthesized from this is self-interest. The second approach, 'playing golf with friends', focused on cultivating trust based relationships where individuals were motivated not only by economic factors but also by social and ethical factors. Consequently, it is important to

consider this complexity of motive in any conceptualisation of the entrepreneurship performance, their interpretation and emotional labour.

In considering this complexity, the traditional conceptualisation of emotion management has espoused the centrality of alienation (Hochschild, 1983). This is concerned with employee satisfaction, loss of personal freedom and the issue of self-image and perception of others in relation to unsatisfying work (Worsley, 1970). It is generally stated in the entrepreneurship literature that the entrepreneur is taking up the mantle of entrepreneurship for work satisfaction. Earlier on in discussions here it has been mentioned that ownership needs to be considered in the conceptualisation of emotional labour particularly as individuals, such as entrepreneurs own their venture: generally the idea, knowledge, and in some cases capital. Hochschild's (1983) study of the interaction between the airhostess and the customer did not take ownership into consideration, with their relationship resembling a master-servant model. With ownership the relationship the entrepreneur has with the other people is different with ownership providing the basis of satisfaction. It entails a degree of negotiation where the entrepreneur's self is not subsumed, as in the case of the airhostess, but rather the entrepreneur can take charge of self. In other words, emotion is firmly located in negotiation with the potential for emotion management existing when the emotional labourer influences another individual. This action is produced through motive (Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990). This has implications for the performance of emotional management, as according to Bolton (2005) motive guides the emphasis on performance and different types of emotion management. Hochschild (1983) states that emotional labour is not only found in capitalist states but also in socialist states and that the profit motive is not limited to money but also includes authority, status, honour and well-being. Entrepreneurs too, are driven by different motives, which could be either financial and non-financial (Chaganti & Greene, 2002) and in doing so they actively engage in the politics of negotiation and legitimacy (Giddens, 1991). This focus on negotiation and legitmation is important as work assists in developing self and establishing identity (Worsley, 1970). Holmquist (2003) has suggested that the processual view should be extended beyond the mere focus on process to one where an ontological view of becoming is applied. It is through the

emergence of an authentic entrepreneurship role identity that social endorsement and acceptance occurs. Entrepreneurs conform to rules to gain positive appraisals.

Entrepreneurs' intentions to exploit opportunities shapes behaviour, actions and decision making (Chell, 2000). As such it is their authenticity of values and emotions that produces and maintains performance. It can be argued then that entrepreneurs use emotion management to market themselves allowing the significant other to get a sense of who they are with sight of the authentic self. As such, they conceive of emotion management as assisting in developing a shared understanding of how to work together. This draws on Blumer's (1969) ideas on indications and inter-subjective meaning. Authenticity is largely defined by other people (Goffee & Jones, 2005), and, as such, during interactions, emotion management can be drawn on as part of the interpretive frame for the development of authentication. Hochschild's (1983) conceptual map incorporates acting to explain how emotions may be managed. Stanislavski examined the inner work that an actor has to do, their preparation to build a character and act out a role (Martin, 2003). Hochschild's (1983) argument follows this view of internal work leading to external characterisation. This presents insight into how individuals reinforce their role identity. Private resources, crucial to self-identity, are drawn-out and intricately structured. A consideration in this process of reinforcement is authenticity. Others in the interaction do not want a false performance, where the entrepreneur is not engaged with the performance resulting in an 'empty performance' (Goffman, 1961b). The interactant in this case, feels as if the performance is at the expense of their sense of obligation (Bolton, 2005). Consequently, the use of emotion artefacts is a potential tool to increase positive responses from stakeholders within an entrepreneurial context.

The significant other is not a passive participant in this process of authentication of the performance meted out by the entrepreneur, as this is an active construction conferred on the individual (Goffee & Jones, 2005) with the interactant reinforcing that which has been conferred (Goffman, 1959a). Reciprocity provides the entrepreneur with legitimacy and access to favourable terms. The process of establishing legitimacy enables the entrepreneur to become part of a group (Strauss, 1997). Bolton & Boyd (2003) highlight

that organisational feeling rules are ineffective as a means of mapping new identities onto workers whereas social rules that result in presentational and philanthropic emotion management serve to produce a more enduring work identity. However, rather than an 'enduring' role identity, the individual engaged in entrepreneurship needs to not only negotiate but also renegotiate their professional entrepreneurialism as it is rare for one to remain an entrepreneur (Schumpeter, 1934). Yeung (2002, p.37) agreed stating that:

> An entrepreneur may not forever be an entrepreneur because he or she may lose entrepreneurship over time or in different places.

Consequently it can be stated that the assignment of an entrepreneurship role is anchored in time and space and as such needs to be re-negotiated. A key point that Bolton (2005) stated is that pecuniary performances have no feeling and as such are not effective in negotiating roles. This has some major implications for entrepreneurs in their search for support from others. Consequently entrepreneurs need to consider other strategies apart from those motivated solely by materialistic interests though as noted earlier, Schumpeter (1934) did highlight that pecuniary motives were secondary to more altruistic ones.

5.6 Conclusion

Chapters Three, Four and Five have emphasised past theoretical and empirical contributions shaping the evolution of research in both the entrepreneurship and emotional management arenas. This review of the literature is not totally exhaustive; however it does demonstrate how the key literature has developed, which is relevant to the contextualisation of the research problem. It provides insight into the entrepreneurship and emotional management arenas, locating this study and presenting a strong argument for exploring emotional labour in the entrepreneurship context. The concept of emotional labour proposed by Hochschild (1983) is an issue within the entrepreneurship process and it is advocated that the use of Bolton's (2000a) typology in the context of entrepreneurship is valid and will provide worthwhile insights into how entrepreneurs practice emotional labour. Chapter Four has demonstrated that the emotional labour that entrepreneurs practice to gain access to funds is not well defined or understood, and the literature that is available is limited. The literature does however

suggest that entrepreneurship is a good candidate for emotion management. Relevant research questions and guiding principles around which a theory may be formed have been articulated.

The social theory of emotion management, which is formulated in this study, constitutes a transition from emotion management as negative and a cost to the individual to emotion management as positive and a resource to be drawn upon. In closing, the discussions to this point has highlighted that the empirical basis of emotion management is worth pursuing and extending. This and previous chapters have analysed the concepts being investigated providing the backdrop and conceptual understanding by which to proceed with analysis.

To conclude then, the literature review is used to generate a series of research questions relating to the emotion management and meaning in entrepreneur's performance.

The Main Research question is:

How is entrepreneurs' performance accomplished through emotion management?

Sub-questions are:

Can Hochschild's feeling rules help us understand entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management?

Drawing on Goffman's presentation of self, what is the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why do they perform in this particular way?

Following from these, what are the tensions and how can they be explained?

Chapter Six

The Nature of Entrepreneurship Performance

6.0   Introduction

The three empirical Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide an understanding of performance and emotion management of entrepreneurs. The key findings will first be summarised to serve as an introduction to these three chapters. In presenting these findings Chapters Six and Seven draw on examples from all of the 21 entrepreneurs interviewed. The findings discussed within these chapters demonstrate how performance is jointly, interpetively and interactionally produced and maintained through emotion management. Specifically, entrepreneurs have a 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' approach to performance and emotion management. This is a complex ongoing negotiation of 'fluid equilibrium' where entrepreneurs demonstrate a negotiational self. Chapter Six discusses the nature of entrepreneurship performance drawing out the main themes - embodied, relational co-operative and professional appropriate performances. In identifying the types of performance entrepreneurs act out and demonstrating why they perform in this particular way a new social and interactional concept has emerged - the 'negotiation of legitimation'. Further key concepts that emerged from the interviews are 'negotiation of power dimensions' where entrepreneurs draw on ethical trust-building activities; 'bounded disclosure' where entrepreneurs manage the information they divulge, and 'out of ordinary' non-commoditised performance where entrepreneurs personalize their service as a gift. Chapter Seven illuminates what Hochschild's concept of feeling rules helps us to understand about performance and emotion management by identifying entrepreneurship specific feeling rules. In-line with the identified social goal of legitimation these feeling rules are understood here as 'legitimation emotion rules' with their use in practice evidenced. 'Emotional rationality' where emotion and rationality are mutually constitutive and 'reflexive entrepreneurship imagination' that demonstrates reflexivity in practice within entrepreneurship emotion management also emerge as key concepts in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight discusses lapses in performance illuminating the tensions that can emerge.

It acknowledges that interactions are not uniform, different indications are brought to the situation, and so performance and emotion management are not acted out in exactly the same way. The analysis specifically draws on the experiences of 14 of the entrepreneurs interviewed to explain this.

Now turning to introduce Chapter Six, this is the first of three chapters that presents the findings of the study. It provides evidence of how performance unfolds from entrepreneurs' descriptions of shared meaning. The chapter starts out with the development of the why of entrepreneurs' performance, bringing to the fore what entrepreneurs hold in common: the purpose and expectations of legitimation, that is, the work entrepreneurs do to indicate their role as entrepreneur. This common purpose enters into the experience of the entrepreneur. This preface is necessary to provide the basis for subsequent findings on the specific performances entrepreneurs act out. The findings show how entrepreneurs define their performance through three key features: embodied, relational co-operative and professional and appropriate. These performances aim to accomplish the central and persistent purpose: legitimation. As such subsequent discussion turns to the empirical demonstration of how these three performances are produced and maintained. Entrepreneurs' orientation to these performances is made visible through the interactions they are involved in. As such an effort has been made to describe entrepreneurs' experiences and what they understand to be others' orientations, providing an interactional processual approach. Throughout the analytical discussions in Chapter Six that draw on Goffman's (1959) work, an effort has been made to provide contextual discussion that provides what Blumer (1956) notes as the understanding of the everyday 'here and now' context.

6.1　Legitimation Work

The way the entrepreneurs interviewed conceive of and define self is steeped in society's views on what should be expressed. This understanding of the social context is an indication to self in their enactment of appropriate expression. The performance is self conscious in that entrepreneurs are aware that it has dramatic value and influences the perception of others, hence their indications to self. This self-conscious performance is central to entrepreneurs' conceptualisation of role: what an entrepreneur is and what an entrepreneur does. The analysis draws partly on Goffman's (1959a) premise that the interactive individual 'gives off', that is, shares with others, certain impressions of their self. This giving off of impressions may be intentional or unintentional. From Goffman's (1959a) perspective, interaction is integral to this performance of self. The impression being indicated to others during this performance is situated in the temporal career of entrepreneurs' ongoing negotiation for legitimacy. Legitimacy is defined by Goffman (1963b, p. 28) as the 'placing' of others as a legitimising act. The main lines of action centre on legitimating performances, with others in the entrepreneurship world such as investors, suppliers and clients needing to recognise that the entrepreneur has the ability to successfully run a business.

The understanding and interpretation of legitimation emerging from the interviews, speaks to how entrepreneurs espouse the dramatic interactional value of performance in this negotiation. The meaning entrepreneurs have for their performance is based on their drive for gaining acceptance. This experience indicates how entrepreneurs conceive of their performance with managing others' impressions a key concern. Hence, performance is commoditised for entrepreneurs' legitimation. This is aligned with Wellington & Bryson (2001) who note the use of performance in competitive positioning. Entrepreneurs are seeking the endorsement of others through the performance they put on. This performance is steeped in others' perception as Irini specifically notes:

Would that person appreciate it if I acted how they want? How I want to act?

Entrepreneurs understand that they need to take account of others in their performance. In seeking authentication of their performance entrepreneurs also consider work orders (Strauss, 1993) such as noted by Flynn:

> When you start up a company or new venture, there has to be certain things in place anyway for you to be taken seriously by clients and staff. So I am just thinking about one instance, where one of our clients maybe weren't sure about us. I think we done a job for them and they wanted to get some procedures on how we were supposed to get paid. They thought we were just some fly by night, not fly by night but just some one-man-show sort of thing. I think it's more of the case like the procedures we had in place invoice them, they probably thought that it would be personal checks sort of thing. We said no, you have to go through: We'll sent you an invoice, 30 day turn around, all of our details are registered with company's in house, VAT, registered number, VAT number and all that which kind of helps in terms of legitimacy.

Entrepreneurs understand that these operational guidelines impart legitimation. Lounsbury & Glynn (2001) note entrepreneurs' bid for legitimacy. However, rather than the fixed expression of legitimation, the entrepreneurs interviewed would often refer to the notion that they needed to continually negotiate their performance with others and that it was a never-ending process. As such their performances are steeped in this ongoing ritual of negotiating co-operation and maintaining legitimacy.

In putting forward a negotiational self, entrepreneurs seek to draw on emergent, shared understanding, examining what others indicate to understand their position relative to the other. This is a basic tenet of symbolic interactionism where individuals' self-appraisal is based on what others indicate (Cast, Stets & Burke, 1999). Mead conceptualised this as role taking (Cast, Stets & Burke, 1999; Mead, 1913, 1925), an idea that was taken up by Goffman (1959a). In other words, self-appraisal is based on the reflected appraisals of others where legitimacy is jointly negotiated. In analysing the business interaction, negotiation is seen as central to the conceptualisation of relationships. Initial socialisation into the entrepreneurship world is not necessarily seen as sufficient in the establishment of an entrepreneurship identity. Even though the individual steps over into the entrepreneurship world, their work is not done, in fact it is an ongoing ritual of survival. *"Self preservation I suppose"*, is the way one of the entrepreneurs, Karl puts it. *"A work in progress",* Jayne, another entrepreneur, calls it. This is an ongoing negotiation of the definition of the situation, their role and events. Goss (2008) provides testimony of this re-establishment of relationships. This incessant ever-changing process is the essence of

symbolic interactionism espoused by Blumer (Lofland, 1970). As such what takes on significance for these 'new' entrepreneurs is the continued need for ongoing negotiations for legitimacy. There are continually new scenes of the play where the entrepreneur has to continually seek affirmation of their legitimacy through the development of their business, their interactions with distributors, clients, investors, and employees for instance. Nadia exemplifies this through her actions, *"So I kept the relationship with them and try to keep in contact."* This is aligned with the literature which notes that validation is sought for the performance that is indicated (Lemert & Branaman, 1997).

This discussion on legitimation work provides an understanding into the entrepreneurship situational details which according to Ross & Nisbett (1991) is sometimes missing in research, yet as Goffman's (1959a, 1967a) work indicates, is paramount. This study is grounded in a cultural and qualitative understanding of what entrepreneurs do, in that it is socially located, gaining an understanding of the nature, system of meanings, emotions and processes of how entrepreneurs comprehend and make sense of their performance and emotion management. From this understanding that the nature of entrepreneurs' performance arises out of their legitimation work, the discussion now turns to how entrepreneurs act out this legitimation through an exposition of the nature of their performance. The data rendered visible three key features of entrepreneurship performance namely that it is embodied, relational co-operative and, professional and appropriate. These are discussed next.

6.2   Embodied Performance

In talking about what they do, entrepreneurs allow access to their interpretations and how this interpretation gives an embodied quality to their performance. This is referred to as embodied performance. Dress, gesture and face work feature in entrepreneurs' accounts.

Appropriate Dress: The Dress Code of an Entrepreneur and Venture

It is widely acknowledged that appearance is essential for the impression acted out (Goffman, 1959a; Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993). Tyler & Abbott (1998) note the value placed on presenting appropriate embodied performances. In the entrepreneurship context, the importance of dress as part of one's appearance is made evident (Brush, 2008). However, there is limited empirical work exploring its relevance to entrepreneurs' performance with much research making assumptions as to its significance. The research undertaken here assists in providing an understanding of the significance of dress by showing how entrepreneurs draw on this in conceptualising the nature of their performance. Bob, states that, *"Looks count"* referring to how one dresses and the implication this has for the impression one puts forward. Following on from Goffman (1959a, 1963a, 1967b) signs and signifiers such as appearance have a part to play in the presentation of self. An extract from the data provides evidence of entrepreneurs' interpretation of the importance and appropriateness of dress. Jayne, remarks that:

> There is no way we would not walk in with a black suit because otherwise we would not be respected. And it's funny how those little signals actually make a big difference.

Jayne shows how this understanding of dress is an integral feature of her performance. The symbolic and interactional importance of dress for Jayne is grounded in her conceptualisation of status and difference, where she seeks to be surrounded by quality companies: Tate museums and the Museum of Modern Art in New York are examples. In doing so she aims to have this reflect her company's brand. In performing then she seeks to dress in the manner that these companies would dress, signaling an impression of 'they are like us' rather than, as Jayne notes, the difference most often associated with designers. This suggests that appropriate appearance is a negotiated, shared and inter-

subjective understanding, where the rules and expectations of what is appropriate dress are interpreted based on conditions of interpretation and legitimation motive for the 'career of her venture'. This is similar to Kilduff (1992) who notes that appearance assists in defining the situation. This symbolic power of dress and the inter-subjective understanding of the situation are further evidenced in Bob's expression:

> On the legitimacy front, I think if we both turned up in Chelsea T-shirts for a multi-thousand pounds contract, people might sort of scratch their heads a little bit, and wonder whether they should be giving us the work.

This type of shared understanding of symbolic reality as dress rules and expectations may be further illustrated by the following description given by Alejandro who indicates:

> It was all to do with the appearance and image…I don't think you're going to get a customer to go to a water sports centre and somebody who's like 20 stone is going to tell you he'll teach you how to ski. I did look the part. I was very fit and sporty, and much better looking than I am now. I was selling sports. I was showing activity. I was so fun. You've come to a beach. So obviously it's going to be someone who is probably wearing green and white shorts and a white T-shirt.

The shared understanding of dress code, understood as symbolic communication of information on how to dress when acting out specific roles, demonstrates how entrepreneurs act out embodied performance. This is conceived of in this manner because they understand that compliance enables and enhances legitimation. This legitimation is viewed as social validation where entrepreneurs' performance is accepted because it conforms to a shared set of social norms and rules (Suchman, 1995; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Thus entrepreneurs' performance is of a pragmatic nature with the understanding that legitimation has a normative quality (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990) deemed necessary for success (Tornikoski & Newbert, 2007). The shared understanding of dress codes is in line with literature on entrepreneurs' use of symbolic resources. For example, Zott & Huy (2007) found evidence to suggest that entrepreneurs need to customise their performances from their interpretations of the audience's expectations. This suggest that entrepreneurs need to make a conscious effort in managing their appearance, what Goffman calls managing one's 'surface decorations' (Goffman, 1963a p.25), and more generally, 'body idiom' (Goffman, 1963a p.33). Quinn acknowledges the notion of body idiom:

> My perception of an entrepreneur is somebody who is…extremely slick.

In general, the entrepreneurs interviewed accept the dress code as a way of doing

business and as such they see it as a relevant and significant 'sign' in the presentation of self and their legitimation during business interactions. Entrepreneurs' compliance with dress codes is a 'gesture of legitimation'. Literature on entrepreneurship makes the link between entrepreneurs' dress and their success in acquiring resources. Baron, Markman & Bollinger (2006) observe this in their study of attractiveness and Zott & Huy (2007) note dress and other symbols in conveying credibility and professionalism. Consequently, the findings demonstrate that dress is an important feature for how the entrepreneur orients to others' expectations in their performance for legitimation. Hence, in concluding this section it has been possible to show from the accounts given that the nature of entrepreneurs' performance is one where appearance is significant with implications for acceptability.

Gesture: Aura, Verbal Communication and Staging a Face

The front is the expressive tool employed by an individual during their performance (Goffman, 1959a). While, as mentioned in the previous section, dress plays a part, three further expressive tools are significant: 1) Aura, 2) Verbal Communication and 3) Face. The key themes running through these representations are appropriateness and legitimation. Aura is termed copresence by Goffman (1963a) and deportment and bearing (Goffman, 1967b). This aura is the distinctive impression that the entrepreneur impresses upon another. Quinn says:

My perception of an entrepreneur is somebody who is extremely confident.

Ernie shares his experience:

I had the 'James Bond walk'…where you walk in like you owned the place…It's also the way I sit…The world is very much a stage. Everybody is watching you. You're going out to do business, they're watching the way you walk, that sounds ridiculous. They watch the way you act.

During the interview, Ernie demonstrated the way to sit in business interactions, changing from his relaxed position, leaning back in the chair, legs stretched forward to one where he was leaning forward with legs apart and feet planted firmly on the ground. Irini also emphasised the aura expected in a business interaction:

I obviously wouldn't be sitting here with my feet up on the chair all relaxed.

This evidences the value of the dramatic, of aura in the quest for legitimation indicating that entrepreneurs realise that they are being observed, that others assess the front they put up and that consequently, to gain attention in business interactions, there is a specific manner in which they have to present their self. This demonstrates that individuals draw on expectations to put up a front in certain interactions.

The expectations and observation by others are not just focused on aura but also on verbal communication which has significance in the performance (Goffman, 1963a). Mead (1925) made note of vocal gesture in influencing the interactants and the following statements from the entrepreneurs provide insight into their interpretation of its importance. Irini notes the necessity of appropriate verbal content:

> Talk to them in a way that isn't going to compromise how I'm going to be perceived….Would that person appreciate it if I started talking about your boyfriend? Maybe not. Would that person appreciate it if I told them what she should wear and use swear words? Maybe not.

In addition, Dee provides a view of the appropriateness of voice level:

> I do quite often feel like I have to remember to lower my voice, two ears one mouth, listen to people. I do that the whole time. I'm constantly telling myself to do that. So I do suppress myself.

Ernie provides a view of the appropriateness of tone:

> I'm speaking a little slower, that gives off the air of confidence. My speed is three to four…, Just like they speak on the news. Speak like that. BBC English, BBC speak. Meaning the speed and the tone that you're delivering at.

Entrepreneurs' reference to verbal communication such as the pitch, appropriateness of content and knowledge conveyed indicates how entrepreneurs draw on their understanding of norms and expectations to exhibit appropriateness in interaction.
Ernie notes:

> He's looking at how you sound. Do you sound authentic? Do you sound like you know what you're doing?

The findings articulated here is in agreement with Kilduff (1992) who notes that verbal communication is a key signifying feature of performance.

The experiences presented here reinforce entrepreneurs' interpreted importance of aura, speed and tone of language and how these have implications for others perceptions.

Goffman (1963a) notes that during interaction, both expression and verbal communication provide signs for the impression being put forward. In presenting an appearance, there is another feature that emerged as a significant analytical one and that is expression. Body idiom also involves emotional expression. In this respect, both appearance and emotional expression are intertwined (Rosenberg, 1990). Expression is also bound to an understanding of what is appropriate for the situation. The expression or as Goffman puts it, 'the composition of the face' (Goffman, 1963a p.27) is helpful in understanding expectations during intersubjective encounters. Goffman (1963a p.28) goes on to state that:

> We have party faces, funeral faces, and various kinds of institutional faces.

In putting on a face appropriate for the business interaction, it is apparent from the experiences of those interviewed, that entrepreneurs don their 'game-on' face. This game-on face is one where entrepreneurs understand the rules of the game and are primed, ready with the appropriate face needed to reflect the business situation. This indicates the fluid and emergent performance of entrepreneurs where they change faces as appropriate. This fluid performance draws on expectations for smiling as well as for showing sobriety. Both faces are considered to be important parts of the entrepreneurship arsenal. Generally, there is agreement with the literature such as Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) who state that in the provision of a service, a smile assists in presenting the expected approachable display. Entrepreneurs evidence this in their accounts. For instance, Alejandro indicated this when he mentions the expectation that a smile accompanied his service.

> It was going out to someone with a smile offering these things. So there was no other way about it, you know. That was what the business was. You know, approaching people with a smile…It was trying to get your money.

In order to gain something for their venture, entrepreneurs provide a smile. This is aligned with Bolton's (2001) findings where nurses must offer up a smile as part of their work. Hochschild (1983) also describes the need to smile with her example of air hostesses. In some instances, as with Hochschild's (1983) findings, inappropriate feelings are concealed while appropriate feelings are displayed. Irini clearly expresses this:

> If I am nervous and it's appropriate to let on that I'm nervous, I could. If it's not appropriate then you kind of just tuck it away and then just continue expressing the smiles and the happiness.

Ernie shows how he managed his emotions, his face and the other in the interaction.

> I was, again, visualizing myself as how I can make this lighter, how I can make this better…We both laughed and we both sat down and we spoke. We still didn't do business that day, but what he was left with was a better impression.

So in presenting smiling faces entrepreneurs seek to show how agreeable they are. In addition to a face that signifies fun, trustworthiness and agreeableness, entrepreneurs also understand that in some interactions, sobriety is expected in putting forward professionalism. In these interactions a sober face is drawn on as appropriate.

Karl notes that:

> I am conscious that I deliberately do on occasions is close down a smile, so that I would look more serious.

The discussion in this section has observed that embodied performance is a key feature of what entrepreneurs do. The evidence suggests that the front entrepreneurs put up is essential to presenting the appropriate face for the situation and in doing so gaining others confidence. Ernie sums it up when he said:

> I'm trying to project to you, my company, my business, so that I can get your favourable decision. What I want to do is leave an impression in your mind that is so strong that even when you see the next people that it's like, *"Ok, he left a very strong impression on me."* Ok, and then it's down to, again, maybe in the short term you're looking at finalizing who you're going to do business with, again you're going to be looking at the things that you can remember.

As Perinbanayagam (1974) notes, one dresses in the appearance of the role that is expected. Sims, Fineman & Gabriel (1993) and De Clercq & Voronov (2009) also signify the importance of dress, gesture and verbal communication for the perception of those fronting their organisation. What is at issue here is that entrepreneurs understand this expectation and being observed and negotiated by others, they locate their body in their performance for their legitimation. Thus entrepreneurs embodied performances are 'gestures of legitimation'.

6.3   Relational Co-operative Performance

The overriding argument put forward in the literature (Fletcher, 2006) is that entrepreneurship is relational. Entrepreneurs negotiate with others, their understandings of the relational performance. This perspective is in accordance with the literature (Nguyen & Rose, 2009). Quinn indicates this relational view:

My perception of an entrepreneur is somebody who is…very much a people person.

The findings have shown that this relational focus is embedded in a milieu of co-operation, similar to the view put forward by Cable & Shane (1997).
Dee notes:

We generally like to work more closely with people in a much more consultative way.

In other words, entrepreneurs perform in a relational co-operative manner. The two key features of relational co-operative performance are: 1) Relational Trust, 2) Reliance and Reciprocity. These have been uncovered from the data indicating the nature of entrepreneurs' performance emphasising the relational co-operative performance that entrepreneurs engage with to influence others' appraisals of them.

Relational Trust

The findings show that trust contributes to the relational co-operative performance that entrepreneurs enact. Trust is where an individual is prepared to make one's self vulnerable based on the confidence that the other will act according to the conduct expected of them, irrespective of schemes of control (Barbalet, 1996; Howorth & Moro, 2006; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). Mayer, Davis & Schoorman (1995) and Schoorman, Mayer & Davis (2007) and other literature such as Zahra, Yavuz & Ucbasaran (2006) contend that trust is relational as it is embedded within social interaction. Hardin (1996) notes that individuals negotiate trust because of their interest in maintaining relationships. William indicates the importance of trust:

I like to think that people can deal with me if I go into business. People find me someone that they can trust.

This finding is in accordance with arguments laid out in entrepreneurship literature (Chell & Tracey, 2005; Howorth & Moro, 2006; Nguyen & Rose, 2009) where they indicate the importance of trust in developing relationships. Neace's (1999) study of entrepreneurs and their stakeholders suggests that trust is necessary for success. Barbalet (1996) contends that trust enables legitimacy. The findings here from this study show that the concept of 'trust through legitimation' is a feature of entrepreneurs' performance. This is borne out from entrepreneurs' legitimation. Dee's legitimation indicates the presence of relational trust developed over time:

> The average lifespan for me of a client would have been of at least four years. So, although I was working as a consultant I worked with each company a very long time, and I got to know them very, very well.

This implies that trust is important for a relational co-operative performance similar to Lewis & Weigert's (1985) and Jones & George's (1998) view that trust influences co-operation. The entrepreneurs interviewed in this study show how trust is developed and rendered visible through the shared meaning of three ethical dimensions: 1) honesty, 2) fairness, and 3) information sharing. Honesty is the first ethical dimension of trust to be discussed. Entrepreneurs understand that honesty is a key feature in performing trust.

Jayne says:

> Honesty is what is requested anyway and builds up a good business relationship.

Taaj adds:

> Just tell it how it is. If you try to make up a story, you'll end up getting found out. So we just tell it how it is.

Flynn adds:

> Always just being up front with them.

It would appear that entrepreneurs orient to a 'good' or 'bad' dualism to explain the notion of trust. The literature does suggest that for an entrepreneur to be successful they need to be 'good' (Powell & Bimmerle, 1980). William unequivocally states the need for honesty and a concern for others' interests to gain trust and aligns this with being a good entrepreneur:

> To be honest, there's no two ways about it…I realise I had to be honest about what I was selling, edition. Because it's one of the biggest factors that affect a business, is word of mouth, someone's reputation and if someone says *"Don't go to that person, I had a bad experience"*,

you know it's like a ripple effect in a pond once you've thrown a pebble in. Sooner or later it's going to reach the shore…So it's all about setting a good image and an honest example.

This example indicates that honesty is an expected part of doing business where others place trust in the standards of the entrepreneur and their organisation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As such in maintaining an ongoing co-operative relationship, honesty is necessary. The example demonstrates that where there is a lack of honesty, a severing of trust and the relationship could follow. This argument follows entrepreneurship literature that suggests the same (Rutherford, Buller & Stebbins, 2009) and is also similar to other studies (Nguyen & Rose, 2009) that suggest that trust is based on honesty. Much of the literature notes the preference for entrepreneurs' honesty (Feeney, Haines & Riding, 1999; Fried & Hisrich, 1994). To show how trust through honesty emerges and so provide the context for determining what honesty as trust means, Karl notes:

> Working for a particular client in an organisation at a fairly senior level. His boss took me to one side on one occasion and said, *"We'd like you to do a review of this person, and chose the area"*. And I said, *"I don't think that would be ethical. Joe has engaged me to work with him on leave assignments. You're exploiting the fact that I know him, I know his operation. And I feel I'd be shafting him really"*. Because I'd guessed what the hidden agenda was and so I said straight away, *"No I don't think that would be ethical."* And he was taken a bit back by that. But it did me no harm whatsoever, because somehow or other it got back to Joe, that that had happened. So I think that Joe thought, *"He is on my side, I can trust him"*. And I also got more work from the above person who realised that I had some integrity about me. So I suppose that that is a classic example of that.

This excerpt shows how trust develops through honesty and what it is embedded in and as such this study provides evidence on how entrepreneurs conceive of their performance towards others.

In addition to honesty, giving others an impression of fairness also indicates how entrepreneurs perform relational trust. Fairness is viewed as being just and giving fair treatment. An organisational justice framework drawing on interactional justice (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996), the fair treatment of others during interaction (Olkkonen & Lipponen, 2006) provides a framework for analysing the experiences that entrepreneurs note in performing trust. In Kickul, Gundry & Posig (2005) empirical study of fairness and trust, they found that others do make interpretations based on their perception of fairness. Karl clearly provides evidence of performing fairness and others interpretation

of this:

> I do generally believe that it's important to do the right thing by the client…if people know you're genuine, they are more likely to engage you anyway. If they think you're going to screw them for every last buck, then and manipulate a situation where you're getting more work, inevitably then they'd have the same regard for you…you're working for the client and for their good.

Karl's interpretation of fairness is drawn from his self-effacing manner, with him presenting self as an unassuming individual. In doing so their values are held up as defining symbols.

In understanding fairness further, Taaj shares his approach to fairness in building relationships:

> We're not too demanding.

The findings suggest that entrepreneurs' performance of fairness draws on respect and mutuality. Flynn shares how they perform fairness:

> Being clear and concise about what you can and can't do for them. Don't make promises that you know you can't keep.

This is similar to Audi (2007) who argues that fair dealings include not misleading others. By supporting the relationship and putting 'other-interest' upfront the entrepreneur develops others' confidence in them. Flynn shares insight into putting others first:

> First and foremost the employee wants to make sure she's going to get paid every month. So that's a big responsibility…The first thing I have to make certainly sure is that she has to be paid, before we do.

This is also the perspective entrepreneurship literature such as Goel & Karri (2006) espouse. Zahra, Yavuz & Ucbasaran (2006, p. 2) view trust as *"grounded in mutual respect and shared interests"*. This view of trust as a shared meaning ground in co-operation is consistent with the experiences shared in this study.

William exemplifies this:

> I deal with people how I want people to deal with me, with respect.

This interpretation indicates that entrepreneurs understand issues of fairness particularly as he has had situations where he has not been treated fairly. These instances, such as one where his partner let him down assisted in his understanding and socialisation as to what is considered fairness in relational performance.

Sharing information is the third aspect of relational trust that entrepreneurs experience. It is perceived to be important in gaining others trust, this is a common view in most of the literature on trust (Sapienza & Korsgaard, 1996). Sharing information engenders an open awareness context, where each of the interactants are aware of the identity of the other (Glaser & Strauss, 1964) such as reputation (Welter et al., 2004) and the others intentions and with this, trust emerges (Kickul, Gundry & Posig, 2005). Flynn exemplifies this when he says that:

> In terms of the service that we offer, we want to make sure we're on point with that, and we let them know what we're doing every step of the way.

Knowledge provides the other person with the information they need to make an appraisal of the performance and develop trust (Welter et al., 2004). Hernandez was asked how he would portray himself during interactions with investors and he answered saying:

> It's all about trust. It's about how long they know you. The kind of record, what people talk about you.

In performing relational trust the entrepreneur understands that information engenders trust. Consequently, there is the need to oblige the interactant's interests and share information. As Zoe notes:

> Another thing I am very careful of is that, I think people, eventually they realise that they're doing all the talking, and they are doing all the telling about them. And they eventually want something back from you, whether they want to ask you questions. So I'm very careful about boundaries and what I will share with them about my personal life, my personal beliefs and that's all part and parcel of, I think developing a relationship and maintaining it…They always wanted a little chat, and almost like a clearing off of what we've just done, and a nice little chat about something else before we said goodbye. So we might talk about where were going on holiday or, whether the sales were on, buying garden furniture or something like that.

Zoe indicates her conscious performance and how others in the interaction treat the performance. However, while she notes the importance of sharing information she also refers to boundaries and disclosure in sharing information. Entrepreneurs' attempts to develop boundaries can also be demonstrated from what Jayne notes in her recognition of boundaries and disclosure issues when starting a venture:

> As a start-up you're not allowed to admit that many weaknesses, because if you do people don't want to help you but they get worried.

In talking to others, selective information is provided with Jayne noting that this depends on who the other in the interaction is and what their role is. As such sharing information is contingent on the interactional dynamics.

In Zoe's account she seeks some 'privacy', that is, the maintenance of a specific relationship with others (Foddy & Finighan, 1980). However she realises that others expect her to give something of herself in the interaction. It is recognised that this is the norm in developing relationships. As Goffman (1963b, p. 108) states:

> …every relationship obliges the related persons to exchange an appropriate amount of intimate facts about self, as evidence of trust and mutual commitment.

'Bounded disclosure' is thus normative from entrepreneur's accounts. This 'bounded disclosure' is how entrepreneurs interpret and develop shared meaning emerging as a concept that is a protective arrangement of their self. Jayne notes that in business there is the expectation that not all information is shared. This draws on the interpretation of cultural cues and self-indications. Entrepreneurs describe how this 'bounded disclosure' is created through different cultural context. According to Larry, an entrepreneur interviewed; *"Position people"*. This assumes that others will understand the boundary, through positioning where the negotiation serves to develop co-joint meaning of the roles in information sharing and the definition of the situation. This 'bounded disclosure' is produced and maintained during these negotiations where positioning takes place. A performance is put forward where a professional role protects the personal self. This poses a challenge to the entrepreneur in ensuring that a particular role is accepted and that the negotiation of the 'bounded disclosure' is maintained.

This 'bounded disclosure' has implications for trust. For Carolina her sense of self imbues trust. This giving of trust by the other is her legitimation endorsement:

> These people trust and appreciate or they have some kind of belief in my service, my person and my integrity. So the expectations must not be deferred. And secondly, I feel I have a lot of responsibility now, which I have to make sure I take care of properly, if it means going the extra mile to get it done.

Trust is a vote of confidence in the entrepreneur and these examples indicate their understanding that with this validation they must address expectations. What needs to be highlighted here is that the entrepreneurs address expectations for sharing information

and trust in their own way by drawing on their interpretation of trust. For Carolina this is 'sense of self', for Zoe, Jayne and Larry it is 'protection of self through boundaries'. These and further examples from the findings highlight the significance of trust in presenting a relational co-operative performance.

The analysis of trust as honest, fairness and sharing information indicates that entrepreneurs appraise self based on what others think, seeking their ratification of their role as entrepreneur. This authentication of their role needs to be negotiated. Thus the findings suggest that in negotiating trust the entrepreneur considers others terms in developing the relationship. This finding is similar to Ellis (1985) who found that entrepreneurs in her study negotiated their status by drawing on community values.

Irini says:

> If they like who I am, they like the work I've done, and they connect with me, then that's my selling point. I'm not going to force people to work with me. So I suppose that comes back to the values.

The study raises awareness on the how entrepreneurs perform trust and at the same time provides insight into how trust emerges. The emergence of trust is an area little researched within entrepreneurship theory (Welter & Smallbone, 2006). They contend that research on trust has concentrated on the nature of trust. Karl notes the emergence of others trust in his ability:

> The big breakthrough came when they asked me to lead programs myself. Initially it was when other people couldn't lead programs, so I realised then that if I made a good job of leading these programs they may ask me to lead other programs.

This context shows how trust emerges over time and how entrepreneurs need to put the effort in to develop trust. This example notes that trust is based on the knowledge of past experience of entrepreneurs' work where the entrepreneur is sharing information into his abilities. Furthermore, in sharing information with others the entrepreneur is learning and seeking opportunities – so this is a symbiotic relationship.

The findings imply that relational trust promotes relationships. This is in line with literature on the subject such as Chell & Tracey (2005) and it is also similar to Zahra, Yavuz & Ucbasaran (2006) perspective that this trust develops where relationships are

privileged over self-interest and where benefits accrue to the entrepreneur. As Quinn notes:

> If people trust you that changes the whole dynamic of your relationship.

The entrepreneurs understand that, ultimately, their performance has implications for how they are perceived and as such legitimated. In an attempt to gain trust and hence positive appraisals of their relational performance the entrepreneur attempts to influence others. In negotiating the ethical dimensions of their relational performance their everyday enactment of performing trust emerges as a central feature. Welter & Smallbone (2006) suggests that legitimacy and trust are inextricably linked. The findings here supports this link through evidence of entrepreneurs gaining recommendations, similar to the view that in giving a vote of confidence an organisation's legitimacy is sanctioned (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Bob's experience implies that trust has been developed leading to recommendations for gaining business:

> Two of the big clients we've had boiled down to people who knew, who knew, who knew who said they may be able to do that. It certainly gives you a huge positive nod if somebody is recommending you. So we were able to get large amounts of work because I was recommended.

Karl's account also indicates the emergence of trust:

> A client I had worked for had associations with R-Int. And this particular client had to pull out of an international assignments and he was asked to recommend somebody who could go in his stead. And he recommended me…It's what I'm doing with things like this trip to Leicestershire this morning that was very much about networks and relationships…. And the pattern was that I'd get a lot of repeat work from organisations or they would recommend me on to somewhere else. So in the 15 years or so that I've done it I never advertised, never had a website, never done any promotion of the company at all.

Trust is about social validation. In their boundary spanning activities the entrepreneur engages in trust building as part of their relational co-operative performances. Their performance of this is understood through the emergence of 'trust through legitimation'. This concept emerges out of entrepreneurs' action and is an essential condition.

Reliance and Reciprocity

Entrepreneurs' relational co-operative performance is in part also drawing on the symbolism of reliance on others and exchange of reciprocity. Zoe speaks of the need to '*rely on others'*. Reliance on another is a vulnerable position to be in (Fiet, 1995). However, the findings in this study suggest that it is this vulnerability and voluntary obligation to others that develops an inter-subjective co-operative negotiation towards joint action. In interpreting reliance Jayne views it as reciprocated reliance:

> There should be respect on both sides, like we need them but they also need us.

Jayne and other entrepreneurs understand the importance of the other in the interaction and so this reliance can be explained through the notion of Mead's (1925) generalised other, those who contribute to the entrepreneur's performance. The entrepreneur takes the role of the other over against self. This explains the part others play in supporting the entrepreneur in their performance. Carolina also makes reference to reliance and the need for reciprocal arrangements in relational performance:

> There's no one person that is a composite of all life that is. We all need one another. The skills I don't have, you possess. The skills you don't have, I will have, and it's a question of us building ourselves.

The reciprocity of the other in the interaction is also prevalent from the findings. This other reciprocity is viewed as co-operation in the interaction. In Jayne's case, respect is what she gives and what she expects in return. Hence a negotiation of shared meaning goes on in the interaction. Further examples of the entrepreneurs' reliance are Bob declaring:

> You can't be an expert at everything. You have to take other people's advice.

Jayne adding:

> Two heads are better than one.

Renzulli & Aldrich (2005) note that entrepreneurs do seek and rely on others' advice. In addition to relying on partners, mentors and other's advice, the entrepreneurs interviewed also indicate their reliance on others for the majority of their business. Flynn is one example:

> I would say probably 99% of the jobs that we get have come from recommendations through one of our contacts or somebody that we know.

Zoe says:

> If you're searching for clients you sort of reliant on other people, and if they decide they don't want you, then you haven't got any clients. So very often you're not in control of the speed at which you want to build your business, or exactly the type of client and number of clients that you want. It's sort of a bit like, beggars can't be choosers. You have to go with what's on offer.

These examples show that entrepreneurs are reliant on others for making recommendations and purchasing their goods and services. They also share their experience of reliance on others in their networks. Dee notes how reliance on networking helps secure relationships:

> One of the things I was always quite good at was networking because I realised the value of networking to build my consultancy and to get my clients. And I've always seen that as quite important.

This finding provides evidence that reliance is performed through networking with entrepreneur's experiencing their role as characterised by building their contacts for gaining access to resources. Various literature attests to this co-operative thread, such as research on social capital and exchange (Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Nguyen & Rose, 2009), co-operative arrangements (Gassenheimer, Baucus & Baucus, 1996) and networks (Tillmar, 2006; Zeng, Xie & Tam, 2010). This existing literature suggests that co-operation can assist in developing relationships, therefore enhance the ability to gain resources for success (Baron & Markman, 2003; Holaday, Meltzer & McCormick, 2003). The findings here echo the necessity of co-operation with the data extracts giving insight into how others are significant in venture success. For instance, Larry notes his reliance on personal networks for starting his venture, saying:

> [They] were obvious targets.

Ola also notes her reliance on others:

> I went to friends and family who own companies and I approached them with my sales spiel. As a result I did actually make some sales and that was before the website was launched.

Stokes (2000) notes this reliance on personal networks where the emphasis is on relationship building. Irini adds:

> To start with, when I did my first pieces of work, they were for people I knew…They were trying to support me and help me, by me doing the work for them, which they needed. So they were trying to help me get my foot in the door, get off the ground, by giving me the opportunity to have some work, develop my portfolio… I had my first client that I didn't know, I'd met in a networking situation.

This provides insight into entrepreneurs' reliance on others and suggests how others co-operate with this positioning. Zoe also indicates reliance on others in building a client base:

> You do have to rely on other people and they might not provide for you when you want it. But the more people you know and the more people that you're asking to help you out, the more people will. So you've just got to wait, you got to develop people. You've got to network…They'd say *"How's things"* and I'd say, *"Oh, I have two clients passed their exams, and three people have moved away, and so whatever time I got spare I'm just trying to build up my number of clients again, and so if you know anybody, I'd be really pleased if you'd pass my number around"*. They'd go, *"Oh yes only too pleased to."*

In putting forward her experience, Zoe indicates that reliance is a vulnerable position. She also makes reference to how she manages this vulnerability. Bob mentions societal markers in the need for developing relationships and hence one's reliance on others:

> I think we're in an age when it's not what you know. Who you know, is a huge factor.

