

A Study of Innovative Entrepreneurship in Marlborough, New Zealand

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Amanda Lynn

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Abstract

This study responds to the call, made by Anthropologist Alex Stewart, for anthropologists to re-engage with the entrepreneur. The broad aim of this study is to describe and analyse the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough, New Zealand. The study is informed by a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm. The research design is based on contemporary interpretative phenomenological analysis conducted within long term participant-observation fieldwork. The study is transdisciplinary in that it is informed by the disciplines of anthropology, economics, psychology and business. Innovative entrepreneurs are an important focus of study due to their role in economic and social change. Thus far anthropological studies have not focused on the innovative entrepreneur in New Zealand.

This study makes an original and significant contribution to entrepreneurship studies. I present rich, empirical data on innovative entrepreneurs viewed through the anthropological lens. As such, my study embraces the “humanness” of the participating innovative entrepreneurs. I describe five shared themes that coalesce in a process that guides innovative entrepreneurship. These shared themes are: perfectionistic striving (an adaptive and targeted striving for improvement), pragmatism (openness to new ideas, testing and applying them), development (purposive change within and outside of the self), meaningful reward (validation of value) and being valuable (solving problems to improve outcomes). This process begins with the desire, formed early in life, to be valuable and leads to a life-long process of problem identification and solution construction. This results in self-development as well as developmental outcomes such as businesses and products. I recommend a life span human development approach to future research that includes the collection of deep empirical data and offer a new definition of the innovative entrepreneur.

While the innovative entrepreneurs in my study desire to be valuable, the social world in which they are embedded is not always compatible with them. Through analysis of the rich points in the social data I present original social models describing social sets in Marlborough and obstructive processes that usurp institutional power by reinforcing these sets. As entrepreneurs become more visible and influential as leaders they can be drawn into obstructive processes causing some innovative entrepreneurs to avoid—as much as possible—both the local support institutions and the social sets. This has implications which I discuss and I recommend further research to expand upon my findings.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This study responds to the call, made by Anthropologist Alex Stewart (1990; 1991), for anthropologists to re-engage with the entrepreneur. Innovative entrepreneurs are an important focus of study due to their role in economic and social change. The broad aim of this study is to describe and analyse the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough, New Zealand. Entrepreneurship is an important influencer of national economic development and can positively influence welfare (Baumol, 2010; Baumol & Strom, 2008; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999; Schumpeter, 1983 [1911, 1934]; Schumpeter, 1994 [1934]; Sternberg & Wennekers, 2005). Anthropological investigation has indicated that the relationship between entrepreneurship and development is complex, with entrepreneurship being important to developing economies (Walter, Balunywa, Rosa, Sserwanga, Barabas & Namatovu, 2003, pp. 8-9; Rosa, Kodithuwakku, & Balunywa, 2006). While entrepreneurship has differing effects on developing and “advanced” economies (Audretsch & Peña-Legazkue, 2012, p. 533; Baumol, 1990), Wennekers and Thurik (1999, p. 51) contended that in “modern open economies [entrepreneurship] is more important for economic growth than it has ever been.” Entrepreneurship influences economic development by, for example: facilitating the exchange of ideas (Acs, Audretsch, Braunerhjelm & Carlsson, 2012); influencing industry change (Audretsch, Falck, Feldman & Hebluchs, 2010), enhancing and disseminating innovation (Sternberg & Wennekers, 2005), and enhancing prosperity (Baumol, 2010, p. 7). Coupling entrepreneurship with innovation has been shown to be a particularly important “determinant” for economic development in advanced economies and it has been recommended that research be conducted to improve our understanding of innovation-focused entrepreneurs (Baumol, 2004, p. 316; Baumol 2010, pp. 1-8; Gunter, 2012, pp. 391-393; Low & Isserman, 2015, pp. 193-194).

Entrepreneurship is not a mechanical process but one that is organically constructed by individuals whom we choose to call entrepreneurs (Audretsch & Peña-Legazkue, 2012, p. 533). According to Baumol (2010, p. 2) the failure to recognise the dynamic and organic nature of entrepreneurship has inhibited its study and, in particular, its link to innovation (2010, p. 13). As noted by Gartner (1988, p. 64): “The entrepreneur is not a fixed state of existence, rather entrepreneurship is a role that individuals undertake” Thus, entrepreneurship is a process constructed by individuals either throughout their working lives or in parts of their working lives (van Oort & Bosma, 2013, p. 219). If we are to understand the dynamics that catalyse and support an individual’s participation in the process of entrepreneurship, we must improve our understanding of the lives of

entrepreneurs (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, pp. 46-47). Conceptualising entrepreneurship as a “complex phenomenon to capture”, Wennekers and Thurik (1999, p. 47, see also Anderson, Dodd, & Jack, 2012; McKenzie, Ugbah, & Smothers, 2007) recommended a multidisciplinary approach to further research. This position was supported by Seymour (2006, p. 151) who noted that “the rarity of ethnographic or phenomenological research should not be evident in a field of study that is by definition concerned with human behaviour.” Accordingly, my study is informed by a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm that embraces relativist ontology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13). Through naturalistic methodology achieved by the coupling of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and anthropological participant-observation fieldwork, I explore the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs within the dialogical interactions and observational encounters of the field. I discuss the theoretical perspective and methodology further in chapter two.

By introducing Marlburian¹ entrepreneurs through the anthropological lens I re-situate entrepreneurship as a human endeavour (Stewart 1990; 1991). As such, my study embraces the “humanness” of the participating innovative entrepreneurs (Morris, Pryor & Schindehutte, 2012, p. 36). By embracing the lived experience of each of these innovative entrepreneurs I seek to explore their perspectives (Cope, 2005), and to make a contribution to current scholarly research on the Marlborough region. This is important as, according to Kirkwood and Campbell-Hunt (2007, pp. 217-220), while there has been an increase in “constructivist” approaches, research into entrepreneurship is still dominated by positivism. This can be seen in the over-reliance upon structured or semi-structured interviews where theory and hypotheses are embedded in research questions, leading to prescriptive analysis and a lack of phenomenological insight (Kirkwood & Campbell-Hunt, 2007, p. 221). Gartner (2010, pp. 14-15) also recommended increased focus on qualitative approaches to studies of entrepreneurship to capture different forms of “knowing”. Gartner (2010, p. 13) contended that the positivist approach had limited the scope and usefulness of his own analyses. Gartner (2008) suggested that phenomenological insight is of value in the study of entrepreneurship. From a phenomenological perspective the entrepreneur is embodied in consciousness that is both spatially and temporally particular leading to diverse lived experiences (Shaw, Tsai, Liu, & Amjadi, 2011, pp. 2-3). The design and application of a method that embraces both IPA and participant-observation fieldwork allows me to more fully embrace the complexity of the entrepreneur.

¹ People from Marlborough refer to themselves, collectively, as Marlburians.

Through this approach I seek a deeper understanding of the entrepreneur, their entrepreneurship and their social environment. Cipolla (1981, cited in Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, p. 37) contended that it is not possible to gain an understanding of the entrepreneur without reference to the social context within which that individual is embedded. These societal factors include both the institutional frameworks and the social relationships within which (or against which) the entrepreneur must function (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, p. 42). An increasingly important aspect of these social relationships can be conceptualised as a blurring of the boundaries between the individual entrepreneur and the networks within which they operate; whether family, partners, employees, clients or suppliers (van Oort & Bosma, 2013, p. 219). Such complexity led some scholars to advocate for the development of new qualitative research methods that explore entrepreneurship (Dana & Dana, 2005; McKenzie *et al.*, 2007). For example, Gartner (2013) noted that in depth exploration of “narratives” is required to inform the complex story that seeks to explain entrepreneurship. Desjarlais and Throop (2011, pp. 95-96) recommended a combination of anthropological fieldwork and a phenomenological approach. Accordingly, I conducted long-term participant-observation fieldwork, observing and working alongside my participants in their society for two years. In addition, I undertook interpretative phenomenological interviews to explore case studies in depth. The method undertaken to achieve this, along with discussion of the definitions of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and innovation that guided my study are outlined in chapter three.

As studies have shown that there are both international (van Stel, Carree & Thurik, 2005) and intra-national (or regional) variations that strongly influence entrepreneurship (Audretsch & Peña-Lagazkue, 2012) I have taken a regional approach to the selection of a field site and participant sample for this study. While national studies indicate heterogeneity in relation to entrepreneurship both within and between nations, they also indicate that entrepreneurs within regions (defined geographical areas within nations) will share characteristics (Audretsch & Peña-Lagazkue, 2012). Thus the recommendation has been made for regionally-focused research to be undertaken (Audretsch & Peña-Lagazkue, 2012, p. 532). At a regional level influences such as resource availability and industry structure (Audretsch, Falck, Feldman & Heblitch, 2010), as well as access to knowledge-based resources (Audretsch & Feldman, 1996) and social capital (Burt, 2001, pp. 201-247) both enable and constrain entrepreneurship. According to Feldman (2001), entrepreneurs, local resources and the local society engage in a regionally specific co-creational shaping of both the economy and the entrepreneur. Therefore, similarities between entrepreneurs

might occur due to close regional co-location at any one time, but with geographical distance or temporal distance the thematic similarities are likely to diverge (Shaw *et al.*, 2011, pp. 2-3). It is, therefore, valuable to contextualise the study of entrepreneurs within the regions they inhabit. My study focuses on the region of Marlborough, New Zealand.

Marlborough was selected for my study as: (1) The field site is of a manageable size for two years of participant-observation fieldwork. (2) The community was receptive to the study, therefore it was possible to establish positive research relationships and to conduct an in depth study. (3) The study will make a new and important contribution to the current body of scholarly research on Marlborough. Marlborough District lies on the north eastern portion of the South Island of New Zealand. It encompasses approximately 17,517 km² of land (figure one) and in 2013 had a total population of approximately 43,416 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The District's original name was Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Māui, this roughly translates to "the tip of the canoe of Māui" (Brooks, McHendry, & Oliver, 2011, p. 18). Archaeological evidence suggests that Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Māui was one of the first districts in New Zealand to be settled by Tangata Whenua² beginning in the 1300's³ and with successive migrations back and forth between the North and South Islands (Brooks *et al.*, 2011, p. 18 & p. 31). Toward the end of the 18th century European whalers began to arrive (Brooks *et al.*, 2011, p. 33). On the 1st of November 1859, Marlborough became a province with the town of Waitohi (later renamed Picton) cited to become the "capital" of Marlborough (Brooks *et al.*, 2011, pp. 45-46).

Though the provincial government structure was later disbanded Marlborough remains a separate District with its own Unitary Authority, the Marlborough District Council. For the purposes of this study, the field is defined as the space under the Unitary Authority of the Marlborough District Council. This is marked on the map of Marlborough (figure one) with a blue line. Within Marlborough, the town of Blenheim is the District's commercial hub and has the largest resident population. Other commercial and service areas are Picton, Havelock, Rai Valley, Renwick and Seddon with smaller villages such as Spring Grove, Rapaura, Ward and Wairau. In 2014, Marlborough's economy was still heavily dependent on the primary industries and related activities in manufacturing (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). While Marlborough is now recognised as a leading export region, scholarly research

² Tangata Whenua are the first peoples of New Zealand, also called "Māori".

³ Steve Austin, Chief Executive of the Marlborough Museum, advised me (personal communication. 27 March 2013) that newly returned carbon dated fossils indicated that the first human arrivals at the Wairau Bar, in Marlborough, occurred around 1250 and were from Polynesia.

on the region's economy, enterprise and entrepreneurs is still sparse. This is surprising considering some of the achievements of the region such as the development of a world class wine industry. According to Perry and Norrie (1991, p. 97) commercial viticulture in Marlborough began as recently as 1973 and "in less than two decades ... were winning gold medals at international competitions." More recently, Marlborough is recognised globally for the quality of its wines and contributed 77% of the total production for New Zealand wines in 2014 (Wine-Marlborough, 2014).

**Figure 1: Marlborough District Unitary Authority map
(Marlborough District Council, via email, 24 January 2013).**



Perry and Norrie (1991, p. 10) noted that "the innovative individual who likes the place as much as the product has a part to play in the future as well as the past of Marlborough's wine industry". To date research on Marlborough has been focused at the business,

industry or community level. For example, Sharman (2004) undertook research on the governance of the Greenshell™ mussel industry in Marlborough, Nelson and Tasman. Beer and Lewis (2006) studied labour supply in the Marlborough vineyards. For Hayward and Lewis (2008) the focus was on contests and relationships within the value-added chain of the regional wine industry. Other academic research conducted on the region included a study of industry cluster development in Nelson and Marlborough (Pavlovich & Akoorie, 2010); contested space in the Marlborough Farmers Market (Joseph, Chalmers & Smithers, 2013), and; space allocation for marine farming businesses (McGinnis & Collins, 2013). In a comparative desk top study of two “indigenous” enterprises (one in Canada, the other in Marlborough) the focus remains on the enterprise, rather than the entrepreneur (Missens, Dana, & Yule, 2010). My study seeks to focus analysis on the perspectives of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough. Therefore, I present six in depth case studies of innovative entrepreneurs alongside their individual thematic analyses. These case studies and their individual analyses are presented in chapter four.

Through comparative analysis of the case studies of these innovative entrepreneurs I have identified and described five shared themes that I present as a process that guides their entrepreneurship (figure three). While this process is influenced by a desire, formed early in life, to be valuable; for these innovative entrepreneurs desire is not enough, one must *be* valuable by proving or showing one’s value. The desire to be valuable leads these innovative entrepreneurs to continuously engage in perfectionistic striving where they analyse for problems both within themselves and in the social world (which may be technological, process, economic and so forth), which they then strive to solve. Ever open to new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs then engage in actions to create solutions. I refer to this as pragmatism. By engaging in this pragmatic application of new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs solve problems, resulting in development of both their self (internal) and (external) developmental outcomes such as businesses, products and processes. These developmental outcomes provide evidence thus validating the participants in the belief that they are *being* valuable. The innovative entrepreneurs in this study experience this validation as meaningful reward. However, being valuable is a temporary state. Therefore, these innovative entrepreneurs are ever striving to find new ways to be valuable. I present the analysis of shared themes, sub-themes and the process model in chapter five.

While these innovative entrepreneurs desire to be valuable the social world in which they dwell is not always compatible with them, or supportive of their goals. Through analysis of the rich points in the social data I discuss fragmentation of the local society into social sets, which occurs due to conflict avoidance (figure five). I also discuss the influence of individuals that seek to reinforce and manipulate these sets in order to usurp the power of institutional leaders (figure six). As entrepreneurs become more visible, accessible and influential (figure seven) they can be drawn into obstructive processes. Obstructors focus on the acquisition, primarily, of institutional power and use goal obstruction to inhibit the performance of institutional leaders (figure eight). This incurs costs (for example focus, time and money) as well as risking either obstruction of the entrepreneurs' goals, or sub-optimal performance. Further complications arise due to the effects of these obstructive forces on the support institutions, causing some innovative entrepreneurs to avoid—as much as possible—both the support institutions and, eventually, much of their localised social world. In addition, the process of obstruction creates an environment where it is increasingly difficult to identify actual problems or the ideas of legitimate proponents as they are subsumed in obstructive rhetoric. The analysis of these rich points in the social data is outlined in chapter six.

In order to gain further insight into my findings I explored relevant literature relating to the shared themes and the rich points outlined. In relation to the shared themes, this led to reflections on the case studies from a life span human development perspective. While analysis of the cases from this perspective was not the original aim of this study, I present a brief discussion. I argue that—due to the developmental nature of these innovative entrepreneurs—they evidence transformative change across their lives. This culminates in the development of a self-identity constructed on the desire to be valuable and the fulfilment of that desire. I then discuss the findings from the social data and focus my analysis on the rich point of isolation which I find relates, in part, to preferences in social structure. Where entrepreneurs have been shown to prefer a heterophilic social structure (open, broadly located and diverse); Marlborough presents a homophilic social structure (closed, narrowly located and uniform). I note the discomfort innovative entrepreneurs feel in separating from local social sets due to this incompatibility and how this separation is exacerbated by obstructive processes resulting in local isolation. In addition, I discuss the potentially negative effects of detachment from local institutions, which may result in a loss of political influence for innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough unless efforts are made to retain constructive ties. I discuss the insights gained from reflections on the literature

and findings in relation to both the shared themes and the rich points and suggest further research in chapter seven.

My study makes an original and significant contribution to entrepreneurship research. For example, the study offers new empirical data on innovative entrepreneurs and presents a new process model (figure three). I contend that being valuable, perfectionistic striving, pragmatism and development are important foci for future entrepreneurship studies. My study also led to new insights into regional entrepreneurship in Marlborough, which has not been the focus of previous scholarly research. My study highlights the formation of social sets in Marlborough (figure five), along with a description of a process of obstruction that reinforces and manipulates these sets in order to usurp institutional power (figure six). I illuminate the key attributes that attract these obstructive influences to innovative entrepreneurs (figure seven) and describe how the obstruction is achieved (figure eight). I argue that there are social and economic costs to the obstruction of innovative entrepreneurs and recommend further research on this. I also describe the incompatibilities between these innovative entrepreneurs and the social structure of Marlborough and their tendency to self-isolate. I discuss some of the implications of this self-isolation. In addition, I discuss how the process that guides their innovative entrepreneurship is embedded in a broader, life long process of self-development (figure ten), and I recommend further research from a life span human development perspective. By undertaking this study I have contributed new insights and empirical data from the anthropological perspective to the study of innovative entrepreneurship. I also show the value of the combined approach of anthropological participant-observation fieldwork and interpretative phenomenological analysis to the field of entrepreneurship research. Finally, I suggest a new way to define the innovative entrepreneur. These concluding statements are outlined in chapter eight.

Reflexively, I entered this study with a willingness to be open to and to learn about the lives of these “others” whom I observed and worked alongside for two years. I have been, by turns, fearful and supported, surprised and delighted, discouraged and hurt, and ultimately inspired and enriched by the experience; it has certainly never been boring. The cool empathy of my science, held aloof yet seeking connection, has led me to a warm regard for these innovative entrepreneurs as the owners of their stories. It has been valuable to me to be able to participate as they explore and express what it is, for them, to be human. We have worked alongside, each observing the other through wind storms, earthquakes,

elections, hearings, workshops, public meetings, forums, award ceremonies, interviews, informal engagements—and obstruction. The entrepreneurs, their families and the researcher have all faced great personal challenges during this time. There have been quiet tears, meaningful silences, moments of anger, raucous laughter, and quite a lot of swearing⁴. There has been reflection and reciprocal development. It has been an innately anthropological phenomenon.

⁴ By this I mean cussing. I made the decision to leave my participants with their words and not to denude them of this important and authentic form of expression.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Perspective and Methodology

Professor T. D. Wilson (2002, p. 6) noted the importance, especially in relation to phenomenological inquiry, of distinguishing methodology from method noting that methodology is “is prior to method and more fundamental, it provides the philosophical groundwork for methods.” Thus, according to Wilson (2002, pp. 6-8) theoretical perspective and methodology are paradigmatically interwoven and inform the selection or development of a method; whereas method delineates the steps undertaken to complete a study. My study is informed by a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13). It embraces relativist ontology that explores the inter-subjectivities of the participants and the researcher within the dialogical interactions and observational encounters of the research environment. Embracing a naturalistic methodology, the research design is based on contemporary interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) conducted under the conditions of participant-observation fieldwork. Alex Stewart (1990, p. 143) made the contention that the study of entrepreneurship had suffered “regrettable neglect” by anthropologists. A contention later paralleled in relation to the discipline of economics, by Baumol (2010, pp. 1-10). Within the studies of “economic man” undertaken by anthropologists, Stewart (1991, pp. 72-73) noted a tendency to analyse the institutional arrangements or the process of exchange, rather than the entrepreneur; and to confuse concepts such as criminal opportunism with entrepreneurship⁵ (1991, p. 82). This led some researchers to emphasise a narrow view of entrepreneurship as the pursuit of profit thus limiting recognition of other forms of entrepreneurial value creation (1991, p. 74).

Stewart (1991, p. 72) also argued that a focus on theoretical perspective in anthropology rather than on the individual engaged in entrepreneurship, led to “little distinction between what we might call economic and political entrepreneurs.” Similarly, Baumol (2010, p. 2) contended that the institutional focus of the macro-economic discourses in the discipline of economics had trapped the entrepreneur on the fringes of economic analysis (2010, pp. 2 & 13-16), where they were both ill situated and poorly defined (2010, pp. 17-18). According to Stewart (1990; 1991) a lack of focus on the individual entrepreneur resulted in a morass of definitions and discoveries. Citing Hart (1975, in Stewart, 1991 p. 73) Stewart restated the contention that in anthropological research into entrepreneurship “it is clear that the word [entrepreneurship] is usually used by analysts to mean whatever they like.” Stewart (1991, pp. 76-78) argued that anthropological research focused on the entrepreneur could

⁵ Stewart (1991, p.72) cites, as an example: Hobbs. D. (1988). *Doing the business: Entrepreneurship, the working class, and detectives in the East End of London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

lead to new insights and become influential in the development of meaningful theories of entrepreneurship. For Stewart (1990, p. 150), anthropology offered the opportunity to study the individual entrepreneur embedded within their society; and their entrepreneurship as embedded within, yet not the sole purpose of, their lives (1991, pp. 73-75). Noting the value of participant-observation fieldwork, Stewart (1991, pp. 78-80) contended that there was much to be gained through attention to (for example): entrepreneurial process, participant subjectivity, participant and researcher reflexivity, and key influences relating to both the spatial and temporal context of such studies.

Due to the complexity of the phenomenon under study, Stewart (1991, pp. 78-80) recommended a “transdisciplinary” approach embracing “multiple literatures” and “broader methodology” in order to understand—not just the observed institutions and exchanges of the entrepreneur—but their perceptions of their lives and work. Stewart’s (1991) “transdisciplinary” argument was reiterated by Rosa and Caulkins (2013, p. 100) and Ripsas (1998, p. 104) who noted the “important presence” of psychological and economic analysts, as well as social anthropologists in entrepreneurship research. To Stewart (1991, p. 81) anthropological approach offered the opportunity of “putting aside notebooks and simply working” alongside the entrepreneur; engaging with the senses and joining the entrepreneurial dance in order to better understand the lives of these seemingly complex and amorphous “others”. Asking that anthropologists lay aside their own “ideologies” or “horror of the business school curriculum”, Stewart (1991, p. 75) encouraged anthropologists to re-engage with the entrepreneur. Through the interpretative space of anthropology the formless entrepreneur could take shape; their substance defined by their own, thus far subdued, voices and stories (1991, pp. 82-83). This study responds to the call, made by Stewart (1990; 1991), for anthropologists to re-engage with the entrepreneur. According to Rosa and Caulkins (2013, p. 101), social anthropology made a “significant” contribution to entrepreneurship theory from 1950-1960 and experienced a temporary revival of interest due to Stewart’s (1990; 1991) call to re-engage.

For Rosa and Caulkins (2013, p. 115) anthropology’s historic contribution resulted in improved understanding of the relationship between entrepreneurship and social change. Rosa and Caulkins (2013, p. 115) also noted the potential that the anthropological investigation of entrepreneurship offers by influencing a transition to more contextualised analysis of the entrepreneur. However, Rosa and Caulkins (2013, p. 101) also noted that “cross-fertilization” between the research domains of social anthropology and

entrepreneurship had been “minimal”, and anthropological influence on theory constrained by a focus on small and isolated “ethnic communities” (2013, p. 115). In addition (2013, p. 115), they noted that a tendency for entrepreneurship research to focus on the creation of the firm or enterprise—rather than the entrepreneur—led to oversimplification, for example, of entrepreneurship as a unilineal process of single-firm development. This, they contended, resulted in a misinterpretation of the development pathways catalysed by entrepreneurs, as it conceptualised entrepreneurship as the start-up and intended development of a single large firm (2013, p. 115). In contrast, anthropological research has highlighted the tendency of many entrepreneurs to create and/or acquire clusters of firms rather than to create and grow a single enterprise to large scale (Rosa, 1998; Rosa & Scott, 1996; 1999). Such anthropological research encourages more holistic focus on the activities of entrepreneurs, greater inclusivity in relation to the term “entrepreneurship”, and deeper engagement with individual entrepreneurs across societies, sectors and scale. Rosa and Bowes (1992, p.87) contended that the inclusive approach of anthropology and the discipline’s “specialisation” in long term participant-observation fieldwork enables this deeper engagement (1993, p. 91-92).

According to Rosa and Bowes (1992, p. 97) it was early anthropological explorations such as those of Fredrik Barth (1972 [1963]), Clifford Geertz (1963), and Norman Long (1977) that demonstrated the value of an anthropological approach in entrepreneurship research. Although the entrepreneur was not central to these analyses, each included “some aspect” of entrepreneurship (Rosa & Bowes, 1992, p. 91-92). For Barth (1972 [1963]; 1967b) it was social change that was of interest. Barth (1972 [1963], p. 6) stated that “... ‘the entrepreneur’ is not a *person* as such” and neither is entrepreneurship a role but rather “*an aspect of a role*” [emphasises his]. For Barth (1972 [1963], p. 6) the focus of study were behaviours intended to “manipulate other persons and resources.” Later Barth’s (1967a, pp. 168-173) focus moved to changes in the structure of economic activities and how Darfur entrepreneurs exploited market inefficiencies and changes in resource availability. For Geertz (1963, p. 147) the interrelationship between religion and both social and economic change in two Indonesian villages was at issue, and entrepreneurs were discussed in this context. Long (1977; pp. 174-175) noted the social focus in the work by Barth and the focus on religion in studies by Geertz. This was also reflected in the study of an economic development project affecting Kerala fishermen by Klausen (1968, cited in Long, 1977, p. 175). Long (1968, cited in Long 1977, p. 175) also studied rural

entrepreneurship in Zambia and later explored entrepreneurship in the context of kinship systems in the Peruvians highlands.

Long's (1977, p. 176) Peruvian study highlighted the need to understand the influences of interpersonal relationships on entrepreneurs. This was later explored in relation to economic development in the Peruvian highlands, where Long and Roberts (1984) explored production systems and the social relationships within which they were contextualised; and amongst a small group of fishermen in an isolated community on Stewart Island, New Zealand, by Levine (1985). While, as noted by Rosa and Bowes (1992, p.p. 91-92) the above-mentioned studies do include "some aspect" of entrepreneurship, Stewart's (1991, pp. 72-73) contention holds in that the entrepreneur and their life-world is not central to these studies. Further, per Rosa and Caulkins (2013) contention, the studies are conducted primarily on small ethnic communities. Broadly, anthropological investigations have continued to focus on institutions, exchanges and social and economic development processes rather than on the entrepreneur (Rosa and Scott, 1996). Such studies have included, for example, research on kinship systems (Stewart, 2010a); finance systems (Carter & Rosa, 1998); social capital within migrant groups (Caulkins & Peters, 2002); resource utilisation amongst ethnic enclaves (Drori & Lerner, 2002); formal and informal credit markets in ethnic enclaves (Mushinski & Pickering, 2007); economic and social development processes (Long & Roberts, 1984; Peredo, 2004; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Villar, 1994); gender in relation to the informal and formal economy (Spring, 2009); Confucian culture and business management (Chunxia, 2010); entrepreneurial social class in Barbados (Freeman, 2007); entrepreneurial network development (McDade & Spring, 2005; Spring, 2009), and mechanisms for poverty alleviation (Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig, & Dana, 2004; Peredo & McLean, 2010).

While the inclusion of entrepreneurship as a mechanism within a social/institutional unit or process yields valuable insights it can also constrain analysis, thus it is also important to study the lives of the entrepreneurs themselves (Rosa & Scott, 1996). A related conundrum with regard to anthropological exploration of entrepreneurship lies in the low level of engagement in participant-observation fieldwork, with many anthropologists relying on desk research, structured surveys and short interviews to obtain data for analysis. For example, Meir and Baskind (2006) utilised "questionnaires and interviews" in their study of Bedouin "ethnic entrepreneurs". Rosa (1998) accessed a participant sample from a "Local Heroes database" and conducted life history interviews and analysis of business genealogy

to explore habitual entrepreneurs' business clusters, noting that his preferred method of long term fieldwork was not possible due to resource limitations. Similarly, Rosa and Scott (1999) re-analysed the data from the "Local Heroes" interviews, a previously collected survey sample, and analysed company incorporations in Scotland to explore habitual entrepreneurship. Shackel and Palus (2010) utilised landscape and archaeological analysis to explore "industry, entrepreneurship and patronage" on Virginus Island. Anthropological studies that involved some aspect of entrepreneurship and that utilised participant-observation fieldwork as method have been undertaken. For example, Peredo (2000) undertook doctoral research that included ten months of fieldwork crossing Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela studying sustainable development and poverty alleviation in small "indigenous" Andean villages.

Peredo subsequently wrote and co-authored on similar economic and social development topics which included aspects of entrepreneurship (see especially: Anderson, Honig, & Peredo, 2006; Peredo, 2003; Peredo, 2004; Peredo, 2005; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Peredo & McLean, 2010). Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002), following the failure of a positivistic study of entrepreneurial process, engaged in ethnographic analysis—including eight months of participant-observation fieldwork—amongst Sri-Lankan farmers. In a study that utilised previous participant-observation fieldwork, Heikkenen (2006) re-analysed fieldwork data and conducted supplementary interviewing to explore "neo-entrepreneurship" amongst Finnish reindeer herders. Alvarez (1994) undertook five years of fieldwork to study the role of "transnational entrepreneurs" in commodity markets, and later the manner in which "Mexican middlemen entrepreneurs" manipulate financial capital (Alvarez, 1998). While this discussion does not present a full literature review of all anthropological literature purporting to relate, or actually relating, to entrepreneurship⁶ many of the studies located are derived from desk research, surveys and interviews, or based on relatively short term (under twelve months) fieldwork, intensive engagement with the perspectives of individual entrepreneurs is limited, the focus is on small ethnic or indigenous communities and innovative entrepreneurship is not a focus.

⁶ Achieving such a review would be challenging. I found that not all authors are clear about their affiliation to anthropology, or differentiate clearly between entrepreneurs and organisations. Some authors change their topics and/or titles to entrepreneurship when the original focus had been elsewhere. The key words "entrepreneur" and "entrepreneurship" would lead me, at times, to irrelevant research. This loose approach was noted by Stewart (1991, 1992) and—while improving—is still problematic at the time of my study. Finally, some "organisational anthropology" that may be relevant is conducted as applied research under contract and is not publicly available.

In engaging intensively with entrepreneurs the anthropologist seeks insight into both the particularities and the universalities of the human condition (Hann & Hart, 2011). However, according to Hann and Hart (2011, p. 1) entrenched ideological positions, culminating in the construction of arbitrary disciplinary boundaries, led to economic anthropology in the twentieth century being “pigeon-holed as the study of those parts of humanity that others could not reach.” According to Brewer (2000, p. 12), anthropologists became the ethnographers of “the dispossessed, the marginal and strange.” Hann and Hart (2011, pp. 1-3) argued that this dissociation impaired the ability of anthropologists to contribute meaningfully to debates on economic concepts such as entrepreneurship. The stories of the entrepreneur in Marlborough, New Zealand, in 2015, are as interesting and as important as Stewart’s (1990) historic “library tales” of the Melanesian “big man”. In addition, as noted by Geertz (1995, p. 130): “Depiction is power.” Surely an aspiration of contemporary economic anthropology is to enable, as much as possible, the entrepreneurs’ powers of self-representation; to be the primary voice in their own stories. Alongside this, the reflexive anthropological approach offers a methodical and insightful interpretation of those stories (Bate, 1997, pp. 1154-1166); such that we “present phenomena in new and interesting ways” (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992, p. 13, cited in Bate, 1997, p. 1168).

Keesing and Keesing (1971 [1932], p. 12) contended that to achieve such insightful interpretation, the anthropologist requires “*a deep immersion into the life of a people*” [emphasis theirs], and an openness to their lives that prohibits pre-empting the field with hypotheses. For the anthropologist, long-term participant-observation fieldwork enables this immersion. Brewer (2000, p. 12) contended that for many anthropologists participant-observation fieldwork is synonymous with ethnography and perceived as ontology. However, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, pp. 248-249) argue that ethnography is less a “philosophical paradigm” and, in practicality, is a method— informed by the interpretivist paradigm. As such, it embraces an a-hypothetical approach, the collection of unstructured data (without preconceived surveys), a focus on small-groups and case studies, interpretation of data to give insight as to meanings, and primacy of “verbal descriptions and explanations” (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994, pp. 248-249). Brewer (2000, p. 10) described this as “ethnography-as-fieldwork” and noted the importance of the researcher becoming embedded in the myriad of quotidian interactions within which the participants experience their lives. Through this immersion, the anthropologist is able to experience “people as active, creative, insurgent and knowledgeable” and as having the “capacity to endow meaning to their world” (Brewer, 2000, p. 22). Nevertheless ethnography-as-

fieldwork is not without its limitations (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Brewer, 1994; Brewer, 2000).

According to Brewer (1994, pp. 232-233) it is anthropologists that have conducted the most sustained critique of ethnographic fieldwork due to its centrality to anthropological endeavour. For Brewer (1994, p. 234, see also Harris, 2001 [1968], pp. 403-404) the “artfully constructed” texts of “the great anthropologists” provided impressions, as opposed to evidence, to support their findings. Citing Woolgar (1988, pp. 27-29, in Brewer, 1994, p. 234), Brewer argued that early anthropologists used the mystique of “exoticism” to conflate what was “strange” with what really happened on a quotidian basis. Brewer (1994, p. 235) also noted the lack of reflexivity in early anthropological writing. Anthropological critique has also challenged ethnographic fieldwork on the basis of unsubstantiated storytelling (Freeman, 1999); selective use of data (Boles, 2006, p. 45; Harris 2001 [1968], pp. 404-406; Lindesmith & Strauss, 1950); ideological imposition subverting ethnographic understanding (Boles, 2006, p. 27); subtly imposing hypotheses through the use of preconceived tests or surveys (Lindesmith & Strauss, 1950, p. 593); over-generalisation of findings, leading to oversimplified models of culture (Boles, 2006, pp. 31-37 & 45; Harris, 2001 [1968], p. 398); philosophical and, therefore, epistemological ambivalence (Boles, 2006, p. 45); and; failure to clearly define what or who was being studied (Harris, 2001 [1968], p. 403). Perhaps one of the most disquieting criticisms is that of anthropologists subjugating the participants’ voices in their writings; especially where no provision was allowed to explain or respond to the researcher’s analysis (Lindesmith & Strauss, 1950, p. 592).

Brewer (1994, pp. 234-236) argued that contemporary fieldwork has overcome many of these criticisms through improved method and greater reflexivity. Participant-observation fieldwork is now embraced as method by other disciplines to study entrepreneurs, for example, to study Finnish and Sámi entrepreneurs (Dana & Light, 2011). However, according to Throop and Murphy (2002, p. 195) participant-observation fieldwork has not, on its own, achieved primacy of the participants’ perspectives or voices. Throop and Murphy (2002, p. 185-201) attributed this failure to the influence, on anthropology, of Pierre Bourdieu’s (1990, cited in Throop, 2002; Throop & Murphy, 2002) practice theory; conceptualising Bourdieu’s juxtaposition of self and structure as an implicit mirror of subject-object duality. Throop and Murphy (2002, p. 201) argued that failure to address this implicit duality leads to a nihilistic tautology where the subject’s self-knowledge is

conceptualised as self-interested yet not self-generated, and therefore as existing but immaterial (2002, pp. 197-198). Throop and Murphy (2002, p. 198) contended that such failure to engage with the participant's perspective is to revert to "an overly deterministic rendering of human experience and behaviour." For Throop and Murphy (2002, pp. 200-201) phenomenological exploration of the participants' life-worlds offers a valuable "tool in anthropology" that, alongside participant-observation fieldwork, re-engages the participants perspective. Throop and Murphy (2002, p. 195) contended that: "To posit that a given representation is meaningful without examining how individuals construe meaning from it and attribute meaning to it is an exercise in futility."

For Throop and Murphy (2002, pp. 200-201) phenomenological method provides insight into the participants' experience of their lives and the meanings they construct around those experiences. As such the participant becomes both articulator and challenger in the research process, thus aiding anthropological reflexivity. According to Desjarlais and Throop (2011, p. 87) the phenomenological approach has made a significant contribution to anthropological understanding of lived experiences; they note the diverse approaches that have, over time, intersected with anthropology and defined phenomenology:

"... from American pragmatism and the writings of William James and John Dewey to the phenomenological and existentialist approaches of Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Alfred Schultz, Hannah Arendt, Edith Stein, and Emmanuel Levinas to the hermeneutic phenomenology of Wilhelm Dilthey, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Paul Ricoeur to the ethnomethodological perspectives of Harold Garfinkel and Harvey Sacks to the deconstructivist phenomenology of Jacques Derrida."

(Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 88)

For Desjarlais and Throop (2011, p. 88) the binding unity of the various phenomenological approaches is found in the exploration of consciousness, and through contextualising consciousness of experience in both social relations and time. Giorgi (2010, p. 3) contended that phenomenology, as a philosophy, began with Edmund Husserl (1970, in Giorgi, 2010). Husserlian philosophic phenomenology relied upon a form of "phenomenological modification" of the researcher's consciousness achieved by "bracketing" (Husserl, 1962, in Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 88).

Bracketing is said to be achieved when the researcher shifts their perspective from their preconceived notions (or their “natural attitude”) regarding the world, to achieve “phenomenological epoché” or “phenomenological reduction”; a state where the researcher has neutralised preconception and approaches the participant’s life-world with a clear lens. Giorgi (1997) explained that this conscious naiveté allows the researcher to record the phenomenon as it is lived. The data is then analysed for “essences” or themes (Finlay, 2009, p. 7). Giorgi (2010, p. 4) noted that practicing phenomenology using the Husserlian method is equivalent to practicing philosophy, rather than empirical science. For Csordas (1990, p. 5) the key to an empirical approach to phenomenological inquiry rested with consistency in methodological application. Csordas (1990, p. 5) described phenomenology as a “paradigm of embodiment”, defining embodiment as a form of consciousness that collapses the duality of mind and body. Csordas (1990, p. 5) stated that “a paradigm of embodiment transcends different methodologies” and does not “attempt to synthesise” the corpus of literature, treating each narrative as being independent and isolated in context. Csordas (1990) discussed a number of early anthropological approaches to phenomenological inquiry and their failure to collapse duality such as Hallowell’s (1955, in Csordas, 1990, p. 6) focus on perception and practice; Ortner’s (1984, in Csordas, 1990, p. 7) focus on context as an intermediary between behaviour and practice; Mauss’ (1950, in Csordas, 1990, p. 7) duality of cognition and spirituality; Merleau-Ponty’s (1962, cited in Csordas, 1990, p. 7) duality of subject and object, and; Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984, cited in Csordas, 1990, p. 8) duality of structure and practice.

Finlay (2009, p. 8) contended that the various empirical approaches to phenomenological inquiry are valid where rich description of the participant’s lived experience has primacy, where the researcher does not preface the study with a theory to be tested, and where the participant’s perspectives are not analysed to ascertain objective truths but rather are analysed as valid subjective, or inter-subjective descriptions of their life-worlds. Finlay (2009, pp. 11-12) focused phenomenological analysis on Heidegger’s (1962, in Finlay 2009, pp. 11-12) interpretative approach. Heidegger’s interpretative phenomenology contextualised the participant’s life-world in relation to their history, present, future aspirations, and social relationships (Finlay, 2009, pp. 11-12; Seymour, 2006, p. 138). However, Finlay (2009, p.11) emphasised that Heidegger’s interpretative approach focused on the communication of meaning derived from an emic perspective and was not designed to test theory. Further, Heideggerian method embraced interpretation at two levels: the participant’s interpretation of their life-world, and; the researcher’s interpretation of the

participant's interpretation of their life-world (Finlay, 2009). As such, phenomenological research begins with descriptions of phenomenon from "first-person accounts" of participants:

"Any research which does not have at its core the description of 'the things in their appearing,' focusing on experience as lived, cannot be considered phenomenological."

(Finlay, 2009, p.8)

However, Finlay (2009, p. 10) also argued that the researcher, in analysing for themes and presenting a synthesised account, implicitly interprets the narratives. Thus, while idiographic phenomenology is descriptive, once thematic analysis and synthesis is undertaken the research becomes interpretative phenomenology which emerged from the hermeneutic philosophers (Finlay, 2009, p. 10). As stated by Heidegger (1962, p.137 cited in Finlay 2009, p. 10): "The meaning of phenomenological description as a method lies in interpretation ..."

Smith (2010, p. 186) also affirmed an idiographic approach that captures the narratives of participants. Smith (2010, p. 186) contended that phenomenological analysis is innately interpretivist as the analysis seeks to synthesise and explain the interpretations of both the participant and the researcher, with the participant having primacy. The contemporary interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) proposed by Smith (2004, p. 40) explores the individual's interpretation of their life experience but also embraces inter-subjectivity between participants, and participant and researcher, to inform broader thematic analysis. Smith (2004, p. 40) contextualised phenomenology within the hermeneutic tradition:

"For IPA, one can say human research involves a double hermeneutic. The participant is trying to make sense of their personal and social world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of their personal and social world."

While Smith (2004, p. 40) concurred with Giorgi's (2010) requirement to separate philosophical exploration and empirical inquiry he noted that "one cannot do qualitative research by following a cookbook." Smith (2004, pp. 41-42) conceptualised the IPA research process as being, firstly, idiographic with the focus on between one and six case studies which are recorded in detail. Second, Smith (2004, pp. 41-42) noted that inductive

thematic analysis is undertaken to explore each case study for themes. Third, once each case study has been analysed in its own right, the themes are “interrogated for convergence and divergence” in order to explore the inter-subjective essences⁷ (Smith, 2004, pp. 41-42).

According to Smith (2004, p. 43) once inductive analysis is completed, it is also possible to conduct deductive analyses that apply hypotheses to the data gathered, with the understanding that the data gathering was flexible and a-hypothetic at the time narratives were recorded. Finlay (2009, p. 8) concurred with this perspective noting that when rich data is collected, theories or hypotheses can be explored reflexively in a manner that allows the lived experience to take precedence. Giorgi (2010, p. 4-8) recommended a cautious approach to the degree of flexibility of method and analysis suggested by Smith (2004) and noted that the openness of philosophical phenomenology must be mediated by the rigor of methodological consistency if studies are to be considered scientific and not philosophic. Giorgi (2010, p. 15) also criticised much of the interpretative phenomenological perspective for the failure to “bracket presuppositions radically enough” resulting in a lack of clarity between the subjectivity of the participant and the researcher. However, for Throop (2009) the demarcation between subjectivities or inter-subjectivities is assumed based on preconceived notions of self and other—a default again to duality—and argued that experiences of the life-world are less a dichotomy than a continuum of intermingled subjectivities negotiated by intermediary experiences. This contention was echoed by Finlay (2009, p. 10) who noted a preference “... to see description and interpretation as a continuum where specific work may be more or less interpretive.” By refocusing on the continuum between description and interpretation, Finlay (2009, p. 10, citing Langdridge, 2008, p. 1131), contended that phenomenological research is freed from arbitrary boundaries “antithetical to the spirit of the phenomenological tradition that prizes individuality and creativity.”

For Throop (2010) “bracketing” is not a phenomenological approach at all but the original ethnographic approach in anthropology where the anthropologist seeks to suspend their cultural perspective in order to describe, without judgement, the life of an “other”.

Similarly, Finlay (2009, p. 17, see also Cope, 2005, p. 167) noted that the “phenomenological attitude” is less about “bracketing” and more about reflexivity which seeks to ensure that the researcher is aware of their own pre-conceptions and consciously

⁷ Note here that Smith discusses essences as shared themes, rather than general laws.

reflects on how these preconceptions may influence the research. Shaw *et al.* (2011) reminded us that this requires that the researcher define the target of their research, thus “exposing” their preconceptions and enabling the “chase” (see key definitions in chapter three). Finlay (2009, p. 3) went further in embracing the researchers own awareness to add insight to findings as opposed to seeing the researcher as neutral or outside of the study. Finlay (2009, p. 13) contended that a more “explicitly relational” approach allows analysis “... to emerge out of the researcher-coresearcher⁸ [sic] relationship, and is understood to be co-created in the embodied dialogical encounter.” This collapsing of the roles of researcher and participant within a phenomenological approach was described by Merleau-Ponty (1968, p. 138) as a pre-analytic “... reciprocal insertion and intertwining of one in the other” that aids in the collapse of the contested boundaries between objectivity and subjectivity. Nazaruk (2011, p. 73) contextualised the debate on objectivity and subjectivity in terms of a “recurrent and persistent crisis of objectivity that haunts modern scholarship.”

For Nazaruk (2011, p. 73) anthropology is itself an interpreted discipline of interwoven subjectivities leading to “multiple faces that create a reflection.” Nazaruk (2011, p. 73) conceptualised the issue as one of awareness of the researcher’s effect on their participants, both in terms of the subjectivity or bias of their own perspective and the way the participant alters their behaviour due to the researcher being present. For Good (1994, p. 42, cited in Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 89) the presence of the researcher may lead to a different and problematic duality, that of what is “ideal” and what is “real” in the participant’s descriptions of their experience. While, as an aspect of method, actions taken by the researcher can assist to diminish or detect dissimulation (I will discuss these in the method section), for Throop (2003) the issue is not so much one of dissimulation as of defining what “experience” is. Throop (2003, pp. 219-220) cites critiques of the validity of the concept of experience (see especially Scott, 1991; Scott, 1992, cited in Throop, 2003, p. 220), where experience is conceptualised as rhetorical and where researchers “have become increasingly blind to those processes and structures that give rise to the historicity and possibility of experience, shared or otherwise.” Throop discusses multiple perspectives on the nature of experience, including: Experience as shaped by the mind in the context of space and time (Kant, 1781; Husserl, 1997 [1948]; Heidegger, 1996 [1953]; Schultz 1982, all cited in Throop, 2003, pp. 219-220); embodied, emotional and dynamic (Turner, 1982, cited in Throop, 2003, pp. 219-220); sensorial as lived, and imbued with

⁸The participant, reflecting on their own life world and in relationship with the researcher becomes a co-researcher; a creative entity within the research process, rather than a passive subject of study.

meaning as narrative (Dilthey, 1985; Mattingly, 2000, both cited in Throop, 2003, pp. 219-220); culturally informed and interpreted (Geertz, 1973, cited in Throop, 2003, pp. 219-220), and historically-bounded and future oriented (Gadamer, 1975, pp. 61-6; Ricoeur, 1981, both cited in Throop, 2003, pp. 219-220).

Anthropology has a long association with the exploration of experience and can make a positive contribution to the exploration of entrepreneurial experience (Morris, Pryor & Schindehutte, 2012, pp. 36-55). Throop (2003, see also Mattingly, 1998) argued that critics of the phenomenological exploration of participants' subjective life experiences fail to recognise the spatial and temporal specificity of the research context (as a moment in time). For Mattingly (1998, p. 2-8), the participant's narrative captures a historically-informed and future-oriented series of experiences, in a manner that accepts that the participant is making sense of those experiences in that moment. Rather than recounting a stream of raw, factual data, each participant's reflexive narrative makes sense of their experiences. This sense-making mediates the history, present and future states in a manner that is both meaningful and insightful; and that is also relevant to the particular aspect of their lives that is being explored (Throop, 2003, pp. 233-234). For Nazaruk (2011, p. 80) the participant's perspective is relative and valid, and the anthropologist's role is not to mask interpretations or subjectivities but to ensure that they are explicit in the research process. The role of a method such as phenomenology is to make a valuable contribution through new insights and new methods of communication beyond those which could be achieved through positivistic and quantitative endeavour (Nazaruk, 2011, pp. 80-81). In this study I focus on entrepreneurship as an aspect of the participants' lives as interpreted and communicated by the participants, and as analysed and interpreted by the researcher. Per Nazaruk (2011, p. 80) I seek to communicate new perspectives and insights, thus my focus is on particularities; rather than on the presentation of a universal "truth" of entrepreneurship.

In relation to studies of entrepreneurship, Cope (2005, p. 164) contended that contemporary phenomenology "is not a rigid school or a uniform philosophical tradition, but rather encapsulates diversity of perspective and method" Cope (2005, p. 163) described phenomenology as a method located "within a broad interpretive paradigm." Cope (2005, pp. 165-167) affirmed the primacy of the subjective lived experience of the entrepreneur and the value of exploring the inter-subjectivities both between

entrepreneurs, and between the entrepreneur and the researcher. Cope (2005, p. 168) advocated an interpretative approach to the study of entrepreneurship where:

“... the aim of phenomenological inquiry is to understand the subjective nature of ‘lived experience’ from the perspective of those who experience it, by exploring the meanings and explanations that individuals attribute to their experiences.”

