'Staying Within the Fence': Lifestyle Entrepreneurship in Tourism

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Lifestyle, non-economic motives have been recognised as significant stimuli for tourism entrepreneurship and growth of the small-business sector. Tourism research, to date, has focused on the conceptualisation of entrepreneurship informed largely by economic analysis. In this context, the long-term survival of lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism has been addressed as a constraint within regional economic development. Our research of an emerging cohort of lifestyle entrepreneurs in New Zealand tourism, focusing on the motivating values of these entrepreneurs, reveals that their often conscious rejection of economic and business growth opportunities is an expression of their sociopolitical ideology. Coincidentally, this rejection of an overtly profit-driven orientation does not necessarily result in financial suicide or developmental stagnation but rather provides opportunities to engage with 'niche' market consumers informed by values common to themselves within rapidly segmenting markets. Moreover, the research indicates that these lifestyle entrepreneurs are often instrumental in the creation and introduction of innovative products to the wider industry which are not only capable of articulating values common to the sustainability debate with respect to a sense of place and community, but also stimulate regional development and reproduction of niche market products.

Introduction

Many authors argue that we are currently witnessing a significant change in tourist consumption, profiling so-called 'critical consumer tourists' who demand environmentally sound holidays (Krippendorf, 1986, 1987). Others speak about 'real travel' and the 'special interest traveller' (Read, 1980; Weiler & Hall, 1992). Poon (1993) asserts that there has been an emergence of 'new hybrid tourists' who want to experience something different, travel independently, see and enjoy but not destroy, are adventurous and educated. Urry (1990) promotes the notion of the 'post-tourist' as set within a wider framework of emerging ecological values associated with a green consumer – creativity, health, new experiences, human relations and personal growth.

In the context of this shift and corresponding demand for differentiated, 'tailor-crafted' tourism products, the importance of small-scale businesses has been widely recognised (Williams *et al.*, 1989; Johnston *et al.*, 1944; Buhalis & Cooper, 1998; Thomas, 1998; Page *et al.*, 1999). The ability to position products in a highly segmented marketplace is dependant on the creative and innovative capacity of individual entrepreneurs to identify and to colonise new, 'green niche' markets. Whilst there has been extensive research into the 'greening' of consumers in which numerous 'shades of green' can be identified (Swarbrooke & Horner, 1999), the value positions underlying the corresponding small-scale entrepreneurial activity remains comparatively undertheorised. Given the increasingly critical role of small-scale tourism business in developed economies, Shaw and

Williams (1998) in their recent comprehensive review of tourism entrepreneurship literature, identify lack of strong conceptual thinking towards integration of understanding the nature of small-scale tourism entrepreneurship in destination and industry development. Generally it is argued that the small business culture, limited capital, lack of skills, lifestyle motivations and the acceptance of suboptimal profits, constrain regional economies and create problems for firm survival (Stallinbrass, 1980; Shaw & Williams, 1987; 1990; Williams *et al.,* 1989; Morrison *et al.,* 1999).

In the context of intensifying market segmentation where travellers increasingly seek an 'individual approach', this paper argues that conscious efforts by some entrepreneurs to limit the scale and scope of their operations have captured niche market opportunities, hence simultaneously succeeding in striking a balance between economic performance and the sustainability of sociocultural and environmental values. In drawing these conclusions our arguments integrate concepts and ideas from a range of tourism research projects in New Zealand over a seven-year period, the findings of which have been published elsewhere (Ateljevic, 1998; Doorne, 1994a,b; Ateljevic *et al.,* 1999a). These projects focused on a variety of issues surrounding small firms development and consumer behaviour in a number of regional contexts associated predominantly with the 'backpacker' market. This diversity of studies allows us to focus on issues of entrepreneurship common to each of the projects and to develop a longitudinal perspective and further contextualisation. Our discussion examines the value positions of a number of entrepreneurs, revealing almost defensive actions driven by what is perceived to be a high polarisation of ideological perspectives within the tourism industry and wider economy. This perceived polarisation reflects the classical dichotomy between market driven economy and social consciousness. What we define as acts of 'staying within the fence', i.e. the deliberate rejection of a market ethos, has become manifest as a clearly defined niche for consumer groups seeking the opportunity to engage in products articulating corresponding values. Our arguments are built upon Shaw and Williams' (1998) conceptualisation of 'constrained' and 'non-entrepreneurship'. The quality of life, the pursuit of individualistic approaches and constrained business growth are characteristic of an emerging cohort of small tourism firms, which in the New Zealand context have led us to suggest a further conceptualisation in the form of a 'lifestyle entrepreneurship' which adheres to values embracing a broader ideological context of sustainability (see, for example, Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