What is also rendered visible in examining entrepreneurs' relational co-operative performance, where entrepreneurs are reliant on others for the success of their venture, is entrepreneurs' expectations of others. As such others' reciprocity also plays a role. William emphasises the reciprocal nature of reliance:

> He is someone that I'm relying on to meet that deadline and he's relying on me to meet my deadline.

Ola exemplifies reliance on others and the need for them to be co-operative and reciprocate:

> In return, obviously, I would expect that my perspective clients be honest with me…it means that I don't then spend how many times phoning and trying to follow up. And you're telling me, *"Call me today. Call me tomorrow."*

The findings suggest that entrepreneurs are aware of the need to rely on others, embracing this as a norm in doing entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs perform this reliance through interpreting and negotiating joint action. Zoe shares insight into this approach:

> You have to keep readjusting to other people and what's on offer, and you have to keep reassessing whether this is going to be helpful and useful or not.

In negotiating joint lines of action in their performance of reliance, the entrepreneur is evaluating to protect their venture. Jayne adds:

> Stick to what you believe is right for the business because there's no one else who knows the business as well as you do. Because even if you hire a PR company or …anyone who would like to help you, they don't know your business model as well as you do. I think taking on a

couple of things is good. Even if some one doesn't think it's brilliant idea you shouldn't give up and we always get out there again and talk to people which think it's a brilliant idea…But you always get negative feedback or whatever, which some is very useful because you can twinggle and twist it in a certain way but we wouldn't go home and completely rewrite our business plan because I think you have to stick to your guns in a certain way.

Jayne's ideas are influenced by her interpretation of her role as owner and while her discussion shows that she recognises the difficulty in starting a business and the need to rely on others, she notes the need to discover for herself what the company is and how it should grow:

> We listen and we analyse it like, we think about it….For instance if someone undervalues the potential for the growth of our company and say like *"Oh, you know, stick to doing umbrellas and have a little shop".* The thing is that we have a big vision. We aimed towards a bigger goal… at the end of the day it's the company, which is us who has to realise it by experience to make those changes.

This influences her performance of reliance and as such there is a note of caution that while entrepreneurs put forward an impression of reliance, seeking advice and taking on assistance, they manage this reliance and draw on their own vision for the company.

In addition to entrepreneurs' performance of reliance, the findings indicate that entrepreneurs conceive of their everyday routine as one where they also perform relational co-operation as reciprocity, that is, a mutual exchange of favour and obligation (Nguyen & Rose, 2009). The knowledge that shared understanding of reciprocity is a significant feature in entrepreneurs' ability to develop relationships is noted in other, though few, studies (Nguyen & Rose, 2009; Parhankangas & Landstrom, 2004). Hernandez shares his experience of performing reciprocity:

> I have majority ownership, then I give small amount to my supervisor in exchange for one day of work during the week. And I think, you know it seems very right. It happens that way because in the Art world when you create something, the artist owns it. In the sciences it's different. In the sciences when you have a supervisor, if you create something and it's under his luck, he owns that. But because I was from Royal College that thought couldn't be applied to me. It just can be keeping fertilising this cross discipline, I thought that was the best approach. I say, *"I give you an award…"*

Here reciprocity refers to giving a favour. He sees his supervisor as being significant in his venture and hence his response in this manner. Lofland (1985) suggests that the degree of significance of the other shapes individual experience and that this provides

variability in interactions. In the interview Hernandez shaped and interpreted the meaning of the supervisor's significance through not only knowledge but also through the trusting relationship that had emerged. This trusting relationship had developed through the supervisor's support for the venture providing good advice and referrals. Hence, joint ownership and Hernandez reciprocity.

The example provided by Hernandez, also evidences that entrepreneurs perform reciprocity for mutual benefit. This is supported by Weber & Gobel (2006) study of venture capitalists and entrepreneurs where reciprocity was also understood as mutual interdependence. In addition to reciprocity in actions, there is reciprocity in the appraisal of each other. Dee indicates reciprocity in her performance with her philosophy to treat others how you wish to be treated:

> I try to be really kind on the basis that in my book if you behave like that then they'll behave like that towards you.

Flynn indicates reciprocity through treating others how they treat him:

> You deal with people on an individual basis, you can't deal with everybody the same unfortunately. Due to your experience you have with different people, different business, you act accordingly. You act to the way they treat you. Whereas I know, myself personally, the way I deal with anybody, is based on how they look at me.

This performance of reciprocity indicates that reciprocity is understood as not only giving favours but also as a shared appraisal of each individual in the interaction. In other words, interaction is reciprocal in nature. This 'appraisal exchange' reflects Blumer's (1969) perspective on the indications we take on and interpret and how these guide actions. These findings are supported by a study conducted by Weber & Gobel (2006, 2010) which notes that Venture Capitalists (VC's) and entrepreneurs reciprocity are based on appraisal.

Entrepreneurs' 'negotiation of power dimensions' is explicit in working towards co-operation through performing relational trust, reliance and reciprocity. This provides symbolic significance in the interaction. Hernandez illustrates the negotiation of business relations and the 'negotiation of power dimensions':

> Treat business like an affair or treat business like a lover. I think that would be the way. It's almost like a marriage, it's almost like this when you meet people and you meet companies,

it's always dating, engaging with them. I see it that way because it's keeping relationships with these companies. They contact you. They disappear. They come back. It's almost like lovers. And then you just tease them and you don't tease them. And it's this game of a relationship and then if you get a contract then it's a wedding.

His likening of the business interaction to marriage is a notion that Bandelj (2009) draws on in her discussion on the negotiation of power. In the 'negotiation of power dimensions' the entrepreneur can let the other party have control depending on the situational characteristics. Victor says:

They were in control because I let them run with the contacts. It was their customer...well, they were the sales force effectively, so it was their contacts. And I undertook not to interfere directly with those customers.

Irini also indicates how she consents to others having the perception of control:

It's not so much saying well I am going to do it, if you like it or lump it, this is who I am...It's a case of trying to be in control, whether that's letting them feel that they have control for a certain part of it, but still being in control because you know you're letting them.

Consider Zoe's experience:

I felt that if I engaged with her about that issue, she would maintain that power. I would always feel on the back foot. You know, at any minute she could say, *"Now I don't want you as a tutor"*. And I thought, *"No I'm not having that"*. I don't want to be the one in control with all the power. What I want is this, equilibrium, this equality between us, so I got to somehow stop her from having the power. But that doesn't necessarily mean I have to have the power. I just want it to be even Stevens.

The examples given and the findings in general, imply that the negotiation of co-operation entails effort, particularly as Mac notes:

Gaining support from individual investors has not been like turning on a light switch.

It requires effort Jayne says:

With us it's pretty much face-to-face contact, we had several meetings and part of that is obviously because we need to get the idea out there. We need to tell them what is exciting about it. It's colour changing so they can't see it, we can't just send them a photograph. And it's so new so it's not on the market, they wouldn't find it themselves, so, we have to find them. They certainly wouldn't come to us.

This effort is one where the entrepreneur acknowledges the others power and attempts to have a shared understanding on the importance of their product or service. This effort is where the entrepreneur impresses their engagement for the engagement of others. In other words, this is where the entrepreneur clearly states their vision.

The discussion evidences how entrepreneurs conceptualise relational co-operative performance through the negotiation of relational trust, reliance and reciprocation. In performing relational trust, entrepreneurs draw on honesty, fairness and sharing information. The conclusion drawn is that these ethical dimensions of trust are important. This is similar to Shepherd & Zacharakis (2001) view of the importance of ethical dimensions of trust.

In discussing the themes of relational co-operation, some key concepts have been rendered visible. One of these: 'trust through legitimation' provides an important contribution in the discussion of trust. This is a symbolic signifier for the social validation entrepreneurs are striving for through the performance they act out. It produces a shared understanding of trust in the relationship and in producing trust in this way entrepreneurs perform relational co-operation and gain legitimation. This is similar to studies such as Welter & Smallbone (2006) who indicate that legitimation and trust are linked. Furthermore, entrepreneurs perform so that others in the interaction trust them sufficiently to legitimise them and with legitimation trust is maintained.

A further contribution from the analysis around trust is the emergence of the concept 'negotiation of power dimensions'. The interactional dynamics that entrepreneurs are engaged in is one where power dynamics are inter-subjectively negotiated. Entrepreneurs show their reliance and reciprocity in the interaction to come to a shared definition of mutually shared power.

However contrary to Shepherd & Zacharakis' (2001) study, it is noted here that entrepreneurs create boundaries. While entrepreneurs view themselves as being honest in their approach to others, they perform 'bounded disclosure' viewing the withholding of information as a necessary aspect of doing business. This is viewed as acceptable and something that others would do with an example of negotiations as one form of situation where it is acceptable. Because entrepreneurs understand 'bounded disclosure' as the norm in business, it is not viewed as underhand and unauthentic. Entrepreneurs draw on

the norms of business to develop their meaning of what is a relational co-operative performance.

The discussion demonstrates how entrepreneurs value relationships, indicating that they understand the need to negotiate through their vulnerability which provides a platform for the success of their venture. This shares with Chell & Tracey (2005) the necessity for co-operative behaviour in developing relationships where such behaviour is one where reciprocity is present. This performance is based on a shared understanding with others on what constitutes a relational co-operative relationship. An interdependent stance has been evidenced here that is at odds with literature that privileges entrepreneurship as independent of others. In addition, both concepts of reliance and reciprocity have not been brought together and developed for specific interactionist investigation in entrepreneurship literature. These terms appear to be subsumed within discussions on network and support, and so they remain illusive with assumptions on their nature. The findings here emphasise the importance of these concepts in entrepreneurship performance.

6.4   Professional and 'Appropriate' Performance

In addition to performance experienced as embodied and relational, entrepreneurs also assign professionalism to their performance. Much of their discussion demonstrated evidence of this, for instance, William notes that:

> One of the biggest lessons I learned is how to go about dealing with people on a professional basis in business.

They emphasise professionalism as a meaningful aspect of their performance, with Garvey echoing other interviewed entrepreneurs' sentiments saying:

> Professionalism is very important to me.

While professionalism is defined as the conformity to managerial norms where administrative control is demonstrated (Stone & Brush, 1996), the entrepreneurs in this study conceive of their professionalism as the norms of appropriateness and gifting. This focus on professionalism as appropriateness is akin to Salamon's (1989) moral

responsibility. In addition the notion of trusteeship (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) has some similarities to the discussion around gifting where individuals act out of their own interpretation of what they feel they want to offer up as professionalism. The discussion now turns to explicating the professional and 'appropriate' performances that are acted out where entrepreneurs' understanding that there are expectations for them to act out appropriateness and competence in putting forward their professionalism is evidenced.

Professional Appropriateness

Professionalism is a key feature of the entrepreneurship performance with the entrepreneur describing this in terms of appropriateness where they commit to the expectations of society. Thus appropriateness is a shared understanding. In developing this co-operative interaction and building relationships, entrepreneurs' objective is for their performance to portray professional appropriateness. Irini emphasises appropriateness in interaction:

> Being professional is not slagging off your clients, or saying too much about your business that people don't need to know, or saying too much about your personal life unless it's appropriate…Being professional is being appropriate to the situation and the people that you're with…It is about being appropriate, reacting and responding to the situation and who you're with…Would that person appreciate it if I acted how they want? How I want to act? So, it's just gauging, I suppose, what the situation is.

Garvey provides evidence where another persons' indications shape his interpretation and negotiation with self for appropriateness:

> I need to make sure I'm matching what I'm doing within his world-view. If I'm failing that, it is a problem with the way I am pitching not a problem with him.

This is a Goffmanian stance, emphasised by Lemert & Branaman (1997) where the individual maintains their own face and is protective of other's faces (Goffman, 1959a; Lemert & Branaman, 1997). Alejandro sought to perform in an appropriate manner for various groups:

> I had to deal with all types of people and I had to blend in.

This aligns with the literature that draws on social appropriateness rather then the view that those that drive the economic engines have no heart (Bandelj, 2009). Dee also honed her performance, changing to appeal to her clients:

> With Peter, I listened a lot. Was much quieter, gave him every opportunity to say whatever it is he wanted to say. Didn't jump in, didn't interrupt, didn't presume. And with Roland who was much more lively, younger and more sparky. I just appealed to his sense of humor and also flattered him a bit.

This expression in everyday life focuses on the inter-subjectivity of what is appropriate. This argument has gained empirical support recently as Zott & Huy (2007) have found in their study of entrepreneurs, the necessity of taking the other into account. Jayne's statement further illustrates this:

> They [business client] expect all the other points that they get from the well-established companies.

Performance needs to be appropriate and accepted by others. William indicates this further:

> I would like to think that I am being professional. I am professional…I guess that's for someone else to answer really...I want them to see that this is a very professional person they're dealing with, honest. It's, once again authentic performance.

Performances are conducted to an audience and their approval of this performance is sought. With the awareness that others authenticate their performance, the entrepreneur is attentive to what needs to be done to gain this acceptance. A further common theme rendered significant in performing professional appropriateness is the injection of a competent display of knowledge (Chell & Tracey, 2005). Nadia noted that:

> Talking to people in a professional way…and kind of know what you're talking about when you're going to do business.

Alejandro echoed these sentiments:

> Because you're professional and you show them that you know what you're talking about, and no matter what they say, you keep the same smile, the same face you're giving them. It's likely that they will probably one day call you back, because of the way you've dealt with it.

Entrepreneurs understand that in seeking acceptance for their performance, the appropriateness of the performance is called upon. In other words, they conceptualise their experience through professional appropriateness that shows that professionalism is contingent and not a fixed meaning.

'Out of the Ordinary' Performances as Gifting

Some entrepreneurs also conceive of their performance as a gift. Where entrepreneurs' performance is focused not only on their own benefit and delivering on others expectations but also on giving over and above client's expectations, the entrepreneur is gifting professional excellence. This 'out of ordinary' performance is evidenced from Karl's account:

> I did things during the assignment that the client wasn't expecting me to do. And when I had to report on it afterwards I was invited in by the top person really to talk about it and she said they were really impressed with what I had done there and what I had written up and reflected on it. And how it was going to be of value to them in future and a need to do some more work for them and that was 15 years ago. And that's how it's worked out. So it was really seeing what might have been a critical incident I guess and approaching that for the benefit of the client and the client organisation…but really going for it…it wasn't manipulative in the sense that I would put more energy to this than I have ever done. It wasn't quite as mercenary as that somehow. It was definitely right, I'm going to put absolutely everything I got into this and see where it takes me and believing that it was something that I could do, which if I'm honest I didn't think many other people could do. And that's what they thought as well.

Seeing professionalism as gifting is similar to Bolton's (2000b) study of nurses where gifting is 'something extra' and is not performed contingent upon reward. Attention to 'gifting performance' in entrepreneurship literature has been limited (Zott & Huy, 2007). Where the term gift has been referred to, it has focused on the gifting of an artifact such as in Zott & Huy (2007) rather than what is being referred to here where professionalism is being managed as a gift. Zott & Huy (2007) include a quote that raises the notion of gifting similar to this study's focus, though this is subsumed and not analysed to any extent. An exception is Chell & Tracey (2005) who note examples of going beyond what is expected. However, their examples refer to hierarchical relationships between management and employee whereas the findings in this study have rendered visible gifting in interactions of a more equitable nature. Alejandro indicates this:

> Don't all become about the money, if you take pride in what you do, because even sometimes you do things, you're not getting paid for, just because you think it would make you look better.

This would imply that professional gifting is not about the focus on expectations where exchange and reciprocity are prominent, but rather about entrepreneurs' emotionality. Entrepreneurs are emotionally involved in their ventures and have a sense of pride in

them. The finding indicates entrepreneurs want to 'give off' a good impression by acting in the best interest of the client. Thus, an entrepreneur will engage extra in their professional performance. Further evidence of this from Carolina:

> I go even over the extra mile…I just put in everything, I was everything into the clients, even though I was just supposed to have a hands off with them, but the challenge of a very complex client, I take them off my staff. So I'll be their mentor, their coach, I'll be a trainer to the staff. I'll be everything.

This demonstrates that in giving extra entrepreneurs are personalising their service. Jayne who does not want to be likened to other companies or designers provides further evidence of this. In 'doing' difference she challenges some of the established business practices:

> They're [business client] very surprised. They are not used to deal with designers directly like us, because they normally go with distributors. They get big boxes shipped into their warehouse. The company doesn't even go and see their faces…We come to shop and deliver the umbrellas by hand. They're not used to that and I think they appreciate that.

These 'out of the ordinary' performances are personalised and non-normative and as such assist in constructing an image of professionalism. This personalisation of service is supported by Wouters (1989a). The perspective of gifting as 'out of the ordinary' is due to the general notion that entrepreneurs do have a more opportunistic focus rather than the foregrounding of others interests (Casson, 2007; Dunham, 2009) which is apparent here. Gifting has been rendered visible as a personalised and non-commoditised element of entrepreneurs' performance.

The performance practices of professional appropriateness and gifting are both related to gaining legitimacy. Legitimacy in acting differently is based on providing a personal touch, something extra and at odds with expectations of impersonality; legitimacy in acting similar is based on meeting expectations. Both approaches assist in building the respect and legitimacy they seek. These points come back to expectations, legitimation and co-operation, albeit in a concrete pragmatic form. The discussion provides evidence that entrepreneurs understand professional performance as a necessity and a morally desirable gift. Literature on entrepreneurship directs attention to the self-maximising motive of the entrepreneur, whether these are pecuniary or not, with the entrepreneur viewed as the Marxist owner of resources and exploiter due to having the means of production (Webb et al., 2009; Wood & Pearson, 2009). However, the literature that

notes the social aspect of entrepreneurship is in opposition to this view emphasising the philanthropic motives of entrepreneurship (Bilodeau & Slivinski, 1998). What is rendered visible from the interviews undertaken is that, motives exist for the entrepreneur and these are drawn on in their choices for performances of professionalism. What is also apparent is that this negotiation is needed more where performance is commoditised as opposed to where performance is gifted. This implies that gifting facilitates a more co-operative relationship where a sincere and authentic self is gifted whereas in commoditised performance the entrepreneur has to impress upon the other that they are sincere rather than cynical in their performance. You are only as good a your last performance is a saying that is common, this is indicated from the findings with the need to continually negotiate one's legitimation and supported by literature (Elsbach & Sutton, 1992).

Technology and Space

Entrepreneurs also orient to both technology and space as significant to how they put forward a professional performance. This study is aligned with those studies that suggest that technology is integral to work and managing one's performance (Hampson & Junor, 2005), that it can bring about new routes towards professionalism (Prasad, 1993). Entrepreneurship is built on a foundation of innovating for technological advancement and much research focuses on this aspect (Hall & Rosson, 2006; Wennekers, Uhlaner & Thurik, 2002). However there is less research on the use of technology in entrepreneurship interaction. The entrepreneurs in this study note that professionalism is about being technically competent also noted by other literature in defining professionalism (Leonard-Barton, 1984). The entrepreneurs draw on the use of technology in delivering their offering as well as presentations. For instance, Garvey's business is built around gaming technology, Victor's around mobile technology and Taaj, William, Richard, Bob, Irini and Ola rely on the internet to interact with their customers and potential clients. The findings provide evidence of the use of technology. William notes:

> In terms of technology I think it's brilliant, Facebook, MySpace. The whole World Wide Web is absolutely brilliant. I think with the web, my view is I think we have tapped a certain

amount of potential of what we can do. For my business, the Internet and what people gain from it is extremely brilliant and it helped my business a lot.

Nadia adds:

> Mainly a lot of online networking and talking to them online and a lot of directing them to the website and that's how I've built up connections with them and then I've gone and met them. In terms of the other company, similar with a blog. Posting like regular articles about different problems that people have with their lingerie and then that attracted a lot of people from all over the world that were having the same sorts of issues.

Irini says:

> The first thing that I do in the morning is check my emails, check my text messages, check my Facebook, and check my Twitter, so all four, to see what's going on. It's very addictive but it's also quite exciting, as well, to see that there's another way of making it grow. And you can actually see the connections that you're making with people because the conversations that you're having with people or the amount of fans you might have on Facebook or the comments that the people leave on the pieces of work I've done.

What is apparent from these accounts is that technology has enabled entrepreneurs to have variability in their interactions, for instance, either face-to-face or virtual interactions. Variability in interaction due to the use of technology has been noted in the literature, for instance, Dormann & Zijlstra (2003) draw on the use of technology in call centres. Here in this study the experiences of entrepreneurs evidences that technology has significance for not only face-to-face interactions which has been the foundation of Goffman's (1959a) study on interaction and many interactionist studies but also virtual interaction. Winter, Saunders & Hart (2003) suggest that 'electronic storefronts' are public work areas that create impressions for visitors. The technological symbolism is a result of the influence for legitimation. Ernie espouses this further in his experience of using technology to give off a particular impression in virtual interactions rather than the need for traditional face-to-face interaction:

> The Internet has been fantastic for helping businesses grow far more than the Link, or the so-called government schemes out there, because you get more information. The Link and everything else is still working on the traditional way they did in 1980, get the traditional shop, and have your shop front…So I've got virtual answering service. So it's giving off the impression, an impressive front if you like. Websites, you don't have to spend fortunes now on websites. You can have a professional looking website.

The use of the Internet and other technology facilitates a performance of professionalism of entrepreneurship venture that perhaps may otherwise not be the case in face-to-face interactions.

According to Richard:

> We want to make ourselves sound, bigger than we are… we're trying to make ourselves out to be an established business and we've invested a fair amount to make a nice shiny website.

This is similar to the notion acting 'as if' put forward by Gartner, Bird & Starr (1992) where an entrepreneur performs as if their venture is bigger than it is or more established, for instance. In support, both Anderson (1994) and Tornikoski & Newbert (2007) conceptualise 'acting as if' as improvising where entrepreneurs seek legitimation by performing an impression of a growing venture when perhaps they may be merely emerging and as such creating a security illusion**.**

The discussion on technology brings forward consideration of spatial concerns regarding entrepreneurs' performances, particularly as it is noted that with the advent of technological advancements work does not have to be tied to a particular time or place (Dormann & Zijlstra, 2003). Space is both physical, where entrepreneurs locate themselves evidencing site-specific activities, and social where entrepreneurs spatially locate self in the role of entrepreneur as they interact with others. Physically entrepreneurs draw on space in orienting toward their performance. For instance, Taaj works from a factory and discussed the extension of his facilities and others perceptions of this. The experience of space has implications for performance (Tyler & Cohen, 2010). In conceptualising their experience entrepreneurs display the importance of space in their performance whether this is space at home or away from home. Richard notes working from home with the transition to an office:

> In my case in my bedroom, he at least had a study. I've got a very small bedroom at home and I was working at a computer desk that big, with a soldering iron there, and a power supply there.

Ola notes:

> If I can do a job where I can work from home and therefore be in charge of my own hours, and then work around my son. This is actually what was obviously the key motivation for me to run my own business now.

Nadia comments:

> I don't really need to be in an office space because it's just not the way to work well. I have office space at home.

The findings suggest that entrepreneurs' experiences is a departure from Hochschild's (1983) private/public dichotomy due to her notion of exchange and use value. In both cases home is an acceptable space where exchange value is noticeable from entrepreneurs' engagement of it as a workplace. Hochschild (1997) suggests that while society has developed the notion of home-working the thinking around this activity has not progressed significantly. This perspective is different from the findings here, as the entrepreneurs' thinking around this indicates their management of it.

Entrepreneurs' accounts also indicate that the home can be viewed as an informal space whereas outside of the home a public face of formality understood as professionalism is more easily put forward and accepted. This gives a social view of space. In Paperman's (2003) study of police she submits that space can have implications for visibility. This is evident in Ernie's discussion about working from home:

> When I set the organisation up, I realised that I'm going to be working from home. I've got to be developing a professional front. How do I get over to somebody that I'm larger than I am without being larger than I am?

This experience has implications for how entrepreneurs orient to their workspace with the inter-subjective negotiation of professionalism as what Hochschild (1983) saw as the 'boundaries' of the private/public domain. This finding is in line with Zott & Huy (2007) who also found evidence that space is used to convey an impression such as professionalism. This can be conceived of as 'boundary work' similar to the work the teleworker needs to do in the continuous negotiation of self. Consequently there is a need for co-operation on the home-front (Tietze, 2005). While the home is the hub of both operation it can reduce the visibility of the entrepreneur. This is comparable to Paperman's (2003) finding where the subway has a similar effect on police visibility.

The entrepreneur negotiates their professionalism through 'boundary work' situated in a 'liminal' position, that is, the space between the two spatial arenas of home and outside of the home. While the clients, investors and significant others are not privy to the physical spatial arrangements of the entrepreneur, this being invisible to them, the entrepreneur is able to negotiate visibility and status through their construction of the 'shared reality' that they put forward. This complements existing research on the role of the home space as

the workplace, which mainly concentrates on boundaries. Research undertaken by Felstead & Jewson (2000) is an example of this. They note that home-workers manage the interface between home and interactions with others to ensure professionalism. This research does draw parallels with this. However it diverges through the conceptualisation of liminal positions where the entrepreneur still understands that the home does play a central role in their enterprise activities and their professional performance. This indicates the divergence from Hochschild's (1983) private/public distinction that conceives of this working situation as having 'fixed' boundaries.

In discussing further the social spatial arrangements, entrepreneurs' concerns around the implications of isolation at home are addressed by the entrepreneur undertaking a 'check-up' where they assess and scrutinise their interactional performance against societal expectations. For example, in working from home Victor recognises the need to understand norms and the rules of appropriateness for 'symbolic fit':

> I find that when you work in isolation like I work here, I'm happy doing it. You kind of want to check…contact the outside world and see if my mind processes, my thought processes are in sync with everyone else's or is totally out of sync…because sometimes they're so away from the wall, you're talking to people and they're just looking at you, *"I have no idea what you're talking about",* but they're being polite to you. Or they do know what you're talking about, *"that's just nonsense, you can't treat people like that, you can't say that, you can't do that."*

What this implies is that rules can change and furthermore, that a process of de-socialisation can take place where a process of re-learning is needed. This is supported by other studies such as Felstead, Jewson & Walters (2003) where it was suggested from the empirical work undertaken that employees could be separated from technical and emotional systems. Furthermore, Felstead, Jewson & Walters (2003) study notes a lack of shared experience in the context of home-working, which is a similar finding here. The following extract of dialogue with Carolina demonstrates socially located spatial boundaries:

> This contract that I'm doing, they were trying to employ me as staff. I declined, and I said...*"No, I wouldn't want to be seen as one of the team, one of the staff. I want to be seen and identified amongst the staff as an excellent consultant, high aptitude to piece of work for this period."*...You have to put up official fronts, and professional really means setting up boundaries, because it could impact on your work if you're not putting up a professional front or approach to your work.

This indicates the development of space as a social arrangement where professionalism implies spatial boundaries. This distancing from others emulates what Alvesson (1994) found, that in order to appear professional one has to underline the distance between one's professionalism and the others' orientations. Socially, this is about freedom and identification by others. Drawing on a storyline of professional distance, and symbolic fit explains entrepreneurs' performance of space. To develop these, entrepreneurs also undertake their activities in client's sites, as Ernie notes:

> You've gone to his place of work. You're going to see how he operates. You're going to see how he finds out about where he wants to take his company. You want to find out about the employee, the project. What's the project worth? What sort of customers he's looking...You know, a whole raft of questions because you have to build value.

The experience discussed here is focusing on the need to gain information to deliver value added. Hence this spatial arrangement is more a social consideration where entrepreneurs interact to develop a shared congruous definition of the situation. This is supported by Zott & Huy (2007) who note the need to be able to display the symbolic value of the service provided. This facilitates the construction of self and meaning.

The discussion on spatial arrangements has focused on both the physical and social where the entrepreneur's role is central to theirs and others' definition of the situation. This presents a proximity thesis of entrepreneurship performance where physical and social space acquires significance. Hence entrepreneurs' performance around the management of the interface between the physical and the social takes on significance. In managing space and technology, variability has been evidenced where the entrepreneur makes room for opportunities to emerge by changing space and technology. Thrift (2001) is congruent with this emergent understanding.

6.5   Conclusion

The preceding discussion contributes to the literature by illuminating the nature of entrepreneurs' performance. Entrepreneurship is acknowledged as performative (Hester & Francis, 1994). The first contribution in presenting entrepreneurship as a performance is the identification of the typical characteristics of the performance. Three key features have been rendered visible as having analytical significance; embodied, relational co-operative and, professional and appropriate. These have been put up as essential ingredients establishing that entrepreneurs give signs as to their impression. In Goffmanian terms, they are engaging in 'sign-activity', conveyed through verbal communication, expressive behaviour and actions, giving information to others in the interaction and helping to define the situation. The various aspects of entrepreneurs' performance made visible from the findings indicate the complexity that entrepreneurs manage during their interactions. This illustrates the contribution being made in this chapter where a multidimensional view of the symbolic signs entrepreneurs engage with in their performance is put forward. In performing entrepreneurs draw on dress, aura, language and face as stage props in the front region performance. This focus on embodied performance has salience, with Lively & Heise (2004) noting that symbolic processes, such as meaning making, produce embodied performances. The conceptualisation of relational and professional performance presented here, reflects the work entrepreneurs do to generate trust and performance appropriate to the situation. This has similarities to other activities that are based on the performative aspects of work, specifically teachers and their conceptualisation of professionalism (Tremblay, 1957). It has also been suggested that entrepreneurs are not only oriented to technology and space considerations as significant to how they perform in a professional manner in face-to-face interactions but also as indicated here, in virtual interactions. This study has contributed to the literature by uncovering these issues and providing a more nuanced appreciation of the nature of entrepreneurs' performance.

Second, this study contributes to the discussion on trust. Trust has not had a central role in entrepreneurship with it only recently gaining traction (Welter & Smallbone, 2006).

The trust-building activities that entrepreneurs undertake are 1) honesty 2) fairness and, 3) sharing information. This pays attention to trust-related issues in performance, which provides a more direct examination of trust not addressed by much of the social networks research undertaken in entrepreneurship literature (Welter & Smallbone, 2006).

Third, this chapter indicates that this study advances knowledge on the professional aspects of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs understand professionalism as meaning and a sense of self. In their performance of it they draw on others' interpretations as to the appropriateness of a specific situation. This is similar to Bolton (2000b) who notes nurses drawing on professionalism to keep their distance. This view of professionalism is also consistent with the findings on 'bounded disclosure' where entrepreneurs manage the information they share. This view of the reserved entrepreneur is aligned with literature that advocates entrepreneurs do not necessarily share their ideas. It does however deviate from this literature in their rationale for keeping their distance.

Entrepreneurs' performance is ensconced in the notion of self-interest, seeking legitimation of their performances from others. In seeking this legitimation they have preoccupations with relationships and professional engagement within interactions. While the entrepreneur takes an instrumental stance to their performance in this regard, the findings also indicate that they make space to ensure a co-operative stance is taken and in addition have the ability to 'gift' their performance. This highlights the emergent and dynamic nature of entrepreneurs' performance where variability in motive, interpretation and choices made could lead to different performances. This has implications for the commoditised performance during which legitimation is negotiated. The notion of gifting suggests that performance can also be understood as something other than a commodity.

In closing this chapter, the study has demonstrated that the presentation of self is integral to entrepreneurs' performance with the entrepreneur presenting a negotiational self. Entrepreneurs bring to the interaction certain performative features that are interpreted by them and others. This demonstrates how a shared inter-subjective understanding of what an entrepreneur does is conceived. This is aligned with Goffman's (1959a) view. In

elucidating this negotiation of shared meaning, the discussion moves on to include the emotion management of the entrepreneur, which also plays a central part in the negotiation of an entrepreneurs' performance.

Chapter Seven

Entrepreneurs' Emotion Management and Display

7.0   Introduction

This chapter on emotion management explores how this is accomplished during entrepreneurs' performance with the main features of emotion management rendered visible. According to Hochschild (1983) rules govern emotion management, noting that each social group would most likely have their own feeling rules. Following Hochschild (1983) rules are central to the conceptualisation of emotion management, though rather than the normative view she espouses where rules have fixed meaning, an interactionist stance is taken that views rules as fluid and emergent features of the interaction. Consequently, this chapter demonstrates how feeling rules are interactionally produced and maintained by entrepreneurs. Understanding the interpretation and reinterpretation of feeling rules is important in gaining an understanding of emotion management. In the first instance attention is directed to feeling rules and how entrepreneur's performances comprise of emotional 'gymnastics'. Entrepreneurs do agree on two main feeling rules: 1) Feeling of engagement for commitment and authentic regard, and 2) Feeling of detachment for professional propriety in framing situations. Entrepreneurs do agree on the need for taking account of these feeling rules in their interaction as these facilitate the management of emotion for an accepted display. Secondly the discussion moves onto the 'how' of emotion management. Emotional rationality, reflexivity, getting on with it and 'switching' are the key techniques that entrepreneurs demonstrated in managing emotions. Thirdly, the display that this work supports is constituted of entrepreneurs' authentic display of 'natural' spontaneous feelings and their plausible display where even though entrepreneurs' 'real' feelings are not displayed they are still accepted by the audience.

7.1   Feeling Rules: Two Perspectives

The findings show that entrepreneurs are shaped by and produce two sets of feeling rules: the feeling of engagement and the feeling of detachment. These emerge from how entrepreneurs see their role and what they do.

Feeling of Engagement

This feeling of engagement is characterised by the need to engage self and other's emotions and to do so the entrepreneur needs to feel 1) Empathetic regard for others 2) Passion showing commitment to their venture.

1)   Empathetic Regard

The experiences entrepreneurs shared in this study indicate their awareness that they should feel empathy towards others. They are expected to hold in regard others' feelings, expectations and aspirations, and in doing so are being tolerant of others' emotionality and values. In being empathetic then, entrepreneurs are being agreeable and considerate with a caring disposition towards others. Kickul, Gundry & Posig (2005) argue that taking the issue of care into consideration is significant in interactions based on trust. Entrepreneurs' feeling of empathy provides evidence of a collaborative approach. They consider the emotional requirement of being an entrepreneur and maintaining this front is that in showing authentic, in other words, 'non-manufactured', regard towards others they draw on natural empathetic feelings. They use these empathetic feelings to demonstrate attentiveness to emotional reciprocity. In discussing emotional reciprocity their view is that business should not be conducted at the expense of others' emotionality but rather that there should be empathy and regard for others' feelings and values. Taaj adds:

> I don't believe you have to be rude to be shrewd in business. I believe that is a misconception…I like to help staff develop rather than dictate from above. I'm not a shouting screaming kind of person. I think if you emotionally try and help people develop and help them in their jobs they'll get better as well.

In the formation of empathy and regard for others, Taaj's action is conceived through his understanding of his role as one where he is supportive of others, running an ethical business where employees can share their views. Taaj's ideology hangs on a dislike for authority that reinforces his disregard for organisational hierarchies. The contextual discussion helps to understand Taaj's interpretation of the feeling rule of empathetic regard. In demonstrating attentiveness to emotional reciprocity, Carolina shows how empathy is 'natural':

> If it's a situation that needs empathy. It' just natural, just comes out. It's not something you make up because they're expecting you to.

Carolina conceives of empathy as a 'natural' social process. This interpretation is not based on rules and expectations. Dee shows how she interprets natural, that is, non-manufactured, empathy and how she engages in a shared meaning of this:

> With people I work with, I do spend quite a little time reassuring them. *"You're doing the right thing. It's looking good."* I try to be very, very supportive. That's quite genuine…I don't like having my work criticised. I know that people don't like that. I have to be very, very sensitive about that stuff. So I start very gently.

Irini indicates how she organises her experience:

> I can show that I'm human and empathise with them. *"Yeah, I know exactly how you feel, it's been one of those weeks this week."* By saying something that you know people can empathise with.

In describing entrepreneurs' experiences, the findings indicate how others' feeling perspective is taken into account in developing a shared understanding of empathy. In taking on the indications of others, the entrepreneur interprets and produces their role as empathetic entrepreneur. Quinn exemplifies this 'deep acting' experience where his emotionality is engaged and empathy emerges:

> I could see her crying frustration, sometimes she was getting a little bit emotional and that gets to me. Because you have a sense of deep empathy with your clients and it does hurt if you feel that you're hurting them.

Quinn shares how he interprets the feeling rules around empathy. In doing this he draws on his entrepreneur role as a metaphor for hope and change. In interacting with his client, he struggled, not with the expectations of empathy but rather the intensity of the service he needed to provide. This appeared to be an unfamiliar situation for him and so he did not have an established way of dealing with the situation. His empathy grew out of these

indications impinging upon his interpretation of hope and change for his client where he held in regard the feelings, expectations and aspirations of his client. This demonstrates that others' interests are foreground in entrepreneurs' interpretation of the feeling rule that calls for empathetic regard. Quinn's act provides a processual understanding of empathy. Further understanding of empathy in non-routine situations is also evident from the next example with Zoe also sharing the symbolic meaning of hope and change:

> Her kids I was teaching were fabulous, and I didn't want to have a spat with the mother, and spoil the work I was doing with the kids, or the relationship that I had with the kids. Or, the relationship they had with their mother.

Here Zoe's empathy is oriented to the child as opposed to the parent, yet it is this empathy for the child that bounded her interpretation and meaning in action. The privileging of the orientation to another outside of the interaction has been rendered visible. This is referred to here as taking cognisance of an absent principle. This attentiveness to a broader 'audience', one that is not in attendance in the interaction, is an orientation that remains to be fully considered in emotion management studies. This is an introduction to this feature.

Zoe and other entrepreneurs share the 'vocabulary of empathy' as a value orientation, that is, a 'moral compass'. In addition to feeling empathy for others along a moral line, there were some entrepreneurs interviewed that draw on an instrumental interest in interpreting empathy. For instance, while Garvey indicates recognition that others' values need to be considered in managing one's emotions, a more manufactured collaborative stance in showing regard for others can emerge:

> You should be able to think, *"Well, this guy has a different world-view to me. I need to make sure I'm matching what I'm doing within his world-view. If I'm failing that, it is a problem with the way I am pitching not a problem with him."*

Garvey shows how his interpretation of the feeling rule of regard for others is negotiated during the interaction, when he adds that:

> Unless they're emotional and they love our stuff, then that's brilliant because then they'll just sign anyway. No need to worry about their world model stuff.

As such, entrepreneurs draw on the interactional dynamics to make sense of the feeling rule. The findings render visible a collaborative approach to feeling rules. This respect for

others' values and emotionality develops Hochschild's (1983) work, addressing her lack of consideration for the individual's ability to engage in a more collaborative manner (Bolton & Boyd, 2003). In addition to the collaborative approach, the findings have also shown how entrepreneurs engage others in the interpretation of the empathy feeling rule. In drawing on indications entrepreneurs demonstrate how they orient to rules around empathetic regard by consciously recognising what they see as their culpability and moral obligation. This is recognisable from terms such as, '*That was hovering in my mind a lot'*. In addition to this recognition of their responsibility to the other, they also subscribe to the empathetic regard feeling rule for instrumental means.

2)   Passion

Passion is defined as emotional energy showing an intensity of feeling (Baum & Locke, 2004) and drive (Smilor, 1997). Cardon (2008) also adds that passion results from engagement. In this study passion has been found to be a significant feature of feeling engaged with the findings providing a clear expression of this. Karl emphasises passion at work:

> You have strong feelings about what's going on in your work.

Nadia underscores this:

> I felt quite excited about it actually because it seemed like it was coming to life.

William says:

> Business, I'm very passionate about that.

This passion could have implications for legitimation as others expect that individuals are positively passionate (Tremblay, 1957) and so too entrepreneurs. The findings indicate that entrepreneurs should display passion in showing emotional engagement with their venture. Goffman (1961a) details this involvement as featuring commitment and attachment. Drakopoulou Dodd (2002) also notes passion in these terms. In Goffman's terms having 'involvement within the situation' (Goffman, 1963a p.37), where emotionality is engaged (Goffman, 1963a) such as what is indicated here by the findings, is a part of what being an entrepreneur is.

Irini says:

> My business, and my work come from who I am.

Many of the entrepreneurs use the story of passion to frame self. For these entrepreneurs their passion and expression of this are deeply integrated into the concept of whom they are and who they could become. This is similar to Drakopoulou Dodd's (2002) findings where entrepreneurs draw on passion in giving meaning to their lived experience. In this study, this is developed further noting that passion's role in defining self (Cardon, 2008) implicates the importance of passion-laden performances. The need for passion is aligned with literature such as (Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009) where VC's perceptions of entrepreneurs preparedness gives them a feel for the passion entrepreneurs feel for their venture. Clark (2008) also found that passion was a feeling that VC's expect to see in entrepreneur interactions. However, in some instances the entrepreneur does not appear to interpret feeling as passion. Flynn says:

> Do I enjoy it? Do I enjoy any of it? Not so much now. The reality's kind of kicked in.

This suggests a mis-feeling, which as Hochschild (1979) notes is a suggestion as to the passion that the entrepreneur should be feeling. In Flynn's case his interpretation draws on the struggles that he is cognisant of. Drakopoulou Dodd (2002) notes the paradox between passion and struggle. Flynn's interpretation does not detract from his and other entrepreneur's understanding that there is a need for passion and that this passion is commitment, with this having positive implications for their performance. Flynn's ongoing interpretation brings forward the underlying enduring passion:

> I've got an idea and personally invested some time emotionally as well. And then when you're presenting it or you're speaking to somebody about it. Maybe they wouldn't understand? So you want that emotional tie to it…You can't really work in your own business without having the emotion, because it's something you believe in. Something you have faith in. You are emotionally invested in that business.

Flynn understands passion as commitment and positiveness leading towards legitimation. Entrepreneurs' emotional involvement in their venture has long been construed as a positive driver with Goss (2005b) noting the benefits of excitement and enthusiasm. The entrepreneurs' experiences are wrapped around this notion of excitement and positiveness.

Ernie says:

> If you've got an upbeat attitude rather than a downbeat attitude, people will look at you a little bit more.

Taaj adds:

> It's exciting because there's so many things I want to do…the ideas are there and the opportunities are there. So that I find it very exciting.

From entrepreneurs' accounts, performance entails an effort, emotional involvement and emotion coping mechanism, as Quinn indicates here:

> I think what crushes a lot of entrepreneurs and people running small businesses is coping with all of these setbacks, particularly rejections, which can be quite difficult.

Cardon et al. (2009) and Neace (1999) recognise passion as a feeling that entrepreneurs have, and the findings presented relate to this view. Hochschild's (1983) view is that an effort is involved in the workplace. Passion provides the energy for this effort. Like the entrepreneurs interviewed, Larry, Garvey, Hernandez and others, scholars (Cardon et al., 2009; Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009) also understand passion as positive, leading to entrepreneurial effectiveness and achievement. Garvey notes the positive nature of passion:

> The excitement of doing that deal would override the pressure and the nerves of meeting the guy. Is he going to like me or is he not going to like me? Those kind of concerns…I believe that having emotions is a very important and good thing. I think that if you try and ignore them or people that really don't have them, lack a lot of energy and drive and passion.

Bob says he experiences passion through the novelty his venture offers:

> We love the challenge of something new. And I think that's what drives it for me. I love new things…with this every day there's something new.

Passion gives Irini confidence:

> I can be passionate about my work. I'm not doing it for somebody else, and because I'm so passionate about it, it means I can go out there and be really confident about it.