According to Cope (2005, pp. 165-167) interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) does not seek to detach the entrepreneur from their environmental setting; rather, it recognises the symbiosis between the entrepreneurs, landscape, society, political structure, economic context and time. By re-embedding the entrepreneur both socially and temporally IPA seeks to capture, not universal laws that transcend place and time but rather, deeper understandings of the lived experience contextualised within a particular place and time (Cope, 2005, p. 170). The assumption is that perceptions of the experience will change across places and across time, therefore IPA embraces particularism and dynamism (Cope, 2005, p. 170).

While my literature searches did not identify any entrepreneurship studies that couple IPA with anthropological fieldwork, IPA is gaining traction in other disciplines and is providing new insights that challenge pre-existing beliefs. For example, Cope (2011, p.612) utilised IPA to study entrepreneurial learning from failure which highlighted the pervasive effects of failure on the entrepreneur through “six distinct spheres” of their business, social and personal lives. Cope (2011, p. 612) noted the “deeply affective dimension of failure”, where loss is catalysed by venture failure but where effects become pervasive across the entrepreneur’s life. Of interest are Cope’s (2011, p. 619) findings in relation to the sole female participant, Gill. Cope noted (2011, p. 619) the prevailing hypothesis that Gill will recover more quickly from failure due to it being “proposed that women are able to engage more easily in ‘emotional sharing.’” Cope’s (2011, p.619) analysis did not support that prevailing view. He stated: “Gill clearly seemed to experience higher levels of anxiety and depression than the other participants, but also felt completely isolated and unable to turn to others for support.” Accordingly, Cope (2011, p. 619) recommended further IPA research to explore a larger sample of female case studies in relation to this issue. Berglund (2007, p. 243) also utilised IPA to explore how opportunity manifests to the entrepreneur, and reflected on the emergence of “two broad perspectives on opportunities.”

Berglund (2007, p. 243) described these perspectives as that which sees opportunities as pre-existing and harvested by “alert, skilful or fortunate entrepreneurs” (that is, discovery), and; that which sees opportunity as created by the entrepreneur, thus relying upon “entrepreneurial imagination and action for its development” (that is, creation). Berglund (2007, pp. 252-253) interviewed “founding entrepreneurs” engaged in the “Swedish mobile internet industry” and found that, while aspects of their experience supported both the discovery and creation perspectives the lived experience was inclusive of each and resisted neat classification into either. Focusing instead on an evolutionary perspective Berglund (2007, p. 269) conceptualised opportunity as “mutable and under construction.” As such Berglund (2007, p. 243) concluded that opportunity is “both existing and created in the evolving set of perceptions and projections” of each entrepreneur. Coherence, Berglund (2007, p. 269) argued, is manifest at the point of pragmatic application and only then temporarily, and in a manner sufficient to “guide entrepreneurial action.” The studies by Cope (2011) and Berglund (2007) are detailed here in order to provide examples of how IPA as a method within the interpretivist paradigm adds new insight to our understanding of entrepreneurs and can challenge pre-existing hypotheses. In addition to the above, studies into entrepreneurship that utilised IPA as method have included the study of: Recent graduates of the University of Cork who select self-employment (Connolly, Gorman & Bogue, 2006) and the process of learning and error solving in Taiwanese entrepreneurs in China (Fu Lai Tony Yu, 2008).

In addition, Bann (2009) studied the experience of the “start-up” process for young (United States-based) entrepreneurs, with other IPA research exploring: career development in (United States-based) female managers who may become entrepreneurs⁹ (Knörr, 2011); (Scotland-based) entrepreneurs making sense of business failure (Heinze, 2013); exploring successful international business relationships of (Sri Lankan-based) entrepreneurs (Hewapathirana, 2014); the lived experiences of (Singapore-based) Generation X and Y entrepreneurs (Khor & Mapunda, 2014), and; the value of mentoring to female entrepreneurs in the United States (Laukhuf & Malone, 2015). In New Zealand, Lewis (2009, p. ii) utilised “phenomenologically-focussed, in-depth interviews” to conduct a study with ten “New Zealand entrepreneurs” of “up to thirty years of age”¹⁰ with “start-up” businesses (as a proxy for entrepreneurship). Lewis (2009, p. 53) used a series of

⁹ Knörr’s (2011) study did not include participants as such, rather she analysed prior studies, and data from prior studies.

¹⁰ Lewis (2009, pp. 69-71) describes ten participants; however, six of these participants are over 30, and up to 35 years of age.

multifaceted “trigger questions” and “key words” to explore the research question: “What meaning do New Zealand entrepreneurs attach to being in business (Lewis, 2009, p. 8)?”

The question was then reframed as three “sub-questions” focused on: Links between self and firm; perceptions of entrepreneurship as work, and; whether “young New Zealander’s who run businesses identify as entrepreneurs” (Lewis, 2009, p.8). While other studies were identified with “phenomenology” as keywords, the methods of these studies indicated that they were broadly qualitative rather than phenomenological in method. For example Lechner and Leyronas (2009) used a case study approach to explore small-business group formation, and; Popp and Holt (2013) conducted an analysis of historic documentation to explore entrepreneurial opportunity.

I researched the authors of the above-mentioned phenomenological studies and found no authors purporting to be anthropologists. In all but the last two studies methods were based on surveys or short interviews only. Definitions of “entrepreneur”, when given, were varied, although most studies relied on “young” people and business “start-ups” as proxies for the definition. As noted by Low & Isserman (2015, p. 172) these studies generally “rely on entrepreneurship proxies that ignore innovation.” In addition none of the studies noted focused on regional entrepreneurship within New Zealand. Importantly, none of the IPA studies into entrepreneurship cited included participant-observation fieldwork. However, according to Desjarlais and Throop (2011, pp. 95-96) coupling participant-observation fieldwork with phenomenological inquiry aids to contextualise the participant within their social world. For Desjarlais and Throop (2011, p. 97): “What is most called for are careful, sophisticated phenomenological approaches in anthropology, realized through ethnographic field research methods ...” that assist us to explore both the entrepreneur’s perspective and their embeddedness in their social world. Desjarlais and Throop contended that this substantially resolves the criticism made by Moran (2000, p. 21, cited in Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 95) that phenomenology ignores the economic, political and wider social context of participants’ lives. In consideration of the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm informing this research, the literature reviewed and the broad aim of this study, I adapted a research design based on contemporary interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). However, this was also conducted under the conditions of long term participant-observation fieldwork. My research aim was to describe and analyse the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough, New Zealand. I will now delineate the method undertaken in this study beginning with a discussion of three key definitions: entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and innovation.

Chapter Three: Method

As discussed in chapter two the research design I adapted for this study is informed by a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm and incorporates interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) conducted in conjunction with two years of participant-observation fieldwork. Contemporary IPA requires that relevant preconceptions are disclosed (Shaw *et al.*, 2011, p. 6). In order to disclose preconceptions and contextualise, I begin by providing information on relevant aspects of my own background (see Vignette One). I will then define key concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and innovation.

Vignette One – The Researcher

I am a former entrepreneur having established or held ownership and control of five businesses in New Zealand, with the focus of these businesses being: innovative technologies designed and manufactured in New Zealand and exported globally, intellectual property development, property investment, human resources, and business/research consultancy. In addition to my own businesses I have worked in leadership roles in the public service including management of university teaching and research centres, as a Senior Business Consultant in a local government-sponsored economic development agency, and as Chief Executive of a leading private economic research provider. I entered university as a mature student under what was affectionately called the “bums on seats” strategy. I had already achieved some success as an entrepreneur, but had very little formal education and I wanted to change that. I had no idea that anthropology existed but discovered and took a 101 elective. The rapport was immediate. I completed a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology and Psychology and as a Massey Scholar I undertook graduate studies in the business school. I then went to the capital city to work in education, policy and economics, returning five years later to undertake this PhD study as a Doctoral Scholar. The disciplines of anthropology, economics, psychology and business inform my analysis, and my business skills assist me to identify and develop rapport with my participants. I have conducted both qualitative and quantitative applied economic research, as well as qualitative applied social research for many years and this has assisted me to understand the broader political, social and economic environment within which my participants live and work.

With relevant aspects of my own history disclosed, I would like to be clear about what I mean by entrepreneur (and entrepreneurship) in this study. According to Shaw *et al.* (2011, p. 6) IPA requires that I am explicit about what, or who, is being studied:

“We already have decided that entrepreneurship exists and consequently we must ask about the nature of its existence. When we are clear about what it is that we chase, we can begin the chase.”

Shaw *et al.* (2011, p. 6) noted that clarity around the definition of “concepts” such as entrepreneurship avoids “graceless and confusing” situations where the same word is used to describe fundamentally different concepts.

“... we have to define entrepreneurship or an aspect of something which we deem to be relevant to entrepreneurship.”

Shaw *et al.* (2011, p. 6) recommended capitalising on the “intellectual labour of others” to assist with the process of definition. Accordingly, I discuss here literature that assisted me to clarify what I mean by entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in this study. I close with the definition of entrepreneur and of entrepreneurship that I deem appropriate to this study, at which point I will move on to discuss the definition of innovation.

What I mean by entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in this study

The study of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship has been undertaken from a number of different perspectives and this has resulted in a variety of definitions (Anderson, Dodd, & Jack, 2012, p. 966; Gedeon, 2010; McKenzie *et al.*, 2007, p. 21) as well as confusion between the terms (Drucker, 1993 [1986], p. 21). While remaining supportive of entrepreneurship as a subject of study the proliferating definitions of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship have led some analysts to criticise the use of the terms as being, not just ill-defined but often, so open as to be meaningless (Stewart, 1991; Gartner, 1990). However, Low and Isserman (2015, p. 177) contended that there are, indeed, many types of entrepreneur. While the various definitions have led to a field that can appear highly fragmented convergence analysis by Grégoire, Noël, Déry and Béchard (2006) suggested that the field has begun to evidence a low level of convergence around key ideas. Grégoire *et al.* (2006, p. 361) suggested that the low level of convergence is due more to the complexity of the subject than the maturity of the field. Gedeon (2010, see especially pp. 19-21) conducted a review of thirty-one “major definitions” utilised in entrepreneurship

research and described the various types of entrepreneurship as “sub-domains”, creating a taxonomy of entrepreneurship domains including “innovative entrepreneurship” (2010, p. 27).

Richard Cantillon (1935 [1755], cited in Ahmad & Seymour, 2008) is often credited with the first use of the term entrepreneur. However, Baumol (2010, p. 12) noted that Cantillon’s “original English text continued to use the appellation ‘undertaker’”¹¹, which described “merchants of all kinds” (Cantillon, 1935 [1755], p. 54, cited in Baumol, 2010, p. 12; see also Drucker, 1993 [1986], p. 21). According to Baumol (2010, p. 12) it was not until Say (1827, cited in Baumol, 2010, p. 12) began to focus on “three types of ‘producers’: scientists, entrepreneurs, and labourers” that innovation entered the discourses of entrepreneurship. That being said, Baumol (2010, pp. 13-14) argued that the role of the innovative entrepreneur in economic development did not enter fully into the theoretical debates until “Joseph Schumpeter’s breakthrough ...” and the subsequent contributions of Israel Kirzner. These led to a focus on two salient perspectives on innovative entrepreneurship: Joseph Schumpeter’s (1983 [1911, 1934]; 1994 [1934]) innovation-focused entrepreneur and Kirzner’s (1979) speculator/arbitrager. However, Baumol (2010, p. 18) also argued that Schumpeter’s and Kirzner’s entrepreneurs can be differentiated as “innovative” and “replicative” entrepreneurs who play different roles in economic development, with replicative entrepreneurs copying existing businesses and innovative entrepreneurs creating new technologies, processes, forms of businesses and markets (2010, p. 15).

While Schumpeter and Kirzner were both early influencers in economic discourses regarding the entrepreneur’s role in economic development (Baumol, 2010), for many analysts William Gartner’s (1985; 1988) focus on venture creation became the proxy for entrepreneurship. Gartner (1988, p. 11) stated that: “Entrepreneurship is the creation of organisations.” Gartner (1988, p. 11) argued that only venture creation differentiated the business owner from the entrepreneur. Gartner contended (1988, p. 57) that entrepreneurship was the “primary phenomenon”, thus venture creation should be the focus of entrepreneurship studies. In contrast Drucker (1993 [1986], pp. 21-22) and Low and Isserman (2015, pp. 177-178) argued that venture creation is insufficient to distinguish the business owner from the entrepreneur. Low and Isserman (2015, pp. 177-178) noted that the use of self-employment and establishment rates “are widely used entrepreneurship proxies, although only a fraction of these so-called entrepreneurs

¹¹ Undertaker refers to someone who undertakes actions, and not a mortician.

innovate" (2015, p. 172). Citing Cantillon's (1964 [1755], in Low and Isserman, 2015, p. 177) broader definition of ownership of a business (thus inclusive of entrepreneurial entry into existing ventures), Low and Isserman (2015, p. 178) contended that it is propensity for risk and innovation that differentiate the business owner from the entrepreneur. Drucker (1993 [1986], pp.21-29), however, argued that it is innovation that defines the entrepreneur as all business ownership carries risk. Thus, both Drucker (1993 [1986]) and Low and Isserman (2015) agree that the innovative entrepreneur is an important area of focus, with simplistic proxies such as business ownership being an insufficient criteria by which to define entrepreneurship.

This is supported by anthropological investigations of entrepreneurship which show that simplistic definitions constrain analysis and lead to simplistic models of entrepreneurship (Rosa & Caulkins, 2013; Rosa & Scott, 1996; 1999). Gartner's (2010, p. 8) perspective on entrepreneurship studies changed over the course of twenty years. Gartner (2010, p. 8) noted that the pursuit of general principles of entrepreneurship had eluded him with the data resisting reduction to "idealized" categories, "gestalts", or models. However, rather than challenging the definition of entrepreneurship as venture creation, Gartner (2010, pp. 9-10) expressed disillusionment with the "rational-scientific" approach and the validity and reliability of statistical analyses of entrepreneurship:

"Generalized principles – 'on average'- are offered in these studies, but the nuances of particular situations, the nuances that actually characterize how individuals go about thinking through, over time, the complications of utilizing their capabilities and resources as they are both informed by, and seek to change their circumstances, is 'averaged' away."

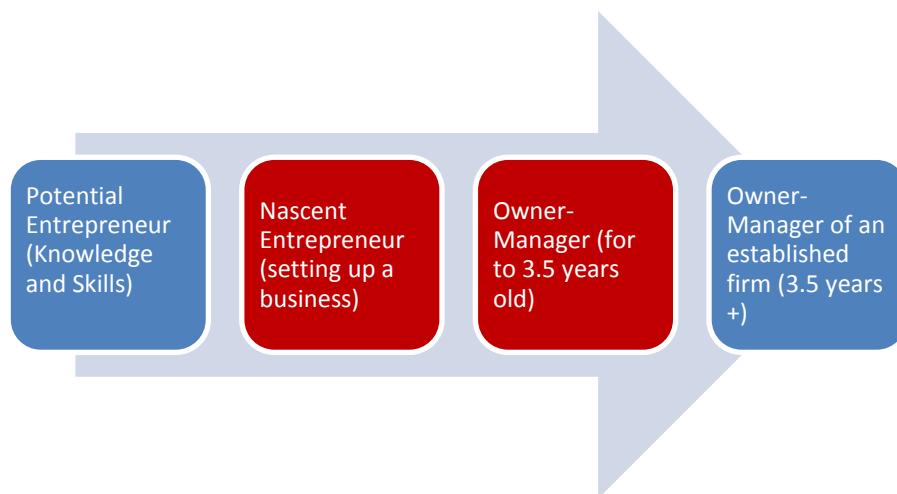
(Gartner, 2010, p. 11)

Gartner's (2010) critique of quantitative explorations of entrepreneurship referenced his own work but also extended to a broader disciplinary critique. For example, in relation to the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics (PSED), Gartner (2010, p. 11) noted that this survey-informed, quantitative database suffered from the weaknesses stated above.

The more recently established Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) is similar to the PSED in many respects (Reynolds, Bosma, Autio, Hunt, De Bono, Servais, Lopez-Garcia, & Chin, 2005, p. 209). The GEM is a cross-national research programme initiated in 1998 and

designed to assess the “level” of entrepreneurship in a nation, the role of entrepreneurship in national economic development, and to provide comparisons between nations (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 205). The GEM (Walter *et al.*, 2003, p. 12) defines entrepreneurship as “any attempt at new business or new venture creation, such as self-employment, a new business organization, or the expansion of an existing business, by an individual, teams of individuals, or established businesses.” The GEM data is based on adult population surveys of business owners, interviews and questionnaires completed by “national experts”, and an “assembly of relevant standardised measures from existing cross-national datasets” (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 205). The various fundamental data from these sources are then “harmonized” to achieve the GEM dataset. While Reynolds *et al.* (2005, p. 222-3) noted problems with the GEM in relation to data collection methods, sample size, sampling method and representativeness, one of the strengths of the GEM is that—while it overlaps with the definition of entrepreneurship proposed by Gartner—the GEM definition is broader collecting data on growing and maturing businesses, not solely new ventures (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 209). This means that the GEM data can be collated in such a way as to represent a four stage process-based definition (figure two) of entrepreneurship (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 209).

Figure 2: The GEM entrepreneurial process definition. Stages marked in red indicate the limits of the PSED.
(Adapted from Reynolds, 2005, p. 209)



Due to the more diverse data collected, Reynolds *et al.* (2005, p. 209) contended that other definitions of entrepreneurship can be studied through the isolation of specific groups of variables within the GEM. An example of this can be seen in the study by Hessels, van Gelderen, and Thurik (2008) who explored entrepreneurial aspirations and motivations utilising data from the GEM Adult Population Survey. Hessels *et al.* (2008, p. 329) focused

on data pertaining to innovation, job growth expectations and export orientations. Hessel *et al* (2008) found that levels of “increase-wealth-motivated entrepreneurs” correlated positively with high-job-growth and export-oriented entrepreneurship. While the GEM allows broader explorations of various definitions of entrepreneurship, the adult population data within the GEM is extremely heterogeneous (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 217), thus Gartner’s critique regarding the “averaging away” of diversity may apply. Further, it should be noted that the process of “harmonization” of the GEM data was also problematic (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 205) due to the somewhat circular problem of variable definitions, as well as variable data collection and storage methods (Reynolds *et al.*, 2005, p. 220).

These issues reflect the frustration expressed by Gartner (2010, pp. 9-10) who contended that finding stable entrepreneurial “types” through quantitative analysis might prove fruitless. Gartner’s (2010, pp. 9-10) research had shown him that diversity was inherent to entrepreneurship, and that there existed a symbiotic relationship between the entrepreneur and their particular environment leading to a dynamism that is not amenable to static categorisation. Similarly, McKenzie *et al.* (2007, p. 29) argued that the process of entrepreneurship must be understood through “the broad context of the social, political and economic environment.” It is within this broader environment that the entrepreneur is both prepared for and able to detect economic opportunity (McKenzie *et al.*, 2007, p. 30). McKenzie *et al.* (2007, p. 30) offered the following definition for entrepreneurship: “Entrepreneurship involves individuals and groups of individuals seeking and exploiting economic opportunity.” McKenzie *et al.* (2007, p. 35) argued that a more “encompassing definition” of entrepreneurship captures more of the entrepreneurial process. Recently, studies into the definition of entrepreneurship have also been initiated by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in order to support the development of the Entrepreneurship Indicators Programme (EIP); another attempt to create an authoritative statistical database that compares “entrepreneurship” across countries (Ahmad & Seymour, 2008, p. 2). The development of a statistical database requires that the definition be expressed as measurable variables (Ahmad & Seymour, 2008, p. 2).

Analysis of these variables led Ahmad and Seymour (2008, p. 9) to recommend that entrepreneurs be defined as: “persons (business owners) who seek to generate value through the creation or expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets.” Thus, Ahmad and Seymour (2008, p. 12) seek a definition that is broad, dynamic and measurable. The desire to broaden the definition of

entrepreneurship and to embrace different expressions of the entrepreneur is echoed in relation to international entrepreneurship studies. Peiris, Akoorie, and Sinha (2012) conducted an analysis of peer-reviewed articles on international entrepreneurship published over the past two decades. Peiris *et al.* (2012, pp. 296-297) noted that a broader definition of entrepreneurship is required to deal with the complexities of the international entrepreneurship field. Such a definition, according to Peiris *et al.* (2012, pp. 296-297) should incorporate both cognitive and behavioural elements and embrace the study of entrepreneurial activity across the life cycle of the business. Peiris *et al.* (2012, pp. 296-297) argued that such a breadth in definition and exploration is required if we are to understand the role of entrepreneurship in businesses that internationalise. Peiris *et al.* (2012, p. 296) suggested the following definition of international entrepreneurship: "... the cognitive and behavioural processes associated with the creation and exchange of value through the identification and exploitation of opportunities that cross national borders."

Peiris *et al.* (2012, p. 304) also noted that international entrepreneurship should focus on innovative businesses, a contention supported by Low and Isserman who (citing Melecki, 1993, in Low and Isserman, 2015, p. 177) propose the study of innovative entrepreneurship as "the highest level of entrepreneurship." Gunter (2012, p. 386) also noted the importance of innovative entrepreneurs in the development of the economy and points to the tendency for economists to treat entrepreneurship as a weak exogenous variable¹² thus under-estimating the impact of the entrepreneur on economic development (Gunter, 2012, p. 387). Gunter (2012, p. 387) contended that this happens due to continuing issues with diverse definitions of the entrepreneur, the inherent variability of the traits and activities of entrepreneurs, and the unique role of the entrepreneur in market disequilibrium. Gunter (2012, p. 387) noted the tendency for research to focus on a few characteristics of entrepreneurs or entrepreneurship and advocated for an inclusive definition that will establish "a foundation for more sophisticated analysis." Gunter (2012, p. 87) suggested a focus on the individual as entrepreneur but incorporated venture creation and uncertainty in this definition: "Entrepreneurs are individuals who, in an uncertain environment, recognize opportunities that most fail to see, and create ventures to profit by exploiting these opportunities" (Gunter, 2012, p. 387).

¹² When developing causal (or predictive) quantitative models for economic analysis, an exogenous variable is an independent variable that may have an effect on an economic outcome but is otherwise independent from the states of other variables in the model.

Gunter (2012, p. 388) focused discussion on two broad types of entrepreneur, the Kirznerian entrepreneur and the Schumpeterian entrepreneur. Citing Kirzner (1979, in Gunter, 2012, p. 389), Gunter described the role of the “Kirznerian entrepreneur” as responding to disequilibrium in supply and demand caused by market shocks. According to Gunter (2012, p. 390) they do this by specialising in “arbitrage and speculation”, essentially buying “a good or service at a low price” and selling it at a profit. The second entrepreneurial “type” described by Gunter, the “Schumpeterian entrepreneur”, does not simply respond to economic shocks but actually creates change in the economy through the development and diffusion of innovative technology and processes. Citing Schumpeter (1983, in Gunter, 2012, p. 390) Gunter noted that advancement in knowledge provides opportunities for Schumpeterian entrepreneurs to profit through different forms of innovation. However, Kirzner (2008, pp. 146-147) had previously contended that making the “Kirznerian” entrepreneur distinct from the Schumpeterian entrepreneur denoted a flawed interpretation of his discussion on entrepreneurship. Kirzner (2008, pp. 147-149) noted that Schumpeter’s focus was on the entrepreneurs role in market disequilibrium through acts of “creative destruction”, with the primary characteristics of the entrepreneur being boldness and creativity. However, Kirzner (2008, p. 150) argued that once the market is in disequilibrium the focus of Schumpeterian-entrepreneurs moves to arbitrage that speculates on market pricing eventually returning the market to a state of equilibrium. Thus, as stated by Baumol (2010, p. 15): “So while Schumpeter’s entrepreneur destroys all equilibria, Kirzner’s works to restore them.”

For this, Kirzner (2008, pp. 149-151) argued the entrepreneur also required the characteristic of “alertness”. Therefore, there is only one Schumpeterian/Kirznerian-entrepreneur, who is defined by alertness, boldness and creativity (Kirzner, 2008, p. 151). According to Baumol (2010, p. 17) the ability to clearly define the entrepreneur is also challenged by a lack of differentiation between managers and entrepreneurs. Baumol (2010, p. 17) defined “the manager as the individual who oversees the ongoing efficiency of continuing business processes.” As such, Baumol (2010, p. 17) situated the actions of the manager within what is both “routine” and “traditional” and within the limits of the current technological resources of a firm. However, as noted earlier, Baumol (2010, p. 17) also differentiated entrepreneurs into two broad groups; that being, “replicative” and “innovative” entrepreneurs. By using these descriptors, Baumol (2010, p. 18) acknowledged, broadly, the “entrepreneur” as one who “undertakes” activities. However, Baumol (2010, p. 17) then differentiated two sub-types within the broad group. Replicative

entrepreneurs (who he contended were the majority) “undertake” activities using a business as a vehicle, without creating or implementing new ideas or technologies that differentiate the business from other existing businesses. In contrast, “innovative entrepreneurs” are focused on new ideas and their implementation (Baumol, 2010, p. 17). Baumol (2010, p. 17) contended that the maintenance of the status quo is unsatisfying for innovative entrepreneurs as “today’s practice is never good enough for tomorrow.” Baumol (2010, p. 7) conceded that both replicative and innovative entrepreneurs can “double as managers” in their firms, but that their entrepreneurial function differs from management, and by the type of entrepreneur.

Baumol (2010, pp. 17-18) contended that failure to differentiate such foci and type led to misinterpretations of innovative entrepreneurs as they are subsumed within a dominant cohort of replicators and managers resulting in a failure to understand innovative entrepreneurship. Having considered this, and the various approaches discussed here, I decided that an appropriate starting point for the definition of the entrepreneur for this study is:

The entrepreneur is an individual who chooses to exploit economic opportunity through the ownership and control of one or more businesses. The entrepreneur leverages innovation to capture economic opportunity. This innovation is evident in the entrepreneurial processes and outputs of their businesses across the life cycle, new market creation or in the exploitation of inefficiencies in current markets.

Therefore, this study focuses explicitly on innovative entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship, in this study, describes the business-related activities of the innovative entrepreneurs defined above, therefore I define entrepreneurship very simply as:

Entrepreneurship is defined as the business-related activities of entrepreneurs.

In noting that this is a starting point, I acknowledge that the definition is drawn from previous literature rather than from participant data. While this allows me to identify participants, I will reflect on this definition again at the conclusion of this study. I have now made clear what I mean by entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. However, before I proceed to a discussion of method it is also important to define what I mean by innovation.

What I mean by innovation in this study

As with entrepreneurship I assume that innovation exists and I have made innovation a key concept within my definitions of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. It is therefore important to disclose what I mean by innovation. The study of innovation crosses multiple disciplines (Prebble, de Waal, & de Groot, 2008, p. 312). Welz (2003, p. 256) discussed anthropological perspectives on innovation, defining innovation as follows:

“Innovation can be broadly conceived as the invention and implementation of new things, knowledges and practices; innovations come about when unprecedeted solutions to either known or new problems are devised and then put to work.”

Welz (2003, p. 256) noted that much of the current research undertaken in relation to innovation focuses on the creation of “new products and services” for sale internationally. According to Welz (2003, p. 256) this focuses attention on the globalisation of economies and a transformation from economic advantage based on price or natural resources to one that is based on the ability to innovate technologically as well as socially. While Welz (2003, p. 256) used the narrower language of novelty in defining innovation (new things, unprecedeted solutions), Schumpeter (1994 [1934], pp. 82-86) conceptualised innovation more broadly in the form of change.

Drucker (1993 [1986], p. 19) supported a Schumpeterian perspective in his focus on innovation, with the utilisation of innovation being a defining feature of the entrepreneur:

“Innovation is the specific tool of entrepreneurs, the means by which they exploit opportunity for a different business or a different service.”

However, for Drucker (1993 [1986], pp. 19-29) the entrepreneur’s innovation was both purposive and systematic and as such innately woven into a form of entrepreneurial management. Thus, innovation and entrepreneurship were more an integrated system of practice: “... capable of being presented as a discipline, capable of being learned, capable of being practiced” (Drucker, 1993 [1986], p. 19) which was focused on the creation of consumer value through purposive change (1993 [1986], p. 21-29). Drucker (1993 [1986], p. 30) defined innovation broadly as:

“... the specific instrument of entrepreneurship. It is the act that endows resources with a new capacity to create wealth.”

Thus, for Drucker (1993 [1986], p. 28) it is the role of the entrepreneur to create change, innovation is the tool they use to create it and wealth is the purpose of the change.

Drucker's (1993 [1986], pp. 133-140] discussion of innovative entrepreneurship included a number of restrictive “do’s” and “don’ts” intended to inform managed processes of innovative entrepreneurship. In contrast, contemporary approaches to the definition of innovation take a less prescriptive approach. In New Zealand the definitions utilised to monitor innovation in the economy are supplied by Statistics New Zealand and the OECD. Both speak to a Schumpeterian perspective on innovation in relation to change, and reflect Drucker's focus on purposive change in the form of improvement.

For Statistics New Zealand (2009, p. iii) innovation is defined as: “the introduction of any new or significantly improved goods, services, processes or marketing methods.” The Oslo Manual (OECD & Eurostat, 2005) defines innovation in terms of “implementation” (as does Welz, 2003, p. 256) and thus assumes innovation that can be applied to either the task of creating efficiencies in current activities or the creation of new activities. The Oslo Manual (OECD & Eurostat, 2005) discusses two broad areas for defining innovation: “technological product and process” innovation, and “other firm factors” innovation. The Oslo Manual (OECD & Eurostat, 2005) further differentiates innovation into four subgroups: product, process, marketing, and organisational innovation (table one). According to the Oslo Manual (2005, p. 46):

“An innovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations.”

The inclusion of other firm factors is important as it has been shown that organisational factors such as governance models (Narayan, 2011), strategic focus and adaptation (Chesbrough, 2003; Christensen 1997; Markides, 1997), interpersonal networks (Rogers, 1995; Zaltman, Duncan, & Holbek, 1973); cross-functional teams (Prebble *et al.*, 2008) and organisational paradigm (Markides & Geroski, 2003) are influenced by the innovation process. Inclusion of external relations in the Oslo Manual's (OECD & Eurostat, 2005)

definition of innovation (table one) indicates the importance of relationships as part of the innovation process.

Table 1: Differentiated model of innovation, definitions are extracted verbatim from the Oslo Manual (OECD & Eurostat, 2005, pp. 46-56)

Form of innovation	Definition of form
Technological Product Innovation	A product innovation is the introduction of a good or service that is new or significantly improved with respect to its characteristics or intended uses. This includes significant improvements in technical specifications, components and materials, incorporated software, user friendliness or other functional characteristics (p. 48).
Technological Process Innovation	A process innovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved production or delivery method. This includes significant changes in techniques, equipment and/or software (p. 48).
Firm Factor - Marketing Innovation	A marketing innovation is the implementation of a new marketing method involving significant changes in product design or packaging, product placement, product promotion or pricing (p. 49).
Firm Factor - Organisational innovation	An organisational innovation is the implementation of a new organisational method in the firm's business practices, workplace organisation or external relations (p. 50).

Dierkes and Hoffman (1992, p. 12, cited in Welz, 2003, p. 264) argued that innovation processes should not be construed as simple linear processes from fundamental research through to commercialisation. Rather, innovation should be seen as organic and socially constructed through networks of heterogeneous social actors and mediated by flexible and open means of communication. Markides and Geroski (2003) also supported an organic approach in their discussion of organisations and the way innovation occurs at stages of the business life cycle. Welz (2003, p. 255) emphasised the important contribution that ethnographic studies (through participant-observation fieldwork) can make to the study of innovation. However, Welz (2003, pp. 255-257) also highlighted the reluctance of anthropologists to engage with studies related to innovation due to "relics" of their own ideological heritages. Welz (2003, p. 255) argued that contemporary anthropological studies of concepts such as innovation offer anthropologists the opportunity "to transcend the conventional boundaries of their disciplines" and to study their own social contexts "... at home, from the inside out" Having considered the literature reviewed as well as the context and broad aim of this study I consider it appropriate to accept the OSLO Manual's (OECD & Eurostat, 2005) definition of innovation. Having communicated the key definitions

of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and innovation I will now delineate the method undertaken in this study.

Taking Steps – The method undertaken in this study

This study was designated as low risk to the participant and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Chairs' Committee (27 June 2012). Information sheets were offered to general participants during fieldwork and I ensured that participants were verbally advised, whenever possible, of my research focus. However, printed information sheets were largely ignored with general participants preferring to question me personally regarding my purpose. When observing or facilitating focus groups I was introduced and permission was received to record sessions. In relation to case studies I talked through the information sheets with each case study participant, invited questions and asked whether they fully understood. The main concerns expressed by case study participants were that they would "get it wrong", "go off track", or "let [me] down". I reassured them immediately that this was not possible, and I also addressed these concerns through framing at the beginning of the phenomenological interviews. Each case study participant signed approval for me to proceed. During the course of my fieldwork I made my email address and telephone number available and fielded many inquiries and contributions due to this openness. With ethics approval and appropriate consents in place I conducted my research. I will now explain the stages undertaken as the study progressed, including: Literature reviews (in two stages), participant engagement, data collection, data analysis, and writing the thesis. Where relevant vignettes are included that, reflexively, explain elements of the researcher's experience in the research process. I describe, below, how the literature reviews were undertaken.

Literature Reviews

The literature reviews were conducted in two stages. The first stage was a systematic literature review, which converged on key terms (Machi & McEvoy, 2012) undertaken with the purpose of informing the development of the research proposal and focused primarily on the theoretical perspective as it informs methodology and the development of a method. In order to understand the exposure of the Marlborough Region to prior research I conducted a sweep of eight academic databases: Business Source Complete, Discover, Econlit, Factiva, Emerald Insight, Google Scholar, Scopus, and Web of Science. The key words used were: "Marlborough, entrepreneur, entrepreneurship", and then "Marlborough, phenomenological", "Marlborough, anthropology", "Marlborough,

ethnography”, followed by “Marlborough, fieldwork”, and finally just “Marlborough”. The focus of this sweep was to detect abstracts only. I detected abstracts delineating a study of vineyard workers in Marlborough and a volume of work from the natural sciences on wine, vineyards, and aquaculture techniques. Relevant abstracts were noted in the research proposal sufficient to serve the purpose of contextualisation.

The second stage literature review was undertaken following my departure from the field, and writing of thematic analyses. At this stage analysis of the literature related to the shared themes and rich points, and PsycINFO was added as a search database. Per Stewart’s (1991, pp. 78-80) recommendation the literature search was transdisciplinary. I utilised, first, a systematic search, then convergence method (a central keyword with limiters) and then followed up with snowballing (working through the references of relevant articles). Where literature was lacking I used divergent terms to find related concepts that may be informative (Machi & McEvoy, 2012). As the thesis was written the literatures reviewed were woven through and referenced in the introduction, theoretical perspective and methodology, method, discussion and conclusion areas of the text only. The literature reviewed was not utilised in the writing of the case studies and thematic analyses. Rather, a compare and contrast approach was taken in the discussion section (Hycner, 1985, p. 298). Having delineated the process for the literature reviews, I will now discuss participant engagement.

Participant Engagement

According to Brewer (2000, p. 79) while description of participant samples is attributed primarily to positivistic research it is important to describe the sampling method utilised in constructivist-interpretivist research, especially where participants within the sample share an attribute or phenomenon. The participant-observation fieldwork for this study engaged a large number of participants, while the phenomenological case studies engaged a small number. In both instances the primary sampling method was non-probability sampling (Brewer, 2000, p. 79). The focus of this engagement was purposive as I sought and engaged entrepreneurs and those who support or work alongside them (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 1994, p. 31). However, I also recognise the valuable context added through general observations amongst the Marlborough community and this broader sample (which by the end of the fieldwork numbered in the thousands) was a convenience sample (Bernard, 2006, pp. 91-92). While the weight of analysis in this study relies upon purposive sampling, the value of this convenience sample in providing context should be noted. In

the case of the purposive sample of fieldwork participants my focus was not on individual attributes—or measurement of these—but on observation of entrepreneurs in their daily interactions and getting to know their physical, economic, social and political environment (Radcliffe-Brown 1957; Barth, 1984 [1966], p. 1-11). This purposive participant sample comprised 317 individuals. These individuals were identified through fieldwork observations and informal discussions as well as web-based research.

Recognising that my target population may be difficult to engage I also used chain referral/network sampling (Bernard, 2006, p. 192-194). Most of these participants participated in unstructured interviews and many also attended focus groups which I was able to observe (and working alongside, sometimes facilitate). In addition, in order to understand this participant sample more fully the businesses or organisations represented by these individuals were researched at the Companies Office, via general internet searches, and—where possible—their premises visited. Any company documentation offered was reviewed. Each company was assessed to ascertain their core focus, and whether the business leader was an innovative entrepreneur. While I found Baumol's (2010, p. 18) differentiation of replicative and innovative entrepreneurs useful in identifying participants for this study I do not intend to promulgate a new duality through this description. Rather, I have conceptualised innovation as a continuum where an innovative entrepreneur is identified, by me, as such due to the level of innovation exhibited in their businesses and whether it is sufficient to differentiate their businesses from others (if any) of its type. Using this degree of innovation (as opposed to absence versus presence of innovation) as my starting point, I analysed the database of 317 individuals as follows:

- 37% were innovative entrepreneurs exhibiting varying degrees of innovation with all sufficient to differentiate the business from others of its type.
- 36% were owners of replicative enterprises where innovation is insufficient to differentiate the business from others of its type. Of these 22% were suppliers to the businesses of the innovative entrepreneurs.
- 10% were working within local or central government, industry and business support agencies and organisations with links (sometimes supportive, at other times this is contestable) with innovative entrepreneurs.
- 8% were working within community organisations some of which were linked to or purporting to represent entrepreneurial enterprises.

- 6% were working within investment entities with representation in this group from Iwi investment organisations and from banks. Although investment entities can also be classified as innovative and entrepreneurial, these entities were open about their adherence to corporate and/or community structures and communicated that they did not consider their entities to be entrepreneurial.
- 3% were sole-trading/independent advisers who were not innovation-focused, most of these were semi-retired or part-time and some were openly opposed to and at times obstructive of innovative entrepreneurship.

While data from all fieldwork engagement was analysed at the appropriate stage, the focus for analysis was to contextualise innovative entrepreneurship and to identify innovative entrepreneurs for more intensive engagement. Observations and unstructured interviews at the fieldwork stage provided me with deeper inclusion and insight into the broader social context within which innovative entrepreneurs live and express their entrepreneurship (Bernard, 2006, p. 186). It was also through participant-observation fieldwork that I was able to identify and then establish rapport with the case study participants. As noted by Patton (1990, p. 104) exploration of phenomena such as entrepreneurship requires that we interview people who have direct experience of the phenomena. While Smith (2004, pp. 41-42) recommended between one and six phenomenological case studies, Cope (2011, p. 609) suggested six to eight are appropriate. I elected to target eight case studies thus allowing for attrition to six case studies should this be required. In relation to the six case studies presented these were “labor-intensive, in depth studies of a few cases” of entrepreneurs that traversed the sensitivities of a lifetime (Bernard, 2006, p. 186, see also Maggs-Rapport, 2001, p. 374). Again, the case studies are a purposive sample in that people were invited to engage based upon their fit to the definition of entrepreneur provided in this study.

It should be noted that the participant sample also depended on the willingness and ability of the participants to engage with the researcher and to share their experiences (Cope, 2011, p. 609; Jack, Dodd, & Anderson, 2008, p. 135) in particular over the long term. Thus, the samples are not representative of the total population. While Hammersley (1992, p. 85-95) contended that a small number of cases, where the engagement is deep, analysis careful and cross-analysis is undertaken can lead to rich, generalisable data the insights drawn from this study, while informative to theory (Chapman & Smith, 2002, cited in Cope, 2011, p. 608), are not immediately generalisable to the total population of entrepreneurs

(see Cope 2011; Kisfalvi, 2002; Steyaert, 1997). Neither does this study pursue causal relationships. The triangulation of long term participant-observation fieldwork, investigative desk research and interviewing that I have described was, I found, vital in establishing an appropriate participant sample for this study. I found that people who readily approached me early in my fieldwork were often not entrepreneurs at all. For example, I had a stream of “business advisers” approach me who had little or no actual experience with innovative entrepreneurship. Their purpose in approaching me was to glean information on entrepreneurs and to canvas for work. Triangulation assists with participant identification, and to identify participant dissimulation and self-deceit (Keesing and Keesing, 1971 [1932], p. 13).

For example, in one instance the person who approached me misrepresented their qualifications and organisational associations and attempted to make clever use of business and economic terminology to simulate credibility. Triangulation revealed that this person was tacitly unemployed having been made redundant some time ago from a role as a salesperson. I found no evidence of the person having registered a business in New Zealand. Network investigations indicated a trail of problematic incidents amongst the business community. In another instance judicial documentation revealed that an “entrepreneur” that approached me was a former financial adviser who had been convicted of misuse of funds and ordered to make reparation. This person, having to find a new focus under the new financial advisory rules, had invested in a very small and simple replicative enterprise which they purported to be highly innovative. A visit to the business proved this claim to be, at best, aspirational. A visit to the Companies Office website revealed that the business was also under regulatory administration at the time of this study and that the owner did not reside in Marlborough. These participants still provided valuable insights, in particular in relation to the rich points in the social data and were allocated to the 3% sole trading/independent adviser category in the database. Further to discussion of the broader sample, elements of the case study sample should be explicated. First, all of the case study participants have ownership in businesses registered at the New Zealand Companies Office, are business leaders and employers.

Although five of the entrepreneurs in this study lead, or have led, what could be classified as a “family business”, this is not a focus of this study. I concur here with Stewart’s (2010b) scepticism regarding the ideological loading and “fuzzy” definition of the term “family business”. While there are kinship involvements in some of the businesses owned by

participants in my study, they are not always significant and not all family members are involved in all businesses; I have studied the entrepreneur's and not their entire family. Further, this study is inclusive of rural entrepreneurship. This is important as Marlborough is a substantively primary industry economy. Robert Smith (2004) argued that flawed perceptions of rural environments as idyllic lifestyle domains has meant that rural entrepreneurship has remained on the fringe of entrepreneurship research. However, a search of the term "rural entrepreneurship" on Google Scholar returned in excess of 250,000 results, with Wortman (1990, p. 63) arguing that rural entrepreneurship is "one of the most significant supportive factors for rural economic development." Dabson (2001) challenged the "futile debates" over whether rural entrepreneurs are "*real* entrepreneurs" [emphasis his] by noting their relevance to both the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor's and the Kaufmann Centre for Entrepreneurial Leadership's definitions of entrepreneurship. In this study I have focused on the participant's fit to the definition stated and taken an inclusive (holistic) approach that does not bisect entrepreneurs by industry or sector. This is important as the case study entrepreneurs cross industry and sector boundaries.

In addition, this study does not limit the sample by age of the entrepreneur, firm age, venture creation, number of firms, or by excluding shared ownership. In relation to the case study sample, participants range in age from approximately 30-70 years. These entrepreneurs have both purchased (by full takeover or buy in) and grown existing firms as well as starting firms. Some of their businesses are less than three years old and some are in excess of thirty years old. Five of the case study participants are portfolio entrepreneurs (Rosa, 1998; Balunywa & Rosa, 2009) who start, buy and sell some businesses, sell parts of some businesses and hold some businesses across their entrepreneurial careers. Joy, the emerging entrepreneur, is an exception in operating one limited liability company. However, Joy does this in addition to work as an independent contractor in the professional services industry. Finally, all of the case study participants engage in significant financial and personal philanthropy with the exception of Joy. Although Joy has a history of community-focused work, her current workload as an emerging entrepreneur precludes significant engagement outside of business. Five of the names used in the following summary are real names and one is a pseudonym (all are approved by the participants). I have not used surnames and have only used business names where requested to do so by the participant. With these elements explicated, a summary introduction to the six case study participants is provided below (table two).

Table 2: Summary Introduction to Case Study Participants

Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership in up to forty businesses across his lifetime (various ownership structures) • Mixture of start-ups, takeovers and buy-ins • Traverses the primary, secondary and quaternary sectors • Direct exporter – products • Award winner for innovation, sustainability, industry leadership
Doug	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership in two businesses • Mixture of takeovers, mergers and one start-up • One business in primary sector, one in quaternary sector • Indirect exporter – products; direct exporter – professional services • Award winner for innovation, industry leadership, public speaking
John	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership in up to ten business across his lifetime (various ownership structures), • Mixture of start-ups and takeovers • Crosses primary, tertiary and quaternary sectors • Indirect exporter • Award winner in FMCG, at time of writing a finalist for innovation award
Nick	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership in up to thirty-five businesses (various ownership structures) • Primarily start-ups and buy-ins • Crosses secondary and quaternary sectors • Targeting direct export, product and licensing • Award winning emerging clean technology
Marcus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership in up to ten businesses across his lifetime (various ownership structures), • Mixture of start-ups and equity entries into going concerns • Crosses primary, secondary and quaternary sectors • Direct exporter – products and licensing • Award winner for viticulture leadership and technology innovation
Joy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerging entrepreneur • Part of company takeover, also operates as independent contractor • Crosses primary and quaternary sectors • National supply, not exporting
Mike and Max	<p>I decided not to proceed with the presentation of these case studies. This was a difficult decision as both were excellent cases, were fully analysed and complemented my analyses. Mike is a mature portfolio entrepreneur. During the course of this study Mike's largest business suffered an almost catastrophic failure. While Mike was happy to proceed, I requested his consent to withdraw him from the case study section. I made this decision as in my opinion proceeding at this sensitive time increased the risk of potential harm to both Mike and his businesses. Max is an emerging entrepreneur. Max's business is dependent—at present—on local customers. During the course of this study a member of Max's extended family came under significant obstructive attack. It is my belief that including Max as a case study may draw attention that creates harm to his business. Max would have liked to continue in the study. The decision to relinquish his case was made by me due to ethical considerations. Both cases are too easily identifiable to Marlburians.</p> <p>I found Hammersley's & Atkinson's (2003 [1983], pp. 213-218) discussion on ethics, harm and exploitation particularly helpful in guiding these decisions.</p>

The case study participants are listed in table two in a hierarchy from the most mature (in terms of entrepreneurship, not biological age) to the emerging entrepreneur. In addition I have included notes on two case studies that were integrated into the fieldwork data rather than proceeding as independent cases. The explanation for their deselection as case study participants is provided. Having introduced the case study participants, prior to moving on to delineate the data collection steps undertaken in this study, I believe it is appropriate to add a note on two further aspects of the fieldwork and case study participant samples, those being gender and Māori participation.

A note on gender participation in this study

While the broader purposive sample included seventy-two female participants these participants were primarily from community, supporter and replicative entities with fifteen taking a leadership role in an innovative business. Of these fifteen, ten undertook a full or equal lead in a business they co-own with a life partner. Of these ten, the majority defaulted to a role where entrepreneurial leadership was represented by the male and general, administrative, operations or marketing management were represented by the female. Overall, I found that female leaders were resistant to being recognised as innovative entrepreneurs in this study. I had instances where people agreed to participate and then declined to meet or simply ignored all further contact from me. However, most female participants were obliging when it came to more generic fieldwork participation. When I discussed my difficulties in getting case study participants, they suggested that this resulted from unwillingness to “*being out front*” rather than “*being in the background, just making it happen.*” They were participative as long as I did not draw any attention to them personally. In addition, I found that Joy’s story did not differ greatly from the male participants. Although Joy noted that she had experienced some “*backlash*” due to her gender (in particular amongst male employees), Joy also noted that she found her business peers generally collegial. This being said, my study was not focused on gender differences in entrepreneurs and I am comfortable with the depth of engagement offered by my total cohort of female participants. I believe that a study of gender diversity in Marlborough would be an interesting future topic requiring a different method to that utilised in this study.

A note on Māori business participation in this study

Before moving on to discuss data collection I would like to make one final comment on Māori business participation in this study. I was fortunate in having the opportunity to

work with a small group of Māori entrepreneurs (including Joy) during the course of this study. Although this is not a study of Māori entrepreneurship specifically I approached Iwi investment and Māori business representatives early to ask whether, and on what basis, they wished to participate. The response was very clear—they did wish to participate—but they wished to participate as innovative entrepreneurs and their supporters and not specifically as Māori entrepreneurs. This is the approach I have taken in this study, where I did not request information regarding genealogy/whakapapa from any of my participants but noted it if it was specifically mentioned by them. My request, in return, was that I be invited to participate whenever they wished me to do so and this led to very productive engagements with Iwi investment entities, community organisations and entrepreneurs. With important aspects of the participant engagement delineated and summary introduction to case study participants complete, I will now discuss data collection.