The paper begins by briefly revisiting a range of issues and debates which inform our contemporary understanding of entrepreneurship. The literature review reveals the difficulties of applying an economic approach to the study of tourism entrepreneurship and small-firm development, as non-economic, lifestyle motivations appear as important stimuli to business formation. Identifying the need for further examination of these lifestyle aspirations, we conceptualise the value positions of small-scale lifestyle entrepreneurs with respect to their culture, the organisation of their enterprises, their market orientation and industry organisation.

Theorising Tourism Entrepreneurship: Traditions and Constraints

The subject of entrepreneurship has been studied from a multitude of disciplinary perspectives. Historically the conceptualisation emerging within classical economic theory was concerned with entrepreneurial activity as a key factor and dynamic element in economic performance (Hawley, 1907; Schumpeter, 1934, 1965; Cole, 1942, 1954). Broadly speaking, the concept can be unravelled in terms of the entrepreneur and the structural conditions surrounding his or her activity. Whilst traditionally used to designate the formation of new businesses, economic perspectives have sought to define the qualities that characterise entrepreneurial acts as being different from those of other 'ordinary' managers. Key descriptors of the entrepreneur have come to include: risk-taking, innovation, creativity, alertness and insight (McMullan & Long, 1990; Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991). Indeed, Galbraith's (1969: 75) observation that 'the entrepreneur – individualistic, restless, with vision, guile and courage – has been the economist's only hero' is arguably more relevant today in the context of an 'entrepreneurial society' (Porter, 1980; Mintzberg & Waters, 1982; Drucker, 1985). Other social science perspectives have concentrated on identifying various issues that condition the level of entrepreneurial activity yet perpetuate the economic theoretical premise around which issues of entrepreneurship are discussed. For example, psychological theory has attempted to identify the personality traits of the entrepreneur (Chell *et al.*, 1991) and sociological perspectives have sought to define the 'entrepreneurial middle class' (Scase & Goffee, 1982). On the subject of small-business initiation, an extensive interdisciplinary body of literature has discussed entrepreneurship in the context of small-firm development (see, for example, Deakings *et al.*, 1997; Legge & Hindle, 1997).

Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) have provided a comprehensive overview of different perspectives on entrepreneurship in general. Noting an array of academic studies, they broadly classify the contributions into three perspectives: economic, psychological and sociological. Despite these different approaches, their literature reveals how authors in their attempts to identify the entrepreneur (as being different from 'small-business owner' or 'ordinary' manager) are influenced predominantly by an economic conceptualisation of entrepreneurship as characterised by innovation, creativity, risk-taking, leadership and vision.

Seeking to clarify the different nature of small-business owners in tourism, Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) note the difficulty of applying a similar economic perspective to the tourism and hospitality context. Despite fairly limited research on tourism entrepreneurship and small firms, they note that a picture is emerging of entrepreneurs 'who are not motivated by a desire to maximise economic gain, who operate businesses often with very low levels of employment, and in which managerial decisions are often based on highly personalised criteria' (p. 25). In the light of this, they argue there is a need to move beyond purely economic definitions to develop a definition of the entrepreneur in wider terms. In an attempt to provide a new perspective they propose the model of a continuum for small-business owner-managers as being between commercial and lifestyle goals and strategies. For those business owners who are lifestyle-oriented 'their business success might best be measured in terms of a continuing ability to perpetuate their chosen lifestyle' (Dewhurst & Horobin,

1998: 30). This conceptual thinking is revolutionary in the sense that it moves our approach towards a concept of entrepreneurship which comprises social and cultural values as 'success' factors, rather than just 'development and business growth'.