Entrepreneurs view passion of ownership as energising. Zoe indicates her passion for her venture activities highlighting how this moves her towards an expected performance:

> I'd just spent an hour teaching and doing something I absolutely adore doing. Love it. But …if I'd been panic stricken about it, God knows what I would have said to them. I'd probably go down on my knees begging them, saying, *"Please have you got anybody? Ring them now"*. But I didn't.

Drawing on passion in this manner facilitates the presentation a professional front. Garvey reveals a further manifestation of passion and its relevance:

> There's some connection between he's able to channel his emotions into the games. Other people pick up on that emotional transference, which, I think, is why our games, Adam's games, sell so well.

Carolina:

> I want to work with passion. I need to be able to work and the people feel me. Not just pam, pam, pam off I go, no love, no nothing. In my daily service delivery to anyone, you see the passion. I love my work, and I make people enjoy it.

The extracts exemplify passion and entrepreneurs' transmission of passion during their interactions. This has similarities to Cardon (2008) who posits that passion can be transferred from entrepreneur to employee. The findings in this study of entrepreneurs would suggest that passion can be transferred through both face-to-face interaction and virtual interaction. Irini indicates this:

> When I am excited about something I tell people and I express it…And I probably shout about it on Facebook.

In considering the transference of passion the notion of emotional energy that Goss (2005b, 2008) adopts from Collins (2004) can provide similar connotations of the social nature of passion in developing connectivity with others. The preceding discussion has provided insight into how the feeling rule for passion is interpreted and the meaning that emerges in the interaction. The implied 'empathy', 'held in regard', 'passionate' features of the feeling of engagement is conceived of where entrepreneurs believe they have the authority to decide on how to interact. This ability for interpretation of rules and decision on action can also be shown where entrepreneurs draw on different feeling rules. In addition to feeling rules that espouse engagement there are feeling rules that espouse detachment in engaging with others in interaction. Entrepreneurs can draw on detachment feeling rules where they understand the necessity for this. There are two detachment feeling rules for consideration: 1) Grounded passion 2) Business coded emotion.

Feeling of Detachment

The feeling of detachment is characterised by the need to detach self and to do so entrepreneurs needs to feel 1) Grounded Passion 2) Business Coded Emotion. The discussion in this section seeks to highlight that while entrepreneurs conceive of passion as a necessity, they also understand that it needs to be managed in case it disrupts the impression of professionalism. This is also the same for 'business coded emotion' where entrepreneurs understand the need to frame emotions within business boundaries using this as a filter for emotion appropriate interaction.

1)   Grounded Passion

It has been shown how passion is drawn on to energise and engage others, however, passion could be problematic particularly where it is bestowed on the interaction unchecked, where it is not appreciated or expected. This is aligned with other studies on entrepreneurship such as Fineman (2005) and Kets de Vries (1985) who examine the dark side of entrepreneurship where passion can be disruptive. In understanding that passion can be a long-term negotiation rather than a ephemeral emotion (Cardon, 2008) has implications for how entrepreneurs manage this emotion. According to Goffman (1961a) there are issues where an individual embraces their venture too warmly. Developing this strand of thought on the problematic nature of passion brings into focus appropriateness and 'fluid equilibrium' where passion is not fixed but rather negotiated. Quinn's view on appropriateness illuminates this with him noting that showing passion in interactions is an issue:

> If you're too passionate it can be a little bit overwhelming for people...if people are too passionate then somebody on the receiving end might say, *"Well, who have we let into our office"*.

This emphasises the interactional implications of the appropriateness of passion. The findings show that entrepreneurs understand that others expect that they do not show that they are overwhelmed by passion, particularly as it is understood that they are emotionally involved in their ventures. Having passion, yet appearing cool and controlled is a value that is prevalent within society. Quinn and other entrepreneurs put forward their

interpretations around this. Quinn and Richard, for instance show how they interpret the need for detachment. In developing conjoint meaning in situations they draw on the values of professionalism and the ability to provide added value. These experiences reflect the ideologies, beliefs, and values that conceive of actions where passion is restrained. The meaning of emotion rendered visible from the experiences of entrepreneurs in this study is that it, particularly passion, can be a double-edged sword, with its utility under question. Therefore caution is necessary. William says:

> The research and the word of mouth is what I'm enjoying the most but at the same time I'm careful, I don't want to get too carried away… I'm positive about the future but at the same time I keep my feet very firmly on the ground. Very level headed. That helps keep track of your emotions.

The need for entrepreneurs to keep their passion under check is drawn from the need to indicate their professionalism and their expert role. Unchecked passion could have negative consequences for the entrepreneur in conveying their expert knowledge and capabilities. This is an issue Sharpe (2005) raises in her study on adventure guides where over excitement undermines authority. In this study, unchecked passion can undermine communication and relationships. Dee expresses this issue:

> I still get all excited about ideas and sort of carried away with things and enthusiastic about stuff and then other people might not feel like I'm listening to them enough.

It could undermine decision-making. Garvey notes:

> Emotion is definitely a source of energy. The first thing it does is stops you thinking clearly and then it can energise you or it can de-energise you.

And Alejandro says:

> Obviously, before you put a business plan together and seek business advice it's something you've had sleepless nights over and thought about a lot…That feeling could mislead you… there's a lot of people who seek business advice for something and they've been told by more than one person it's not going to work, and they still pursue it, they still try to do it. And you could like to spend three or five years trying to develop something which you still have to give up in the end.

These experiences amplify entrepreneurs' view that passion can be unconstructive, hampering their activities. Drakopoulou Dodd (2002) also puts forward that passion in extreme is obstructive. Being 'too passionate' is inappropriate and where entrepreneurs feel this way, they must curtail it. Quinn further explicates that:

> You can feel it within yourself but you just need to be calm.

188

The entrepreneurs suggest that managing one's emotion can facilitate a calm front. William noted the need to reign in passion and be professional:

> I'm beginning to realise that even if I'm passionate about something, always be on a professional level. When I take myself out of it, I think I should have been more professional.

This has consequences for the management of passion, highlighting the requirement for the co-ordination of self and emotion (Hochschild, 1983). This need for entrepreneurs to co-ordinate self and emotion is similar to the findings presented by Bolton (2000b) where nurses have similar issues requiring strong feelings of care yet having to put forward a professional face. Another entrepreneur, Karl notes this co-ordination of self and emotion:

> On the very positive stuff, yes I think there are occasions when you might be feeling absolutely cock-a-hoop about something. It doesn't fit to be quite as OTT about something as, so I would temper perhaps that.

In defining the situation the entrepreneur is negotiating passion. What is increasingly clear from the entrepreneurs' accounts is that while they invest their emotion in their venture, being over passionate about it is sometimes not appropriate in the situation. Literature on entrepreneurship sees the entrepreneur and their venture as inextricably linked (Cardon et al., 2005; Watson, 2010), with accounts from the entrepreneurs interviewed testifying to this. One entrepreneur, Jayne, provides evidence of passion and their commitment to the venture:

> It's through and through us. And talking always about your product and about you and your company, that is emotionally draining that you sometimes want to crawl up in a ball and don't talk to anyone after a day's long networking. So it is a lot you have to give and get out there.

Taaj's account embraces passion and the link to his venture:

> I think 90% of my life revolves around this or my other business…I don't like going on holidays, I'm happy here. I enjoy coming to work every day I love my journey to work every day. I don't feel the need to travel around the world. Take time off. Nothing else appeals to me as much as my business. So yeah it does reflect me. I would say. My business has to be that way.

From preceding discussion entrepreneurs recognises the need to draw on passion or curb it. This dichotomy has tensions. Garvey indicates this:

> I'm very rational in the way I think and make decisions, but behaviour of people affects me quite a lot. I can get quite angry quite quickly.

Flynn also indicates the tension involved:

> I try to not let emotions get in the way of me making the right decision. It's difficult because I think you can't be an entrepreneur without being emotional, because it's your own. If I was working for somebody else, I don't think I'd have that emotional attachment, or it won't be the same. It has to be something I really believed in for me to have that kind of same emotional attachment to it. Because it's your own business, I think it's always going to be emotional. As hard as you may try not to, you might, to put to one side. Because you've got that personal investment in it, that personal interest in it, I don't think you can get away from that, to be honest. That emotional bit is always going to be there.

What has been made visible here is that passion can have implications for decision-making. Other entrepreneurship literature does have a similar view (Hannafey, 2003).

In conclusion, the findings show that passion can be what will bring the investors in but also what could alienate them or others, such as employees. Passion has also been shown as a shared meaning for what emotion is understood to be. This is similar to Cardon's (2008) view that passion is an emotion. This shared meaning exists within a frame where it is construed as a positive and acceptable, and so beneficial for the venture; or negative and unacceptable, and so detrimental to the legitimation of the entrepreneur. This could be construed as a scheme of control. Consequently, entrepreneurs need to understand the situation to be able to develop conjoint interpretation where there is a 'fluid state of equilibrium'. This fluid state of equilibrium is one where interpretation is ongoing and where passion is negotiated to emerge as a driver rather than being exhibited as an impediment. The argument is that entrepreneurs need to negotiate and manage their emotions for displaying passion or emotion detachment appropriate performances. This is similar to Cardon (2008) who notes that entrepreneurs choose to display or not display passion. Findings indicate that there is no static state but rather states of 'fluid equilibrium' where co-operation in defining emotions, such as passion, is negotiated. Cardon (2008) mentions that passion is enduring, however, rather than a stable enduring emotion, it is conceived here as a negotiation of 'fluid equilibrium'. Thus passion is a negotiation. This study develops further understanding of passion within entrepreneurship theory, which to date has not provided a rich description of dynamic nature of passion. In understanding further the feeling rule of detachment, it is also important to understanding

the 'business coded emotion' where the meaning of business emotions is negotiated and maintained. This is discussed in the next section.

2)   'Business Coded Emotion'

The findings have shown that there is an expectation, by both entrepreneur and others, that a distinction is drawn between business and personal feelings and values. This acts as an emotion filter during interactions. Emotion management is grounded in the interactional dynamics of entrepreneurs' performance with entrepreneurs viewing emotion as intrinsic in what they do. Their interpretation of how this emotion is managed and displayed is contingent existing relative to the situation, what is indicated during this interaction and what they meaning emerges from it. This idea about emotion relative to the situation indicates that emotion is generated by interaction and understood in terms of the interaction. This is in-line with the argument Goffman (1959a) puts forward that interactants need to have a shared understanding of the definition of the situation. Goffman (1959a, p. 246) argues that, *"the key factor in this structure [of interaction] is the maintenance of a single definition of the situation"*. There is a process of evaluation undertaken on emotions, where emotions are taken into account, interpreted and worked on due to the understanding of the situation. Carolina notes this:

> How do I manage my emotions? It would actually depend on situations.

Carolina mentions a few ways she manages emotion and how she delineates between personal and business coded emotions. In some cases she defers the interaction to deal with feelings outside of the interaction, and at other times she could decide to deal with feelings by acting. In doing this she draws on cues for doing business, such as detachment, acting, values, and appropriateness. These experiences symbolises that entrepreneurs draw on cultural cues and the indications of others in the interaction to make decisions on what emotions to show and what to keep hidden. These experiences shape emotion along with cues, indications from others and the definition of the situation within which the entrepreneur is operating. While the interaction calls for an appearance of disassociation of emotion, this study's finding breaks with the tenets of earlier research on entrepreneurship where performance is an economic rational activity and emotion has no

191

place (Fayolle, 2003; Katz, 2003; Morris, Lewis & Sexton, 1994). Emotion does have a place however, and as Waldron (2000) attests it is experienced differently in the personal and business spheres. This is made apparent with Zoe expressing how she attempted to re-orient her feelings:

> She was just doing business really, and so I had to switch into that, so I was doing business.

In seeking social anchorage Zoe sought to understand the definition of the situation drawing on the feeling rules dictated for the business situation. This serves to illuminate the meaning and expectations of emotion in business terms and how interpretation serves to produce a conjoint meaning of emotion. The findings directly exemplify business-coded emotion. Flynn notes:

> When you're dealing with people you have to put that [emotion] aside, you have to put that aside and recognise that you have to be professional.

Quinn provides further thoughts indicating this recognition that different feeling rules apply in business to those that apply in the personal sphere:

> Emotion in a professional setting, it shouldn't show itself, it really shouldn't. Because it can be felt but it shouldn't be expressed simply because of the effect it could have on the other person…So I think just managing emotions is crucial…And the only time emotion really has a place is personal. So I think emotion in the workplace doesn't belong.

Alejandro evidences this:

> I manage my emotions really by just looking at things as business. The way I've always done my business before is just look at people I'm dealing with as a professional, just business. You're not my mother or my sister. There are no emotions. It is kept inside.

The findings suggest that feelings are there but that these should not be expressed. This attests to the significance of the situation in experiencing and managing emotions with certain cultural cues forming the basis for emotion management and display. Entrepreneurs feel constrained to act in a manner benefiting this type of interaction. This draws on the notion of the private/public divide previously discussed. The earlier review of literature (Wouters, 1989b) noted and rejected a deterministic view of the private/public divide rather it was suggested a more emergent perspective should be considered. The findings indicate that the business personal divide is considered in an emergent manner. A conscious effort is made to draw on business focused feeling rules where the tendency is to draw on personal focused feeling rules. There are norms and

expectations within the context of the entrepreneurship world and associated interactions. Entrepreneurs must play to these norms and expectations to be accepted as legitimate. There is a need to stay 'in play' once in an interaction, calling on Goffman's (1963a) interaction tonus. Given the need to possess interactional tonus, Zoe illustrates how she took the situation into account and changed the feeling rules used in managing her emotions to stay 'in play' epitomising how entrepreneurs experience emotion:

> I do remember quite clearly thinking to myself in a split second, *"How am I going to deal with this?"* Because I could feel myself wanting to say to her, *"You, what a cheek you've got",* and go into why I thought she had a cheek. But on the other hand she was a client, …and I just thought to myself, *"She's not approaching this on personal terms, she is approaching this on business terms. I have to respond on business terms…She's only talking business. I'm only talking business".* And I had to switch from, I had to take the emotion out of it actually. That's not to say, that business isn't emotional, but it's a different set of emotions, and what I had to do was to switch from one set of emotions to another set of emotions.

Zoe's reasons shows how the performance develops through the emotional symbolic dimensions of the interaction, the definition of the situation and the nature of roles. Alejandro also notes how these dimensions are central to emotion management:

> He's doing his job and I'm doing my job. So he's going to see what's in his best interest to protect his job and obviously he's the organisation and then find out what I want myself. So, I don't see it as coming directly from him but it's coming from a book. So it's easy to keep a smile with someone like this.

The accounts indicate that the awareness context is an open one, that is, a context where each of those involved in the interaction are aware of their roles (Glaser & Strauss, 1964). For instance, the employee has been seen as an objectification of the organisation and so cast in a role where autonomy is minimised due to the procedures that need to be followed. The role relationship is formal. Entrepreneurs recognise the need for formality. Flynn indicates this:

> If you show emotion it can be taken advantage of…a lot of the people we know, we have personal relations, socially we may go out. So that could get in the way. So you have to put that aside and say, we have to be professional that this is business.

This 'switching' from one set of feeling rules to another is evidence of surface acting particularly as there was no talk of changing the feelings felt. Flynn notes:

> Everybody wants what's best for the company and everybody's working towards that. So it's never a personal thing. But if an idea that you have brought on board is not taken on, then yes there may be an initial, not bad feeling but, *"Ok, they didn't go with that."* But, you move on. As long as it's not a personal thing, then you're ok.

193

Entrepreneurs also indicated their preference in dealing with others who understood what feeling rules were expected in business interactions. Garvey says:

> We would rather deal with down the line professionals than people that are [emotional].

Carolina shows how she managed her emotions where the other interactant did not know the expected feeling rules:

> He was so rude, and because I didn't want to be rude to him, I said *"Let me call you back"* and I hung up. I was like *"Ah, how can this man be so rude?"* I wish I had just called him some names. I dealt with it, after maybe an hour. In the second hour, I called again and in my head it was like *"Let's start again."*

The business interaction bound by 'its only business' is an inter-subjective occurrence embedded within the interaction with entrepreneurs justifying the applicability of detachment.

This discussion on feeling rules notes that there is complexity in entrepreneurship interactions where feeling rules can be in opposition of each other. The argument presented is that entrepreneurs interpret what the feeling rules mean for them during their interactions. It is the interactional dynamics, entrepreneurs' interpretation of these and development of shared meaning coming to a co-joint position that deems feeling rules relevant for the situation which are then drawn on and used. To better understand how entrepreneurs do this in managing this complex relationship of feeling rules, the next section discusses how entrepreneurs manage feeling rules.

7.2   Managing Feeling Rules

Emotion management is essential for gaining a shared definition of the feeling rules thus facilitating legitimation of their role as entrepreneurs. It is a social phenomenon where expression manifests from an interpretation of the feeling rules and what each party in the interaction indicates to the other. Entrepreneurs are required to manage emotions to cope with the ebbs and flows in their everyday entrepreneurship reality. In other words, the emotion management that entrepreneurs do takes the form of coping. This section discusses the coping approaches that entrepreneurs take to feeling; 1) emotional rationality, 2) reflexivity as well as 3) getting on with it or switching.

'Emotional Rationality'

Hochschild (1983) did not privilege the benefits of the emotional labourers' emotion management. This study's findings suggest that there are benefits in managing emotion. This awareness is evident in entrepreneurs' performance. William provides evidence of the merit for managing emotions:

> I keep my emotions on track, for if you want to get the most out of something at work, the end result is going to affect your emotions.

In talking about feeling entrepreneurs are signifying their ability to shape their environment. Entrepreneurs employ expressive signs in their favour and as Goffman (1963a) notes, they do this because they can be seen and understood by others in the interaction. For entrepreneurs, emotion management is interpreted as symbolic rather than a rational choice solely built out of individuality and cognitive ability. The Median viewpoint is that emotion management occurs due to an individual taking into account the audience and the norms of society (Pfuetze, 1961). In this study, the findings indicate that the duality that emotion and rationality are usually subjected to (Brandt, 2004) does apply. For instance Victor notes that emotion and rationality are separable:

> If it [emotion] is expressed in an interaction it's usually over a beer and it's usually with whoever the key business partner is at that time and it's actually a much lower key because I'll just say you know, *"Things aren't going that well"* and I'll talk in those sort of terms. So it's kind of steeped in reality in the sense that, well what I'm trying to do is kind of focus on the business or focus on the issue.

Rather than emotion being viewed solely as the antithesis of rationality, as evidenced in this extract, entrepreneurs also view these two strands to be complementary, as does Bandelj (2009). There is variability in how emotion and rationality are conceived. Thus, both emotion (engagement) and rationality (detachment) are taken into account in ensuring appropriateness of feeling. Entrepreneurs interpret this as exhibiting, what is called here, 'emotional rationality'. This follows Williams' (1998) call for studies that construe emotion and rationality as mutually constitutive. Bolton (2000a) follows through with this view, noting that rationality and emotionality are not distinct but rather intertwined. According to Wouters (1989a) individuals balance the way they feel detachment and engagement. Entrepreneurs use the language of rationality, in some cases with symbolic reference.

Carolina notes:

> I'm really good at managing my emotions professionally. Even if it's one of immense rational to someone's response or action. So I try to kind of calibrate professionally.

This excerpt from the interview data draws out the rational grounds for action as well as the understanding that one must manage emotion, which is not privileged in rational theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This signifies that entrepreneurs are applying both the indications of others and their own rationality to their interpretation. Following Mead (1913) in this regard, these indications have implications for how entrepreneurs conceive of their performance, with variance in performance coming about from their interpretation of rationality and emotion. Furthermore, Mead (1913) notes that rationality is part of the individual's co-operation in interaction. Hochschild's (1983) notion of manufactured feelings notes rationality, with her analysis focusing on organisations' calculated approach in using employee's emotionality. This tendency toward rationality is given privilege due to organisational norms for the ultimate goal, the survival and competitive advantage of the business. This can be applied to entrepreneurs' ventures. Garvey's organisational context is immersed in anxieties of the future and issues of survival. This context provides the situation within which Garvey's emotion is interpreted:

> There have been some issues with the team at the top level with people going in slightly different directions… I do think, *"Are we all so stressed and worried and considering how we are going to pay the mortgage and everything in a couple of months, are we even in the right position, place, now to think about the future?"*

While rationality is called on giving pause to self-interest in this regard, it is not presenting a hiatus where entrepreneurs are viewed as manipulative. Garvey exemplifies this:

> I enjoy having a team of people. Not to boss them around, but I want to be a good boss. You know, I want to create good environments for people to work within…I want to find talented people and say, *"Here you go, here's the best job in the world because I'm going to give you more power and flexibility. Not much pay, but anything else you want is kind of on the table and negotiable"*.

Garvey dissociates himself from what he conceptualises as exploitative managers facilitating his conceptualisation of emotional rationality. His rationality towards

social norms is in this sense could be seen as a confining system. Goffman (1961a p.168) notes that:

> Each moral career, and behind this, each self, occurs within the confines of an institutional system, whether a social establishment such as a mental hospital or a complex of personal and professional relationships. The self, then, can be seen as something that resides in the arrangements prevailing in a social system for its members. The self in this sense is not a property of the person to whom it is attributed, but dwells rather in the pattern of social control that is exerted in connection with the person by himself and those around him.

This emotional rationality manifests in how feeling rules are taken into consideration and emotions are managed. Entrepreneurs do not perceive selves as manipulative in their bid to comply with feeling rules. Rather through their interpretive process this prescribed notion of emotional rationality is presented as professionalism in ensuring appropriate feelings. Garvey says:

> If they come into the office and I'm bawling at somebody, that doesn't create a good environment.

The subsequent discussion further elaborates on the process of emotion management. Entrepreneurs also manage their emotions through reflexivity and separation versus adjustment.

Reflexivity: Reflection and Imagination

This study emphasises meaning and interpretation and consequently entrepreneurs' power to negotiate, taking Hochschild's (1983) work and extending it towards the Median (1912) notion of reflexivity where the entrepreneur acts toward self based on joint action. This discussion turns to entrepreneurs' use of reflection and imagination to illuminate their reflexivity, that is, their engagement in critical self-reflection (Kleinsasser, 2000) where the self is established in unraveling the emotion infused in their interactions (Mead, 1912; Morris, 1962) referred to here as 'reflexive entrepreneurship imagination'. This view is similar to Zott & Huy (2007) who do consider entrepreneurs to be reflexive. However this study extends this notion to emotion management, which has not been specifically addressed in entrepreneurship literature. In considering reflection, entrepreneurs signify the importance of understanding emotion.

Karl says:

> Feelings actually are as important as any hard data you get. The key is recognising that they exist and being able to make some interpretation as to what they mean and what their significance is.

The entrepreneur is open to what they are feeling and reflect upon this. This reflection is undertaken relative to what is considered appropriate in interaction. Quinn notes:

> I think we all know what we feel, if we were to express that which is not appropriate. And so we all just kind of place those constraints upon ourselves.

The indications taken from the interaction are reflected on and in drawing on self-control emotions are managed. Hochschild (1983) developed the concept of emotional labour around the constraints of control: both managerial and self-control, where emotions are manufactured in accordance with organisational feeling rules. Here the entrepreneurs are indicating that they also draw on self-control and other control through the notion of appropriateness, rather than managerial control. This self-control draws on efforts to understand their emotions. Carolina clearly provides evidence of her reflexivity during back region work, when she said that she would take time out to reflect and so manage her emotions. In acting upon their emotions in this reflexive manner, entrepreneurs can compartmentalise it. Zoe notes the recognition to compartmentalise feelings:

> Recognise that, that's was where I was coming from and that I needed to think about it in a different way so that I could give her a more suitable, appropriate response.

What is apparent from Zoe's example is the interpretive process through interaction. She demonstrates how she drew on the indications being made to her and used this to reinterpret her action. While individuals are often unaware that they are following a set of rules (Worsley, 1970), where there are tensions entrepreneurs' emotion management becomes tenuous and visible to self. Similarly, Karl notes:

> If for instance, I'm feeling ridiculed or made fun of kind of thing. That's something that really gets to most people and it gets to me probably more than most, I would think. And I can work out where it's come from and I can kind of park that and move on from it so that it's is not so much managing it it's kind of recognising that it's very significant and that whilst it is significant it needn't affect things so much. As long as I recognise what it is or what it isn't and then can move on from it. So that would be an example of that. This sort of managing of a negative emotion.

This emotion management is steeped in meaning and interpretation not merely in managerial control or reactivity as Hochschild (1983) suggests. What has also been

rendered visible from entrepreneurs' accounts is that emotion management can occur not only at the time of the interaction but also outside of the immediate interaction. This study draws to attention the reflection on feeling at an appropriate time. This may mean at the same time and place as the interaction or at a later time and another place. Karl emphasises this in this account:

> What I would try and do afterwards is to process it as to why I was so anxious, unduly anxious about something…I think, who I was and why I behaved as I did in certain situations…What I try and do is to deal with them [emotions] at the appropriate time, the appropriate place. And that is usually later and usually processing it and learning from it, or accepting it. One or the other, but having some kind of closure on it.

This draws on the notion of emergence where emotion management is dynamic, a concept that had limited consideration in Hochschild's (1983) work. In reflecting upon feelings, entrepreneurs are claiming control. Victor notes:

> I went down and met Lexi and we talked through business, we talked through strategy and at the end of that two hours we kind of both felt better. And then kind of on the way back home I kind of analysed the conversation, analysed the point I'd made in my notebook…fine I understand why I was feeling like that and I understand the activities that are relevant particularly emotions.

While the reflections made visible are generally of a short-term review of emotions, these can also be conducted over a longer timeframe. Garvey notes the need to reflect on how one manages their emotion:

> At least once a year I get a coach in. She comes in and we all do 360 feedback on everybody. I think that's a very helpful exercise. I think it also helps me to manage my emotions because it lets me know whether they're ok or not.

This would suggest that entrepreneurs view legacy experience as an interpretive frame for future interactional interpretation. Ross & Nisbett (1991) do note that the past can be used as a frame of reference.

It has been found that entrepreneurs can make sense of their emotions at a later time rather than during the interaction. To aid in the comprehension of what happens to the emotion in the meantime and how it is moved on to an appropriate time, an entrepreneur's experience is presented:

> Kind of typical of work situations, business situations, I would more often than not park it and deal with it later rather than let it show. Saying, *"Catch it, crumbs, not very happy about that, there's something very unpleasant going on here. But I'm not going to deal with it now because it's not the right time to deal with it because I've got other objectives to achieve here*

and now." But I can catch hold of it. Park it over here. Then go back to it on the train going home or when I get home. Something like that and process it. I can go on a long jog and process it and come back thinking, *"Yeah, got that sorted."* That would be another way I would deal with stress or upset or something like that.

In physically moving away from the interaction one is moving away from the front region into the back region. This social act takes into consideration the indications and inner work made during the interaction. Carolina expressed how she retreats into the back region and in composing self, prepares herself to face the world and so the front stage. Here, back region work is reflexive work done in preparation for the front performance. This is aligned with Waldon (2000) who notes that emotion management extends beyond the interaction. It is also necessary to note that reflexivity is a social process with scholars such as Wilson (1970) maintaining that actions undertaken in solitude are still part of the interaction. This process of reflection allows the entrepreneur to label feelings, understand what this means and hence negotiate expression.

In developing further the focus on meaning and interpretation in reflexivity, imagination conceptualised as both inner dialogue and visualisation, as back region work is rendered visible. This manifested through first, the expression of an inner voice acting as emotion manager. Zoe pays homage to this:

> Well, you always have to be schizophrenic. In fact I think I might be. You know it's like I've got two voices in my head. There's one going, *"Oh my God I am in a state"*. And the other voice going, *"No you're not, this is a business, be calm and collected, everything is fine, everything is fine"*...I knew it was going to be a struggle. And I think it was a way of managing disappointment.

In this account, there is a voice of reason and a voice of panic in contest in the management of Zoe's emotions. This presents two selves very much like what Schelling (1978) mentioned in his paper on self-management where the voice of reason is the in-control straight self. Entrepreneurs' inner dialogue is reflexive and engages with their emotionality. Irini shares an example of her self-talk:

> I could tell myself I shouldn't, I know I'm stroppy, so I understood the emotions. Then it's a case of right, "Ok, don't be stroppy"

The inner dialogue enables entrepreneurs to look at the interaction and their feelings in a different way. Parallels can be drawn with Hochschild's (1983) deep acting where

'trained imagination' is used to change the way that entrepreneurs orient to feeling. Ernie describes his effort in this regard:

> I've used creative visualisation--and that might sound like something out of space cadet book or whatever--but it is really the perception of how you see yourself…Now this guy was wealthy. He was probably worth about £8 or £9M, but I didn't look out of place in his company because I was seeing myself and imagining myself before I go in as that person that is a multi-millionaire and I'm doing him a favour. So he was more nervous of me, than I was of him. And I came out of that, and I analysed that and I made some notes and I thought, *"Yeah, this guy was more nervous of me."*

Deep acting strategies, that is, acting where the individual gives something of self, such as memories and feeling, to elicit the appropriate expression (Hochschild 1983) is evident from the findings presented. Here imagining positive futures and the meaning derived from this to manage emotions is based on the desire to present a certain image of one's self and to have that received as authentic. Entrepreneurs' experiences show how their social consciousness and interpretation are engaged in the management of emotion. Hochschild (1983) draws on transmutation to develop insight into individuals' awareness of emotion management, however, her scheme privileges the individual as reactive to organisational control and does not privilege reflexivity where meanings and interpretations are fluid.

Emotion Separation versus Adjustment

Findings suggest that the notion of emotion separation such as 'getting on with it' and adjustment such as 'switching' activities are key strategies in how emotion is managed. During the interviews, one of the most cited approaches to managing one's emotion and so dissociating self from emotion was to 'get on with it'. This separation from the feeling is understood in terms of acting out the appropriate feeling but not necessarily changing the feeling one has. Garvey articulates this:

> Being able to manage your relations in such a way that even if you're livid, even if you're raging, you still get on with the job...One guy that recently left us, didn't have it. I think that's the reason why he was shown the door, because he couldn't detach his emotional reactions to things from his ability to work.

Flynn says:

> I'm able to compartmentalise and put it to one side and just move on.

Irini notes:

> I couldn't turn the switch off and be happy…It's just get on with it and get through it.

In these instances and in 'getting on with it', entrepreneurs engage in surface acting (Hochschild, 1983), that is, altering the expression of emotion even though the emotion itself is not changed. In demonstrating surface acting, entrepreneurs are exhibiting their willingness to adopt constraints upon their expression. So where the emotion is deemed inappropriate the entrepreneur consciously seeks to present the 'right' expression. Hochschild (1983) contends that in surface acting the individual distances oneself from their emotion. This is what Garvey suggests individuals should be capable of doing. Quinn also indicates this:

> I just get on with it. Do something about it…for me it was a case of just being very, very busy. I felt very bad about the situation…the only practical solution to that was not to dwell on it.

As does Karl, who articulates that:

> I don't think I would show if I was feeling particularly down about something. I don't think I would let it show because I would throw myself into what I was doing. And act a bit and pretend that things are okay. So there is impression management I suppose…One thing I am conscious that I deliberately do on occasions is close down a smile, so that I would look more serious, when actually I'm feeling really, you know.

Irini says:

> If I was nervous then, if it wasn't appropriate to tell them I'm nervous, I would probably, conceal it with smiling and trying to be upbeat and happy. If I am nervous and it's appropriate to let on that I'm nervous, I could express it with words if I could say, *"Do you know what, I'm really nervous about today."*…if it's not appropriate then you kind of just tuck it away and then just continue expressing the smiles and the happiness.

Experienced emotion is a basis for change in expression, and from the examples given, feelings were not altered, but rather entrepreneurs acted to present an expression that they were not necessarily feeling but was deemed appropriate to the situation. The key point here is that the emotion is recognised. In recognising the emotion the entrepreneur manages the emotion by 'getting on with it' describing this as meaning 'moving on', 'not dwelling on the emotion' with some physical displacement an example of a tactic. In reality, such getting on with it, rarely involves deep acting at the time but rather surface acting. Carolina notes the virtues of drawing emotional boundaries and surface acting:

> I also try not to internalise, basically because by taking it on board, you've not really helped the other person because it would be affecting you.

From this relayed experience, it would appear that internalising is not a desirable form of emotion management, as this could have consequences for the self and other in the interaction. This suggests that deep acting could be harmful hence the employment of surface acting in projecting a certain expression. While there is this argument for surface acting, entrepreneurs do employ deep acting. Quinn's account provides an example of his awareness of emotion and the process he employs in managing them, in this instance for not loosing his cool:

> Someone else has done the work, I don't shout at them or anything like that…I just open the door and walk out on the balcony and let off some deep breaths…when I feel it rising in me I just need to have the wherewithal just to be able to control it.

Garvey expresses deep acting and the switching off adjustment strategy adopted in changing feelings:

> Trying to control your emotional state a little bit…Trying to switch off.

Hernandez says:

> Feelings, you have to try to escape that. Like when things go bad, what I learn is like trying to escape, it's almost we are like, I feel we are computers. You just block something and what you do is switch it off and fresh it up again.

Zoe's interpretation of how this occurs is that:

> The emotions I was feeling were very much rooted in my values, and sense of justice. And I realised that what she was saying to me wasn't rooted in my set of values or my sense of justice. So I had to re-orientate…I had to switch out of that.

In drawing on the two approaches to feeling, Ola's approach is to remove herself from the interaction so that she can feel the emotion and then change for self rather than changing the emotion for the appropriateness of the interaction:

> I wouldn't express my feelings to my clients. I would put the phone down and I would feel it. Once I've done that, then I think of something positive to do. Just to counter it, because I don't hide...I kind of try and balance the negativity out by doing something positive.

To conclude, findings suggest that the fear of loss of face and status, and entrepreneurs' passion for their own venture, acts as a normative pressure with the entrepreneur compliant because they want their venture to be a success. However, what is of significance is the way entrepreneurs themselves orient to what is in a sense a constraining system but is viewed as something that they can manage. The management of emotion involves interpretation leading to a symbolic meaning based on popular

discourse around the notion that emotion is needs to be managed particularly where legitimation is at stake.

7.3   Display of 'Managed' Emotion

During the course of their business interactions, entrepreneurs manage their feelings to deliver an acceptable display. This is an interactive process where social meaning of emotion display is derived in interaction with others. *"The processes of symbolic interaction organize all emotional experiences"* (Lindesmith, Strauss & Denzin, 1988 p.99). This can be explained as the presentation of emotional signs during performance. To present appropriate emotional signs, an individual draws on feeling rules to ascertain what is acceptable and manages their emotions to present this acceptable front. What emerges from the study's findings is that entrepreneurs orient to the need to perform appropriate emotions and negotiate a display where 'real' feeling is made visible or masked. Where natural feelings are displayed the entrepreneur puts forward an authentic display, however where 'real' feeling is masked the entrepreneur seeks to ensure the display is accepted as plausible. In managing their emotions and display they are managing others' impressions (Mirchandani, 2003).

Authentic Display: A Performance of Openness

In Hochschild's (1983) discussion on the commercialisation of feeling she defines the display of 'natural' feeling as authenticity. There is a high regard for this display of natural feeling rather than the processed kind with Hochschild (1983) also noting the virtue attached to natural or spontaneous feelings. Chen, Yao & Kotha (2009) had similar findings where sincerity is valued, though Mann (2007) had contrasting expectations of authenticity in frontline staff.

A quote from Carolina indicates an entrepreneur's view on authenticity:

> It's really emphasising or putting up your real disposition that reflects my authenticity…I don't want to be a saint to Tobi and be a devil to Henry. No. I want to be me at all times.

The defining interpretive process here is what entrepreneurs understand as authentic performance. The meaning embedded in authenticity for entrepreneurs is that they act according to their own definition of what they are. Hernandez articulates his view of authentic performance:

> You have to find a way in which, wherever you present yourself, you're yourself. That would be my advice. If you're always being yourself, you don't have to act.

According to Goffman (1959a), this is a sincere performance, where both the entrepreneur and the interactants are engaged in the display and believe in the impression of reality being displayed. However, it may not always be appropriate to display feelings even though they are authentic. Garvey provides an example of this when confronted by a buyer's unprofessional performance:

> *"Oh I don't get it."*…Paul was pitching and when this guy [the buyer] just said it and Paul got completely flustered and so my first summation was,…*"What a dick! Who is this guy?"* And then I almost started laughing because of how much of a brick wall we just ran into.

In this episode, the buyer's dysfunctional expressiveness is viewed as inappropriate. Garvey's feelings are natural, yet these undoctored feelings are tempered for appropriateness. Garvey did not actually laugh. This approach to authenticity is aligned with Hochschild's (1983) 'natural feeling' as the feeling is not being changed. Feelings can be made evident to those in the interaction though the expression of these feelings is tempered. Irini notes:

> It would be a case of *"So much on this week and so much to do"*. Rather than saying, *"I'm stressed, I'm stressed, I'm stressed."…"* So much on this week, so much to do, so little time." Something like that without it actually being, *"Oh my God, how in the hell am I going to cope?"* So it's not showing that I can't cope, it's finding a way to expressing it that way…it's a case of still being able to express it without showing the negativity…It's doing it in a way that's understood without going too far.

Karl thought that this did facilitate an authentic performance:

> Well, one thing is to be able to voice how one is feeling about something without necessarily displaying that feeling and I won't say I am brilliant at this but I think that on occasion I can say, *"I'm feeling really cheesed off about this"* or *"I'm actually quite frustrated with where we're at"* or *"That makes me feel very angry"*. I think I can say that kind of thing without displaying the anger and so on. So it's not completely ignoring. I think that is being authentic to say, *"Well I'm actually quite upset about this"*. But I'll live with it. I can cope with. I might make a joke of it.…I think that would be a way of being authentic without actually…blowing one's top.

This provides an indication that the entrepreneur also has control in the interaction and that it is not an exploited situation. The findings show that entrepreneurs do act according to their own definition of their role and their business. Taaj reinforces this:

> It's inevitable that it's got to reflect me.

This is a similar finding to Tolich's (1993) shop assistants who engage self but at odds with Hochschild's (1983) notion of emotional labour where the emotional labourer is viewed as exploited with no variance privileged.

Plausible Display: A Performance of Fiction

Entrepreneurs' performance needs legitimising by others and so should be plausible to the other. In putting forward a plausible display entrepreneurs' experiences indicate that they demonstrate pragmatism. Goffman's ideas on expression help to illuminate issues around authenticity where he (1963a p.14) states that, *"Expressive messages…must often preserve the fiction that they are uncalculated, spontaneous, and involuntary…"* He notes that display can be, what is suggested here a 'performance of fiction'. Take for instance, Karl's experience:

> There'd be some occasion that I may not even want to share that I am having a particular emotion. So I think the obvious extension of that is that there will be times that I'm not authentic.

Yet as Hochschild (1983) notes, society places value on a performance that does not show the effort involved in portraying a 'doctored' emotional display. As such where uncalculated feelings cannot be offered up, the individual is charged to make an invisible show of doing so, consequently consciously managing their feeling for the means-end nexus (Hochschild, 1983). Alejandro presents an account of this:

> Where I try to sell somebody something and it's £5, and it is worth £5 but they try to beat you down to £1. And you want the business, so you're still smiling with them though you're thinking inside all sorts, I wish I could just tell him that this or something. Or especially like, with my equipment, okay somebody who probably who recklessly goes out and scratches something but they come back and…you're not really happy with them but you have to keep a smile.

Entrepreneurs' display can be a performance of fiction where they are pragmatic in feeling and deceiving others. However they do endeavour to present this as a plausible

display. According to Hochschild (1983) this is akin to surface acting where individuals establish an illusion, disguising feelings to deceive others. Entrepreneurs' frame their performance of fiction as acting. Karl notes this:

> I suppose I'm quite a good actor, that if I'm hurt or anxious I can usually bluff it.

Dee's experience is that:

> I was acting, big time. I would not show anything like the depth of how upset I would feel or the emotions. I'd try and keep it really together....In this case, I felt insulted and undermined. He made me feel like I was at school, like he was the headmaster and I was back in the fifth form, and I'd done something wrong. I felt really small.

This acting is akin to Hochschild's (1983) surface acting, screening off one's emotion from the other in the interaction. Where Quinn is undertaking resource and client seeking activities his interpretation of passion and engagement is one where he does not engage 'natural' emotion in his performance:

> In terms of meeting individuals, banks, couple of charities who I try to do work with. To me it's just another meeting. I didn't really have an emotional input to it. I hope when I'm with them that some sort of passion comes across so I can play right impression. But I don't feel emotionally engaged.

Even in withholding natural emotion, the act is accepted and so the 'bluff' as Karl calls it, needs to be seen as a plausible authentic display of emotion to gain legitimation. In presenting what the other wants to see, entrepreneurs' performance is accepted. In other words, this cynical performance has been accepted as a plausible display. This is similar to what Aldrich (1994) argues that 'true authenticity' can be unmanageable with plausibility a more socially acceptable display of emotion. In this way, entrepreneur's perspective is that they can display feeling other than those they are feeling. A further example from Dee indicates her surface acting in presenting a plausible display:

> I struggle with not being completely honest when something's unpleasant. And so knowing that I need to suppress what I see as the truth because it might be difficult for somebody else to hear so I do spend quite a lot of time pussy footing around people to make sure they're happy and keeping them happy and patting them on the head and flattering them a bit. And I know that's not being completely honest, but I tend to do it because I like people to be comfortable and I like interactions to be relaxed.

By being nice Dee is bluffing and deceiving others about how she really feels seeking to influence their emotions and make them have a feeling of well-being. This can be understood as a cynical performance where the other does not allow a sincere

207

performance and so the entrepreneur offers up a cynical one to save the other's face. This finding is similar to Callaghan and Thompson (2002) study where the customer service representative does not feel that the customer actually wants a sincere performance. Constanti & Gibbs (2004) finding also corroborates this view. They found that students want the authenticity of being cared for whether this incorporates deceit on the part of the giver or not. The finding from this study where the entrepreneur offers up a cynical performance to save the other's face follows Goffman (1959a) when he says that the cynical performance is not necessarily geared towards self-interest and private gain but rather for the good of the audience. This has been articulated by a scholar of emotion management when she made a personal note in not wanting to know the real emotions of pilots and cabin crew (Burgess, 1982). The entrepreneur makes an effort in this regard where it is perceived to be the right thing to do, particularly with the feeling rules around empathetic deference. Karl expresses this:

> There would be occasions that I would not give somebody the absolute whole truth about something if they are going to be terribly upset by it, and frankly if it didn't make a lot of difference whether they knew or didn't know. So that is probably not being totally authentic but it's being pragmatic and maybe in the long-term kind. You know, do you always tell somebody who is terminally ill that they are terminally ill?

Sometimes an otherwise sincere performer is cynical due to circumstances, similar to Goffman's (1959) view. In discussing further the entrepreneur display where others do not allow a sincere performance. This could be done for reasons other than to save the other's face, but rather to save the entrepreneur's face. Garvey talks about this:

> After running a business for six years, I don't hold that [honesty] particularly highly anymore just because I've had to pull the wool over people's eyes almost every day for a period of time. And it's just not practical. Anyone that says, I mean, shooting straight with people, it's a difficult line. But you just can't come clean because if you did no people would go anywhere near you. No one would touch you with a barge pole if you actually told them.

The entrepreneurs note that it is not necessarily practical to be honest in business interactions. Victor says:

> Sometimes if you're too honest you turn people away.

Fassin (2005) raises this in discussing entrepreneurs' motivation for dishonesty. However the findings in this study provide evidence of a struggle in not being honest. In framing their experiences, personal and relational resources help in organising their feelings of

cynicism. As entrepreneurs get socialised into the fabric of the entrepreneurship world gaining an understanding of the interactional dynamics in this sphere they have become cynical with the understanding that honesty has no place. Larry indicates that being 'economical with the truth' is a norm:

> In terms of when you come to the entrepreneurial side: the profit making, certainly wouldn't outright lie but then there's more degrees of economical with the truth, and I've done my spin, like everyone else as well.