Data Collection

As noted by Maggs-Rapport (2000, p. 219) the data collection process in relation to fieldwork and IPA has some similarities in that both utilise “the researcher as the primary data collection instrument” and that both are exploratory methods. A key difference in the two data collection methods is that during participant-observation fieldwork the researcher is focused on the relationships between many participants (a social view) (Barth, 1984 [1966], p. 1-11), whereas during IPA interviews the focus is on the life-world of each individual participant and their interpretation of the phenomenon under study (Maggs-Rapport, 2000, p.219-220). My data collection began with fieldwork. I moved to Marlborough and lived in the region for two years. At the time that I moved I had already met people from the Marlborough Research Centre, and had some contact with the Marlborough District Council (MDC). As far as I was aware I knew no one else in Marlborough; though, as my research progressed, two people came forward who remembered me from twenty years prior when I had owned businesses in the (closely co-located) region of Nelson. I rented a house in Blenheim, the main town, and set it up as a research base. I then spent the first two months driving around to orientate myself, sitting in various cafes, pubs, vineyards, and on park benches, visiting major venues, shopping, filling the car with gas, chatting to people and just getting to know Marlborough as a place.

This early passive immersion into the fieldwork environment assisted me to integrate into the society of Marlborough (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003 [1983], p. 79). I slowly increased my participation in natural settings, observed public meetings, industry, research

centre and Chamber of Commerce presentations and MDC focus groups. This enabled identification, mapping and connection to the entrepreneurs' support networks and provided the foundation to the development of relationships of trust (Spradley, 1980, in Brewer, 2000, p. 61). I attended to observe and was occasionally privileged to be asked to facilitate more than twenty business and mixed (business and community) focus groups. When people had become accustomed to my presence I began to conduct one to one unstructured interviews (many of these at the request of the participant) which emphasised open ended, responsive questioning¹³ (Bernard, 2006, p. 211; Brewer, 2000, p. 62-63). Unstructured interviews were, as described by Burgess, (1995 [1984], p. 102) "conversations with a purpose" and were conducted wherever the participant was comfortable. This included unstructured interviews via telephone, email, in offices, over coffee, lunch, dinner or wine in cafes, bars and restaurants, at my research base, while walking in vineyards or touring factories and even in transit (via car, truck, boat or plane).

As I had integrated early into the fieldwork environment and a rapport had been established participants appeared comfortable taking the lead in these conversations thus diminishing bias caused by interviewer effect (see Brewer, 2000, p. 65). In addition, I made the commitment to myself that I would be willing to take the time required by the participant to feel comfortable. This meant that no interview was less than one hour and the longest was up to eight hours. In some instances I stayed with participants' families overnight as their businesses were located in isolated areas. Innovative entrepreneurs, once identified, were invited to request as many interviews and engagements as they chose, and to invite me to events they wished me to observe. I also offered my email address and telephone number so that people could call or email me with thoughts whenever they felt comfortable doing so. In addition to this I looked for, and was given, opportunities to work alongside participants and I found this extremely valuable both in terms of building trust and gaining access to naturalistic data (Brewer, 2000, p. 60; Stewart, 1991, p. 81). While the case study participants are central to this study the fieldwork assisted me to connect to them, observe and be observed by them, and to enrich my understanding of the social structures within which the case study participants experience entrepreneurship. As such, I sought to identify rich points (Agar, 1997, p. 1157) which assist to contextualise the entrepreneurs' actions in relation to their social world.

¹³ Responsive questions describe a situation where the participant's focus is the stimulus for the question. For example, if a participant is describing their life and displaying emotion I might say: "You appear to me to feel strong emotion about this, please tell me about that emotion and why you feel this way?"

As argued by Brewer (2000; p. 59 & pp. 72-75) participant-observation fieldwork embraces data triangulation through multiple methods of data collection including observations, participant interviews, and personal (and in this case also business) documents. In my study I also included web searches, review of business websites, database searches (for example, the Companies Office), biographical information, email correspondence, and various social media sites (in particular, where these allow “commenters” to participate such as public Facebook pages, news sites and blogs). Following the lead of Keesing and Keesing (1971 [1932], p. 13) who noted the importance of “intuitive” data I also took opportunities to observe without note-taking, in order to engage with “scenes and people and sounds and smells that cannot be captured in the written word.” The role of this multi-method data collection was to provide context, and to validate or inform both the participant’s stories and my own analyses where appropriate (Brewer, 2000, p. 75). I have noted in my discussion in the participant engagement section the importance of such multi-method and multi-source data collection in relation to validating the participant sample. However, it was equally important for developing rapport with participants who would regularly “test” my knowledge of Marlborough in conversation as an aspect of relationship development. As my engagement deepened I collated participant information in Excel database format. With this database complete and analysed, all interviews with fieldwork participants complete and the notes safely filed I turned my attention to focus intensively on my case study participants.

I had collected a large volume of data and was becoming exhausted. In addition, some aspects of the strange intimacy of long-term participant-observation were leading to a degree of participant openness that could be challenging for me. I found that some participants were attempting to take control of my status as a researcher (see Vignette Two, and for a discussion of such issues see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003 [1983], pp. 89-94). It was time to refocus (Vignette Two) by extracting myself from general engagement in the field and to turn my attention (as much as possible) to the phenomenological case studies. Due to the intensity of the engagement, disengagement from the broader field was difficult as participants found ways to re-engage me (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003 [1983]). I had to be firm, clear about my reasons and to show resolve¹⁴.

¹⁴ For clarity, this is not about leaving the field rather it is an intensification of focus on the smaller purposive sample and the swirl of social activity in the field as it relates directly to them.

Vignette Two – From the social to the individual/s

It was very late in the afternoon and I had just finished a long day of meetings. After clearing my emails, I received two telephone calls. One was from a business adviser who undertook contract work in Marlborough. The other caller was a business person from a replicative enterprise who had just returned to Marlborough. Both were women. The first caller communicated something I had not heard before in Marlborough. It was a nearly two hour racially-focused lecture conducted in a car (at her end) with her children clearly audible behind her. The caller tried to convince me to present her views at a public meeting, which I declined to do. Instead I offered her the opportunity to present her views herself, reflexively advising her that my own views differed significantly. The second call was an almost two hour explanation of the history of the (recently relocated) caller and her authority on Marlborough. I listened carefully to both calls, took notes and remained polite although I recognised I was struggling. At the end of the second call—at around 9pm—I put down the phone and began to run a bath with the intention of relaxing a little before compiling my notes for the day. I walked upstairs to get linen, and collapsed. I awoke some time later to a flooded research base that would take ten days and many machines to get dry.

The next day I called my supervisor, Eleanor. “It’s time for me to pull out of broader field engagement”, I said. “I think I have achieved all I need to in the social space. Contact has been so broad and pervasive that I am now at risk of being overwhelmed.” Eleanor related the story of her time during a fieldwork assignment in Papua New Guinea, where capture in the politics of the village and the intensity of field engagement had drained her energy: “I climbed into my hut and pulled down the mosquito nets. I didn’t come out for days.” “That’s it”, I said, “I’m pulling down the mosquito nets”. When they came up again it was to focus on case study participants as much as possible. A challenge with fieldwork, I found, is the intensity and broadness of the engagement. The size of the population alongside the accessibility of the anthropologist becomes exhausting, and attempts to capture and control the researcher become more intense over time. By the time I made the decision to move to the case study focus I was drowning in data but had to put this aside as it was not time to analyse that data. I decided to focus on chronologically ordering my data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003 [1983]) for a week or two; filing it safely away until it was time to analyse it. This helped me to clear my mind, recover my energy, and refocus on my case study participants. Withdrawal from broader engagement also assisted to protect my case study participants’ privacy during this stage of the research process.

With my fieldwork data chronologically (later, I would reorder by theme) ordered and safe, my mind clear, body somewhat rested and my research base fully dried I was ready for intensified engagement with my case study participants. I had already reached agreements with Doug, Nick, Marcus, Joy, Mike and Max. I had been to many of their businesses, undertaken my due diligence and had been observing and informally engaging for some time. I began to set up my schedule of phenomenological interviews (roughly, as these entrepreneurs require flexibility) and I undertook my first phenomenological interview with Doug. I had been advised by participants many times to contact Peter, and Doug reminded me that it was time I did so. I had been on public tours of one of Peter's businesses and had seen him speak in public. We had passed by each other at Marlborough Airport and I had even spoken to his wife but I had never actually met the man. I was aware of a biography written about Peter but I avoided it, wanting to speak with him first. It was not possible to escape Peter's legend in Marlborough (the good and the bad, as he knows). I admit I was intimidated. I tried to get other entrepreneurs and supporters to introduce me. They were too intimidated or felt they did not know Peter well enough—at a personal level—to do so. Finally, I picked up the telephone and cold-called. Peter's response was: "*What took you so long?*" After some email exchanges I met with Peter to explain the research and sign off on the information sheet.

In meeting with Peter the preconceptions that had catalysed my own sense of intimidation fell away. Sitting at his tidy desk amidst the perfect visual symmetry of his business, with home-made birthday cards proudly displayed, the obviously shy Peter was the antithesis of aspects of his local legend. He spoke to me of his need to keep a scrupulous diary so that he did not let people down and maintained a keen observation of his surroundings occasionally stopping to "*help this guy*" or that before help was even requested. Our first conversation was filled with sudden questions ascertaining information about me, and my knowledge of Marlborough. Seeing Peter's work environment, discussing his diary and observing his interactions with others was valuable data. I consciously put aside my preconceptions, realising again the importance of personal contact with participants in a variety of settings, of their words, and their own articulation of their story. By the time the first phenomenological interview began, I could listen empathically to Peter's story and observe his demeanour as he told it. Peter's story progressed over a few interview sessions. I had almost completed my interviews with Peter when I received a call from Ron, a fieldwork participant. Ron said, "*I'd like to introduce you to a guy called John. I'll pick you up Monday at 8am sharp. We'll have to go to him.*" On the way to our meeting Ron gave

me some background information on this new, potential case study participant. A month or so later the reclusive John, who lives deep in the Marlborough Sounds with his life and business partner Lyn, was on board.

I spent as much time with my participants as their busy lives would allow and, as my participants' work often involves periods of time offshore, I adapted my research schedule to meet their needs. The research included long periods of observation, working alongside, and phenomenological interviews. Phenomenological interviews focused on the participant's articulation of the story of their entrepreneurship and they largely set "the course of the dialogue" (Cope, 2005, p. 176). These interviews were conducted in three stages, with the first two stages being recorded and the final stage taking notes where required. The first stage interview was unstructured, and was led less by a question than by a framing: "Tell me the story of your entrepreneurship. Start wherever you like, take as long as you like. Nothing you say is wrong, you cannot get anything wrong. You cannot go off track because this is your story to tell, and you can tell it however you like. My role is to listen (Vignette Three). When you have completely finished telling your story, let me know. I may ask for some clarifications at that time. Otherwise, we will close each session whenever you are ready. May I record your story?" Each session ended with: "Is there anything you would like to ask me about myself or the research process from this point? Are you feeling comfortable with the process so far?"

The first recorded phenomenological interviews were between 1.5 and 4.5 hours in length. However, the shorter interviews were conducted in a series. For example, Peter's "first interview" was conducted in a series of three interviews each of around 1.5 hours per interview. None of the stories were told in a strictly linear manner and they were all filled with anecdotes that were not strictly business. All participants began their stories from their childhood and their fathers were mentioned in all discussions. All participants conducted self-analysis and described this throughout their interviews. Their narratives were, therefore, reflexive and interpretative. I kept a notebook and pen with me and noted anything I wished to clarify and any "significant non-verbal or para-lingual communications" (Hycner, 1985, p. 280). I tried to take notes as little as possible as it distracted the participants and interrupted observation. The interviews were transcribed, by me, verbatim (Hycner, 1985, p. 280). This was a huge task but well worth doing.

Vignette Three: Listening like a Chihuahua

When I began this process I considered myself a good listener, but when transcribing my first phenomenological interview (with Doug) I realised I had to do better. I could clearly hear myself whispering “yep … yep … yep” as Doug spoke. I sounded like a debarked Chihuahua. I also laughed out loud once when Doug was describing the government paying farmers to remove salt bush and then paying to them to put it back again. I interrupted him and he felt the need to respond, stating: “*I suppose it is funny, isn’t it?*” I returned to my readings and reviewed Finlay’s (2012, p. 182-184) discussion on empathic listening. Here, Finlay (2012, p. 183) noted the need to recognise the researcher’s own embodiment as an opportunity to empathise with the participant by being attentive to what is being communicated and not solely what is being said. I used a visualisation technique to “sit with” Doug again and to focus (listening to his recording) only on what he was communicating to me. This helped me to resituate myself as an empathic listener and, over time, improved my interview technique. I became more focused on close observation and empathic listening. Eventually my inner Chihuahua was silenced!

However this incident also caused me to reflect further on the concept of bracketing, or more broadly the role of preconceptions during interviews and analysis. Hycner (1985, pp. 280-281, see also Cope, 2005, p. 167) made the supposition that one does not so much “bracket” preception as maintain an awareness of where preception interferes. My preception made me respond to the salt bush issue as funny; for Doug, it was simply what happened and indicative of a broader issue. I recognised that preconceptions can interfere, not just with analysis but with interview efficacy. In response, I utilised Hycner’s (1985, p. 281) method of noting incursions that may reveal preconceptions so that I could reflexively engage with my own analysis and the participant’s communication. I found this extremely valuable in supporting empathic listening and in helping me get beyond the initial limitations of my own analysis; to go deeper and to “dwell” with the data (Finlay, 2012, p. 186). Doug’s salt bush story was far too important to be dismissed as funny, or to be interrupted by an emerging anthropologist’s lack of professional discipline.

When the first stage interviews were complete and transcribed verbatim, I analysed each of the individual transcripts for themes and then compared and contrasted thematic analyses (Cope, 2005, p. 178). I then returned to the participants for semi-structured feedback interviews where the participants and I talked through my preliminary findings (Hycner, 1985, p. 291).

The semi-structured feedback interview stage of the data collection process allowed me to engage my participants as co-researchers through discussion of my individual thematic analysis of their story (Finlay, 2009, p. 2-17). From an anthropological perspective this also helped to equalise the power relation between my participants and myself by allowing the participant to challenge what was written about them and my interpretations (Lindesmith & Strauss, 1950, p. 592). These sessions were recorded and were framed as follows: “I have transcribed your interview recording/s and analysed it/them for themes. Themes are patterns in your story. I’d like to discuss these themes with you. If you are comfortable with each theme, let me know and tell me why you are comfortable. If you are uncomfortable with any theme, let me know and tell me why you are uncomfortable. Feel free to offer anecdotes that either support or challenge the theme.” The participants readily discussed the themes and seemed to find it easy to describe anecdotes to support them. Participants also engaged in some self-analysis in relation to the themes. None of the participants noted discomfort with any of the themes. At the end of this session, which went from two hours to four hours in length, participants were asked: “Are you comfortable with me proceeding to write up these themes? Do you have any questions or comments on the process thus far?” Most participants had questions about the next steps and were keen to read their case studies and the final thematic analysis of their case. Participants also noted that they were finding the process personally valuable.

The third interview was semi-structured and was not recorded (Hycner, 1985, p. 291). At this interview the participants were given a printed copy of their case study synopsis and its thematic analysis which presented five shared themes (Hycner, 1985, p. 291). The participants were given time to read and reflect on their individual case study and the thematic analysis. These sessions were from two to four hours long and were framed by me as: “This is your story, as much as possible in your words, but it is a synopsis and I may have missed things that are important to you or included things that cause you discomfort. I invite you to challenge or correct anything I have written. At the bottom of the case study synopsis I have written a thematic analysis. I compared your themes (which we discussed

previously) to the other participants' themes and found some themes that appear across all participants' stories. Five shared themes are presented as a part of the analysis of your case. If anything I have written makes you uncomfortable, or you believe that I have misinterpreted or misunderstood you in any way please discuss this with me. I welcome your questions and feedback." This process led to some minor edits to Nick's story (a misspelt word and tightening of the description of a business process). No changes were requested to any thematic analyses. Final responses from each participant are given, in brief, below (table three).

Table 3: Summary of participant responses to their case study synopsis and analyses

Peter	I was especially cautious regarding interpretation of the change in Peter's focus from being the perfect replica/son of his father, to perfecting his own way of being in the world. Peter, however, noted he was "happy" with my analysis.
Doug	"You got me, Amanda, warts and all [laughter and emotion]. Geez there's a fair few 'bloodies' in there, but you got me alright ... when can I have a copy of this to keep?" Wendy, Doug's wife, also read the case study and themes and expressed her comfort.
John	"You got me, Amanda, ya' bloody got me!" Don't change anything, ya' bloody got me." Lyn, who also read the case study and themes stated that she was comfortable, asked about the process and when they could have a copy of the document to keep.
Marcus	"Yeah, that's all good Amanda. I use the word 'optimise' a lot. It's a favourite word for me." Marcus then related a recent situation where he had been unable to achieve a perfect client outcome, and how challenging that was for him. "Yeah, you're onto it, I don't want anything changed."
Nick	"I think you're spot on, actually. In fact, when can I have a copy of this? I'd like to just hand it to people when I meet them [mimics handing the case study to someone]. Here, I'm Nick. Read that and then we can talk."
Joy	"Yeah. It all moves along so fast, and everything changes, but this is right. I'm so disappointed in myself that I haven't achieved, this year, everything I wanted to with the business. But, yeah, I don't want anything changed."

Having described the data collection process, and shown the manner utilised to bring the participants into a co-researcher dialogue, I will now describe the process I utilised to analyse the phenomenological interview transcripts and then the broader fieldwork data.

Data Analysis

As noted by Smith (2004, p. 41-42) IPA is idiographic with the intention being to gain insight into the participant's life-world and the meanings they ascribe to their journey of entrepreneurship. The process is both inductive and interpretative with the researcher being open to new insights drawn from observation and analysis, and interpreting these (in dialogue with the participants) such that new insights are both uncovered and explained (Smith, 2004, p. 43-46). The following process was conducted for each individual case study participant transcript. Each case study participant recording was transcribed verbatim immediately following the interview, but analysis did not occur until the participant had completed telling their story allowing their transcripts to be analysed together as a complete story. A staged approach was taken to analysis of each case. By this I mean that the individual participant's transcript was analysed for themes independently before proceeding to the next case (Smith, 2004, p. 41). This analysis was achieved by undertaking the following steps:

Stage One – A focus on general themes

1. The participant's recording was listened to again without any transcription or interruption (Hycner, 1985, p. 282).
2. The participant's recording was then transcribed verbatim.
3. The participant's transcript was printed and read. At this stage I made thematic notes in the margins of the transcript (Hycner, 1985, p. 282).
4. The participant's recording was listened to again, this time I free-wrote notes on a whiteboard. This is a technique that works well for me as an analyst.
5. The participant's transcript was printed again and re-read. This transcript was analysed for general themes and coded (Hycner, 1985, p. 282) using colour coding. I prefer colour coding of transcripts to numerical coding as I find this allows me to focus on the depth of communication and where things connect rather than counting the number of times something was said. The process of colour coding proved very useful in highlighting the strength of themes and where themes cross over and connect. Again, notes were also made in the margins of the transcripts during the colour coding process.

Stage Two – A focus on the phenomena

1. I listened to the participant's recording again. This time I narrowed down the focus to aspects of their story that relate, specifically, to the phenomena of

entrepreneurship (Hycner, 1985, p. 284). Using a different colour of pen, I free-wrote notes on the whiteboard.

2. The participant's transcript was printed afresh, analysed and notes made in the margin relating specifically to the phenomena of entrepreneurship (Hycner, 1985, p. 284).
3. The participant's transcript was then printed afresh again, analysed and colour coded again. This time focusing specifically on the phenomena of entrepreneurship (Hycner, 1985, p. 284).

I then "walked away" from the transcript/s for at least one day, so that I could think about the analysis. Whenever something occurred to me that was of importance I noted it in a new colour on the whiteboard. I also carried a small, blank notebook and pen with me if I went away from my research base so that ideas that "popped into my head" could be noted and not lost.

Following the first sweep of white-boarding, notations and then colour coding clean, white A2 pads were used to table the general themes and the phenomena themes and to explore the connections and divergences between them (Hycner, 1985, p. 286). I attempted to use a computer table for this purpose but found it cumbersome. The A2 pads allowed me more flexibility to draw and add margin notes. This process assisted me to select the strongest themes, and to deselect some themes that were not as strong (Hycner, 1985, p. 286). However, it was also useful in working through sub-themes. I then clustered the themes again on a clean A2 sheet and it was this clustering that guided my discussion with the participant for the semi-structured feedback interviews. I would often return to this cluster making notes and changes and returning to both the audio and visual transcripts of the interview. The whiteboard, which allowed me to map themes while listening to transcripts, proved invaluable. By comparing the A2 clusters of general themes and themes directly related to the phenomena I recognised important differences. For example, this is where I picked up the crucial change in Peter's perfectionistic striving from a focus on his father, to a focus on expressing himself through his entrepreneurship. It also highlighted that perfectionistic striving does not apply to all facets of the entrepreneurs' lives, but is contextually specific.

Following this preliminary thematic analysis of each individual case study I met with each participant again to discuss my findings and recorded my discussion with them (Hycner,

1985, p. 291, see also Beck, Halling, McNabb, Miller, Rowe, & Schulz, 2003, p. 341). This proved useful, to “verify [my] understanding of the participants’ narratives” and allowed the participants to reflexively explore the case and themes through personal anecdotes (Beck *et al.*, 2003, p. 341). This interview also confirmed—in my own mind—that my analysis was of their themes and not a projection upon their stories of my own preconceptions (Halling, Kunz, and Rowe, 1994, p. 109). I transcribed the second interviews verbatim and analysed these for conflicts with the thematic analyses. Having found no conflicts I then placed the original thematic analyses of every participant side by side and analysed for shared themes. I found five themes that were strong across each case and spent time listening to recordings and mapping sub-themes within each shared theme. Through this process, I began to focus my analysis on the connections between the themes. Early in this analysis I thought that the themes may be ranked in a hierarchy. However, listening to recordings again, I realised that they are not ranked but appear as a process, with parts of the process being salient at any given point in time. When I reached the stage where I was comfortable with my analysis I then attempted to colour code fresh copies of all transcripts, however, I found that I was losing focus.

Recalling Smith’s (2004, p. 73) and Agar’s (1996 [1980]), p. 219) discussion regarding the application of deductive analyses to in situ data I decided to take a fresh approach. I rearticulated my shared themes as hypotheses (in this instance I defer to Agar’s 1996 [1980], p. 219, definition of a hypothesis as “an idea to check out”) and I colour coded the (this time randomised) transcripts to find evidence of the hypothesis. I wrote the hypothesis on the whiteboard, for example: “I hypothesise that each of my case studies shares perfectionist striving as a theme.” I then tested my hypothesis by analysing every case study for that theme. This proved extremely useful as a test to my thinking and showed me that I needed to clearly define what I meant by each theme and sub-theme such that my participants and any future researcher interested in my work would be clear about what is being communicated. Conscious of Nazaruk’s (2011, p. 80) caution with regard to the adoption of “scientific meta-language” when analysing and writing up research (see also, Geertz, 1995, pp. 129-130), I reflected on the Oxford English Dictionary (2015) and the participant data to inform these definitions. Nazaruk (2011, p. 80) contended that scientific jargon masks subjectivity and can lead to the communication of “dangerous and pedantic abstractions.” According to Nazaruk (2011, P. 80-81) the anthropologist’s role is not to avoid or mask interpretation, or subjectivities, but to ensure

that they explicitly inform the research process in a manner that reflects the understanding of the participants.

Once I was clear regarding definitions of the shared theme or sub-theme, I repeated my “hypothesis” method. At this point, I had analysed five coherent shared themes, and a cluster of sub-themes under each. I then began to write the individual case studies with their individual thematic analyses. As noted by Cope (2005, p. 172) case studies can be both chronological *and* thematic. I selected this dual approach for each case. Per Hycner (1985, p. 185) I completed each case study in its entirety before moving to the next and utilised “as much as possible the literal words of the participant.” As previously noted, I then returned to the participants with a copy of their individual case study and thematic analysis, in order that they could read this and provide feedback (Hycner, 1985, p.291). With my participants responding that they were comfortable with their case studies and thematic analyses I then proceeded to map the process illuminated through the coding and analysis of the transcripts. When I had completed mapping this process I listened to participant recordings and explored the process for a starting point and an end point and I then wrote the thematic discussion for the thesis. With the case study participants’ data fully addressed, I then returned to the broader fieldwork data armed with rich points (Agar, 1997, p. 1157) for analysis. Focusing on the shared themes, and with the case study participants voices in my mind I undertook the following steps:

1. I listened to the fieldwork recordings, focusing on the phenomena and on the shared themes articulated by the case study participants. Using a whiteboard, and then A2 sheets, I made notes on patterns in the data and drew rough models that explored these patterns and their connections (Bernard, 2006, pp. 451-462).
2. I analysed other documentation (electronic and written) collected during fieldwork and focusing on the phenomena and on the shared themes articulated by the case study participants I analysed the texts. I made notes and roughed out diagrams (primarily using clean, white A2 sheets and the whiteboard) (Bernard, 2006, pp. 451-462).
3. I then stepped back from the data and focusing on my diagrams and notes I used the whiteboard to draw themes. Focusing on these themes and the connections between them I began to refine diagrams that explained the connections between these themes (Bernard, 2006, p. 493-495).

4. I then “piled” my data into thematic piles (Bernard, 2006, p. 494; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003 [1983]).
5. The above process of data reduction was then utilised to inform freewriting of the social section. During this freewriting, I returned again and again to fieldwork notes to find examples and to critically challenge the validity of my analysis (Bernard, 2006, pp. 453-454). The section was very focused on my rich points by this stage and not on the totality of Marlborough society.
6. I edited the section and explored my contentions for weaknesses, returning to the fieldwork data wherever these were detected so that I could challenge the contention or strengthen it through better presentation of the data (Bernard, 2006, pp. 453-454).

Having completed the analysis of my data, I now turned to the second literature review.

Here, I sought scholarly research with which I could further inform my analysis by taking a compare and contrast approach to extend my analysis (Hycner, 1985, p. 298). This continued throughout the writing and collation of my thesis which I will now describe.

Writing the Thesis

As noted by Smith, Jarman and Osborne (1999, p. 227) “the division between analysis and writing is a false one, in that the analysis continues during the writing phase.” All case studies and their thematic analyses were completed prior to my departure from the field. Writing of the analyses of shared themes and social data, as well as the discussion and conclusion sections occurred following my departure. The write up stage was also utilised to reflexively explore the researcher’s role in the research. In addition, the final stage of the write up included analysis for limitations of the study to ensure that these were articulated in the thesis and these are included, where appropriate, throughout the thesis. I also analysed for new research suggestions. The final thesis is both reflexive and interpretative and does not purport to present causal analyses, or generalised theories. Having communicated the method undertaken, I will now present the individual case studies and their thematic analyses. While it was not the aim of this study to conduct life history interviews, the manner in which the participants responded led to the presentation of case studies that are similar to life history case studies.

The use of oral history has a strong association with anthropology (Atkinson, 1998, p. 123), resulting in ethnographic works such as Keesing’s (1978) *Elota’s Story: The Life and Times of*

a *Solomon Islands Big Man*. However, while the case studies bear similarities to case histories, they are derived from phenomenological interviews that focus the participant's attention on their entrepreneurship. In addition, the cases are both presented and interpreted by the researcher in relation to the entrepreneurship of the participants, with analysis focused on shared themes. The case studies, therefore, do not represent the analysis of a whole life in any instance. For clarity, any verbatim quote made by a participant in both the synopsis and the thematic analysis of each case study is italicised with the participant's perspective presented first (the synopsis) and my thematic analysis presented immediately following their case. At the request of the participants the case studies are written in such a way that they can be understood on their own (without further discussion and explanation to a naïve reader), therefore they each contain definitions of the shared themes. The cases are presented (as per table three) starting with the mature entrepreneurs and closing with the emerging entrepreneur. I therefore begin with Peter's evolution.

Chapter Four: Case Studies

Case Study One - Peter's Evolution

Synopsis

Peter's father was a businessman and Peter worked alongside him from a very young age. When Peter was fourteen his father became very ill. Peter left school at this time and hoped to take over the running of his father's grocery store. However, the grocery store was sold. Peter took up employment in farm work and carting¹⁵, where "... *essentially I was selling my brawn.*" Eager to do more, Peter—still in his teenage years—registered his first company and bought himself a large hay baler: "*I bought it at the A&P¹⁶ show, a massive, expensive thing—the biggest and best in the country—and I did alright for about three years. But then the drought nearly sent me bust, so I sold it back to the company I bought it off and I cleared my debt.*" At twenty, Peter married: "*When I got married I had about a hundred bucks in my bank account and we used half of that to buy a wedding ring for one another.*" Peter took on part time work as a driver and continued his carting. Considering himself "*like my father, a jack of all trades, master of none.*" Peter also began to trade in government surplus: "*We rented a house in the country with a menagerie of animals and we lived there for about five years. We managed to live off the land really, with a pretty sporadic income from a bit of carting and wheeling and dealing.*"

With the birth of his first child, in 1968, Peter gained full time employment in construction, "*just to try to stabilise my income a wee bit.*" Peter completed a construction-related Diploma in the following year. Alongside Peter's construction employment he continued his carting and, eventually, tendered for and won an independent bid for the construction of a sea wall which he completed in his weekends: "*I mustered up a crew and we went down there and we did it in about six weeks and I made an absolute fortune out of it.*" Due to his resourcefulness and his work ethic, Peter excelled in his "*couple of stints*" of employment. However, he found that while his work ethic was rewarding for his employer, it was less rewarding for Peter: "*I made [my employer] a real fortune, but I was doing a hundred hours a week and I came back home every sixth week. [My son] was at a stage when he was just starting to say mama and dada and when I went away it sort of put his speech back. Then, I was promised an increase in pay because of the role and the responsibility. I asked for it and never got it so I told them to stick their job and I left.*" For Peter, with enough contracting work experience to make further bids, it seemed sensible to

¹⁵ "Carting" describes the transport of hay, firewood and other commercial loads.

¹⁶ Agricultural and Pastoral Show.

focus on his own business where he had more control over his earnings and more time with his family.

Peter's contracting work paid well and the clients met their obligations to their contractors. Peter worked with local and central government agencies progressing from small building jobs to "*doing some quite serious stuff*": "*I built bridges for the local County Council; painted bridges for the Ministry of Works. I built towers for the Broadcasting Corporation; developed playgrounds for the Education Board.*" Peter was paid well for this work and developed a good reputation leading to more contracts. By 1970, Peter finally made enough money to start paying serious tax. This led to a new kind of business opportunity introduced by Peter's tax adviser: "*He said, 'I've received, from the government, a bulletin about tax incentives for the development of aquaculture'. I thought, well, I'd rather do that and develop an asset than pay [tax] to the government.*" Peter did not have to be an expert in aquaculture as there were none and an experimental approach was encouraged: "*I knew absolutely nothing about aquaculture and nor did anyone else in New Zealand. So, driven by the desire to not pay tax I went to the library and got some books and I studied how they farmed blue mussels in Spain. I looked at crayfish, eels, scallops, oysters, a whole lot of things, but I chose mussels because I felt it had the biggest potential and you didn't have to feed them.*"

Peter opened a new business, inviting his father and brothers to join the venture, and his involvement in the mussel farming industry began. What followed were many years of library visits, consultations with the Fishing Industry Board's "*imported*" expert, and a lot of "*trial and error*" development which led to further opportunities: "*We had a roaring business farming mussels. We went from harvesting mussels to building mussel lines, installing them, providing all the equipment, designing and making the anchors and importing Spanish lace [netting] that we sold to the industry.*" The mussel farming venture was not all smooth sailing, however, and proved a drain on Peter's capital and a strain on relationships with his extended family. Peter's father and brothers formed a separate business in 1974 and purchased Peter's share in their co-owned mussel farms. Peter continued to work in mussel farming with a good friend, but focused primarily on setting up farms and the trading of licenses. Alongside this Peter's contracting business continued and he developed an industrial-marine business to supply mussel farming technology. By this time, Peter and his wife were settled near Peter's father on a sizable property in Grovetown where they built a new house and "*an assortment of out-buildings.*" This allowed Peter to

co-locate his businesses at his home in Grovetown, thus staying close to his family: “*From the whole raft of things while I was doing all of that I probably had fifteen staff. They were in my back yard in Grovetown.*”

Then, in 1986, Peter was approached to form a partnership to import machinery: “*I was making mussel floats in Grovetown and a flash Porsche drove up the driveway with a beautiful woman in it; and a bloke. They came over and greeted me like I was a long-lost friend. He was all over me and full of praise, and I took it.*” Peter thought working with the couple would be “*fun and interesting*”, and a way to make some extra cash. Peter agreed to a business venture; however, the machinery imports did not eventuate. Instead Peter found himself exporting pine logs as dunnage and, later, native logs for processing. The logging business grew rapidly with growth demands outstripping cash flow. Then the institutional financier supporting the business suddenly decided to pull out of the deal. Peter was left with a half full cargo ship, no money, and an angry contract crew.

Meanwhile his business partner, complete with beautiful wife, skedaddled in the Porsche: “*I had to try and keep it all going because there was such a thing as demurrage and that's a big hefty fee if you don't fill the boat and let it leave on time. My off-sider did a runner. I didn't see him again for years, and I was left with this hard-case crew and a half-filled ship.*”

Peter called on a friend and trusted business adviser to help him work his way through the issue. “*That's the closest I've ever been to going broke. The company paid all of its bills but it took twelve to eighteen months to do it. When the news got out that we were in strife and to send in your bills, well, virtually everyone doubled them. That was a real eye opener.*” Peter took the loss of “*a couple of hundred grand*” and closed the business, having satisfied all creditors: “*I just wrote it off and I put the whole thing down to experience. I don't know if [the business partner] was in cahoots with someone, or what happened. But when I look back I can see that I was taken in by a flash car, a pretty woman and a smooth-talking man.*” Unfortunately, the damage was not limited to the logging business: *My attention went out of my other businesses because I was flat out on the logging.* In addition, Peter had taken some of the earnings from his other businesses and invested these in the share market and this was lost in the 1987 share market crash: “*I had about five million in the share market that had started from nothing; a very small contribution of my own cash inputs and the rest gained through trading shares. I lost pretty much everything down the gurgler but I didn't feel any pain. It was an experience.*”

During this time the industrial-marine and the contracting businesses in Peter's back yard kept providing for the family and having regained Peter's attention the industrial-marine business began to grow again. However, Peter now faced new competition from his extended family. Having suffered many difficulties over the preceding years, Peter became disheartened and it was "*time for a break*": "*About 1991 the business was on a roll. So I rang a real estate firm and said, 'I'd like to sell the business and I'd like to sell it now, while it's on a high.'*" Peter decided to take his wife and children on their "*first, and to this day last, real holiday.*" On their return, Peter started a new business deer farming with a "*good friend and colleague*" that was knowledgeable about the industry: "*He taught me most of what I know about deer and I pretty much got hooked on deer farming.*" They located some land for the venture at an isolated place in the Marlborough Sounds: "*[He] said, "I know a place down at Kaiuma where I hunt a lot. So I went down with [him] and I looked around. The owner wouldn't sell. So I leased that on a year to year basis, but I was only there six months and I was spending a hell of a lot of money developing it. I just thought—this is a road to nowhere—so I rang him up."*" Peter issued an ultimatum—sell or I go: "*So he sold it to me and I started off with a whole heap of new vigour and away I went.*"

A great deal of hard work followed to develop the deer farming operation and Peter "*loved it.*" When the property was well in hand, Peter's attention turned to perfecting the animal husbandry. Early on Peter's venison operation included wild stock; however, he found these "*a nuisance*" and focused on improving the genetics of his farmed stock. Peter worked with four colleagues, each with helpful expertise, and together they "*built a terrific surgery with all the right gear. We pretty much pioneered embryo transplants in red deer in New Zealand.*" It was the charm of both living and working with nature at Kaiuma that stimulated Peter's interest in—and changed the way he relates to—the natural environment. Peter's development of Kaiuma resulted in an award-winning enterprise: "*It was, basically, at that time that I became a 'greenie' if you can call it that. We learned to work with nature rather than fight it and we got a really good appreciation of nature's gifts.*" When the property was performing well, the environmental improvements were well in hand and Peter's "*knees were knackered and couldn't take any more*" Peter and his family moved back to town and appointed a manager to maintain the deer farm. The deer farm was later subdivided and (in part) sold, funding Peter's move into the development of vineyards.

Peter's experience with planting grapes had, thus far, been limited to a substantial planting of edible grapes on the acreage at his family home in Grovetown. However, with the wine industry taking hold in Marlborough—alongside Peter's experience in land development at Kaiuma—he was drawn to the industry. *"I bought this piece of land. It was for sale for \$800,000 and it was derelict. It was an estate sale and the 'For Sale' notice was half submerged in a depression. I thought it would be a nice thing to tackle, I could tidy that up and make that into something; and I had all the gear. I got it for \$400,000 and then I got a GST¹⁷ refund which made it really good buying."* Peter developed the property to create twenty hectares of flat, arable land, including *"a nice little setting with a little lake out the front."* Peter then planted a vineyard: *"At the time the golden mile at Rapaura was being developed and everyone was planting grapes out there in good stony country. There were no grapes at all in the lower Wairau, but I couldn't see why they wouldn't grow."* While Peter admits his first vineyard development, was *"pretty rude and crude"*, resource constraints meant *"we didn't have any choice."* The vineyard's crops attracted strong interest, *"funnily enough, from people who said it wouldn't work."*

Peter managed to sell grapes and produce a small stock of wine, under contract, and admits he did *"extremely well."* This encouraged him to expand: *"I was getting quite excited about this and at that time I looked at other opportunities."* Peter went on to develop many vineyards and the activity was so profitable that it meant Peter could take on larger scale visionary enterprises that previous resource constraints had precluded him from undertaking. Peter's thoughts went to a location he had once visited and admired, in Seaview: *"I read there was a property for sale out here and I jumped in the car, came out here, and was even further amazed by it. And look, it was very, very cheap."* The land had not been caught up in the value increases caused by the rise of the wine industry as it was considered too challenging due to contour. Peter would have to work out how to develop it. Using Global Positioning System (GPS) technology, in 2001, Peter developed his *"rolling hills"* into the vineyards that would become the estate. In 2006, Peter went on to develop the estate winery, which opened in 2008. Both the vineyards and the winery are nationally recognised for sustainability and innovation, and the majority of the production from the estate is exported making the company a leading New Zealand export business.

Amidst the flurry of vineyard and winery development, Peter also made the decision to develop his remaining land holdings at Kaiuma. Peter's vision was to create a luxury

¹⁷ Goods and Services Tax.

housing estate. Peter sold this development in 2013 to focus on his vineyards and winery. Selling the housing estate was a difficult decision for Peter as his vision was not complete; however, the challenges of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), droughts and earthquakes, alongside the growth demands of the wine estate drove consolidation of his investments. In addition, while Peter sold the housing estate “*with neither loss, nor gain*”, he admits the challenges of developing a housing estate “*were dragging me down*” and, with “*mixed feelings, I had to let it go.*” Peter’s current focus is on capital-raising for the expansion of the winery (this involves elements of succession)¹⁸, perfecting the ecology of the vineyard estate, the development of an international distribution network, and development of an automated vineyard maintenance system.

Themes

Peter’s story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in his personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While Peter’s thematic analysis shows that he begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in his story is on the points where Peter has “*proven*” or “*shown*” his value through tangible achievement. Therefore, I have placed “being valuable” as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic striving—a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions

“I can’t help it. I don’t try to fight it. I just take one day at a time.

There is no completion.”

Peter’s perfectionistic striving drives him to constantly analyse for problems and to strive to solve them. There is an important change in Peter’s perfectionistic striving across his life that was catalysed in the early 1990s. Peter’s focus moved from striving to be the perfect “*jack of all trades*” replica of his father (and through this, being valuable to his father), to a

¹⁸ This led to a significant new investor entering the wine estate in 2015.

focus on envisioning and achieving development by himself (thus proving to himself that he is being valuable). The changes in his business activities since that time have been dramatic, as have changes in Peter's thinking. These changes represent a process of evolution through continuous analysis and improvement across time, are not the work of a single moment, and are not at an end. This evolution led to a change in focus for Peter's businesses—from “*cash cows*” early in his career to visionary enterprise in the latter part of his career. Across his life, Peter's businesses can be conceptualised as falling into five broad categories:

- 1.1 **Cash cows.** These focus primarily on income: Employment, baling, carting, contracting, gravel supplies, mussel farms and industrial marine equipment manufacture and logging.
- 2.1 **Fun and interesting.** These occur mainly prior to 1992: Rabbit breeding, possum farming, salmon spawning, and wild fishing. These activities are expected to make money, but are taken on because of fun, interest and friendship.
- 3.1 **Supply chain.** Where it is more economic or there are critical issues, Peter will invest in the supply chain: Irrigation/water supply.
- 4.1 **Investment/shareholder vehicles.** These businesses are used for investments in shares in other companies, to hold subsidiary companies, to hold intellectual property, or to raise capital for large developments.
- 5.1 **Visionary enterprise.** From 1992 Peter has focused primarily on businesses for which he has a vision and that have significant developmental challenges. These have increased in size and value over time: Deer farming, housing estate development, vineyards, winery, related-distribution, and related-technologies.

Although forty businesses partly or wholly owned by Peter were identified by me for this research, this study focuses primarily on the businesses in categories one and five (there were up to thirty businesses in these two categories). With the change in Peter, from the 1990s, to visionary enterprise came a new emphasis on perfectionistic striving within his businesses. This first became evident at Kaiuma deer park: “*It was there that my desire began to grow the best trophy head in the world. And, of course, from that we got some good genetics and we got some terrific heads; some of the best in the world and I remember for a wee while I thought I had the best in the world.*” However, once developed, the award-winning deer farm was sold (in part) to fund the development of vineyards. Peter did not target the purchase of premium land, but instead focused—as he had at Kaiuma—

on imperfect land that could be developed from the “*derelict*”, “*shitty*” problem state it was in. The first result was an attractive and valuable development which—when compared with data from subsequent acquisitions—is still one of the highest producing vineyards in Peter’s wine estate holdings. After a string of successful vineyard developments, Peter then envisioned a “*world class*” winery that would be “*like nothing else in the world.*”

The development of the winery proceeded to plan, and has resulted in another award-winning enterprise recognised for innovation and sustainability, as well as carrying an international brand. Corresponding with the development of the winery, Peter also decided to develop his remaining land at Kaiuma. Peter’s work on the Kaiuma housing estate evidences perfectionistic striving for a “*high class*” and “*unique*” development. The beauty of Kaiuma’s location, the wildlife and the park’s access to the Marlborough Sounds was—in Peter’s opinion—desirable. However, the site was not perfect for development as it was very isolated, with substantial access and infrastructure challenges. Peter believed that, were the infrastructure built to make the situation less isolated and better serviced, it would be a sought after luxury subdivision. Peter envisioned this as a lifestyle location: *“This development was to build a high class development of two hundred plus sections. It had an absolutely magnificent aspect. It was north facing, it had a terrific backdrop and it could have been made to look very, very pretty. It was in an area of land that had dozens of mature totara trees and kahikateas, and my concept was that I was going to put in a loch so that boat owners would have water there all of the time. It would always look pretty. I felt it was very manageable but it would have made the area quite unique.”* However, post 2008, economic and environmental conditions were placing a considerable strain on Peter’s resources.

Peter had been contending with the effects of a “*wine glut*” on the Marlborough wine industry, the effects of the GFC on both the housing estate and the wine industry, the cost of investment in the housing estate, the effects of drought on the vineyards and then, to top it all off, an earthquake damaged the winery in August of 2013. It was no longer practical to continue his involvement in both developments and in December of 2013, with “*mixed feelings*” Peter made the difficult decision to sell the Kaiuma housing estate. This decision was difficult as the housing estate was not yet finished; it was still imperfect. However, Peter’s decision allowed him to focus on the vineyards and winery where he believes there is “*a terrific future*”: *“Marlborough Sauvignon Blanc is so unique in the world that it commands a price from three to four times more than any other country. And, you*

know, they thought we'd never get over the glut in '08, but it just keeps on growing. We've got such an iconic product, there's a terrific future. And when the region of Marlborough is fully developed we will have a true appellation. You'll see a big jump in prices then because you'll only be able to buy existing vineyards. It will be a bit like Champagne, you know? No more development and the value just goes up." While accolades for the winery have increased, Peter's pragmatism did not entirely relieve him of the lingering psychological discomfort of relinquishing Kaiuma.

"In the end I sold. I got my legalities right for getting the road across Twidles Island and I built the bridge. I sold the land off—which was on a separate title—that I had the dream of doing this fabulous development with; and that would have been absolutely the best thing that could ever happen for Havelock. So a bit of a piss off, but anyway, you can only try." As palpable as Peter's disappointment in relinquishing Kaiuma, is the intensity of Peter's focus on perfecting the estate. From the perfectly symmetrical vine rows, the large wetlands built to attract birdlife, butterfly gullies being created to restore monarch butterfly numbers—to the multitude of recognitions and awards for wine, architecture, business, employment, sustainability practices and environment the propensity to strive for perfection is pervasive. If it is not perfect, it must be done again until it is: *"Out here I've got a whole heap of wetlands; they're man-made wetlands. There's a wetland just down the road here on the right and it's a lovely little one, but it filled up with raupo¹⁹. It got to the point where the water was stagnant; birds couldn't take off because they couldn't flap their wings. So I looked at it and I thought, well, what the hell do I do with this? Now, because I built it and I knew the bottom I was able to put a digger in there, and I put trucks in there, and I actually loaded it all out. I took all the raupo roots out with it, and it worked well."*

At the time of writing Peter has been developing and perfecting the Estate for fifteen years. Earthquake repairs are well in hand, and expansion to the Estate is planned *"when the time is right"* with this being dependent upon capital raising and elements of succession. In the meantime, Peter is improving the distribution network, and leading multiple improvement projects across the estate. Peter has come to terms with his perfectionistic striving, recognising that there is no end point: *"I'm always planning something, I can't help myself, there's always something on the go. And probably that will be the case until I die, I can't help it; I don't try to fight it, I just take one day at a time. There is no completion."*

¹⁹ Raupo, also known as bulrush, is a swamp plant.

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

"I wouldn't take it on if I thought I was going to lose."

Peter takes a pragmatic approach to business and, therefore, takes on projects that he believes he can achieve: *"People see me as a risk taker, and I can understand that, but I don't like taking on more risk than necessary. The bigger the risk, generally, the bigger the reward but I like to think that if I'm gonna take something on that I'm gonna win, and I wouldn't otherwise."* As a pragmatist, Peter has always leveraged his current resources and remained open to new connections and ideas that might provide new income or challenges. When Peter's father's grocery store was sold, Peter was young, alone, without qualifications and in need of income. Peter had gained plenty of work experience from assisting his father in his businesses though, he admits, this was primarily doing "*the shit jobs.*" Peter was capable of heavy physical labour, he could drive, and he was a hard worker hence he pursued employment that capitalised on these resources. This led to Peter starting his first business: *"I went out working for a real character and I learned to shear sheep, crutch sheep; but essentially I was selling my brawn. And then I progressed to a joint venture with [him]. We bought haymaking equipment and we carted hay and did bits of other stuff; basically adding a little bit of profit onto your brawn. But I wanted to go faster than what [he] did so we dissolved that partnership and I carried on."*

Peter's hay baling stopped due to the drought and to protect his income Peter added other activities to his business including carting and "*wheeling and dealing*" in government surplus. Some items would be traded as is, and others broken down or rebuilt to make them usable: *"They called tenders for all of the surplus stuff that the government had, and that's from any department. Anything you could think of ... it went to the lowest tender. I ended up buying enormous volumes of all sorts of junk and I'd trade it ... [an] interesting thing I bought was, the Devonport navy had, ah, a torpedo filling machine. So it was a massive engine, with a compressor that filled torpedoes full of air, and the air released it and made the propellers go around. And, I don't think they were ever put into service but they had this thing out there. And, it was probably half a million bucks worth of gear and I bought it for a few thousand dollars and that was several weeks of decommissioning it, and loading on railway wagons and bringing it down. And the scrap metal I got from all the*

plumbing paid for the thing and I ended up with all the main components free of charge and I made a fortune out of that."