It was Williams *et al.* (1989) who initially observed the phenomenon of lifestyle aspirations in small-scale businesses as blurring the boundaries between consumption and production. They argued that lifestyle entrepreneurs are generally motivated by non-economic goals and, by accepting suboptimal profits, they seriously constrain the economic and tourism development of the region (Shaw and Williams, 1987, 1990, 1998). Throughout their work, mainly with reference to British seaside resorts, they reiterate the issue of small-business survival (particularly in the context of peripheral regions of developed economies) and urge for more research to explore the nature of small-scale tourism entrepreneurship and its role in local economies.

Similarly, Morrison *et al.* (1999) provide a range of typologies and contexts surrounding tourism entrepreneurship in which they identify lifestyle small firms as significant elements. They note that these businesses are often initiated by the need to create a chosen lifestyle in which the needs of family, income and a way-of-life are balanced. A key issue surrounding these businesses, they also argue, is related to economic survival and viability. Similarly, Dewhurst and Horobin (1998), whilst acknowledging lifestyle 'success' as being important to these entrepreneurs, note that these entrepreneurs face problems of long-term survival which can 'jeopardise seriously the economic health and the social fabric of those communities, resorts and regions which are becoming increasingly reliant upon tourism and hospitality-related activities' (p.33).

This paper will argue that an emerging cohort of 'tourism lifestyle entrepreneurs' in New Zealand, who also do not subscribe to the inevitable path of 'progress' as an end in itself, often consciously reject economic and business growth opportunities as an expression of their sociopolitical ideology. Coincidentally, this rejection of an overtly profit-driven orientation does not necessarily result in financial suicide or developmental stagnation but rather provides opportunities to engage with 'niche' market consumers informed by values common to themselves within rapidly segmenting markets. Moreover, the research indicates that these lifestyle entrepreneurs are often instrumental in the creation and introduction of innovative products to the wider industry which are not only capable of articulating a sense of place and community, but also stimulate the further development and reproduction of niche market products.

Integrating Research Perspectives

The discussion draws on findings of research from a seven-year case study from a variety of sectors and operational environments in New Zealand, including backpacker hostels in urban Wellington (Doorne, 1994a), adventure cave tourism operators in Waitomo (Doorne, 1994a), adventure tourism operators in Rotorua (Ateljevic, 1998) and small tourism firms in central New Zealand focusing on Marlborough and Nelson (Ateljevic *et al.*, 1999a). Our perspective is also informed by studies of consumer behaviour and market segmentation,

conducted in each of these regions (Doorne, 1994c; Ateljevic, 1998; Doorne *et al.,* 1999; Ateljevic *et al.,* 1999b).

These studies employed a range of qualitative methods, including in-depth interviewing with owners, managers and employees of small tourism firms. In total, the data set included over 150 interviews spanning a seven-year period. In each of the study areas the interviews were conducted as part of ethnographic fieldwork to build trust-based relationships over time through extensive immersion in the research environment. The immersion process also included formal and informal interaction with visitors, in which techniques of participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups were used.

In this light, it is necessary to highlight a dimension of our 'residence' and interaction with tourism processes in the study areas which is not typically encountered in ethnographic work in other research settings. Given the 'transient' nature of tourism, it was 'easy' for us as researchers to switch between the roles of a tourist and a local without being seen as an intruder or out of context. Yet, we were conscious to remain above all researchers; as Gans (1982: 54) would argue: 'I played the required participant role, but psychologically I was outside the situation, deliberately uninvolved in order to be able to study what was happening', linking constantly the textual with the contextual.

The process of integrating a diversity of research approaches and perspectives presents a number of difficulties, the interpretation of which introduces subjectivities into the analytical process. However, given the extent of our ethnographic involvement in each of the case study areas, we observed that 'lifestyle entrepreneurs' have been instrumental in affecting the dynamics of both industry and community. Over time, throughout each of the research areas some common themes relating to the structure, context and motivation surrounding entrepreneurship can be identified. In particular, the discussion focuses on the entrepreneurs' perceptions of the underlying values influencing their involvement in the areas of market, industry, cultural environment and organisation. Firstly, to support our arguments the following discussion outlines the wider research context in which the studies were conducted. Secondly, we identify a range of issues across the research environments through which we explore 'lifestyle entrepreneurship' and its corresponding market segmentation. Thirdly, we integrate our observations to provide a diagrammatic conceptualisation of the values positions underpinning lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism. The paper concludes by presenting avenues for further research building on the arguments developed here.