Jayne explains this 'economical with the truth' as bringing out the best features of the company:

> The thing is as a start-up you're not allowed to admit that many weaknesses, because if you do people don't want to help you but they get worried. Like if you go in a conversation and say the problem is, and the problem is, and the problem is, then they think, *"Oh my God, this is a big problem"*. So it's definitely about bringing the best out of it and also depending on with whom you're speaking, with lawyers who have to protect us, we talk different to the buyers, we talk different to our manufacturers. We talk different to our network people, to our friends. There are different levels or avenues of our business.

Entrepreneurs develop their understanding of honesty on the basis that it is a negotiation.

However some entrepreneurs, such as Hernandez, are disabused of their belief in honesty:

> Family values are like honesty, well, I always, go with my heart on my arm. I really like to do fair deals but you realise and learn through this journey that's not what it's about. I don't know if it will sound bad but I will say it that way. You move forward if you lie than if you're honest. That is very disappointing. A lie it seems people is more ready to buy it than honesty in business. But they have to be small lies, lies that you can control which they are almost true, but I don't know how that could be…I will give you examples of what I've done to succeed…I couldn't do something at the time but I could do it in another way and I done it, but I told them, "No, no that's done this way" and they believe it. And then last time I was honest with them and they didn't like it.

A further indication of cynical performance is where entrepreneurs struggle to present plausible expressive signs of emotion and so they seek the co-operation of the audience. Here is a sample of entrepreneurs' statements expressing this: Dee says:

> He's one of those blokes that needs emotional support, he liked that, he didn't see through it.

Zoe shows how her client was called upon to assist in the acceptance of the display:

> I remembered face specifically. I remember specifically trying to muster an expression of surprise, where I went (a facial expression displaying surprise presented), *"Ooh, if you would prefer one of the tutors do let me know"*. Sort of appeasing it by saying *"Do let me know."* But I was actually quite cross. And I don't know whether that expression ever worked … so I have no idea really in terms of facial expression, what she saw. But I know what I was trying to do, whether it came off or not, I don't know. But she never mentioned it again.

Mac also indicates this:

> I felt frustrated, angry with Stan who had different values. I like structure, logical. There was no detail. I hope the feelings didn't come across. I was conscious of that.

In the cases presented here the performance appeared to have been accepted though there is the possibility that, as Goffman (1959a) notes, the other interactants assisted the entrepreneurs to maintain the impression that they were aiming to deliver. Hence, entrepreneurs' display is one where others are called upon to give a hand in maintaining plausibility.

7.4   Conclusion

This chapter provides insight into the nature of emotion management and how this emerges in entrepreneurs' performance from the entrepreneurs' perspective. Emotion management has been rendered as central to the performance of entrepreneurs with the analysis showing that emotion is not a separate aspect of work but rather is intrinsic to it, similar to Briner's (1999) view.

From the analysis undertaken, three main conclusions are noted. First, the entrepreneurs have shown how they account for rules by reflecting on these through communication and gesture, developing shared meaning and joint action. Feeling rules have featured prominently in studies of emotion management defining what is meant by emotion management in a number of work situations. Entrepreneurs align themselves to specific feeling rules for entrepreneurship appropriate emotion feeling. The analysis of feeling rules in this study makes visible passion. In identifying the feeling rules of engagement that call on passion the study aligns itself with other literature on the subject (Smilor, 1997) that notes the value of entrepreneur's passion (Sharrock & Watson, 1984). Where this study adds to Cardon's (2008) conceptualisation of passion is in providing an empirical presentation of feelings of detachment, where it has been specifically noted that passion can have a negative influence on the interaction. With the issues around passion, a balance is needed in managing both feeling rules of engagement and detachment providing a grounded view of passion. This balance shows that entrepreneurs can show

commitment and emotional energy for their venture while still also presenting a detached face. Furthermore, it is put forward that entrepreneurs' interpretation of feeling rules provides them with a definition of self. This is similar to Cardon (2008) and Drnovsek, Cardon & Murnieks (2009) who posit that passion is a self-defining emotion. In drawing on feeling rules and interpreting them in the way that they do, entrepreneurs are developing shared meaning of who they are, and how they manage their emotions.

The second main conclusion from the foregoing analysis undertaken is that with the centrality of 'fluid equilibrium', that is, the ongoing negotiation of feeling rules to come to a shared understanding, entrepreneurs make choices in showing either engagement or detachment. This has strong parallels with Goffman's (1959a) theory of presentation where in presenting oneself, there is an ongoing negotiation during interaction. It is important for entrepreneurs to perceive the value of effectively interpreting feeling rules, managing their emotions and displaying these in an appropriate manner. Consequently, the entrepreneur needs to not only manage emotions, but also express the appropriate ones ensuring that there is no lapse in the performance where the other sees through the impression being indicated. It is therefore evident from the findings that emotion management relies on the notion that others in the interaction expect a display they can accept whether this is authentic or not. Findings highlight the paradoxical complexity between engagement and detachment feeling rules with entrepreneurs interpreting and negotiating these rules with those they are interacting with. Entrepreneurs do not necessarily see authenticity as obligatory and as such there will be times when their plausible display will not be accepted.

The third main conclusion is the emergence of the reflexivity of the entrepreneur. This reflexivity offers an interpretive frame in negotiating rules and expectations that Hochschild (1983) neglected to consider. Furthermore, this reflexive practice in managing feeling rules highlights the issues around Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of the private public divide. This reflexivity links the private and the public domains (Brandt, 2004). In addition, reflexivity is an interactional process where emotion is interpreted, meaning emerges and actions are developed.

The aim of this chapter was to explore and make visible how emotion management is accomplished during entrepreneurs' performance. The conceptual basis for the analysis in this chapter has been provided mainly by Hochschild's (1983) ideas on emotional labour and Goffman's (1959a) thought on presentation of self. Interactionists are interested in the meanings and interpretations individuals negotiate, hence, an understanding of the processes involved in emotion management. This highlights that compliance with feeling rules occurs through the employment of masked back region work and visible routines. This study acknowledges this and corroborates with other studies on emotion management that have found that this is also the case (Becker & Meyers, 1974-1975; Harris, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Comparing the findings from this study with Goss (2008) reveals the importance and integral nature of emotion in entrepreneurs' activities. Goss (2008) ideas on shared emotionally charged symbolic meanings, penetrates the essence of this study's thesis where emotion is viewed as a symbolic resource to be negotiated.

In addition, this study is affiliated with Goffman's views on the ongoing negotiation for the maintenance of an appropriate front, and also renders conflict visible. This concept of conflict is discussed in the following chapter and draws on Goffman's (1967d) ideas on dramaturgical competence and role appropriate performance (Goffman, 1959a) to elucidate the issues that may arise where compliance with feeling rules is lacking.

Chapter Eight
Foregrounding the Tensions and Complexities of Entrepreneurs' Performance and Emotion Management

8.0 Introduction

The previous discussion in Chapters Six and Seven suggests that entrepreneurs engage in performances and emotion management. According to Goffman (1959a) performance is socialised and as such is molded and modified to fit the socially acceptable view of how entrepreneurs should act and display emotion. In this act and display certain acceptable facts are made visible while others that are deemed undesirable are hidden (Goffman, 1956, 1959a). However, this 'socialised doing' of emotion management and performance is not without tension. In examining the link between emotion management and performance more closely this chapter addresses these tensions. In doing so, it notes from prior discussion the view of what entrepreneurs understand to be acceptable performance and emotive display. From the analysis conducted a constant feature that emerges from entrepreneurs' experience is legitimation. In this respect, the proposition is that emotion management and the intertwined performance are based on the significance of how the entrepreneur interprets rules and expectations in acting out their legitimation efforts. Consequently, in this chapter the tensions that arise in entrepreneurs' legitimation rituals are discussed in rendering visible the signification of emotion management and performance.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore these tensions and so unravel some of the complexity that Hochschild (1983) has a tendency to under-theorise. Hochschild (1983) focuses on the cognitive tensions individuals come up against in undertaking emotional labour but leaves the 'social' under-represented. The social tensions are rooted in the instances where the ideal is not achieved and where performances are not accepted as legitimate. This is due to the visibility to others of the difference between what is expected and what entrepreneurs do. Entrepreneurs' ideology is sometimes at odds with

the dictates of socially agreed norms, giving rise to tensions. These dilemmatic concerns give rise to what is referred to here as 'lapses in performance'.

8.1 Deviating from Co-operation to Conflict

The findings demonstrate that tension is understood as conflict. This becomes visible where the dynamics of the interaction are not aligned towards a cooperative interpretation between entrepreneur and other interactants. The focus of discussion so far has been on entrepreneurs' cooperative stance with negotiated order and joint action (Blumer, 1969) guiding the analytical interpretation. Carolina notes that relationships are predicated on joint action but also notes that where this is lacking conflict arises:

> The only problem is when they don't really comply to the solutions you've given or they haven't done their part because it's a two-way thing, really.

This finding suggests that entrepreneurs' view others as bringing conflict to the interaction. A closer inspection of the interactional context that this entrepreneur, Carolina is acting within is important from a symbolic interactionist perspective, providing not only 'that' there is conflict but also how entrepreneurs understand conflict by drawing out her interpretative process. As already previously noted, Carolina wants to be seen as elite and an excellent consultant rather than a team member. The lack of responsiveness to Carolina's solutions may have something to do with her being seen as an outsider with her assumption that she is the expert rather than part of the team that conducts the everyday activities. In any case, this is an assumption as there is no direct data from the team. However the findings do foreground the issue of status. Carolina's interpretation is that having expert status would assist her in her role, however it appears to be thwarting it with conflict arising in interactions. Entrepreneurship literature does acknowledge that conflict occurs within interactions (Gassenheimer, Baucus & Baucus, 1996) with Strauss (1993) also noting this. William exclaims:

> Is this what real business is about? Where somebody is actually going at you hammer and tongs.

This highlights the notion that there is a difference in perspectives between entrepreneurs and others in the interaction (Strauss, 1993). In negotiating their role as entrepreneur, many of the interviewed entrepreneurs including William, had to learn new rules and during this process as William notes, they learnt many harsh lessons. This is similar to other conflict situations where shared understanding has not been negotiated. Entrepreneurs talk about 'us' and about others being 'outsiders' and bringing about conflict. The following excerpt from Flynn illustrates others' role in bringing about conflict:

> Our main competitors are the council…they are constantly throwing money at our client to get them back…and whatever reason they're still trying to, you know, not take us over as such, but just trying to push you out basically…We constantly feeling that they're trying to undermine us…once in a while you get feedback saying *"Oh, they're trying to this or whatever"* for no reason. Why they think we are competitors, I don't know. We don't have their clients we don't try to take their schools.

It would appear that the corporation does not share the same understanding of the situation, hence the conflict visible in their dealings. Hernandez demonstrates an orientation to other people's role in drawing out conflict in his expose on venture capitalists:

> It's fairly easy to meet loads of people, there's loads of people in business, which they say well let me see, *"I'm venture capitalist. I have lots of money"*. And then you go to them and you meet them again and they don't have the money. They would like to have it. They would like to do something with you but they don't have the means to do it…And the ones they're very good, very fast. It's like probably again they take the decision as an instant decision more than actually asking you, have you done the business plan...have you researched this, making you work and waste time and pay for their statistics and things they knew. I find it like lots of people say you have to believe the statistics of that, this market, this market. All this information costs money and you are there asking them to help you in making this business live.

Bob also notes that interactions can either be co-operative or of a conflictual where the other in the interaction wants control. He provides an example:

> I've certainly been to a few meetings with potential supplier and companies who we might work with where there has been a very aggressive manner…We had driven a good two hours out of London to this meeting. And we arrived and the receptionist buzzed through and said we're here. And he said, *"Who are they"*. And it was just like, I didn't know whether it was a deliberate assault to put us on the back foot. Alternately he was very probing. I'm sort of very conscious of those sorts of aggressive maneuvers. So I wouldn't necessarily want to go into business with someone like that who is going to be trying to be that controlling. But with the GLA meeting it was quite a relaxed environment. It wasn't aggressive on either part…So when it feels like a very mutual ground it's certainly is a lot easier.

Here, conflict is presented in terms of others' control with this a concern for entrepreneurs with them avoiding prolonged and continued interaction recognising that others have different motivations.

Findings also suggest that entrepreneurs can behave in a more opportunistic manner allowing conflict to emerge. Victor says:

> There is control of the technology because I own it. It's my intellectual property. So I never let that go in the sense that I didn't tell them enough about how it worked. I didn't give them enough access to it, so they couldn't do anything with it unless I was involved… In hindsight they were probably more threatened by my control in technology. Because at the end of the day it doesn't matter what they sold, if I didn't then hand the stuff over or I decided I wanted more, then they would have been caught short because as far as they were concerned they had sold something they couldn't deliver themselves without me. Whereas for me personally, their control was well, *"it's our customer we'll set the prices. We'll set the revenue".* So there to me what you're controlling is the potential of the business and if you don't deliver, you know I'm not going to make it work.

What has also been made apparent is that entrepreneurs orient to conflict as instigated by others. As a result entrepreneurs act to protect self. This perspective of conflict and entreoreneurship action indicates the variability of performance in interactions. The findings highlight that entrepreneurs' relationships operate on the basis of reciprocity. This is supported by Axelrod's (1984) view that a relationship bound by reciprocity can work. However the findings also suggest that this is only the case where trust exists in conjunction with the development of an emotional bond, otherwise there is conflict and evidence that legitimation is unsustainable and not renegotiated. This is similar to the argument laid out by Sitkin & Roth (1993) who state that even with the existence of formal rules, trust is needed for effective negotiations. Lewis & Weigert (1985) are also of the view that trust develops an emotional bond, which once broken is difficult to restore. Business interactions within the entrepreneurship world give rise to legitimation issues arising out of the core activity of venture initiation (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996) and development, which requires the development of trust. While previous discussion has been on entrepreneurs' performance of trust, it is important to note the entrepreneurs' perception of others' trust as this has implications for entrepreneurs' performance. Victor evidences this lack of trust in his anecdote of conflict:

I ended up interacting with people, thinking, *"Yes I know what you're saying but actually you're lying because you're telling me you're open minded and I know you're not. You're telling me you do this stuff and I know actually you do but not with my kind of people",* that sort of thing. So it is very adversarial because you're always trying to find your way through a minefield.

In such accounts of conflict entrepreneurs indicate their cynical position. Flynn shares this experience:

I think I've become a lot more colder if you like, now, as a result of my experiences as an entrepreneur. A bit more clinical about things and I don't try to let emotions get in the way where possible.

Fleming & Spicer (2002) note that where there is cynicism the individual does not identify with rules and expectations. This is similar to Goffman (1959a) who notes that the cynical performer does not believe their impression of reality due to the conflict they experience. This has implications for the impression they attempt to convey, which may lead to lapses. On the start of the journey, the individual does entrepreneurship to develop others' acceptance and eventually on socialisation they perform as entrepreneurs developing relationships of trust. This is a 'cycle of disbelief-to-belief' (Goffman, 1959a p.31). This cycle of disbelief-to-belief can manifest over the passage of time, for instance, one of the entrepreneurs interviewed, Taaj, notes that gaining access to goods from suppliers gets easier, particularly where one has been working with them for a while and has built up an ongoing concern. As such the other's view is that the entrepreneur's company is going to be able to pay, or to deliver. However, the reverse is also possible, a cycle of belief-to-disbelief where the individual moves into business with their own conceptualisations as to how life is and comes to realise that this is not the case within entrepreneurship interactions. For instance, Hernandez and other entrepreneurs' growing realisation that others do not value honesty in business interactions causing tensions.

The cycle of belief-to-disbelief-to-belief is not a static one (Goffman, 1959a). There is movement back and forth between cynicism and sincerity. There is a continual negotiation between interactants balancing co-operation and conflict and the ongoing resolution of issues of equality and perceptions of fairness. Where the entrepreneur has perceptions of inequality or perceptions of injustice, trust does not develop indicating difference in sensing of feeling rules. Entrepreneurs do not seem to believe in a just world

even though they do try to be just. William notes his experience of exploitation and as such evidences the underlying tension:

> I realised that he was trying to exploit me…People are going to try and get that from people or situations. Obviously you've got to be careful about that.

Strauss (1982) notes that it is a worthy consideration to understand who has authority which has implications for conflict. For instance, Hernandez's story of his experience with investors on the issue of ownership and patents raises some questions over who has authority:

> My journey took me to discover this patent and then basically, the Capital Innovate Partnership, they patent it for me…Then by luck I came across a solicitor and she said to me, *"well actually you don't own these patents".* I said, *"Yes, but my name is here",* and she said,*"Yes, but you are only the inventor".* I think probably that's what made me realise, and that was my big lesson in life. The first thing that I saw, in a way, I was ripped off.

Here the question of jurisdiction over patents gives a good example of issues of authority and lines of action. From the accounts evidenced, conflict is emotional and hence its relevance to the discussions. William shows this:

> The person I was dealing with was falling short, they kept saying that they need certain people and I asked them to step forward with those details, they never materialised. So I realised that working in partnership with someone is really, really hard. It's emotional… A let down really, just the fact that I was really the one pulling the cart. He was nowhere to be seen. He was giving it all talk. How can I say this, all talk and no substance. And you know, I realised that I'd have to cut my losses and just go ahead. I was angry.

Dee provides an example of the emotion involved in conflict situations:

> He was a nasty man. He was rude and thought he was God's gift at everything to the extent that the photograph of himself that he supplied to put on his website was a picture of him in his swimming shorts sailing his yacht. I wanted to say *"You're bloody kidding!"* Like, bronzed, you know. I mean, just the biggest ego. I should never taken the job on because I just immediately didn't like the guy and I thought *"OK",* but he was paying through the nose and I thought: *"Oh, God be really good. Do it for a bit and then...because it's really good money"* and in the end, the money wasn't enough to justify. I mean he used to do things like he'd insist on always having a meeting at his office. He'd never, ever come here for a meeting. And he kept me waiting an average of an hour. One time it was two hours.

This section on conflict illustrates lack of trust and tensions around equality and fairness. These are key features that illuminate the emotional dynamics of the interaction. These conflict issues are drawn on to discuss the lapses in performance where conflict rather than co-operation is the basis for the interaction.

8.2   Lapses in Performance and Emotion Management

The performances and emotion management discussed in Chapters Six and Seven focus on the routine rituals that entrepreneurs engage in and while the findings show that others expect entrepreneurs to follow the rules and norms set out, giving a predictable performance in this sense, there are times where this is not the case. The findings show that there are instances where the interactants within the entrepreneurship situation have different definitions - of the situation, of the identity of each other, of values due in some cases, where entrepreneurs do not deem the values and norms to be valid for the situation they are involved in. Weber & Gobel (2006) note that for a co-operative relationship to emerge there needs to be a shared definition of the situation. Where there is not, entrepreneurs cannot perform in the routine way discussed, they must perform in new ways, producing, as Brittan (1973) notes, alternative performances. Hewitt (2003) states that where individuals find their situations blocked they must perform in new ways. Denzin (1969) notes that rules and norms are only followed where there is a shared definition of the situation. So performances are not always harmoniously acted out according to expectations. Sometimes there are lapses characterised by tensions and struggles.

Goffman (1956, 1959a) too, understood that an individual's performance was on 'tenterhooks'. Judgments are drawn during interaction and as such each interaction is a re-establishment of one's identity. Where an entrepreneur cannot negotiate and imprint the expected impression upon the others in the interaction, they will not be admitted or continue to operate successfully within the entrepreneurship world. In other words, the individual will fail to be seen as a legitimate actor. Sometimes, there are what Goffman (1959a) notes as incidents, conceptualised here as a 'lapse in performance', where the impression being put forward slips, rupturing the entrepreneur's performance. As Goffman (1959a) states the performance may come across as either sincere or cynical having implications for one's identity, as such undermining entrepreneurs' legitimation efforts. As noted by Scheff (1988), conforming to expectations is encouraged as it reaps rewards while penalties are secured with non-conformity. Hence, lapses arise out of

tension and conflict where the balance between a co-operative stance and one of conflict is out of kilter. This moves the performance from the realm of a routine situation into one that is seen as problematic (Hewitt, 2003). Goffman (1959a) argues that there are a number of possibilities that can disrupt the expression of one's performance. The findings suggest that lapses in performance develop from a number of 'crisis properties' such as deviation from expectations, disagreements and lack of dramaturgical competency. These give latitude for the 'mismanagement' of labels and impressions where the balance of control changes. The entrepreneur experiences rendered visible three lapses of performance. These lapses are discussed in order to illuminate the issues that arise where 'crisis properties' necessary to present an impression that will be acceptable to the other in the interaction (Goffman, 1959a) are features of the performance. The lapses in performance are, 1) Ambivalence towards Emotion Management, 2) Ambiguity over Social Boundaries, and 3) Inadequacy in Managing Information Flow.

Ambivalence towards Emotion Management

In the doing of performance, there are sometimes lapses based on ambivalence towards emotion management. It is adding something to the conversation to discuss this ambivalence and unmask the tensions in how entrepreneurs orient to emotion management. It has already been argued that emotion is a central element in the performance. Emotion defines humanity with it creating a bond between interactants. Quinn brings to this to the fore:

> Emotion is one of those things that just makes us human…People who are unemotional somehow, qualitatively, they seem to be less human than the rest of us…Invariably they are people who have literally no emotional connection with the world or other people.

In this account, where normative expressions of being more human or less human are considered, Quinn clearly notes the problematic nature of emotion. This is impressed upon by Hochschild (1979, p. p.567):

> One can defy an ideological stance by inappropriate affect and by refusing to perform the emotion management necessary to feel what, according to the official frame, it would seem fitting to feel. Deep acting or emotion work, then, can be a form of obeisance to a given ideological stance, lax emotion management a clue to an ideology lapsed or rejected.

Lapses of performance are drawn from this departure from the expected expressions of emotion. In some cases, during the interviews with entrepreneurs, awareness of their emotion management became evident as the interviews progressed as some were less conscious of their emotion management than others. This realisation of emotion management involves entrepreneurs reflecting during the interviews conducted with them. And so from the empirical evidence, the emotion world of entrepreneurs is one where they do not always think deeply about emotions. Sims, Fineman & Gabriel (1993) note the likelihood of this. This is also similar to Goffman's (1963a) ideas, that control of expression may not be consciously considered and that while there are certain rituals that are expected in an interaction these may not be consciously ticked off as being present during the interaction. Victor articulates this:

> When you're working with people all the time, there's a balance, and it naturally happens, you never think about it.

This would imply the converse, that where entrepreneurs are not working with others on a regular basis emotion management does not necessarily occur 'naturally' and needs to be considered. Both situations give congruence of what Strauss (1978) notes that shared understanding of what is valued as appropriate can be gained from interactions within the social world. Where there is isolation from the norms and rules, there is more likelihood of actions that are at variance with what is deemed acceptable.

Richard shows that he does not think about emotions and does not privilege it highlighting that emotion and its management is all too often submerged in a myriad of other experiences:

> I'm a fairly stereotypical blokey engineer …I wouldn't have really thought that emotions would really come into what I do at all.

Nevertheless, each participant should understand the definition of the situation, what is going on and how it should be acted out. However, where the interaction does not play out as situational appropriateness suggests, then the prescribed patterns expected during interaction are consciously considered and are as such scrutinised. When this occurs tensions arise with the entrepreneur needing to think deeply about their emotion management even though this is at odds to their normal routine. Entrepreneurs do not

think about feelings unless something goes wrong when at this point they exhibit social consciousness and reflexivity and give emotion a voice. In crisis situations emotion management becomes visible (James, 1989) with entrepreneurs stating that they would not show emotion or at least try not to show emotion where inappropriate.

Karl says:

I would try not to show it. Yes I think on the whole it wouldn't come through. It might a bit.

Where the effort to manage one's emotions is not sufficient the weak sense of emotional deference can be detrimental to the performance. Furthermore, where entrepreneurs are not able to engage others' emotions to sufficiently manage these the interaction will not go smoothly and according to plan. Entrepreneurs can have feelings of concern and as Goffman (1959a) states the other in the interaction will also have similar feelings. Findings provide an examplar:

In terms of interactions and stuff, I don't think it's good, but that's what I do, that's how I do it. So again, in terms of this identifying things that I think people are worried about, I said to Mary, she's better with people, better people skills. I said *"You deal with all the HR issues."* So slowly over the last couple of months she's picked up the HR issues. So she's the one that would come to me and would say *"Look, Chloe wants to do this."* But the bit I hate is when she says to me, *"Chloe wants to do this but she's scared of asking you."* But why are you scared. I'm not a monster. This is as you see me now, this is how I am. This is how I talk to people. I don't change up or down. I wouldn't look at me and thinking this was scary. And I just can't get past it. I don't know what's going on. Really I don't.

Both the entrepreneur and the employee feel concern and want to keep their distance. Here the entrepreneur is not managing the other's emotions and in some instances an effort is not made at all. Evidence of this deficit is in accounts where ambivalence to others is noticeable:

The one thing I don't have, I find to my cost is empathy with some of the people I should have empathy with. I don't know why that is. I know it is because people told me.

William says:

I'm not going to be a robot. I'm not going to be cold and aloof.

However, in not performing emotion management as expected entrepreneurs do understand their motives for the resistance. This is at variance with Hochschild's (1983, p. 129) findings, where individuals *"go into robot"* to resist changing their feeling but still engage in emotion management. What is similar though is that entrepreneurs like Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants, can resist having to comply in a certain manner.

222

However, Hochschild (1983) does not note this power for resistance in any depth though apparent from her findings. Within this study, entrepreneurs engage emotions in their work, though on their own terms, which at times results in the lapses being discussed due to the underlying conflict this communicates. To conclude, in taking on board emotion management rather than the ambivalence noted here the entrepreneur indicates to others that they are co-operative. In other words, where the entrepreneur complies with feeling rules and displays the expected expression, the product and consequence of this is respect from others and dealings on more equitable terms with investors, clients and suppliers.

Ambiguity over Social Boundaries

In putting on a front, boundaries are maintained. However, there are instances where the boundaries are misunderstood. This ambiguity can come about where the entrepreneur does not understand the boundaries. The entrepreneur needs to understand the dimensions within which their performance is bound with clarity around professionalism and 'normality'. In putting forward a professional business performance the entrepreneur needs to understand the fine line between making connections and maintaining distance. This tension where meaning is not interpreted in the same way as others is not necessarily privileged in the emotion management literature. Where this is not the case and the balance is skewed lapses occur. William notes issues arising from the lack of distance in the personal-business divide:

> I think that's what caught me out. I didn't realise that I should be professional and I think that's what took me out.

This indicates the lapse in performance where the entrepreneur does not draw on the intersection between personal and business. Nadia provides further indication of the issues:

> When that company was set up we were friends, like friends and family kind of thing. We had already gone into business together and then you realise how do you try and get to do things without causing a confrontation?

These boundaries also apply to the professional boundaries entrepreneurs espouse.

Carolina notes:

> This is supposed to be a professional setting…You don't call upon unprofessional feelings as an entrepreneur.

What Goffman sought to impress from his writings, is that an individual seeks to present an image that is accepted and respected by others in their social sphere (Goffman, 1963b; Lemert & Branaman, 1997). This is what he referred to as dramaturgical discipline (Goffman, 1959a). From the interviews undertaken in this study, entrepreneurs draw on professionalism as a boundary in their dramaturgical competent performance. Following on from this the lapse in performance, in Goffmanian terms the dramaturgical incompetent performance is one where professional boundaries are not understood. Victor did provide evidence of this lack of dramaturgical loyalty and circumspect (Goffman, 1959a) where his behaviour was at odds with his staff's social expectations of team solidarity and shared humour:

> I react to people in an informal way, which is okay for some people. Some people, I think they get to relax or they don't get it which is probably my fault because its communication. But they kind of mistake my level of informality. Say right, I'm your best friend kind of thing. And they kind of end up having conversations, which turn very quickly and they just sit and think well what happened there.

However his interpretation of this situation is drawn from his view of his audience where he is the 'order-giver' and others such as employees are 'order-takers' (Collins, 2004). This distinction produces a relational concept. Interactions with others are on more of an instrumental basis. Further insight into the problematic nature of a performance that does not follow expected norms and where this view of others is drawn on in meaning making:

> He is like, *"But it was so informal. You never interviewed me in an office and this sort of stuff. Sometimes you turned up in a suit, sometimes you're in jeans and that sort of stuff. And I thought everything was all informal."* And I said *"Yes it is. But this is my company, is my money and I am giving you a job and there's everything formal about that."*

This extract highlights the difference in the definition of the situation where there are concerns over the dynamics of the relationship, for instance, (in)formality. In other words, the understanding of the dynamics of the situation is not a shared reality particularly where entrepreneurs provide space for expressiveness, what Wouters (1989a) refers to as 'informalisation' yet do not allow for negotiability around this instead reverting to a more formal stance.

Performing within the boundaries of 'normality' is important otherwise lapses in performance can occur. Interactants are more likely to articulate any issues they may have such as stigma and race (Goffman, 1963b) where there is evidence of dramaturgical incompetence, which occurs when a performance is not accepted by the other in the interaction (Wilkinson, 1974). As Goffman (1956) notes, the audience has perceptions about those involved in the interaction. In cases such as these the performance is discredited causing embarrassment. While entrepreneurs attempt to distance themselves from embarrassment, others sometimes attempt to force status upon them. This could enforce 'status passage' defined as a movement between status (Glaser & Strauss, 1971). The findings illustrate how Ernie and a prospective client defined ethnic groups:

> I had a negative response to turning up at a business meeting and it shocked me because I've not heard about it in this day and age. But it's still there, it was a colour thing. Because of the way I speak and the way I sounded, he said, *"Oh, I was expecting a white guy."*

Here there is a concern with the relationship between ethnic groups, similar to Blumer's (1958) notion of prejudice and group positioning, where the potential client is forcing an identity of shame on the entrepreneur for his ethnicity. Entrepreneurship studies do note the issues around ethnicity (Tornikoski & Newbert, 2007). In other words, personal affront was meted out due to the entrepreneur's ascribed status with the potential of loss of face, and so status passage where the entrepreneur could lose privilege, influence and power. This overt articulation of placement and the view that the entrepreneur was not worthy of the interaction due to his ethnicity clearly indicates the view that there is a higher order that he was not party to. The orientation as superior provides the sense for assigning 'difference' (Elias, 1956). This labeling was in a way akin to the notion of status-forcing coined by Strauss (1997). This lapse in performance was addressed through Ernie drawing on humour:

> I had initially got a little bit shocked with that and I thought, *"Well, I could really be down about what it is and this would be a disaster"*. I said, *"Yeah, me too."* And he said, *"What do you mean?"* I said, *"I was expecting a white guy, a little taller than what you sounded,"* and he laughed. We both laughed and we both sat down and we spoke. We still didn't do business that day, but what he was left with was a better impression.

Emotion management and the use of humour facilitated the appearance of normality gaining temporary placement by changing the other person's attitude of him. As suggested by Mirchandani (2003) this provides evidence that individuals perform

emotion management to deal with deviance in perceived status. This counter to the status assignment results in what Goffman (1967c) refers to as restoring interactional 'equilibrium' where the other in the interaction accepts the impression being given. The interpretation of these issues can be looked at as the change of self, adjustment to others and the act of becoming.

Inadequacy in Managing Information Flow

Some entrepreneurs sought to conceal information that may have a detrimental affect on their performance. Goffman (1959a) notes that the flow of information needs to be managed, where this is not done effectively a lapse in performance occurs. Lapses in performance occur where entrepreneurs fail to effectively manage information around issues of (in)visibility, stigma and awareness context.

Where there is a crisis of (in)visibility the entrepreneur has not managed information to render invisible 'undesirable' aspects of their performance and emphasise the visibility of 'more desirable' aspects. Where these performances are challenged the issue is the role of familial style as opposed to presence. Goffman (1959a) notes that to perform one must have a presence. However, findings made visible an unwillingness at times, to take the performer role disseminating information on self, instead there is an attempt for invisibility. This is in contrast to the popular view that entrepreneurs always seek the limelight, though Barringer & Ireland (2006) note that the popular view is a common misconception. An example from the interview data that renders visible entrepreneurs' invisibility-seeking performance is where a team is used to distract others from the entrepreneur. A further example is where a front man is engaged. In both cases entrepreneurs are restricting information access. According to Goffman (1959a), the issue here is how much information do entrepreneurs share with others in the interaction. One of the entrepreneurs interviewed asks:

Do I tell them I am the entrepreneur?

This is similar to the question Goffman (1963b, p. 57) presents:

> To display or not to display; to tell or no to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie.

The issue of (in)visibility arises in police work (Becker, 1956). The evolving drama from both the examples mentioned is that invariably the investor sees through the 'cover', this has parallels with Goffman's views that information needs to be managed for an acceptable performance.

Invisibility can be likened to the notion of Goffman's (1959a) mystification where entrepreneurs keep social distance and in doing so manage information to gain control over what other people perceive. In the first example Hernandez, the entrepreneur, surrounds himself with a team to manage information flow. The imperceptible position he seeks is evidence of his back stage performance enabling him to observe others and gain insights prior to being identified as the entrepreneur. This finding is supported by Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio's (2004) research where women were mistaken for secretaries and from this position they were able to observe unnoticed. In the second example where the entrepreneur, Victor, takes on a front man, the invisibility he seeks provides him with a cloak to screen his difference. This mystification can however cause a lapse in performance as both entrepreneurs note, investors view their performance as out of character performances.

Where there is a crisis of stigma, the entrepreneur may be attempting to disrupt others' awareness of their difference. Drawing on Becker's (1998) ideas that, disreputable status can override one's reputable status. Where an individual is identified with a particular disreputable status this often becomes the main information that is taken into consideration, thus entrepreneurs' efforts to disrupt other's focus of undesirable status. Where the entrepreneur seeks to disrupt others of their difference, their actions provide what is coined here 'disruptive colouration'. 'Disruptive colouration' is a way of performing 'bounded disclosure' where entrepreneurs manage information to mask visibility of difference and so protect themselves. In masking difference, information can be withheld or selective information passed on. In addition to managing the information they impress upon others, entrepreneurs can use 'disruptive colouration' to manage the information they gain from others. However, there are instances where entrepreneurs do

227

not manage information flow in an effective manner and when found out cannot justify their actions. For example, there are instances where entrepreneurs take a hedonistic unbalanced approach to gaining information for their own interest. This signals to others that their interests have been subsumed raising a suspicion awareness context.

In attempting to overcome perceived issues, identity is concealed. This negotiation of stigma can take the shape of disidentifiers - a term drawn from Goffman (1963b) - to elevate status and remove preconceived ideas of identity. The findings suggest that entrepreneurs seek to conceal those differences that may have a negative impact on the success of their business through disidentifiers such as self-enhancements. Entrepreneurs noted the 'Queens English' as one such self-enhancement. What is apparent is that where there is a stigma attached, entrepreneurs exhibit identity-based resistance to it, making every attempt to be removed from it, whether it is, as noted from the interviews undertaken, an inner London upbringing or an impoverished home life. In such cases, entrepreneurs seek to affirm their new identity.

This concealment is due to people's indications during interactions. Goffman (1963b) noted in his work on stigma, that people have preconceived ideas of what a certain individual should be and the role that they should play. This perspective that there are expectations of how one should act in a particular role is also the idea put forward in Becker's (1998) theory of deviance and Hochschild's (1983) work on emotional labour. Hochschild (1983) is of the opinion that performance is influenced by an individual's ascribed status, that is the position one is born into, and that based on this ascribed status there are certain expectations (Worsley, 1970). Hochschild (1983) draws on the needs of the minority and hierarchical social indicators in order to understand everyday life and practice. This could be described as stereotyping which could have either a positive or adverse effect on an individual. The findings suggest that stigma manifests through prejudice and discrimination for ethnicity, minority stereotyping and disbelief in performance. This may be to either adjust one's view of another downwards or upwards (Goffman, 1963b). Where there has been a deficient performance there has been a lapse in presenting dramaturgical competence and a lack of impressing upon others one's role-appropriate behaviour. If an entrepreneur's bid for legitimation is refused, another

identity is allocated (Wilkinson, 1974). Consequently, the entrepreneur is seen as a deviant, as a stigmatised individual.

A suspicion awareness context could arise in cases where there are (in)visibility and stigma issues. Where entrepreneurs withhold information they expose self to a suspicion awareness context (Glaser & Strauss, 1964). This is one where those in the interaction are skeptical of the identity being put forward leading towards a lapse in performance. Symbolic management (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990) where the entrepreneur is 'acting as if' (Gartner, Bird & Starr, 1992) can be applied here, with the notion that entrepreneurs' act appears to be consistent with expectations but there are cracks in the performance that let through discrepancies. Communication out of character is evidenced by Victor's discussion of colluding with an employee of his, specifically recruited to front the organisation, leaving Victor to retreat, he had hoped, performing the technician's role rather than that of the entrepreneur. This action is influenced by the fear of marginalisation and so is taken to facilitate a certain impression for the Venture capitalists – one that they will accept. This requires dramaturgical circumspect, loyalty and discipline. In Victor's case, the performance comes across as contrived. This manipulative approach allows the Venture capitalist to take leave from having to put forward a protective practice with the result that they are not successful in their goals. As Goffman (1963) notes in *Stigma*, both the performing entrepreneur and the venture capitalist have a stake in the ongoing negotiation game that is in play. Information is used in a strategic interplay where the performance could be disputed and so the entrepreneur is discredited. The dance and interplay between the front man and what is in essence the true entrepreneur transforms the awareness context from suspicious to an open one where both the investor and the entrepreneur are now aware of each other's identity.

What could be seen as a calculative concealing performance and what Goffman (1969) refers to as an 'expression game' has been played out. With the situation clear to all parties, trust is an issue to contend with. As Roach states,

> Acting is a craft which requires the simulation of behaviour and emotion, a practised dissimulation, or the 'professionalization of two-facedness (Roach, 1985; Schreyogg & Hopfl, 2004).

These are concerns entrepreneurs need to make decisions about. This corresponds with the problematic issues that Sapienza & Korsgaard (1996) raise with regards to managing information. Sharing information facilitates trust while the lack of sharing undermines it. Sapienza & Korsgaard (1996) note that trust is gained where information is provided but the entrepreneur cedes power. On the other hand, where information is not shared, autonomy is preserved yet conflict surfaces. These are instances where 'bounded disclosure' has not worked. To manage the issues around inadequate management of information flow and so facilitate an accepted performance the need for understanding the definition of the situation enabling an appropriate sharing of information is necessary. Irini epitomises this in her account:

> It's gauging a situation. It's understanding what situation you're in, whom you're with, what the outcome or what that situation is about and as to how much information you can offer up. How much you can give away, how much you ask, how much you take. It's being appropriate.

What is pertinent here is the emphasis needed to perform according to a script expected in a given situation. Consequently, entrepreneurs need to heed the social expectations around sharing information to counteract lapses in performance.

8.3   Conclusion

Hochschild's (1983) account of communication out of character was under-developed. This work seeks to rectify this with an expose on the lapses of performance. Both Blumer (1966) and Goffman (1959a) note that in acting out a performance there is every possibility that there will be lapses. Blumer (1966) suggests that there can be misunderstandings, misconstrued possibilities and misjudgements. Goffman (1959a) argues that performance entails effort with entrepreneurs understanding this as conscious effort and dramatising one's work as such. This effort in acting can take away from the act of doing performance and so in some interactions there is no time to show that the individual is performing well because they are concentrating on the 'doing'. Where an entrepreneur sees this as too much effort there could be lapses in the performance with issues for legitimation and so the tendency to delegate the theatrics. As already noted, entrepreneurs can assign informality to the performance that is without theatrics and is more comfortable in this role than one where theatrics is at the centre of the performance.

230

Where there is a lapse in performance, the other in the interaction is more likely to articulate any issues they may have such as stigma and race. This response is similar to employees being more sensitive to issues of fairness where there is perceived injustice (Kickul, Gundry & Posig, 2005). While there has been much discussion on the advantage of difference, there is the other perspective - the need to overcome difference. Goffman (1963b) notes that every individual participates in the two-role process of stigmatised and normal at some point. The findings show how entrepreneurs make visible this dichotomy.

The findings suggest that the withholding of information may address short-term goals of concealing difference and gaining information from others, however it does not develop co-operation, the consensual reality that entrepreneurs seek. This is in agreement with Cable & Shane (1997). This further suggests that where information is not divulged in reciprocation that tensions arise and lapses in performance occur. Furthermore, Strauss (1982, p. 188) notes:

> Each divergent act or product has the potential of being censured because it lacks priority, beauty, or other important values.

This highlights that the negotiation of the situation and entrepreneurs' performance is a routine that reoccurs and that there is the possibility that the mask could slip again or that they could redeem themselves. Goffman (1983) asserts that over the short-term lapses can be explained away, however continued lapses will have a detrimental effect on legitimation efforts. The preceding discussions demonstrate that the intersecting relational patterns of entrepreneurship determine their performances and consequently their role legitimation. The discussion around crisis areas has implications for self-appraisal and reflected appraisal with entrepreneurs' notion of performance rooted in the defensive or protective nature of the entrepreneur and their role selection leading them to act in different ways from what is sometimes expected. This gives a dynamic quality to entrepreneurs' performance where consistency with expectations can reign or difference can be put forward as part of the performance. Hence the term 'maverick' sometimes associated with entrepreneurs, where others view entrepreneurs as opportunists (Hannafey, 2003). Etzioni (1987) maintains that entrepreneurs assist in bringing about fluidity and change to facilitate others' connection to 'reality'. This exhibits opportunity-

seeking behaviour. It can be argued based on the findings from this study that where others are not accepting the 'reality' that the entrepreneur is wishing to impress upon them lapses occur. According to Zhang & Arvey (2009) entrepreneurs are rule-breakers where non-conformance breeds opportunity. However, they also claim that it is not appropriate for entrepreneurs to do business without conforming to codes of conduct. Consequently, what has emerged from this study is the tension between the ideology of entrepreneurship as competitive individualism where a performance of opportunism and reliance on self (Welter & Smallbone, 2006) is at odds with the co-operative stance where performance is shaped by an internalised shared understanding of appropriateness and feeling rules. What is acknowledged then is that the different ways in which entrepreneurs organise their performance can either be accepted as legitimate or as a lapse and that as such their performance needs to be managed.

Chapter Nine

Toward A Performance Perspective of Emotion Management

9.0   Introduction

In recent years, emotion management has been elevated in its status within organisational literature, yet its treatment within entrepreneurship literature has been barely noted (Goss, 2008; Hampson & Junor, 2005). This study aims to correct this omission and in the exposition given emotion management has been rendered visible, made known through the performances of entrepreneurs. In other words, emotion management underpins performance. To emphasise then, this study has shown how entrepreneurs conceive of emotion management in their interactions, the research utility of which is an organising framework for understanding emotion management in the entrepreneurship context. In doing so, this study supports and gives empirical evidence to the supposition Goss (2008) highlights, that emotion is integral to entrepreneurship activity. The underlying theory for expanding this understanding is drawn from sociological literature through interactionist theories such as Blumer's (1969) and Goffman's (1959a). As this study has demonstrated these theories are useful to make the juncture between emotion management and performance visible, particularly as the challenge lies in unraveling the conceptual complexities and dealing with the associated ambiguities, the variability and tensions of these. This challenge can be overcome by placing interaction as a core analytical tool, as is present in this study.