With the birth of his son, Peter needed to stabilise his income hence he went back into full time employment and this provided a gateway into contracting where he soon developed a reputation as a contractor who would "get things done." Peter targeted contracts with the Marlborough Council and the Ministry of Works because they paid well: "*And the reason why I did all this type of work is that I didn't have to worry about getting paid. They all paid very, very well. I got a little bit of a reputation and I had heaps of work.*" By the end of March 1970, Peter had earned enough through his contracts to pay tax. Peter's accountant advised him of the tax incentive to encourage people to build aquaculture businesses. While this was a new idea, it seemed to Peter to be a good way to earn additional money and to "develop an asset." Having no previous knowledge of aquaculture was not a barrier for Peter who was open to new ideas, willing to do research and to experiment: "*I remember going in to my accountant and, um, he said, 'that's ironic Peter, just today I've received from the Government a bulletin about how they are going to introduce tax incentives for the development of aquaculture in New Zealand.' And it was aquaculture broadly. And, ah, he said, 'you get \$1.20 tax exemption for every dollar you spend'. And I thought well, I'd rather do that and develop an asset and a business than pay it to the government [laughs]. I knew absolutely nothing about aquaculture and nor did anyone else in New Zealand."*"

By developing mussel farms Peter gained valuable expertise and his product development led to the establishment of a successful marine-industrial supply business: "... we built all of our floatation out of rafts and that seemed to be the way to go, mussel long-lines were unheard of, and it was a lot of trial and error ... we learned an enormous amount." While the process of experimentation led to the development of both mussel farms and a marine-industrial supply business, in 1991 Peter decided it was time to move on. The sale of the marine-industrial supply business funded a new venture at Kaiuma. It was at Kaiuma that Peter's ability to develop land was honed, alongside his ability to envision a business about which he felt passionate. As this transition occurred, Peter remained mindful of the need to provide for his family: "*I got immersed into deer farming. I still had the aggregate supply going, and I also had a fleet of dump trucks where I carted. And I had the contract for river protection in Marlborough.*" Peter was also cognizant of the need for knowledgeable support and asked trusted colleagues with expertise in deer farming and

genetics to join him in the venture at Kaiuma. As he developed the business and worked the land, Peter's passion for the development process grew: "*We grew the deer farming operation into quite a sizeable one. I think the most we had was seven hundred and twenty deer there.*" As Peter's success in the development of the park grew, so did his vision: "*I planted tens of thousands of trees and my aim was to make it into a park-like setting.*" It was at Kaiuma that Peter began to bring into being a passion for development. Peter's development of the land at Kaiuma continued at a later stage through his vision for a "*high class*" subdivision.

Peter admits that working with the Resource Management Act (RMA) in relation to the development of the housing estate has made him both sceptical and avoidant of the process. While he is open to testable ideas, Peter struggles with under-resourced or impractical systems that invite obstruction and impede "*getting it done.*" This being said, Peter's decision to sell the housing estate in 2013 was a pragmatic one, driven by the increasing personal and financial focus required by the wine estate. While the businesses Peter has owned, across his life, can appear very different—they are not when viewed through his pragmatism and an ethos of taking steps in a development process: "*My work life, I guess, in the beginning, was a whole host of minor things that was about making cash; the gravel was a terrific cash cow that gave me the money to do things, some fun and interesting. And then the next section was the deer farming, from deer farming to viticulture. They all worked well.*" Throughout the succession of development projects that followed Kaiuma, Peter has retained his love of "*big machines*". Peter's adaptability and his sense of enjoyment in participating, hands on, in development affords him greater connection with his projects as well as important thinking and planning time: "*That's one of the benefits of being on a bloody tractor because you can shut the door and think. I still haven't got out of the habit of it.*"

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

*"I think about what I could do with [the property], then make as much as I can into great land; so that's the conceptual part.
But when I get into it, it actually changes ... you do a little bit of it and then you find that you can do it all."*

For Peter, the process of development is both conceptual and tactile; and in this his pragmatism is closely linked to both his perfectionist striving and development. However, making his businesses the focus of this striving and offering himself, as resource, to his own vision was catalysed by a painful realisation. In the early 1990's Peter realised that, to some people, he was more a resource than a person. Peter's desire to be valuable had led to situations that felt personally exploitative: "*People would stop in and say 'got any good ideas today Peter?' Then take my good ideas and buggar off without so much as a thank you.*" The time had come for Peter to commit his energies to the development of his own goals. Peter's first step was to isolate himself, welcoming into his life only those for whom relationships are "*a two way street*": "*It was hard. And I think probably the easiest way to manage it, and the way I've managed it, is to shut myself out. I find it very hard to let myself get close to people now; very hard. And, um, there was a time when I actually stopped answering the phone in the weekend because every time someone rung it wasn't to say 'gidday Peter, come out for a beer', or, 'come 'round for tea'. It was, 'Peter, can I borrow ...?' There was an enormous amount of that.*"

Peter related to me, in confidence, some of the distressing situations that led to his disheartenment. Peter's social world became much smaller and he began to recognise the importance of reciprocity: "*The people you find you can have a longer term relationship with, you find it's more of a two way street. I've got hundreds of colleagues now, but only a handful of friends. I think my wife and I, we could count our real friends on one hand. And that's one of the costs, I suppose, of being in business*" [stated with sadness]. While the disheartenment that led to Peter's self-isolation was painful, "*living off the land*" with his wife and children, his "*tight circle of friends*", and his work "*sculpting*" Kaiuma gave Peter a new focus. Peter began to focus on what he could envision and develop: "*Kaiuma was very, very derelict. It was a hell of a mess. I bought a bulldozer and went down there and I cleared about fifty hectares of land and basically learned how to drive a bulldozer; I loved it.*" Peter's new focus on development led to the deer farm at Kaiuma winning an environmental award and becoming a premier supplier of genetics, venison and velvet. By the late 1990's Peter was ready for another challenge and he and his wife decided it was "*time to head back to town.*"

Peter began the process of vineyard development, focused first on cheap, low quality land that was perceived in the general market to be too problematic for vineyard development.

Peter believed that with fresh thinking and hard work such land—like Kaiuma—could be made arable and valuable. This began with the land Peter purchased in the lower Wairau where he faced, not just land development challenges but also supply chain problems: “*I got [the property] at a time when you had a three year wait for the nurseries to supply grape vines because there was such strong demand. I managed to scrounge enough plants to plant these twenty hectares by using seconds. Some of them were totally knackered but the vast percentage just had bent stems which, if you planted them the right way, didn’t make any difference. So I managed to get that vineyard up and built using seconds with all sorts of clones. I had no choice. It was pretty bloody rude and crude, but we got it knocked up and today it’s one of our best producing vineyards.*” The grapes and wine produced from the vineyard were providing a “*better than expected*” return on investment so Peter moved on to develop more vineyards. Peter’s idea was that by alternating between leasehold land and purchase he could acquire and develop more problematic land that suited his vineyard development process.

“*One of [these opportunities] was developing a large vineyard up Northbank. It was terrible. It was hewn out old willow beds. It was matagauri²⁰ and willow and gorse and broom, and lots of old river courses. I entered into an arrangement to lease that for a peppercorn rental for a few years and then get into market rental gradually. Before I started up there I bought some adjoining land because I knew once I started and got into it that land would appreciate in value, you know, value that I’d created myself. So I ended up with about three hundred and fifty hectares of land and I spent a good year developing it like no other vineyard in Marlborough would have ever been done because it was just thousands of cubic metres of stuff to be shifted. It was old swamps. It was one hell of a mess.*” Peter learned, at Northbank, that he did not have to hold and manage the vineyard to make money, as he had in the lower Wairau: “*I built a terrific vineyard. Put on a lot of grape mark²¹ compost and built these beautiful ponds. And the idea was that at some point I was going to build a restaurant up there. I had grand ideas. I had the place nearly finished when I was approached by a real estate agent. He said, ‘hey Peter, you’ve been doing a lovely job here, I’ve been admiring it, I’ve got some friends from Australia and they wondered whether you’d sell it?’ I says, ‘no, not a show. I haven’t even finished it.’*”

²⁰ Matagauri (*discaria toumatou*) is a thorny plant that is endemic to New Zealand.

²¹ Grape mark is the leftover skins and stalks and the waste from when grapes are crushed for their juice. In 2014, it is added to sawdust, bark and mussel shells to make organic compost for the estate.

The real estate agent kept “*picking away*” at Peter, and Peter gave careful consideration to the offer finally deciding it was best to sell: “*I thought, here’s an opportunity, I’ve got someone really wanting it and in the end I came up with a price that was absolutely fantastic. There was about [withheld] million dollars profit in it after all my costs had been taken out and I thought with that sort of money I could go and do the same thing over and over again, and multiply.*” Peter now had enough capital to choose a piece of desirable, arable land—though still not considered right for vineyards—in a location that he “*loved*” at Seaview. Though it was some time before he could take possession and begin development, he continued developing other land while he waited: “*For once in my life I had no debt and a pocket full of money and I remembered coming out to Seaview. So I found a property, which is just opposite from the winery and I negotiated and bought that but I couldn’t get immediate possession. I had to wait a year. And whilst I was waiting I went and bought a bit of land at Riverlands. That was a shitty bit of land that was filled up with several peoples junk. Builders had it for a yard and there were horses and it was a real mess. But anyway we tidied that up and that became about an eleven hectare vineyard; I planted it all in Savvy*²².*”*

Peter then began his development at Seaview. Sculpting the land, and guided by GPS technology to ensure consistency in the vine rows, Peter worked “*night and day, seven days a week*” until the vineyards were complete. By 2005 Peter was ready for new challenges and he began planning for the development of the Kaiuma subdivision, then in 2006 planning began for the development of a winery at Seaview. Kaiuma subdivision was a complex development: “*To make Kaiuma work from a customer point of view we needed to try to shorten the route into Kaiuma. I had to spend about a million dollars widening out the Kaiuma Bay Road, so a hell of a lot of money, about two and a half million dollars to try and improve the access to get into Kaiuma and, anyway, it’s done now.*” Peter sold the Kaiuma housing estate in December 2013. The winery development was completed “*without a hitch*” in 2008. While there are substantial development plans to expand the current winery, Peter’s focus (at the time of these interviews) was on smaller vineyard and winery development projects (both ecological and business related) and on preparation for capital-raising, supply arrangements and succession planning to support the winery’s next growth phase.

²² Sauvignon wine grapes.

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards that Peter believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

“The more of a challenge it is, the more it is worth achieving.”

Peter’s pragmatism ensures that he is resourceful, embraces and tests new ideas, and achieves developmental outcomes. Those outcomes are the rewards that Peter believes are important and valuable. As his overall focus, financial and knowledge resources have changed across time, the type of reward Peter pursues has broadened: “*Money is important, Amanda, but in the end it’s not all about money; there’s got to be more.*” Peter pursues both internal and external reward: (1) internal reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain). However, there are changes in emphases in the latter half of Peter’s career. Peter has become more focused on internal reward than previously, and on external rewards that are objectively measured. Peter describes this change as, “*just an evolution.*” In terms of internal reward Peter currently emphasises self-development as an important focus for reward. I define self-development as a process of change, where one begins to experience one’s life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. Self-development was not an emphasis in Peter’s early life. Although he was a competent learner and found some challenges “*fun and interesting*” when he left school at fourteen he was focused on external reward; primarily, to be valued by others.

It was the disheartenment that Peter suffered, during the 1990s that stimulated a change in focus. He could no longer sustain a life in pursuit of the subjective approval of others. A new sustainable existence began, woven into the development of both man and land, at Kaiuma. As he moulded and shaped Kaiuma Peter had “*time to think*”, and the natural environment of Kaiuma moulded and shaped him: “*We got a really good appreciation of nature’s gifts, I suppose. We had falcons at our door, totally fearless of humans. You’d climb to the top of a hill and kakis would be perched a metre away from you; you felt like reaching out and touching them. We had tuis and bellbirds all around the house and we saw some marvellous events and learned how intelligent birds are. It was a real awakening.*” The space Peter and his wife created at Kaiuma centred on their little family, and only their most trusted friends and colleagues joined them there: “*It was in a circle of friends at that time.*” In terms of external reward Peter currently emphasises four areas of

reward for which he seeks objective evidence of success: self, business, social and environmental development. These are related in that the latter three are used, by Peter, as evidence of his self-development. While the opinions of others are still important to Peter, he has increased his focus on measurable evidence as he has found that subjective evaluations of others are not always consistent or valid.

Since the early 1990s, in order to lessen the harmful effects of potentially invalidating relationships, Peter has changed his approach to external reward. First, he self-isolates more: *It tends to make you a bit more reclusive, and the more reclusive you are the less you hear and the less hurt you get.* And, second, he seeks objective and measurable external rewards that he can rely upon to validate his progress. Peter sets himself personal challenges that can be objectively measured and experiences a sense of reward when these challenges are met and he achieves well. The bigger the challenge, the more rewarding it is for Peter to achieve it: *"I'll pick up opportunities that others in the business find too hard and I see that as a challenge. I managed to salvage and pick up an opportunity and foster it that has led us to our biggest market in the United States. That was bloody near-an impossible task. And I've also done the same, but it took me three years to do it, with a client in Germany. The German's are very loyal, they don't chop and change. They were eight years with their previous supplier. It's more of a victory because it's our single biggest customer now and it's one that's come through, you know, an impossible situation and to me that's pretty valuable."*

In relation to business development the creation of something new, such as the vineyards and the winery, and then to growing it in size and complexity is very rewarding for Peter. The activity is validating in that something that did not exist at all prior to his efforts, can be seen to exist from his efforts. The process of continually innovating, improving, and perfecting is then carefully monitored through audits, awards and financial measures: *"This is a private company and we have the biggest wage bill now of any company in Marlborough. Even bigger than the local Council, so it's touching on [withheld] million bucks. That's a lot of money. But not many people know it and that doesn't worry me; I'm not out to try and skite²³, but it is a good wee plus for Marlborough. We'll turn over [withheld] million bucks this financial year and I don't think there's any other locally based operations that do that, only multinationals."* In relation to social development, being involved in aspects of social development is important to Peter. Peter's focus on social

²³ To skite is “to boast, or show off”.

development emphasises his family and employees, and then embraces wider community. Peter's family are very private people, who "*live very frugally and simply.*" However, providing for his family and keeping them close is rewarding for Peter. Peter is proud of his marriage of close to fifty years and it is also an important aspect of reward that their children and grandchildren are close by.

Peter's team are also important to him and to ensure that he is performing well as an employer Peter seeks objective validation in the form of audits and awards: "*I've got a terrific team. I reckon I've got the best team in the country and, um, I say that because we've enter into the Kennexa²⁴ best workplace for the last two years, and we've been finalists in the last two years and I hope we're about to do a third one. My aim is to win.*" Peter finds it particularly validating when employees remain with him for a long period of time: "*All of the important people here have been here a long time and they're all immensely loyal and they tell me that's the reason why they're here; and I guess if it wasn't some might go. But no, I'm very lucky.*" Away from family and work Peter is a very shy individual who struggles with the visibility and accessibility that his business requires, especially at the community level: "*I would prefer to go down town and not be, um, what's the word, bailed up²⁵ by anyone. But I have trouble now and my wife gets astonished at the amount. I can't go anywhere. And for someone that's not outgoing, I don't like it to be honest. But not many people realise it, you know, they don't appreciate how hard it is.*" Peter's preference is to live a very private life when not at work; however, he is committed to supporting others through his businesses.

Peter, his wife and the businesses sponsor many community and national organisations and events such as Oxfam, art exhibitions and galleries, music festivals, sports groups, local schools, successful young New Zealanders, Kiwi sustainability missions and even a Crowd-grown feast²⁶. A final aspect of development that is important for Peter relates to the natural environment. Kaiuma was a life changing experience that affected the way Peter relates to the natural environment at a deeply personal level. While Peter admits that achieving sustainability is a complex learning process, the estate is recognised nationally and internationally for, not only sustainability, but an innovative approach capable of

²⁴ IBM Kennexa Best Workplace Survey and Awards

²⁵ "Bailed up" means to waylay someone for a purpose, usually to extract something from them.

²⁶ Peter does not like to discuss these as "*I don't want to skite or anything*"; information on the sponsorships was therefore obtained by the researcher via an internet search limited to the twelve months to August 2014.

providing world leading processes and technologies. Peter describes his relationship with the land, not as resource-based, but as “*love*” both of the land itself, and of the process of working both conceptually and physically with it. Peter describes this relationship as underpinning his current business success: “*I can’t help it, but when I take people around and talk about the land everyone picks up on the love of the land, if you like. I might not be able to convince them to buy a bottle of wine, but I can certainly convince them that I love what I do. The type of person I am, they go away pretty convinced. And I don’t particularly try to do that. I suppose I get excited when I talk about my compost and the land and what I plan to do.*” While Peter is still learning about the environment and how to manage its wellbeing in balance with the needs of his businesses, positive environmental measures such environmental awards provide evidence that he is moving in the right direction and Peter experiences this as rewarding.

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

“*When I was old enough to serve, I served.*”

Peter’s father owned multiple businesses that took much of his time. Peter identified strongly with his father and considered it a privilege to work alongside him in his businesses, where he made himself useful from a very early age: “*I had a good upbringing from my father who was a businessman and, a little bit like myself, he was a jack of all trades and master of none. He spent about twenty years in grocery. The house adjoined the shop and after school, weekends, I always worked for my Dad. I did all of the shit jobs like breaking up dates, bagging sugar. When I was old enough to serve, I served; I was the delivery boy.*” By working alongside his father and being valuable to him, Peter could participate in his father’s world: “*I didn’t really play a lot of sport because I was always working. In the weekends my father built houses, flats, he also had a car sales company, and a car wrecking company. So, he was pretty active and I was the man that tailed along behind him.*” Peter was also aware of challenges to his father’s health: “*Um, Dad came back from the war quite shot up, full of shrapnel. He didn’t have a very long life projected ahead of him, but he’s still alive today and he’s ninety-three, so, that’s a credit to him.*” When Peter was fourteen his father’s health deteriorated and a change in the pace of life was required.

By fifteen, Peter had prepared himself to take over the running of the family's grocery business, but the decision was made to sell the business and his father moved away with the rest of the family: *"He built this little wee shop in Lee Street, it grew and he was Marlborough's longest serving grocer. He phased out because of his health. It annoyed me a wee bit because I was fifteen at the time and I was hoping to take over the shop. When he sold the shop he moved up north. He thought that he might live up there but he went up there for a few weeks then came back and bought a property at Grovetown."* Peter remained in Marlborough and began his employment, then later a small business. However, on his father's return to Marlborough Peter tried to be valuable again by securing his father employment. Peter's father then started a business with Peter's brothers and Peter would visit often to help out on an unpaid basis on his weekends. Peter's move to Grovetown was, in part, to be nearer to his father and, in 1970, he made the decision to bring his father and brothers into one of his ventures—mussel farming: *"I managed to interest my twin younger brothers and my father to get involved. They came in on a very small basis."*

Peter's change in focus in the 1990s led Peter to value, more highly than previously, objective measures of his ability to be valuable. Whereas previously the "*attention went out of my other businesses*" as Peter worked to show his value to others; the focus now moved more intensively to Peter and his little family, how he could be of value to them, and how he could "show" himself, clients and colleagues that his work—his development—was well applied and had been worth it. Enduring images that remain with me in relation to Peter are his extreme shyness, his watchfulness, his (at times extreme) self-criticism, the conscious respect he communicated for his parents, the depth and protectiveness of his love for his wife and children and his need for reassurance that he was giving me all of the information I needed. For example on one occasion Peter suddenly stopped relating his story and said: *"And ... by the way ... I don't know if this is part of what you're looking for? Is it?* I responded *"It is,"* to which Peter added *"from start to finish?"* I said: *"You're doing really well."* Later, I asked Peter why he had agreed to participate in my research. Peter told me that telling his story again had been enjoyable and had allowed him to *"think things through out loud a bit"* which he found *"valuable."* As we walked to the car Peter said: *"It's a kind of a legacy thing, something my grandchildren might like to know, a different way of looking at the story."*

Case Study Two - Doug's Journey

Synopsis

For Doug, the decision to become involved in farming was made young and from early days he understood, from his father, that Bonavaree (the original farm) must perform as a business: *"I tell people that I knew I wanted to be a farmer when I was four. My integration into the business started from a very young age and I contributed to this business, in some form or another, for as long as I can remember; and we were all rewarded for our work which was really good. So I was, I guess, taught capitalism by a socialist quite young. My father was brilliant like that, he always instilled upon me that this is a business that provides for the family."* In his teen years Doug attended boarding school at Nelson College. Following four years of college, Doug was accredited University Entrance and had the choice to return for a leadership year, go to university, or return to Bonavaree. However, Doug's father had been struggling with the death of one of his young sons, Eric, and Doug's desire to be of value to his father took precedence: *"I loved it [at college] but I was keen to get back and help him. That had a huge bearing. I came back and started working for my father and mother."* Doug states that his return to Bonavaree "offered huge opportunities" such as the chance to earn money, to make a meaningful start on his career, and to be of value to his father.

However, Doug's return to Bonavaree was disappointing, offering little rewarding work: *We had a full time married couple and only a small farm here. "There really wasn't room for me. There was plenty of money and there was enough work to do but I got all of the rubbish work. I'd been grubbing thistles for about two months and I wasn't overly inspired by that. [My father] explained to me, on a number of occasions, that I had to start at the right place in life and work my way through. That hadn't really been what I'd anticipated."* Doug remained with his parents as a boarder, but as the work at Bonavaree was not challenging he took employment at another farm, Glen Erin: *"[The farmer] was really desperate for some help so I started work for him the next day. I loved that job because I was doing all the things I'd always dreamed that I wanted to do like ploughing and fencing; he gave me responsibility, which I hadn't had [at Bonavaree]."* Doug then learned, from his father, that Glen Erin was for sale: *"One day my father came home and said, 'oh, um, you won't have a job there much longer the place is for sale', and I said to him, 'we've got to buy it; we've just got to buy it'."*

While Doug's father saw the sale of Glen Erin as a problem for Doug in terms of his continued employment; to Doug, it was an opportunity. Doug believed that by leveraging Bonavaree they could purchase and develop Glen Erin and make money from doing so. Due to the poor state of Glen Erin Doug's father required some convincing: "*He said, 'oh no, it's a terrible place'. But I said, 'no it's not a terrible place it's a wonderful property, it just needs somebody to do something with it'.*" Eventually Doug did manage to convince his father to purchase Glen Erin and this was done on the condition that Doug would manage its development. This marked a significant change in the business model for Bonavaree from "*managing the perfect business perfectly*" to an investment and growth model. It was some time before Doug's father admitted to him how much this change had worried him: "*My grandfather farmed this property ... and my father farmed the same property. But they obviously never really felt an interest in expanding the business. The concept was that everybody had their little block. [My father] told me years later that he didn't sleep for about three months; he was so worried about the debt he'd taken on. My father had had very little debt in his life but in July 1972 the deal was done.*"

What followed was almost seven years of "*excitement galore*" as, alongside his father, "*we completely remodelled the place.*" Within a short period of time Doug and his father were rewarded for their investment as improvements to Glen Erin brought new revenues, and economies of scale brought greater efficiency to Bonavaree. However, Doug was conscious that by increasing his father's wealth in this way he was creating a barrier for himself: "*[My father's] assets at that time, his net worth, increased out of all belief; but of course that put me in a reasonably bad place.*" Doug would have to act to ensure that his goal of owning the business was achievable. Over the years Doug had managed to acquire some shares in Bonavaree (which had now merged with Glen Erin) through a purchase and bonus reward scheme. Then "*on April Fools' Day, 1979, Wendy and I acquired our own debt and bought the place off mum and dad.*" Following the purchase of Bonavaree the business continued to perform well for many years. The incorporation of Glen Erin into Bonavaree had taught Doug the value of economies of scale and in 1993 he expanded the business again: "*I'd run my figures and I put an offer on a place in the next valley ... it got out that I'd been pokin' around trying to buy some land and my next door neighbour asked was there any possibility that I'd be interested in leasing his farm. Well, I ran the figures and it looked good.*"

While Doug did eventually purchase the leased farm; this led, in the longer term, to a mixed-model approach to the growth of Bonavaree. However, environmental factors in the mid-1990s were about to halt Doug's development work at Bonavaree; eight successive years of drought. The development of Bonavaree was arrested, the "*fight for survival*" began and Doug found himself journeying "*on the bus to bloody hell*": "*When I was really young and I first took over the farm I used to tell people that I loved my business so much that I didn't care whether I got paid. And that carried right on until the late '90's, until I wasn't getting paid. And then I realised that I hated my business so badly. In '97/'98, when drought had just done to us big time and we were really facing the torch; it was just the sheer hell of the place we were in. I just couldn't get any satisfaction in my life at all. It was the worst place I've ever been. And what I used to love doing, I could hardly go and do it; because everything was just a waste of time.*" In 1998, for the first time since Doug had changed to an investment and growth model, Bonavaree failed to make a profit. The business met all obligations and achieved breakeven but for Doug this represented "*my failure.*" Though, through sheer hard work, Bonavaree returned to profit in 1999 Doug felt "*bitterly disappointed in myself.*"

Doug began to spiral into self-punishment, isolating himself from his support networks and "*drinking like a fish at night just to drown my sorrows.*" Doug credits the support of his wife, Wendy, for helping him to make it through this time. Then, in 2002, Doug was ready to invest again and he purchased a new property. In addition, Fraser (Doug's son) returned to New Zealand to work at Bonavaree alongside his father. Fraser's return gave Doug "*renewed energy.*" Doug was facing the future with optimism again but he had learned "*some of the toughest lessons of my life*" during the 1990's and he was determined that it would not happen again. Drought conditions were persisting and Doug—recognising that he had reached his personal limits—turned his focus to learning and self-development. In 2004, Doug was approached and asked to join the Starborough Flaxbourne Soil Conservation Project (the project). While Doug's reaction to the approach was initially tense, his drive for self-development and the development of Bonavaree made him determined. The project leader was equally determined to have Doug on board. What followed were four gruelling years of change to both Bonavaree and to Doug. Doug credits the people he met through the project with helping him to build a new life: "*In 2008, when the project officially finished, I was hugely grateful—totally—for what that programme had done for me as a person.*"

"It offered me a new life. People would say 'oh, yeah, we're really impressed with what's happening here' but they had no idea of how much of an opportunity had been offered to us. I had been conditioned with 'this is how you do stuff' and that's where the project was so powerful to me; we got a comprehensive remodelling of our brain. I look at it now and I couldn't think the same way about stuff anymore. I couldn't possibly." Doug asserts that it was the project leader's "social science" approach that helped him through a transformative process. Doug relished the challenges the project would bring, and he committed himself fully with the expectation that he would achieve the positive change he so desired. The project team were also clear that they had high expectations of Doug and he responded positively to their belief in his abilities. *"I found myself suddenly in a supportive environment which was also challenging—really challenging—because everyone wanted me to do everything. And we decided we were going to do everything, not just half of it, or three quarters of it; we were gonna give everyone and everything a shot. That included sitting cross legged on the floor of the Seddon Hall and drawing pictures [laughs]."* For Doug, the project was "a lifeline", a chance to commit "110% to our own restoration."

Some of the people who were on that project made no advance in their lives at all, but I really sucked the blood out of it. I viewed it, from day one, as a lifeline; whereas other people viewed it as a possible opportunity to get some money to tide them over until something else happened. There was a disconnect. I could feel that disconnect. But I thought, well, stuff it, I'm here for the long haul. I'm here to get this right for me. Doug experienced, from the project, what he terms "multi-level rewards." Doug was feeling invigorated and challenged, he was enjoying the new people he was meeting and working with and his love of learning had been reignited. In addition Bonavaree was developing again and began performing "*beyond expectation*", and that was making Doug very happy. When the project wound up in 2008 Doug felt he had been given a great deal and he felt the need to "*give back*." Doug committed to share the learning and changes he had achieved. He did this through public speaking—a new activity for Doug—and the reaction from his audiences surprised him: *"I spoke to lots of groups for about two years which, I felt, was my way of repaying the Sustainable Farming Fund. I didn't feel personally indebted, but I didn't want to be left feeling that I was a bludger"*²⁷.

²⁷ A "bludger" is a colloquialism meaning a person who expects to receive something for doing nothing.

“When I go out and talk about it I tell it in my own form. I got such a surprise from the reaction I got. I’d think, oh, I’m going to tell these people about growing Lucerne and making money. But when I’d finished they wouldn’t talk about making money at all, they’d just talk about being inspired.” Doug is now an award winning public speaker and is in demand across New Zealand and Australia. In addition, opportunities for overseas consultancy work have been discussed (in places such as Uruguay and Ethiopia) with Doug’s decision being to focus—for now—on the continued growth of Bonavaree and on public speaking, mentoring and teaching in the Australasian region. Doug is achieving this through the creation of a new venture, Resilient Farmer. Doug’s son, Fraser, has taken control of the day to day operations of Bonavaree and has fast become a respected leader in the agriculture industry. At the time of writing this case study Doug is engaged full time on a speaking and advisory tour for Resilient Farmer and remains the executive director at Bonavaree. Doug’s wife, Wendy, works alongside him in both businesses.

Themes

Doug’s story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in his personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While Doug’s thematic analysis shows that he begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in his story is on the points where Doug has evidence of his value through tangible achievement. Therefore, I have placed “being valuable” as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic striving— a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions.

"We always need to be looking for weaknesses in our system."

Doug's perfectionistic striving focuses his attention on the continuous evaluation of the weaknesses of an existing state²⁸. However, merely evaluating weaknesses does not require any striving. In order to strive, Doug must have something to strive for. Doug analyses for weaknesses, defines them as problems and strives to define relevant solutions; he then works hard to achieve enhanced performance. As Doug is "*driven to excel*", the solutions and performance enhancements reflect Doug's high expectations. Doug holds himself entirely responsible for meeting his own expectations. Doug began assessing his own weaknesses and striving to enhance his own performance early in life. For example, Doug was an "average" student when he entered Nelson College but assessed himself as "*a struggler*." Doug recognised that college offered him "*great teachers*" and that "*he loved the learning*"; he also found himself "*surrounded by boys who wanted to achieve*" whom he found "*hugely motivating*." Doug wanted to excel. Thus, Doug "*worked late into the night and early in the morning*" at learning, collaboratively with other students, to improve his academic performance. This resulted in Doug achieving the top marks for his house for the final examinations in year three of college. Subsequently Doug was also accredited with University Entrance and asked to "*take a leadership role*" at the college.

Doug's father had been a model of hard work and achievement: "*I was brought up in a way where hard work was the thing that you did to become successful. My father was a dynamo; he'd go all day. And he achieved very successfully at his level.*" However, Doug's analysis detected weaknesses in the way his father ran his business: "*[My father] never actually stopped and thought, well, that he was probably doing stuff that wasn't returning any money. So he spent a lot of time on unnecessary stuff in my view.*" Doug hoped to improve the farm on his return from college. However, Doug found that the restrictions his father imposed on him meant that Doug had no challenging work; he was not able to improve anything. Doug decided to move on to Glen Erin where he had identified problems, and where he was required to be a part of the solution. Glen Erin's problems and his desire to develop the property by striving to solve them led Doug to advocate for his father to purchase the property. Doug describes striving to develop Glen Erin as

²⁸ State in this instance refers to the condition, physical stage or form.

"fulfilling". However, Doug's feelings of fulfilment declined in the mid-1990s. Doug was still striving but it was against degradation, not for improvement: "*It was desperation to survive ... I worked bloody hard. I put in a sterling effort* [stated with a sarcastic tone] *but it was tinged with anger and bitterness.*" Then in 1998 Bonavaree failed to make a profit.

While Doug performed well relative to his farming peers²⁹, Doug's perception was that he had failed³⁰: "*I, ah, I got to a patch there [emotion] where I gave myself nought*³¹. *That was kind-a hard for somebody like me, real hard. I hadn't ever anticipated that I'd judge myself so severely, but I did. And I didn't want to give up, but I thought I should.*" Wendy supported Doug to hold on to Bonavaree and Doug had two crucial insights. First, Doug recognised that he did not have the right knowledge to take Bonavaree forward. Second, he recognised that it was the constant process of striving for improvement that brought him joy. In search of new ideas Doug joined a farm discussion group and began implementing new practices. However, Doug was finding that the farm discussion group was not working for him. Doug was striving to "*excel as a farmer*", but his new learnings were not improving Bonavaree: "*I think I was an enthusiastic learner but I was learning the wrong stuff. I was being taught the wrong bloody stuff. I was being taught by people who were worse off than me. And they were collaborating together to teach me, to take me further away from where I really needed to be going. It was my fault, I was listening to them, but it was the wrong bloody path.*"

Doug decided to find a different path. In 2004, Johnny Peter came into Doug's life with the project. Doug viewed Johnny Peter "*as the best farmer Marlborough had ever had*" and Doug could not pass up the opportunity of being mentored by him. Doug joined the project and "*went at it with gusto.*" The following four years of gruelling learning, striving and development, Doug admits, were "*spinning my wheels.*" Doug recognises his need to strive, and the perfectionistic emphasis in both himself and Fraser. Doug perceives both positives and negatives that come from perfectionistic striving: "*The positives are that neither of us needs to be kicked in the arse to get out on the job and to try hard. But the negatives are that we sometimes drive ourselves too hard and you know, not very often, but*

²⁹ I define peers here as a member of the same social set or network; a contemporary. In particular, this includes their families, friends, colleagues, clients and end users, suppliers, advisors, mentors and relevant business leaders.

³⁰ Fraser drew my attention to Doug's success relative to his peers and they provided substantiating data.

³¹ Doug self-assessed his achievement with a mark, or grade, of zero.

there have been several occasions when probably each one of us has actually been putting in just too much and that can be self-destructive.” However, Doug attributes the current success of Bonavaree to this perfectionistic striving: “*I’ve watched hundreds of people just watch their business fall to bits around them. They’ve just seen what was once proud just turn to dust and they accept it.* [Defers to Fraser]: *And I don’t think either of us could do that, you know?*” [Fraser shakes his head, no]. “*I mean, it would be too hard. So it’s a driver—it’s a driver, we’re lucky enough to have as a family really.*”

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

“I think that people think that a lot of things happen automatically but it doesn’t.

It’s all driven … it’s all learned, and driven …”

When public speaking Doug likes to use the following quote by Joel A. Barker (2014): “Vision without action is just a dream. Action without vision just passes the time. Vision with action can change the world.” If Doug is to strive and to achieve solutions he cannot simply dream he must be decisive, define relevant actions, and he then must act: “*I love to get stuff done. Driving it up the front and not standing around while some other bastard’s getting it done; I get in there [laughs].*” The pragmatism that allows Doug to become active in the process of development led him to follow—across the years—a consistent model for opportunity selection. This includes analysis of the weaknesses and potential of an acquisition, analysis of his team’s capability, financial modelling and discussion of the opportunity with partners, advisers, peers and mentors. However, there are two interesting tendencies in this process that, at first glance, seem to belie pragmatism:

1. The tendency to “*keep it under my hat*” until Doug has done considerable due diligence and analysis.
2. The tendency to underestimate the performance improvements targeted when presenting the opportunity for discussion.

The first tendency can make Doug’s decisions appear more spontaneous than they really are and he admits that this approach sometimes “*scares the hell out of Fraser.*” Fraser agrees that Doug has taken a pragmatic approach to the development of each business case, but prefers earlier discussion and formalisation of the process.

Doug noted that understating the projected performance of an investment can make others more wary of an acquisition: *"When we bought Ruakaka I sent [my mentor] an email to say I was thinking about it and he said, 'send me a budget'. I sent him a budget and he said, 'oh it's nonsense, its absolute nonsense, it's ridiculous don't do it'. I said, 'I budget very conservatively'."* However, these tendencies are pragmatic to Doug as they optimise potential external reward. By quietly analysing the opportunity and ensuring he is well informed, Doug is more likely to put forward a winning idea. By maintaining a conservative approach to projections, Doug can then enjoy achieving beyond the expectations of others: *"Within no time at all the place just took off, as I expected, and that just blew people away [laughs]."* Doug's pragmatism has also led him to develop the skills to identify people and develop networks that are knowledgeable enough to be valuable to both his work at Bonavaree and his new public speaking and advisory roles: *"I'm just like a sponge in their company ... It's been huge for me; mixing with the right people, who have got the right information."* While Doug is open to new ideas, they must be accessible and testable in *"real life"*.

"The concept, or idea, of having manuals of stuff stored in vaults back in universities which nobody ever goes and has a look at except for other academics doesn't transfer that knowledge into real life. And, ah, the work done here has now been emulated in other universities with people realising, holy hell, we've actually got to have a higher uptake of our knowledge discoveries. So, that's quite exciting really. At the end of the day the canvas that you paint on and the picture that you end up with is dependent on the ability of the people to position themselves around that canvas and work it." Doug's pragmatism gives discipline to his decisions and ensures that he commits his energy to actions that are substantively developmental: *"We don't want to get to the stage where we start painting all of the posts white for god's sake; which is what some people do.* This pragmatism also disciplines Doug's financial investments: *I know a lot of other farmers who have, sort of, never been interested in it as a business. It's just a farm and, you know, if the wool cheque comes in and there's enough money to buy a new car they buy a new car. And when they've got it home they put it in the shed and then they realise, oh shit, there's no money left to do any development ... Those sort of slack decisions. The ill-disciplined process is right through their business and right through their lives."*

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

"The transformation that occurred, well, it was a process.

It was a very developing, conscious process.

*I use the word journey and people will say to me, 'I now understand'—
that it's a process; a journey."*

Doug recalls, with great satisfaction, the development process at Glen Erin: “We spun into a massive development of things. There was excitement galore and we had people working and trucks coming in and out and we completely remodelled the place.” The work was hard, complex and required commitment to long days but it resulted in the transformation of Glen Erin: “We turned that property from being a place that everyone thought was just rubbish and no use to one of the modern farms in the district.” However, it was not only Glen Erin that had transformed. Doug’s family was now growing in influence: “That decision to buy that place made the difference between which, in this valley, was going to be the family that was going to dominate the area and get on and make something of it.” Further, working alongside his son on Glen Erin wrested Doug’s father from a long sadness he had endured: “My father had been struggling with the death of my brother, but he got excited in doing that and so did I. From ’73 through to ’79 him and I had a ball, and that was great.” The “fun and exciting” process of development continued, more broadly, at the Bonavaree properties until the mid-1990s. Although significant political and economic changes had affected business performance, Bonavaree continued to move forward. However, eight successive years of drought began in the mid 1990’s and the degree of environmental change took a heavy toll.

“I see it as being like a three-legged stool: Environmental, financial and social. As the pressure came onto our business one leg broke and the pressure on the rest of them was too great. We had no skills to adapt.” The development of Bonavaree had stalled: “I now look upon my failure, and that’s the only way to describe it, as being from my lack of understanding of the need to keep moving.” For Doug the interminable status quo he saw before him was unbearable: “I was on a bus that was taking us to bloody hell and, ah, I didn’t understand how to change that journey.” Doug was spiralling into self-destruction when he came to realise that if anything was in need of development, it was him. The “mental block bloody stuck place” Doug found himself in made him desperate to break out,

the answer was to find new ideas; to learn: “*You learn ten times faster when you’re desperate than what you do when you’re cruising, and when you’re absolutely cruising you don’t learn anything at all.*” Doug was ready to learn, but it had to be “*the right stuff*”, it had to take him out of stagnation and back into the process of development. Doug’s first attempt at engaging was to join a farm discussion group but this did not deliver the new knowledge Doug needed. It was comfortable, but that made it a part of the problem.

It was the uncomfortable engagement with the “*flash fellas*” in the project that could, and would, work with Doug to effect real change. The next four years of learning, restoration, renewal, and development was “*bloody challenging*” but Bonavaree transformed: “... *dramatically; environmentally, economically and socially.*” Doug was back “*in bloody heaven.*” Bonavaree’s transformation into an award winning enterprise was mirrored by the transformation in Doug’s life: *They set up a programme that transformed my life and the journey of that farm.*” The focus on development remains at Bonavaree: “*There’s so much passion for this business in me and I think I never realised in my life that I could go so bad, and then I never realised I could go so good. And, ah, it would be easy for us to say now that what we’ve got is enough but that seems dumb ... For the likes of myself it’s almost like taking a drug. From a place from where I was so bitterly disappointed in myself to one now where I just couldn’t bear to think that we wouldn’t have some sort of constant regeneration going on.*”

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards that Doug believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

“*I ask myself this quite often: What is happiness? Happiness is feeling a sense of reward, and feeling a sense of wellbeing; and if you get beyond what you expected that’s really good ... that’s something really special.*”

Doug’s pragmatism encourages him to enact development processes that are likely to result in meaningful reward: “*I don’t need much reward, but I do need some; I do need some reward. And we all, I think, receive that huge sense of reward when we know we’ve done well on something.*” Meaningful reward provides Doug with a measure of his success; a validation. By identifying flaws and pragmatically enacting processes of development Doug strives to achieve what he describes as “*multi-level*” rewards. Broadly, what Doug is striving for must result in meaningful reward at two levels: (1) internal

reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain). In terms of internal reward Doug focuses on two areas of reward, self-development and positive emotions. I define self-development as a process of change, where one begins to experience one's life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. The process involves self-assessment, learning, and application of new knowledge and is a strong focus in Doug's personal and professional life: "*The process of learning has created the most exciting time of my life and so that sums it all up really. I have learned so much about myself and about the processes, and how there are different ways of doing things to what I used to do. And it's been so rewarding that it's like a thirst. You just get a bit going and you want more.*"

Having suffered a distressing degree of depression toward the end of the drought, Doug is sensitive to the dangerous spiral of negative emotion. Doug's self-development process is both mirrored and enabled by his business activities and they both lead him to feel many positive emotions. Doug self-assesses these emotions as, for example, "fun", "excitement", "fulfilment", "satisfaction" and "happiness". Perfectionistic striving for development presents many challenges but—where the target is meaningful reward—these challenges are enjoyed by Doug: "*You come across a lot of challenges, hard challenges that you have to push through. But, by and large we actually have fun here [laughs], absolute fun, and so when you're having fun it's not like being at work really, it's just cool. And that's reward.*" In terms of external reward Doug focuses on four areas of reward, these are measures of self, business, environmental and social development. Doug has learned, across time, to increase his focus on external measures that assist him to validate progress and Doug finds these external measures rewarding. In relation to self-development, the new experiences that have opened to Doug have become a measure, to him, of his self-development and a reward for achieving "*the next level*": "*You suddenly have different experiences and they're so much better than what you've ever had before in your life, and that's part of the reward.*"

In addition, the new peer networks Doug forms as he transforms are considered, by him, to be rewards: "*A huge part of it with me has been the new relationships that I've made. I've now mixed with a group of people who are at a completely different level in life than what I used to do ... the integration I've had with people who are just absolutely at the top of their game I've just learned so much from. I'm a very lucky boy to be involved in that.*"

Doug has also been awarded national recognition for his public speaking and he enjoys such rewards. Symbiotically, business development has become a means to measure progress and having previously fallen into a spiral of (often extreme) self-criticism, Doug has learned to look for multiple measures of progress that evidence the development of his businesses. For example, the continued growth of Bonavaree and evidence of its increasing economic efficiency and environmental sustainability are rewarding. Doug learned in the mid to late 1990s the importance of the process of development, “*to keep moving*”, to him. In addition, he came to more fully understand the importance of financial reward to the sustainable future of Bonavaree through its funding of the development process: “*We bought another place two years ago and it's just been, it's been the most fun I've had in my life developing that place and part of the reason is that we've got the money.*” In addition, the difficult years at Bonavaree took Doug to a new level of understanding of both the destructive and constructive value of people.

Doug’s involvement in the project helped him to understand the value of the social environment, and being involved in processes of social-development is important to Doug. Doug’s focus on social development strives for reward at the levels of family, networks, and community. In relation to his family, creating a good life for his family is rewarding for Doug: “*We all get enough money to live and to do a few things and so that whole scenario of growth has been good for us as a family in every way. I also have an intense love of my grandchildren and the life that I have here and I think that, for both Wendy and I, that is so strong. We have a situation here which, in terms of life happiness, is about as good as it can get. Having your grandsons and your granddaughters just absolutely there and a part of your lives, for both of us, is absolutely huge.*” In addition, Doug experiences Fraser’s commitment to Bonavaree, their growing compatibility, and Fraser’s personal achievements at Bonavaree as rewarding: “*I can get in with the tommy knocker and smash things around into the generally right shape, and then he can get the sandpaper out and finish the job off. And I think that's kind of cool. Frasers added a lot of discipline, good discipline to this business and, ah, and it's respected by our staff as well. Hugely respected; that's reward for me really.*”

In relation to networks, Doug places a high value on relationships and finds the sharing of ideas with knowledgeable peers rewarding. This is especially so where relationships develop that are mutually empowering: “*The contacts and connections I have now are about as great as you could get in the whole industry and those people are available to*

me. Free! And I think that they gain off me, and I gain off them. And it's a great feeling of wellbeing on the inside of that cocoon." Increasingly, it is colleagues within his networks, who show fairness and trustworthiness across time, who become friends. Being considered a friend by such people is rewarding to Doug. While some of his experiences in the local community have made Doug wary of involvement and created a tendency to retreat, Doug has aspirations to influence positive change within the broader society and this is a key focus for his current work: "*Wouldn't it be great if we could recreate our society where we have a lot of better collaborations with people, so that instead of spending so much time tearing each other apart to try ... that we had more of a collaborative a process; to create for ourselves a better wellbeing.*" For Doug, experiencing the success of others is "*hugely rewarding*" and he states that he will stop working if he cannot clearly see value to others in that work.

In addition to placing a high value on people, Doug places a high value on the environmental wellbeing of Bonavaree which has been awarded national recognition for innovative and sustainable land management. Doug experiences this recognition as rewarding. Having witnessed the environmental degradation caused at Bonavaree by the coupling of drought and sub-optimal land management techniques Doug has become increasingly interested in environmental care. Doug takes his responsibility for the environmental wellbeing of his estate very seriously. For Doug, the land degradation brought on by the long drought was a very personal experience and catalysed a shift in thinking "*from reactive to proactive*": "*Seventeen out of nineteen years of below average rainfall; we were left with no skills to cope. We were subjected to land degradation. A battle lost, but not the war.*" Bonavaree's innovative dry-land management systems now focus on all aspects of environmental wellbeing, including large conservation-development zones incorporating the planting of "*thousands of trees*": "*We currently have a process in place where we can shut off another fifty hectares of the property for significant natural areas.*" The environmental-development work is funded by Bonavaree's profits: "*When you integrate your economic endeavours with what works for your environment you get reward beyond your belief.*"

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

"It's a huge part of the reward—a sense of value, which was contrasted with a sense of valuelessness"

External rewards are important to Doug as they provide objective validation that he is being valuable. For example, Doug's decision to come back to Bonavaree and to forgo his leadership year and university education pivoted on his desire to be valuable to his father: *"All the time I was at secondary school I was aware my father could hardly drag his broken self around life. I loved it when he came to watch me play rugby, which I was very good at. He would run the side-line screaming support, almost wanting the final pass. I also knew that when I came home at the holidays his whole mental state lifted; he loved having me home. I became aware I could not have everything."* However Doug's return did not have the effect he wanted immediately as the work his father gave him did not allow him to feel valuable. It was working alongside each other on the development of Glen Erin that finally delivered Doug the external reward of seeing improvement in his father's wellbeing which confirmed to Doug that he was being valuable. As external rewards relating to the business also provide Doug with objective evidence that he is being valuable, he pushes the business toward measurable achievements.

These measurable achievements are both internal to the business (such as growth and profit) and externally assessed (such as awards): *"I've probably been responsible for that more than anyone else in this business and at times I've almost been obsessed by putting ourselves out there to benchmark ourselves and to have a crack at things. And, ah, [emotion] I think winning South Island Farmer of the Year probably transformed us all, to a degree. Winning that—being—having that bestowed on us was huge."* When development at Bonavaree stopped so did meaningful reward and Doug became, in his own perception, valueless: *"It's a huge part of the reward—a sense of value, which was contrasted with a sense of valuelessness [sic]. In the drought when I looked out at my farm and there was nothing I could do. What could I do? Whatever could I do to try to restore some respectability? I was just embarrassed."* The various awards and rewards Bonavaree and Doug receive have restored his sense of value and it is Doug's intention that this will continue throughout his lifetime. Doug's baseline requirement is that he creates "accelerated value" in each business-related activity he undertakes: *"It's no use going and*

offering the next door neighbour to lease his place if what you're going to do is not creating any more value; so all great plans have got to have an accelerated value creation component in there somewhere."