Research Context

Significant changes have occurred in the development of tourism markets in New Zealand during the last two decades. The annual number of international arrivals increased from 445,195 in 1980 to 1.5 million in 1999, with a steady average growth of 10% (Pearce, 1996; New Zealand Statistics, 1999). This growth has not been consistent across various nationality markets and has been subject to fluctuations of international economic fortunes. For example, in 1990 tourist arrivals from Asian countries represented 8% of the total (excluding Japan at 11%) compared with 35% from Australia and 35% from Europe, UK and North

America combined. By 1996, the market composition has altered to reflect growing tourist demand from Asian countries (21 % from Asia, excluding Japan at 11%, 28% from Australia, and 31% from Europe, UK, and North America). Following the collapse of North Asian economies the market profile reverted to that of a decade ago where Asian tourist arrivals fell by 32% in just one year (over 1997/1998), despite the fact that arrivals from Japan remained steady. On the other hand, arrivals from Australia increased by 19.9%, from the USA by 16.9% and from Europe by 17.6% over the same period (New Zealand Statistics, 1999).

The overall pattern of growth reflects the 'Tourism Growth Strategy' implemented by New Zealand Tourism Board (NZTB) which was created in 1991. Part of the NZTB strategy was a comprehensive market research study that identified rapid market segmentation within and across nationality groups. Within the traditional markets of Australia, North America and Europe the research identified the growth of free independent travel patterns in which 'alternative' tourism experiences are sought. For example, a key travel motivation of Australians was identified as 'a change in lifestyle; some people feel they have little or no control over their pace of life (it's either too fast and stressful or boring and mundane)' (NZTB, 1997: 14). The alternative set of socioenvironmental values were most noticeable amongst German visitors who were described as 'environmental evangelists' while other European visitors (notably from The Netherlands) were identified as seeking authentic, local sociocultural interactions.

The structure of the tourism industry in New Zealand can be seen to correspond with this global trend of market segmentation identified earlier. The New Zealand tourism industry is made up of a large number of small locally owned firms and a relatively small number of multinational corporate interests (Pearce, 1996). Whilst Table 1 reveals that approximately two-thirds of New Zealand's tourism businesses employ less than ten people, the most recent research studies point to a far higher proportion of micro businesses many of which are only peripherally involved in tourism (Warren, 1998; Ateljevic *et al.*, 1999a).

Table 1 Structure of New Zealand tourism industry, 1996

Number of employees	Number of businesses	Percentage
>100	70	1.5
50–100	100	2.1
10–49	1500	31.4
6–9	1800	37.7
<6	1300	27.3
Total	4770	100

Source: NZ Statistics, Annual Enterprise Survey, 1996.

Multinational companies dominate the hotel and transport sectors, whereas small tourism enterprises are mainly represented in the attraction, tour operation and activities areas (Pearce, 1996). The recent growth of the adventure tourism industry, free independent travel and special interest tourism (Cloke & Perkins, 1998) all reflect significant growth in the number of small firms involved

in tourism activities. From another perspective, the number of small business births reflect increasing entrepreneurial activity and awareness.

Building the Fence: Entrepreneurial Perspectives

The environmentally conscious values around which certain visitor markets are segmented (NZTB, 1997) cannot be separated from a corresponding set of values motivating entrepreneurial activity. In some cases these values have been identified as much as a decade prior to the NZTB's observations of segmentation. In the caving region of Waitomo, Doorne (1994a) observed the emergence of an adventure tourism industry concurrently with growth in 'backpacker' activity. The entrepreneurs behind Black Water Rafting, for example, were a group of individuals fundamentally seeking lifestyle opportunities incorporating the landscape, community and preferred activities (caving) around which a business could be built. The initial successes of the business (guiding rides through underground rivers whilst floating on rubber rings) led to its replication by a second wave of entrepreneurs drawn to the region and primarily motivated by the desire to exploit an already identified market opportunity (Doorne, 1994a). The stimulation of a new niche of adventure tourism products was not only confined to the Waitomo region but was also reproduced in other caving regions throughout the country, notably, on the West Coast of the South Island and in Nelson.