The central message here is that the emotional 'apparatus' used by entrepreneurs needs to be built into the research vocabulary of explanation when discussing entrepreneurship. This study has offered a way for this previously neglected phenomena to be included within the entrepreneurship research domain. This thesis offers important contributions: by drawing on Goffman's (1959a) writing on the presentation of self it provides an understanding of the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why they perform in this particular way; it also illuminates entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management

through Hochschild's (1983) concept of feeling rules helping us to understand that performance is accomplished through emotion management where meaning is assigned to the underlying feeling rules; finally, it demonstrates that there are tensions at the intersection of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management and explains how these occur.

9.1   Discussion of Research Questions

In answering the main research question, how is entrepreneurs' performance accomplished through emotion management, it is apparent that entrepreneurs' performance is an emotionally laden experience where emotion is managed to develop and maintain legitimation. Entrepreneurs' emotional-symbolic performance, conceived here as 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' work, has previously been obscured. This study's findings demonstrate that entrepreneurs do not engage in emotion management in the manner prescribed by Hochschild (1983) due to the traditional conceptualisation of emotion management being based on managerial control. To explore this issue sub-questions were developed from an understanding of the shortcomings of the emotion management and entrepreneurship literatures. Taking each research question in turn shows how they have been addressed.

Drawing on Goffman's writing on the presentation of self, what is the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why do they perform in this particular way?

According to scholars such as Swedberg (2000), Goss (2005b) and Spicer & Jones (2006), entrepreneurship can be viewed from three main perspectives; economic, cognitive and behavioural. In these, the focus of many studies has been on economic performance. Where the sociological consideration of entrepreneurs' performance has been paramount the focus has been on the networking and relationship building elements of entrepreneurship activity. Hence there is a need to bring a more holistic approach to the study of entrepreneurs' performance developing an interactionist perspective that can delve into the interactional dynamics involved. Despite acknowledgment that

entrepreneurs need legitimation to operate successfully (Drori, Honig & Sheaffer, 2009; Stuart, Hoang & Hybels, 1999; Zott & Huy, 2007), extant research may not have fully captured the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why they perform in this way. To fill this gap, Goffman's (1959a) theory of the presentation of self is used to reconsider entrepreneurs' performance in the context of what constitutes appropriate behaviour.

In doing so three typical features of entrepreneurs' performance have been identified: 1) embodied, 2) relational co-operative, and 3) professional and appropriate performances. In understanding the nature of embodied performance a repertoire of socio-cultural representations has been rendered visible. From the findings the specific rule on Goffman's (1963) notion of body idiom, is a ritual within the entrepreneurship world that has been addressed. The conventions of dress, gesture and face have been specifically elucidated giving meaning to entrepreneurs' management of their appearance and so their embodied performance. The relational performance highlights the collaborative nature of entrepreneurship where others' expectations and feelings are of importance and need to be taken into account (Blumer, 1969). Drawing on Goffman (1959) who maintains that individuals involved in an interaction work together to sustain a particular definition of a situation, the findings demonstrate that in entrepreneurs' performance an inter-subjective pattern of interaction is in evidence where information is shared. Thus it is maintained that entrepreneurship action is relational. While this is recognised in entrepreneurship models, most of the literature on entrepreneurship has largely been configured around providing insight into social capital (Davidsson & Honig, 2003) and network theory (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003; O'Donnell et al., 2001). This perspective has tended to underestimate the issue of conflict that has emerged as part of this study's findings. This thesis has therefore contributed to the literature by highlighting this additional dimension through a focus on conflict embedded within entrepreneurs' performance. This allows a more nuanced presentation of networks of co-operation, rather than the extensive focus on embeddedness that already exists. From the analysis of entrepreneurs' relational performance, it has been made apparent that entrepreneurs engage with the performance differently. The professional performance highlights the code of professionalism that runs through entrepreneurs' performance. What has been made visible from the analysis

undertaken is that entrepreneurs understand that others do not always interpret the values they place on honesty and cooperation in the same way.

What does Hochschild's concept of feeling rules help us to understand about entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management?

The contribution of this study in relation to the above question is based on foregrounding feeling rules in entrepreneurship interactions. This emotional dimension in entrepreneurship has been neglected (Goss, 2008) with some studies of entrepreneurship not taking emotion into consideration in their conceptualisation of entrepreneurship (Baumol, 1993) as such denying the salience of emotion in the workplace. However, there are some studies that note that emotion is a feature of entrepreneurship (Cardon, 2008; Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009; Fineman, 2005). This study is aligned with those studies that note the importance of emotion. The contribution of this study is the identification of specific feeling rules for entrepreneurship. These are 1) feeling of engagement, and 2) feeling of detachment. The feeling of engagement is constituted of empathetic regard for others and passion. These elements of the rules of engagement are drawn on symbolic meanings such as hope and change. The feeling of detachment consists of grounded passion and business coded emotion where symbolic meanings surrounding emotion as unconstructive and the values of professionalism provide the interpretive frame.

The findings demonstrate that entrepreneurs acknowledge that emotion can be an issue. This recognition is not only focused on entrepreneurs' assessment that emotion clouds judgment and so feeling rules of detachment need to be drawn on, but also that emotion, even where one has drawn on feeling rules of engagement, still needs to be managed. It is argued that entrepreneurs' perform within paradoxical spaces where engagement and detachment are contemporaneous. This is similar to what Goss (2005b) argues that entrepreneurs can present charismatic charm on the one hand, and indifference towards others on the other. This study's findings make it apparent that emotion has salience and that while passion can be a necessity what is more important is that it is the appropriate

aspect of passion that needs to be displayed. Consequently, it is the issues around the duality of passion and what should be displayed, that contributes to the literature where previously it had been empirically neglected, with much of the literature of a conceptual nature (Cardon, 2008; Coleman, 1978). This research draws attention to the significance of passion as a feeling rule understood to have both positive as well as negative features. This indicates the tensions that uncalculated passion could have on entrepreneurship, similar to other studies on the disruptive nature of passion (Fineman, 2005; Kets de Vries, 1985). Thus the study illustrates the complex role of passion in entrepreneurship.

The analysis has shown how entrepreneurship has been understood as feeling rules, offering up a symbolic view of how individuals come to assess, label and manage emotion. It is clear from the analysis that entrepreneurs have alternate ways of sensing feeling rules. This is not only through the dimension of internalising (deep acting) and externalising (surface acting) as Hochschild (1983) contends but also through meaning and interpretation as interactional dynamics that take into consideration the complexity of the process of managing one's emotions. Entrepreneurs manage their emotion, describable by them, as in accordance with the rules. The way they orient to feeling rules provides access to how they understand their role as an entrepreneur and how they manage their emotion.

A further key contribution is what has been unpicked here, that emotions can be parked and so may or may not be dealt with at the particular time nor in the place that the interaction has taken place but rather reflected upon later. This draws on the notion of emergence where emotion management is a dynamic process and rather than the need to alter feelings at a point in time, these feelings can be addressed later. Hochschild (1983) or other research on emotion management such as (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988) may have overlooked this spatial reflexive consideration of how emotion is managed. This research introduces the reflexive entrepreneur, extending emotion management theory in this regard. The findings suggest that entrepreneurs are aware of the need to work on their emotions and are able to reflect upon their management of this. This ability to be

reflexive highlights their negotiation of control over their interpretation of what emotion is and how, when and where it should be managed.

Entrepreneurs experience the concept of rationality, generally identified as an instrumental conception, as a means to manipulate their emotions in interactions where there is exchange value. Bandelj (2009 p.352) agrees stating that, *"emotions seem to facilitate rational action because they permit us to act in ways compatible with our long term interests."* The empirical evidence indicates that the pattern of emotion is fashioned around rationality for the purposes of utility. This example illustrates an important point about emotion management and the way that this is rationalised. The research points to the ubiquity of emotion management in entrepreneurs' performance.

The findings show that entrepreneurs engage in interpreting and managing emotion for their legitimation. As such the entrepreneurs feeling rules are conceptualised here as 'legitimation emotion rules' pointing to the arrangement of other's acceptance or non-acceptance of the entrepreneur. Emotion management could then be viewed as a form of 'legitimation fee'. This professional charge is negotiated during the interaction and as Hampson & Junor (2005) note this emotion management facilitates an accepted performance. During entrepreneurs' performance the interaction is ephemeral, charged and challenging with the engagement of 'self' and investment of emotion. Entrepreneurs appreciate this emotion management platform as a 'protective cloak' in performing their legitimation ritual. This is precisely because of the meaning towards expectations and norms within entrepreneurship interactions where others' perception gives legitimacy. As such it has been established empirically that, because of concern for status of legitimation, emotion management is given a place in the performance.

The theory of emotion management conceptualised in this study posits feeling rules, interpretive processes and display as central social constructs. What has also emerged through the study is the nature of managing one's emotions with symbolic meanings, for instance venture survival, struggles and disillusionment serving to shape interpretation. This refinement of Hochschild's (1983) ideas serves a useful purpose for this research. It

enables the premise to be put forward that Hochschild's (1983) work requires a more nuanced approach toward symbolic interactionism. This nuanced approach includes a more contextualised discussion with interpretation, meaning and variability being more noticeable. This will be discussed further in the section on theoretical contribution.

What are the tensions in entrepreneurs' performance, and how can these be explained?

The tensions are contextual to the business interaction where there is a means-end relationship. Entrepreneurs dispense with the need to comply with feeling rules, which is comparable with Zimmerman's (1970) findings in his study of receptionists, where they negotiate the use of rules in their performance. However while Zimmerman's (1970) study of receptionists' covert departure from the rules affords them an increase in effectiveness toward the attainment of their goals, this thesis demonstrates that entrepreneurs' deviation from feeling rules offers up issues of divergence allowing for lapses in performance.

In some cases, entrepreneurs take into account the rules and expectations of others they are interacting with, however with crisis properties emerging and the onset and ingrained feeling of, for instance, struggles and issues of trust, their interpretation takes on a different stance where questions are asked of the relationship and situation. This is seen in Goffman's (1961a) discussion of mental patients where he explains that patients know what is expected and in some cases orient in this way to become authentic members of that social world. However, at times patients behave in unexpected ways, to get what they want. In striving for what they want entrepreneurs decide to disregard the feeling rules that have been put up, interpret them in a different way or draw on other feeling rules. This decision is part of a change in entrepreneurs' moral career and conception of self.

This also illuminates the misimpression they put up as a front. For instance, in surface acting the interactant is not given access to seeing or getting immersed with the feelings of the entrepreneur but rather is only allowed to see the picture on the screen. This picture

on the screen could be a superficial showing of expression as opposed to the natural expressiveness that other people want to experience. This leads to tensions in the interaction. However there is a further dilemma, at times though natural feelings are espoused they may not be accepted by others because authenticity may not be appropriate to the situation, and thus in these instances lapses will also occur. This is understood as a lapse in emotion management. This analysis has substantial proximity to Goffman's (1959a) discussion on dramaturgical incompetence.

In addition, issues with entrepreneurs' presentation can raise concerns over professionalism. It may be that the entrepreneur may or may not believe in their act such as the ideas put forward by Goffman (1959a). There appears to be a constant struggle in keeping clear boundaries. The tension is the consistent searching for a workable medium.

Overall, the tensions indicate the dilemma that entrepreneurs have in their opportunistic pursuit. In negotiating lapses in performance the entrepreneur has contravened feeling rules with communication out of character (Goffman 1959). This study develops Hochschild's (1983) account of communication out of character, which was not discussed to any large degree. This has been done through the development of lapses in performance where legitimation is not conferred is the cost to the entrepreneur.

Positioning Power and Subjectivity

The discussion now turns to addressing the issues of power and subjectivity as the treatment of the research questions renders power and subjectivity differently from how Hochschild (1983) views these concepts. Throughout this thesis there has been reference to the negotiation of power dimensions providing a basis for understanding how entrepreneurs perform emotion appropriate performances. This has demonstrated that power is a social product of joint action where entrepreneurs are interpretive negotiators actively involved in defining the situation within which they are interacting. This is contrary to Hochschild's (1983) view that individuals are powerless automatons where their subjectivity is coerced into performing according to organisational rules.

240

Consequently, this study has shown that the view that individuals are subjugated to the organisation has less relevance in the context of entrepreneurship. The findings from this study demonstrate that power is rooted in the interactional dynamics of negotiation.

Hochschild (1983) uses the bourgeois pattern of inequalities of social groups in her conceptualisation of emotional labour. These Marxist roots dominate her conceptualisaton of emotional labour where managerial control, power as imposed, hierarchical positions and boundaries are prominent features. This thesis develops Hochschild's (1983) under-privileged and subsumed interactional considerations of emotional labour by drawing on Blumer's (1969) perspective of meaning and interpretation. In doing so it addresses the themes of power and subjectivity acknowledging the dominant normative perspective that privileges the constraining forces of social processes however privileging the perspective where negotiation and conjoint collaboration are central features of the interaction, thus demonstrating that power is conceived of as embedded within both normative pressures and interpretive conceptualisation.

This places interaction within a framework where entrepreneurs make sense of control by balancing their motives with the others in the interaction. By drawing on meaning, joint action and interpretation it becomes possible to recognise that subjective meanings are developed during interaction. Entrepreneurs draw on reliance and reciprocity to come to a shared definition of mutually shared power resulting in a negotiation of power dimensions. This interplay between normative pressures and interpretive conceptualisation allows for the freedom to negotiate and reinterpret rules. Though there is paradoxical complexity between these two concepts, entrepreneurs successfully conflate both organising structure and inter-subjective interpretation in how they constitute their performance of entrepreneurship and emotion management. They do this by choosing to take into account specific rules, ideologies, values and indications as a basis for their interaction. Their 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' performance allows for the challenging and reinterpretation of rules where entrepreneurs' emotions are defined and adjusted according to the perspective of the other. Hence while the rules of

interaction can shape how entrepreneurs act and feel, what is obscured in Hochschild's (1983) study, though made visible within this thesis, is that from an interactionist position interaction is a non-deterministic emergent situation where the participants interpret and negotiate. Thus entrepreneurs' power relations are situation-dependent.

The study has also demonstrated the process of interpretation can sometimes bring about tensions between the organising rules and the point of view of the other. During such situations entrepreneurs' views are that they possess power or they could conceive of another person having non-negotiated power over them. This emerges as conflict where lapses in performance can occur. It is this challenging and reinterpretation of the rules that engages the self where the entrepreneur role is inter-subjectively re-defined through the emergence of 'new' meaning. These findings affirm the argument presented here that power is negotiable contingent on the situation. This is in contrast to Hochschild's view that power is fixed.

The Intersection: Entrepreneur's Emotion Management Performances

It has been shown how each research question has been addressed. The discussion now turns to the relationship between each of the research questions to address the overarching research question, how is entrepreneurs' performance accomplished through emotion management? Entrepreneurs view their performance as 'resourceful, negotiated, and self-interpretive'.

The following figure illustrates how performance and emotion management assist in developing this meaning that entrepreneurs have for their work. The illustration depicts the basic organising concepts that emerged from this study.
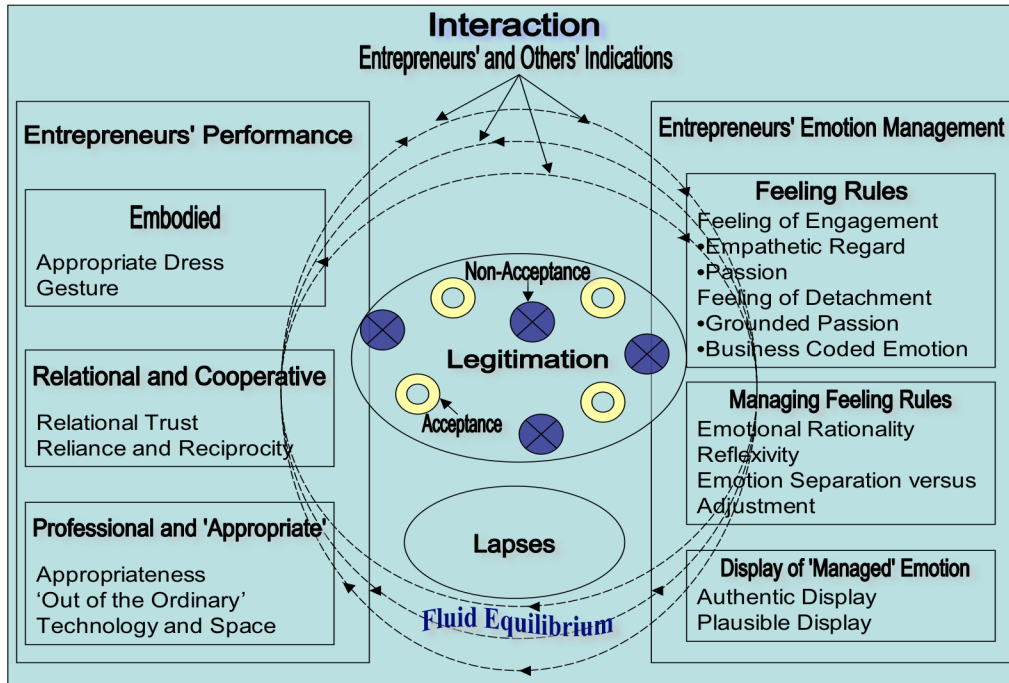
Figure 9.1: Entrepreneurs' Performance and Emotion Management

Figure 9.1 provides insight into what constitutes the substance of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. In the illustration entrepreneurs' performance and their emotion management is understood through the organising concept of legitimation presented as a central feature that may be accepted by others or not. Underpinning this is the concept of 'fluid equilibrium': the vast ongoing negotiation process, represented by arrows encircling the entrepreneurs' legitimation and lapses. The arrows leading into the encircling arrows represent the entrepreneur's and others' indications that are taken into account during the interaction.

The intersection between entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management is conceptualised through the notion of legitimation. In drawing together and examining the intersection between performance and emotion management each of the key organising social processes are described in turn:

1) Interaction, Entrepreneurs' and Others' Indications

Interaction and others' indications provide an organising frame for entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. While those engaged in the interaction have ever-changing perspectives and interests drawing on either notions of co-operation or conflict, the lines of action do converge towards a shared understanding and definition of the situation. Entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management are social processes that emerge through this interpretive scheme. These represent the shared meaning that emerges to define the situation the entrepreneur is involved in. The shared meaning of norms and rules is inextricably entwined with the entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management.

2) Performance

An important aspect of entrepreneurs' performance is its association with situational appropriateness. The concern is thus with the impression made and thus is 'on'. This focus on putting 'on' a front drawn from Goffman's (1959a) face work brings to the fore the entrepreneurs' attempt to control their performance. Entrepreneurs are the front for their venture occupying a boundary-spanning role (Maguire, 2001) that requires situation appropriate performance. This boundary-spanning activity is a visible one of relational prominence. Boundary-spanning positions require social interaction where negotiation can build trust, and give meaning to significant others (Maguire, 2001).

3) Entrepreneurs' Emotion Management

The fundamental features of entrepreneurs' emotion management are feeling rules, the management of these and their display. These provide interactants with a basis for interaction. It has been demonstrated that feeling rules are both normative and non-normative. The meaning attached to feeling rules is situation dependent where interpretations are made. This frames the management and display of entrepreneurs' emotions.

4) Legitimation

Legitimation is the work that defines the entrepreneur. This study's findings demonstrate that the main lines of action and shared understanding emerging through interaction centre on entrepreneurs' legitimation. In other words, legitimation is situation dependent. With entrepreneurs seeking opportunities in the business world they are continually negotiating their legitimation. Thus it is ever changing and evolving. During the entrepreneurs' legitimation efforts those involved in the interactions reshape the boundaries through interpreting and reinterpreting rules and expectations, constantly moving, being flexible and always searching, with the entrepreneur bearing an innovative position. The search for legitimation is understood to be achievable through the complex negotiation of their performance and their emotion management. The entrepreneurs draw on these two main resources in their 'active' assessment of the situation. This suggests that entrepreneurs make choices in how they engage with others during interaction leading to variability in the performances. This legitimation work is the motive that the entrepreneur brings to the role. This legitimation ritual is crucial in how entrepreneurs engage with others during interactions.

5) 'Fluid Equilibrium'

What has emerged from this study is that during the interaction process there is a complex ongoing negotiation of 'fluid equilibrium'. Performance and emotion management are underpinned by the entrepreneurs' legitimation work through a process of 'fluid equilibrium'. This 'fluid equilibrium' does not represent a static balance that needs to be arrived at, but rather represents continuous negotiation, adjustment and re-organisation where as Blumer (1980) notes, the process is in continuous formation. This 'fluid equilibrium' contributes to how social rules are conceived as well as how the entrepreneur is shaped by these. This negotiation is one through which legitimation is accomplished.

6) Lapses

Entrepreneurs have shared inter-subjective meaning of what goes on in their performances. The dependence on others for the legitimation of one's performance provides for the possibility of a lapse in performance. Ambivalence towards emotion management, ambiguity over social boundaries and inadequacy in managing information flow can produce performances that are not accepted. While there could be emotional harmony in performing legitimation there is also the possibility of emotional dissonance in satisfying rules, which could conflict with actual feelings. The entrepreneur displays emotional deviance where inauthenticity is evident putting up avoidance and dissimulation. This study has shown that entrepreneurs experience emotional ambivalence. With emotional ambivalence there is interactional superficiality in the form of surface acting. During this performance the emotion management is not accepted. However, those in the interaction assist in maintaining the impression being put forward though while this is the case, authentication is not always in the way the entrepreneur desires, for instance, the others acceptance of a cynical performance.

Ambiguity over social boundaries can occur where entrepreneurs' visibility reveals their difference and hence their performance is threatened. An example from the data is where Victor's use of a front man brought about a lapse in the performance. Various relational intersections such as where a negative response to the impression indicated is understood to be forthcoming contributes to the actions taken toward avoidance and dissimulation. This expectation of the other's indications emerges as cynicism in how the entrepreneur defines the situation. These avoidance actions are taken so that the entrepreneur can avoid having to deal with those particular situations that they are uncomfortable in.

With the inadequacy in managing information entrepreneurs are in general withholding information. This could be for several reasons such as a focus on economic instrumental, conflicting or competitive motives (2005) or for self-preservation.

To conclude, Figure 9.1 organises the performance and emotion management into specific fundamentals. These organising concepts are used to demonstrate how entrepreneurs define self, how they orient to rules and expectations and, how they manage their emotional-symbolic display. The framework draws out the complexity in their performance and emotion management to indicate the possibilities that can emerge during their business interactions.

It is understood that interactions are not uniform, different indications are brought to the situation, and so performance and emotion management are not acted out in exactly the same way, hence there is variability. The joint action helps to shape and reshape performance. One implication of the framework is that entrepreneurs' performance depends on theirs and others' indications and their interpretation of the situation. Hence, while the nature of the analysis seeks to simplify complexity, it should not be viewed as portraying these elements of entrepreneurship interaction as fixed and unchanging but rather as a multilayered emergent process. It is possible for entrepreneurs to draw on a combination of the various performances. De Clercq & Voronov (2009) note the contesting expectations of others for the entrepreneur to fit in as well as stand out. The framework presented provides insight into how entrepreneurs' 'fluid equilibrium' aims to address this issue. Entrepreneurship literature espouses the innovative nature of the entrepreneur and notes their ability to break away from rules (Zhang & Arvey, 2009). What is less emphasised in the literature is not the innovative ideas process, much of which has been addressed but rather the emergent symbolic emotion management process where inter-subjectivity is engaged. This study points out this emergent process, showing how new meanings can emerge in an entrepreneurs' performance.

9.2 Key Contributions

The similarity and convergence of this study to the research on emotion management and performance has been made explicit. Following on from this, this study's contribution based on the analytical treatment of these topics is discussed.

Theoretical Contribution

This study adds a more symbolic interactionist understanding of Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour presenting a 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' frame for emotional labour as opposed to the fixed rule-based foundation she develops her conceptualisation of emotional labour around. It is this emphasis on the social and on the interactional, such as 'bounded disclosure', trust through legitimation, the negotiation of power dimensions and negotiation of legitimation that is the departure from Hochschild (1983) and that, which provides the theoretical contribution of this study. While she professes to be an interactionist, Hochschild (1983) did not explore the social dimension involving the symbolic mechanism of role-taking in which individuals see self conceived in their relation with others (Pfuetze, 1961).

This thesis' theoretical foundation is symbolic interactionism with it having influenced the main concepts this study is drawing on - emotional labour, dramaturgy and impression management in the presentation of self. Symbolic interactionism is derived from American pragmatism, particularly the work of George Herbert Mead who argued that individuals act with reference to each other and that during this interaction they draw on a conversation of gesture in framing their indications and interpretation towards appropriate action (Mead, 1912). Herbert Blumer, Mead's student, coined the term symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) further developing Mead's work. Hence, this research follows the general tenor of classic interactionist scholars, Mead and Blumer. In addition to these two protagonists, this study is also inspired by Goffman (1959a) and his work on the presentation of self, and Hochschild's (1983) work on emotional labour. This study draws on the same notion as Hochschild (1983) that emotions can be managed, the

same emphasis on feeling rules, and the same position that one manages their emotion to present an appropriate front. However this study departs from Hochschild (1983) in her 1) emphasis on managerial control where this study emphasises conjoint negotiation; 2) in her emphasis on psychological processes such as transmutation where this study emphasises interpretation, meaning and negotiation, and 3) in her tendency to adopt a normative framework where the emphasis is on fixed and unchallengeable, where this study privileges emergence and variability.

Furthermore, due to this analytic distinction emotion management was examined in a different way, both conceptually and methodologically. The study has forwarded a useful perspective through which to study the dynamics of entrepreneurship performance. The conceptualisation of this phenomenon and that of emotion management as an interactional process reveals the underlying dynamics involved in entrepreneurs' ongoing ritual of legitimation. Where Hochschild (1983) emphasises the cognitive process and managerial control this study emphasises the interaction and mutuality, and where she values a fixed and unchallengeable social world this study values fluidity and emergence.

This study has developed emotion management within the entrepreneurship literature introducing new distinctions such as the view that entrepreneurs have the ability to negotiate power through an inter-subjective 'negotiation of power dimensions' where the entrepreneur shows their reliance and reciprocity in the inter-subjective exercising of power. The emphasis on negotiation is in contrast to Hochschild's (1983) work that privileges the fixed dimensions of interactional dynamics. In addition, entrepreneurs draw on 'business coded emotions' to develop a shared definition of the situation and to develop an understanding of what constitutes their role, what is expected of them and how they perform. The study reveals the interdependent 'fluid equilibrium' interpretive process involved in entrepreneurs' negotiation experience of rules and expectations. This 'fluid equilibrium' interpretive process is the continually interpretation and ongoing negotiation of feeling rules to come to a shared understanding. This moves beyond the understanding that individuals are governed by prescribed rules and Hochschild's (1983) assumption that individuals are exploited and have no control in the interaction.

As a further analytical concept within the entrepreneurs' perspective, 'bounded disclosure' has been identified. This has demonstrated how entrepreneurs manage information in organising their performance. Information sharing is valued in the interaction, however entrepreneurs value 'bounded disclosure' where information sharing is managed as a self-preserving resource. This 'bounded disclosure' is how entrepreneurs interpret and develop shared meaning with them addressing expectations for sharing information and trust in their own way. For some this is a 'sense of self', for others the 'protection of self through boundaries'. This concept of 'bounded disclosure' is supported by Goffman's (1959a) work on impression management, Foddy & Finighan (1980) work on privacy and Glaser & Strauss' (1964, 1965) work on awareness context. Entrepreneurs manage their performance by acting out an awareness context. This may be a closed awareness context where information is withheld or an open context where each of the interactants is aware of the situation and identity of the other (Glaser & Strauss, 1964, 1965). Where there is a closed awareness context the entrepreneur is withholding information. This is much like the idea of Goffman's (1959a) mystification, that is, the keeping of social distance and in doing so managing information to gain control over what the other perceives and according to Foddy & Finighan (1980) producing and maintain a particular role relationship. A form of 'bounded disclosure' where entrepreneurs seek to disrupt others' perception of their difference is 'disruptive colouration'. 'Disruptive colouration' is a way of performing 'bounded disclosure' where entrepreneurs manage information to mask visibility of difference and so protect themselves but also in some cases seek to gain information for their own interest.

The findings demonstrate that 'emotional rationality' is a symbolic resource for the entrepreneur providing the connections with others, feeling rules and their own engagement and detachment to present a professional performance. This notion of 'emotional rationality' is supported by Goffman (1956) who contends that emotion is not 'irrational' but rather is an organised part of the performance. It has been demonstrated that emotion and rationality are conceived of as mutually constitutive providing an inter-subjective scheme of interpretation for framing entrepreneurs' experiences. Entrepreneurship has been steeped in rational economical functionality where instrumental rationality is privileged over emotion (Casson, 2007; Jayasinghe, Thomas &

Wickramasinghe, 2008). This study transcends this view of the entrepreneur demonstrating that emotion and its management are integral and resourceful parts of entrepreneurs' performance. This is supported by Bandelj (2009) who contends that emotion is a resource to consider. 'Emotional rationality' also has some similarities to Jayasinghe, Thomas & Wickramasinghe's (2008) consideration of bounded emotionality. This treatment of 'emotional rationality' emphasises the emergence of meaning that the notion of Jayasinghe, Thomas & Wickramasinghe's (2008) 'bounded emotionality' tends to under-theorise.

Reflexivity is a concept that has been overlooked in emotion management theorising. Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotion management tends to focus on the individual as reactive to organisational control, which does not privilege reflexivity where meanings and interpretations are fluid and negotiable. The entrepreneur is reflexive (Zott & Huy, 2007). In considering the reflexivity of the entrepreneur, this study has demonstrated that emotion management is a reflexive practice where meaning emerges through an interpretation and reinterpretation of self and others' indications that are made during interaction. This view is supported by Blumer (1969) in his discussions on how social processes are shaped and re-shaped through self-interpretation.

These concepts demonstrate the complex negotiations that shape entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management. The resourceful and negotiated nature of these organising concepts conceives of the 'resourceful, negotiated, self-interpretive' work of entrepreneurs.

Empirical Contribution

First, this thesis extends the study of emotion management to the empirical setting of entrepreneurship. It contributes by rendering visible emotion management in entrepreneurship performance, which is a relatively untouched area of research (Goss 2008). While this is a new empirical setting there is support for this move, with this focus on emotion consistent with the other research that lends empirical support to the

significance of emotion in entrepreneurship. For example, entrepreneurship has been known to be an emotional arena with literature on emotional intelligence (Cross & Travaglione, 2003), emotional energy (Goss, 2005b, 2007, 2008), and bounded emotionality (Jayasinghe, Thomas & Wickramasinghe, 2008), as well as an area where passion for the idea keeps the entrepreneur moving forward with what is a challenging and uncertain endeavour (Cardon et al., 2009).

Second, while the general feature rendered visible and apparent is that an entrepreneur performs with the expectation of mutual collaboration, this is not always reciprocated and hence their performance is embedded within constraining forces. The contending position to Hocshchild (1983) articulated here contributes to the theory of emotional labour by bringing to the fore the differences in the emotion management of entrepreneurs performances. The analysis allows insight into effective performance where emotion is managed. It does however understand that interactions are arenas of tension and so, the analysis also provides insight into those conditions where there are lapses in performance.

Third, spatial considerations have been rendered significant. Although space has been addressed in entrepreneurship literature (Hester & Francis, 1994; Shott, 1979), the significance of space in the construction of professionalism has generally been underplayed. This research renders visible entrepreneurship interaction as both face-to-face and virtual having significance for emotional labour over both these media of interaction. Goffman (1969) focused very much on face-to-face interaction, with little consideration of virtual interaction. He did however note that in virtual interactions impressions can be expressed (Goffman, 1969). However it is being put forward here that any recent study examining interaction in everyday life does need to consider the implications of on-line interaction. Interaction in virtual space is on the increase and is very much a part of everyday life, both in the social sphere and the business environment.

A further empirically relevant contribution is the role of (in)visibility. Visibility is a concept that has not been fully developed within the entrepreneurship arena, though it has been included in the notion of boundary spanning. Boundary spanning activities seek to

connect with others (Hester & Francis, 1994) and in doing so the literature emphasises the visibility to others. The issue of invisibility from entrepreneur's accounts indicates that this is not always the case with visibility having an emergent variability. This finding is similar to Paperman (1956). This study has found that during entrepreneur's performances, they draw on both invisibility and visibility as a device in gaining access to information as well as for putting forward a face of professionalism. Visibility characterises the performance of the entrepreneur from both the emotion management perspective and the performative display. The findings illustrate that there is an entrepreneurship dilemma; one where there is a need for invisibility for self-interest in gaining information, yet there is also a need for visibility conforming to expectations for validation leading to legitimacy. For instance, if one has control over those that are perceived to have the power there is a struggle, which may have either immense or dire consequences for the entrepreneur. The repercussions of voluntary invisibility where the consequences are negative could be that the entrepreneur does not gain legitimation due to the need for interaction in an open awareness context for this to occur. However, where the entrepreneur complies with the norm this is more likely to facilitate legitimacy. This is not to say that the invisibility/control approach will not lead to legitimacy, however this will initially impede it.

This empirical study adds to the understanding of emotion management and entrepreneurs' performance by developing an organising framework. This represents the nexus between the two areas making several contributions to the literature. First it specifies the explicit interactional profiles describing the type of approach that entrepreneurs take on in performing emotion management. Furthermore it demonstrates that there is variability in entrepreneurs' performance and that entrepreneurs have the ability to draw on theirs and others' indications to inform their performance and emotion management. It also depicts the lapses that can come about based on such choices. In presenting a framework an 'emotional map' has been developed to guide entrepreneurs in their legitimation efforts. The effort draws on emotion management and is viewed as 'symbolic emotion investment'. This charts a progression of emotion management through the process of establishing and maintaining legitimacy. As such a further

contribution addresses the call made by Zimmerman & Zeitz (2002) for more research into entrepreneurs' legitimation. This study facilitates further understanding into entrepreneurs' awareness that legitimation plays a significant role in their performance and shows how they manage this through appropriate emotion management performances.

This research has investigated the nature of entrepreneurs' performance and why they perform in this particular way, the role of feeling rules in performance and emotion management, and the tensions that can occur. This study contributes to theory on both emotional labour and entrepreneurship by developing knowledge of these. This represents the dissemination of useful knowledge and as such contributes to the development of an agenda for future research in this area.

Methodological Contribution

Methodologically, this study is reliant on interviews where locating meaning is the central interpretive tool. The understanding gained by drawing on the symbolic interactionist perspective in undertaking analysis has assisted in focusing on the emotion dimension of entrepreneurs' performance and so is valid in this respect. According to Prasad (1993), both the method of data collection and the perspective used to examine the data provides innovation in methodology. Researchers tend to privilege the functional elements of entrepreneurship at the expense of the symbolic ones. Consequently, this study has contributed by drawing on schemes of meaning, interpretation and definition.

To render visible the performance and emotion management of the entrepreneur data was analysed in a 'creative' manner. As already mentioned, studies in the symbolic interactionist arena do not have the tendency to lay bare their analytical roots. This study has contributed to methodological insight by doing so.

9.3   Implications for Policy and Practice

This research informs managerial practice by putting forward a new proposal that suggests the need for entrepreneurs to recognise and understand the role of emotions and its management in producing and maintaining entrepreneurship performance. This study advocates for the incorporation of emotion into their offering. A framework has been developed which can be included in entrepreneurship programmes giving guidance to entrepreneurs. Quinn offers his views on the value of the study:

> I think that the work you're doing has great value. I think entrepreneurship is absolutely critical to progress a company, without it we don't have business. Without business we don't have the means of creating employment, creating worlds. Contributing taxes, holding a strong, confident decent society. And I think emotion because it's so inherent in us as human beings, how emotion interacts with the entrepreneur I think it's a very, very important study and something which can have a huge learning benefit for entrepreneurs. It could have a huge learning benefit for those who mentor entrepreneurs, be it Business Extra or the various business support agencies here in the UK and elsewhere. So I think it's an area that is very important.

Guidance can be given to indicate the key features of entrepreneurship performance, the feeling rules to conform to and issues of conflict that will assist entrepreneurs in avoiding lapses in performance. Some practical suggestions are sketched out here. The first lesson indicates what has been demonstrated in this study that entrepreneurs' performance has hidden aspects that are oriented towards legitimation. Emotion management is hidden in plain sight of the significant other in entrepreneurs' performance. This needs to remain hidden as if this becomes visible there is the potential for a lapse in performance. The second lesson is that the enactment of legitimation rituals requires the entrepreneur to manage the impression being put on.

As noted from the findings, both co-operation and conflict exist in entrepreneurship interactions with entrepreneurs having to cope with this. Consequently, the paradox rendered visible with regards to co-operation and conflict can be resolved through emotion management. Rather than the ambivalence towards emotion management, where emotion management dimensions are unmanaged and inconsistent with feeling rules and performance expectations, entrepreneurs need to underscore this in their performance.

This is not to say that emotion management should be accentuated, as it appears more convincing and accepted when it remains invisible. Where the other interactant can see this work being done due to the effort being visible, the performance is not authenticated. Hence in this case invisibility is rewarded.

Entrepreneurs are understood to be experts. Experts are those with authority, those that set the culture of the organisation, its rules and norms within which activities are carried out (Murdoch, 1999). Entrepreneurs as expert are generally forgiven for lapses in performance. However, the corollary of continued lapses is that the individual becomes disregarded and is subject to excommunication. An extract from Garvey's account highlights how continued lapses are not forgiven but rather condemned. The implications of this is that entrepreneurs may have role identity issues due to others perceiving inconsistencies in their entrepreneurship performances. "*Discrediting of self-presentation can be overcome by greater authenticity of presentation*" (Argyle, 1969 p.391). Entrepreneurs in this position take various steps to secure a sense of their own identity, for example, engaging others as a front, and coaches or others who can talk them through their approach to business interactions, through avoidance strategies and a more effective stance to limiting information.

9.4 Limitations of Research

In the course of undertaking the empirical aspect of this study, there were a few 'empirical surprises.' For instance, the significance of technology and space in entrepreneurs' performance, issues of (in)visibility particularly with the boundary spanning position that entrepreneurs occupy (Hester & Francis, 1994), passion as detrimental and the interplay between co-operation and conflict, to mention a few. These drive the contributions made in this study with key perspectives drawn on in the analysis even though the initial review of literature around some of these areas may appear to be limited.

Methodologically, it should be noted that this is a small-scale study not a large-scale survey study and as such it is prudent to caution the generalisation of findings for those of a normative persuasion. However, what this study does do is make visible key features worthy of further exploration. It is also possible that the sample set could have been more focused on a particular industry to gain insight into specific conventions particularly with regards to dress. However, as it is, the differences in industry did render visible the differences in conformity where a concentrated effort may not have done. Furthermore, the study focuses solely on entrepreneurs and as such is situated in their experiences and perspectives. This is valid in seeking an understanding of their view of the interactional dynamics. It could be said however, that this makes assumptions as to what others in the interaction see. A remark from Carolina on authenticity serves to put up for scrutiny the others in the interaction:

> Even if it's put up by an entrepreneur the other person may not recognise…whether it is just put up like a front.

This demonstrates that entrepreneurs are aware that others may not have developed shared understanding, that is, not understood the entrepreneur's actions in the way that the entrepreneur intended, and so the other person does not confer legitimation. This would suggest that lapses in performance could occur due to others dramaturgical incompetence and uncooperative stance. Mann (2007) also notes this issue around other's ability to recognise authenticity. Consequently, further research incorporating others' experiences of entrepreneurs' performance and emotion management would provide a more holistic view.

The approach taken has its limitations when it comes to considering other perspectives such as ethnomethodology and the linguistic turn. However, despite this dilemma, future research drawing on the traditional symbolic interactionist approach has the potential for successful future development.

9.5   Further Research

This study has been exploratory in nature and throughout the discussion there has been observance of the extant literature with it informing the analytical discussion. Some aspects of the analysis have less research support than others providing the contribution but also areas for further research. Just as Rafaeli & Pratt (1993) notes, there is much complexity in research, which is difficult to address in one study such as this. Therefore there is room to delve further into the complexity. As a result, four areas for additional research are proposed. First, further studies exploring the role of entrepreneurship performance and emotion management would be particularly informative, as this would further clarify linkages between these two areas. Analysis distinguishing between performance in the entrepreneurship social world and the corporate world would develop insight into the areas of divergence. A focus on boundary spanners would provide an area of similarity where the notion of (in)visibility will have repercussions for legitimation performances. In general, a worthy goal would be to combine the understanding gained here with social world theory (Strauss, 1978) in developing a sociological theory of entrepreneurship (in)visibility. With this regard for invisibility it is worth noting the growing trend and literature on globalisation and managing relationships in disperse settings. Emotion management in this arena has received too little attention despite the fact that entrepreneurs connect with others over the expanse of space using technology to cope with their (in)visibility in the process.

Furthermore, questions around performance and emotion management in entrepreneurship teams should be explored, particularly as this allow for more understanding of back region activity within entrepreneurship performances and the team's role in this. Kilduff (1992) notes that teams engage in the management of the performance with team members assisting in maintaining the expected standards of propriety in a performance and also repairing lapses where they occur. Waldron (2000) does suggest that managing relationships in teams is a noteworthy pursuit. Entrepreneurship literature also denotes the importance of entrepreneurship teams (Chen, Yao & Kotha, 2009). There could also be a focus on more specific themes in the

258

performance of entrepreneurs corresponding in part to the key elements of the organising framework set out. While past research on passion has been demonstrated, its detrimental side had not been explored, other than what has been made visible in this study. Consequently, additional research should be conducted to further discuss its role in the failure or success of entrepreneurs' legitimation.

In addition, a third suggestion for research is around the need to draw out the socio-cultural aspects of the situation and how this has implications for interactants' interpretation of social norms. This study has only touched on culture in discussions around difference. Sims, Fineman & Gabriel (1993) note that culture has a part to play in the socialisation of feeling rules and Shott (2005) in the expression of emotion. Mirchandani (2003) and Seymour (2000) note the varying possibilities in how different cultures cope with emotion management and as Kilduff (1992) notes, sign activity. There is a growing body of research around globalisation and entrepreneurship and as such a comparative cultural perspective would be invaluable. Quinn, one of the entrepreneurs interviewed, gave his opinion on further research:

> It might be interesting to … compare and contrast…from different cultural backgrounds how they manage in emotion and see what they do in common because it's those commonalities probably where just benefits to learn from.

With the internationalisation of entrepreneurship practices, more sensitivity toward cultural analysis would be valuable. Future studies could analyse how entrepreneurship performance and emotion management is experienced in other cultures.

Finally, the fourth area of proposed research points to what has already been shown here, that entrepreneurship performance is relational. Hence further links between entrepreneurship, emotion management and the theory of symbolic interactionism would provide promising proposals for research. By applying symbolic interactionism, emotion management and entrepreneurship scholars may gain new insights into what, how and why questions, such as: What are the social processes that entrepreneurs engage in? How do values play an important role in entrepreneur's performance and emotion management? How are entrepreneurs' perception of justice and fairness taken into

account in the interaction? Why do entrepreneurs engage in disruptive colouration in seeking opportunities?

Overall, future investigations that address these four areas of study would advance the research started here, providing further understanding of both emotion management and entrepreneurship performance and the intersection between the two. Overall, this study provides material for further intellectual debate.

9.6   Conclusion

It is possible then for the conclusion to be drawn, that in this study the challenge has been to show the connections between performance and emotion management thus extending knowledge within this arena through the application of an interactionist approach.

This conclusion follows logically from the view that this thesis puts forward that entrepreneurs' emotion management occurs because of the need for the performance of legitimation. Legitimation is seen as the central lever elevating visibility of emotion management and performance with the conceptual epiphanies on this centering on the legitimating practices of entrepreneurs. First this is an ongoing ritual and second, that entrepreneurs' emotion management is engaged in this performance. At this juncture it is the hope that the research undertaken and laid out here offers a worthwhile extension of the existing theory and research and points the way towards future research that can further contribute to the understanding and development of both entrepreneurship and emotion management.