However, Doug also requires that value creation must extend beyond the business and have a long term effect on the broader community. To not achieve multi-level rewards is experienced, by Doug, as another form of failure: "*I felt incredibly and always have, strongly, about the need that individuals should have to try to leave the world better than they started. And, ah, I became incredibly aware in the mid to late nineties that I wasn't even slightly close to that place. That comes from my Dad. He didn't risk his life flying trips across Germany, night after bloody night, to stop greed, to just let it replicate in the place he wanted to save. And, if we lose sight of those types of lessons, as people, we'll just live an impoverished, failed type of existence.*" Doug is now working on the formalisation of his public speaking, mentoring, education and advisory work to ensure that he takes a pragmatic approach to achieving meaningful reward in the broader community: "*There's nothing I love doing more than presenting to a hundred and fifty people and having twenty come up to me afterwards and say, oh my god, I'm gonna go home and change my life. That's a real buzz. I feel very excited when that happens, and the day that it doesn't I won't talk any more. And that will be a sure sign that I'm no longer delivering anything of any value.*"

"So, hopefully I stop speaking the day before that happens [laughs]. And some of that stuff we are now teaching scientists about—nothing, individually, had not been done before—it is the way that is was packaged together, that's what had not been done. That excites the hell out of me to think of where that could go if we just keep pushing that out there. I think that's the driver of my talking really. I just have this vision of, you know, even in the dairy industry, of major change happening even in the next couple or three years as a result of some of the learning that happened here. But I might be singing in my own little tree, time will tell." For Doug, meaningful reward validates what it is, to him, to be valuable in the world. Being valuable, verifiably, is for Doug an ideal state; albeit temporary. It requires a series of battles in a life-long war that can only be won when the last breath of life is drawn: "*My grandfather was the most lovely man and he died with a smile on his face and so did my Dad; and I reckon it'll take a lot to stop me smiling when I go to my grave.*"

Case Study Three - Valuing John

Synopsis

John's family were not involved in business ownership. At times John's family struggled financially: "*I grew up in a relatively poor family, you know? My father worked for the Post Office. We lived in a suburb in Wellington and then in Christchurch.*" From an early age John was keen to get work and earn money: *Somehow, for me, there was a huge work ethic.* When John was eight years old his father helped him to get his first job: "*My sister got a job picking raspberries up in Lansdowne Valley and I was so envious. I was eight and they wouldn't hire anyone until they were twelve. So, my father—I can still see him on the phone—he rang up this guy and he said, 'listen, he's a tiger, he'll work like a bloody tiger'.*" The employer agreed to give John a trial and on his first day John's excitement almost ended his life along with his ambitions: "*[My father] said, 'you've got the job; you've got you the job'. So I biked down and damn near got killed on my bicycle [laughs]; because I was so intent that I biked across the road and clipped the side of a car.*"

Though the accident was an inauspicious start it did not dampen John's enthusiasm: "*I was determined to—I guess it's an esteem thing—I was determined to prove myself. I can tell you exactly how many dollars I got; I got twelve and six pence for the day. I got a record. I got the record for picking raspberries on my first day.*" Over the following four years John "worked on progressive jobs" in addition to his schooling. During this time John's father was diagnosed with cancer: "*I worked on progressive jobs; and then my father died when I was twelve. He'd got cancer when I was about eight and, um, and so I was the man of the house then, gardening and keeping the place like my father wanted it to be. It was an honour to do it.*" John admits that his childhood, in particular following the death of his father, was not easy. John found a sense of purpose in work and earning was important to him: "*I got another job milking cows. I didn't have a clue how to milk cows and I applied for this job. It was huge money; a pound a day for milking these cows. I guess it's the equivalent of about twenty bucks now.*"

Working brought many challenges and lessons to John but these were aspects of work that John enjoyed. Learning and earning through his work improved John's self-esteem, gave him a sense of being valued, and offered him a degree of "*autonomy*" over his future: "*I remember the first day I got there [to the milking job]. I was so keen. I was fifteen and I drove my scooter out there. I arrived three hours early. It was freezing cold, in the middle of winter and I slept in the hay; which I'm allergic too. I couldn't figure out the bars on the*

stalls where the cows are, you had to pull the bar to let the cow go. I had no idea and I was trying to push past a cow—which I'm terrified of—but I had to have this job because the money was so good. I always worked. I worked in houses, pea factories, driving trucks, carting potatoes, pallet counts for the forest service, counting deer up on the tops. You had to have your own money; if you wanted something you had to get it yourself.”

John was careful with his earnings and saved most of his money so that he could attend university: “*I always wanted to go to university because I felt that my father—well—when he was dying he said, “I want you to go to college.” I didn’t know what bloody college was. But I assumed, later, that it was university. So, I wanted to go to university and I saved for it. I always remember my mother saying “you talk to me like that and I’ll never, ever help you go university”, and I’d say ‘it’s alright mum, I can do it myself’. Anyway that was the biggest thing in my life at that time because you weren’t depending on anyone, you know? You’d actually saved enough.”* So I went to university. John’s first year at university, undertaking a Bachelor of Science, majoring in Biology, went well. However, in his second year John began to lose interest: “*I had a girlfriend and she dumped me, which—you know—they do, because you women are cruel [laughs] and I failed my second year of university. I was so broken-hearted. I decided to hitch hike around Australia. I had fourteen dollars. That taught me something. I realised that I actually wanted to finish university.”*

During the remaining two years of his degree John took on any employment he could find, taking an “anything for a dollar” approach to funding his studies. John’s interest in marine biology was growing. John gained employment in a fish processing plant and undertook his own enterprising activities such as shark fishing and boat painting. Through his employment and his little enterprises John realised that, eventually, he wanted to have his own business but he also realised that he had lot to learn. At the end of his degree and “close to going broke” John decided to apply for a job in a government department: “*I had written a letter to Fisheries and said, ‘look, I’m a shark fisherman and I have all this experience’, and I got an interview [surprised tone]. Anyway, long story short, I got this job in the Fisheries Department, so I worked for the government for ten years.”* Through his role at Fisheries John was introduced to mussel farming. John was assigned to an “American guy” who, due to a recent knee operation, needed assistance in the Marlborough Sounds: “*He needed a hand to collect samples in the Sounds, looking at mussel spat fall, so I came and helped him. I moved myself down the Sounds and I was*

down there for a couple of years. Then one day [he] said, ‘you should be applying for a mussel farm’.

John formed a partnership with a friend in Nelson who would lead in the application and farming with John providing some technical support: “*We bought twelve buoys and an aluminium dinghy. We got all the money from [finance company], it was about \$4,000. It was a lot of money for us back then, and we set about mussel farming.*” However, the mussel farm did not earn sufficient income to support either John—who continued to work as a marine scientist—or his business partner. In need of income, his friend returned to Nelson: “*He went back to Nelson and had to get a job—at a photo studio—and I’d go and visit there.*” At that time, photo studios were beginning to move to one hour processing and the business model intrigued John: “*I suggested to him one day that we set up our own photo studio. So we started. We imported a machine from America; a state of the art photo machine. It cost, this is in about 1980, about \$100,000. At that stage I was on \$15,000 [as a marine scientist] a year so that gives you the relativity. The whole \$100,000 was [financed]. We set up this shop in Bridge Street in Nelson so all of a sudden we had a one hour photo business.*”

The photo processing shop successfully developed a revenue stream, however, over the coming years the partnership failed. In hindsight, John assesses this failure as reflecting a flaw in his approach as an entrepreneur: “*My ideas are great but they’re all about the entrepreneurship, the ideas, and not backing up with the discipline for the people I take in as partners. That’s basically been my problem.*” With the mussel farms and the photo shop still operating, John then decided to take on a new opportunity when a small Supermarket was offered for sale in Nelson: “*We had the mussel farm and we had the photo shop. Then I suggested to my younger brother that we get a supermarket. I cashed in my superannuation and we bought a run-down dump in Collingwood Street that was doing about \$130,000 turnover a week. Within the first week we had it up to about \$180,000; through ideas, you know, changing things, cleaning things. It went so well that we had the opportunity to move to a new store.*” The new supermarket eventually became an “*iconic*” Nelson store.

However, eventually John’s nemesis—friction in the business partnership—arose again. At the same time John’s marriage ended. John relinquished the photo shop and purchased his wife’s share in the mussel farms. Then, it was through mussel farming that John met Lyn:

"Lyn had a land farm and two mussel farms up in the top of the Kenepuru. I had a mussel farm that I'd bought off my partner and my ex-wife." In time John and Lyn merged their mussel farms, invested in the building of a mussel barge, and "set about creating a mussel business." "We contracted at a reduced rate for [name withheld] and we slowly paid off the barge and six grand that Lyn's parents lent us. The barge was called La Barca, and it became quite a legend in the Sounds. All the barges up to that date had been dun-barges—a boat pushed the barge—but ours had an engine in it." Over the next few years John and Lyn worked on La Barca together, eventually handing over the operation of La Barca to a Skipper. John then took on a business expansion plan and Lyn focused on the care of their growing family. Eventually La Barca, too slow to deal with the growing workload, was retired and a new vessel was commissioned.

Alongside the now substantial holding of farms owned or managed by the mussel business, the new vessel led to the company attracting an offer for merger. Under a new brand name, the post-merger mussel business has continued to grow. The past thirteen years building their mussel business have not been easy for John and Lyn. At times things have occurred "*that nearly broke us.*" However, at the time of writing new farms are being acquired. In addition to this, they are currently finalists in a recognised innovation award process. Lyn says: "*It's been a long road, and we've yet to see any actual money [laughs].*" For John, the ultimate goal is not the money but to create the perfect business: "*It's getting it right Amanda. Having every part of it working perfectly, knowing that you did it all right and it all works well. That you got the right people; that you did right by them. When it gets to the stage that it's all running perfectly, then you've achieved something. You've done something valuable. Then you know you got it right and I believe the money will just naturally follow.*"

Themes

John's story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in his personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While John's thematic analysis shows that he begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in his story is on the points where John has evidence of

his value through the achievement of an ideal state John refers to as “*iconic*”. Therefore, I have placed “being valuable” as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic striving— a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions.

“*Nothing’s good enough.*”

John continually analyses for weaknesses, or flaws, within systems, technologies and in John himself and he conceptualises the weaknesses he detects as problems to be solved. John then strives to solve them, experiencing “*dissatisfaction*” that is eased by the process of striving and temporary “*satisfaction*” when a problem is seen to be solved: “*I love problem solving. I’m thinking about problems and I’m working on solutions from the moment I see them.*” Once a problem is defined John holds himself responsible for solving it. However, simply solving a problem is not enough—John will continue to analyse, define problems and effect solutions until the object or process of his focus transforms to a state John describes as “*iconic*”. For John, “*iconic*” means to be proven to be valuable; thus to be the best it, or John, can be. The “*run-down dump of a supermarket*” that John purchased in Nelson offered an opportunity to transform a business that was mired in problems. By rapidly solving the initial problems John changed the performance of the business, revenue grew and it became profitable. However, this was not enough. Having made these changes, John then focused on transformation of the business. The supermarket moved to a new purpose-designed site and significant changes were made to the way it operated in comparison to other supermarkets: “*We built it into probably the most successful regional supermarket in New Zealand. It was iconic. I had all these ideas about using the food miles thing and the organic thing. It had artwork, free coffee and wide aisles.*”

“*It was an iconic thing and that was against all the odds because you’ve got all that competition against you; but that supermarket was like an iconic place for people to go and get the good shit.*” Once the supermarket had become “*iconic*” John admits that he grew

restless: “*I should have been smarter but I didn’t want to stay. I couldn’t be there anymore. I was there for the set-up, I was there for the ideas, I was there for the marketing and then I was gone.*” With his background in marine science and an underperforming mussel farm to attract his attention, John appointed a manager for the supermarket and turned his attention to mussel farming. Following the merging of John’s farms with Lyn’s, John became dissatisfied with the old wooden Dun barges in use in the Sounds. John and Lyn invested in the design and build of a motorised, steel boat which they named La Barca and began contracting to support other people’s farms: *[La Barca] became iconic; we were doing jobs for everybody.* However, John’s analysis continued and resulted in further changes to the way the business operated. John realised that, while he and Lyn had developed a strong contracting business, their time was now better spent learning to grow their own holdings: *“I said, ‘Lyn, what the fuck are we doing out here on this barge?’ I said, ‘we get off tomorrow.’ And so we got off. Lyn and I appointed [a Skipper] and hopped off the barge that day.”*

John’s focus now changed to growing the mussel farming business in both size and efficiency, while Lyn’s focus turned to the growth of their family and the land-based farm she inherited from her parents. It was not long before John became frustrated with La Barca’s speed and it was time to design and invest in a new vessel: *“We got onto the boat builders in Australia and this little wee tiny Australian guy came and saw us. And he said, ‘oh, we can build this thing for about \$1.2 to \$2 million dollars’. And we worked out cash flows and stuff like that and we ordered it. We put a 1,000 horsepower—a mega-engine—in it. It’s the most powerful, the fastest, mussel boat in the industry; the Sounds Legend.”* The investment in Sounds Legend was a source of pride for John, however, it created a new problem in that—in order to achieve a return on investment—the business would need to grow even faster: *“We were sure of where we wanted to go but we were struggling. We just didn’t have enough farms to support that kind of vessel.”* A merger offered John an opportunity to solve the problem: *“And so we got this boat and we get a phone call from [the investor] and, if we’d had the old boat—the old La Barca—there’s no way you’d get this phone call.”* The investor had vessels and farms and was looking to merge: *“They didn’t want to run [the business] and they needed a partner. [The investor] flies in on a helicopter and I take him to the Sounds Legend which is a beautiful bit of kit, he stood on it and I could see I had him.”*

For John, the merger solved two problems. One was the need to get to scale quickly so that the Sounds Legend was working to capacity. The other was a partnership based on complementary goals and business strengths, rather than old friendships or familial relationships. The merger was achieved and has resulted in a successful partnership thus far. For John, the process of striving to perfect the business now consumes his attention. John takes the responsibility for achieving an iconic mussel business seriously, and personally: *"You have to stay in touch. You have to know what's going on. I learned that from the supermarket. I owned that thing for twenty-six years but I had the wrong partners and I didn't stay in touch, and it started to bleed money. I damn near lost everything; it nearly put me in a fuckin' hole. I've nearly been in a hole before and I won't be in it again. Every day I focus on getting it right in this business, getting every last detail right. When I get everything right, the money will follow."*

John recognises his perfectionistic striving and analyses it as though it is a weakness. While John finds striving satisfying, the process is never-ending and can be exhausting: *You've got to figure out a better way to do what I'm doing at the moment, I know that.* Lyn agrees that the constant pursuit of perfection is challenging: *"I often complain to John that he sets the bar too high. It's always higher than I can jump, or higher than anyone can jump. Sometimes it's almost more than we can do, and we do it, but sometimes it's just too high. He sets those standards for himself as well. So he never has any peace. I get peace, even when it's only half done I think, oh, that's good, I'll go and have a cup of tea [laughs softly]; he can't do that, he absolutely drives himself."* John also admits that he is so focused on the next problem, that he does not celebrate what he has already achieved: *"You know my partner in the supermarket he said to me 'I don't know why you can't see—do you know how good this supermarket is? How successful it is? You can't accept it; you can't pat yourself on the back and accept it.' I felt sick. I felt sick that we weren't even half way there."*

Lyn agrees that John is so driven by perfectionistic striving that, rather than stopping to enjoy the satisfaction of completing one goal, he is already striving toward another. Lyn expresses concern that John will "run yourself ragged": *"The same happens with the mussel business John, you're already struggling to deal with the growth at [new acquisition], but you're already looking at problems in [a potential acquisition].* John reflects: *[The new acquisition] been a nightmare, it really has. I've fixed it, I'm just about there; I'm 99% there. But, like you say Lyn, I'm movin' on already; it's frightening."* John

contextualises his perfectionistic striving as a flaw, but is still reflecting on this in the light of his involvement in this study: “*The perfection is possibly a flaw, you know? Because, it's to do with your feelings of self-esteem and that comes from the day you came out of the womb, the genetics and the environment and the effect that had on you. It goes through everything. I don't know though, after this discussion—it's made me think—I might try to change my view. Maybe wanting things to be perfect isn't a flaw at all; maybe I'm just thinking about it the wrong way. I'm seeing a flaw when I should maybe be seeing more of a strength. I'll think about that. I'll work on that.*”

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

“*I tell all my guys that work for me that if you've got a better idea tell me and we'll do it; because I'm always open to something better.*”

While John’s perfectionistic striving drives his analysis of weaknesses and his desire to create solutions, it is his pragmatism that energises action. John takes a collaborative approach to problem solving and remains focused on the task until the solution is implemented: “*I was in Golden Bay the other day. I'm out there and we've got fifty brand new long lines out there; and fifty of them are heading for the bottom, that day, and [an employee] is supposed to be in charge. And he said, 'oh, but you haven't sent me the right floats'. So I'm looking at this and I'm thinking oh my godfathers, you know? I'm looking at this and thinking this is a disaster. So I said to him, 'well what are all those floats you've got in the yard?'*” John solved the problem with the floats immediately by reviewing the stock on hand, discussing ways to adapt them with a supplier, having the adaptations done, and installing the floats. The task was completed on that day and no lines went to “*the bottom*”: “*Now if I had given that job to someone else they never would have problem-solved it so quickly. You see the problem and you deal with it, bang, but they don't [hands ups/frustrated]. I've got to stay on it.*”

Being willing to think differently about both the problem and the solution is important to John, who encourages his team in this kind of thinking: “*I'll often say to them 'tell me the problem; now give me five solutions.'*” While John is open to new ideas, he conceptualises this as having a high degree of “*tolerance*” for ideas that can be meaningfully applied in a real world context. John admits that he can be “*intolerant*” of ideas that cannot be tested;

or, have been shown by testing to be unreliable or invalid. John described a recent introduction to a couple who had fascinated him with their expert knowledge of gliding: "*I asked them about it and they spent forty minutes telling us all about it, it was fascinating. And then we started talking about cancer and he started talking about vitamin cures for cancer and I said, 'stop it, you're talking shit. That's not science; that's just make-believe.'* So, on the one hand I'll say 'bring me all your ideas and your solutions', but not if it's about God, or vitamin cures for cancer [laughs]. I like stuff you can prove." John's current study of history is intended to assist him to be more patient: "*So I can be a bit more tolerant and understanding of an alternative view, even if I don't agree with it, because I can be too hard.*"

In addition to a strong preference for new ideas that can be tested, John focuses on detail: "*What's happening in the water and on the boats, I'm very involved with that detail. I've got mechanics ringing me because they can't understand and I'm actually kicking and screaming because I think they should be able to do this but I can just nut it out myself; I always come up with an answer.*" John recognises that being involved in operational detail is both time consuming for him, and leaves less time for the conceptual thinking that he likes to engage in. While achieving balance is challenging, this is an area of personal development that is important to John: "*In the supermarket I had a plan and I knew the financial statements inside and out, but when I lost interest and stopped taking care of the operational detail things started to go to shit. Now, I'm focused on getting all of the operational detail right. There's no fuckin' use Amanda relying on historical numbers to tell you how your business is doing, it's happened, it's too late; you have to get in front of it all, get the detail right and things go well from there.*" John's focus, in getting the detail right, is to achieve his goal of an iconic mussel business. This goal makes the detail meaningful to John.

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

"It's a personal journey. It's an absolutely personal journey."

For John, striving to perfect his businesses has provided a challenging environment within which he could achieve self-development in a way that is measurable and meaningful. John focuses on four areas of development, that being self, business, social and environmental.

Evidence of the latter three validates John's progress in his self-development. I define self-development as a process of change, where one begins to experience one's life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. The process involves self-assessment, learning, and application of new knowledge and is a strong focus in John's personal and professional life. Perceiving himself as flawed due to early learning difficulties and aspects of his childhood family environment, John has continually strived to be the best he can be: "*It's to do with making something work, being eager, and it's about who you were. How you grew up. It's to do with dyslexia, definitely, because I never felt that I was as good. Even though, you know, I did a degree and everything. It's all about proving yourself isn't it? And so, every opportunity that's come we've taken it.*" Throughout his career in entrepreneurship John has taken on ever-greater challenges that provide him with the need to strive and excel. The most challenging business, thus far, has been the mussel business: "*We've taken every opportunity that has come our way, we've just taken on another one hundred and eighty lines; what a fuckin' nightmare. But we're good at it. We're good at it*" [emphatic].

John is aware that once a business is no longer a "fuckin' nightmare", he grows restless. The urge to be challenged and learn drives John to move on. This is what caused him to leave the comfortable situation he had in Nelson, with the supermarket, and to move on to the mussel farms: "*The million dollars it cost to build and put all the plant in the [supermarket], you actually had it, you had no debt. And, um, and I should have been smarter but I didn't want to—I have the problem—I couldn't be there.*" For John, the financial security and relative ease of managing the status quo of a mature and secure business does not drive him: "*I think you're driven by—there's other things that drive you—there's, how you grow up, you know, the things you don't grow up with and you're trying to make it right. There's your ego. There's wanting to please people, and; there's wanting to prove, with dyslexia, that you are better than anyone else. Not that, not better than—it's a personal journey—it's not about proving you're better than anyone else, it's about a personal thing for you.*" John's interest in his mussel business is maintained by his focus on dealing well with the detailed operations of a rapidly changing business, maintaining functional relationships of equality and reciprocity with his business partners, and supporting the developmental needs and aspirations of his employees.

Having experienced relationship failures in the past, John focuses on development that improves his social skills. An example is John's desire to be more tolerant: "*A lot of tolerance, believe it or not, has come from, well; I thought I'd like to know a bit more about our history. And so, I got some really good books; because I'd done physics—that was an obsession—human genetics and biology and that sort of thing. But once I learnt about the history—our recent history—the wars and the industrial revolution, all those things, I have to say that I think I understand people a lot better. I think I understand societies a lot better and how they end up where they end up. And I realise the strength, the absolute strength of understanding the social side of humanity. It's made me a lot more tolerant to someone else's viewpoint. I want to listen. I don't want to attack them. I might not believe it, I might not have any faith in it, but I want to learn to listen.*" John's "obsession" with learning reflects his need to strive for self-development, an ongoing pursuit that, he admits, affects almost everything he does: "*It goes to sport, I mean, in sport I want to be the best diver and the best skier I can be. I think it's because you're reinforcing your feeling of self-worth.*"

For John, self-development quietens his internal critic, focuses him on achieving his potential and gives him a sense of control: "*I try not to be self-critical because I know it's destructive. I'm not so much a critic but, um, I absolutely admire people who strive to be their best. To produce their best, you know? I have no jealousy about when others do well. I love asking people about it. What was your strategy? I absolutely don't want to hear that they took it off someone else; that they cut this filthy deal. I don't like that. But if they've innovated, they've created something, they've taken the right opportunity and they've put their balls on the line³²—fantastic. I feel you do a disservice to yourself not striving. I think to myself, why can't I be that good? And I think that there's no hill too big to climb, you know? And learning; I can't rest until I've got it under control, absolutely a thorough understanding.*" John believes it is the need for self-development that led him to entrepreneurship: "*I think that entrepreneurship is a side issue. It's just a result, maybe.*" Through his businesses John achieves development that is realised in the world. John's businesses are tangible outcomes of his own development process. Through them John is enabled in learning, and can apply that learning to "*produce*" a visible result.

³² Putting "balls on the line" is phrase that describes a willingness to take personal risk.

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards that John believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

“It’s intrinsic for me, absolutely.”

John’s pragmatism leads him to participate in businesses that will bring him meaningful reward. John pursues both internal and external reward: (1) internal reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain). However, for John, the focus is primarily internal reward. For John, to be a more knowledgeable person at the end of his journey than he was at the beginning is rewarding: *“The reward comes from knowledge. When I got my degree—that was the focus—getting the degree; but I now realise that it’s just a degree. If I was back in university I wouldn’t be interested in anything apart from a good PhD, but it’s not about saying I’ve got a PhD, it’s about knowing that that’s the level of excellence you can go to. That’s it. It’s not like ticking a box, I’m not into ticking boxes.”* John’s businesses have provided him with a challenging environment within which he could grow both himself and the enterprises. While John still focuses primarily on internal reward, external rewards validate John’s progress. External rewards that John values include business, social and, increasingly, environmental development. While John is not ambivalent about financial reward, he focuses on this as an outcome that is only achieved, or valued by him, if it flows from achievement on all other measures of reward.

John’s mussel business is currently in a strong growth phase and requires continuous reinvestment. This means that cash flows do not provide for lucrative payments to shareholders. It is John’s belief that, while financial return is important, the path to achieving that is to focus on excellence in business performance *“and the money will follow.”* As we were working alongside one day I asked John, “what are your personal financial goals in relation to the business?” John replied: *“I prefer not to focus on that. We’ve got a nice home, the farm is doing well, the kids are doing well and that’s enough. Amanda, when I had the supermarket—in its good years—I had all the stuff, you know? Sports cars and fancy holidays and houses and thinking you’re a hot shot. You’re not. It’s all crap, all of it. You won’t believe me, but that lifestyle is a lot of shit. What I want is for this business to do well; for it to be self-sustaining. For it to run so well that it is iconic. To be so strong that it is there for my children, my grandchildren, and their grandchildren if*

they want it. When I see that, it will be my reward. I'll know then that Lyn and I did it; we bled, sweated and cried for something that was actually really valuable."

John's mussel business plays an important role in the development of his family. For example, the business has provided opportunities for John's eldest son, who has excelled in the family business: "*[My eldest son] was a difficult child, dyslexic, disruptive. After retraining him with the Dore Programme³³ and a retired teacher etc., we put him through his ticket to make him a Skipper. The first days on the Dore Programme for him were tough as his maths was almost non-existent but he rang me on the second day, elated, 'Dad, everything clicked'. He has the job, future management prospects in the family company, three mussel lines of his own and will be buying a mussel farm jointly with [the business].*" The mussel business also allows the children to live close to the family farm in Goulter Bay if they wish to: "*[My daughter] and her husband worked on our old vessel and then the new vessel; Sounds Legend. [Her husband] did his skippers ticket with us. At heart he was really a committed sheep farmer so rather than conflict with him and his priorities we encouraged them into the [land] farm in the Sounds.*" The mussel business has supported the couple to achieve ownership of their land farm.

John admires the way that Lyn's family achieved intergenerational living in Goulter Bay, and supporting their family to maintain close ties is a deeply held desire for both John and Lyn. For Lyn, this supports the intergenerational family ethos of her parents and grandparents; for John, it provides greater stability than he experienced in his family history: "*Through this I have my grandchildren and daughter living close by and involved in the community and business. The mussels enabled their expansion in the sheep and beef business. Those businesses are very marginal at best in the Sounds but through their involvement in mussels they are able to introduce fertiliser, new grass species, conversion to bull beef etc. Besides this they have the Sounds lifestyle and continuity with the inter-generational family. My grandchildren in some way are lining up to be third generation mussel farmers.*" In addition to family ties, throughout John's story he mentions people who have been willing to give him a chance. From an offer of a junior management role in a fish processing factory, to loaning him money to buy his first boat, through to the senior colleague at Fisheries who encouraged John into the ownership of his first mussel farm.

³³ The Dore Programme is an education programme for people affected by dyslexia, dyspraxia and attention deficit disorder.

The importance of these people to John is reflected in his own desire to be of value to the people who become employees in the mussel business. I met and talked to a number of John's employees, who spoke of John's willingness to "give people a chance." At the time that this study was conducted John was particularly inspired by the success of [a young employee] who has overcome a challenging past: "*You must have seen the look on people's faces when they've done something right, and you tell them they've done something right. You met [name withheld] on the boat. He got his ticket³⁴. His father came around here and he was thanking me, I said, 'no, no, no don't thank me; it's nothing to do with us, [he] made that opportunity for himself; because he's a thoroughly decent little bastard.' He's rough and ready but he made that opportunity for himself, we didn't make it for him. And as of next week he's driving a \$2 million dollar boat.*"

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

*"Yes we hope to make a profit; that's true.
But in the process of doing that we create a lot of valuable stuff for other people and that's just as important; possibly more important."*

John's desire to be valuable was evident early in his life when he began working, but became especially evident on the death of his father. For John, entrepreneurship has provided him with continuous development and empowered his ability to act in such a way that causes him to believe that he is being valuable: "*I think it's important for everyone, and that's why I push the development of these other guys; because I want them to feel valuable. Because, I'll tell you what, they'll be happy and they won't create mayhem, and they'll go on and build wealth for themselves and their families. And they'll be people who uphold the rules, who are not kicking someone's head in. You know? I can see that, philosophically, that is what humanity has to do. If you feel valued, if you feel valuable, then you're not wanting to beat the neighbour up or take his assets. We've always got human flaws but, um, probably even the pathological—and the absolute assholes—if they thought they were valuable to the people around them then we'd have less problems.*" John's purpose, to be valuable, extends beyond his family and toward his employees.

³⁴ Skipper's ticket.

An example of this extension is the satisfaction John expresses at the achievements of the “*thoroughly decent little bastard*” now skippering the Sounds Legend: “*He floated in here to tell his father, and there’s a bit of risk involved for us to give him this responsibility but it happens to be that the situation came up. That boy will never be a burden to himself, or society, I just can’t imagine he will; because he feels valuable.*” However, John is also working on—tentatively—reaching out more broadly to the community. John finds this challenging but is making progress: “*I got to the Elaine Bay wharf the other day and my boat was out of fuel. I had to get back and I couldn’t get the friggin’ machine to work, you know, the card reading machine. And there was another guy there who had this [name withheld] business. And they couldn’t get any fuel either and they had to get back to their bay. And this older guy came along and he said to me, ‘John, you realise who this is? This is the bastard that’s always objecting to all the mussel farms.’ Now, the funny thing is they were actually nice people, and I could have risen up in anger; I was being goaded to do it. But I thought, you shouldn’t have that stance but that’s just your opinion.*”

I have observed, at times, extremely personal negativity from a handful of members from John’s community toward him as a business owner. In response, John has become increasingly socially avoidant but he also seeks to improve his ability to understand the perspectives of others. In undertaking this development, John is fighting the tendency he has developed to avoid conflict by becoming more reclusive: “*It’s not that I can’t see their perspective—but—I don’t want to be there anymore. I don’t like the conflict; I want to avoid it.*” John also strives to maintain a positive outlook as he says “*I don’t want to hate, Amanda. It’s not good for me and it’s a waste of my energy.*” John has invested in learning more about the effects of his business on both society and environment, in the hope that its potential can be reached and its value proven. John becomes frustrated when the value he is trying to create is ignored, or obstructed: “*What frustrates me are the people who are in power who should see the opportunity but don’t. They’re people that should see that it’s not doing any harm and that it’s making a positive difference. I could get angry with them.*”

The need to challenge what he perceives to be his own weaknesses and to develop to become valuable is an on-going process for John: “*I’ve been going through a process, and Lyn’s been helping me with that.*” Lyn’s role in John’s “process” is a vital one. Through his connection with Lyn John has experienced the stability lost to him when his father died: “*Lyn is very loving and she is a very forgiving woman.*” It is a relational stability that John struggled to achieve prior to their lives merging—as life partners and business partners.

Lyn notes: “*John very much wants a family business because he didn’t have a close family; he didn’t have it and he wants it. He will often say to me ‘this is going to be a family business’. He wants to provide that for his own children. Where we are similar, though it’s for different reasons in some ways, is that we both want to be valuable to our family and to have a purpose in what we do. That is very relevant for John. You want, as a child, to be valued and—as you get older—you can become less valued, and you can lose your purpose. I think that is very sad. I believe that having purpose is essential to having a happy old age and it is critical for John’s wellbeing.*”

Case Study Four - Nick's Enlightenment

Synopsis

Nick “grew up in a very remote part of the Sounds” where he learned to be “in sync with nature”: “*It was a very imaginative space; this nurturing, natural context actually was great for imagination. And, from an early stage, I just had stories popping into my head so I started to write poetry and that emerged into a way of analysing what you saw.*” At the age of thirteen, Nick travelled to Blenheim to attend boarding school: “*So, I was then booted out of that environment and sent to boarding school, which I hated, but, um, what that forced me to do was to become busy. My Dad gave me a really good piece of advice when I left and that was to go out and try a whole lot of stuff and, he said, ‘you won’t like all of it but this process is one of attrition where you end up determining what you’d like to do.’*” The process of trying “*a whole lot of stuff*” led Nick to pursue academic, rather than sporting, endeavour. In particular, Nick developed an interest in economics which led to Nick’s first venture: “*I was interested in economics and at college they had this Chamber of Commerce programme enabling students to set up little businesses. So a group of us decided that we would do that. I guess that was probably my first formal business thing, but I brought into that the context of where I came from; thinking about new ideas and not being afraid to imagine something.*”

Nick enjoyed both the creative and collaborative experience of developing the venture, eventually becoming “*Chairman of our little Board.*” Nick also enjoyed the self-development that he experienced as he worked on the venture: “*The mentors that we had identified skills like diplomacy and decision-making in me which I think is interesting.*” Nick’s interest in business grew and this led to Nick’s next venture a business developed, collaboratively, with a group of high school friends: “*We came up with the idea to start a radio station.*” The group set up the radio station, and “*a year later we had about \$250,000 turnover and we were employing people and stuff like that.*” However, Nick was not required at the radio station on a daily basis and after achieving University Entrance Nick began a law degree at Canterbury University: “*I was commuting every second week or so up to Marlborough to run the radio station so I sort of had that parallel thing going on.*” On completion of his law degree Nick then “*graduated and worked for four years as a commercial lawyer.*” It was during this time that Nick began to focus his legal career on what he terms the “*commercialisation of technology.*” While embedding in a law firm and learning about processes for the commercialisation of technology was initially challenging

and interesting for Nick, after four years he decided to move on “*because it wasn’t creative enough.*”

After travelling in Europe for a year, Nick returned to New Zealand: “*I did a period of lecturing in commercial law at Canterbury while one of the Senior Lecturers was on sabbatical and then when that finished I was invited to start consulting in intellectual property for a Wellington firm. So I did that from the mid 1990’s to 2000’s. In between that time the radio was sort of popping along. In 1998 I sold out of it. That was mainly because I had lots more ideas that I wanted to keep rolling out and the rest of the Board just said no. They just wanted to stick to doing this [gestures confined space]; they bought me out.*” In 2002, Nick’s legal consultancy role led to an opportunity to invest in an existing technology business. The business proposition took advantage of the rising use of the internet to automate debt collection processes: “*I got involved and put some money in and we grew the value of the company, and then we sold half of that to a publicly-listed venture capital firm.*” When the sale to the venture capital firm occurred, Nick was invited to join the Board of the new entity. This provided Nick with an interesting development opportunity: “*I was on the Board of the new company and we had a chance to sell into a group that did a dual listing on the New Zealand and Australian public markets. That was interesting because I negotiated the deal without really knowing what I was doing.*”

The dual listing was successful and required rapid development of Nick’s skills. It also involved some luck, according to Nick, who closed his shareholding “*two weeks before the dot com crash.*” Nick’s employment as a commercial lawyer continued during this time; however, he began to feel constrained by the conservatism of the law firm that employed him: “*I started to really see the components of the creative inspiration, the innovation itself and the need for capital. And so that became a focus for me, but the law firm just couldn’t execute the opportunity that I was presenting to it. So after two years I said, ‘look, this is just not really working out. I’m making lots of money and whatever, but I’m not actually having much fun. And I don’t want to be caught up in the internal politics that you get in these big firms.’ So I resigned.*” Within forty-eight hours of resigning Nick was contracted—through his own consultancy business—to work on a Government project “*to frame the conversation around the innovation system.*” When the project eventually closed, Nick took some “*time out*” to reflect on what he wanted to do next: “*At that point I sort of took stock. I thought, well, I’ve got such a multi-layered set of experience, what*

would I really want to do? I'd still maintained Marlborough as my base, but I'd done lots of commuting."

Nick remained frustrated with flaws in the commercialisation support systems within New Zealand and conceptualised a solution: "*I decided that I would start to provide leadership by turning the commercialisation process into a dedicated focus on getting start-ups*³⁵ *happening.*" Nick's idea was to design a process to achieve the development and market entry of new technologies: "*To actually set up a system of delivering innovation through to the market.*" For Nick, making a business "*happen*" also presented a "*fun and interesting*" way to use his skills: "*I've never focused on doing one big deal, making tens of millions or hundreds of millions of dollars and then just, like, retiring and playing golf etc. I've always wanted to get stuff through, you know? I'm dedicated to, and my focus is on, setting a business up.*" Nick recognised from his earlier consultancy and investment work, that there were new skills he needed to develop if his involvement in business start-ups was to go be viable over the long-term: "*I wasn't actually strong enough to promote myself in the mix.*" Although Nick would receive "*a nice fee and a carried interest in the company*", historically his was a support role in the development of the start-up rather than a leadership role. However, Nick's participation did "*get me out into the world on a regular basis*" and led to the development of "*quite an amazing network of people.*"

It was Nick's involvement in international business that focused his decision to develop "*clean technology*" start-ups: "*I was able to get a flavour for what was happening and I really caught the early signs of the shift to clean technology when that started occurring.*" Some of Nick's "*amazing network of people*" helped him to make it happen: "*Over bottles of wine and dinners we decided that we would do a bit more stuff in clean-tech, and so [company name withheld] was one of the products of one of those conversations.*" For Nick, this was a transformational moment: "*My transition really was to providing that entrepreneurial leadership. Starting from the trajectory of being a professional lawyer, then drifting into advisory stuff, ultimately getting a few deals done and then learning that, actually, I needed to be even more involved; that my trajectory was to become the one hundred percent entrepreneur sort-of-a-guy.*" Nick was now leading and had a good team who were open to new ideas: "*The freedom that we gave ourselves is that we just had a blank sheet of paper, so we didn't encumber ourselves with any prevailing view about what*

³⁵ Nick's use of the term "start-ups" refers to beginning new businesses, rather than investing in existing businesses.

should be done and what people should do. We left it pretty open.” This energised Nick’s development desires as he had no expertise in science and every idea came with a sharp learning curve: “None of us were domain experts in science but we were all smart and could ask questions. And so what we did is we started asking really good questions. We started to build a proposition which really, within a short period of time, was attracting significant global attention.”

The team invested together and the first start-up to launch was a bio-fuel proposition which attracted significant international development partners. Two years later, under Nick’s leadership, a new investment group was formed and a “green coke³⁶” start-up was launched. Nick has come to realise that the propositions that interest him most focus on big problems that require significant research and development that is focused on innovative solutions. While Nick recognises that there is “easy money” to be made through less challenging propositions, Nick’s analyses revolve around flaws in the “macro-macro systems” supporting the structural elements of economies. Nick admits that “you have to be very strong, mentally” to accept the challenges of clean technology development, which is as demanding as it is frustrating: “It’s interesting if you look at the way the innovation market, the venture market, has developed over that ten year period. It’s become very focused on online stuff. That’s totally valid, but a lot of that stuff is not that ground breaking. It’s not actually going to provide a step change in the environment, or deal with some of the issues of climate change; which is really demotivating.”

Following the Global Financial Crisis Nick has reflected on his portfolio of businesses and made the decision to expand his investments to include simpler “online” propositions; however, these must still fit within Nick’s ideals: “If I look back at the portfolio of stuff I seem a bit like a space cadet really [laughs]. It’s been an iterative³⁷ process; that’s sort of how I look at it. I was responding to stuff in the early stages without really being able to communicate it. Now I can say, yes, well really I’m drawn to structural propositions. Propositions that aren’t just focused on New Zealand, but they’ve got global application.” While the propositions that capture Nick are interesting and inspire development, they are also demanding: “So, it’s like a self-improvement position and every day I just try and do the best that I can do.” Underpinning Nick’s self and business development is his belief that

³⁶ By “green coke” Nick means an environmentally friendly alternative to petroleum coke.

³⁷ Nick refers here to iterative in its design sense, that being: a design methodology based on a cyclic process of prototyping, testing, analysing, and refining.

business should be “*a mechanism for doing good*”, and that Nick must “*earn his right to occupy*” by “*doing something good for the planet*” while he is here.

Themes

Nick’s story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in his personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While Nick’s thematic analysis shows that he begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in his story is on the points where Nick has evidence of his value through the achievement of an ideal state for which Nick uses the word “*enlightenment*”. Therefore, I have placed “being valuable” as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic Striving— a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions.

“The more I go into this, the more I realise I have heaps to learn.”

Nick’s perfectionistic striving drives him to identify problems and conceptualise solutions to achieve “*ideals*”. Nick’s ideals translate to the “*vision*” or “*high level view*” for himself and the businesses he develops. Nick prefers to pursue complex problems and analyses for weakness both within him and in the outer environment that present barriers to achieving solutions. Nick then strives to resolve the weaknesses and achieve the solution.

Underpinning Nick’s ideals are his personal values: “*I call it my ‘value logic’. It becomes the pathway, or roadmap.*” Nick’s ideals help him to define his business propositions. Once a business proposition is defined Nick strives to perfect it: “*The perspective I try and operate from is to do my best to do justice to the proposition or thing that I’m working on. Justice is a high standard, or state of being.*” Nick’s perfectionistic striving causes him to continue to analyse for weaknesses throughout the business and self-development process. Again, these weaknesses are conceptualised as problems to be solved. Solving these problems alleviates dissatisfaction and is fulfilling for Nick as it gives him something to strive for:

"When you are doing these things you just have to run as fast as you can, it's like a marathon. You have to keep the pressure on. You can't relax into it because the market's continually changing, sentiment is continually changing, the world's continually changing; so it's like this continuing, rolling maelstrom you're walking into. So that's good."

For Nick, the process of analysis, problem identification and solution development is ongoing: *"With each deal I learn something more; so each one is a step along the way to better competency."* Nick has high expectations of his own performance. To minimise the opportunity for mistakes Nick is careful with details: *"I do get mad with myself if I make a mistake. I try to minimise things, like, paying really close attention to my schedule so that I make sure I am in the right place at the right time. Also, I very rarely use email groups. Each time I do an email I think about who it should go to and minimise the risk of the information going to the wrong person etc."* Where Nick assesses a personal weakness, this is used as an opportunity for self-development: *"I'm not superman and there is always going to be personal learning. For example, I am trying to be a bit more patient and not react so quickly. I'm not sure whether this works for me or not yet."* Nick's focus on error, or weakness, is such that he tends to be aware of where things might, or do, go wrong but to be less aware of his personal strengths: *"Recently I have come away from meetings sort of surprised at my reputation and how much people respect me. This caught me by surprise as I don't think this way when I'm operating."*

Nick enjoys striving, whether to solve a personal weakness or one in a business proposition. The desire to problem solve invests Nick with a sense of urgency: *"I'm actually better under pressure because I'll just jump in and start sorting it out because there's a degree of urgency in it. I won't sit back, or hide, I do the opposite. I will step up and I'll be on the phone, and I'll be hustling and trying to get things sorted so, yeah, that's good."* Nick's sense of urgency energises his desire to work hard: *"At the moment I can just about work pretty-much twenty-four hours a day. So, I start off on the East Coast US, then go onto the West Coast, then Hong Kong opens up, then China opens up, then Europe opens up; so there have been times when I'm still working at 11.30pm or midnight."* While Nick embraces high expectations, problem solving and working hard, he also recognises that there are costs to his striving: *"The quid pro quo is, of course, is that it's also really hard, and that gets annoying and it gets tiring; but I also rationalise it on the basis that if it wasn't hard and annoying then it probably wouldn't be as interesting as it is."*

Solutions energise Nick and conversely “*linked logic*³⁸” frustrates him: “*I had a conversation last week about some of the professional advice we’ve been getting, and I came out thinking, well, this is not what I’m paying for. I want solutions; not ‘no, no, no’, but ‘possibly this, this, this or this’. It has to be purposive and not negative.*” For Nick, each solution is a step toward the creation of something of value; therefore, to Nick, energy committed to maintaining the status quo or to the distractions of “*materialism*”, is wasted: “*I’m seeing that now as a distinct pattern. There are probably only three professional lawyers and financial institutions in New Zealand that I’d deal with because the rest are quite happy pumping it*³⁹*—saying no, or offering another ten thousand dollar opinion. And sure they can make money and send their children to private schools, and build bigger houses and go to Paris for Christmas and all that sort of shit. But ultimately they will realise, in twenty years, when they’re ending their career that they’ve pretty much wasted their time in society.*” For Nick, to focus on problems without formulating and enacting solutions is wasteful. Nick prefers pragmatic application of skills and resources to achieve solutions.

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

“I have to have meaningful conversations. Not just conversations.”

Nick’s pragmatism leads him to be open to new “*ideas and things that resonate with me*.” The ideas that resonate with Nick are those that he believes he can “*execute*”. Nick’s pragmatism leads him to be goal focused and due to the nature of his work “*the companies are the goals*.” Nick achieves his goals through “*innovative thinking*” in his scoping, research and planning and by engaging with “*detail*”, forming “*meaningful*” collaborations and being efficient with resources: “*Growing up in a rural environment you naturally work as a community, and you work with constraint because you can’t just rush down to the store to buy what you don’t have.*” Nick works “*from the market back*” to develop a strategy⁴⁰ most likely to achieve dissemination of the technology being developed: “*I negotiated one deal—and everyone always goes in thinking you always want exclusivity—but that’s actually an old way of thinking. This project is big and with an offensive/defensive element*

³⁸In this context, linked logic is a form of circular reasoning with a vested interest in maintaining the problem.

³⁹“Pumping it” is used to describe actions that maintain a problem in order to acquire more money or resources to (pretend to) solve it.

⁴⁰Nick does not use the same business strategy each time; rather the commercialisation process defines a different market-responsive strategy for each business.

to it just because of scale; so let's get a big gorilla on our side as early as we can which we've successfully done." Nick prefers collaboration for many reasons. Collaboration enables access to markets, leverages organisational power, acquire new or broader skills and gain access to information: "We were working with the best people in the world; so our information, our insight and the data that we had access to was pre-eminent data and just sped everything up."

Collaboration also provides Nick with knowledge exchange opportunities and experience of different business models: "*[They] invited me to join their establishment board and it was interesting because it is set up as a cooperative where it squarely sees itself as a social entrepreneurial business. It's actually quite uncommon for co-op structures to be used for technology businesses they tend to be industry/sector businesses like dairy. So that intrigued me a little bit, around just, you know, seeing how that could work. It was a bit of an experiment for me, so I quite enjoyed that.*" Through collaboration Nick is also better able to deal with the level of detail he likes to work with in his business development. For Nick, getting the detail right is important: "*If you don't do the detail you might get the deal done but you're not necessarily putting yourself in a position where you've got a team that could do the next deal; because it was probably more luck that you got it across. You're trying to manage the gap between the vision, if you like, pushing out [gestures with hands] and the detail coming in behind.*" Engaging with the detail in a deal ensures that Nick has "*the bases covered*" and that business risk is minimised: "*If that detail is there you get locked in so you can hold your place. The bigger the distance [to market] the more exposed you are to market silliness, or someone not being truthful or making bad decisions. I think it's something I learned as a lawyer actually; that detail is important. But, I think, the way that I would frame it is that to me the detail has to be focused on a solution.*"

Being solution-focused is important to Nick, as his resources are limited, he must show investors that capital is used wisely and he is focused on making things "*happen*". However Nick has found that, as a resource himself, he has faced both exploitation and the potential for personal burn-out. Therefore, he must also carefully self-manage: "*People just wanted me all the time [used strong emphasis] and I was just totally emotionally exhausted.* Nick now focuses his attention on relationships that involve "*meaningful conversations*". For Nick, meaningful conversations are developmental and involve a valuable exchange of ideas: "*When it's about the idea and the creativity, it's much more of a medium of exchange than we actually think it is. The people who want me, they don't realise that for*

me to go and spend an hour with them and share stuff with them takes a big chunk of my energy. And it's like feeding a hungry lion [laughs] the more you feed it the more it wants. And, then it will just eat you up." Pragmatically, Nick remains focused on what he seeks to achieve—development—and one of his goals is to become increasingly efficient at achieving this: "*I mean the companies could still fail because the market's not there, or they can't get the right amount of capital at the right time. But I'm satisfied in a sense of having gone from zero to getting them to be serious opportunities; which is, basically, what I do.*"

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

"The personal goal side of it becomes complex in that I don't delineate between work and life. And life is work, and work is life; and it's not really work, because it's life."

Nick engages in activities that lead to self-development. I define self-development as a process of change, where one begins to experience one's life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. For Nick, self-development and business development are symbiotic: "*There's a total fusion between life and work, they're not a separate thing.*" Nick's desire for development leads him to create start-up businesses and invest in technology development. Nick targets transformational change and calls his ultimate transformation at a personal level, "*enlightenment*": "*Enlightenment is my key word. To me enlightenment is about having this wonderful view or understanding about how it all fits together.*" For Nick, enlightenment coupled with technological innovation can effect broader transformational change by informing decision-making and providing new options: "*A leader able to effect enlightenment can spread change in much greater proportion than their individual scale. I hope that I can make that context available to more people; whether it is a choice at the fuel pump to buy renewable fuel, or whether [company name] can halve current CO² emissions per tonne of steel produced etc.*" The degree of challenge in a proposition is important to Nick as this requires learning. As Nick's skills in legal consultancy increased the level of challenge decreased, thus Nick decided to "*take the next step*" and take on the "*entrepreneurial leadership*" of a portfolio of "*start-ups*". The development of his first clean technology business took Nick on a steep learning curve: "*I didn't have the skills, nor did the team, to really execute this sort of scale. You're talking about a minimum project size of a couple of hundred million dollars.*"

Nick responded to the need for new skills and resources through the development of a new partnership model: *“Rather than take a pure play IP⁴¹ approach, we decided to err towards a more collaborative partnership approach. So rather than hold out an IP position we basically participated in this programme with a view that if the technology turned out to be worth it we would have earned the right to deploy the technology package, which is what’s happened.”* With two clean technology businesses underway and some tough lessons delivered by the Global Financial Crisis Nick’s attention then turned to new areas of business development. Recognising his desire to invest in propositions that are “*structural and global*”, but also recognising a potential weakness in always targeting very difficult propositions, Nick expanded his portfolio of start-ups to include software developments: *“Within this framework of structural stuff I’ve got food, water and big data; those are three other areas I want to do work on.”* This inclusion of less complex propositions led to involvement in a software technology platform focusing on food quality information (which expands to the quality of water), and a data project (at conceptual stage at the time of this study) that will *“capture the intelligence of a city to the extent that it has its own personality.”* These projects focus on the democratisation of information and on informed decision-making. Nick conceptualises his role in business development as a “*surveyor*”.