A similar situation was identified in Rotorua (Ateljevic, 1998) where a river 'sledging' operator, motivated by the opportunity to combine a lifestyle, professional skills and business adventure, built the foundation of an adventure tourism industry which, within a decade, came to be dominated by subsequent entrepreneurs reproducing key elements of the products in order to exploit market opportunities. Although, the entrepreneurs made conscious efforts to maintain the lifestyle attributes of their businesses by limiting growth, their status as providers of 'real' and 'authentic' experiences assures them high levels of demand and long-term 'economic' viability.

The consumers of these products self-identify their 'traveller' status as distinct from the more traditional 'tourist', primarily focusing on what they perceive to be values embracing environmental and sociocultural integrity (Doorne, 1994a). This identity revolves around a perceived polarisation of visitor behaviour in which the 'tourist' is the 'Other' whose activities are pre-planned and packaged by the industry; who seek hedonistic and frivolous experiences in which 'money for value' is compromised by the demand for 'value for money'. This 'us and them' polarity has been widely recognised in the tourism literature (Cohen, 1973, 1974; Vogt, 1976; Pearce, 1990), and reflects a lineage dating back to the last century (see Mansfield, 1978; Adler, 1985).

Further illustrations of the relationship between lifestyle entrepreneurship and its corresponding market segmentation were identified in a study of the growth of the backpacker hostel market in Wellington (Doorne, 1994b, 1994c). Over a five-year period the number of hostel beds in the city grew from 150 in 1988 to over 500 in 1992. This period reflects a rapid segmentation of markets emerging from the differentiation of products, facilitated by the penetration of various media, notably 'traveller' guide books. The businesses illustrated a spec-

trum of operational values but most importantly those entrepreneurs creating niche demand were those seeking to articulate an 'alternative' set of values in the business environment. These owner-operated businesses whose market profile was dependent on an individualistic approach, commonly embraced collaborative and symbiotic relationships and trust-based networks with the community and the other like-minded operators. As with the examples from the activity sector presented earlier, the innovation of these entrepreneurs was over time (re)produced, with successful elements of the products subject to imitation by businesses displaying high levels of cross-sectoral integration and product packaging. Despite the relatively similar appearance of the products within the 'independent traveller', market the corporatised and franchised larger hostels can be seen to be driven a by very different set of production values. In other words, the innovators are dominantly driven by quality of life choices whereas the imitators were more focused on profit maximisation (Doorne, 1994b).

Several of the early entrepreneurs instrumental in establishing the hostel market in Wellington were observed to go out of their way to avoid publicity in traveller guide books, fearing that the integrity of their enterprise would be compromised by the corresponding demand, instead preferring to retain the more modest objectives on which the business was established. Similarly in the activity sector, the adventure caving business of Black Water Rafting encountered similar issues after five years of operation, observing a 'loss of control' in which their lifestyles and those of their families and the community were perceived to be compromised by the rapid growth of the business. The owners of the business subsequently revisited their initial value positions and implemented a deliberate strategy to constrain growth by emphasising product quality over quantity (Doorne, 1994a).

Within a short period of time, the market awareness of visitors has similarly segmented the 'backpacker' market into a number of predominantly young but clearly identifiable consumer groups. The emergence of these various market groups has been identified in recent visitor studies in the Nelson and Marlborough regions, indeed not only have various segments emerged but their defining characteristics are becoming more pronounced (Doorne *et al.*, 1999; Ateljevic *et al.*, 1999b). Groups such as 'long-term, budget travellers' and 'mainstream backpackers' represent now polarised value positions within the backpacker market which in effect has brought elements of the backpacking phenomenon full circle to embrace the traditional values and system structures that it initially sought to reject (see, for example, Cohen, 1974; Adler, 1985; Pearce, 1990; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). In other words, the 'mainstream backpackers' while disguised under 'independent travel' have more resemblance to traditional packaged tourists, not only in terms of their orientation but most importantly in terms of their motivating values.