References

Aaltio, I. (2002) 'Interviewing Female Managers: Presentations of the Gendered Selves in Contexts'. In: I. Aaltio & A.J. Mills (eds), *Gender, Identity and the Culture of Organizations.* London: Routledge, pp. 201-218.

Afuah, A. (2003) *Innovation Management.* New York: Open University Press.

Albrow, M. (1992) 'Sine Ira et Studio - Or Do Organizations Have Feelings?', *Organization Studies,* 13 (3), pp. 313-329.

Alvesson, M. (1994) 'Talking in Organizations: Managing Identity and Impressions in an Advertising Agency', *Organizational Studies,* 15 (4), pp. 535-563.

Amit, R., Glosten, L. & Muller, E. (1990) 'Entrepreneurial Ability, Venture Investments, and Risk Sharing', *Management Science,* 36 (10), pp. 1232-1245.

Amit, R., Glosten, L. & Muller, E. (1993) 'Challenges to Theory Development in Entrepreneurship Research', *Journal of Management Studies,* 30 (5), pp. 815-834.

Anderson, A.R. (2000) 'Paradox in the Periphery: An Entrepreneurial Reconception', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development,* 12 (2), pp. 91-110.

Anderson, A.R. (2005) 'Enacted Metaphor: The Theatricality of the Entrepreneurial Process', *International Small Business Journal,* 23 (6), pp. 587-603.

Anderson, C.R. & Schneier, C.E. (1978) 'Locus of Control, Leader Behavior and Leader Performance Among Management Students', *Academy of Management Journal,* 21 (4), pp. 690-698.

Anderson, G. (1993) 'Emotions and Work in a Lifestyle Occupation', *Journal of European Industrial Training,* 17 (5), pp. 10-14

Anleu, S.R. & Mack, K. (2005) 'Magistrates' Everyday Work and Emotional Labour', *Journal of Law and Society,* 32 (4), pp. 590-614.

Argyle, M. (1969) *Social Interaction.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Arnold, M.B. (1960) *Emotion and Personality.* Vol. 1. London: Cassell and Company Limited.

Aron, R. (1950) 'Social Structure and the Ruling Class: Part 1 ', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 1 (1), pp. 1-16.

Ashforth, B.E. & Gibbs, B.W. (1990) 'The Double-Edge of Organizational Legitimation', *Organization Science,* 1 (2), pp. 177-194.

Ashkanasy, N.M. (2002) 'Studies of Cognition and Emotion in Organisations: Attribution, Affective Events, Emotional Intelligence and Perception of Emotion', *Australian Journal of Management,* 27 (Special Issue), pp. 11-20.

Audi, R. (2007) 'Some Dimensions of Trust in Business Practices: From Financial and Product Representation to Licensure and Voting', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 80 (1), pp. 97-102.

Averill, J.R. (1980) 'A Constructionist View of Emotion'. In: R. Plutchick & H. Kellerman (eds), *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience: Theories of Emotion.* vol. 1, New York: Academic Press, pp. 305-339.

Axelrod, R. (1984) *The Evolution of Cooperation.* London: Penguin Books.

Ball, P. (1964) 'Sincerity: The Rise and Fall of a Critical Term', *Modern Language Review,* LIX (1), pp. 1-11.

Bandelj, N. (2009) 'Emotions in Economic Action and Interaction', *Theory and Society,* 38 (4), pp. 347-366.

Bar-On, R. (1997) *EQ-i BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory: A Measure of Emotional Intelligence: Technical Manual.* Toronto, Canada: Multi-Health Systems.

Barbalet, J.M. (1996) 'Social Emotions: Confidence, Trust and Loyalty', *The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy,* 16 (9/10), pp. 75-96.

Baron, R.A. (2008) 'The Role of Affect in The Entrepreneurial Process', *Academy of Management Review,* 33 (2), pp. 328-340.

Baron, R.A. & Markman, G.D. (2000) 'Beyond Social Capital: How Social Skills can Enhance Entrepreneurs' Success', *The Academy of Management Executive,* 14 (1), pp. 106-116.

Baron, R.A. & Markman, G.D. (2003) 'Beyond Social Capital: The Role of Entrepreneurs' Social Competence in their Financial Success', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 18 (1), pp. 41-61.

Baron, R.A., Markman, G.D. & Bollinger, M. (2006) 'Exporting Social Psychology: Effects of Attractiveness on Perceptions of Entrepreneurs, Their Ideas for New Products, and Their Financial Success', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,* 36 (2), pp. 467-492.

Barringer, B.R. & Bluedorn, A.C. (1999) 'The Relationship between Corporate Entrepreneurship and Strategic Management', *Strategic Management Journal,* 20 (5), pp. 421-444.

Barringer, B.R. & Ireland, R.D. (2006) *Entrepreneurship: Successfully Launching New Ventures.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Baum, R.J. & Locke, E.A. (2004) 'The Relationship of Entrepreneurial Traits, Skill, and Motivation to Subsequent Venture Growth', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 89 (4), pp. 587-598.

Baumol, W.J. (1968) 'Entrepreneurship in Economic Theory', *American Economic Review,* 58 (2), pp. 64-71.

Baumol, W.J. (1993) 'Formal Entrepreneurship Theory in Economics: Existence and Bounds', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 8 (3), pp. 197-210.

Becker, H.S. (1956) 'Interviewing Medical Students', *American Journal of Sociology,* 62 (2), pp. 199–201.

Becker, H.S. (1998) *Tricks of The Trade: How to Think About Your Research While You're Doing It.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Becker, H.S. & Geer, B. (1957) 'Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison', *Human Organization,* 16 (3), pp. 28–32.

Becker, T.M. & Meyers, P.R. (1974-1975) 'Empathy and Bravado: Interviewing Reluctant Bureaucrats', *The Public Opinion Quarterly,* 38 (4), pp. 605-613.

Begley, T.M. & Boyd, D.P. (1987) 'Psychological characteristics associated with performance in entrepreneurial firms and smaller businesses', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 2 (1), pp. 79-94.

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality.* London: Penguin.

Berglund, K. & Johansson, A.W. (2007) 'Constructions of Entrepreneurship: A Discourse Analysis of Academic Publications', *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy,* 1 (1), pp. 77-102.

Bhave, M., P. (1994) 'A Process Model of Entrepreneurial Venture Creation', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 9 (3), pp. 223-242.

Bilodeau, M. & Slivinski, A. (1998) 'Rational Nonprofit Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy,* 7 (4), pp. 551-571.

Bird, A.M. & Jelinek, M. (1988) 'The Operation of Entrepreneurial Intentions', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 13 (2), pp. 21-29.

Blaug, M. (1986) *Economic History and the History of Economics*. New York: New York University Press.

Bleier, R. (1991) *Feminist Approaches to Science*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Blumer, H. (1936) 'Social Attitudes and Nonsymbolic Interaction', *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 9 (9, Attitudes and Education), pp. 515-523.

Blumer, H. (1954) 'What is Wrong with Social Theory', *American Sociological Review,* 19 (1), pp. 3-10.

Blumer, H. (1955) 'Attitudes and the Social Act', *Social Problems,* 3 (2), pp. 59-65.

Blumer, H. (1956) 'Sociological Analysis and the "Variable"', *American Sociological Review,* 21 (6), pp. 683-690.

Blumer, H. (1958) 'Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position', *The Pacific Sociological Review,* 1 (1), pp. 3-7.

Blumer, H. (1966) 'Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead ', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 71 (5), pp. 535-544.

Blumer, H. (1967) 'Reply to Woelfel, Stone, and Farberman ', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 72 (4), pp. 411-412.

Blumer, H. (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Blumer, H. (1973) 'A Note on Symbolic Interactionism', *American Sociological Review,* 38 (6), pp. 797-798.

Blumer, H. (1977) 'Comment on Lewis' "The Classic American Pragmatists As Forerunners to Symbolic Interactionism"', *The Sociological Quarterly,* 18 (2), pp. 285-289.

Blumer, H. (1980) 'Mead and Blumer: The Convergent Methodological Perspectives of Social Behaviorism and Symbolic Interactionism', *American Sociological Review,* 45 (3), pp. 409-519.

Bolton, S.C. (1999) *Mixed Feelings: Emotion Management in the Workplace*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester University.

Bolton, S.C. (2000a) 'Emotion Here, Emotion There, Emotion Organisations Everywhere', *Critical Perspectives on Accounting,* 11 (2), pp. 155-171.

Bolton, S.C. (2000b) 'Who Cares? Offering Emotion Work as a 'Gift' in the Nursing Labour Process', *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 32 (3), pp. 580-586.

Bolton, S.C. (2001) 'Changing Faces: Nurses as Emotional Jugglers', *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 23 (1), pp. 85-100.

Bolton, S.C. (2005) *Emotion Management in the Workplace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bolton, S.C. & Boyd, C. (2003) 'Trolley Dolly or Skilled Emotion Manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart', *Work Employment Society,* 17 (2), pp. 289-308.

Bouchikhi, H. (1993) 'A Constructivist Framework for Understanding Entrepreneurship Performance', *Organization Studies,* 14 (4), pp. 549-570.

Brandt, K. (2004) 'A Language of Their Own: An Interactionist Approach to Human-Horse Communication', *Society and Animals,* 12 (4), pp. 299-316.

Briner, R.B. (1999) 'The Neglect and Importance of Emotion at Work', *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology,* 8 (3), pp. 323-346.

Brissett, D. & Edgley, C. (eds) (2007) *Life as Theater: A Dramaturgical Sourcebook.* New Brunswick: AldineTransaction.

Brittan, A. (1973) *Meanings and Situations.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Brockhaus, R.H. (1980) 'Risk taking propensity of entrepreneurs', *Academy of Management Journal,* 23 (3), pp. 509-520.

Brockhaus, R.H. & Horwitz, P.S. (1986) 'The Psychology of the Entrepreneur'. In: N.F. Krueger Jr (ed.), *Entrepreneurship: Critical Perspectives on Business and Management (2002).* vol. II, London: Routledge, pp. 260-279.

Brotheridge, C.M. & Grandey, A.A. (2002) 'Emotional Labor and Burnout: Comparing Two Perspectives of "People Work"', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 60 (1), pp. 17-39.

Brotheridge, C.M. & Lee, R.T. (1998) 'On the Dimensionality of Emotional Labour: Development of an Emotional Labour Scale', *First Conference on Emotions in Organisational Life.*

Bruni, A., Gherardi, S. & Poggio, B. (2004) 'Doing Gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of Interwined Practices', *Gender, Work and Organization,* 11 (4), pp. 406-429.

Brush, C.G. (1992) 'Research on Women Business Owners: Past Trends, A New Perspective and Future Directions', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 16 (4), pp. 5-30.

Brush, C.G. (2008) 'Pioneering Strategies for Entrepreneurial Success', *Business Horizons,* 51 (1), pp. 21-27.

Burger, T. (1977) 'Max Weber's Interpretive Sociology, the Understanding of Actions and Motives, and a Weberian View of Man', *Sociological Inquiry,* 47 (2), pp. 127-132.

Burgess, R.G. (1982) 'Elements of Sampling in Field Research'. In: R.G. Burgess (ed.), *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual.* New York: Routledge, pp. 114-120.

Burgess, R.G. (1995) *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research.* London: Routledge.

Burgoyne, J. (1989) 'Creating the Managerial Portfolio: Building on Competency Approaches to Management Development', *Management Learning,* 20 (56), pp. 56-61.

Burke, K. (2003) 'Ritual Drama as "Hub"'. In: P. Auslander (ed.), *Performance: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies.* vol. 1, London: Routledge, pp. 72-90.

Burmeister, P. (2003) 'Breaking the code: What to present to venture capitalists', *Strategic Finance; Montvale,* 84 (9), pp. 36-39.

Busenitz, L.W. & Barney, J.B. (1997) 'Differences between entrepreneurs and managers in large organizations: Biases and heuristics in strategic decision-making', *Journal of Business Venturing; New York,* 12 (1), pp. 9-30.

Busenitz, L.W., West, G.P., Shepherd, D.A., Nelson, T., Chandler, G.N. & Zacharakis, A. (2003) 'Entrepreneurship Research in Emergence: Past Trends and Future Directions', *Journal of Management,* 29 (3), pp. 285-308.

Bygrave, W.D. (1993) 'Theory Building in the Entrepreneurship Paradigm', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 8 pp. 255-280.

Cable, D.M. & Shane, S. (1997) 'A Prisoner's Dilemma Approach to Entrepreneur-Venture Capitalist Relationships', *Academy of Management Review,* 22 (1), pp. 142-176.

Callaghan, G. & Thompson, P. (2002) ''We Recruit Attitude': The Selection and Shaping of Routine Call Centre Labour', *Journal of Management Studies,* 39 (2), pp. 233-254.

Callahan, J.L. (2000) 'Emotion Management and Organizational Functions: A Case Study of Patterns in a Not-for-Profit Organization', *Human Resource Development Quarterly,* 11 (3), pp. 245-267.

Cardon, M.S. (2008) 'Is Passion Contagious? The Transference of Entrepreneurial Passion to Employees', *Human Resource Management Review,* 18 (2), pp. 77-86.

Cardon, M.S., Wincent, J., Singh, J. & Drnovsek, M. (2009) 'The Nature and Experience of Entrepreneurial Passion', *Academy of Management Review,* 34 (3), pp. 511-532.

Cardon, M.S., Zietsma, C., Saparito, P., Matherne, B.P. & Davis, C. (2005) 'A Tale of Passion: New Insights into Entrepreneurship from a Parenthood Metaphor', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 20 (1), pp. 23-45.

Carland, J.C., Carland, J.W. & Stewart, W.H. (1996) 'Seeing What's Not There: The Enigma of Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Small Business Strategy,* 7 (1), pp. 1-20.

Carland, J.W., Carland, J.C. & Busbin, J.W. (1997) 'Nurturing Entrepreneurship: Reconsideration for Competitive Strategy', *ACR,* 5 (1), pp. 85-105.

Carland, J.W., Hoy, F., Bolton, W.R. & Carland, J.A.C. (1984) 'Differentiating Entrepreneurs from Small Business Owners: A Conceptualisation', *Academy of Management Review,* 9 (2), pp. 354-359.

Carter, S. & Jones-Evans, D. (2000) *Enterprise and Small Business : Principles, Practice and Policy*. Harlow: Financial Times/Prentice Hall.

Caruso, D.R., Mayer, J.D. & Salovey, P. (2002) 'Relation of an Ability Measure of Emotional Intelligence to Personality', *Journal of Personality Assessment,* 79 (2), pp. 306-320.

Casson, M. (2007) 'The Discovery of Opportunities: Extending the Economic Theory of the Entrepreneur', *Small Business Economics,* 28 (4), pp. 285-300.

Cast, A.D., Stets, J.E. & Burke, P.J. (1999) 'Does the Self Conform to the Views of Others?', *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 62 (1), pp. 68-82.

Chaganti, R. & Greene, P. (2002) 'Who are Ethnic Entrepreneurs? A Study of Entrepreneurs' Ethnic Involvement and Business Characteristics', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 40 (2), pp. 126-143.

Chapman, M. (2000) 'When The Entrepreneur Sneezes, The Organization Catches a Cold": A Practitioner's Perspective on The State of The Art in Research on The Entrepreneurial Personality and The Entrepreneurial Process', *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology,* 9 (9), pp. 97-101.

Charmaz, K. (2004) 'Premises, Principles, and Practices in Qualitative Research: Revisiting the Foundations', *Qualitative Health Research,* 14 (7), pp. 976-993.

Chell, E. (1985) 'The Entrepreneurial Personality: A Few Ghosts Laid to Rest?', *International Small Business Journal,* 3 (3), pp. 43-54.

Chell, E. (2000) 'Towards Researching the "Opportunistic Entrepreneur": A Social Constructionist Approach and Research Agenda', *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology,* 9 (1), pp. 63-80.

Chell, E., Haworth, J. & Brearley, S. (1991) *The Entrepreneurial Personality: Concepts, Cases and Categories*. London: Routledge.

Chell, E. & Tracey, P. (2005) 'Relationship Building in Small Firms: The Development of a Model', *Human Relations,* 58 (5), pp. 577-616.

Chen, C.C., Greene, P.G. & Crick, A. (1998) 'Does Entrepreneurial Self-Efficiacy Distinguish Entrepreneurs from Managers?', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 13 (4), pp. 295-316.

Chen, X.-P., Yao, X. & Kotha, S. (2009) 'Entrepreneur Passion and Preparedness in Business Plan Presentations: A persuasion Analysis of Venture Capitalists' Funding Decisions', *Academy of Management Journal,* 52 (1), pp. 199-214.

Cherniss, C. (1999) 'The Business Case for Emotional Intelligence', *Journal The Business Case for Emotional Intelligence*, vol. no., [Online]. Available from: www.eiconsortium.org/reports/business_case_for_ie.html (Accessed: June 2004).

Chriss, J.J. (1999) 'Role Distance and The Negotional Self'. In: G. Smith (ed.), *Goffman and Social Organisation: Studies in a Sociological Legacy.* London: Routledge pp. 64-80.

Cicourel, A.V. (1970) 'The Acquisition of Social Structure: Toward a Developmental Sociology of Language and Meaning'. In: J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, pp. 136-168.

Clark, C. (2008) 'The Impact of Entrepreneurs' Oral 'Pitch' Presentation Skills on Business Angels' Initial Screening Investment Decisions', *Venture Capital,* 10 (3), pp. 257-279.

Coleman, J.W. (1978) 'The Dynamics of Narcotic Abstinence: An Interactionist Theory', *The Sociological Quarterly,* 19 (4), pp. 555-564.

Collins, R. (2004) *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Commission, E. (2003) *Green Paper: Enterpreneurship in Europe*. Brussels: Enterprise publications.

Constanti, P. & Gibbs, P. (2004) 'Higher Education Teachers and Emotional Labour', *International Journal of Educational Management,* 18 (4), pp. 243-249.

Cooper, A.C. & Dunkelberg, W.C. (1986) 'Entrepreneurship and Paths to Business Ownership', *Strategic Management Journal,* 7 (1), pp. 53-68.

Cooper, A.C., Dunkelberg, W.C. & Woo, C.Y. (1988) 'Survival and Failure: A Longitudinal Study'. In: B.A. Kirchhoff, W.A. Long, W.E. McMullan, K.H. Vesper & W.E. Wetzel (eds), *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research.* Wellesley, MA: Babson College.

Cope, J. (2003) 'Exploring the Nature and Impact of Critical Experiences within Small Business Growth and Entrepreneurial Development', *Lancaster University Management School Working Paper,* 2003/051.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (1990) 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedure, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria', *Qualitative Sociology,* 13 (1), pp. 3-21.

Cornelius, R.R. (2000) 'Theoretical Approaches to Emotion', *Proceedings of the ISCA Workshop on Speech and Emotion,* pp. 3-10.

Creswell, J.W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design : Choosing Among Five Traditions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cross, B. & Travaglione, A. (2003) 'The Untold Story: Is the Entrepreneur of the 21st Century Defined by Emotional Intelligence', *The International Journal of Organisational Analysis,* 11 (3), pp. 221-228.

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. & Wolff, R. (1991) 'Leaders, Managers, and Entrepreneurs: On and Off the Organizational Stage', *Organization Studies,* 12 (4), pp. 529-546.

Davidsson, P. & Honig, B. (2003) 'The Role of Social and Human Capital Among Nascent Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 18 (3), pp. 301-331.

De Carolis, D.M. & Saparito, P. (2006) 'Social Capital, Cognition, adn Entrepreneruial Opportunities: A Theoretical Framework', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 30 (1), pp. 41-56.

De Clercq, D. & Voronov, M. (2009) 'The Role of Cultural and Symbolic Capital in Entrepreneurs' Ability to Meet Expectations about Conformity and Innovation', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 47 (3), pp. 398-420.

Denzin, N.K. (1969) 'Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnomethodology: A Proposed Synthesis', *American Sociological Review,* 34 (6), pp. 922-934.

Denzin, N.K. (1983) 'A Note on Emotionality, Self, and Interaction', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 89 (2), pp. 402-409.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1998) 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research'. In: N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* Thousand Oak, California: Sage

Dickson-Swift, V., James, E.L., JKippen, S. & Laiamputtong, P. (2009) 'Researching Sensitive Topics: Qualitative Research as Emotion Work', *Qualitative Research,* 9 (1), pp. 61-79.

Dohan, D. & Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (1998) 'Using Computers to Analyze Ethnographic Field Data: Theoretical and Practical Considerations', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24 (1), pp. 477-498.

Dollinger, M.J. (1984) 'Environmental Boundary Spanning and Information Processing Effects on Organizational Performance', *Academy of Management Journal,* 27 (2), pp. 351-368.

Domagalski, T.A. (1999) 'Emotion in organizations: Main currents', *Human Relations,* 52 (6), pp. 833-852.

Dormann, C. & Zijlstra, F.R.H. (2003) 'Call Centres: High on Technology - High on Emotions', *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology,* 12 (4), pp. 305-310.

Douglas, E.J. & Shepherd, D. (2002) 'Exploring investor readiness: assessments by entrepreneurs and investors in Australia', *Venture Capital,* 4 (3), pp. 219-236.

Douglas, J.D. (1970) 'Understanding Everyday Life'. In: J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Downing, S. (2005) 'The Social Construction of Entrepreneurship: Narrative and Dramatic Processes in the Coproduction of Organizations and Identities', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 29 (2), pp. 185-204.

Drakopoulou Dodd, S. (2002) 'Metaphors and Meaning A Grounded Cultural Model of US Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 17 (5), pp. 519-535.

Drakopoulou Dodd, S. & Anderson, A.R. (2007) 'Mumpsimus and the Mything of the Individualistic Entrepreneur', *International Small Business Journal,* 25 (4), pp. 341-360.

Drnovsek, M., Cardon, M.S. & Murnieks, C.Y. (2009) 'Collective Passion in Entrepreneurial Teams'. In: A.L. Carsrud & M. Brannback (eds), *Understanding The Entrepreneurial Mind: Opening the Black Box.* London: Springer, pp. 191-215.

Drori, I., Honig, B. & Sheaffer, Z. (2009) 'The Life Cycle of an Internet Firm: Scripts, Legitimacy, and Identity', *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice,* 33 (3), pp. 715-738.

Du Gay, P. & Salaman, G. (1992) 'The Culture of the Customer', *Journal of Management Studies,* 29 (5), pp. 615-633.

Dulewicz, V. & Higgs, M. (1998) 'Emotional Intelligence: Managerial Fad or Valid Construct?', *Henley Management College Working Paper Series,* 9813.

Dulewicz, V. & Higgs, M. (1999) 'Can Emotional Intelligence be Measured and Developed?', *Leadership & Organization Development Journal; Bradford,* 20 (5), pp. 242-252.

Dunham, L.C. (2009) 'From Rational to Wise Action: Recasting Our Theories of Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 92 (4), pp. 513-530.

Eisenstadt, S.N. & Shachar, A. (1987) *Society, Culture, and Urbanization*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Elias, N. (1956) 'Problems of Involvement and Detachment', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 7 (3), pp. 226-252.

Ellis, C. (1985) 'Fishing for Success Without Rocking the Boat: Value Conflict and Work Control in a Maritime Context', *Qualitative Sociology,* 8 (3), pp. 203-223.

Elsbach, K.D. & Sutton, R.I. (1992) 'Acquiring Organizational Legitimacy through Illegitimate Actions: A Marriage of Institutional and Impression Management Theories', *Academy of Management Journal,* 35 (4), pp. 699-738.

Emmerling, R.J. & Goleman, D. (2003) *'*Emotional Intelligence: Issues and Common Misunderstandings', *Journal Emotional Intelligence: Issues and Common Misunderstandings*, vol. no., [Online]. Available from: www.eiconsortium.org (Accessed: 31 July 2004).

Ensley, M.D., Carland, J.W. & Carland, J.C. (2000) 'Investigating the Existence of the Lead Entrepreneur', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 38 (4), pp. 59-77.

Entrialgo, M., Fernandez, E. & Vazquez, C.J. (2000) 'Psychological Characteristics and Process: The Role of Entrepreneurship in Spanish SMEs', *European Journal of Innovation Management,* 3 (3), pp. 137-149.

Etzioni, A. (1987) 'Entrepreneurship, Adaptation and Legitimation: A Macro-behavioural Perspective', *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organisation,* 8 (2), pp. 175-189.

Fassin, Y. (2005) 'The Reasons Behind Non-ethical Behavior in Business and Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 60 (3), pp. 265-279.

Fayolle, A. (2003) 'Research and Researchers at the Heart of Entrepreneurial Situations'. In: C. Steyaert & D. Hjorth (eds), *New Movements in Entrepreneurship.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 35-50.

Feeney, L., Haines, J.G.H. & Riding, A.L. (1999) 'Private Investors' Investment Criteria: Insights from Qualitative Data', *Venture Capital,* 1 (2), pp. 121-145.

Felstead, A. & Jewson, N. (2000) *in Work, At Home: Towards an Understanding of Homeworking*. London: Routledge.

Felstead, A., Jewson, N. & Walters, S. (2003) 'Managerial Control of Employees Working at Home', *British Journal of Industrial Relations,* 41 (2), pp. 241-264.

Fiet, J.O. (1995) 'Reliance upon Informants in the Venture Capital Industry', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 10 (3), pp. 195-223.

Fineman, S. (1993) *Emotion in Organisations*. London: Sage Publications.

Fineman, S. (2000) 'Commodifying the Emotionally Intelligent'. In: S. Fineman (ed.), *Emotion in Organizations.* London: Sage pp. 101-114.

Fineman, S. (2003) *Understanding Emotion at Work*. London: Sage.

Fineman, S. (2004) 'Getting the Measure of Emotion - and the Cautionary Tale of Emotional Intelligence', *Human Relations; New York,* 57 (6), pp. 719-740.

Fineman, S. (2005) 'Appreciating Emotion at Work: Paradigm Tensions', *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion,* 1 (1), pp. 4-19.

Finkel, N.J. & Parrott, G.W. (2006) *Emotions and Culpability: How the Law is at Odds with Psychology, Jurors, and Itself*. First ed. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Fiske, A.P. (1992) 'The Four Elementary Forms of Sociality: Framework for a Unified Theory of Social Relations', *Psychological Review,* 99 (4), pp. 689-723.

Fletcher, D.E. (2006) 'Entrepreneurial Processes and the Social Construction of Opportunity', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development,* 18 (5), pp. 421-440.

Foddy, W. (1995) *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires: Theory and Practice in Social research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foddy, W.H. & Finighan, W.R. (1980) 'The Concept of Privacy from a Symbolic Interaction Perspective', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 10 (1), pp. 1-17.

Foo, M.-D., Uy, M. & Baron, R.A. (2009) 'How Do Feelings Influence Effort? An Empirical Study of Entrepreneurs' Affect and Venture Effort', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 94 (4), pp. 1086-1094.

Freid, V.H. & Hisrich, R.D. (1994) 'Toward a model of Venture Capital Investment Decision Making', *Financial Management,* 23 (3), p. 28.

Freud, S. (1922) 'The Unconscious', *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease,* 56 (3), pp. 291-294.

Fried, V.H. & Hisrich, R.D. (1994) 'Toward a Model of Venture Capital Investment Decision Making', *Financial Management,* 23 (3), pp. 28-37.

Gartner, W.B. (1985) 'A Conceptual Framework for Describing the Phenomenon of New Venture Creation', *The Academy of Management Review,* 10 (4), pp. 696-706.

Gartner, W.B. (1988) ''Who Is An Entrepreneur?' Is The Wrong Question', *American Journal of Small Business,* 12 (4), pp. 11-32.

Gartner, W.B. (1990) 'What Are We Talking About When We Talk About Entrepreneurship?', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 5 (1), pp. 15-28.

Gartner, W.B., Bird, B.J. & Starr, J.A. (1992) 'Acting As If: Differentiating Entrepreneurial From Organizational Behavior', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 16 (3), pp. 13-31.

Gartner, W.B. & Birley, S. (2002) 'Introduction to the Special Issue on Qualitative Methods in Entrepreneurship Research', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 17 (5), pp. 387-395.

Gassenheimer, J.B., Baucus, D.B. & Baucus, M.S. (1996) 'Cooperative Arrangements Among Entrepreneurs: An Analysis of Opportunism and Communication in Franchise Structures', *Journal of Business Research,* 36 (1), pp. 67-79.

Gatewood, E.J., Shaver, K.G. & Gartner, W.B. (1995) 'A Longitudinal Study of Cognitive Factors Influencing Start-up Behaviors and Success at Venture Creation', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 10 (5), pp. 371-392.

Gatta, M. (2009) 'Restaurant Servers, Tipping, and Resistance', *Qualitative Research in Accounting and Management,* 6 (1/2), pp. 70-82.

Gibb, A. (2002) 'In Pursuit of a New 'Enterprise' and 'Entrepreneurship' Paradigm for Learning: Creative Destruction, New Values, New Ways of Doing Things and New Combinations of Knowledge.', *International Journal of Management Reviews,* 4 (3), pp. 233-269.

Giddens, A. (1982) *Sociology: A Brief but Critical Introduction.* 2nd Edition ed. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Ginsberg, A. & Buchholtz, A. (1989) 'Are Entrepreneurs a Breed Apart? A Look at the Evidence', *Journal of General Management,* 15 (2), pp. 32-41.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1964) 'Awareness Contexts and Social Interaction', *American Sociological Review,* 29 (5), pp. 669-679.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1965) *Awareness of Dying.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Aldine Transaction.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory.* Chicago: Aldine.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1971) *Status Passage.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Goddard, S.E. (2009) 'Brokering Change: Networks and Entrepreneurs in International Politics', *International Theory,* 1 (2), pp. 249-281.

Goel, S. & Karri, R. (2006) 'Entrepreneurs, Effectual Logic, and Over-Trust', *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice,* 30 (4), pp. 477-493.

Goffee, R. & Jones, G. (2005) 'Managing Authenticity', *Harvard Business Review; Boston,* 83 (12), pp. 86-94.

Goffman, E. (1956) 'Embarrassment and Social Organization', *The Academy Journal of Sociology,* 62 (3), pp. 264-271.

Goffman, E. (1959a) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* London: Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. (1959b) 'The Moral Career of the Mental Patient'. In: J.G. Manis & B.N. Meltzer (eds), *Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology.* Third edition edn, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, pp. 362-380.

Goffman, E. (1961a) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* London: Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. (1961b) *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Goffman, E. (1963a) *Behaviour in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings.* New York: The Free Press.

Goffman, E. (1963b) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* London: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (1967a) *Interaction Ritual.* New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Goffman, E. (1967b) 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', *American Anthropologist,* 58 (3), pp. 473-502.

Goffman, E. (1967c) 'On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction'. In: E. Goffman (ed.), *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Goffman, E. (1967d) 'Where the Action Is'. In, *Interaction Ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Goffman, E. (1969) *Strategic Interaction.* Oxford: Burgess and Son (Abingdon) Ltd.

Goffman, E. (1971) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order.* Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. (1983) 'The Interaction Order: American Sociological Association, 1982 Presidential Address', *American Sociological Review,* 48 (1), pp. 1-17.

Goleman, D. (1996) *Emotional Intelligence: why it can matter more than IQ.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Goleman, D. (1998) *Working with Emotional Intelligence.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Goleman, D., Boyatzis, R. & McKee, A. (2002) *Primal Leadership: Realising the Power of Emotional Intelligence.* Boston, MA.: Harvard Business Review Press.

Goss, D. (2005a) 'Entrepreneurship and 'the Social': Towards a Deference-Emotion Theory', *Human Relations,* 58 (5), pp. 617-636.

Goss, D. (2005b) 'Schumpeter's Legacy? Interaction and Emotions in the Sociology of Entrepreneurship', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 29 (2), pp. 205-218.

Goss, D. (2007) 'Reconsidering Schumpeterian Opportunities: The Contribution of Interaction Ritual Chain Theory', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 13 (1), pp. 3-18.

Goss, D. (2008) 'Enterprise Ritual: A Theory of Entrepreneurial Emotion and Exchange', *British Journal of Management,* 19 (2), pp. 120–137.

Grandey, A.A. (2000) 'Emotion Regulation in the Workplace: A New Way to Conceptualize Emotional Labor', *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology,* 5 (1), pp. 95-110.

Grant, D., Keenoy, T. & Oswick, C. (1998) 'Introduction: Organizational Discourse: Of Diversity, Dichotomy and Multi-disciplinarity'. In: D. Grant, T. Keenoy & C. Oswick (eds), *Discourse and Organization.* London: Sage, pp. 1-13.

Gray, B. (2008) 'Putting Emotion and Reflexivity to Work in Researching Migration', *Sociology,* 42 (5), pp. 935-952.

Grbich, C. (1990) 'Socialisation and Social Change: A Critique of Three Positions', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 41 (4), pp. 517-530.

Hall, J. & Rosson, P. (2006) 'The Impact of Technological Turbulence on Entrepreneurial Behavior, Social Norms and Ethics: Three Internet-based Cases', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 64 (3), pp. 231-248.

Hall, P.M. (1972) 'A Symbolic Interactionist Analysis of Politics', *Sociological Inquiry,* 42 (3-4), pp. 35-75.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.

Hampson, I. & Junor, A. (2005) 'Invisible Work, Invisible Skills: Interactive Customer Service As Articulation Work', *New Technology, Work and Employment,* 20 (2), pp. 166-181.

Handler, R. & Saxton, W. (1988) 'Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative, and the Quest for Authenticity in "Living History"', *Cultural Anthropology,* 3 (3), pp. 242-260.

Hannafey, F.T. (2003) 'Entrepreneurship and Ethics: A Literature Review', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 46 (2), pp. 99-110.

Hanusch, H. (1988) *Evolutionary Economics: Applications of Schumpeter's ideas*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hardin, R. (1996) 'Trustworthiness', *Ethics,* 107 (1), pp. 26–42.

Hardy, C., Palmer, I. & Phillips, N. (2000) 'Discourse as a strategic resource', *Human Relations; New York,* 53 (9), pp. 1227-1248.

Hare, A.P. & Blumberg, H.H. (1988) *Dramaturgical Analysis of Social Interaction*. New York: Praeger.

Harre, R. & Parrott, G. (1996) *The Emotions*. London: Sage.

Harris, J.A., Saltstone, R. & Fraboni, M. (1999) 'An Evaluation of the Job Stress Questionaire with a Sample of Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Business and Psychology,* 13 (3), pp. 447-455.

Harris, L.C. (2002) 'The Emotional Labour of Barristers: An Exploration of Emotional Labour by Status Professionals', *The Journal of Management Studies; Oxford,* 39 (4), pp. 553-584.

Hatch, J. & Zweig, J. (2000) 'What is the stuff of an entrepreneur?', *Ivey Business Journal; London,* 65 (2), pp. 68-72.

Heilman, M.E. & Chen, J.J. (2003) 'Entrepreneurship as a Solution: The Allure of Self-Employment For Women And Minorities', *Human Resource Management Review,* 13 (2), pp. 347-364.

Henderson, A. (2001) 'Emotional Labor and Nursing: An Under-appreciated Aspect of Caring Work', *Nursing Inquiry,* 8 (2), pp. 130-138.

Herron, L. & Robinson, R.B.J. (1993) 'A Structural Model of the Effects of Entrepreneurial Characteristics on Venture Performance', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 8 (3), pp. 281-294.

Hester, S. & Francis, D. (1994) 'Doing Data: The Local Organization of a Sociological Interview', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 45 (4), pp. 675-695.

Hewitt, J.P. (2003) *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology*. Ninth ed. Boston, MA: Pearsons Education, Inc.

Hisrich, R.D. (1990) 'Entrepreneurship/intrapreneurship', *American Psychologist,* 45 (2), pp. 209-222.

Hoang, H. & Antoncic, B. (2003) 'Network-based Research in Entrepreneurship A critical review', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 18 (2), pp. 165-187.

Hochschild, A.R. (1979) 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology,* 85 (3), pp. 551-575.

Hochschild, A.R. (1983) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* 20th ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hochschild, A.R. (1989) 'Reply to Cas Wouter's Essay on the Managed Heart', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 6 (3), pp. 439-445.

Hochschild, A.R. (1993) 'Preface'. In: S. Fineman (ed.), *Emotion in Organizations.* London: Sage Publications.

Hochschild, A.R. (1997) *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work* New York: Owl Books.

Hochschild, A.R. (2005) '"Rent a Mom" and Other Services: Markets, Meanings and Emotions', *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion,* 1 (1), pp. 74-86.

Hoehn-Weiss, M.N., Brush, C.G. & Baron, R.A. (2004) 'Putting Your Best Foot Forward? Assessment of Entrepreneurial Social Competence from Two Perspectives', *The Journal of Private Equity,* Fall pp. 17-26.

Holaday, J.W., Meltzer, S.L. & McCormick, J.T. (2003) 'Strategies For Attracting Angel Investors', *Journal of Commercial Biotechnology,* 9 (2), pp. 129-133.

Hollway, W. & Jefferson, T. (2000) *Doing qualitative research differently: Free association, narrative and the interview method.* London: Sage.

Holman, D., Chissick, C. & Totterdell, P. (2002) 'The Effects of Performance Monitoring on Emotional Labor and Well-Being in Call Centres', *Motivation and Emotion,* 26 (1), pp. 57-81.

Holmquist, C. (2003) 'Is the Medium really the Message? Moving Perspective from the Entrepreneurial Actor to the Entrepreneurial Action'. In: C. Steyaert & D. Hjorth (eds), *New Movements in Entrepreneurship.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 73-85.

Hopfl, H. & Linstead, S. (1993) 'Passion and Performance: Suffering and Carrying of Organizational Roles'. In: S. Fineman (ed.), *Emotion in Organizations.* London: Sage Publications, pp. 76-93.

Hornaday, R.W. (1992) 'Thinking about Entrepreneurship: A Fuzzy Set Approach', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 30 (4), pp. 12-23.

Howorth, C. & Moro, A. (2006) 'Trust within Entrepreneur Bank Relationships: Insights from Italy', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 30 (4), pp. 495-517.

Huber, J. (1973) 'Symbolic Interaction as a Pragmatic Perspective: The Bias of Emergent Theory', *American Sociological Review,* 38 (2), pp. 274-284.

Huberman, A.M. & Miles, M.B. (1998) 'Data Management and Analysis Methods'. In: N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials.* CA: Sage Publications, pp. 179-210.

Hustedde, R.J. & Pulver, G.C. (1992) 'Factors Affecting Equity Capital Acquisition: The Demand Side', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 7 (5), pp. 363-374.

Hytti, U. (2000) 'The Concept of Identity and its Relevance for Entrepreneurial Research', *RENT XIV Research and Entrepreneurship and Small Business Proceedings (EIASM and ECSB).*

Inoue, S. (1980) 'Interactions and interpretations in everyday life', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction,* 3 pp. 1-24.

Jack, S.L. & Anderson, A.R. (2002) 'The Effects of Embeddedness on the Entrepreneurial Process', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 17 (5), pp. 467-487.

James, N. (1989) 'Emotional Labour: Skill and Work in the Social Regulation of Feelings', *Sociological Review,* 37 (1), pp. 15-24.

James, W. (1884) 'What is an Emotion?', *Mind,* 9 pp. 188-205.

Jansen, P.G.W. & van Wees, L.L.G.M. (1994) 'Conditions for internal entrepreneurship', *The Journal of Management Development,* 13 (9), pp. 34-52.

Jayasinghe, K., Thomas, D. & Wickramasinghe, D. (2008) 'Bounded Emotionality in Entrepreneurship: An Alternative Framework', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 14 (4), pp. 242-258.

Jean, L.S.K. (1992) 'Quantitative versus Qualitative Research Methods - Two Approaches to Organisation Studies', *Asian Pacific Journal of Management,* 9 (1), pp. 87-94.

Jett, Q.R. & George, J.M. (2003) 'Work Interrupted: A Closer Look at the Role of Interruptions in Organizational Life', *The Academy Management Review,* 28 (3), pp. 494-507.

Johannisson, B. & Monsted, M. (1998) 'Contextualizing Entrepreneurial Networking: The case of Scandinavia', *International Studies of Management and Organisation,* 27 (3), pp. 109-136.

Jones, G.R. & George, J.M. (1998) 'The experience and evolution of trust: Implications for cooperation and teamwork. ', *Academy of Management Review,* 23 (3), pp. 531–546.

Jordan, P.L., Ashkanasy, N.M. & Hartel, C.E.J. (2003) 'The Case for Emotional Intelligence in Organizational Research', *Academy of Management. The Academy of Management Review; Briarcliff Manor,* 28 (2), pp. 195-197.

Kahan, D.M. & Nussbaum, M.C. (1996) 'Two Conceptions of Emotion in Criminal Law', *Columbia Law Review,* 96 (2), pp. 269-374.

Kamm, J.B., Shuman, J.C., Seeger, J.A. & Nurick, A.J. (1990) 'Entrepreneurial Teams in New Venture Creation: A Research Agenda', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 14 (4), pp. 7-17.

Kao, R.W.Y., Kao, K.R. & Kao, R.R. (2002) *A Philosophy and a Sensible Alternative: Entrepreneurism for the market economy*. London: Imperial College Press.

Katz, J. (2003) 'Preface'. In: C. Steyaert & D. Hjorth (eds), *New Movements in Entrepreneurship.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Katz, P. (1990) 'Emotional Metaphors, Socialization, and Roles of Drill Sergeants', *Ethos,* 18 (4), pp. 457-480.

Kemper, T.D. (1985) 'The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling', *American Journal of Sociology,* 90 (6), pp. 1368-1371.

Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1985) 'The Dark Side of Entrepreneurship', *Harvard Business Review,* 63 (6), pp. 160-167.

Kettley, P. & Strebler, M. (1997) *Changing Roles for Senior Managers*. Vol. Report 327. Brighton: The Institute for Employment Studies.

Kickul, J., Gundry, L.K. & Posig, M. (2005) 'Does Trust Matter? The Relationship Between Equity Sensitivity and Perceived Organizational Justice', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 56 (3), pp. 205-218.

Kilduff, M. (1992) 'Performance and Interaction Routines in Multinational Corporations', *Journal of International Business Studies,* 23 (1), pp. 133-145.

Kirby, M. (2003) 'On Acting and Not-Acting'. In: P. Auslander (ed.), *Performance: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies.* vol. 1, London: Routledge, pp. 309-323.

Kleinsasser, A.M. (2000) 'Researchers, Reflexivity, and Good Data: Writing to Unlearn', *Theory into Practice,* 39 (3), pp. 155-162.

Knight, F.H. (1944) 'Human Nature and World Democracy', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 49 (5), pp. 408-420.

Korczynski, M. (2002) *Human Resource Management in Service Work.* Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Korczynski, M. (2003) 'Communities of Coping: Collective Emotional Labour in Service Work', *Organization,* 10 (1), pp. 55-79.

Korczynski, M. & Ott, U. (2005) 'Sales Work under Marketization: The Social Relations of the Cash Nexus?', *Organization Studies; Berlin,* 26 (5), pp. 707-728.

Krueger Jr, N.F., Reilly, M.D. & Carsrud, A.L. (2000) 'Competing models of entrepreneurial intentions', *Journal of Business Venturing; New York,* 15 (5,6), pp. 411-432.

Kuratko, D.F., Hornsby, J.S. & Naffziger, D.W. (1997) 'An Examination of Owner's Goals in Sustaining Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 35 (1), pp. 24-33.

Kvale, S. (1996) *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Landstrom, H. (1998) 'Informal Investors as Entrepreneurs', *Technovation; Amsterdam,* 18 (5), pp. 321-333.

Lazarus, R.S. (1982) 'Thoughts on the Relations Between Emotion and Cognition', *American Psychologist,* 37 (9), pp. 1019-1024.