“I’m a bit like a surveyor, you know? So when the Europeans first came here the first people they dropped off were surveyors and they had to climb the mountains and find the valleys and the streams with good water and put up with times when they didn’t have enough food ... so you just have to accept that part of the deal is that you’re going to get wet and you’re going to have to, you know, climb over a mountain in gale force winds and not know where you are, and be by yourself in this big space.” Nick’s goal is to *“count myself out”* at the right time, by handing over to the next leader. Nick can then commit his energy and resources to undertaking the next development and continuing his journey of learning: *“I’m really conscious that I don’t want to fall into a trap like a lot of technology entrepreneurs where they make a lot of money on one deal and then they think that they know everything. I’m still really happy and open to doing new stuff, but it will be in the framework that actually excites me; structural and global.”* Nick’s ultimate business transformation is to achieve a “*founder*” role where he is involved in the markets but not in the day to day operations of any business: *“I think that there will be an evolution to some sort of market-facing founder role going forward and there will be a whole execution team that does the work. And I’m sort of quite looking forward to that because it means I’ve*

⁴¹ Intellectual property.

actually done that best that I can do; that I've actually successfully taken it from a blank sheet of paper to something that is pretty cool, pretty satisfying."

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards Nick believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

"I don't really care about the money side of it.

I just want these things to happen because they really need to happen."

Nick's pragmatism leads him to focus his attention on developments that bring him meaningful reward. In the early stages of his career self-development was Nick's primary reward. Over time this has become symbiotic with business development, with Nick experiencing a sense of reward when businesses he is developing achieve significant milestones. Nick has also built an extensive network of supportive peers, and he experiences these people "*counting themselves in*" as very rewarding. While Nick often mentions the financial rewards received from his business endeavours, he expresses some ambivalence toward financial reward and admits that money has never been a focal point: "*We really never focused on making money, you know? It wasn't driven by money; it was driven by the idea. So that carried all the way through.*" Through his entrepreneurship Nick has focused on developing a "*multi-layered set of experience.*" Although Nick successfully launched a radio station and attained lucrative roles within large law firms; Nick chose to move on as these roles did not offer sufficient opportunity for development. Nick finds himself "*increasingly drawn to tension or contradiction*" within himself and within the business propositions he develops. Nick experiences these tensions as highly developmental: "*Hohfeldian Philosophy has been a useful reference for me; the idea that symmetry is important. You can't be good unless you have been bad and you can't be right unless you have been wrong; I see perfection in that zone.*"

As the analysis of these tensions continues, Nick focuses on two forms of reward, internal and external: (1) internal reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain). For Nick internal reward is achieved through evidence of self-development and also through positive emotions resulting from engagement in the process of analysis and learning, most often described by Nick as "*fun and interesting to me.*" External reward is

achieved through objective measures such as his participation and completion of a Post Graduate Programme in Leadership in Amsterdam, as well as business and network development. Nick is also trying to focus more on financial reward which he is learning to contextualise as a means to support new investment. Nick hopes, through the culmination of his development activities, to become an enlightened leader; therefore the external rewards Nick targets provide evidence of his progress toward the internal reward of self-development. In relation to business development, Nick's ventures provide him with "spaces" rich in developmental opportunity: *"It's like these companies go through transitions. I mean, I haven't had kids but I imagine they're a little bit like kids really. You start off with a baby and it takes a while for it to learn to start to breath by itself and then it gets its own pace going. Then it grows up and becomes adolescent and can be a bit schizo⁴², you know? Then, when you progress to having a commercial offering the maturity starts coming in."*

The progress made by the businesses is validated when they "hit certain targets" such as achieving investment, or when it "pops" by achieving commercial revenue. Nick finds this rewarding: *"I find it satisfying that we have been working on [this company] for three years, and you get to the point where you go, shit, you know, is this going to happen? And suddenly [claps hands once]; it's going to pop⁴³."* As Nick's focus is on the development of the business the most validating achievement is when Nick can "step back" and allow the business to continue under new leadership: *"Perhaps the most significant measure of the maturity of the proposition being when I accept that it is time for me to step back, or the fact that I am open to stepping back. This means I have done my piece of work."* Nick also experiences a sense of reward when people choose to participate in his ventures, especially when their skill level is such that they are in high demand elsewhere: *"For the last twelve months I've been building, at director level, a Board that is this shit-hot A Team. And I've been really humbled by the fact that I've been able to get these people, who are all part of my network now. And this is something we're seeing now. [The businesses] are attracting this social response at the moment from these people. That pulling power is in operation and so I think that's really interesting. More people are counting themselves in than I've had before."*

⁴² Schizo refers to an entity becoming unbalanced.

⁴³ By this Nick means that it will achieve commercial revenue, or "happen".

Nick has become increasingly cognizant of the importance of the people in his network and their influence on both his performance as an entrepreneur and his personal wellbeing.

The result of this is that Nick has become increasingly selective with regard to the people he elects to spend time with. Those who are positive and solution-focused, who challenge

Nick in ways that are developmental, have become his core network: “*My rule is that I only want to spend time with people that I love, and that I respect, and that I can have a good conversation with. I've got whole lists of people that want to meet with me and have coffee. I just don't. I just don't get there, I'm not a commodity.*” Finally, while Nick notes that financial reward has not been his primary focus in business, he has become increasingly cognizant of the value of financial capital as an investor and the need to have financial capital available for injection. Nick finds having the freedom to inject capital when required rewarding: “[*This company*], which I still really believe in from a philosophical perspective, has had a really tough period. About a year and a half ago it got to a point where I had to write out a cheque and we had to restructure [the business]. Now the company's profitable and it's growing at three percent a month and I'm going, like, cool.”

“*So, to me, it's like yes! If I didn't lead that process of cheque writing then the company probably wouldn't be there, and even though it wasn't a huge cheque it was enough to provide leadership for others to write cheques out. It's satisfying to see what's happened with that, because at the time it was like, fuck, you know? You just make a relatively quick decision to back it basically.*” While Nick now places a greater value on financial capital for its ability to energise business development, Nick is increasingly sceptical about material possessions and their role in his life. In particular, their potential to impede personal development and obfuscate perceptions of success⁴⁴: “*Clutter and simplicity are becoming big drivers for me; concepts about 'enough'. So, we've got this place, we've got a place in the Sounds, and we've got a design for a portable office, I've got another house. So I'm thinking now, well, how much do you need? When is it enough? And is it part of our society that just drives us to have multiple houses, flash cars, art collections, as a status thing? Is it only a statement of insecurity? Shouldn't people just be focused on how good you are? What you are doing? And not worry about your stuff? I'm interested in that space at the moment. I sort of feel I've got caught up in it a little bit.*” Nick's questioning of materialism has been influenced by the challenges of the recent Global Financial Crisis.

⁴⁴ Nick and I discussed, in some detail, recent cases where trusted and respected “business” men and women had been found guilty of defrauding friends, family members, and clients through Ponzi schemes.

It was not the constraint on capital but the flow of the available capital into speculative investments that caused Nick concern: “*You put these ideas out there and they’re all good and they’re sound propositions but, like, the market won’t engage because they’re making too much money out of speculation. They’re not actually looking at the fundamental structure of the proposition they’re choosing. And when they abandon you suffer a grief reaction and you think, well, fuck it, you know? [emotion/anger]. I could have architected a capital markets play but this is not about making money out of hype. This is about you making your money when you get the technology to market. It’s one of the realisations as things have been tough in the last three years. You get to a point of saying “I won’t even think about what my shareholding might be worth, or might not be worth, or what the liquidity trajectory might be like, I just want the company to survive.”*” For Nick, the survival of each business is rewarding: “*It’s a bit like how artists think about paintings that they painted twenty years ago, you know? It’s like a similar sort of thing, we’re creating these businesses but they’re sort of like paintings. They’re ideas that we’re trying to express through various materials and hopefully it will go for, you know, generations. You’re the creator, so there’s, like, a clear ownership thing which gradually becomes diluted away. But the values still relate back to my particular oeuvre, or style, or work. The particular type of entrepreneurship that I do ... is actually an art form.”*”

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

“*I’ve only ever seen business as a mechanism for doing good.”*

Nick focuses his attention on businesses that match his ideals, in particular, with regard to “*doing something good for the planet.*” The Global Financial Crisis brought with it some “*very difficult*” times for Nick, catalysing a shift in his thinking that has been destabilising: “*It’s only in the last twelve months that I’ve suddenly realised that, well, you know; if people don’t see business as a mechanism for doing good then that’s really appalling. And it really explains a lot of the issues that we’ve got going on in our society. It’s been a bit of a naïve, eureka moment for me.*” Nick has determined that he will focus, “*going forward*”, on business propositions that are structural (influencing change) and global. However, Nick is finding that he must come to terms with the possibility that when he releases control the business may deviate from Nick’s ideals. Nick’s reflections on accepting both the positive and the negative of any state; of “*symmetry*” as “*perfection*”, is assisting him to work

through this issue. As these ideas coalesce, Nick conceptualises being valuable as a form of “guardianship” over the businesses he develops rather than one of control. This helps Nick to contextualise his business development activities less as a fait accompli and more as a values-driven process.

“I’m interested in this flow through to this principle of guardianship. So one of the things I’ve been speaking about is saying we are actually on a space ship, space ship earth. There’s only so much water, oxygen, and food etc. and we have to all actually earn our right to occupy our seat on this space ship earth, you know?” For Nick, the concepts of guardianship and being valuable are informed by love: *“About two years ago I was speaking at a conference about technology and I thought, oh well, buggar it; to me it’s logical. If we really loved our country and our community then we would just sort the problems. So, love is actually a key thing. So, I framed my presentation within the context of the T S Elliot poem ‘The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock’, you know, ‘do I dare disturb the universe’. And, well it’s very interesting because I had people, like, trapped for fifty minutes; four hundred people from about thirty different countries, and they were all a bit shocked. But then, afterwards, I had a huge number of people come up to me; it wasn’t like a group reaction, it was a personal reaction. So I think where I’m coming from is exactly in that love space. That’s the only reason why I do it. And so love is about energy, it’s about people, it’s about conversations, it’s about small things, you know?”*

What challenges Nick, in relation to business, society and love, is not so much the value of the “capital” but the way society values the “material”: *“I don’t know whether people understand love because I think they are seeing it within that framework of ‘I love my black Bentley’, or ‘I love my home in Freemans Bay that’s worth two million dollars’. It’s materialism that is not leading to actualisation. And actualisation is what’s really required. You’re not going to be remembered for having a black Bentley. We’re creating an incredibly lonely society and a society that doesn’t love. I mean if Auckland really loved itself they would solve the fuckin’ traffic issue. I guess probably it’s not seen as a business word, or as a serious word in economics; love, you know? But you can’t have guardianship if you don’t fully love your land. And so, to me, that’s sort of the issue. That [emphasises word] is actually my core motivation.”* It is the state of being valuable, and the legacy of value, that matters therefore, for Nick, reward also manifests in a future state. This being said, Nick asserts, that it is a future that *“is here right now, if we want it.”*

Case Study Five - Transforming Marcus

Synopsis

Marcus' family owned a commercial orchard in the North Island, later moving to Marlborough to start a plant nursery. Marcus recalls, as early as five years of age, going out to work with his father during the fruit picking season: "*As long as I was helpful I was allowed to stay out all day with him; so that was pretty cool.*" During his high school years Marcus' father taught him about commercial enterprise by encouraging Marcus to develop small ventures. Marcus' reward was to earn enough income to support his hobbies.

Marcus had successful ventures selling potting mix and horse manure, and juicing apples. One of his ventures, farming calla lilies, was not successful. Through these small ventures Marcus learnt valuable lessons about the rewards and challenges of being in business: "*[The lilies] didn't actually work out because the customer disappeared off into the woodwork and we got lots of rot in the little bulbs that we'd bought. So ultimately it was a failure; but it was good because it showed me what could happen if you don't get all the ingredients right.*" Marcus enjoyed these ventures and by the age of fifteen realised that he was not destined to be "*a salary man*": "*I knew that I wanted to do something along the lines of business. I've never really seen myself as a corporate kind of an animal, or climbing the corporate ladder and things like that. I just don't really fit into the mould if you know what I mean. I've always been a bit different.*"

Marcus' focus was on becoming "*a sheep and cow farmer*." Marcus identified the minimum requirement to attend university and following his sixth form year⁴⁵ he began an agriculture degree at Lincoln University: "*I had to get three C's, as long as I got the three C's that's all that mattered and that's literally all I got. Or maybe four, I might have got four [laughs]. And then I went to university for a year and I really enjoyed that.*" At the end of his second year of university Marcus sought experience—during the university break—on a meat and fibre farm: "*[My uncle] put me in touch with a farmer in the King Country, he was a young fulla⁴⁶ a really smart young farmer. My cousin had worked for his father.*" The opportunity sounded right to Marcus, he contacted the young farmer and told him he had no experience but was willing to learn: "*He was, like "yeah, come on up."*" The young farmer became a mentor to Marcus and was very valuable to him, assisting him to understand what would be required—in terms of equity, skills, planning and "*thinking*

⁴⁵ 16-17 years of age, preparation for university entrance.

⁴⁶ A colloquial term for a person who is male.

differently”—to succeed at owning a meat and fibre farm: “In dairy farming there’s a pathway for a labourer to end up with their own farm one day but for sheep and cattle farming there’s no pathway. There used to be shearing. If you were a shearer you could earn enough money to buy a farm one day but there’s nothing now.”

When Marcus returned to university for his final year he did so with renewed focus and a more expansive view of his options. On completion of his agriculture degree Marcus began the search for opportunities to develop his own business. Marcus made the decision to focus on the wine industry which was showing strong growth in Marlborough. This would be “*step one*” of Marcus’ plan to achieve his goal, a goal which had now expanded to “*a whole lot of agriculture-based businesses.*” Marcus’ plan was to purchase bare land and develop his own vineyard; however, he recognised that—while his agriculture degree had given him valuable land management information—he was not knowledgeable about vineyard development. Marcus made the decision to return to university for one more year, completing a post graduate qualification in viticulture and winemaking. On his return to Marlborough, Marcus began working for his father and searching for land for development: “*I knew of a local businessman who’d just bought a whole lot of land and I thought I’d give him a ring⁴⁷ and let him know what I want to do. So I gave him a ring, we had a meeting and he said, ‘what’s your plan?’*” I said, ‘I want to own a whole lot of agriculture-based businesses one day, this is my first stepping stone. I know you’ve got some land what do you want to do?’” Within days the businessman came back with a proposal for Marcus to become a shareholder in a vineyard development.

While the venture was much larger than Marcus had anticipated he believed this was the right opportunity: “*He said, ‘we bought all this land and we need a vineyard manager. We need someone to come along and do it and we need an equity partner as well’. And so, I was like, this is my opportunity. This is the one I’ve been waiting for. It’s a bit bigger than I expected it was gonna be, but [laughs/shrugs].*” Marcus sought professional advice, formed a business co-investing with his parents and an independent partner, arranged finance, and used that business to purchase shares in the larger venture. For the next eight years Marcus underwent a “*baptism of fire*” as he began the transformation from university graduate to vineyard developer and entrepreneur: “*I obviously had support from the guys there [the shareholders and employees]. But, um, it was—yeah—it was quite daunting to begin with. I wasn’t very experienced and I learned some hard lessons along the way. But*

⁴⁷ Give him a ring is a colloquial term meaning to call him on the telephone.

we ended up getting there, developing all of these vineyards and they're still there. I'm very, very proud of them today; they're still running." During those eight years the business grew from vineyards, to contract wine production, to acquisition of its own wine brand.

For Marcus, the process of development had been daunting but "exciting". When the development was complete, striving to perfect the systems and become more efficient was also satisfying. However, when these processes were complete and the focus became managing the status quo, Marcus decided it was time to move on: "*At that stage I was like, the company's fine, I've done my bit. I'm still a shareholder but I'm actually learning less and less here. I don't want to be a company viticulturist. If I wanted to be it would be a great career path, and maybe I could do that. But it's not me. I'm not a salary man. I had an itch to scratch I suppose.*" What captured Marcus' interest now were the persistent and complex problems with vineyard management that were so difficult to solve that they had become "*accepted as the status quo.*" For Marcus, the most important issue to solve was a shortage of labour: "*We just couldn't get enough people to prune the vineyards. I said, 'look, we've got to find a different way.'*" Marcus and a colleague conducted research to identify systems, worldwide, that could solve the labour problem; they found nothing. They then came up with a "*crazy idea*" for a pruning machine. They developed a prototype unit which, though it required some "*tweaking*", performed well when trialled in the vineyards.

It was time to develop a new business: "*At that stage we were just thinking about solving our own problem. But then we quickly realised that we're not the only ones that have this problem. All of our colleagues and friends locally and internationally had the same problem that we do. That's when I decided that, well, this is my opportunity. I've done the first step and now this is the second step; that's how [the next business] got started really. That was nearly five years ago.*" Marcus was excited by the challenge. This was the first technology he had developed and his first technology business. Recognising that he was lacking knowledge and needed to learn, Marcus made contact with government agencies and business professionals who could assist him. While Marcus had originally planned a contracting business, his new knowledge led to significant change in the business concept. The decision was made to focus the business on research and development with some local manufacture and to embed in an international production network to supply globally. Marcus found himself working with businesses so different to his own in terms of size and scale that he needed to transform his way of thinking about doing business: "*There are*

four companies that are in this space that have a good hold on agriculture; fifteen billion Euros a year is their consolidated turnover."

Using a partnership model to exploit the significant capability of these offshore businesses, Marcus' business is now internationally connected and at the time of this study was preparing to launch their "Generation Two" technology. The expansion of Marcus' portfolio of companies has continued with Marcus now participating in four ventures; two in the wine industry, one in technology, and one nursery business. The nursery business is a succession, as Marcus and his wife have made the decision that they can be of value to Marcus' parents by working alongside them in this venture. For Marcus, the goal of owning a "*sheep and cow farm*" is still there, but both Marcus and his goals have transformed: "*It's definitely a goal to have a farm but because my context has changed so much I've realised that my involvement in that farm doesn't have to be me, on that farm, running it day in/day out. That's changed to the point where I'd really like to own a farm, have an outstanding manager that runs a world class operation that I can be proud of but I don't have to be there every day.*" Like the change in his business concept, the new knowledge and skills Marcus learns over time transform his view of his own potential and his future. They offer Marcus whole new ways to create value that he was unaware of at the beginning of his entrepreneurship.

Themes

Marcus' story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in his personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While Marcus' thematic analysis shows that he begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in his story is on the points where Marcus has evidence of his value through the achievement goals that are valuable. Therefore, I have placed "being valuable" as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic striving—a drive to continuously analyse for problems and design solutions then work hard to achieve enhanced performance.

“Optimisation is a word that I definitely like. Yeah. That’s a nice word.”

Marcus conceptualises his perfectionistic striving as a drive toward “*optimisation*”: “*I find it really hard to shrug my shoulders and say, ah well we tried our best but nothing is perfect especially machines. I love the word optimisation. A good business or production system should be safe, cheap, fast, repeatable, fun to carry out and delight customers. Until you have this it’s not one hundred percent.*” Marcus’ perfectionistic striving causes him to analyse, in detail, systems, technologies, and his own skill set in order to understand both strengths and weaknesses. However, it is the weaknesses that most capture Marcus’ interest and solving these gives Marcus something to strive for: “*I like to get deep into things and find out how it works, how it is constructed, how the business that produces it makes money; I visualise their cash flow model and the risks/advantages in its approach.*” Once Marcus has identified weaknesses, he is most interested in those that present a real challenge: “*I naturally then like to figure out what things are tough to overcome in a system and what is holding them back from doing it better, faster or more effectively. I heard a speaker recently referring to invisible anchor chains. These are what I like to find and cut free if possible.*” Marcus recognises his desire to perfect things sometimes leads him to become fixated on an imperfection: “*Basically I become ultra-focussed on cutting the anchor chain.*”

In order to try to avoid perfectionistic fixation and use his resources effectively Marcus seeks support to move forward: “*I can be a bit too tunnel vision at times but I have learnt to moderate that by using others as a reference point. A good example is this year we have one customer who has a particular (very unusual) wire knot in their vineyard which made our generation-two machines virtually unusable. My heart was saying ‘we can beat this thing’. I had a heart to heart with [my wife] and my parents about it. They said, ‘look nothing in life is perfect and these guys will understand if you say to them I just don’t think we beat this right now’. I was heading down a path to solve a problem in their one vineyard which was so technically challenging and unique. And we just had to walk away and admit defeat, for now anyway. And, you know what? [The customer] understood, although I still feel like we let them down.*” A challenge for Marcus is focusing on progress as an achievement, rather than the dichotomous thinking of success and failure: “*I’ve had that quite a few times where I thought that only one hundred percent optimisation is good*

enough and I've got to eighty percent or something like that; that's failure. People say to me, 'hey, you did pretty bloody well'. But, yeah, I guess maybe that's something that I could work on, not having to be perfect."

Marcus recognises that his perfectionist striving is not evenly applied across his life, rather it is focused on his business—or more broadly—on the commitments he makes to meet the needs of others: "*I think I actually have double standards. If it is for someone else I want it to be perfect, if it's for me then, hey I'm easy going. I myself am actually very tolerant of less than perfect things. For example my appearance, my car, my wardrobe, my barbeque, my tackle box; these are all things that are not perfect and I actually like them that way. It's when I'm providing something for someone else that I have an overwhelming sense of—this must be perfect, or the absolute best it can be. If it's for me less than perfect is fine. In fact I probably prefer it that way. If it's for a customer or a friend, or boss, or employee, or business partner I feel a sense of having to prove I care by my actions and the quality and integrity of the product supplied.*" Marcus has very high expectations of his own performance and admits that his worst fear is finding that he has actually let someone down.

"Probably my worst fear is to have someone accuse me of being unprofessional or lackadaisical with something I have done for them. I would feel a deep sense of—I have let someone down, or I have done wrong by someone. I can't live with myself if I don't give it everything as I don't want to be someone that the Germans would call "unserious", or someone who lacks integrity or does not do what they say they are going to do." While, at times, Marcus finds his perfectionistic striving challenging—he also recognises that he enjoys the process of striving and the value that it can bring: "*I like to find big invisible anchor chains in peoples' businesses (the ones that give the best bang for your buck) and help them to cut them free. I like doing it, it's fun and comes naturally to me, plus it's a way that I can bring genuine value to the world I live in and get a sense of self-worth. For me problems are just opportunities in disguise.*" For Marcus it is not enough to detect an opportunity, in order to be valuable and feel satisfaction he must act and achieve a solution.

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

"You just have to think differently, and then do it."

Marcus is open to new ideas that can be applied in a real world context. Marcus refers to such ideas as "*thinking differently*". Marcus' decision to undertake a degree in agriculture was driven by his goal to own a farming enterprise. Marcus "*really enjoyed*" university and "*did better at university than I did at high school because I knew why I was there.*" Marcus also sought relevant work experience with a mentor from whom he could learn about farming. Marcus' focus was not to earn, but to learn: "*He said, 'I'll give you a roof over your head and pay you so much per week'. I said, 'oh, yeah, it doesn't matter; I'm just there to learn.'*" Marcus found his mentor valuable and took full advantage of the learning opportunity offered to him: "*He was a really smart guy and I was lucky to get a chance to work with him. I just picked his brains completely. He must have just got so sick of me; every smoko⁴⁸, lunch time, constantly, you know, talking. He showed me that modern farming is not about being a really good horseman, or a really good stockman or anything like that; because he was pretty average at both of them. But it's more about the business side of it. Like, he would do things that all of the other farmers in the district would think were a little bit crazy. He was thinking more holistically, but very commercial.*"

Marcus recognised that his mentor's ability to remain open to different ways of conceptualising a problem, developing and applying a solution allowed him to adapt and succeed even in times of adversity: "*There was a young guy like [him], even in the worst times, absolutely thriving. In fact he was more than thriving, he was kicking ass because he was thinking differently.*" Marcus' mentor challenged him to think differently about his own goals and the pathway to achieving them: "*He said, 'do something different. Don't just get out of university get into sheep farming and stay in it forever. Figure out a way of building up some equity to buy a farm.' I started to think of different ways to do that.*" On completion of his agriculture degree Marcus returned to Marlborough and worked with his father while looking for opportunities: "*I was just waiting for the right opportunity to do something entrepreneurial. So, I decided to have a look at what was going on here in Blenheim.*" Marcus recognised that the wine industry in Marlborough was growing: "*I had to make a choice about what I was going to do and I decided that the best chance for me to*

⁴⁸ Smoko is a short refreshment break taken in the morning and afternoon.

build up some equity quickly was to actually buy some land locally and develop it into a vineyard and either farm that as a vineyard or sell it on.”

“In hindsight it was a little bit speculative, which is not really my style, but it was a way I could see that I could get my equity up quickly to buy a farm.” Having decided this was the way forward Marcus returned to university to learn about viticulture and winemaking: “I thought, well, I don’t really know much about grape growing so I ended up going back to university for another year to do postgrad in viticulture and winemaking. Everyone thought I was mad but I was pleased I did it because I met my wife on the course so that was good [laughs].” Marcus found the course both challenging and illuminating: “We had seventy/eighty-odd students in this room, lined up trying these wines and I couldn’t believe it. I literally thought they were taking the piss⁴⁹, but they were swirling these wines and trying them and then they were describing what they tasted—things like lychee, pears and nectarines—I was like, you’ve got to be kidding me. Is this real? Is this shit real [laughs]? It took me some time to figure out that it’s deadly serious because this is what makes the wine world go around, and they weren’t taking the piss they were being real. It showed me that marketing and people’s perception is just so important.”

On completion of his viticulture and winemaking qualification Marcus returned to Marlborough and began looking for land suitable for development. This led to Marcus becoming involved in his first venture. Marcus entered into partnership and took on the development of three vineyards while his business partners focused on the contract winemaking: *“It sounded pretty cool, you know? It resonated with me because the marketing side wasn’t my kettle of fish. I was more production; helping people to be efficient with production I really enjoyed. So, we ended up being [percentage withheld] owner in this company and I was the vineyard manager. And I’d never developed a vineyard in my life. So, um, it was a bit of a baptism of fire but we had three vineyards, or, well, four bare pieces of land in Marlborough, North Canterbury and Central Otago. We had about four hundred and fifty hectares in total. So I had the bare land and the facility from the bank and that was it [laughs]; and we were gonna make it happen.”* Marcus did, indeed, *“make it happen”* and for the subsequent eight years this first venture was his main focus. However, as the role turned from development to management it was no longer rewarding enough and Marcus began to look for something more challenging.

⁴⁹ “Taking the piss” is a colloquial term, it refers to playing a joke on, or teasing, someone.

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

"I definitely have to keep learning."

Marcus had the opportunity, on leaving school, to take up employment with his father and, eventually, take over his father's nursery business. However Marcus made the decision to do something different: *"It's a really cool, interesting, and very specialised business that I've grown up around my whole life. But I've got no aspiration to be a nursery-man, you know, that's just not me."* As Marcus neared the end of his high school years he made a decision to become a *"sheep and cow farmer."* Marcus made this decision despite having had no experience whatsoever of farm life. Having made this decision Marcus began a process of self-development that would help him realise his farm ownership goal. First Marcus attended university. Marcus then worked on a farm and established a mentoring relationship. Through this process Marcus recognised that *"dagging ewes"* in his sixties would not be challenging enough for him; that his pathway was likely to be more complex. Marcus broadened his goal to ownership of *"a whole lot of agriculture-based businesses."* Marcus made the decision—on completion of his agriculture degree—that his *"first step"* toward these businesses would be the development of a vineyard. However Marcus had no vineyard experience, so he returned to university to undertake training in viticulture and winemaking. While Marcus had planned to develop one vineyard, the opportunity he accepted meant that he was now leading the development of a new family business with a substantial shareholding in multiple vineyards and a contract wine-making enterprise.

For eight years Marcus experienced a sharp learning curve eventually developing all of the land, establishing three vineyards, and optimising them to achieve profitable and efficient business units: *"It was just a real mission to get them up and running with their own management crews and everything."* Marcus could have remained in a well-paid role as the lead viticulturist, but once the development was complete Marcus was no longer learning and he began to *"itch"* for a new challenge. Marcus had learned a great deal about the problems faced by viticulturists and it was this knowledge that led him into technology development. Marcus partnered with a colleague and they conceptualised and prototyped a new vineyard technology: *"We got on particularly well and, well, he's like a mad inventor; incredibility intuitive and smart. And, again, his brain thinks differently to the rest of the world and I kind of realise that that's a really valuable commodity."* Marcus was not

comfortable with the “*conventional wisdom*” that allowed challenging issues to persist in vineyard development and management and neither was his collaborator: “*He doesn’t follow conventional wisdom it’s just not his thing, and despises it in fact in some cases; we both do. Particularly when people say no, that’s how it is. You know, that really gets on your goat*⁵⁰. *And that’s what happened at pruning time. We would have up to two hundred casual staff throughout all of the vineyards that we were running and we would say to each other ‘there just has to be a better way. This is ridiculous.’*”

Marcus and his partner began by searching for readily available, or adaptable, technologies and methods that could be used to solve the pruning problem. They could not find any so they designed and developed a prototype and trialled it in one of Marcus’ vineyards: “*And low and behold these vines were just popping up, beautifully pruned, behind. We were like – wow, that’s amazing.*” The prototype required more development but Marcus knew that they were onto something good, not just for their own vineyards but for others. While Marcus realised this was his “*step two*” opportunity, he had never developed or commercialised a technology before. While Marcus believed he had a good proposition in relation to contracting he had never dealt with this kind of opportunity before: “*We were nervous as anything about that. We already had a couple of interests knocking on our door and we were so scared that we’d hardly tell them anything—because we didn’t know what to do, what to tell them, what not to tell them, what a deal even looked like!*” Marcus was in his element. It was time to get learning and he began a self-development process to educate himself about the commercial potential for the technology and to develop a strategy to realise that potential.

Marcus’ next step was to seek specialist advice: “*We gave [an intellectual property strategist] a ring and we said: “We think we’re going to go contracting with this.” He said, ‘I think you’re dreaming’. I said, ‘oh, why’s that? This is a legitimate opportunity here’. He said ‘yep, there is. But you could waste a lot of time and money stuffing around.’*” Marcus worked with the specialist analysing different business models and made the decision to focus “*at the sharp end of development.*” For Marcus, learning how to develop a technology business and integrate into international production networks was transformational: “*It was good advice I think from someone who was, again, thinking differently from anything I’d ever encountered before. It changed our context.*” Marcus put the technology through a rigorous intellectual property assessment and began upskilling

⁵⁰ “On your goat” refers to being annoying.

himself to handle a vastly different business model: “*They said, ‘when you approach them this is how you have to act. This is what you can tell and what you can’t tell them. This is what a good deal looks like for you. This is what a bad deal looks like for you. This is what a good partner looks like. This is what a bad partner looks like’. So it was good. It was a whole education about business and just opening our eyes to what’s possible.*”

For Marcus this process of developing an entirely new business in synergy with his own process of self-development was very satisfying: “*It was great. It was just so eye-opening and I knew that we were learning things that most people never get the chance to learn; amazing.*” Five years later Marcus is still learning and finding the process of perfecting the technology, the business and Marcus’ own business skills rewarding. Central to Marcus’ self-development is learning. Learning is so important to Marcus that known situations where he is not required to learn can cause him to disrupt his working life: “*If I stop learning I get bored and that’s probably a big weakness of mine I think. You always have to keep learning, but I didn’t realise that you can keep learning but still keep doing the same thing.*” Perceiving this cycle of boredom and disruption as a potential problem led Marcus to focus on a solution: “*I did a course two or three years ago called the E-myth Coaching Programme. That just opened up a whole bunch of ways that you could improve your business and think about your business differently. Now I can get really excited about the boring stuff. It used to be boring to me but now it opens up a whole new area of learning. I can get really excited about that everyday stuff because it is actually pretty exciting. And once you realise that you don’t have to lurch off into the next big journey to keep learning you can actually double back and have another look at the same thing. I think that’s good.*”

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards Marcus believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

“*Probably the reason I started is—I thought that it was money. But no, it’s really not. It’s just one of the things you can score yourself on.*”

Marcus’ pragmatism leads him to focus on activities that will result in meaningful reward. In order to achieve meaningful reward, Marcus sets goals. Across time Marcus has developed a broader range of goals. A goal is of more interest to Marcus if it is challenging and requires that he learn and adapt in order to achieve the goal. The reason for this is that Marcus finds the process of self-development very rewarding. I define self-development as

a process of change, where one begins to experience one's life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. For Marcus, the process of striving and self-development is more rewarding than achieving the goal: "*Yeah, I don't know whether it, like, you know ... once the goal is achieved and I've kind of learned [shrugs]. I suppose that the hard yards are actually done when you're at the bottom of the pile and you're scrapping*⁵¹; *that's where the hard work is done. Once you've convinced yourself that it can be done and you're literally on the way there [shrugs]. When you finally achieve it, um, you've kind of moved on from there already.*" Marcus pursues both internal and external reward: (1) internal reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain).

However, it is internal reward that is more important to Marcus. While external reward in the form of validation from people "close" to him is experienced as somewhat rewarding for Marcus, it is his own assessment of his development that determines his perceptions of success: "*It's definitely internal for me. Yeah. I know the truth, you know? And the truth is something that only you know and someone else's opinion—it's just their opinion and they don't really know what you went through. Well maybe people close to you do and that's nice, but they're really the only ones that have got the authority to say 'well done', or, 'you lucky bastard, you just fluked that didn't you [laughs]?' Because sometimes you can just fluke something and everyone tells you how wonderful you are and you think what a lot of shit [laughs].*" Another form of internal reward that Marcus values is positive emotion in the form of satisfaction brought by the "*blood, sweat and tears*" of "*making it happen*." Marcus' ability to focus on self-development, accept new ideas, and put them into practice has turned his need for learning from a potential weakness to a personal strength: "*I think I've come full circle on that. But I definitely have to keep learning. I definitely have to keep learning [stated emphatically]. But I don't think that's a bad thing in itself anymore.*" Marcus experiences self-development as transformative. The self-development process means that Marcus is, in many respects, a different entrepreneur today than he was at the beginning of his career.

This process of transformation is rewarding for Marcus: "*I come out the other end different; for the better. It's literally transformative. And there's no way you can really do that, no way you can really learn like that without going through a transformational process*

⁵¹ In this context, "scrapping" means fighting.

I think. Yeah. Transformation, that's a big one." Marcus pursues external rewards that are tangible or measurable and that validate his process of self-development. Marcus pursues external reward primarily through business and social development. Business development is perceived, by Marcus, as symbiotic with self-development: "*Business and life, they're not separate; they're actually the same thing.*" External business development measures such as profit, asset value, new contracts, successful prototypes and positive client feedback provide Marcus with validation. Marcus uses these rewards to assure him that he is "*on the right track*", but also to reassure his partners that progress is being achieved: "*Achieving a measurable goal confirms to me that I'm not a complete dreamer and the pain and heartache was actually worth it in the end. But it's especially helpful when dealing with other people to demonstrate that we are making progress.*" Marcus is less interested in external rewards that subject him to external judgement such as business awards and community recognition as he perceives these as, largely, irrelevant: "*Sometimes it can take two, three, four, five years before other people go 'wow, well done, you did so well' and you're, like, 'mate, I've moved on [laughs]. Sorry, and well, thanks, that's nice, but I'm kind of on another mission now', so*" [*gestures/hands up*].

Conversely, the social development of those close to him is very rewarding for Marcus. Family is very important to Marcus and, in recent times, he and his wife have made the commitment to assist Marcus' parents to prepare for retirement. Marcus' parents want to ensure that their business continues and have found it difficult to contemplate selling. Marcus and his wife have become shareholders in the nursery, and Marcus' wife is taking a role in its management. Although this was not originally in Marcus' plan it is the reward Marcus experiences in participating in the development of a meaningful future for his parents that has driven his decision-making: "*When I'm helping my Dad with his business—the goal is to have the business so it can run autonomously without him and he can be involved as much or as little as he likes until the day he dies—I can already see and feel the satisfaction it will give him in twenty years' time. I can see [Dad] with a big smile on his face while he looks at the latest quarterly results for his business. Or, him with his walking stick helping out in the callusing room; talking with a handpicked young, smart horticulture graduate he is helping to teach the ropes and who's study has been sponsored one hundred percent by Dad's business.*"

Marcus also experiences internal reward through applying what he has learned to assist the self-development process his father is undertaking: "*With the nursery business, we're*

actually going through the E. Myth coaching again with that. So I'm there as somebody who's already been through it before, watching and helping the coach on the other end of the line." Marcus enjoys sharing his learning with his parents and being a part of their everyday development process: "*It's pretty unusual to do that with your parents in a business, but we got to the self-organisation part of the course which was so important in the transformation of me and I could see the same thing going on in my Dad's head. It was bizarre. And that was cool, yeah, it was really cool. I was like, come into my office and I'll show you. So I had my Mum and Dad [laughs] in my office having a look at my filing cabinet and how I do my Outlook calendar and how I plan my day and things like that.*" Similarly, Marcus finds the development of his employees rewarding and has focused on improving his own skill set in promoting this area. At times this has been challenging: "*I had a big realisation. I was running the vineyards and I went to a course. I realised that I was a shit manager [shakes head/frustrated]. I thought I was good but....*" Marcus' business was profitable but it had high staff turnover.

Marcus decided to find out what he was doing wrong. He went out to work with his teams in the vineyards: "*They didn't know who I was and I'd never wear a tie or anything. I'd just walk around in ripped clothes and whatever. I'd start pruning with them and they'd be like, 'oh this guy's a shit', you know? And I thought, oh, somehow I've gotta change this.*"

Marcus began to apply what he had learned on his course by allowing his team leaders more freedom to self-manage. The experience was very rewarding for Marcus: "*I stopped trying to tell them how to run the vineyard and instead encouraged them to get their teams involved in running the vineyards. They came back to me with their plan and rather than doing what I normally would do which would be, 'Oh, I don't think that's gonna work' I just said, 'yep, that's cool, are you happy with this? The team's on board? Right, let's have a go'. And it was amazing. The best thing I could've done was get the fuck outa there and let them run their own vineyard. That was just amazing and it was just so cool to see. I realised that someone who runs a company that thinks they're the only smart one, that they're the only ones that can come up with the bright ideas and that they're the only ones that can tell people what to do—is an idiot [laughs]. And that was what I was.*"

Marcus' experience in opening himself to the potential of others and taking a role in their development has transformed his perspective. A particularly rewarding example for

Marcus is Eddie⁵² who suffers from anxiety and, at forty years old, had struggled with employment. Due to Eddie's anxiety and history Marcus was reluctant to employ him in roles involving responsibility. However, when Eddie volunteered for a key role—with the support of the team—Marcus decided to “give it a go”: “*I thought, shit, it's a big job for Eddie, but he kicked its arse, absolutely nailed it*⁵³. *And, it was just so awesome to watch him in his element, doing his own thing. Here's a guy that everyone else had written off, including me, just absolutely nailing it.*” Eddie’s achievement helped Marcus understand how important it is to support his employees to find their own way to their potential: *It shows you that if someone's prepared, who's got the balls*⁵⁴ *to stick their hand up and say I want to do it that's a very powerful thing, a very, very powerful thing. Because it's them telling you that they want to do it, not you telling them. It's a completely different equation.”*

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

“... they can bring more value to the world again and again.”

While facing judgement or critique, either positive or negative, from the wider community is not of interest to Marcus, he retains a focus on creating wider value by being aware of his actions and influence and their long term effects. To Marcus the process of learning inevitably leads to betterment as that is the goal: “*The crazy thing is that I guess for me the satisfaction comes from the learning process, which is cool. And then at the end of the learning process the result is inevitable.*” Whether he is helping his parents to transition to their next life stage, assisting vineyard managers to cope with their “*bloody tough job*”, or focusing on Eddie’s achievements Marcus derives satisfaction from envisioning ways to be valuable, enacting them, and then quietly watching from the side-lines as things improve. Marcus’ wider social contribution is perhaps best described as subtle.

“*I like the idea that if a person sits under the cool shade of a tree today; someone had to have the vision, investment capital, risk, sweat, blisters and nurturing work to purchase, plant and establish that tree ten plus*

⁵² The name “Joy” is a pseudonym and an effort has been made to protect Joy’s identity by limiting information in relation to her business. I acknowledge this may cause some discomfort to the reader. Due to ethical considerations I have prioritised the stated wishes of the participant.

⁵³ “Nailed it” refers to doing something extremely well.

⁵⁴ “Got the balls” refers to having courage.

years ago. The payback is the shade on a hot day summers day, but the true investment and vision, blood, sweat, and tears required to create that payback has been long since forgotten.

The reward for the person that planted the tree is really their own personal satisfaction that they made a difference, and they got to learn about how to plant and nurture a young tree so they can bring more value to the world again and again. Without the ability to fast forward your mind and imagine the satisfaction of the people enjoying the shady tree on a hot day you probably wouldn't have made the effort in the first place.

By the time the acknowledgement comes from others I have already taken the satisfaction from their reaction in advance and in many cases the real thing is not as powerful as it was in my own head. In fact I've had experiences when I've thought to myself, these guys are just being patronising.

But if the old wise grandfather of the kids that were enjoying the shade of the tree came up to me and casually struck up a conversation (not knowing who I was) and said 'wow whoever had the foresight and vision to plant that amazing tree right there ten years ago was a smart and generous person, we need more people like that in this world'. It would be the best compliment because it was real and one hundred percent uncorrupted."

Marcus, via email, 25 September 2014

Case Study Six - Reluctant Joy

Synopsis

Joy is an emerging entrepreneur who, the first time we spoke, had just taken over her first business. Soon after, Joy joined this study as a case study participant. Joy's father was employed in the armed services and Joy's family has lived in many different places in New Zealand for up to two years in each place. This led, according to Joy, to a close family bond. It was, in part, this bond that led to Joy taking a shareholding and the leadership role in her first business. For Joy, being of value to her family was an important part of her decision. Equally important was Joy's need for challenge and self-development: "*I was bored by the particular role I held. The tone and approach at the PHO⁵⁵ in particular was incredibly restrictive. Having such confines and not having any space to move; having such a set routine that you become content with what you're doing—there's no drive.*" Taking leadership and ownership in the business placed Joy in a situation where she could strive to achieve and where she could potentially fail. The discomfort of being caught between the potential for self-development and her fear of failure, leads Joy to refer to herself as "*the reluctant entrepreneur*": "*I definitely have a combination of reluctance, fear and excitement about the unknown.*"

Neither Joy, nor her family members, had previous business leadership experience: "*That's been a big challenge and I think it would be different for somebody who was brought up in a business. You'd inherit some knowledge, absorb as you go and feel more natural. But we've, as a family, not come from a business background.*" On purchasing the business together the intention was that Joy and her brother would take active roles in the business. Overall strategic leadership would be Joy's role, her brother would cover day to day production operations and Joy's mother and father would take on support roles. However, Joy's grandmother became very ill shortly after the takeover of the business requiring care at home until she passed away. This was stressful and consuming for Joy's mother and father. In addition, Joy's brother's wife was diagnosed with cancer and he made the decision to locate to a different city to be near his wife's family: "*My brother has based himself in [another city]. His wife's family are up there and so they have decided to be close to them. As a result, [his] role is much more limited than the original intention was.*"

⁵⁵ Primary Health Organisation.

Due to the changes in her family's commitments Joy took on both the strategic leadership and operational management of the business as well as administrative work; a much larger workload than anticipated. However, these were not the only unanticipated challenges to arise in Joy's first year of business leadership: "*We had a bit of a baptism of fire in our first six months because, as well as the family stuff, there were lots of earthquakes.*" Joy was not just contending with structural damage and pump failures caused by earthquakes; in addition the business was damaged by a wind storm and this was slow to repair due to issues with contractors: "*When our roof blew off they were one of the reasons that our repairs didn't happen straight away.*" Unfortunately, Joy also found that her new employees were not receptive to the change in the ownership of the business: "*At the time I was still learning about the business, learning how the industry works and learning about my staff. Oh god [rolls eyes and slumps down in her chair]. Oh god. A so much bigger problem than I thought it would be.*"

Despite these distractions Joy had already identified problems with the processes and market approach of her business and was feeling frustrated with these. Suffering a lack of support and almost overwhelmed by employee issues, Joy decided to reach out for external support to assist her to prepare her business for change. Joy engaged a business mentor and specialist legal advice to assist her to analyse the structure of the business, workshop ideas and deal with the employment issues. This helped Joy to understand the genesis of negative employee attitudes and how the team could move forward. Joy's focus was to create a structure that could support a "*work programme*", initially focusing on maintenance and then on improving production efficiency. The new structure would also relieve Joy of day to day operational issues and administration. A new "*trial structure*" was implemented, allowing Joy to focus her attention on strategic development of the business and, in particular, on market engagement which is where Joy feels most valuable: "*I work better in the market side and with customers because my goal there is to ensure that they're satisfied. I can work with that. I can work towards that.*"

Through the process of coming to terms with the disruptions to and the development needs of her business, Joy has gained insight into her tendency to strive for perfection and to have—at times unrealistically—high expectations of herself: "*We had a particularly difficult first year into the business. In some respects this can be attributed to it being entirely new to us full stop, as well as the extraordinary circumstances weather events have caused for us. We sustained significant damage in the storms last year which have literally*

impacted us for a full twelve months. Fortunately we had the foresight to get business interruption insurance. So as a success story I'm possibly ashamed or very conscious that financially we haven't done anything startling in our first year and attribute this to a failing on my part. I've come to realise how unrealistic my standards for myself are. I know that many businesses take two to three years to get their rhythm, but I suppose I believe that while that might be the accepted norm I must perform over and above the norm."

In spite of the challenges Joy has faced, the self-development Joy experiences is rewarding. Over the years that I have worked alongside Joy, she has become a more confident and less reluctant entrepreneur: "*Over time the excitement and attraction of the challenge has increased relative to how much I have learned of the business.*" As Joy's confidence increases, so does her sense of being valuable to her family and within her business. For Joy, the process of analysing and perfecting her business is a mirror of the process of analysing and perfecting herself. It is a developmental process of "*taking someone else's creation and making sense of it, so that you can then turn it into your own creation.*" Toward the end of this study Joy received and negotiated her first investment approach, dealt with the harsh realities of employee drug use and set up new contact points for the company's end-use consumer base. There have been moments of disillusionment and moments of reward. Joy's business continues to make progress in finding the ultimate articulation of its resource base in the market place, and it's increasingly empowered entrepreneur continues to make progress toward finding the ultimate articulation of Joy.

Themes

Joy's story highlights five interrelated themes. All are strong in her personal transcripts and supported by observational and triangulated data. All five themes are shared with the other case study participants. While Joy's thematic analysis shows that she begins with a desire to be valuable, the emphasis in her story is on the points where Joy has evidence of her value through the achievement goals that are valuable. Therefore, I have placed "being valuable" as the final theme. The five interrelated themes are:

1. Perfectionistic striving;
2. Pragmatism;
3. Development;
4. Meaningful reward, and;
5. Being valuable.

1. Perfectionistic Striving—a drive to continuously analyse for problems and design solutions then work hard to achieve enhanced performance.

"When you're a big picture person you're not supposed to be a detail person. I like being big picture, but I resent not being more perfectionistic about the little things."