The rapid transformation, which characterised this area of the industry in early 1990s, has established a platform from which market segmentation and product differentiation has emerged. The dynamic emergence of certain markets has continued with further segmentation and the reproduction of what are now well defined value positions articulated by both consumers and producers.

A more recent study of entrepreneurs and community relationships in the Nelson and Golden Bay areas has highlighted the role of cultural values and

sense of place as significant motivators for business activity (Ateljevic *et al.,* 1999a). The predominant characteristics of entrepreneurship in this area have been the influx of non-locals, actively seeking closer relationships within a natural environment together with opportunities to be involved in and initiate inclusive community relationships which emphasise social worth as distinct from material wealth. These 'outsiders' are often individuals who previously visited the area as 'independent travellers', yet in making this move seek an opportunity to engage in extended lifestyle experiences, which reflect the traditional motivations of the 'backpacker'. The growth of many of these businesses in the area has been via the facilitation of community, family and friendship relationships based on a common set of values. To these entrepreneurs, the importance of these values in the lifestyle and business environment represents the rejection of what are perceived as homogenised identities characteristic of developed societies in which the individual is increasingly alienated.

An important element in the representation of these values lies in the organisational structure of the businesses themselves. The emphasis is placed on the scale of the enterprise, somewhat reminiscent of Schumacher's (1973) 'small is beautiful' paradigm. Whilst these predominantly owner-operated businesses are developed within an emphasis on flat management, the collaborative and personal interaction with both employees and consumers emphasises a bottom-up management philosophy. Again, these values represented at the business level can be seen as a direct rejection of a corporatised organisational environment which is perceived as hierarchical, highly competitive and emphasises top-down management via pyramidic organisational structures in which power and control is concentrated in elite groups.

These examples illustrate the polarisation of perceived value positions within which entrepreneurs actively seek to position their lifestyles and businesses. The overriding values which guide this positioning process appear to emphasise localised social, cultural and environmental relationships as distinct from the perceived values surrounding the wider market-driven, economic model represented by globalised 'corporate' industry, government policies, and the Western growth-driven 'development' model. In socio-spatial terms the explicit expression of these highly polarised values can be conceptualised in the form of a 'fence', which serves not only as a point of separation between 'us' and 'them' but also constructs artificially coherent value positions on either side. In the following section we present a conceptualisation of this discussion.

'Staying Within the Fence': Broadening Horizons

The previous data have been discussed in empirical terms with respect to four elements relevant to the entrepreneurial decision-making process, in particular, the market, industry relations, the sociocultural environment and organisational structures. Broadly speaking, the relationships surrounding the organisation and the market can be expressed in terms of personal relations concerning interactions between individuals. Culture and industry activities are articulated via representative relations, including industry groups, community groups and wider economic structures. Further access can be identified between socioenvironmental issues expressed in terms of organisational practice and

Figure 1 Perceived value positions

cultural values, as distinct from purely tourism-related issues affecting and influencing market and industry environments. This abstraction, together with key words from the preceding discussion, is conceptualised in Figure 1.

To introduce the model in its totality, those values discussed earlier as representative of lifestyle entrepreneurs are situated within the circle, while those values outside the circle represent the 'others'. As such, Figure 1 depicts a dynamic tension between the subjective demand of individuals to enclose their value position within an ideological fence. The fence, therefore, represents a nexus of simultaneously competing value pressures. The focal point of the concept is at the core of the model, rather than a traditional Cartesian interpretation. The diagram introduces a further layer of interpretation on each of the axes. Again the emphasis is representative of a clear polarity of values on each side of the fence, yet on another level this polarity conforms closely to theoretical arguments prevailing in the literature.