Lazarus, R.S. (1999) *Stress and Emotion: A New Synthesis*. London: Free Association Books.

Leibenstein, H. (1968) 'Entrepreneurship and Development', *American Economic Review,* 38 (2), pp. 72-83.

Leidner, R. (1993) *Fast Food, Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinization of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leidner, R. (1999) 'Emotional Labour in Service Work', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 (1), pp. 81-95.

Lemert, C. & Branaman, A. (eds) (1997) *The Goffman Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell publishing.

Leonard-Barton, D. (1984) 'Interpersonal Communication Patterns among Swedish and Boston-area Entrepreneurs', *Research Policy,* 13 (2), pp. 101-114.

Lewis, J.D. & Weigert, A. (1985) 'Trust as a Social Reality', *Social Forces,* 63 (4), pp. 967-985.

Lewis, P. (2005) 'Suppression or expression: an exploration of emotion management in a special care baby unit', *Work Employment Society,* 19 (3), pp. 565-581.

Lin, I.Y. (2004) 'Evaluating a Servicescape: The Effect of Cognition and Emotion', *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* 23 (2), pp. 163-178.

Lindesmith, A.R., Strauss, A.L. & Denzin, N.K. (1988) *Social Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Littunen, H. (2000) 'Entrepreneurship and the Characteristics of the Entrepreneurial Personality', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 6 (6), pp. 295-310.

Lively, K.J. & Heise, D.R. (2004) 'Sociological Realms of Emotional Experience', *American Journal of Sociology,* 109 (5), pp. 1109-1136.

Lofland, J. (1970) 'Interactionist Imagery and Analytical Interruptus'. In: T. Shibutani (ed.), *Human Nature and Collective Behavior: Papers in Honor of Herbert Blumer.* Englewoods Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, pp. 35-45.

Lofland, L.H. (1985) 'The Social Shaping of Emotion: The Case of Grief', *Symbolic Interaction,* 8 (2), pp. 171-190.

Long, W. (1983) 'The Meaning of Entrepreneurship', *American Journal of Small Business. Baltimore,* 8 (2), pp. 47-59.

Lounsbury, M. & Glynn, M.A. (2001) 'Cultural Entrepreneurship: Stories, Legitimacy, and the Acquisition of Resources', *Strategic Management Journal,* 22 (6/7), pp. 545-564.

Low, M.B. & MacMillan, I.C. (1988) 'Entrepreneurship: Past research and future challenges', *Journal of Management,* 14 (2), pp. 139-161.

Luckmann, T.A. (ed.) (1978) *Phenomenology and sociology* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lumpkin, G.T., Cogliser, C.C. & Schneider, D.R. (2009) 'Understanding and Measuring Autonomy: An Entrepreneurial Orientation Perspective', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 33 (1), pp. 47-69.

Lumpkin, G.T. & Dess, G.G. (1996) 'Clarifying the Entrepreneurial Orientation Construct and Linking it to Performance', *Academy of Management Review,* 21 (1), pp. 135-172.

Lupton, D. (1998) *The Emotional Self: A Sociocultural Exploration*. London: Sage Publications.

Lutz, C. & White, G.M. (1986) 'The Anthropology of Emotions', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 15 (1), pp. 405-436.

Lynd, H.M. (1958) *On Shame and the Search for Identity*. 1961 ed. New York: Science Editions, Inc.

MacMillan, I.C. (1985) 'Criteria Used by Venture Capitalists to Evaluate New Venture Proposals', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 1 (1), pp. 119-129.

Maguire, J.S. (2001) 'Fit and flexible: The Fitness Industry, Personal Trainers and Emotional Service Labor', *Sociology of Sport Journal,* 18 (4), pp. 379-402.

Mangham, I.L. & Overington, M.A. (2007) 'Dramatism and the Theatrical Metaphor'. In: D. Brissett & C. Edgley (eds), *Life as Theater: A Dramaturgical Sourcebook.* New Brunswick: AldineTransaction, pp. 333-345.

Mann, S. (1999) 'Emotion at Work: To What Extent are We Expressing, Suppressing, or Faking It?', *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology,* 8 (3), pp. 347-369.

Mann, S. (2007) 'Expectations of Emotional Display in the Workplace: An American/British Comparative Study', *Leadership and Organization Development Journal,* 28 (6), pp. 552-570.

Manning, P.K. (1970) 'Talking and Becoming: A View of Organizational Socialization'. In: J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Marshall, A. (1920) *Principles of economics : an introductory volume*. 8th ed. London: Macmillan.

Martin, B. (2003) *Konstantin Stanislavsky*. New York: Routledge.

Martinez-Inigo, D., Totterdell, P., Alcover, C.M. & Holman, D. (2007) 'Emotional Labour and Emotional Exhaustion: Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Mechanisms', *Work and Stress,* 21 (1), pp. 30-47.

Maslow, A.H. (1954) *Motivation and Personality*. Third edition ed. New York: Addison-Wesley Longman.

Mason, C. & Stark, M. (2004) 'What do Investors Look for in a Business Plan? A Comparison of the Investment Criteria of Bankers, Venture Capitalists and Business Angels', *International Small Business Journal; London,* 22; 3 pp. 227-248.

Mason, C.M. & Harrison, R.T. (2004) 'Improving Access to Early Stage Venture Capital in Regional Economies: A New Approach
to Investment Readiness', *Local Economy,* 19 (2), pp. 159-173.

Masters, R. & Meier, R. (1988) 'Sex Differences and Risk-Taking Propensity of Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Small Business Management; Milwaukee,* 26 (1), p. 31.

Mauthner, N.S. & Doucet, A. (2003) 'Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis', *Sociology,* 37 (3), pp. 413-431.

Mayer, J.D. & Caruso, D.R. (2002) 'The effective leader: Understanding and applying emotional intelligence', *Ivy Business Journal,* Nov/Dec pp. 1-5.

Mayer, R.C., Davis, J.H. & Schoorman, F.D. (1995) 'An Integrative Model of Organisational Trust', *Academy of Management Review,* 20 (3), pp. 709-734.

Mazhindu, D.M. (2003) 'Ideal Nurses: The Social Construction of Emotional Labour', *European Journal of Psychtherapy, Counselling and Health,* 6 (3), pp. 243-262.

McClelland, D.C. (1961) "Entrepreneurial behaviour' and 'Characteristics of Entrepreneurs". In: S. Shane (ed.), *The foundations of entrepreneurship.* 2000 edn, vol. 1, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 205-595.

Mead, G.H. (1912) 'The Mechanism of Social Consciousness', *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods,* 9 (15), pp. 401-406.

Mead, G.H. (1913) 'The Social Self', *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods,* 10 (14), pp. 374-380.

Mead, G.H. (1925) 'The Genesis of the Self and Social Control', *International Journal of Ethics,* 35 (3), pp. 251-277.

Messinger, S.L., Sampson, H. & Towne, R.D. (1962) 'Life as Theater: Some Notes on the Dramaturgic Approach to Social Reality', *Sociometry,* 25 (1), pp. 98-110.

Miles, P.K. & Morris, J.H. (1986) 'Clients as "Partial" Employees of Service Organizations: Role Development in Client Participation', *Academy of Management Review,* 11 (4), pp. 726-736.

Miller, D. (1983) 'The Correlates of Entrepreneurship in Three Types of Firms', *Management Science,* 29 (7), pp. 770-791.

Miller, K. (2002) 'The Experience of Emotion in the Workplace: Professing in the Midst of Tragedy', *Management Communication Quarterly : McQ. Thousand Oaks,* 15 (4), pp. 571-600.

Mills, C.W. (1940) 'Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive', *American Sociological Review,* 5 (6), pp. 904-913.

Mintzberg, H. & Waters, J.A. (1982) 'Tracking strategy in an entrepreneurial firm', *Academy of Management Journal,* 25 (3), pp. 465-499.

Mirchandani, K. (2003) 'Challenging Racial Silences in Studies of Emotion Work: Contributions from Anti-Racist Feminist Theory', *Organization Studies,* 24 (5), pp. 721-742.

Misztal, B.A. (2001) 'Normality and Trust in Goffman's Theory of Interaction Order', *Sociological Theory,* 19 (3), pp. 312-324.

Moallem, M. (1999) 'The Immigrant Experience: Affective and Effective Spheres and Issues of Race and Gender', *Soundings,* (11), pp. 159-166.

Morgan, G. & Smircich, L. (1980) 'The Case for Qualitative Research', *Academy of Management Review,* 5 (4), pp. 491-500.

Morris, A.J. & Feldman, D.C. (1996) 'The Dimensions, Antecedents, and Consequences of Emotional Labor', *Academy of Management Review,* 21 (4), pp. 986-1010.

Morris, C.W. (ed.) (1962) *Works of George Herbert Mead: Mind, Self, & Society from the standpoint of a Social Behaviourist.* vol. 1. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Morris, M.H., Lewis, P.S. & Sexton, D.L. (1994) 'Reconceptualizing Entrepreneurship: An Input-Output Perspective', *S.A.M. Advanced Management Journal,* 59 (1), pp. 21-31.

Mulholland, K. (2002) 'Gender, Emotional Labour and Teamworking in a Call Centre', *Personnel Review; Farnborough,* 31 (3), pp. 283-303.

Murdoch, S. (1999) *The Representation and Transmission of Corporate Culture: A Theoretical and Empirical Discussion of 'Corporate Image'.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. Manchester University.

Murdoch, S. (2010) *Personal Communication.* 9 December 2010. London

Neace, M.B. (1999) 'Entrepreneurs in Emerging Economies: Creating Trust, Social Capital, and Civil Society', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 565 (Civil Society and Democratization), pp. 148-161.

Neergaard, H. (2005) 'Networking Activities in Technology-based Entrepreneurial Teams', *International Small Business Journal,* 23 (3), pp. 257-278.

Nguyen, T.V. & Rose, J. (2009) 'Building Trust-Evidence from Vietnamese Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 24 (2), pp. 165-182.

Noon, M. & Blyton, P. (1997) 'Emotion Work'. In, *Realities of Work.* Basingstoke: MacMillan.

Nuttall, J. (2004) 'Modes of interpersonal relationship in management organisations', *Journal of Change Management,* 4 (1), pp. 15-29.

O'Donnell, A., Gilmore, A., Cummins, D. & Carson, D. (2001) 'The Network Construct in Entrepreneurship Research: A Review and Critique', *Management Decision,* 39 (9), pp. 749-760.

Oatley, K. (1993) 'Social Construction in Emotions'. In: M. Lewis & J.M. Haviland (eds), *Handbook of Emotion.* New York: The Guilford Press, pp. 341-352.

Ogbonna, E. & Harris, L.C. (2004) 'Work Intensification and Emotional Labour among UK University lecturers: An Exploratory Study', *Organization Studies,* 25 (7), pp. 1185-1203.

Ogbonna, E. & Wilkinson, B. (1990) 'Corporate Strategy and Corporate Culture: The View from the Checkout', *Personnel Review,* 19 (4), pp. 9-15.

Ogbor, J.O. (2000) 'Mythicizing and Reification in Entrepreneurial Discourse: Ideology-critique of Entrepreneurial Studies', *The Journal of Management Studies; Oxford,* 37 (5), pp. 605-635.

Olkkonen, M.-E. & Lipponen, J. (2006) 'Relationships Between Organizational Justice, Identifcation with Organization and Work Unit, and Group-related Outcomes', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes,* 100 pp. 202-215.

Ortony, A., Clore, G.L. & Collins, A. (1988) *The Cognitive Structure of Emotion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Osnabrugge, M.V. (1998) 'Do serial and non-serial investors behave differently?: An empirical and theoretical analysis', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice; ET&P; Waco,* 22 (4), pp. 23-42.

Pachucki, M.A. & Breiger, R.L. (2010) 'Cultural Holes: Beyond Relationality in Social Networks and Culture', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 36 (1), pp. 205-224.

Paperman, P. (2003) 'Surveillance Underground: The Uniform As An Interaction Device', *Ethnography,* 4 (3), pp. 397-419.

Parhankangas, A. & Landstrom, H. (2004) 'Responses to Psychological Contract Violations in the Venture Capitalist-Entrepreneur Relationship: An Exploratory Study', *Venture Capital,* 6 (4), pp. 217-242.

Patton, M.Q. (1987) *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation.* Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Peccei, R. & Rosenthal, P. (2000) 'Front-line Responses to Customer Orientation Programmes: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis', *International Journal of Human Resource Management,* 11 (3), pp. 562-590.

Penrose, E.T. (1959) *The Theory of the Firm.* Blackwell.

Perinbanayagam, R.S. (1974) 'The Definition of the Situation: An Analysis of the Ethnomethodological and Dramaturgical View', *The Sociological Quarterly,* 15 (4), pp. 521-541.

Pfuetze, P.E. (1961) *Self, Society, Existence: Human Nature and Dialogue in the Thought of George Herbert Mead and Martin Buber.* New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Piaget, J. (1950) *The Psychology of Intelligence.* London: Routledge.

Pierce, J.L. (1999) 'Emotional Labor Among Paralegals', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 (January), pp. 127-142.

Powell, E., H. (1962) 'Beyond Utopia: The "Beat generation" as a challenge for the sociology of knowledge'. In: R.M. Arnold (ed.), *Human behaviour and social processes: An interactionist approach.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 360-377.

Powell, J.D. & Bimmerle, C.F. (1980) 'A Model of Entrepreneurship: Moving Toward Precision and Complexity', *Journal of Small Business Management,* 18 (1), pp. 33-36.

Prasad, P. (1993) 'Symbolic Processes in the Implementation of Technological Change: A Symbolic Interactionist Study of Work Computerization', *Academy of Management Journal,* 36 (6), pp. 1400-1429.

Price, H. (2001) 'Emotional Labour in the Classroom: A Psychoanalytic Perspective', *Journal of Social Work Practice,* 15 (2), pp. 161-180.

Rafaeli, A. (1989) 'When Cashiers Meet Customers: An Analysis of the Role of Supermarket Cashiers', *Academy of Management Journal,* 32 (2), pp. 245-273.

Rafaeli, A. & Pratt, M.G. (1993) 'Tailored Meanings: On the Meaning and Impact of Organizational Dress', *Academy of Management Review,* 18 (1), pp. 32-55.

Rafaeli, A. & Sutton, R.I. (1987) 'Expression of Emotion as part of the Work Role', *The Academy of Management Review,* 12 (1), pp. 23-37.

Rafaeli, A. & Sutton, R.I. (1990) 'Busy Stores and Demanding Customers: How Do They Affect the Display of Positive Emotion?', *Academy of Management Journal,* 33 (3), p. 623.

Rao, H. & Sivakumar, K. (1999) 'Institutional Sources of Boundary-Spanning Structure: The Establishment of Investor Relations Departments in the Fortune 500 Industrials', *Organization Science,* 10 (1), pp. 27-42.

Raz, A. (2005) 'A Note on Inter-viewing: Using Symbolic Interactionism For Interview Analysis', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction,* 28 pp. 323-339.

Renzulli, L.A. & Aldrich, H. (2005) 'Who Can You Turn To? Tie Activation within Core Business Discussion Networks', *Social Forces,* 84 (1), pp. 323-341.

Roach, J.R. (1985) *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*. London: Associated University Presses.

Rose, A. (1962a) 'Preface'. In: A. Rose (ed.), *Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach.* London: Routledge.

Rose, A. (1962b) 'A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory'. In: A. Rose (ed.), *Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach.* London: Routledge.

Rose, A.M. (1945) 'A Research Note on Experimentation in Interviewing', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 51 (2), pp. 143-144.

Rose, K. & Webb, C. (1998) 'Analyzing Data: Maintaining Rigor in a Qualitative Study', *Qualitative Health Research,* 8 (4), pp. 556-562.

Rosenberg, M. (1990) 'Refexivity and Emotions', *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 53 (1), pp. 3-12.

Rosenthal, P. (2004) 'Management Control as an Employee Resource: The Case of Front-line Service Workers', *Journal of Management Studies,* 41 (4), pp. 601-622.

Ross, L. & Nisbett, R.E. (1991) *The Person and the Situation: Perspectives of Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Rotter, J.B. (1966) 'Generalized Expectations for Internal Versus External Control or Reinforcement', *Psychological Monographs,* 80 (1), pp. 1-28.

Rutherford, M.W., Buller, P.F. & Stebbins, J.M. (2009) 'Ethical Considerations of the Legitimacy Lie', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 33 (4), pp. 949-964.

Salamon, E.D. (1989) 'The Homosexual Escort Agency: Deviance Disavowal', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 40 (1), pp. 1-21.

Salovey, P. & Mayer, J.D. (1990) 'Emotional Intelligence', *Imagination, Cognition and Personality,* 9 (3), pp. 185-211.

Sandberg, W.R., Schweiger, D.M. & Hofer, C.W. (1988) 'The Use of Verbal Protocols in Determining Venture Capitalists' Decision Processes', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 13 (2), pp. 8-20.

Sapienza, H.J. & Korsgaard, M.A. (1996) 'Procedural Justice in Entrepreneur-Investor Relations', *Academy of Management Journal,* 39 (3), pp. 544-574.

Schafer, R. (1976) *A New Language for Psychoanalysis*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schafer, R.B. (1974) 'Exchange and Symbolic Interaction: A Further Analysis of Convergence', *The Pacific Sociological Review,* 17 (4), pp. 417-434.

Schatzman, L. & Strauss, A.L. (1973) *Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Scheff, T.J. (1988) 'Shame and Conformity: The Deference-Emotion System', *American Sociological Review,* 53 (3), pp. 395-406.

Schelling, T.C. (1978) 'Egonomics, of the Art of Self-Management', *Papers and Proceedings of the Ninetieth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association* 68 (2), pp. 290-294.

Schilit, W.K. (1987) 'How to Obtain Venture Capital', *Business Horizons; Bloomington,* 30 (3), pp. 76-81.

Schoorman, F.D., Mayer, R.C. & Davis, J.H. (2007) 'An Integrative Model of Organizational Trust: Past, Present, and Future', *Academy of Management Review,* 32 (2), pp. 344-354.

Schreyogg, G. & Hopfl, H. (2004) 'Theatre and Organization: Editorial introduction', *Organization Studies,* 25 (2), pp. 691-704.

Schumpeter, J.A. (1934) *The Theory of Economic Development*. Cambridge, M.A: Harvard University Press.

Sexton, D.L. & Bowman, N. (1985) 'The Entrepreneur: A Capable Executive and More', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 1 (1), pp. 129-140.

Seymour, D. (2000) 'Emotional Labour: A Comaprison Between Fast Food and Traditional Service Work', *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* 19 (2), pp. 159-171.

Sharpe, E.K. (2005) '"Going Above and Beyond:" The Emotional Labor of Adventure Guides', *Journal of Leisure Research,* 37 (1), pp. 29-50.

Sharrock, W.W. & Watson, R. (1984) 'What's The Point of 'Rescuing Motives'?', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 35 (3), pp. 435-451.

Shaw, E., O'Loughlin, A. & McFadzean, E. (2005) 'Corporate Entrepreneurship and Innovation Part 2: A Role and Process Based Approach', *European Journal of Innovation Management,* 8 (4), pp. 393-408.

Shepherd, D.A. & Cardon, M.S. (2009) 'Negative Emotional Reactions to Project Failure and the Self-Compassion to Learn from the Experience', *Journal of Management Studies,* 46 (6), pp. 923-949.

Shepherd, D.A. & Zacharakis, A. (2001) 'The Venture Capitalist–Entrepreneur Relationship: Control, Trust and Confidence in Co-operative Behaviour', *Venture Capital,* 3 (2), pp. 129-149.

Shibutani, T. (1955) 'Reference Groups as Perspectives', *American Journal of Sociology,* 60 pp. 562-569.

Shott, S. (1979) 'Emotion and Social Life: A Symbolic Interactionist Analysis', *American Journal of Sociology,* 84 (6), pp. 1317-1334.

Shuler, S. & Sypher, B.D. (2000) 'Seeking Emotional Labor', *Management Communication Quarterly : McQ; Thousand Oaks,* 14 (1), pp. 50-89.

Sims, D., Fineman, S. & Gabriel, Y. (1993) *Organizing and Organizations: Introduction.* London: Sage

Sitkin, S.B. & Roth, N.L. (1993) 'Explaining the Limited Effectiveness of Legalistic "Remedies" for Trust/Distrust', *Organization Science,* 4 (3), pp. 367-392.

Smilor, R.W. (1997) 'Entrepreneurship: Reflections on a Subversive Activity', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 12 (5), pp. 341-346.

Smith, P. (1992) *The Emotional Labour of Nursing.* London: Macmillan.

Smith, P. (2003) 'Emotional Labour Trends in Nursing, Medicine and Health Care 1983-2003', *98th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association Conference.*

Smith, P. & Gray, B. (2001) 'Emotional labour of Nursing Revisited: Caring and Learning 2000', *Nurse Education In Practice,* 1 (1), pp. 42-49.

Smith, P. & Lorentzon, M. (2005) 'Is Emotional Labour Ethical?', *Nursing Ethics,* 12 (6), pp. 638–642.

Speier, M. (1970) 'The Everyday World of the Child'. In: J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Spicer, A. & Jones, C. (2006) 'Towards a Critical Theory of Entrepreneur', *European Group of Organization Studies Conference.*

Stanislavski, C. (1963) *An Actor's Handbook: An Alphabetical Arrangement of Concise Statements on Aspects of Acting.* trans. E.R. Hapgood, New York:

Staske, S.A. (1996) 'Talking Feelings: The Collaborative Construction of Emotion in Talk Between Close Relational Partners', *Symbolic Interaction,* 19 (2), pp. 111-135.

Steinberg, R.J. & Figart, D.M. (1999a) 'Emotional Demands at Work: A job content analysis', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 (Emotional Labour in the Service Economy), pp. 177-191.

Steinberg, R.J. & Figart, D.M. (1999b) 'Emotional labour since The Managed Heart', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 pp. 8-26.

Steiner, H. (1984) 'A Liberal Theory of Exploitation', *Ethics,* 94 (2), pp. 225-241.

Stenross, B. & Kleinmann, S. (1989) 'The Highs and Lows of Emotional Labor: Detectives' Encounters with Criminals and Victims', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 17 (4), pp. 435-452.

Stevenson, H.H. & Jarillo, J.C. (1990) 'A paradigm of entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial management', *Strategic Management Journal,* 11 pp. 17-27.

Steyaert, C. (1998) 'A qualitative methodology for process studies of entrepreneurship: Creating local knowledge through stories', *International Studies of Management and Organisation,* 27 (3), pp. 13-33.

Stokes, D. (2000) 'Putting Entrepreneurship into Marketing: The Processes of Entrepreneurial Marketing', *Journal of Research in Marketing and Entrepreneurship,* 2 (1), pp. 1-16.

Stone, M.M. & Brush, C.G. (1996) 'Planning in Ambiguous Contexts: The Dilemma of Meeting Needs for Commitment and Demands for Legitimacy', *Strategic Management Journal,* 17 (8), pp. 633-652.

Stough, R.R. (2008) 'The Entrepreneurship - Development Nexus'. In: Z.J. Acs & R.R. Stough (eds), *Public Policy in an Entrepreneurial Economy: Creating the Conditions for Business Growth.* New York: Springer pp. 255-279.

Strauss, A. (1978) 'A Social World Perspective', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction,* 1 pp. 119-128.

Strauss, A. (1982) 'Social Worlds and Legitimation Processes', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction,* 4 pp. 171-190.

Strauss, A.L. (1993) *Continual Permutations of Action.* Hawthorne, New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Strauss, A.L. (1997) *Mirrors and Masks: The Search For Identity.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A.L., Fagerhaugh, S., Suczek, B. & Wiener, C. (1982a) 'Sentimental Work in the Technologized Hospital', *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 4 (3), pp. 254-278.

Strauss, A.L., Fagerhaugh, S., Suczek, B. & Wiener, C. (1982b) 'The Work of Hospitalized Patients', *Social Science and Medicine,* 16 (9), pp. 977-986.

Stuart, T.E., Hoang, H. & Hybels, R.C. (1999) 'Interorganizational Endorsements and the Performance of Entrepreneurial Ventures', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 44 (2), pp. 315-349.

Sturdy, A. (1998) 'Customer Care in a Consumer Society: Smiling and Sometimes Meaning it?', *Organization,* 5 (1), pp. 27-53.

Suchman, M.C. (1995) 'Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches', *Academy of Management Review,* 20 (3), pp. 571-610.

Suddaby, R. & Greenwood, R. (2005) 'Rhetorical Strategies of Legitimacy', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 50 (1), pp. 35-67.

Sumner, W.G. (1906) *Folk-Ways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs Mores, and Morals.* New York: Mentor Books.

Sutton, R.I. (1991) 'Maintaining Norms About Expressed Emotions: The Case of Bill Collectors', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 36 (2), pp. 245-268.

Sutton, R.I. & Rafaeli, A. (1988) 'Untangling the Relationship Between Displayed Emotions and Organizational Sales: The Case of Convenience Stores', *Academy of Management Journal,* 31 (3), pp. 461-487.

Swedberg, R. (2000) *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Symon, G., Cassell, C. & Dickson, R. (2002) 'Expanding our research and practice through innovative research methods', *European Journal of Work & Organisational Psychology,* 9 (4), pp. 457-462.

Tannenbaum, A.S. (1966) *Social Psychology of the Work Organisation.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Taylor, S. (1998) 'Emotional Labour and the New Workplace'. In: C. Warhurst & P. Thompson (eds), *Workplaces of the Future.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Taylor, S. & Tyler, M. (2000) 'Emotional Labour and Sexual Difference in the Airline Industry', *Work, Employment and Society,* 14 (1), pp. 77-95.

Thoits, P.A. (1999) 'Introduction to the Special Issue: Sociological Contributions to the Understanding of Emotion', *Motivation and Emotion,* 23 (2), pp. 67-71.

Thrift, N. (2001) ''It's the Romance, Not the Finance, That Makes The Business Worth Pursuing': Disclosing a New Market Culture', *Economy and Society,* 30 (4), pp. 412-432.

Tidd, J., Bessant, J. & Pavitt, K. (2001) *Managing Innovation: Integrating Technological Market and Organizational Change*. Second Edition ed. Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.

Tietze, S. (2005) 'Discourse as Strategic Coping Resource: Managing the Interface between "Home" and "Work"', *Journal of Organizational Change Management,* 18 (1), pp. 48-62.

Tillmar, M. (2006) 'Swedish Tribalism and Tanzanian Entrepreneurship: Preconditions for Trust Formation', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development,* 18 (2), pp. 91-107.

Timmons, J.A. & Gumpert, D.E. (1982) 'Discard Many Old Rules About Getting Venture Capital', *Harvard Business Review; Boston,* 60 (1), p. 152.

Timmons, J.A. & Spinelli, S. (2004) *New Venture Creation: Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century*. 6th ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill Irwin.

Timmons, S. & Tanner, J. (2005) 'Operating theatre nurses: Emotional labour and the hostess role', *International Journal of Nursing Practice,* 11 (2), pp. 85-91.

Tolich, M.B. (1993) 'Alienating and Liberating Emotions at Work', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 22 (3), pp. 361-381.

Tornikoski, E.T. & Newbert, S.L. (2007) 'Exploring the Determinants of Organizational Emergence: A Legitimacy Perspective', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 22 (2), pp. 311-335.

Tracy, S.J. (2000) 'Becoming a Character for Commerce: Emotional Labor, Self-subordination, and Discursive Construction of Identity in a Total Institution', *Management Communication Quarterly* 14 (1), pp. 90-128.

Tremblay, M.-A. (1957) 'The Key Informant Technique: A Nonethnographic Application', *American Anthropologist,* 59 (4), pp. 688-701.

Tseelon, E. (1992) 'Is the Presented Self Sincere? Goffman, Impression Management and the Postmodern Self', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 9 (2), pp. 115-128.

Tudor, A. (1974) *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Turner, J.L. (1996) 'Conceptual Knowledge and Intuitive Experience: Schlick's Dilemma'. In: R.N. Giere & A.W. Richardson (eds), *Origins of Logical Empiricism.* vol. XVI, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 292-308.

Turner, R. (1976) 'The Real Self: From Institution to Impulse', *American Journal of Sociology,* 81 (5), pp. 989-1016.

Turner, R.H. (2007) 'Role Taking: Process Versus Conformity'. In: D. Brissett & C. Edgley (eds), *Life as Theater: A Dramaturgical Sourcebook.* New Brunswick: AldineTransaction, pp. 85-100.

Turner, V. (1982) *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: PAJ Publications.

Tyler, M. & Abbott, P. (1998) 'Chocs Away: Weight Watching in the Contemporary Airline Industry', *Sociology,* 32 (3), pp. 433-450.

Tyler, M. & Cohen, L. (2010) 'Spaces that Matter: Gender Performativity and Organizational Space', *Organization Studies,* 31 (2), pp. 175-198.

Tyler, M. & Taylor, S. (1998) 'The Exchange of Aesthetics: Women's Work and "The Gift"', *Gender, Work and Organization,* 5 (3), pp. 165-171.

Vannini, P. & Williams, P., J. (eds) (2009) *Authenticity in Culture, Self, and Society.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Waldron, V.R. (2000) 'Relational Experiences and Emotion at Work'. In: S. Fineman (ed.), *Emotion in Organizations.* London: Sage, pp. 64-82.

Watson, R. (1999) 'Reading Goffman on interaction'. In: G. Smith (ed.), *Goffman and Social Organisation: Studies in a sociological legacy.* London: Routledge

Watson, R. (2009) 'Constitutive Practices and Garfinkel's Notion of Trust: Revisited', *Journal of Classical Sociology,* 9 (4), pp. 475-499.

Watson, R. (2010) *Personal Communication.* 7 July 2010. Manchester.

Watson, T.J. (1980) *Sociology, Work and Industry.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Webb, J.W., Tihanyi, L., Ireland, R.D. & Sirmon, D.G. (2009) 'You Say Illegal, I Say Legitimate: Entrepreneurship in the Informal Economy', *Academy of Management Review,* 34 (3), pp. 492-510.

Weber, C. & Gobel, M. (2006) 'Economic Exchange Reciprocity or Social Obligation Reciprocity? Exchange Modalities of Interorganizational Relations in Germany', *Venture Capital,* 8 (4), pp. 303-330.

Weber, C. & Gobel, M. (2010) 'Reciprocity and Interorganizational Governance-A Multicase Analysis of Exchange Systems', *Scandinavian Journal of Management,* 26 (2), pp. 134-150.

Wellington, C.A. & Bryson, J.R. (2001) 'At Face Value? Image Consultancy, Emotional Labour and Professional Work', *Sociology,* 35 (4), pp. 933-946.

Welter, F., Kautonen, T., Chepurenko, A. & Malieva, E. (2004) 'Trust Environments and Entrepreneurial Behavior - Exploratory Evidence from Estonia, Germany and Russia', *Journal of Enterprising Culture,* 12 (4), pp. 327-349.

Welter, F. & Smallbone, D. (2006) 'Exploring the Role of Trust in Entrepreneurial Activity', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 30 (4), pp. 465-475.

Wennekers, S., Uhlaner, L.M. & Thurik, R. (2002) 'Entrepreneurship and its Conditions: A Macro Perspective', *International Journal of Entrepreneurship Education,* 1 (1), pp. 1-40.

West III, P.G. (2003) 'Connecting Levels of Analysis in Entrepreneirship Research: A Focus on Information Processing, Asymmetric Knowledge and Networks'. In: C. Steyaert & D. Hjorth (eds), *New Movements in Entrepreneurship.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 51-70.

Whalen, J. & Zimmerman, D.H. (1998) 'Observations on the Display and Management of Emotion in Naturally Occurring Activities: The Case of "Hysteria" in Calls to 9-1-1', *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 61 (2), pp. 141-159.

Wharton, A.S. (1993) 'The Affective Consequences of Service Work: Managing Emotions on the Job', *Work and Occupations,* 20 (2), pp. 205-232.

Wharton, A.S. (1999) 'The Psychological Consequences of Emotional Labor', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 (1), pp. 158-176.

Wharton, A.S. & Erickson, R.J. (1993) 'Managing Emotions on the Job and at Home: Understanding the Consequences of Multiple Emotional Roles', *Academy of Management Journal,* 18 pp. 457-486.

Wilkinson, G.S. (1974) 'Psychiatric Disorder Dramaturgically Considered', *The Sociological Quarterly,* 15 (1), pp. 143-158.

Williams, C. (2003) 'Sky Service: The Demands of Emotional Labour in the Airline Industry', *Gender, Work and Organization,* 10 (5), pp. 513-550.

Williams, S.J. (1986) 'Appraising Goffman', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 37 (3), pp. 348-369.

Williams, S.J. (1998) 'Modernity and the Emotions: Corporeal Reflections of the (Ir)Rational', *Sociology,* 32 (4), pp. 747-769.

Wilson, T.P. (1970) 'Conceptions of Interaction and Forms of Sociological Explanation ', *American Sociological Review,* 35 (4), pp. 697-710.

Winter, S.J., Saunders, C. & Hart, P. (2003) 'Electronic Window Dressing: impression Management with Websites', *European Journal of Information Systems,* 12 pp. 309-322.

Wood, M.S. & Pearson, J.M. (2009) 'Taken on Faith? The Impact of Uncertainty, Knowledge Relatedness, and Richness of Information on Entrepreneurial Opportunity Exploitation', *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies,* 16 (2), pp. 117-130.

Worsley, P. (1970) *Introducing Sociology*. Middlesex, England: Penguin.

Worsley, P. (ed.) (1991) *Modern Sociology: A Reader* Penguin Books Ltd.

Wouters, C. (1989a) 'The Sociology of Emotions and Flight Attendants: Hochschild's Managed Heart', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 6 (1), pp. 95-123.

Wouters, C. (1989b) 'Response to Hochschild's Reply', *Theory, Culture and Society,* 6 (3), pp. 447-450.

Yeung, H.W.-C. (2002) 'Entrepreneurship in International Business: An Institutional Perspective', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management,* 19 (1), pp. 29-61.

Zahra, S., Hayton, J., Marcel, J. & O'Neill, H. (2001) 'Fostering Entrepreneurship During International Expansion: Managing Key Challenges', *European Management Journal; London,* 19 (4), pp. 359-369.

Zahra, S.A. (2005) 'A Theory of International New Ventures: A Decade of Research', *Journal of International Business Studies,* 36 (1), pp. 20-28.

Zahra, S.A., Yavuz, R.I. & Ucbasaran, D. (2006) 'How Much Do You Trust Me? The Dark Side of Relational Trust in New Business Creation in Established Companies', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 30 (4), pp. 541-559.

Zaleznik, A. (1977) 'Managers and Leaders - Are They Different?', *Harvard Business Review,* 55 (3), pp. 67-78.

Zeng, S.X., Xie, X.M. & Tam, C.M. (2010) 'Relationship Between Cooperation Networks and Innovation Performance of SMEs', *Technovation,* 30 (3), pp. 181-194.

Zhang, Z. & Arvey, R.D. (2009) 'Rule Breaking in Adolescence and Entrepreneurial Status: An Empirical Investigation', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 24 (5), pp. 436-447.

Zider, B. (1998) 'How Venture Capital Works', *Harvard Business Review; Boston,* 76 (6), pp. 131-139.

Zimmerman, D.H. (1970) 'The Practicalities of Rule Use'. In: J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, pp. 221-238.

Zimmerman, M.A. & Zeitz, G.J. (2002) 'Beyond Survival: Achieving New Venture Growth by Building Legitimacy', *Academy of Management Review,* 27 (3), pp. 414-431.

Zott, C. & Huy, Q.N. (2007) 'How Entrepreneurs Use Symbolic Management to Acquire Resources', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 52 (1), pp. 70-105.

Appendices

Appendix A: Invitation for Interview

Brunel University

School of Business and Management

Kingston Lane

Uxbridge

Middlesex, UB8 3PH

Dear (Name)

I am undertaking doctoral research with Brunel University. As part of this research I am talking to entrepreneurs and would appreciate some of your time.

The study is looking at how entrepreneurs manage their emotions during situations where they are seeking support. The main questions asked of the participants in this study will be around the entrepreneurship journey, feelings and emotion management during interactions with others when seeking support for the venture.

I hope that you would want to participate and I will be in touch again, however in the meantime I would appreciate it if you would please contact me at Elizabeth.Shaw@brunel.ac.uk if you are interested.

Thank you for taking the time to read through this invitation and for your anticipated interest.

Looking forward to speaking with you soon.

Yours Sincerely

Elizabeth Shaw

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

I am seeking insight into three main areas; 1) becoming an entrepreneur and the route to your entrepreneural venture, 2) the activities you undertake as an entrepreneur and 3) what this all means to you, and will ask questions around the sort of issues I am interested in as a guide to the discussion. If the converstaion ends up talking about other things that is fine as I am interested in your experiences.

Themes	Questions
Self Conceptualisation Sense of 'becoming' Values True to self? Authenticity of values and emotion in how perform	**Sense of Self** Tell me about your past life up until the time you became an entrepreneur. Both social and professional. How did you become an entrepreneur? Why did you want to become an entrepreneur? Do you feel that you have a high ability for entrepreneurial action? Can you give me an instance where you overcame the odds to show self belief that you were an entrepreneur? What are your values and how do you stick to these through your dealings with others you are seeking support from either internal or external to the company? When your values are compromised, how do you feel? How do you manange? What do you do? How do you stay true to yourself? Do you feel that you are being authentic? Can you give me an instance where you felt you were controlling your own destiny?
Image of society Labels Image of society. Implications for performance Rules of the 'game'	What is your image of society? How do you see society having a role in your decision to becoming an entrepreneur? To setting up a venture? How has your image of society guided your desire to become an

Societies expectations 'Values and struggles'	entrepreneur? How has it guided how you act as an entrepreneur? Where there any ocassions where you felt your values were at odds with what others wanted? With society? With what you needed to do?
Activities Knowledge of idea/business/industry Route to entrepreneurial venture/Now and past activities/ Interactions and Events Intentions, plans and individual's expectations Judgments and Choices made Control Performance **Relationships** Support - who/action/what/usefulness Social life – Family, Significant others, Group/individual, Gender Role of Others - opinion/decision-making, legitimation Ownership Supporters expectations	**Details of experience: (interaction)** Can you give me an account your experience as an entrepreneur? What is your work? What do you actually do on the job? What is it like for you to do what you do? Can you reconstruct a period where you were seeking support, from the moment you decided you needed support to the time you were given or not given the support you sought? Who had control in the situation? How did you feel about this? What did you do about how you felt? How was this feeling expressed? Would you manage and express this feeling in the same way in a different situation? How do you put forward an authentic performance during interactions? One that is expected of you as an entrepreneur? How does your positive belief facilitate how you act during interactions? When things go wrong, what do you do? How do you feel? Can you give me an account of how you gain legitimacy? Negotiate? Control the situation? How did you feel about this? What did you do about how you felt? How do your employees see you? How do you manipulate that? How do you manage that interface? Do you present a persona? How do you manage that? How does ownership of your venture affect how you feel during interactions where you are seeking support? How do investors react to you? What are they looking for in you as an entrepreneur? What do they do? What do they say? How does

| | your image or appearance affect your relationship with others? How does it affect how you put yourself forward as a legitimate and authentic entrepreneur?

Do you feel that gender/social class has any implications for how you develop relationships?

Can you give me an account of a situation where you were in discussion with others and you had to overcome some barriers? How did you feel? How did you manage these feelings? Did they show? Did you alter how you felt? Would you manage and express this feeling in the same way in a different situation?

Can you give me an instance of where you were dealing with an investor or other person and you had to hide your feelings? Why? What did you do to hide your feelings? How do you feel that what you do here with regards to your emotions guides their evaluation of your performance?

During the development of your business venture what support do you have? From people around you? From family? From friends? How do you engage them? How do you manage their expectations? |
|---|---|
| **Emotion Management**
Emotion
How expressed
General level of energy
Others control

Self as Entrepreneur
(p/o self conceptualisation wrap up) | **Reflection on the meaning**
Can you tell me what emotion means to you?

Given what you have said about your life before becoming an entrepreneur and given what you have said now about your entrepreneurial activities, how do you understand how you manage your emotions when interacting with others? What does it mean to you (in the workplace)? What sense does it make to you?

How does your emotion management facilitate an authentic performance?

Can you tell me what the label entrepreneur means to you? Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur? |

Appendix C: Example Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Thank you for agreeing to share your experiences with me. I'm looking at three main areas: Becoming an entrepreneur and the route of your entrepreneur venture; the activities you undertake as an entrepreneur; and what it all means to you. So those are three big areas. I'll ask you some guiding questions, but you can talk about what you want to talk about. If there's something you're not comfortable talking about then stop.

Interviewee: Yeah, sure.

Interviewer: If you want stop and have another tea or anything just let me know.

Interviewee: I'll fall asleep half way through. [laughter]

Interviewer: Anything you like. Ok, so if you wouldn't mind, tell me about your past life up until you became an entrepreneur.

Interviewee: I started this company with two other friends, directly out of university. So I went to university and I didn't really know what I wanted to do in life. I knew after the first year that I definitely didn't want to be a programmer. I was doing computer science with other computer sciences and I thought, *"No, this definitely, definitely isn't the right thing for me."* I latched onto Defense and Security a bit and joined the MOD. I was doing placements with the MOD during the summer. Then we started the firm. Literally, we took a year out and that was it. So we were straight into the company directly out of university. I then went back to the MOD and carried on with Introversion in my spare time, probably for about maybe four years or something. So we started the firm in, it would have been 2001. And then I started full time at the beginning of 2007. So for the other time I was kind of with the MOD and running a business in my spare time. Then figured out that something had to give. I just couldn't do both and decided that there would always be a big Ministry of Defense that I could go back to if it all went wrong. But I felt that the opportunity to be an entrepreneur was probably one off for me personally and I wanted to make a real go of it. That's probably... I don't remember what the question was now.

Interviewer: It was tell me about your past life before you became an entrepreneur. So was there anything in your background that brought you to this particular point?

Interviewee: Well, I suppose personally I always struggled a lot with authority. Especially when authority figures would ask me to do something that I completely disagreed with. So, for me, the desire to escape that and the desire to be able to work within an environment with friends, but highly intelligent, very capable, and able friends that did a lot of work, was probably the driving factor and that's still the driving factor why I do it. Because there are a lot of headaches with running your own business. There's a lot of stress. It's a very tiring and stressful existence. But the one thing that I don't have and the one thing that I fear a bit in my darkest moments when I think the firm might not make it, I think, *"Oh God, how am I actually going to cope going back into the real world, when people say go and do this, go and go and do that and I know it's..."* I don't know, but I personally believe it to be nonsense and I have always struggled to do that. So I think that that's really the kind of... I don't know what the right word is. It's not the driving motivator because I am very proud of what we have done and what we are building and that's probably the thing that keeps me going the most. But my biggest fear about not running the firm would be going back and having to have a boss. That sounds crazy doesn't it? But that's why I do it I suppose.

Interviewer: [laughs] If I just go back, you had said, *"Go back into the real world..."*

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: So what do you mean by that?

Interviewee: Well, I don't know, just the 9:00 to 5:00. That's the other thing. I never wanted to do a nine to five, ever. I was heading to the suburban, keeping up with the Jonses, buying a car, and I don't want to use the word, but being 'normal.' Just working your way up through the grind and earning a little bit more money next year. So many friends that I've got from mainstream just don't like their jobs. They really don't like it. They find it very frustrating. They find management to be a real pain. It's almost like they're suffering for 40 hours a week. So when you run your own business, well you are

also suffering, but in a different way. You know that you're working towards a particular goal or objective and that's very fulfilling. So I suppose that's what I mean by 'The real world.' Sometimes it feels like you're in quite a bit of a bubble when you're running a firm.