Joy's perfectionistic striving leads her to analyse for weaknesses in herself and to strive to improve: *"I am a believer in continuous improvement and probably view myself as an ongoing development project."* Joy's work provides the environment within which Joy can strive: *I prefer to be overloaded.* *"I've definitely never been a coaster."* Joy conceptualises weaknesses as problems that she must define and solve. This gives Joy goals to strive for: *"I definitely find satisfaction from creating, whether it is order from perceived chaos, new systems or other outputs."* Joy is accustomed to achievement but seldom meets her own high expectations: *"I'm my own harshest critic. I've had that feedback before; especially from previous bosses. They usually said they could set and forget me on a task because they know it will be done very, very well. But they also know that I'll come back and I'll feel terrible about it. I'll do that even though I've exceeded what the request actually was."* While Joy acknowledges that there are external factors that influence outcomes, Joy holds herself entirely responsible for any real or perceived failure: *"It's probably, it's, I actually think it's a flaw [emotion], because it's quite limiting. At the same time, I don't get tunnel vision either. I look at a lot of different things but I put a lot onto myself too."* While Joy attributes any perceived weakness to herself, she prefers to attribute success to others: *"I would say I am more of a lead from behind person naturally and attribute success to the work of the team rather than to myself; even if I have been the key driver for that success."*

Joy also has a higher expectation of her own performance than she has for others: *"It's honestly something I thought was common with all my Gen Y girls but it's not. It happens to be common with me and all my friends, so like attracts like. We all do it very well and we don't like to do it wrong. And what we define as success or failure for ourselves is very different from what we would define for someone else."* Joy is an avid learner who enjoys challenge and has achieved many successful outcomes. However, when reflecting on such outcomes Joy conducts a detailed analysis of—not just the outcome—but of the process of learning and development that led to the outcome. Any weakness at any stage of the process is likely to be attributed, by Joy, to a personal performance failure: *"Whether I have an outcome that's a good outcome is not enough. The fact that I've learned through it*

isn't either. I think I should have been more. I should have done this; I should have done that. One of my friends said 'that's horrible you can't do that, you've got to give yourself a fair chance to learn that's the whole point.' But I don't apply that same rule to myself. I'm like, 'no, no, no, you might say that but in reality I should be more structured'. I mean, how are you supposed to know better when you've never done this before? I don't know. I just know I should have done better."

An example of this critical analysis can be seen in relation to Joy's final piece of research which Joy submitted for her Post Graduate Diploma (Honours) in International Relations: "*Like my final research at university. I got a really good grade but I felt that I was fumbling along the way. A lot of it is about what you've learned along the way but, for me, I felt it should be this, this set, this thing—and it's supposed to be really amazing. And people are like, oh, you got an A for it though, you got a really good mark. I'm like, no, I don't even know what I'm talking about in the first chapter, you know? I still look back and see all of that and go, oh god it's terrible. Even though I've come out with a really good outcome, it's been received really well, I've had questions asked and I can answer them all and I have a good grade as a result; that's irrelevant. It's the fact that I fumbled my way through. It wasn't done perfectly.*" Joy realises that she highlights weakness and subjugates strengths when analysing herself, and her own work: "*I've been told I have tendencies in my post-analysis of an event or project to focus on the five percent of things I could do better and almost disregard the ninety-five percent of things that went well.*" This tendency results in Joy being uncomfortable communicating achievement with Joy defaulting to highlighting what she did not get "*one hundred percent right.*"

Joy talked about her attendance at a leadership camp where, she said, "*I embarrassed myself by falling over*": "*At University, we went on an OPC⁵⁶ leadership thing and we were asked 'what is something you all did well?' I just made some self-deprecating joke like, 'oh, I tripped and fell, I did that really well. It was amazing'. Everyone else was able to find something like, you know, I actually know how to use the compass now, I feel really good about that. I couldn't ... I couldn't do that [emotion].*" In current work with her business mentor, Joy has found that this inability to acknowledge strengths persists: "*He often asks me 'what's something you've done well?' And I find that really hard.*" Joy recognises that from a practical perspective remaining in the same role on a continual basis may be an effective strategy to avoid failure and to achieve perfection. However, this would not

⁵⁶ Outdoor Pursuits Centre.

support Joy's desire for self-development and neither would it fulfil her drive to strive: "*I would just become the old Japanese salary man, you know? No ability to have choice and change; a defined trade. I'd be a plumber who's a plumber*" [laughs]. For Joy challenge is important: "*If something is one hundred percent perfect the challenge is gone.*" Equally important is the need to respond to perceived weakness or flaws by enacting solutions; by creating purposive change.

2. Pragmatism – to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested.

I've found that everyone's very good at coming forward with bright ideas but no one's good with the how to, with the practical approach. You need the how to."

Joy's pragmatism leads her to be open to ideas that can be practically applied and that target meaningful outcomes. Joy's pragmatism causes her to be efficient with resources, research ideas thoroughly, engage with relevant experts and to feel more satisfied when actively implementing "*new systems or other outputs.*" Joy prioritises problems, pursues practical solutions and likes solutions to be implemented efficiently. Joy contextualises this process within work programmes: "*It goes onto a work programme so you've got an end point where you know that all of those things/issues are going to be addressed and you know you've got a good system in place.*" On entry into her business Joy was "excited" at the prospect of conducting a detailed analysis of her business and had given herself three months to complete this. However Joy's early "*baptism of fire*" impeded her ability to engage in a full analysis and slowed down the set-up of a cogent "*work programme*": "*I would like to have had all of the fundamentals identified and on the way to being addressed. I don't think it would be realistic to say that in three months everything would be one hundred percent fixed, but in three months it would be fair to say you could have everything identified and a work programme implemented. That would also be, in my opinion, a good way to familiarise myself with the business.*" Joy states that at the time of purchase the business was profitable; however, Joy's assessment was that this was due to "*lack of competition and luck*" rather than good business practice.

Joy began to identify many weaknesses and was keen to both solve in situ problems, and to get out into the market to test for new development opportunities. When the "*drama*" caused by wind storms and earthquakes was in hand, Joy's first change was to simplify the

structure of the business: “*Even the way the business was structured was inefficient. There were lots of chiefs and everyone was a coordinator over everything and there were four different parts when, well, it’s really just two halves; the growing and the selling. It’s managing supply and demand and those two need to talk to each other. So, we set up a trial structure and implemented the first half, bringing everyone who works on growing into one team and one area—previously, they were in three separate areas.*” In analysing her business Joy is cognizant of her need to be well informed, preferring to practically test new ideas and the validity of information in a real world context. Joy expresses some concern that she requires too much information but is clear that she likes to factor in risk and carefully assess contingencies so that she has a high chance of success: “*I’m one of those people that need more information than is maybe necessary because I feel more comfortable making a decision then. That’s because I’ve kind of factored in most of the things that were unknowns. I’ve usually considered worst cases, of worst case scenarios. Which is funny enough why my friend put me on her coast to coast team [laughs] because she said, ‘you’re the best worst case scenario planner I know.’”*

Joy seeks advice but is selective and accepts it only if the source is relevant and valid: “*Because I’m in an unfamiliar industry I don’t trust everybody’s advice, I like to go and qualify it. Especially the staff advice because their habits and their knowledge that they’ve had, well, I don’t trust it because I don’t think they’ve always done things right.*” In order to qualify information Joy researches it, engages professional advisers and is building a network of relevant peers: “*I’ve found a few people now, suppliers, customers, just people I’ve met through the business and I’ve thought, actually, you know quite a lot and I feel I can rely on your info.*” Joy often brings ideas she has gleaned from her network back to discuss with her staff. This engages them in the process of analysis and development with her: “*Like, I can ask them ‘hey, did you guys ever do this?’ And they like to have a bit of freedom to explore stuff too. They’ll take the idea and run away and Google™ it in the afternoon to find out about it. They love it.*” When Joy has defined a work programme and is ready to implement it she prefers that work get underway immediately: “*When I’ve made a decision I expect—right—boom, done!*” However while Joy is involved in identifying the development area, conceptualising solutions and ensuring things happen she prefers not to be “*hands on*” in the implementation or management of a task. Joy prefers to leave that to people in her team with skills relevant to the plan she has devised and who are comfortable managing the day to day tasks.

Freeing Joy from the day to day allows her to move on to conceptualise the next development area: *"This new person we've got he's like, 'no, no, that just needs to be efficient'. He understands my outcome and he's very good at implementing that. And so it's quite good because I can leave him to do that and I know that the outcome is going to be similar to what I want and I know that if there's a challenge or an issue he will come back and let me know."* Joy's work programmes are being designed to rectify inefficiencies, to ensure the business' infrastructure can sustain growth and to effect growth: *"The infrastructure here is quite old and it will cost X amount to replace it. That will be achievable in X number of years so we can budget for that."* Joy's assessment of past practices is that the business has relied on weak information regarding supply and demand and that the potential of the business is not yet fully understood: *"[The team] don't have any formal plans, just some hand written notes of what they did in the previous year and that's not enough for me. There was no analysis or qualification. Whereas, to me, we have to grow and adjust to meet evolving customer needs. Going on the past and going on their gut⁵⁷ is not firm enough for me."*

Until Joy understands the capacity of the business and its capability to supply its current market, Joy cannot project how changes in focus or customer demand can be met. Having implemented her new structure Joy is now meeting "face to face" with customers to ascertain their needs and assess future opportunities for the business. This is important to Joy as she is very outcome driven and has a need to see that she is providing something of value both in terms of the development of the business and her market. For Joy, if the outcome delivered is not valuable the effort to produce it represents a waste of resources: *"I remember being told to do a review of a review, of a review. I shit you not. And I was, like, what is the point? I don't see the point. Oh, because we have to legally. That's not good enough [laughs]. I think it's a waste of time."* For Joy, each activity she undertakes should be developmental both in terms of herself and in terms of making a purposeful and meaningful contribution to something or someone else: *"Tell me something you want to achieve and I will find a way to do it. What you can't say is, 'I need a report' but not give me any idea of the greater purpose for the report. I need that, oh, [emotion/frustrated], purpose."*

⁵⁷ "Going on their gut" is a phrase which describes intuitive understanding of a situation.

3. Development – To start to exist, or experience. To convert to a new purpose. To cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate.

"I've always been a person who looks for new challenges in my life. I like to put myself in uncomfortable situations and to see how long it takes to feel comfortable."

Joy takes on new situations that are challenging and catalyse self-development. I define self-development as a process of change, where one begins to experience one's life differently; or where one is caused to grow, or mature. In accepting new challenges Joy often targets development in relation to what she might consider her greatest vulnerability:

"I absolutely hate public speaking so the first thing I did when I left school was get a job where I was paid to do that for a living; because, I thought, that's an irrational fear." In taking on a shareholding and leadership in her new business Joy is facing one of her greatest fears, failure. Joy's "baptism of fire" brought Joy closer to failure than she had ever been: "That was quite scary because it was the first time where I was like, holy shit. Like, the pumps had stopped and I thought if we don't get them going in an hour I lose the product and that's a failure. Failure's a huge thing and I don't like to fail. So that, for me, was like, oh my God. That for me is when it became quite real." Joy recognises that her pursuit of self-development causes her to disrupt her work-life: "I think it's fascinating that there are people who are this kind of self-disruptive; that like chaos. They are constantly making sense of chaos. And I'll tell you that I hate it but I do it all the time; and I don't hate it [laughs]. And that's something that I didn't realise before I started this whole process, that I actually did that so much. I've become more consciously aware of it."

The process of development, of "making sense out of chaos", is satisfying for Joy: "If I think back to all of the things I've done, for example, my final research for university; it was the thing I was hating and dreading the most going into it but it was the thing I enjoyed the most. It was the thing I was most terrified of and it actually went from something really wishy-washy to something structured." While Joy is adept at translating her previous skills, for example research skills, to work in her new environment another important aspect of Joy's development process is collaboration with knowledgeable people: "I love learning from people, I'm like a sponge." However, where Joy states that "I've always been a people person", she encountered unexpected challenges in the transition from an employed role in the public sector to an ownership and leadership role in the private sector in Marlborough. For example Joy experienced "huge resistance" from her employees on

her entry into the business which she struggled to understand: “*I found that people were coming into work to take pay for doing the job and, you know, they signed up to do the job but that seems to not be enough to inspire them to do the job properly.*” Joy also found that she was treated differently by friends and colleagues she knew previously, with some of this change being very negative: “*That was hard, I really didn’t expect that.*”

From a developmental perspective Joy dealt with these issues in three ways: (1) by seeking expert advice: “*I’ve changed the way I look at legal advice. It might cost me a hundred bucks to ring up and ask advice but it’s so worth it. We’ve also found really good people in government departments. We ring up and get really good advice.*” (2) Joy has made changes to her support network: “*The people who are in that space are quite different to people who I would have thought would be there even a year ago. I find that really interesting, looking and seeing who I have in my circle now. I find that the people who I really value—for their input and opinion—are not really people who I would have even noticed five years ago.*” (3) Joy is challenging her need to be seen as “nice”, preferring instead to focus on the quality of her decisions and outcomes: “*A major difference from a year ago is that I had such a manufactured attempt to always be public service forward; no cracks in my exterior. And I was tolerating some bad behaviour. But now I don’t have that same drive to be seen as being one hundred percent nice all the time.*” Joy is not interpersonally competitive and prefers to maintain a focus on her own development goals rather than being distracted by interpersonal conflict: “*I cannot see why my time and value should be put into something that just doesn’t matter.*” However, one of the challenges Joy has faced since becoming an entrepreneur is increased interpersonal conflict in her social world.

In order to alleviate this conflict Joy increasingly self-isolates, preferring to share her goals only with those who collaborate in bringing them about: “*I love being able to keep my goals to myself. I don’t have to walk around having people know who I am. I see that as I-AM-ness⁵⁸, the need to have other people know what you are doing and achieving.*” Joy is wary of people who create seemingly unnecessary conflict at an interpersonal level and can find this behaviour hurtful. Joy prefers people who share knowledge and are modest: “*That’s the type of person I admire and that I’m naturally drawn to. Like, I like to read a biography of someone who is, to me, normal—if you know what I mean. Not into keeping up with the Joneses.*” While it is still early in Joy’s career as an entrepreneur, she notes

⁵⁸ When discussing “I-AM-ness” Joy is referring to boasting or seeking attention.

that she is growing increasingly confident and is finding her business valuable in the process of self-development which has “*never been so all encompassing before.*” In addition, being a part of this study—as an emerging entrepreneur—has been valuable to Joy: “*This is actually one of the environments that I really value. I find this whole opportunity for self-analysis fascinating and really valuable.*” Joy is within a process that is bringing about multiple levels of transformation; personally, in the wider social landscape of her life and in her business. While it has not been easy, Joy is finding it rewarding: “*I’m so much more confident now. I could be more ruthless than I am [laughs] but I’m just more confident.*” In relation to her self-development, Joy states: “*I feel like it’s accelerated.*”

4. Meaningful Reward – rewards that Joy believes are important and valuable. They can be both defined and measured and thus when achieved are validating.

“I like to think that I’m quite independent and all that kind of stuff and that I don’t care what people think. I actually do ... it’s really important.”

Joy’s pragmatism leads to her participate in opportunities that have “*purpose*” and bring her meaningful reward. Joy pursues both internal and external reward: (1) internal reward, being inward or internal return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as positive emotion), and; (2) external reward, being external recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done (such as economic gain). Joy takes on work situations that are challenging and entirely new experiences that provide an environment within which Joy can achieve internal reward through self-development. External rewards provide Joy validation of progress in her self-development. External rewards such as her tertiary qualifications are meaningful to Joy and to set such a goal and fail would not be easy for her. However, Joy’s primary focus in relation to external reward has been validation through the subjective approval of other people, in particular, her parents: “*It’s really important that I am seen as being perfect and doing things well, and doing things right, and not disappointing people. Especially mum and dad and that [emotion], um, that’s inherent. That’s just something I naturally have.*” Joy’s desire to attract the subjective approval of others extends beyond her family, particularly at work. If an employee, supplier or client appears “*disappointed*” Joy attributes this to her own personal performance failure and begins to analyse for a solution.

Joy communicates insight that her self-blame is sometimes erroneous. However, Joy still strives to solve the problem: *"I will recoil if I think someone's disappointed. I go to submissive when I think that I've done something that might have disappointed someone. And someone might be just in a bad mood because they woke up on the wrong side of the bed, or they ran out of their favourite brand of cereal or whatever. There could be some other reason. It's just that they're in a bad mood that day. But I'll instantly assume it's something I've done and then run around to try and fix that. So, I like to think that I'm quite independent and all that kind of stuff and that I don't care what people think. I actually do and I do worry, and it's really important."* Joy's inability to self-solve her attribution error led to the issue being exacerbated over time: *"It's probably just got bigger as I got older. You look at certain ways that you get your sense of satisfaction about what you're doing. It's like, oh, like it's that validation. It's like I've done something well, and I've done something right. But it's not enough for me to just accept an achievement or to accept that I've completed a task; that's not enough. It's that someone else has seen that it's been good."*

Joy's desire for the subjective approval of others places additional pressure on her when contextualised within a family-owned business: *"I think I've got the added pressure of my family. I always start off with yes I can do this, and then you get closer to the point and you're like 'oh god, oh god, I think I'm gonna be sick, I don't think I can do this'. Then I need a bit of encouragement. It doesn't have to be much, it can be just, you know, you can do totally do this, you're gonna be fine and you go, 'oh, I will be.'*" Joy recognises that relying on the external and subjective approval of others for validation of her achievements makes her vulnerable. The changed attitudes of others to Joy's status as a "boss" have reinforced her understanding of this vulnerability. Joy refers to herself as being perceived as an "amoeba" rather than as a person. Experiencing this change in the way that she is perceived is being used, by Joy, as a self-development opportunity. It is a particularly difficult one: *"Like the public service roles I've had have been really community based and it's all about addressing inequalities and making people happy. That's the hard thing about being a boss I suppose. There's a big separation. And some days it becomes second nature when I go, 'oh well, you just have to roll with the punches, you know?'" And not mind that they might be unhappy—some days I'm better than others; but that's hard."*

Joy has also realised that her focus on external and subjective validation makes her vulnerable to manipulation and that the subjective evaluations of others are not always

relevant, fair or virtuous. Joy described a situation where a colleague used his “*disappointment*” in Joy to coerce her into accepting responsibility for his error when he left the business premises keys in an unlocked company vehicle: “*He said, ‘well don’t you do a walk around before you go home?’ And I’m like, well no, not every day. I’m not the last person to leave. He said, ‘but the keys are in the truck’. And, for me, that’s not what the process is. Whoever takes the truck out last takes the keys out of it, locks the door and puts the keys away. ‘Oh, so it’s my fault’ [he says], you know, real passive-aggressive. And I said ‘well is it my fault then, because I didn’t do a walk around? And didn’t notice that you left the keys in the truck? And didn’t lock the truck and put them away?’ He does try to make me feel uncomfortable. So sometimes he does like to play on that [emotion].*” Joy’s focus on the external, subjective approval of others also interrupts her ability to broaden her definition of the rewards that are meaningful to Joy personally. In particular, as Joy perceives her self-defined goals and rewards to be “*selfish*”.

External manipulation can also impede Joy’s ability to clearly define success and failure, leaving her trapped in perpetual self-critique: “*And that’s also where it’s been a little bit funny about the definition of success and failure; it’s a moveable feast. Some days I can just be happy with something I’ve done but most days I need to feel like it’s the right thing I’ve done as well, especially if I’m unsure. When I’m in something like [the business] where there are a lot of unknowns I like to be told that I’ve made a good decision. Or I like to have feedback of why an outcome was good, or a justification of why an outcome might not have been ideal. Otherwise, I’ll still look at it and analyse it and break it down.*” The rewards of self-development become evident as Joy identifies her vulnerabilities and gains new skills and strengths that help her to overcome them. For example, Joy was recently the target of some “*nasty gossip*” relating to her business and Joy recognised that the nasty behaviour was generated from someone else and not from something she had done: “*If I’d been told that a year ago, I would have gone ‘Oh, what have I done, what have I done? Oh god, I’ve not been perfect.’ But straight away, this time, I thought what have I done right? So, why is the little girl in Marlborough a threat all of a sudden? Why am I registering on your radar?*”

In addition, as Joy has completed her restructuring and become more “*confident*” in and “*excited*” about her business, she is beginning to experience a sense of reward from her participation in the development of her employees. In communicating this, Joy begins to use more objective validations such as “*productivity*”: “*Involving staff with change processes has created a much healthier and open work environment and increased staff*

ownership and productivity." The subtle shift in Joy's language to objective measures such as "productivity" is significant in that Joy is learning to place more emphasis on objective measures and to articulate these in terms of reward: "*I have gained some satisfaction from making a number of internal changes that have resulted in our ability to run at a lower cost than the previous owner. We have not only reduced our vulnerability to staff making errors and improved their safety by not having large quantities of chemicals but the nutrient bill has reduced by just over seventy-five percent. We've had a reduction in the number of staff required to function – this has largely been through process changes and improvements.*" With such progress being made Joy has become a less reluctant entrepreneur: "*I find it more exciting now because I've got a little bit of understanding and knowledge. So I do find it exciting now. A little bit more exciting than I did. I'm far less reluctant.*"

5. Being valuable—an ideal but temporary state where I am validated in the belief that I am being valuable.

"Because it might be that I find I've actually got no value whatsoever..."

Being valuable to her family is very important to Joy. Joy attributes this to her family learning to rely upon each other as they moved from place to place: "*Our family dynamic, ordinarily, we actually function really well together because we grew up moving every eighteen months to two years. Each of us has, like, if you think of the four—mum, dad, me, [brother]—we all have very different skills but we're all quite aware of each-others' strengths as well. I suppose that's just the product of growing up quite close; because of constantly moving around.*" For Joy, the most important validation of her value is to be praised by her family: "*In fact my dad said when I was little I thrived on praise, so it was no good telling me off about something. But it was always good to tell me I was doing something well because then I'd just keep doing that.*" When making her decision to join the business takeover the excitement of a new challenge was important to Joy. However, Joy describes the opportunity to be of value to her family as "*hugely important*": "*My family found the business and had a discussion, because my brother thought it would be cool to come back to New Zealand and have a business. They also decided that it would be really cool if I ran it. So this is before I even knew about it; full stop. So, that put a little bit of pressure where I was on the spot. I think dad's words were "oh, don't feel any pressure because if you don't want to do it we just won't get it" but they were really excited about it.*"

However, Joy admits that during the “*baptism of fire*” she felt, at times, as though she had been left “*high and dry*.⁵⁹” Joy also began to feel as though she was not valued. To believe that she was not valued was destabilising for Joy. Joy no longer knew if she was on the right “*path*”, because she no longer knew that she was being valuable. It was the fear of not being valuable that catalysed and grew Joy’s feeling of reluctance: “*It’s important that there is value; that there is a sense of importance*⁵⁹, um [emotion] because I also say—reluctant. I go back to reluctant entrepreneur because that’s not necessarily the path I would pick for myself but I don’t necessarily know what that path would be. [Thinks a moment] I wouldn’t have naturally picked the public service either to be honest. So finding some way of ensuring that I’m being valuable; that I’ve got some value in the process is important.” Joy’s reluctance increased as her confidence in her own value decreased: “*It’s about finding my niche and feeling more comfortable within that, but it’s also about knowing—is that even adding any value whatsoever? Because it might be that I find I’ve actually got no value whatsoever—to anything. It’s about that. I get nervous in case—if I’m not the best person and someone else could have done it a bit better.*”

Joy increasingly relies upon her drive to develop—both her business and herself—to define the goals that maintain her momentum. Joy’s striving invests the development process with a sense of urgency: “*Because a lot of this I’m learning about, it’s about development as well. You can develop into being the best person but it’s whether I can get to that. And it’s, like, do we have the luxury of waiting for that to happen?*” Perhaps two of the most important aspects of self-development that Joy’s “*baptism of fire*” has brought her so far are a growing power to validate her own value through objective measures and the beginnings of a greater reliance on her own self-belief: “*In my gut if I felt that I was really doing something terrible or a real fish out of water here I would have actually conceded that a lot earlier.*” Objective measures show that Joy is taking her business forward; however, Joy’s internal critic has not yet accepted that she is being valuable: “*I suppose that’s yet to be determined.*”

⁵⁹ Joy refers here to importance in relation to purpose, not self-importance.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Discussion of the Shared Themes

An individual thematic analysis has been presented alongside each case study. As previously noted this has allowed me to focus on each independent case and ensured evidence is presented alongside in the participant's voice. This has also ensured that the participants had an opportunity to review their thematic analysis and provide feedback in the context of their own case. The top five themes were presented for each participant and these themes are shared across all participants. The shared themes are: perfectionistic striving, pragmatism, development, meaningful reward and being valuable. These themes are interrelated, that being, they are mutually related or connected. In the following analysis I will discuss each shared theme, the relationship between the themes, and expand on the definition of each theme by explicating consistent sub-themes. The process I undertook to establish the definitions was to review the participant data, reflect on the various definitions offered in the Oxford English Dictionary and to explicate a definition that reflects the participant data and is therefore meaningful to the participants. Before closing this chapter I will present a model of a development process that guides the participants' entrepreneurship and close with a summary discussion of the model.

1. Perfectionistic Striving

I have defined perfectionistic striving as a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions. It is important to note that perfectionistic striving does not equate to perfectionism, which is a refusal to accept any standard short of perfection. The participants in this study do not strive to perfect all things; neither is a state of perfection particularly interesting to them. Rather the participants communicate an attraction, especially in relation to their work, to systems, processes and objects that are imperfect and that they can "*improve*", "*enhance*", "*optimise*", "*regenerate*", "*develop*", or "*structure*" to attempt to perfect them. The participants seek to be valuable by identifying imperfections and developing solutions. Striving requires that they apply effort and act to make progress on solutions and this is where perfectionistic striving interrelates with pragmatism.

Sub-themes

Before I move on to a discussion of pragmatism, I would like to discuss some of the strongest sub-themes of perfectionistic striving to come through in my interactions with the

participants. The sub-themes, presented in alphabetical order are: accountable, analytical, assiduous, opportunity and originative.

Accountable

Participants communicated a tendency to hold themselves accountable, that is, to answer for responsibilities and conduct. While the participants communicated the ability to delegate authority, they communicated an inability to delegate accountability. This inability to delegate accountability leads the participants to be assiduous in monitoring and assuring outcomes. Even where a poor outcome could be shown to be due to poor expert advice, dishonest employees, obstructive influences or absconding partners the participants held themselves accountable for both the result and any reparation.

Participants used language such as "*I should have paid more attention*", "*I should have thought of that*", "*it was my own bloody fault*", or "*I should have known*" thus communicating personal accountability.

Analytical

Participants communicated strong analytical abilities, demonstrating a tendency to conduct a detailed examination of things so as to determine its nature, structure, or essential features. For example as Joy and I were conversing over coffee one day, a spider walked across the ceiling of the room we were in and Joy noticed it. I asked Joy if she'd like me to remove the spider which Joy declined, stating: "*When I first walked through [the business] I noticed spider webs and I didn't like it, but I felt better when I saw they were old and had no spiders in them. Now I realise that's because the practices used in the business were not right. The spiders had died because of [chemicals] used there that were not supposed to be used. Now I see spiders and I think that everything is right. I still don't want them crawling on me but now I realise that they are a healthy sign for my business; it's funny how your perspective changes.*"

Participants focused their analyses both internally (on themselves), and externally (on the world around them). In relation to internal analysis, while self-analysis was primarily solution focused at times it devolved into self-criticism. Participants' language sometimes became immoderate and was accompanied by self-focused expressed negative emotion (usually anger or shame). In relation to external analysis, participants evidenced vigilance (alertness, closeness of observation) and a preference for uninterrupted observation. Participants became particularly engaged and animated when analysis was focused on

systems (the way people and things are organised and how they work together). For example, as we traversed the Sounds in John's boat, he would maintain a constant vigilant observation of the water—suddenly veering off to pick up debris, or to check a farm. When John noticed something on a farm, he would raise his finger in the air and say "*hang on, hang on, hang on ...*" and I learned to stay quiet and observe. We would often enter a farm where John would stare quietly at the farm and into the water, then with a "*that's it!*" spring into action to replace a float, pull up a line, or log in a dive to inspect the anchors. This was so constant that any journey into the Sounds was an all day journey.

Assiduous

Once focused on systemic, personal or product flaws, participants were assiduous in their problem solving. As with the scenario described above this involved a constant application to the business in hand, on which the participant would persevere diligently until the problem was solved. While the participants could focus on other tasks while problem solving (especially where problem-solving might take months or years of development work) they communicated exasperation with interruption. Participants attempted to manage their time so that they could optimise time spent in problem-solving and reduce the time spent on day-to-day administration tasks. Even whilst telling their stories, participants would focus on current issues they were problem solving and would deviate away from their stories to analyse out loud; then when satisfied with progress on the problem they would apologise and return to their story.

Opportunity

As their catalyst for analysis is to find ways to be valuable, participants conceptualised each problem as an opportunity to be valuable. In selecting opportunities, participants analysed their own skills and knowledge, whether originative thinking could solve the problem, their ability to resource the solution, and the type and level of reward they would achieve. If a problem was large, the participant's considered the risks and how to mitigate risk by—for example—bringing in new investors on a major expansion (where the problem was capacity to supply). Due to the constant analysis for flaws, participants perceive a great deal of opportunity and have to learn to prioritise what they will focus on, and what they will either "*shelve for later*" or try to ignore completely (which is challenging for them). If a problem is low risk it may be taken on due to it being "*fun and interesting*" and ecologically valuable rather than being strictly commercially valuable. For example, Peter's conservation of Monarch butterfly numbers by designing "butterfly gullies" on the estate.

Due to originative thinking these participants often perceive flaws, and therefore opportunities, that others miss and this can be seen in Peter's purchase of land considered sub-optimal for vineyards which then go on to produce unique flavours.

Originative

The participants communicated a strong desire to engage in originative thinking, and to engage with originative thinkers. Originative thinking has the quality of originating something; that is it is productive, inventive and original. It is more than creative (one can create a replicative enterprise); it is also original (creating an innovative enterprise, product or process). By using originative thinking participants conceptualise problems differently; and thus they also approach solutions from new perspectives. For example, Marcus' approach to a labour shortage was to find a defined point within a broader process that could be mechanised (rather than mechanising the entire process). However, the technology developed also took into account utilisation of in situ technology (a "*bolt on*" approach) thus lowering conversion costs. Participants emphasised the importance of originative thinking and communicated frustration at being perceived as "*mad*", "*weird*", "*whacky*", "*too out there*" or "*over the top*" by people who do not embrace originative thinking and therefore either did not see the problem, or could not understand the participant's perspective on the problem. The desire to engage in originative thinking coupled with analytical ability leads to these participants becoming particularly interested in complex problems that require new approaches. Originative thinking links to pragmatism in relation to an openness to new ideas and informs innovation, as well as in relation to contingency analysis and planning.

2. Pragmatism

I have defined pragmatism as to act in a practical or efficient way; to get things done, alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested. It is important to note that I do not refer here to the philosophical tradition of pragmatism as discussed in academic literature⁶⁰. Rather, I define pragmatism here as it is understood in relation to, and by, the participants in this study. While perfectionistic striving identifies a problem, pragmatism enables the application of a solution. Pragmatism requires that the participants seek and engage with new ideas, and that those new ideas are then applied until the problem can be seen to be solved. It is achieving the solution to the problem that results in development.

⁶⁰ See the discussion section for an explanation of the difference between these definitions.

Sub-themes

Before I go on to discuss development, I will discuss some of the strongest sub-themes relating to pragmatism to come through in my interactions with the participants. The sub-themes, presented in alphabetical order, are: Achievement, collaboration, contingency, decisiveness, research, resourceful, and strategic.

Achievement

Participants communicated a desire for achievement, that is, the completion, accomplishment or successful execution of a solution, or development. While perfectionistic striving analyses for and defines a target for change, pragmatism is focused on the achievement of change. While this is perhaps not surprising in the light of the definition of pragmatism, what did surprise me was what I observed to be the ambivalence participants communicated in relation to the moment of (in particular personal) achievement. Discussions with participants revealed that what I was observing was not ambivalence at all; rather, the participants explained that they recognise when the solution is going to be achieved and are quietly satisfied (and sometimes relieved). However, in the meantime new problems have been identified and the focus has “*moved on*” to assiduously pursuing the new solution. The issue, therefore, is not one of ambivalence, but of focus.

Collaboration

Participants communicated a preference for collaboration (a tendency to work in conjunction with another or others) in their work. This relates to all forms of partnership, physical work, and intellectual collaborations. While they prefer to have control over an investment, decision-making within the businesses tends to be “*consultative*” with their perspective being that “*more eyes on a problem is better*.“ Early in their careers the participants’ collaborations were formed with people they already knew or were already connected to (such as family members or friends). However, as the participants progress in their careers, their choice of collaborators tends to change to be based on the skills and attributes of each individual in relation to the business or each problem to be solved. Participants prefer to select their collaborators and communicate a different attitude to those they choose to collaborate with and those people or institutions they are forced to cooperate with.

Contingency

Participants communicated strengths in analysing for and responding to contingencies, that being, occurrences that may happen but are uncertain. The participants' originative thinking leads to broad reflection on possible contingencies. This translates into good risk management and an ability to notice new opportunities brought about by unforeseen incidents. The ability to analyse for and respond to contingencies means that participants can appear over-confident in situations that others regard as speculative. Rather than being speculative, they are in a constant and involved state of risk analysis which includes strategies for risk mediation. They are therefore cognizant of risk, skilled at preparing for it, and can manage a higher degree of risk (especially as their skills and abilities develop). The participants can also change direction quickly, or capture new opportunities quickly when unanticipated events occur leading to greater resilience.

Decisiveness

Participants communicated the ability to be decisive. While participants admitted that their decision-making could appear spontaneous, they noted that this is seldom the case. Rather, participants communicated the need to gather information and consider contingencies before making a decision. In all cases participants preferred to reflect quietly, research, then seek guidance before making decisions that will have a significant impact. Participants were required to make many decisions on a day-to-day basis and only communicated discomfort with this where they were still unfamiliar with the business or situation. The preference for time to research, reflect and seek advice is strong; where decisions are made on little information the participants conduct a process of continuous review (perfectionistic striving) until they reach the desired outcome. If the decision made is less than ideal or new information comes to hand, they prefer to make a new decision without expending energy on justifying the old one.

Research

Participants communicated a propensity to conduct research (to study or investigate closely) prior to making decisions, thus supporting a preference for informed decision-making. All participants used research methods such as internet searches, reading relevant books and articles, discussions with networks, and engaging relevant experts. However participants without university degrees communicated a preference for smaller bites of written information and earlier focus on discussions with peers or experts. All participants preferred to engage with experts who had practical experience in the field of expertise

rather than those with academic knowledge only. Participants communicated a preference for experimentation as a part of their research process. Research did not end with decision-making or implementation, rather a process of review and continuing research occurs until (if possible) a solution is "*optimised*". This results in continuous refinement, for example, Marcus' discussion of the "*generation two*" of their technology which was completing development at the time of this study.

Resourceful

Participants communicated and displayed considerable resourcefulness; by this I mean that they are skilled in meeting difficulties and full of practical ingenuity. Resourcefulness is important as the participants are striving to develop solutions within—often severe—resource constraints. Participants' openness to ideas, originative thinking, and willingness to apply new ideas means that resources are sometimes used by the participants in novel ways to achieve their goals. While participants showed an ability to be fast at problem-solving and a willingness to experiment, their focus remains on effective solutions. Due to their perfectionistic striving participants displayed unwillingness to maintain sub-standard solutions and would strive both to acquire the appropriate resources to effect long term solutions and to avoid new problems caused by sub-optimal solutions. Perfectionistic striving is so strong that participants can continue to reflect on historic businesses or projects with dissatisfaction if their current knowledge and resources indicate that their previous solutions were sub-optimal.

Strategic

Participants communicated a tendency to be strategic, that is to plan for successful action based on the rationality and interdependence of the moves (and analysis of contingencies as discussed). Participants communicated the desire to set a course of action, and actively gather information (research) and remove obstacles so that they can achieve their desired outcome. Participants communicate a preference for quietly strategising for long periods of time before committing to written strategies, or committing to a course of action. Once strategies are written participants communicated a preference to see these as "*living documents*". As such, participants communicated the need to view strategies as being flexible and "*not written in blood*." Participants often strategised out loud during discussions and often sought my perspective on ideas. Sometimes this resulted in the

drawing of diagrams, or bullet-pointing of strategies or action plans that they would “*tuck away for later.*”

3. Development

Participants’ perfectionistic striving focuses on problems that can be solved and pragmatic application of new learning to achieve solutions. This results in development. I have defined development as to start to exist or experience, to convert to a new purpose, or to cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate. Development occurs both internally and externally. Development validates that the participants’ striving has been valuable and the participants experience this validation as meaningful reward.

Sub-themes

Before I go on to discuss meaningful reward I will discuss some of the strongest sub-themes relating to development to come through in my interactions with the participants. The sub-themes, presented in alphabetical order are: Adaptable, challenge, change, isolation, and learning.

Adaptable

Participants communicated the ability to be adaptable. I define adaptable here as capable of working in different conditions or contexts. For these participants this might mean getting on a tractor Monday, attending a board meeting on Tuesday, writing up a financial spreadsheet on Wednesday, working on a new technology Thursday, before departing for an overseas business development tour on Friday. Participants communicated the value of being adaptable as integral to “*keeping in touch*” with the needs of their businesses. Being adaptable requires that the participants have a broad skill range and the ability to learn and apply new skills quickly. Participants communicated a preference for evolutionary (incremental, or step by step) development; however, their level of adaptability is such that they can deal with radical change which can be conceptualised by them as a challenge.

Challenge

Participants communicated a desire for challenges that test their abilities or character. However, for these participants challenge is also a form of defiance. For example, Joy communicates defiance in facing her fear of failure by becoming a “*reluctant*” entrepreneur and refusing to lose in the face of environmental disasters. Marcus acts in defiance of his introversion in engaging as a part of his teams. John communicates his defiance of a legacy

of financial hardship and familial disenfranchisement by creating a business that can employ family members. Doug has defied a legacy of struggle in small holding farming by growing a large, award winning sustainable enterprise. Nick is defiant in the face of being pigeon-holed locally as “*little Nick-from-Picton*” by gaining recognition nationally for his skills. Early in the development of his estate, Peter faced criticism of his business (as did the industry more broadly) for potential environmental damage. Peter defied his critics by creating an estate recognised nationally and internationally for environmental sustainability.

Change

Participants in this study identify problems and develop solutions in order to effect change; that is, to replace one state (the problem) with another (the solution). This change is desired and thus purposive, and occurs symbiotically at the level of the individual as well as in the area of business focus (for example within the business, or in relation to what the business does in the marketplace). Due to their propensity for perfectionistic striving change is constant and leads to transformation of both the individual and their businesses across time. Participants variously describe the level of change as either a “*transformation*”, or as an “*evolution*”. Due to the degree of change the participant is no longer functioning in the same way, as an entrepreneur, in the middle of their career as they were at the beginning. Toward the end of their career the transformation is such that they make statements such as “*I can’t believe I ever thought that way*”, and “*I look back and I don’t recognise the person I was then.*”

Isolation

Participants communicated a need for periods of social isolation. Isolation was communicated, by the participants, as an important part of self-development. Periods of isolation allow participants “*time to think*”. Participants achieve temporary forms of isolation by: doing physical work on noisy machinery; “*finding myself a spot in some remote valley for the day*”; driving for long distances, or; remaining at home and refusing to answer telephones and emails. Isolation was also communicated by participants as a tool to recover personal energy. Participants communicated, at times, a need for extreme physical isolation and some participants have almost completely self-isolated from social (outside of family) and institutional engagement at a local level (except where this cannot be avoided, or is clearly advantageous for their businesses). In my observation, this more

extreme social isolation appeared to be related to negative emotions. I discuss this further in relation to rich points in the social data in chapters six and seven.

Learning

Participants communicated a strong desire for learning (often expressed as a need). Learning entailed the purposive acquisition of new abilities or understandings, and was thus additional to natural development or maturation. Participants communicated the use of three learning styles:

- Auditory (especially through mentorship, colleagues and networks, and experts contractually engaged or accessed through conferences);
- Visual (through books, journal articles and internet research; however, also through observation), and;
- Kinaesthetic (through hands-on work and experimentation).

All participants used all of these learning styles. Those participants without university degrees communicated a preference for smaller bites of written information, but noted what a boon the internet has been to them in their learning process due to the ability to access information more easily. Those participants also communicated a preference for earlier engagement in hands on work which supports their thinking process. In addition, all participants communicated autodidactic learning which I define here as self-taught learning. Interestingly, none of the participants in this study have degrees in business or entrepreneurship; in relation to their main occupation (innovative entrepreneurship) they are all largely self-taught. However, all of the participants have strong technical skill sets in addition to their business skills. For example: Peter, land development and construction; Doug, farming; John, marine science; Nick, commercial law; Marcus, vineyard development; Joy, research and analysis.

4. Meaningful Reward

I have defined meaningful reward as rewards that the participants believe are valuable and when achieved are validating. The link between meaningful reward and being valuable is one of validation. Participants feel validated as being valuable when meaningful reward is achieved. While being valuable is a fundamental desire, the participants look for points of measurement that confirm the actions they have committed to are creating value.

Therefore an award, money, business growth and peer networks are valued as evidence of the participants' work being valuable.

Sub-themes

Before I go on to discuss being valuable I will discuss some of the strongest sub-themes relating to meaningful reward to come through in my interactions with the participants. The sub-themes presented in alphabetical order are: External, internal, reciprocal, temporal, and validation.

External

The participants in this study desire external reward, a recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done and that is external to the self. External reward plays a dual role for participants. First, they experience external reward as a tangible validation that they are achieving their ideal of being valuable. Second, external reward provides resources for both their families and their businesses, and later in their career development for their philanthropic endeavours. Participants' attitudes to their external rewards change through the process of their entrepreneurship. For example, there is a tendency to undervalue financial reward until their businesses face challenges with operating cash flow, or require investment funds. At this point, the value of financial reward becomes clearer as it can be re-contextualised as a resource for new development.

Internal

The participants in this study desire internal reward, a recompense or return that is gained as a result of the work done and that is internal to the self. While participants in this study value internal rewards such as positive emotion their most highly valued internal reward is to achieve validation that allows them to believe that they are being valuable. This appears to influence positive self-esteem in these participants. Self-esteem is a favourable appreciation or opinion of oneself. In other words, these participants uphold or improve their self-esteem through their work; thus their self-esteem is linked to the value they create through their entrepreneurship. An example of this can be seen in Doug's description of how "*disappointed*" he was in himself for "*failing*" to make a profit for one year during the long drought, and Joy's discussion of how "*disappointed*" she was in herself for not achieving all that she hoped in her first year of business. Rather than blaming the weather (which is a valid reason in both cases) each articulated a reduction in self-esteem based on being "*not good enough*."

Reciprocal

The participants in this study communicated a desire for all relationships to be reciprocal, in particular, that all reward is based on reciprocity. As such, they expect a corresponding action or commitment to each action or commitment they make. Reciprocal exchange of value is a rewarding aspect of entrepreneurship for these participants. Where relationships lead to gain on one side and not the other, or loss on one side and not the other this is experienced as unrewarding (even if the participant gained). If no value is exchanged, the reward is not valued. Reciprocity engenders trust and therefore supports sustainable relationships (through mutually beneficial exchange). Once trust has been established reciprocity is not always simultaneous with a benefit sometimes being returned many years after the initial transaction. As participants achieve more and gain more in their lives, their desire for reciprocity broadens and begins to encompass philanthropic engagement with the social groups around them. This is described by the participants, generically, as "*giving back*" and is a form of reciprocation for generic support of the participant and their businesses.

Temporal

The meaningful rewards experienced by participants are temporal, that is, the sense of reward a participant experiences from a reward is temporary. This temporality relates to the impermanence of being valuable and influences the participants' tendencies to move on to another task once a reward is guaranteed (and therefore the result of historic striving). Temporality also influences the participants' tendencies to communicate a lack of interest in material rewards. Where these are useful (providing a current home and living for the family, capital for future investment, supporting legacy or philanthropy) material rewards continue to be valued by the participants. Where they are not currently useful (that is, are surplus to needs) they become irrelevant or even burdensome leading to "*de-cluttering*". De-cluttering is a process where extraneous material belongings are sold, given away or in some way relinquished as they are no longer relevant. This is most likely to happen where a material item is time consuming or expensive to maintain and thus draws resources away from more valuable activities.

Validation

Participants in this study require validation that the actions they are taking in order to be valuable are helping them to achieve that desire. Validation is an affirmation that the participant's work has value. Participants communicated a desire to be valuable across their lives by actively creating value through problem solving. They seek evidence that this value creation is being achieved. This evidence, in the form of meaningful rewards, acts as points of validation of the participants' ability to be valuable at a given moment in time. For example, the participants in this study do not feel validated by overt displays of personal wealth and, indeed, avoid them. Financial reward was communicated as useful for providing objective evidence of being valuable through engagement with a receptive market (proof that a problem is being solved and that the solution is valued).

5. Being Valuable

I have defined being valuable as an ideal but temporary state where the participant is validated in the belief that they are being valuable. The desire to be valuable appears early in the lives of the participants and is described by the participants, variously, as "*an honour*", "*a privilege*", "*a natural thing*", "*satisfying*" and "*cool*". Across their lives their focus on being valuable broadens, beginning with their families and peers; eventually encompassing their employees, networks, communities and the environment, and; culminating in a desire to leave a valuable legacy. The desire to be valuable expresses an innate idealism, however, for these participants to conceptualise an ideal is not enough. They must construct a process to bring value into being.

Sub-themes

Before I outline and summarise that process, I would like to discuss some of the strongest sub-themes of being valuable to come through in my interactions with the participants. The sub-themes, presented in alphabetical order, are: Being, credence, idealism, legacy, symbiosis, and valuable.

Being

Rather than conceptualising themselves as being valuable simply because they exist, the participants in this study conceptualise the state of being valuable as relating to what they do; in particular in relation to the value that can be shown. I therefore define "being" as a state that exists in relationship to another state. For example, the problem of labour shortages in vineyards is identified and that represents the problem state. Marcus (in

collaboration with others) then develops a technological solution and this eases the problem of labour shortage. A new, improved state now exists. By creating an improved state relative to the problem state Marcus is *being* valuable.

Credence

Participants communicated a desire for credence, that is, the quality of being believed or believable, of being plausible. This desire for credence was communicated at three levels. The first level is that of self-esteem, which I have discussed previously. The second level is peer-esteem, a form of objective peer acceptance that validates the participant as being valuable to others. Examples of this include Doug's discussion of his peer networks, and Nick's sense of validation in gaining the support of respected peers on one of his company boards. The third level is public-esteem which is valued early in some of the participants' stories, but which tends to lose favour with the participants in the course of their entrepreneurship as it is not always a reliable indicator of their value.

Idealism

Participants communicate idealism, that being an aspiration after or in pursuit of an ideal, in their desire to achieve the state of being valuable. This is as an ideal state toward which they perpetually aspire, rather than a state that is attained and then eternally enjoyed. This idealism imbues their working life leading to perfectionistic striving. Across the course of their lives each of the participants has become increasingly visionary, finding new and more wide-ranging ways to be valuable. This alters their understanding of their own potential resulting, as Peter describes it, in "*an evolution*" that leads to ever more complex development. Their increasing knowledge and capability moves the boundaries of what they believe they can achieve. As the participants evolve they constantly push the frontiers in relation to what it is to be valuable and become increasingly innovative as to the means of pursuing that ideal state. According to Lyn, being valuable and having a purpose is "*critical for John's wellbeing*".

Legacy

Legacy was primarily communicated by the participants as a form of bequest, or gift, to future generations. Through legacy the participants seek to be valuable beyond the course of their natural lives. Another important aspect of legacy relates to the symbiosis between the participant and their business; in particular, that a business can live on after the departure or death of the participant. While this allows the participant to be valuable even

after departure or death there is a negative aspect to legacy in that the entrepreneur is linked to any future state of the business (whether positive or negative). Therefore the participants also tended to continue to reflect on the wellbeing and value of businesses they had previously owned and their own developmental legacy within a previous business. In this case, they would analyse how they could have done things better at the time had they the knowledge and resources that they have now.

Symbiosis

Participants communicated symbiosis with their businesses, this symbiosis relates to how the participant and their business attach to each other, and contribute to each other's support and development. Symbiosis with the businesses increases over time. It is pragmatism that allows a participant to relinquish a business. Participants who have relinquished a business communicate this as a process of "*letting go*". The discomfort of letting go is mediated by the continued survival of the business, but participants sometimes return to salvage a business if it does not fare well following their departure. In addition, participants communicated feeling "*proud*" of businesses they once owned that continue to do well and discomfort should a business fail or cause "*embarrassment*" even if this is long after they have let the business go. This suggests that once the business is in symbiosis with the participant the process of letting go is never fully complete.

Valuable

Participants communicated the desire to be valuable, that is, to be of great use or benefit. For the participants in this study an important aspect of being valuable is about the receptiveness of peers to their developments. Financial rewards, awards, and other evidence of participation or acceptance provide validation that their peers value their work. While financial reward and awards may attract public esteem (as opposed to self-esteem and peer-esteem), this is not as highly valued by the participants in this study who prefer self and peer-esteem to public acclaim. These preferences cause some tension as public acclaim can be good for marketing the business, but leads to a level of public exposure that can be difficult for the participants to manage at a personal level. For the participants in this study to be perceived as being of great use or benefit is more important than celebrity.