The global-local dialectic is by now a familiar framework for describing tourism relations (for example, Oakes, 1993; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; Chang, *et al.*, 1996; Milne, 1998), as is the differentiation of the market in terms of 'traveller' and 'tourist' (e.g. Cohen, 1973; Urry, 1990). In terms of the tension between reciprocity and market exchange other, disciplinary perspectives can be identified, particularly in the emerging field of development studies (Chambers, 1983,

1993). With respect to the relationships between 'means' and 'ends' and industry relations, Cook and Morgan (1993), for example, present an economic geography perspective which addresses issues of collaborative versus competitive behaviours in the context of both small and larger businesses. Anthropological perspectives provide opportunities to interpret 'inside–outside' positions in the culture of the research environment, which, in the context of lifestyle entrepreneurs, is firmly straddled on an egalitarian/ capitalistic divide. In the organisational setting bottom-up/top/down perspectives have been articulated in terms of the mainstream and the counterpoint (Hettne, 1990). The introduction of the values surrounding personal relations underpins the perceived separation of ideology and strategy. These multidisciplinary perspectives informing the abstraction of lifestyle entrepreneurship responds to Dewhurst and Horobin's (1998) call for the study of entrepreneurship to be informed by a wider theoretical agenda.

What is represented in this model should not, however, be taken as a literal structuring of concepts identified in the research. Naturally, there are many points of commonality, of contradiction and simplification, which potentially render the model artificial and contrived. However, to interpret it in those terms is to disregard the objective of the process, which is simply to make abstract sense from 'real world' experiences and perceptions. It should also be noted that, given the inevitability of the development process, the values on either side of the fence are not static. The presence of arrowheads on each axis represents the tendency for the market-driven environment to compromise those core values in the interest of profit maximisation. Marx's contradiction of capitalism, albeit in a greatly simplified context, can be seen as an apposite frame of reference here. The presentation of key words and symbols implies its fixed and static environment, which denies the dynamics of the process. 'Staying within the fence' is instead a dynamic process of revisiting core values on an ongoing (sometimes daily) basis in order to maintain quality of life and paradoxically the market niche it has come to represent.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that a growing number of small-firm owners elect to 'stay within the fence' in order to preserve both their quality of life in their socioenvironmental contexts and their 'niche' market position catering for travellers similarly seeking out alternative paradigms and ideological values. The core argument of this paper is to build on the conceptualisation of tourism entrepreneurship developed by Shaw and Williams to include an integration of economic *and* non-economic terms. Given their focus on entrepreneurship in the UK, our concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneurship' illustrates the extent to which the cultural context is a significant element in the dynamics of small-business activity.

Our earlier discussion of wider market segmentation highlighted both a rapid growth of small-business activity in tourism and the corresponding emergence of 'niche' markets. This discussion has predominantly focused on relationships between small businesses initiated by lifestyle entrepreneurs and independent traveller markets. Whilst the discussion has focused on underlying values

shaping the perceptions underpinning entrepreneurship and its theoretical abstraction, it should be noted that the rejection of the market-driven paradigm in favour of reciprocity and lifestyle has in itself created its own niche market of consumers actively seeking products which convey these values and ecosocial orientation. It is no coincidence that many of the entrepreneurs discussed here were also 'travellers' themselves, actively seeking products motivated by values articulated within the broader sustainability paradigm. Paradoxically, the search to distance themselves from a 'suffocating' market environment has provided a niche opportunity to simultaneously engage with that market on their own terms and to sustain their businesses in socioeconomic terms. Furthermore, given the subsequent reproduction of the products created and the stimulation of regional economic development, the innovative and creative attributes of these individuals closely resemble Schumpeter's observation of entrepreneurs as dynamic elements in the economy, despite their efforts to limit the growth of their own businesses.

Four broad research areas emerge from this discussion. Firstly, this paradox provides research opportunities to unravel the conventional polarisation of conceptualising entrepreneurship in terms of production and consumption. The previous research illustrates the extent to which consumption and production are inextricably interwoven to the point that separation seems meaningless. Secondly, research is needed into the activities of travellers, workers and entrepreneurs stemming from what is suggested here as an underlying sequence to lifestyle entrepreneurship in which the business represents an opportunity to indulge in in-depth place experiences which integrate both lifestyle and identity. Thirdly, more understanding is needed of the tensions surrounding business growth and the spatio-economic effects of this entrepreneurial activity in terms of sustaining tourism growth across a range of sociocultural contexts. And lastly, whilst we have provided the entrepreneurs' perspectives of their relationship in a sociocultural context, Shaw and Williams' call for research into community perspectives remains an area in need of further exploration.

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