Interviewer: Also, still going back to something you said earlier. You said that there's a lot of stress around running your own venture. What do you mean by that sort of stress? What do you feel like?

Interviewee: Well, it never stops. It never goes away. That's the biggest problem. I liken it to when you're a student and you know you have your exams coming at the end of the year and you can never really quite get that out of your head. Even when you're partying away on a Saturday night, you know that come end of the year, you've got exams to do. And that never stops. For me personally, it's the same with the company all the time. There are a multitude of problems that the business faces on any particular day from trivial stuff like whose going to empty the bins or to more serious but banal issues. For example, *"Are we complying with the health and safety procedure, where is the hardware going to come from if someone's computer blows up? Where are we going to get the next computer from?"* Those kinds of things all the way through to operational issues which I would describe as, where are we on this project, are we meeting our milestones, is everyone fully resourced and engaged. So those kinds of middling issues, all the way up to ground strategic. *"What is the future of this organization? What is it that we do? What are we good at? What are we not so good at? What do we want the future to be for us? What does that mean to us personally as well?"* There's an awful a lot of personal engagement and commitment. That's why the four directors do it because for other people there, they enjoy their job and they're paid their money. But for us, we could be earning a lot more money in the city so there's a lot of personal preference. I mean, that's why as an entrepreneur you do it, to live a lifestyle that you're comfortable with. And of course, the four different directors, each have different personal objectives in their life. So reconciling those personal objectives along with the marketplace, the way the industry is moving, and our ability to adapt and cope and move forward. That's the kind of ground strategic problem that you have. So at any point in my mind I'm worried about one or the

other of those particular two. Worried, perhaps is not quite the right word but concerned, thinking about it. Like I say, it never really stops. You can be in the cinema and think *"I've just solved that problem."* I think that's probably where, for me, a majority of the stress comes from the fact that it's just on you all the time. You don't have the luxury of saying *"Oh, I missed that."* Sometimes you don't have the luxury of saying you missed that deadline. Certainly when you're starting out. It's such a fragile thing, running a business is so fragile. Nobody knows who you are at all, in the industry that you're operating in, or the bank, the people that you're dealing with. Nobody has a clue. So the first steps you take have to be perfect. You might have one chance in our business to get your game in front of a guy that that needs to see it to give you that leg up. Which means that when you get that five minutes with that guy, that demo has to be absolutely perfect. I can tell game developers that are going to be successful from the ones that aren't, from the ones that sends me a demo that works and the ones that sends me 15, none of which work. Because I'll look at the first one and then I'm off, right. So if you haven't achieved that kind of... I want to say perfect execution but it's not. It's kind of sometimes you need everything to fall in place and be right. And you don't have any fallback. That's definitely more so when you're starting up. So for us now, for instance, we've got a very strong reputation within the games industry. People know us, people like the games, the games have always scored very highly. So for us now, we don't need to worry quite so much about that. We're given a little bit of slack so we can make a few more mistakes. So that's not quite as tense as it once was. I suppose the challenge now is, I was saying before, looking forward and how do we grow from where we are.

Interviewer: Ok, thanks. Can I pick up on a few things?

Interviewee: Yes. Of course you can, yes.

Interviewer: Interesting you talked about 'Tense,' 'Concerned' How did that feel and how did you move forward with that feeling?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: You said it's tense, you have to get in front of someone and be legitimate, and it's got to be right the first time. What were the feelings?

Interviewee: I found it quite exciting, actually. I found it quite invigorating. It's a bit like the West Wing, when they're always working, they're always having meetings in corridors and things. I get a bit of a buzz off of that requirement. I'm happy to be up late at night working on something, as were the rest of the team. It's not so much now, now that families and people are married and things, the commitment is definitely dropping. But at the start we were all like that. We were all firing on all cylinders and that felt really good. So although there was a pressure there, the highs that you would get after finally nailing a meeting with a guy, sitting down with the demo, the guy looking at it and going *"Yeah, ok. We're going to take it,"* those moments were more than enough to compensate for the hard work and the stress and the tension you were putting in before. I think a massive part of being an entrepreneur is just being able to handle that stress and that pressure and turn it into something positive.

I think public speaking is probably the area that I felt most uncomfortable with when I first started. That would be like a week of feeling terrible, right. You'd feel sick, you'd wake up in a cold sweat in the middle of the night knowing that something was going to go wrong on stage. That you were going to be mocked and all the rest of it. But that's definitely the worst stress that I've felt. But I believed that we needed to do it for the business. So you knuckle down and get on with it. You know, give your presentation, and then I quite enjoyed it. Well I did later, and some of the other guys don't.

But yeah, I think the stress was never debilitating. But just sort of something that was there. But driving you forward, because you were concentrating on why are we doing this. Well, we're doing this because this guy's from Microsoft, so if he likes us, if he likes this game, then we might get packaged with the next version of Windows, which would be enormous. So let's get it right. The excitement of doing that deal would override the pressure and the nerves of meeting the guy, and having a beer. Is he going to like me or is he not going to like me? Those kind of concerns.

Interviewer: You've said a lot of interesting things, so I'm going to ask a few more questions. It's fantastic. You said that you handled pressure and you turned it into something positive. What was the process of turning that pressure into something positive from your feeling perspective?

Interviewee: I don't think there's anything magical or mystical about it. It's just, for me, I would just start working. So you're feeling pressure, you know this meeting's coming up. Even now I've got this meeting with a bank manager in a couple of weeks. And I'm thinking in my mind, so now I've got to get a cash flow done. It's just about knowing that you've got this work to do and getting on with the work. And then trying to control your emotional state a little bit. Trying, despite what I said before, trying to switch off. You know, trying to say, *"Well you've done all the work now. You've done it, you've checked it. It's right, you're happy with it. There's nothing more you can do, so just stop. It doesn't matter what you're feeling, you've got to just stop now and then get out of bed tomorrow morning, bright and early."* It's a bit like exams. I think that's probably a lot of the way that operate is from pressurised exam periods. When it's exactly the same thing, you've got all this stress coming up to a particular event. You plan your revision timetable, you stick to your revision then you finish. I wasn't a crammer. I would finish at a certain time, try and get a good night's sleep, and then perform on the day. The same thing is true with managing the stress of dealing with business people or interactions, or whatever it is. I mean, generally the stress comes from convincing someone else to help you. But doing stuff internally shouldn't be too stressful, you know. Because it's supposed to be your staff so they're supposed to do what you tell them. I know management's a whole act but it shouldn't be too stressful going into work and dealing with your teams. It's more external people that you need to work with. So I don't think anything more advanced than trying to channel the nervous energy. Make sure you do whatever you need to do, make sure you check it, and then make sure you don't do anything else.

Interviewer: Tell me for the business you highlighted there. I guess the question is around the fact that you own the business. Do you handle your feelings any differently than if you didn't manage the business and you were working for someone else?

Interviewee: Yeah, definitely.

Interviewer: How?

Interviewee: Well, yeah I think so because firstly, there's a big emotional engagement with the work that we've done over time. I now associate my personal ability to succeed with the company's success. I associate myself quite closely with that actually. So if the business were to fail, I would definitely consider myself to have failed. I would consider that that was my fault for allowing the business to fall over for whatever reason. It wouldn't matter. Whatever reason it was, I consider that I hadn't anticipated that eventuality occurring, or I haven't created the process and places for somebody else to anticipate that eventuality and bring that to our attention and for our ability to solve it. Probably even if the Directors all went in four directions for personal reasons, I'd still blame myself for not foreseeing that. So I very closely identify myself with the success of the business which then has a knuckle effect. That's why I care so much about the whole gamete of operations, everything the company is doing. If I didn't own the business, if I was just an employee, I would care about my environment and the project that I was working on but coming about what I was saying before, projects can be cut, the budgets could be pulled away and our deadlines can be chopped in half. I went through all of this at the MOD. I'd be working on something and you would see projects and they would talk about, the government said that *"Oh we might drop future carrier or something"*. You think that there are 500 people all working on that project and the government would go [snaps finger] bang. And these people have been working on it for 10 years.

So work can just be immediately thrown away so I think when you're not in total control of a business, you're always aware, or I would be, that there's only so much that you can do to keep the project going and running. Of course there are things that you want to make happen. I'm not saying I'd be completely lazy, I'd still be working hard and trying to achieve things. If you achieve success, you get bumped up. But in general, there's always the probability that it actually was the case that you couldn't make this work, that something would have occurred outside of your control, truly outside your control from a telling above you that thwarted your whole effort. Even if it meant you won't get that promotion that year, well, there are other firms, right? So you would just go to another firm and say, *"Look, this is what I did. Look how wonderful I was and if they hadn't done*

that, I would have succeeded." And you hope that people, well, they might say this in a complete nonsense you felt but you're more likely, *"It went well so here's a job."* So you could zig zag your way through life and you could have your career. Whereas when you're in complete control of it, which we are, it's just four of us. They work in the business and I'm the managing director so I run the whole thing. I do feel that everything is within our sphere of influence so because of that, there's a much more, and because of my association between the business' success and my personal success, there's a much stronger emotional connection which results in slightly higher stress levels, I think. So how I manage this, I don't think will be different but I think they're slightly higher and more continuous when you're running business than when you're just an employee.

Interviewer: Ok. And would you fancy another cup of tea.

Interviewee: No, I'm ok.

Interviewer: You sure?

Interviewee: Yeah. I'm ok.

Interviewer: Because you looking...

Interviewee: Oh no, it's ok. We'll keep going. We'll keep going.

Interviewer: All right. Just a few more questions then. What are your values and how do you manage to stick to these values during your dealings with others, those that you're seeking support from.

Interviewee: Yeah. Yeah. What are my values? I think, probably, pride in the output is the biggest values that I have. It's a different question, though, and so I want to work on projects that are very well executed, so I draw on games because our games are very well executed. I take a lot of pride in that. When I look at the game being developed, and there's glitches and things, you want to get rid of that glitch. I didn't care that there's a whole subsystem you're working on, I want that glitch taken out, because the way it looks and feels is important. So that is a big part of what I look for when I'm interacting with either the staff or the members of the board. I don't want options that compromise the

quality, the polish of the product that we're outputting at the end. I want it to be good. Now scope is a different thing. We're happy throwing scope away, but I'd rather ditch scope than quality of output. I think that could be one of the strongest values that I hold. We're doing some work with Microsoft, and they're driving us very, very hard. There's lots of issues that the team would normally ignore, and I don't have a problem with that at all. I quite like it, because I think that they're being pushed up to a kind of new level.

I think professionalism is very important to me. Professionalism is the kind of distinction between your personal life and your professional life, and being able to manage your relations in such a way that even if you're livid, even if you're raging, you still get on with the job. Certainly when we started the business, I used to have enormous arguments with one of the other directors, huge rows, and we were still able to go out and have a couple of beers afterwards and just separate that particular difference of opinion from our friendship that existed. Also, our ability to go back to work on Monday and carry on, and I think I look for that level of professionalism. It's difficult because everyone on the team's got it, or the one guy that recently left us, didn't have it. I think that's the reason why he was shown the door, because he couldn't detach his emotional reactions to things from his ability to work. I think professionalism is a pretty strong value that I hold. Commitment, I think, as well. I personally am very committed to making the business work, and I want other people to be. That's a harder one, though, because I have to understand that not everyone has... To some people, it's just a job. To some of the staff, it's just a job. Well, it's a bit more, but to some of the directors, it is as well. They don't have the same connection that I do. I think, if it fell over, they'd go on to whatever the next thing is, not realizing that had they worked a few weekends or whatever, it might have, might have, might have worked out. So, commitment is also quite high on my list but difficult to get from people. That's probably the one I started with, and now I've started they're coming a bit more fluently. I think passion as well. I want to work with people that are quite passionate about what they're doing, and the games industry is very good for that. The gamers are very passionate people. It's a very vocal community. So even though they've been working on a project for three years, you still are looking for- well that's where the professionalism comes in because they get so tired of it, and

they just carry on. But we've gotten a new game project, and everyone is so passionate about it. They're just so into it, and that's really energising.

So I think probably those three would be the ones. At one point in my life I would have said honesty as well but not after running a business for six years. I don't hold that particularly highly anymore just because I've had to pull the wool over people's eyes [laughs] almost every day for a period of time. And it's just not practical. Anyone that says, I mean shooting straight with people, it's a difficult line. But you just can't come clean because if you did no people would go anywhere near you. No one would touch you with a barge pole if you actually told them. But then in part that's because the situation's probably not quite as bad as you think it is. Yeah, that's interesting that honesty isn't high up my list anymore.

Interviewer: Can I ask you about that then?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: How do you manage to put forward that authenticity, that legitimacy, when you have to put honesty to one side?

Interviewee: Well, it's always a scare. It's not about subterfuge. So we're going to launch a game, and the game is going to sell somewhere between maybe 15,000 units and, in theory, 750,000 because that's what the spectrum of sales the games has achieved on this particular platform. If you compare our game with other games around there, it matches up reasonably well with games that have done maybe 150,000 to 200,000, so you could build a prediction around 200,000 sales. My personal gut instinct is we're probably going to do about 50,000. That's what I think. So, the question then is when you go and you're presenting your business to somebody for funding or for what ever reason, do you put the 200K figure down or do you put 50K figure down? Well, you put 200k figure down, and you justify that passionately. Here's the thing, even though on the inside you don't fully believe that that's going to be the case, you're aware that you might be wrong. You're also hoping that you're going to be wrong, you're hoping that you're going to do 200,000. So because honesty is quite a relative term. Outright lying is a very dangerous thing to do

and you wouldn't want to do that. You wouldn't want to actually directly misrepresent the situation. Another example would be... we actually went bankrupt just before Christmas. We weren't actually expecting any more sales to come back through our distributor, because we just didn't think the game was going to sell many more units than it had. However, that's the greatest excuse ever for being in financial strife this year, because initially we went bankrupt and everyone goes, *"Oh, the credit crisis is hitting everyone."* You kind of secretly know that actually it didn't have an awful lot of effect on your business, but you're not going to stand up in the public and say, *"Well we really messed it up"* and *"This is the whole catalog of failures that ended up in us being in a less than rosy position in 2009 when you pin it down."*

So, I suppose that's the answer. But it's not black and white. It's not, *"Here's the treatment, and I'm now lying. How do I portray that lie?"* It's always a spectrum, and sometimes you push harder than other times.

Interviewer: You picked up on some of that. Just moving on from some of this. But I think I might end up coming back.

Interviewee: Yep.

Interviewer: Are you ok for time's sake?

Interviewee: Yeah. I'm fine. Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? What's your image of society? How do you see society as having a role in your decision in becoming an entrepreneur? And how you feel about that?

Interviewee: I think that business, rather than society. I think that business is very hierarchical and quite bad at identifying talent. And perhaps arrogantly, I always considered myself to be kind of more capable than two or three levels above me in whatever chain I was sat within. So I didn't really want to bide my time like that. It comes back to what I was saying before about having a problem with authority. So, it's less society and more just the natural hierarchy of business. I understand why it has to be like that, right? I could get some fantastic graduate from Southland who's got amazing game

ideas and who goes on to sell millions. There's no way I'm going to let him design games for us. It just doesn't work like that. He has to go and start his own business. Or she does, if that's the way she wants to go. So I think that the business hierarchy and the fear of not being able to meet my potential within a structure that all ready exists is a big part of it. Sociologically, you get a fair degree of kudos from the people for being an entrepreneur.

I was chatting to my mum about this, actually, saying that when you're a kid everyone is being authoritarian. So they're always like, *"Do this, behave, right? Say yes. Say no. Do what your teacher tells you."* And then the people that don't do that are like, *"Oh, God. He's never going to make it."* And it's like, as soon as you become an adult, and you do that, you buck the trend. You go and you start a business. You break the rules, because you have to, every step of the way. No one helps you, really, all though they say they do.

Actually, practical help is very difficult to find. So, you do all this stuff. You buck all the trends. And then society goes, *"Wow, look at what he did."* Now all these things that we've indoctrinated our children to be like and then we don't want them to be like that. We suddenly want the shift. I think the society does have a lot of respect for entrepreneurs.

If you watch the Dragon's Den, a massively popular program, and the respect that those four people get, and the interests. I don't think I know anybody that hasn't said at some point in their life, *"I want to start my own business. That's my ultimate goal, to start my own business, to do it myself."* But that isn't a factor really in why I do it. I don't do it so that at dinner parties I can bang on about how wonderful my life is. So the kudos isn't really a driving factor for me. It's kind of there and it's nice. But, yeah.

The other essential factors. I mean, not really, just, not just the negatives. Definitely not any kind of social mobility thing. That's been in the news recently. I never felt held back at all. So it was never kind of like, I'm not going to make it to be a top lawyer or whatever. I just thought it was going to take too long. So I didn't feel that I wasn't going to be unable to succeed. I just thought it was going to be frustrating, take too long. I might be contradicting myself there. I didn't feel that there was sociological ceilings in place that I can break through. It's more that... You have to... I don't know... It's kind of particular

individuals that are above you, who might not deserve to be above you but happen to be, that then have control and power. Yeah, I think... I'll see if I can think of any other kind of social factors. I do like being a manager. I enjoy that and I enjoy having a team of people. Not to boss them around, but I enjoy... I want to be a good boss. You know, I want to create good environments for people to work within. That's a big factor for me, why I do it. So that's a kind of, less society, but more so sociological, that I want to find talented people and say *"Here you go, here's the best job in the world. Because I'm going to give you more power and flexibility. Not much pay, but anything else you want is kind of on the table and negotiable."* That's definitely a big reason why I enjoy the job. I'm quite happy being a personal director actually as well the MD. I don't have a problem with that. I mean I am, by default, but it doesn't bother me. I enjoy it.

Interviewer: Can you reconstruct a period where you were seeking support? From the moment you decided you needed that support until the time you were given or not given the support you sought. Who do you believe was in control of the situation, how did you feel about it?

Interviewee: So the situation we had a game coming out on Microsoft's Xbox and we need that game to come out maybe March, it's now not coming out until November. So it's been slipping, and we need some cash to get over that period. And this is still something we're looking to find now. The immediate option was to go to Microsoft and say to those guys, *"Look, the game's not coming out until October. Let's take a very pessimistic sales forecast. Can we get you guys to advance us that money? That will enable us to keep going. We want that money when the game is finished, not before, so you're not taking any risk. And then that will just keep us going for the three months it takes for the revenue to trickle back to us."* So that was a situation. What was the question?

Interviewer: Can you reconstruct a period where you were seeking support? From the moment you decided you needed support till the time you were given or not given the support. Who had control in the situation, how did you feel about the whole situation?

Interviewee: So we knew that we needed to get some money from somewhere. There were, and there are, a lot of options to solve a problem like that. So with this particular case, obviously Microsoft has the final say, yes or no. But they don't have full control over the destiny of the company, because there are other options out there that can be fired up. They went away and they spent a long time thinking about it before they said *"No."* It wasn't a hugely devastating blow because of these other options that we've got. However, I find it quite frustrating that we're being pretty reasonable. I think we're being quite reasonable and I think that they're not. So that's kind of my emotional response to it. It's frustrating and you'll get angry perhaps. Anger and frustration kind of fit together, don't they. I understand why, there are business reasons why, because they believe that they don't need to do it. So why give us any money, they know the game was going to be finished anyway. So that's the kind of rationale. So it's not entirely stupid. But I suppose frustration and anger when they said *"No"* were big feelings. And hope really, when we were going through it, because if they'd turned around it would have been a very nice solution for us if it had come down. But not much else. We've got control in the time it takes us to do the project. It's kind of in our control in theory, we could speed it up if we wanted and try to get everyone to work double time. There's levers that we could pull.

I think that same emotional response, I'm sort of thinking back to the early days, when I was telling you about making contact with people. The emotional response has generally been the same. I mean our first retail distribution deal was very big for us. So we'd ended up locating a distributor. We knew the deal that we wanted to do with them, we had no idea what sort of deals were done. So we'd sort of constructed what we thought to be reasonable parameters for negotiating and pitched that and gave our presentation on the title. And got a deal that was far, far beyond our best wishes. We couldn't believe actually what we'd picked up. And that was standard to show how naive we were really. I think the emotional state was the same. So they had a lot of control. There were a lot of other distributors out there, so there were other options, but obviously we wanted to get this one done first.

So coming back to that kind of nervous stress, you get on with the job. So you start thinking about, what do they like to see, what are they going to want to see in this

presentation. They're not going to care about how many levels it's got, they're going to care about how well it sold and how established we are and what kind of liabilities there are. So those are the kind of factors that are going to weigh on their decisions. So we put together a presentation that we were comfortable covered all those factors. Practiced it and went in and delivered it and got the deal. Then we went out and got drunk, did that quite a lot when we were succeeding. That was an example of feeling good afterwards.

But I think something's wrong with your thinking if you're in so much trouble that you're relying on one individual there to help you. You're not going to be successful as an entrepreneur if you find yourself in that position. Perhaps some people have gone through 10 VCs or whatever, they've got the last VC and everyone else has said no. But if nine VCs have said no, there's something wrong with your pitch, right? So you should have got a better pitch and then you would have had three offers on the table. That's what you should be looking for. If you're not going to get at least three, then your business probably isn't sound enough. Although I'm sure J.K. Rowling has probably got stories about how it was the last publisher that finally agreed to Harry Potter. But in general I think that, of course, they have control because they're making decisions, but you can't have the emotion that everything sits in the balance with this one individual.

Interviewer: Can you drill down a bit further about actual negotiations and again how you managed those feelings that you had during a negotiation?

Interviewee: I'm a crap negotiator. I'm really bad. Because I get quite nervous, I tend to think, *"Oh bugger me, they're going to run a mile at any point."* So, certainly on big deals, I tend to think in quite a strategic sense rather than on a deal by deal basis. So each of the deals that... not all of them, but, there has been a series of pivotal strategic deals that we have done since our operation. For me, I'd be happy to take a hit on that particular deal so that we've then got a relationship established. Then, the next time around, we can start being harder by saying *"You had 60 percent last time, we had 40. We want to go 70/30 this time because you wrote with us."* So I tend to take quite a relaxed position when I'm doing deals I consider to be strategic. Paul, who's our financial director, is very rational and he takes every deal quite seriously. I learned over a few years that Paul is the guy to deal with negotiations and he'll get things that I didn't think he would get

anywhere near. I let him do that now if we are doing something new. I'll sort of, maybe, set it up or maybe Paul will, but then I'll let Paul close it because he' just a lot more rational and he's much more happy to get an email that comes in and says "*Oh, we've got to sign this by Friday otherwise the MD's going on holiday for two weeks. It's not going to get done. Something will happen when it doesn't get done then.*" Whereas, I'll panic and kind of go... all the tricks I fall into them whereas Paul does not. So, I tend to let him handle that.

I suppose operationally, I know in general what I want. I know what the big issues in the contract are. The big issues might be, just to reach a deal, getting on to a new platform. So for instance, with us, Sony, right? We have not done any work with Sony. No, better example, Microsoft. The deal with Microsoft was so important because it took us from being PC developer which anyone can be. Not true. I mean there are good PC developers, but anyone can do that... onto a whole new playing field. This is a big strategic deal. So I really didn't care much about royalty points and localized territories we were launching. I just didn't care. I just cared about getting us on this platform. So because of that and maybe I got a bit scared about pushing back too hard over the details, but as long as we're not compromising the core of the deal, I'm generally happy. But then, that's when the team works because Paul will come in and we can do strategic deals and we can make them even better for us in the kind of media term. Does that answer it?

Interviewer: Yeah. Yeah. That helps immensely. Just checking. Building up on the idea of seeking funding that you've been doing: How do your investors react to you? What are they looking for in you as an entrepreneur?

Interviewee: Well, actually, I've never done it. We've never gone in and gotten any money out of anybody. We've always... We started off with £600. That's all and we generated £2,000,000 now and so we're pretty proud of that fact. So we haven't done it. We might need to. We were thinking about it. So I can only really give my opinion on what I think they would be looking for. I think, depending upon the type of investor, the first thing they need to do is minimize their risks so they would be looking at insuring that you had a robust business plan in the sense that they weren't going to lose their

money so there was going to be... if they thought they were going to lose it, they wouldn't give you any depending upon the type of money you were looking for.

Then I think VCs are looking for growth. So they're looking for a business that is clearly going to grow rapidly, and they're going to see a fast and large return on the money that they're investing. So they're looking for you, as an entrepreneur, to understand that fact and believe in that as well. They're probably also looking for you to be fairly mercenary and want to get rich off that, because if you're getting rich off it, then they're getting richer. They're probably looking for you to have that strong command over the profit loss, and the kind of growth forecasts, and so on. They're definitely looking for competence in your ability to actually execute what you're saying you're going to do.

So track record is, I think, quite important when they're looking at someone. If you say you're going to do it, then how do you know? Well, we've done it four times before. Is it good? Why? I think it's reasonably good answer to that. I think investors have a model of how businesses work, and they want you to present them with a plan that fits with their model of a business. As long as you do that, and as long as you do that competently and well, I think you'll be ok. It's difficult for us because we're a creative business. We're based on entertainment product and that's phenomenally difficult, to justify how you're going to do with something that's entertaining, because it's not transactional. You're not, *"We're selling 500 units, and we've got an order for another 2,000, and there's a massive global gap in the market for this. This product's going to get bigger and bigger. It's just going to turn the handle, and more orders are going to come out, and we're going to make X profit on each one."* What you do is, you have to say, *"Well, we are very..."* I wish I had a better answer to that question, but to me, it looks like *:"We are very talented and creative bunch of people. We've made games in the past that have always hit the zeitgeist and have sold well. We're developing all the time, systems and processes, and focus groups, and things like that, to ensure that the ideas that we do come up with are tailored to the market as much as they possibly can be."* Then I think you have to sit back and you'll either get someone that goes, *"Yeah, ok, I'm interested in video games. And I'm happy to take a punt on you."* Or you get someone who goes, *"No. This is so risky. I'm just going to run a mile."*

I'm very interested in companies like Pixar. I'd love to spend a bit of time with Pixar's creative board to see, I know they were funded by Steve Jobs at the start, but how they pitch and answer those kinds of questions, because, basically, they just do the best animated adventures in the world, completely CG, and they came out of nowhere and just completely hit, after hit, after hit. That's not a business model, right? You can't write *"I'm going to release a string of hit films."* No one will believe you, so I'd love to know how those guys actually presented it. I think I can learn quite a bit about how to present us from them.

Interviewer: Can you then think about what you just said and relate it to you going to Microsoft to pitch? The time you needed to try and go and gain funds from them? How does that apply? Let's talk about that.

Interviewee: That was interesting. We just won three awards. There was a big awards seminar. There were five awards. We took three of them that night. The guy we were seeing was there that night and he kind of caught up with us that evening, so we had an established... The quality of the game wasn't something that we needed to say anything more about. We didn't need to say, *"Here's our market prediction. This is the target demographic."* It was kind of like, *"Because of these awards and because of how much buzz there's been around the title..."* That hard thing of *"this is going to be big,"* and this is why we didn't have to worry about it. It was just about us and whether or not we had the technical competence to put the game to the console and survive and do the job on time. So I think Microsoft as well were very big on unique selling points for the 360. So things that would look differently on that console than the PC version, how were we going to change it and make it better? So we did quite a bit of work to demonstrate us and videos and mock ups and stuff. So this is the stuff that we're going to put in for the 360 so you get a feel for it. It's going to be a lot richer and a much nicer experience for the players.

So a little bit about that. I think mostly looking back, it was just our technical competence. We didn't have any experience but we all had degrees and one of us had a PhD so you rely on your education at that point and say well, we've completed and launched two PC games so that shows a high degree of technical competence. Here are our degrees so

we're relatively a smart team of people. You can see as well that we half of us are doing the business and the other half are doing the coding and marking. So in terms of our business stability, we should be ok because we have our eye on that as well. So I think those are probably the factors that convinced Microsoft to take the game for their platform. Is that what you meant or did you mean...?

Interviewer: No, no, no. Exactly. It's fine. In any instance where you've gone to gain support, have you had to hide your feelings in any way and why if you have had? What did you do to hide your feelings?

Interviewee: Yeah. So we went to HMV with our first game and we were trying to sell it to HMV. They took it eventually and we were in there with the buyer so it was quite an important meeting. We fluffed the deal with GAME. So that hadn't gone down well. So we needed to get, Virgin and HMV. Virgin had said *"No"* so HMV was the only big store and we thought retail was massive, which was wrong, but that's what we thought so we really wanted to get it. And the buyer, they have a guy there who plays games to determine whether or not they want to take them. The buyer asked him, he's such a Luddite this guy. Absolutely a Luddite. He looked like a Luddite. And he just said, *"Oh I don't get it."* He just didn't get it and going back to things like being a professional, right? It's not particularly professional even if you don't get it, right? Just to say that, right? What someone in that job should be doing is talking about markets, demographics, who it's going to appeal to. They should have a knowledge of games and be able to say, *"These are the reasons why this game is not going to do particularly well."* And if they want to be really good at their job, they should be saying, *"So if you made these changes then we would be more interested in taking it."* Right? So that's the kind of professional response you get, not just this Muppet who was in there. So Paul was pitching and when this guy just said it and Paul got completely flustered and so my first summation was, this guy is just, what a dick. If I'm allowed to say that but that's how I felt, right? *"What a dick! Who is this guy?"* And then I almost started laughing because of how much of a brick wall we just ran into. And the fact that Paul was absolutely lost for words. I've never seen him so lost for words. I found that quite amusing. I think that maybe that was also part of the emotional response of being an entrepreneur that we find ourselves in

utterly ridiculous situations and just start laughing. So what I did was, just the same as I've talk about before. You've got to start thinking, *"Ok, how do we get out of this? What do we have to do? What's the process? Well the process is, I've now have to start talking about demographics and games"* so I said, *"I'm sorry that you didn't get the game. However, we've had 25,000 people that have already bought the game directly from our site, so we think that this game does appeal. There's a market for it. It's quite a large market. We think the people that want to deal are interested in comic and manga and that kind of stuff and HMV carries ranges so it will sit quite nicely in the portfolio."* The guys was just... but it wasn't him that we were pitching to, it was his boss. His boss ultimately took it. So it's understanding that you've got to reason with these people. You've got to convince them of... What you have to get them to do is you have got to get them to do what you want them to do which means convincing them of something. So that generally means presenting something to them that conforms with a mode of the world that's going to make them happy. That's the challenge.

Irrespective of how stupid they are or how off-key they are, if you can understand those facts, then you are going to be able to pitch well. If you understand that as well, then your emotions shouldn't really get too involved because you should be able to think *"Well, this guy has a different world-view to me. I need to make sure I'm matching what I'm doing within his world-view. If I'm failing that, it is a problem with the way I am pitching not a problem with him."* Unless, of course, you get other professional people in which case...That's why I don't like emotional people because what can you do? Not don't like them, that's harsh. But we would would rather deal with down the line professionals than people that are... unless they're emotional and they love our stuff, then that's brilliant because then they'll just sign anyway. No need to worry about their world model stuff.

Interviewer: During the development of your business venture, what support did you have? From people around you? From family? From friends? How did you engage them, how did you manage their expectations? And I guess also, particularly as you mentioned partners. How did you get them?

Interviewee: We started off, there was an entrepreneur competition in Imperial and you had to create a business plan. And then the best business plan won £10,000. So Adam had

the game, he'd written, 'UpLink,' and I'd lived with Adam and Paul, and I was still living with Paul. Paul had always had a very entrepreneurial outlook, he'd always wanted to start his own company. And Adam had this game, "UpLink," and he was thinking of giving it away for free. I just thought, *"If we can create a business plan around this, let's just enter it. We've got this stuff, do you guys fancy it? It's this little project at the end of uni and with a bit of luck we'll have £3,500 each to walk away with."* We really didn't think we were going to start the business, we were just going to take the money and run. So I basically put the guys together, and one of my faults is I'm pretty lazy and I don't really like working - that's not true, I work very hard - but I don't like doing stuff. I like managing other people to do stuff. So I basically got TJ to go and do the corporate stuff, the cash flow stuff, the profit and loss prediction stuff. And I got Adam to go away and do the demographic stuff, the market stuff. And then I kind of pulled it all together into a document and all the rest.

At that point, there wasn't much expectation other than just producing this report at the end of it. Then the next stage was, we decided to actually launch the game. To actually do it, start selling it, we had to spend a bit of money on that. At that point, it seemed to be a bit of a no brainer for the three of us. It seemed to be a very sensible thing to do. Adam had a job, Paul didn't have a job, but didn't care, and I was off to the MOD, so we just thought *"Let's just start."* And that's what we did and then within a month, we'd sold maybe 10,000 units, we'd made a £100,000 within, also, the first month of starting. So then, managing expectations. Well, we thought we were absolutely elated, right? We thought we'd done it. We thought we'd made it and this money was just going to just keep pouring in. So, at that point, obviously, and I still... I'm trying to get the timeline right. I was still MOD but only for three months and I took a year off to run the business full time to see what we could do with this enterprise. But, again, Adam was still working. He had a job so he was still doing it spare time. Paul was going at it hammer and tongs. But back then we didn't start it in a formal plan. The way a business plan is structured is to focus on how much you are going to make by the end of the year and we hadn't done any of that forecasting. We were basically just enjoying these big sales and everything was so natural. We were enjoying huge sales on the website *"So let's UK retail, right?"* So we crack UK retail. Then the next thing was, *"Well let's crack US retails,"* right?" To go to

the States and deal in the States. So we did all this stuff. We were sending out units. The Internet wasn't good enough then to download so we were sending out physical units. And Dad saw me doing this, I think, and said, *"I'll do that, son."* So dad was doing that free. He still does it, sends out 10 units a day or whatever, seven years later. He stepped up and said, *"I'm going to help."* But, other then that, we didn't really need that much external support. It was a very natural flow. Obviously, we needed the external support of other companies we were engaging with but it wasn't as if we had put together a business plan and we are going to our friends and families, and saying *"All right, we're going to quit our day jobs and I need you get not get on our back about money for a bit. We're going to give this a shot, if it doesn't work in six months. Calling in favors left, right and center."* Stuff you think that entrepreneurs do. I think they probably do that when they get a bit older. Young entrepreneurs just get on with the job when they leave Uni, or if they're younger. People would just see the success we were having. Then when we ran out of cash, of course we did, because we weren't tracking the money. So that all stopped and dried up. We just carried on with the second game, won all the awards that night, and we got the 360 deal. It's all been very organic, it's just grown along the way. We've obviously needed to do a lot of deals with different companies. But not so much friends, and family, and partners. It's only really this year, that I've got really serious, about the future. Where is this business going? We need to put targets in place, and start measuring our performance, rather than just putting another game out there, one of them's going to hit the big times and we're going to be millionaires. But that was definitely my thinking for kind of five years. *"The next one will sell a million copies,"* now I'm at the point where I don't think the next one will sell a million copies. That is part of the joy of this business. More like, *"What do we need to sell, what is the minimum number, to pay for us and the staff? Can we get other games going?"* This kind of stuff. It was only now that I am doing the proper energy, vision, correlation, presentation. *"Are you onside or are you not onside?"* That's kind of the challenge for this year, not to achieve it, but to put it in play. Because we've done what we set out to do. Four games, all scoring a 75 percent plus average, massive global brands where everyone in the industry knows who we are because we made so much noise when we came out of nowhere. We achieved what we wanted to do, an office staff, everything else. So then you have got to sit back and think,

"Ok, where do we go from here?" That's more. I think it's an entrepreneurial experience, but it's a bit more business leadership than the whole entrepreneurial start from nothing.

Interviewer: Now that you've told me about your past life and you've talked about the activities for the organization, your entrepreneurial ventures, can you tell me how you understand how you manage your emotions when you're interacting with others? What does it mean to you, in the workplace? What sense does it make to you? All of this.

Interviewee: It's a difficult question, how do you manage your emotions? I'm very rational in the way I think and make decisions, but behavior of people affects me quite a lot. I can get quite angry quite quickly. I frequently misunderstand email and things and, certainly in the past... over the top. I wouldn't have tolerated my own behavior if I behaved like I did to the other guys when I haven't liked the way things have been going. So, I think, as I've gotten a bit older and a little bit wiser, I think, the whole anger management, taking time just to not respond to an email on the day, read it the next day and then you'll actually realize that they weren't trying to destroy everything that has been build up, or whatever that looks like that. So just trying to, I suppose, take that step back when I get angry, which does happen fairly often.

Also I'm quite big on feedback. At least once a year I get a coach in. She comes in and we all do 360 feedback on everybody. I think that's a very helpful exercise. I think it also helps me to manage my emotions because it lets me know whether they're ok or not. I believe that having emotions is a very important and good thing. I think that if you try and ignore them or people that really don't have them, lack a lot of energy and drive and passion and all these other things that I spoke about.

So you've got to take the good with the bad and there are definitely times when it's right and proper to be angry and then to correct whatever problem it is that caused that. It's also good to let people see when you're angry and pissed off because people are emotional. Coming back to that professionalism thing. If they come into the office and I'm bawling at somebody, that doesn't create a good environment. I think one of the things I'm learning other than this year, is about picking up things very early, despite the fact that I talked about feedback. I'm not sure yet that I personally have given... well I know in fact

that with a member of staff that departed recently, we had problems and we didn't deal with them when they emerged. We let them fester. I think that was a big part of the problems of... Whether I actually changed my behavior is a different thing. But I hope that next time when we start seeing things like that, we're a bit more, all of us, but certainly me, a bit more on the ball. Kind of saying let's just nip it in the bud.

So I think that allowing one's self to have emotions is very important. Allowing staff to have emotions is very important and having an environment where people can display those as well. They feel that they can have a run or whatever. They get what they need to is important. But then, perhaps, just taking the time to make sure that you're not making decisions when you're particularly emotionally engaged. But that's difficult, as well.

This year we've been under a lot of stress, this year, just in general because of the finances. Although the finances haven't actually run out, we've always had the perception that they're going to. And there's been some issues with the team at the top level with people going in slightly different directions. So there's been quite a lot of pressure and I worry about whether or not looking to the future now, we're actually in the right mental state to be able to do that work properly. Because the whole company, at the moment, will survive or fall on our next game launch. If it fails, that's probably going to be it for us. So we're probably going to be out of options at that point. So it's very difficult to see beyond that point. And even if I go have one in the room, which I'm doing, for a couple of days to try and think about the future, I do think, *"Are we all so stressed and worried and considering how we are going to pay the mortgage and everything in a couple of months, are we even in the right position, place, now to think about the future?"* I think I've come around to the view that I'm not sure we're going to actually make any decisions next week, whatever it is. But at least we will be feeding into the vision creation machine. What a horrible metaphor. Horrible, horrible hard hearted business thing to say. I think that's probably about everything.

Interviewer: Can I then take you back to... Can you tell me what 'Emotion' means to you?

Interviewee: I think, for me, it's that which clouds one's rationality. Maybe that would be a definition. Do you know Myers-Briggs, are you familiar with all that stuff? So I am a very strong 'T'. Adam is 100 percent 'T', which is nuts. Like, 100 percent. He doesn't answer any one of the feeling questions with an 'F'. So I think that emotion is definitely a source of energy. The first thing it does is stops you thinking clearly and then it can energize you or it can de-energize you. That's kind of the other thing.

I think Adam, who's our lead designer, a lot of his emotions somehow... There's some sort of connection between his emotional state and the video games that he makes. He wouldn't be able to be deeply creative without experiencing these emotions. He would give a very different answer to me. I see my emotions as a catalyst to how hard I'm working. Whereas, I think Adam's actual decision making is quite emotional. Certainly when he's on the games. There's some I don't understand, there's some connection between he's able to channel his emotions into the games. Other people pick up on that emotional transference. Which, I think, is why our games, Adam's games, sell so well. Because of that. So that's probably what I think about emotions. Probably, a better definition.

Interviewer: Just rounding up then. Can you me what the label "Entrepreneur" means to you? Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur?

Interviewee: That's an interesting question. I kind of do, but if I went to a conference of entrepreneurs I wouldn't claim to be, like, the number one entrepreneur. To me, the word, what it means to me now, is it means somebody who sets up business after business after business. They get VC funding, they set up a business, the business starts running and growing, they exit, and they do it again. That is, to me, a deeper understanding of what I think an entrepreneur is. I think that a wordier definition is just somebody who starts their own business, just somebody who breaks out, even somebody that goes *"I'm going to start my own coffee shop, I just want to make a nut free coffee shop."* or whatever crazy idea. Someone who does that is an entrepreneur. There's a huge, huge range of skill that you need to have to be entrepreneurial. And, I think that I do consider myself to be an entrepreneurial because I've done it, because I've started the firm.

But like I say, if I went to TED or something, TED Conference, if I went there with real entrepreneurs who are like, *"I've started hundreds of businesses in my life time and made millions on every one of them"*, it's kind of like, you're a bit out of my league. I'm just interested in running and growing one business, I'm not interested in other businesses just this one. If I made it to the top and I had a big team I'd probably be more interested in running and growing my business until it's big with hundreds of people and enormous towers and things. I'd be more interested in doing that then setting up a new one. I think that's why I would say I'm not an entrepreneur, but a dabbler, unlike Paul, who's set up ten businesses in the past seven years as well as working for us. He's definitely an entrepreneur. I think you can tell when people are going to be successful. I meet a lot of people who want to start games companies from universities and things. I can tell, I think I can tell, pretty quickly the ones that are going to make it and the ones that aren't. The ones that are going to make are the ones that are able to... There's probably only about five key things that entrepreneurs do that keep you going. It's things like the ability to solve any problem, whatever that problem is. The first thing to do if you can't solve the problem to find the person that does. If you haven't got that in your arsenal of skills then you're going to fail because eventually you're going to hit a problem that's beyond you. Probably teamwork is well known where, having been quite self aware, I think, is quite important to know where your skills lie and also where your gaps are and not having a problem in saying, *"I'm crap at doing this so I'm bringing someone else in."* Every entrepreneur that I know that's successful is very good at that. You met people and you can tell when you're talking to them whether they're listening and things are going in or whether they're not and if they're not then they're not going to make it. Which is part of what being a VC is doing. I wouldn't mind being a VC. You make loads of money and get on track when it's done. Good fun.

[Interviewer laughs]

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to talk about? Anything you want to say? Add?

Interviewee: No, I think I've rambled on for quite awhile.

Interviewer: No, no.

Interviewee: So, no I don't think so. I think you want to find some strong "F" entrepreneurs. That'd be interesting. It'd be interesting to find out, actually, if there's a Myers-Briggs correlation in there between the, certainly if you're doing emotion, thinking, feeling dichotomy and entrepreneurial activity? I wonder if there is?

Interviewer: That would be interesting to add to my questions, I guess.

Interviewee: Well I wonder how many people know about it? If they've been diagnosed. [Interviewer laughs]

Interviewer: That's the word now isn't it? Thank you very much for this. If there's any other entrepreneurs that you would know about... You mentioned Paul.

Interviewee: Yeah, you could talk with Paul.

Interviewer: If at any point, I mean he can't really spare a lot of time.

Interviewee: Yeah, Paul would probably do it. I think he's 100 percent thinking and quite introvert, so I'm not sure, I think the interview would probably last about 20 minutes with Paul. [Interviewer laughs]

Interviewee: You'd be willing to talk to him but it'd be difficult.

Interviewer: No, no, if you wouldn't mind letting me know, anytime from September, because I'll be on holiday.

Interviewee: Yeah, ok.

Interviewer: Maybe get over all the stuff you've got going at the moment.

Interviewee: Yeah, if you just drop me an email, just fire away there, just with a bit of the background again. I'm sure it was in Johannes' stuff but then I'll look into it now. Because what I'll do is I'll forward that directly to Paul and then say, *"Paul, if you've got an hour she'll buy you a cup of tea."* [Interviewer laughs]

Interviewer: Thank you.