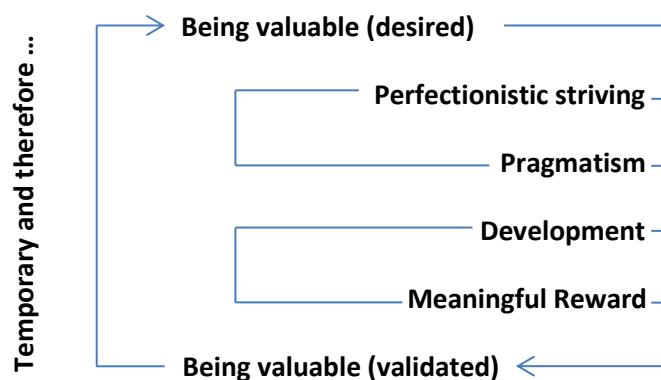
Having further illuminated the shared themes, in particular by explication of the strongest sub-themes in each, I will now discuss how the shared themes interrelate and come

together into a development process (figure three) that guides the innovative entrepreneurship of these participants.

Interrelationships – A development process that guides entrepreneurship

The participants in this study communicate a desire to be valuable and this desire both catalyses and is realised through their entrepreneurship. While the participants recognise multiple internal and external rewards as validation that they are “*on the right path*”; to know that they are being valuable is their greatest reward. Being valuable is a “*path*”, or “*journey*” and can be conceptualised as a development process that guides their innovative entrepreneurship (figure three).

Figure 3: A development process that guides innovative entrepreneurship



While being valuable is a desire that is imbued with idealism, *being* valuable requires action and proof of positive change; action, therefore, transforms being valuable from a desire into a validated state. In order to achieve this state the innovative entrepreneurs in this study look for opportunities to be beneficial; to create value. Perfectionistic striving involves a constant analysis that focuses on flaws that can be conceptualised as problems that can be solved; resulting in a cache of opportunities. These innovative entrepreneurs are driven to solve the problems identified and hold themselves accountable for resulting outcomes; this makes them assiduous in their pursuit of effective solutions. Problems are particularly attractive to the participant if they will require originative thinking. Originative thinking also leads the participants to see problems (and therefore opportunities) others may miss; it also informs their pragmatism.

Pragmatism begins with openness to ideas. The desire for new ideas leads these innovative entrepreneurs to conduct research and to take a collaborative approach to problem definition as well as solution development. The innovative entrepreneurs in this study identify many opportunities for solution development, thus they must be decisive and select opportunities that they believe they can achieve. Once an opportunity is selected these participants are strategic, using both informal and formal action plans to maintain focus and achieve their goals. As there are many contingencies considered during the planning process, decisiveness is required to both develop and enact effective plans. These innovative entrepreneurs are resourceful in respect of application of their own skills, their use of networks and the way they apply material resources. This allows them to overcome obstacles and achieve development.

Development occurs (self, business, social and environmental) as a result of the identification of a problem (perfectionistic striving) and the implementation of a solution (pragmatism). Integral to development is a desire for change alongside and the ability to learn. Participants crave challenge and are thus drawn to complex problems; particularly where these require originative thinking. To learn and apply new ideas and skills participants must be adaptable. As the participants deal with challenging and complex problems, they require time to synthesise knowledge (expressed as "*time to think*"). Synthesis of new ideas and application of new skills leads to development. Self-development across the course of their lives broadens their capability and foci; change is, therefore, transformative. Achieving development results in meaningful reward.

Meaningful reward can be both internal and external, validating both self-development and the development of external outcomes such as businesses. The desire to create value for others must be sustainable, and therefore the innovative entrepreneurs in this study focus on reciprocity in their relationships; that being, relationships that bring value to both parties. While meaningful reward is an important validation to these innovative entrepreneurs, any satisfaction gained from a reward is temporal. It is meaningful only until the problem is solved and then striving must begin again to find another problem and another solution. Thus, while meaningful reward validates these innovative entrepreneurs in the belief that they are being valuable, this is imbued with impermanence.

Due to this impermanence, continuation of the state of being valuable is achieved by a constant process of value creation, and cannot be achieved by a single action. Rather, it is achieved by creating a changed state over and over again as these innovative entrepreneurs pursue an ideal state in a world that is filled with problems to be solved. The innovative entrepreneurs in this study give credence to the belief that they are being valuable by achieving meaningful rewards, which assure them that they are making progress toward their ideal. These rewards also give credence to their ideas and actions in the perception of their peers. As the desire to be valuable does not diminish across the life cycle, these innovative entrepreneurs strive to find ways to be valuable even after the life cycle is complete; they refer to this as legacy. Having explicated the shared themes, sub-themes and the process that influences the entrepreneurship of these participants I will now discuss the rich points derived from the social data.

Chapter Six: Rich Points in the Social Data

In his treatise *Ethnography: An overview* anthropologist Michael Agar (1997, pp. 1156-1157) discussed the “old style cultural” data collection of anthropological participant-observation fieldwork in remote “villages”. Agar (1997, pp. 1156-1157) contextualised themes as “rich points” for further investigation. For Agar (1997, pp. 1156-1157), rich points arise from observation of participants over time and become focal points for the anthropologist. This is because they appear repeatedly in the lives of participants, but at first appear confusing or irrational to the anthropologist. Thus, rich points require participant engagement in order to ascertain their meaning and to give them coherence. In the contemporary study of complex, globalised societies, Agar (1997, pp. 1160-1161, citing Goffman, 1974 and Frake, 1981) re-frames rich points within specific social systems (using purposive samples). In this context rich points present a problem of analysis within a particular series of social interactions or social structures rather than within “whole” societies. As such the collection and “abductive” analysis of data define rich points which occur through encounters with the purposive participant group. These rich points then become focal points for further exploration (Agar, 1996 [1980], p. 62; Agar, 1997, p. 1163).

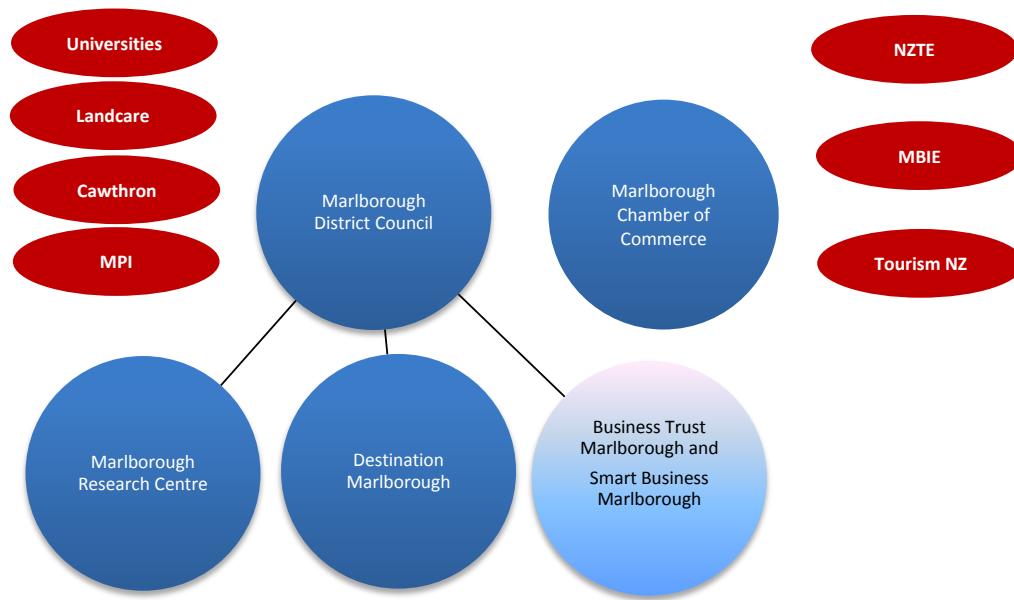
This is the approach I have taken in relation to the social data in this study which focuses on innovative entrepreneurs within Marlborough, but broadens the focus to explore aspects of their social embeddedness⁶¹ and potential for disembeddedness (Stewart, 1991, p. 150-151). It is therefore important to be clear about the limitations to the following discussion. First, this analysis is contextualised in relation to the social and institutional environment as this interacts with innovative entrepreneurs. Second, this discussion generates from rich points such as the isolation described to me by many innovative entrepreneurs in the region and my observations of the social structure and processes that influence this self-isolation. Third, I believe it is appropriate to contextualise this chapter as the opening of a discussion and not as a complete analysis. Rich points have been identified that have led to insights, but this discussion is not central to this thesis. Rather it extends the analysis of the innovative entrepreneurs into their social world. Before critical analysis of processes of social sets and obstructive processes occurs, I recommend further exploratory research that provides a more comprehensive conceptualisation of the social structure, networks, processes and information flows in Marlborough.

⁶¹ “Embeddedness” acknowledges the anthropological perspective that entrepreneurship occurs within broad social processes. The concept of “disembeddedness” reminds us that embeddedness can be conceptualised as a matter of degree with entrepreneurs being either more or less embedded dependent upon compatibilities with the social environment (Polanyi, 1957, in Stewart, 1991).

Finally, I have signalled tension between the social world of Marlborough and these innovative entrepreneurs and I recognise that this tension, as well as the more introductory nature of the social analysis may be mildly uncomfortable for the reader. Nevertheless, this chapter provides important social context. Due to ethical considerations (maintaining anonymity), the troubling aspects of the social processes described, and the change in the researcher's role to increase emphasis on social observation the social analysis might, comparatively, seem more detached. I begin with a description of the institutions which have support available that may be relevant to innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough. I then discuss the formation of social sets in Marlborough. Next, I discuss the role of people I term "obstructers" in the manipulation of social sets in Marlborough. Where appropriate I provide evidence such as articles, blogs, interview notes, observation notes, email excerpts and so forth which are typical of what I have observed. I then offer a model that adds insight into how obstructers attempt to "pull" influence away from leaders (in particular, political or institutional leaders, but this then extends to entrepreneurs) with the goal of appropriating institutional power.

Institutions

Innovative entrepreneurship in Marlborough is supported by both locally and nationally-based institutions (figure four), these being established organisations operating in the political or social life of a people. The institutions shown in blue bubbles in figure four are located in Marlborough and have a primarily regional focus. In the light blue bubble are initiatives supported by two collaborating institutions, the Marlborough District Council and the Nelson Marlborough Business Trust. The institutions shown in red bubbles in figure four are located outside of Marlborough and have a primarily national focus. In this section I provide a brief description of these institutions and the relationships between them.

Figure 4: Institutional support structure available to innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough

The Marlborough District Council (MDC, 2015a) is a unitary authority established under the Local Government Act 2002. The MDC provides funding (through general and targeted rates) and/or governance support and human resources support to three of the business support institutions located within Marlborough. Occasional requests for co-funding support are also made by the local Chamber of Commerce (Marlborough Express, 2015a). In particular, MDC have historically supplied and/or currently supply resourcing to the Marlborough Research Centre (MRC), Destination Marlborough (DM) and Business Trust Marlborough/Smart Business Marlborough. In addition, the MDC maintains two economic development staff internal to their organisation and provides occasional human resource assistance to groups of businesses targeting new markets (Marlborough Express, 2015b).

The Marlborough Chamber of Commerce (MCOC, 2015a) is a membership-based institution that provides business “support and advice” to its membership base. The MCOC has a strained relationship with the MDC. This articulates as a long period of conflict punctuated by occasional collaboration. The relationship was tense during my fieldwork in Marlborough influenced, in part, by the decision of a manager at the MCOC to contest the Mayoral seat in the local body elections (Marlborough Express, 2015c). More recently, in an article in the Marlborough Express (2015d) the MCOC Chair was quoted describing the MCOC as “council’s conscience”, noting that “[i]t has never been an easy relationship.” The

MCOC appears, at times, to cross over into a form of more generalised “ratepayers” advocacy (MCOC, 2015b), rather than solely a business support institution.

The Marlborough Research Centre (MRC, 2015a) is an independent research centre funded through the MRC Trust (with some funding from the MDC) that supports locally based scientific research, in particular that aligned to the primary industries. The activities of the MRC most closely align with innovative entrepreneurship due to the linkage between research and innovation. The MRC has recently been working to broaden its interactions with the entrepreneurship community. This has revolved around the development of the Marlborough Food and Beverage Innovation Cluster and associated relationships with Massey University and the Riddet Institute (MRC, 2015b). Historically, the MRC has had strong linkages to the grape growing and wine manufacturing industries, but has worked in recent years to expand its outreach.

Destination Marlborough (DM, 2015) is a regional tourism organisation (RTO) operating as a not-for-profit trust and funded primarily by the MDC. Destination Marlborough receives the largest share of the MDC’s funding for regional economic development via both general and targeted rates (Destination Marlborough Trust Board, 2014). While, historically, DM has had little focus on innovative entrepreneurs, attending primarily to regional marketing; RTO’s are becoming an avenue for regional innovation in the tourism industry through assisting with applications to the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment’s (MBIE, 2015) Tourism Growth Partnership Fund which approved an application from Marlborough’s Omaka Aviation Heritage Centre in 2015.

Business Trust Marlborough (2015) is a relatively new initiative sponsored by the MDC. Business Trust Marlborough works in association with the Nelson Marlborough Business Trust (NMBT) which is located in Nelson. This initiative focuses on support for small businesses by providing advice, as well as links to mentors. Business Trust Marlborough also works alongside another initiative sponsored by the MDC, Smart Business Marlborough. The focus of Smart Business Marlborough is to assist businesses to navigate legal and institutional structures that are mandated or internal to the MDC, for example resource management application processes (MDC, 2015b). As these entities are relatively new initiatives and are closely associated to the MDC they are part of a broader institutional structure rather than being institutions in their own right.

In relation to the nationally focused organisations, those listed on the left of figure four are focused, primarily, on research. These institutions include universities that have collaborative arrangements in Marlborough (usually facilitated through the MRC). The New Zealand Landcare Trust (2015) is a non-government organisation that works on significant innovation projects within Marlborough (such as the project discussed in relation to Doug's agricultural enterprise, see case study two) and often collaborates with universities on these projects. Cawthron Institute (2015) is a nationally focused private research trust based in Nelson (with some scientists located in Marlborough) and is becoming a key influencer in marine science and aquaculture innovation in the Marlborough Region. The Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI, 2015) supports Marlborough through a regional office based in Nelson and is involved with funding and knowledge support that focuses on improvements to efficiency, sustainability and product safety.

The organisations listed on the right of figure four have more influence in terms of applied research, market, organisational systems and innovation at the industry level (for example national standards for quality, sustainability). These include New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE, 2015) which is a national agency supporting new market development for exporters. NZTE supports Marlborough through a regional office based in Nelson. Similarly, the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment is a national agency supporting business through their innovation arm, Callaghan Innovation (2015), which is represented by the same regional partner located in Nelson. Tourism New Zealand (2015) is a nationally focused crown entity that assists to develop New Zealand's international tourism markets as well as supporting improved quality standards within New Zealand.

In addition to the institutions introduced above, a range of other industry groups operate in the social space of Marlborough. These include significant industry groups such as Wine Marlborough, Aquaculture New Zealand, the Marine Farming Association and Federated Farmers. These are primarily advocacy, market and industry development groups rather than innovation support institutions for individual businesses, however, most do provide scholarships for education and training and contribute to industry standards development. In addition, Marlborough has a range of smaller professional services entities, as well as representation from major banks. A satellite campus of the Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology is also located adjacent to the MRC. Finally, the Marlborough Express (Fairfax, 2015) is a newspaper with some locally-focused content that has effects on

innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough as well as in the social and institutional relationships within the region.

Having introduced the support institutions available to innovative entrepreneurs I will now discuss the formation of social sets in Marlborough. The data supporting this discussion is derived from the full database of participants, as well as observations across the social space (it is not limited to the case study participants). Due to the nature of the social relationships discussed, I recognise risks to participants quoted herein. The quotes used are samples from a range of participants. To enhance participant confidentiality I have not used participant names and avoided, where possible, genders, occupations or any other significant identifying characteristic. Rather, I have converted participant's names to reference numbers. In addition, I have elected to use publicly available sources for examples to better protect participant privacy wherever possible.

Social sets in Marlborough

In order to explore the social structure of Marlborough I utilised a form of social network analysis that focuses, qualitatively⁶², on the meanings in the social interactions and how these articulate a social structure (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015, p. 58). This approach requires that the researcher is embedded “within the inner workings of a network” (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015, p. 58). Sometimes conceptualised as a “performative approach”, this enables visualisation (figures five, six, seven and eight) of the research space as it was experienced by the researcher in the process of exploring entrepreneurship in Marlborough (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015, p. 58). Doing so encourages the reflexive understanding that I was within the social context described, able to be influential within it, and limited in my analysis of it by the aim of my study to explore the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs (as opposed to exploring, say, disaffectedness in the society). This approach also assisted me in “systematically extracting ... data to reveal patterns and structures not otherwise apparent” (Mitchell, 1986, in Marshall & Staeheli, 2015, p. 58). For the purposes of my analysis, I define social networks as a system of relationships that tie people together, and can both enable and constrain the individual (Morris, 2012, p. 233).

⁶² For clarity, no quantitative analysis was undertaken, data analysis focused on qualitative engagement in order to observe patterns and explore meaning and relatedness.

Within days of my arrival in Marlborough I received an invitation to meet for coffee with a person associated with a local institution. This participant has lived in Marlborough for much, though not all, of their life. Having been asked whether I had a preference for the venue I suggested a local cafe which was large, usually almost empty and therefore quiet. However, when I suggested this as a meeting place the participant responded “*oh no, you mustn’t go there*” and suggested an alternative venue which I accepted. On meeting, the participant explained the café conundrum to me noting that “*there are certain people and therefore certain places in Marlborough that do not mix*” (P01, Personal Communication, 4 April 2012). I asked, why? P01 responded: “*Grievances. People who don’t get along or who had an argument once, who disagreed and they don’t talk any more. It might have happened generations ago, but they just avoid each other; it’s just easier that way.*” I wrote this down as it was interesting. I later recognised this as my first introduction to social “sets” in Marlborough. The veracity of P01’s information was confirmed repeatedly as I began to meet other people in Marlborough. This was not an isolated incident. As I went through the long process of one to one conversations and observations, this issue kept arising.

When the opportunity arose to work alongside the MDC in setting up a database of entrepreneurs who might like to attend their forums I was cautioned with respect to who might be included “*because if you invited [this person], [that person] wouldn’t come*” (P02, Personal Communication, 3 April 2012). This being said, no constraint was placed on who I decided would be on the database. The forewarning was useful as I then ensured that I researched as broadly as possible to identify entrepreneurs for the database, and I added network sampling and snowballing to extend the reach of the database as far as possible. When the MDC began to hold their forums, which I was asked to facilitate, this resulted in some interesting and unexpected occurrences represented by the following example: Two participants arrived at a forum separately and sat opposite each other with their arms folded across their chests, warily glaring at each other. I had interviewed both by telephone prior to meeting them at the forum. Both contributed to the general discussions between the entrepreneurs and became increasingly animated as discussions progressed. At the end of the session, each eyeing the other, both approached me and the following discussion ensued:

P03: *That was bloody useful, well done.*

P04: *It was, bloody useful.*

P03: *"You probably don't realise why it was so useful. But you see this fella here?" [Pointing to P04]? "I haven't spoken to this fella in over twenty years. And he's one of my neighbours."*

Me: "Really?"

P04: *"Yep. It's a pleasant walk between our properties, can't say I've walked it recently though" [both laugh quietly].*

Me: "Why?"

P03: *"I don't really know. Probably something someone said to someone else. Eh?"⁶³*

P04: [Nods] "Likely."

P03: *"The thing is, Amanda, I would have sworn before today that this fella and I have got nothing in common. Yet I've sat here today and almost everything that's come out of his mouth, I agree with. If you'd have told me that would happen I wouldn't have believed you."*

P04: *"Yep, same. I had no idea we had so much in common."*

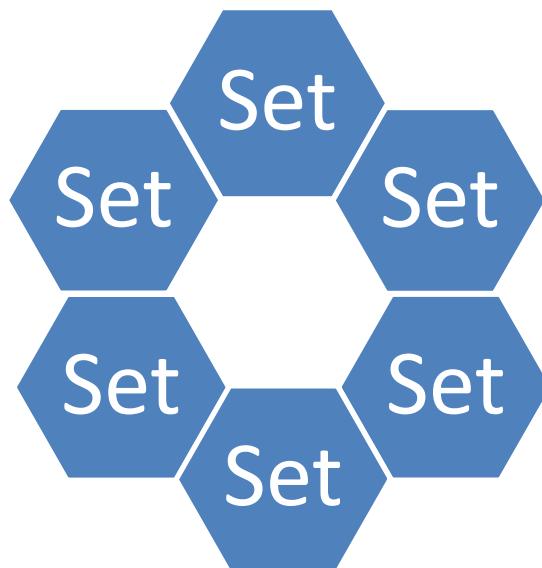
(P03 & P04, Personal Communication, 7 June 2013)

In the following months I would occasionally see P03 and P04 arrive at forums and events, walk over to each other and chat a while and then go on about their other conversations. I learned that these participants had lived next to each other all of their lives and both were entrepreneurs in the same industry. I was surprised to meet two individuals, embedded in a small community, whose lives had remained so separate while living so close to each other. I was not surprised that these people shared common experiences and ideas as this had been revealed through individual telephone interviews. This rich point—implicit compatibility amongst the explicitly incompatible—was not just apparent to me. It was a source of confusion often communicated by the participants themselves through the preliminary interviews, and later telephone calls and emails sent to me. Often, this would be articulated as a question: *"Why can't we just get along?"* What was becoming increasingly apparent was that Marlborough was divided into social "sets" of people who

⁶³ My assessment, from observation of the exchange of glances that occurred when this was said, is that both could outline the conflict that had catalysed avoidance but did not wish to raise it (thus, once again, avoiding it).

shared similar views and characteristics (figure five). The formation of sets was adaptive, with people forming social sets with like-minded individuals to avoid conflict.

Figure 5: Social sets in Marlborough



However, the avoidance of conflict by forming social sets was not an effective adaptation for everyone. When I broke the database of entrepreneurs down into replicative and innovative entrepreneurs the data illuminated differences. For the replicative entrepreneurs local social sets appeared relatively stable across time with the replicative entrepreneurs remaining engaged in local community activities and institutions. However, for many innovative entrepreneurs engagement with localised social sets became much less frequent across time, to the extent that some innovative entrepreneurs became self-isolating. This was described to me as relating to continuing conflict both *within* and *between* the social sets. For example in one instance an award winning innovative entrepreneur told me of their decision to "*move ourselves and the business well out of it, where it can't get to me.*" This entrepreneur had physically relocated a business to a remote location, noting "*my customers aren't here; I don't need to deal with this stuff.*" (P05, Personal Communication, 12 June 2013). In another instance, a participant shared with me their decision to "*stop going to stuff, or if I go I leave straight after [claps hands], out of there.*" (P06, Personal Communication, 6 November 2014). The self-isolation from

local social sets was so pervasive that a participant commented, in passing: “... *he and I are great mates, he still works for me, but I haven’t seen him for years*” (P07, Personal Communication, 7 May 2014).

Such participants described the self-isolation as an adaptation made to avoid ongoing local tensions, which were often described as “*coming out of nowhere*”, or “*out of the left field*”. A participant described the effects of the conflict to me:

“I thought I was doing something good, something useful. And maybe I got a bit of full of myself. I don’t know. But I’d build myself up⁶⁴ and out I’d go and I’d get knocked about. And I’d just come back home and not want to go out again. I didn’t know what was happening.”

(P08, Personal Communication, 22 May 2013).

Of additional interest to me in relation to the data of the innovative entrepreneurs, was the growth in the strength of their relationships where these were external to Marlborough. An example of this can be seen in Doug’s case study, where he discussed the changes in his relationships across time. Growth in both the strength and breadth of their relationships outside of Marlborough suggested to me that the social skills of the innovative entrepreneurs were not the cause of relationship breakdowns at a local level. Also the sense of reward expressed in relation to the formation of new networks indicated that they value their relationships. Finally, it was apparent that the decision to self-isolate was made, to some degree, under duress. The participants expressed hurt and anger, indicating that they would prefer to maintain better local relationships. For many innovative entrepreneurs I spoke to, the social disengagement from sets was mirrored in disengagement (where feasible) from local support institutions.

As the forums completed and I had become visible and accessible to the local entrepreneurs, more innovative entrepreneurs sought me out and accepted my open invitation to engage. The issue of social challenges continued to come through. For example, I began to receive a series of emails and thought pieces from an innovative entrepreneur. The participant had been asked to take on an institutional leadership role but was hesitant to do so. As this participant worked through the issue, the participant

⁶⁴ “Build myself up” refers here to gathering one’s courage.

began to talk of “*forces*” in the social environment of Marlborough that focused their attention on creating conflict:

“One thing that stands out to me and that is how a community spirit can be disempowered and misguided by shallow thinking, ego and emotion that end up potentially motivating and empowering people in the wrong ways.”

(P09, Personal Communication, 20 May 2013).

In this participant’s view the issues experienced in Marlborough were brought about by people who, serving their own “*ego*”, created disharmony by encouraging negativity. According to this participant, Marlburians in leadership roles (that being, the appointed, elected or acknowledged leaders of private organisations, public institutions or social groups) were unable or unwilling to deal with the negativity as the personal cost of doing so was too high:

“I feel too often [that] leadership appeases the public for short term gains, or [implement] short term solutions to the detriment of facing the real problem.”

(P09, Personal Communication, 20 May 2013)

This participant described the loss of time and energy experienced when dealing with “*negativity*”, noting the effect on both their business and personal life. The participant also noted the way that media were used to reinforce or conflate negativity as issues were:

*“... played out through the media. Some would call it politics I guess.
I see it as poor use of energy and resources.”*

(P09, Personal Communication, 20 March 2013)

In this participant’s opinion:

“This town needs a shake-up”.

(P09, Personal Communication, 30 May 2013)

Obstruction as a social process

As my fieldwork progressed and the engagement with case study participants intensified, I would often return to such reflections and the insights they provided. At interviews with participants, observations and in local media the thread of negative behaviour continued to come through. Aspects of the case studies also highlighted challenges faced by case study participants, their decisions to self-isolate, the personal cost of self-isolation and the formation of new networks outside of Marlborough. I provide here an example of the kind of challenge that participants faced. The following is an excerpt from a discussion with a participant who was explaining to me why it is wise to trust only what you experience of individuals, rather than what you hear about them in Marlborough, noting: “*I don’t judge people on, you know, what you hear. I do it on how I find them*” (P10, Personal Communication, 7 May 2014).

In this participant’s example a newcomer to Marlborough set themselves up as a spiritual leader in the community, although the person presented no qualifications or evidence to support a legitimate claim to such leadership. The person, traversing local social sets, discovered a point of conflict and attached to a group of people affected by the conflict. This person then began an obstructive campaign against P10, which increased the conflict:

“... this rooster⁶⁵ started bagging me publicly. And it went on and I rang him up and I asked him to refrain. It didn’t make any difference. And one day it got to a point where I said to him, ‘I’m gonna come up and have a word with you.’ So I went up and as I was leaving one of the staff here said, hey [P10] I’m gonna come with you in case it gets out of hand ... I said, look there’s no worry about that ...

So anyway, I said to this bloke this has got to stop, I’m not gonna put up with it anymore and I left it at that. I was angry and I was pointing my finger and I said: “This has got to stop.” And I turned and I walked away, anyway ... the allegation is that I threatened this bloke. But other than saying this has got to stop—I don’t know if that’s a threat—but I came home and in no time at all I had the Express ringing me up that this bloke had been to the paper and [said that I] had come down and threatened him.

⁶⁵ “Rooster” is a term that signifies someone who is arrogant, and who struts about crowing.

I said, 'that's a lot of cock'⁶⁶. ' And they said 'he says you've threatened to burn his house down and beat him up.' And I said 'that's just ridiculous.' The next day they had the biggest letters that I've ever seen in the Marlborough Express, they were that deep [gestures], '[P10] threatens' and the police are involved, so, he made a complaint to the police."

(P10, Personal Communication, 7 May 2014)

I asked the participant: How did it feel to be in this situation? The participant responded:

"It felt like a betrayal. It absolutely did. It was a weirdo's allegations and there was nothing else in it. The police, because obviously he'd made a complaint and they checked it out, and they found nothing in it ... but I had my name tarnished. That made me really angry."

(P10, Personal Communication, 7 May 2014)

Having heard many stories, some similar to the one related above and some less dramatic but following a similar pattern, I began to reflect on why this occurs in Marlborough and how I could find out more. Participants had described to me their perspectives and I had been close enough to witness their pain, anger and confusion. In addition, I had witnessed aspects of the human cost of difficult and public situations that had occurred just before I arrived in the region. This included public accusations of corruption within the MDC that appear to have been founded on unsubstantiated assertions (Marlborough Online, 2011), and that were disproved by an independent investigation (Sheard, 2011). I recognised that a high price was being paid by targeted leaders. For example, P10 noted the decision to disengage from local social and institutional structures:

"And, look, it's for that very reason that I've decided not to become a member or contribute [in person] ... I've had invitations to other groups and I don't go near any of them. Because it all ends up with a heap of shit, strife and stuff that you actually don't need. So, that's why I'm pretty solitary."

(P10, Personal Communication, 7 May 2014)

⁶⁶ "Cock" is short-form of the term "Cock and Bull" which refers to lies; in particular, a lie that is based on an exaggeration of the truth.

I wanted to improve my understanding of the experience of individuals that become a target of the kind of obstructive behaviour described above. Why were these entrepreneurs targeted? I needed to improve my understanding of the motivations and processes of what I had come to call, in my own mind, obstructers. I define obstructers as, individuals who systematically obstruct leaders by interfering, creating hindrances and impeding their actions in order to sabotage desired outcomes or development. As obstructers appeared to focus their attention on some entrepreneurs and on some institutional leaders, I was looking for an opportunity to be seen as a leader—rather than just a facilitator or researcher. I needed to create the perception that I could influence entrepreneurs and/or institutions. My opportunity presented itself when I received an invitation from the MDC to attend an industry and community workshop involving the MDC, DM and the MCOC. The workshop was being facilitated by contracted consultants from Christchurch as a part of a project to develop “The Marlborough Story”. By this stage I was well known as “the anthropologist” and at the close of the workshop I received requests from some of the business and community leaders in attendance to take a leadership role in the project. I volunteered to the MDC to design a structure for them in the form of Governance, Steering, and Advisory Groups to assist them to achieve the story. If they found this structure worked well, they could replicate it to widen community engagement on other projects.

The MDC agreed and requested that I also volunteer to peer review the workshop synopsis being produced by their contracted consultants. All was accepted on the basis that there was agreement from MCOC, DM and the workshop participants. We then set a meeting inviting the institutional representatives and the original facilitated group to a presentation outlining the proposed process, the idea that I would Chair (per above) and to offer and receive recommendations on Steering Group members. At that meeting a vote was taken approving the Chair, structure and process. This was done on the basis that I would become a facilitative Chair (without a vote and not contributing to the Story as this belongs to Marlburians). Within days of that meeting the obstruction became pervasive. Obstructive behaviour came in the form of disruptive behaviour at meetings, rumours, backstabbing, negative comments about me in blogs and a proliferation of emails to me and about me that were forwarded around Marlborough and successively copied, and blind-carbon-copied to many parties. Much of this would have been unknown to me had participants not—understanding my role as a researcher—shared information passed on to them, with me. I cannot accurately gauge how widely the effects of the obstructive

behaviours travelled, except that a colleague within a Ministry in Wellington contacted me to advise me of colleagues “*concerns in relation to my wellbeing over things happening in Marlborough*” (P11, Personal Communication, 1 October 2013), and a relationship with a new contact in Auckland ending due to backstabbing.

For clarity, backstabbing is a treacherous or underhand attack on a person (esp. by a former ally); or, unsuspected criticism or abuse (OED, 2015). Rumours are talk or hearsay not based on definite knowledge (OED, 2015). It was the rumours and backstabbing that highlighted how obstructers infiltrate sets and institutions and then use these links as “evidence” for the validity of untrue assertions. For example, I had formed a connection, though not in person, with an influential company director whose name arose as a person who might like to be involved in The Marlborough Story project. In the past, our telephone and email communication had been succinct but collegial. Now, I could get no reply by telephone or email. I contacted another local leader and asked that person to make contact with the company director to ascertain why there was no response. The company director responded that they had been advised by someone formerly associated with the MCOC that the Chamber was not supportive of my leadership of The Marlborough Story Steering Group and had pulled out in protest. Due to this indication of conflict, the company director decided to ignore my approaches. In truth, the relationship with the MCOC was sound and I was meeting with the President of the MCOC on a regular basis. I contacted the Chamber President and this person was able to reassure the affected person of their continued engagement and their support of my Chair.

However, this did not stop the process of obstruction. The task was now being delegated to a disaffected associate of the obstructor who began an email campaign. The following is a sample excerpt from an email stream:

“It appears the Chamber are now removed from the project. Where does that leave input and representation from the Business Community comprising >500 Members?”

(P12, via others, Personal Communication, 1 October 2013)

To which the MCOC offered the following clarification:

"Chamber of Commerce is a member of the governance group, as is Council and Destination Marlborough. The Mayor, Chair of DM and Chamber President meet with the Marlborough Story chair every few weeks."

(P13, Personal Communication 1 October 2013)

In the meantime I was invited by an industry leader to attend a round table meeting being held in Marlborough that was being chaired by the company director who had been the recipient of the original rumour. The conversation at this meeting revolved around understanding regional economic data and the influence of industries on the economy. The group also sought my feedback on wording of a proposed policy. At the end of this meeting, the company director addressed me and thanked me for attending, apologising for ignoring contact from me and noting that he found my contribution helpful. The company director then confirmed the obstructor's use of backstabbing, stating: "*You're nothing like [name withheld] described you*" (P14, Personal Communication, 6 July 2013). Such incidents assisted me to understand that rumours were used to promulgate conflict, while backstabbing was used to personally discredit. Both had the same result, avoidance.

Across the term of my voluntary tenure of the Chair the obstruction persisted. For example emails were being directed to institutions accusing me of being "*self-appointed*." When this was refuted, I was accused of being appointed by the MDC and therefore not independent. When reassured by the governing institutions that I was both voluntary and independent the emails would then, tautologically, question the legitimacy of my leadership on the basis that I was voluntary and independent; indicating that my independence endangered the intellectual property of the story:

"Are you able to confirm [name withheld] advice is as you understand it to be and that Amanda is, in fact, now operating in a totally freelance voluntary capacity with no constraints enforceable for the IP developed thus far and ongoing."

(P12, via others, Personal Communication, 1 October, 2013)

At the same time, my inbox was bombarded with emails (as were the inboxes of some of the Steering Group and Advisory Group members). When a Steering Group member responded asking to be removed from an obstructive email list, an email was sent

promulgating the rumour that the said member had resigned. The emails to me arrived almost every day, sometimes many times a day, and would grow in size throughout the day. Each time I answered a question a new series of “*comments*” and new questions would be added to my answers. Response emails would sometimes attract up to ten new questions, alongside requests for documents already submitted as well as assorted imaginary documents. In addition, emails used an instructive tone making demands for me to take actions, and accusatory language that implied conspiracies and leadership failures. I was even accused of failing to meet a deadline five months before it was due. In one example I received a seven hundred and seventy five-word email that implied a waning of support, failure to communicate, “*missing*” documentation, and attempting to portray group discontent through unsubstantiated “*corridor communication*”:

“It seems, however, that things may now have ‘waned’ somewhat given the casual feedback (corridor communication) from a number of people who seem neither to fully understand ‘where to’ and ‘how’ or are provided little more than the minutes of meeting of the Steering Group. Has there been another meeting and minutes I am unaware of please?”

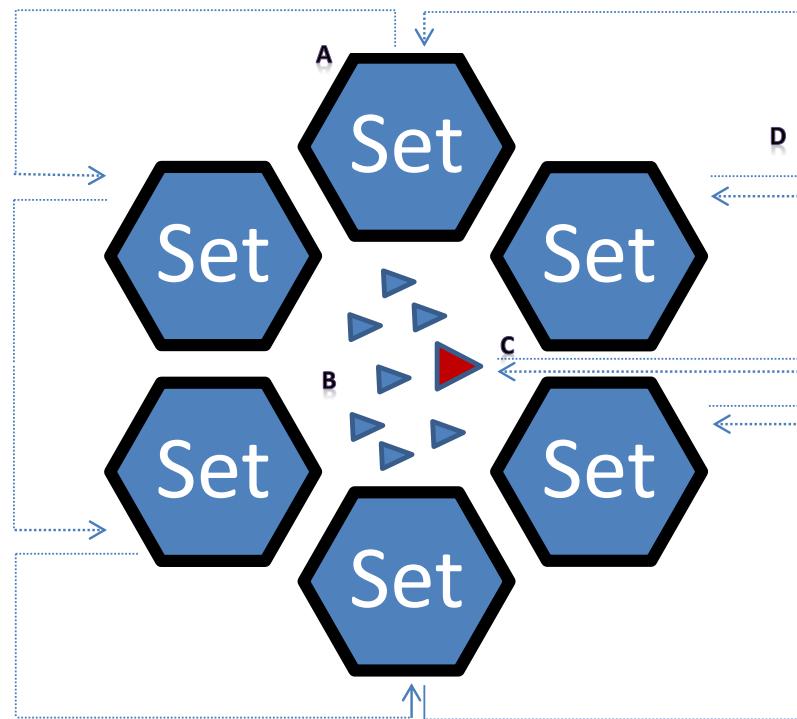
(P12, Personal Communication, 2 August 2013)

As the process had been explicit and conducted as agreed, it was clear that none of this was true; however, that did not stop the email being annotated and sent—then copied to leaders in four institutions. In October 2013 I stepped down as Chair of The Marlborough Story Steering Group as had always been intended. The structure was in place and we had developed a protocol to take the project forward. In stepping down I noted, via email to the Governance Group and the Steering Group, the sense of privilege I felt in being allowed as an anthropologist to work alongside Marlburians on the project. I was exhausted and my temper was definitely frayed.

However, being the Steering Group Chair was a valuable and illuminating experience that highlighted the process of obstruction and brought me closer to both obstructers and their adherents, providing valuable data. What I discovered is a social process that is repeated time and again, and is thus a pattern. Obstructers within Marlborough are few but their process is effective. Obstructers are people (not organisations or institutions) who appear to act in their own interests. Obstructers have their own informal leadership structure; they make adherents of the disaffected. The disaffected are people who are estranged in

allegiance and unfriendly or hostile to authority. Some disaffected own businesses, or purport to be consultants; they did not appear to be powerless individuals or to lack resources. The disaffected seem to value the sense of inclusion obstructers offer them and relish the opportunity to participate in the obstruction of a leader or institution. While that is sufficient for the disaffected, the obstructor appears to focus on opportunities to usurp institutional power. Obstructive actions are encompassed within a process that encourages conflict, therefore they seem to seek “power over” others by inhibiting collective power (Domhoff, 2012, p. 24). As sets form in response to conflict avoidance, increasing conflict (whether real or perceived) reinforces the boundaries of the sets, pushing the sets apart; thus strengthening obstructor control over information flows to and from the sets (figure six).

Figure 6: Reinforcing and manipulating sets in Marlborough



Before I discuss the social process of obstruction, there are aspects of figure six (marked A, B, C and D) that require further explanation:

- A. First, the sets exist prior to entry by an obstructor and can operate relatively autonomously from a social perspective. They do not have impenetrable boundaries, nor are they focused on a particular function (that is, they are not silos). It is the soft boundaries (see figure five) that allow obstructers to enter the sets. Before the obstructors enter, the sets co-exist alongside each other without overt conflict (per the

example of the participants who lived close to each other but had not spoken in twenty years). Due to the conflict caused by obstructors the boundaries of the sets become firmer (figure six), making the sets less penetrable to newcomers and impeding collaboration between sets.

- B. The obstructor gathers the disaffected  to form a social set and leads a campaign to manipulate the other sets and create conflict. One of the skills the obstructor has is that they are adept at identifying disaffected individuals and manipulating them. While the obstructor moves sociably among the sets, the disaffected attack people in the sets as directed by the obstructor. Both seek to distract targeted leaders from actions that will achieve their goals but obstructors work subtly (via rumour and backstabbing) while the disaffected are more obvious (for example, using email campaigns, media posturing, and disrupting meetings). This appears to be an effective strategy where the disaffected are pushed out of the sets due to their behaviour, while the obstructor guiding their actions remains covert and connected.
- C. Obstructors have a superficial charm and are ambitious. They ingratiate themselves to the sets and commit their energies to networking, asking "*what can I do for you?*" Or, "*how can I help you?*" They have little intention of doing anything for *you* at all but seek to find the weak points that provide the opportunity for the obstructor to get what they want. Obstructors are particularly interested in finding out who does not get along and why. Obstructors then move between sets manipulating the information flow from one set to another. As such, obstructors "trade" in information.
- D. As obstructors move from one set to the next they pick up grains of truth, which are then modified into fabrications of conflict. For example, recall the rumour of the Chamber "pulling out" of The Marlborough Story. The grain of truth is that the person who promulgated the rumour was associated with the Chamber and desired obstruction of the goal, but the information given to the company director was a fabricated conflict between the Chamber and the Chair. Similarly, in relation to P10's stern request to desist, the fabrication was an escalation to the status of a criminal threat. Avoidance ensues (as evidenced by the company director failing to respond to my contact, and P10's increasing avoidance of the local social and institutional space). The boundaries of the sets have hardened. This leaves the obstructors with an increasing degree of control over information flows between sets.

As dividing the sets and reinforcing their boundaries is vital to obstructers in achieving their own interests, activities that seek to connect people are antithetical to their goals. Thus activities that target connection (and the leaders of these activities) become a target for obstructers and the disaffected. For example, the MDC have been supporting the development of volunteer-based community groups to which the MDC provides facilitation services. One such group is Picton Smart and Connected (2015) which utilises the engagement structure designed for The Marlborough Story project. Picton Smart and Connected provides a local “channel” for community consultations (Marlborough Express, 2015e), as well as volunteering to undertake local projects by establishing working groups (Marlborough Express, 2015f). Picton Smart and Connected, its related group in Renwick and their leaders have been targets of obstructive behaviour. This behaviour creates conflict and discourages people from connecting. The examples offered below are fairly typical approaches. Recall that the people targeted in these comments are community volunteers. Note the challenge to the legitimacy of the leaders, the use of grains of truth and the manner in which those grains are modified into fabrications of conspiracy that engender conflict. Note also the focus on the powerful institution.

“Smart [sic] and Connected is the MDC’s way of controlling the play. Why would the community appoint someone who has been living in Renwick for two weeks? This person used to work for the Christchurch City Council and is now the contract manager for [company name]. Whatever the MDC and their developer mates have in the pipeline for Renwick will be revealed in time. So now you have a person in charge who has no history with the community, is pro-council and works in the roading/construction industry. Join the dots Renwick, you need to fight this scam before it gets evil roots into your community. Ask yourself, what are the chances of a [company name] Contracts Manager opposing anything that the council would put forward. People never bite the hand that feeds remember.”

(Online Comment, Marlborough Express, 28 May 2015)

Similarly, when the Marlborough Express ran an article on the progress made in quietening “in-fighting” and “silo thinking” in Picton both the community volunteers in Picton and the community volunteers in Renwick were targeted. The Marlborough Express was also challenged for printing the news stories of these groups. This time it was suggested that “residents and ratepayers” are being conspired against.

"What a load of nonsense! Picton 'Smart and Connected' have not engaged the community at all. Where are their submissions? These people were not elected, have not demonstrated that they have the necessary community support or qualifications, and I suspect that the majority of us in Picton would not be able to name their members! Why is the MEx pushing these groups rather than our Residents and Ratepayers Associations who are elected and have a paid up membership?"

"You are spot on ... these people weren't elected they were chosen by the MDC and their development mates to drive the agenda of whatever they have in store for Picton. Why bother asking what the people want?

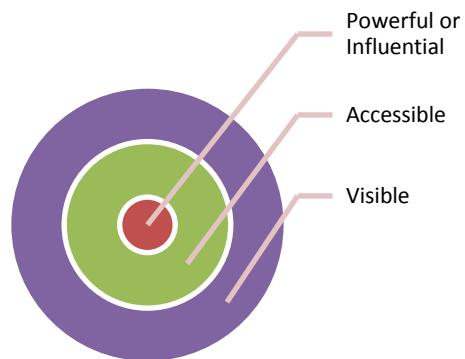
Smart and Connected will be pushed forward to promote the MDC's game plan and the residents and ratepayers voice will be lost. You are now reading the propaganda machine of this evil Council. Here's an example.... a [company name] Contracts Manager who has lived in Renwick for 2 weeks has just been appointed the Chairman of Smart & Connected in Renwick. That says it all...."

Both extracted from:

(Online Comment, Marlborough Express, 29 May 2015)

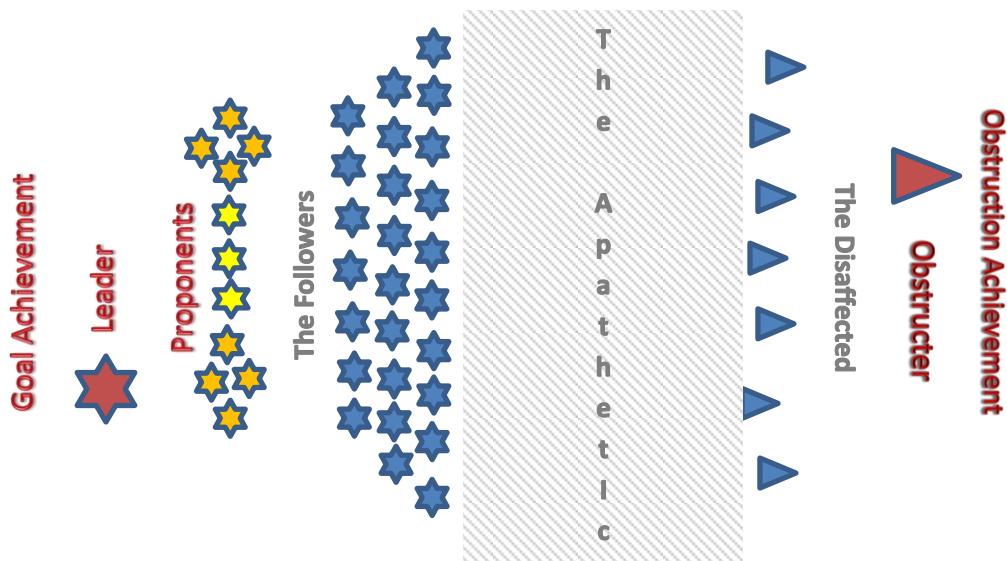
Obstructing connection by targeting leaders, suggesting hidden agendas and putting a negative spin on positive community contributions was a strong theme I observed throughout my fieldwork in Marlborough. While there are a relatively small number of obstructers and only a slightly larger group of disaffected people, the process is effective. As I was completing the final stages of writing this thesis the community groups continued to grow and to counter-challenge the obstructive behaviour (Marlborough Express, 2015g). However, my participant-observation fieldwork leads me to the conclusion that there is both a social and an economic cost to obstruction in Marlborough. Certainly, the indications from innovative entrepreneurs are that they pay a high price for obstruction, and therefore begin a process of withdrawal from the local society and (where feasible) its support institutions. This withdrawal reduces visibility and accessibility. Along with the leader's growing influence, visibility and accessibility increase the risk of obstruction (figure seven). By "keeping my head down" and "bolting the gate" leaders try to avoid obstructers and their disaffected adherents.

Figure 7: Key Attributes Making Leaders Prime for Obstruction



Exploration of the social sets and obstructive behaviour in Marlborough assisted me to understand why obstruction occurs. Exploration of the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs highlighted the rich point that this process has effects on their lives, and that these effects are experienced by them as negative. Through my engagement in The Marlborough Story I was able to get closer to both the obstructors and the disaffected than I had previously been. I was not in a position of real power; rather, I leveraged association to the powerful institutions involved. Therefore, my experience of obstruction was moderate. The campaign I endured was not comparable to the intensity of obstruction that I witnessed against local leaders. An insight gained was that obstruction is a social process that mirrors the process of goal seeking and leadership. That is, where the leader seeks to effect realisation of the goal; the obstructor seeks to deflect realisation of the goal, or to achieve obstruction. By initiating a process of obstruction, the obstructor causes the leader to fail (or to become sub-optimal). The obstructor then uses this failure or sub-optimal performance (or creates the perception of failure or sub-optimal performance) as evidence of a failure of the leader's legitimacy. This is the mechanism through which obstructors insert themselves into institutions and displace some leaders in the social environment of Marlborough. Importantly, neither leaders nor obstructors work alone, they both need support. I will now discuss the social model behind the process of obstruction (figure eight).

Figure 8: Leaders versus Obstructors



Referring to the left of figure eight, the social model of obstruction begins with a leader setting (or being set) a goal. In the example I have provided, the goal was the development of The Marlborough Story. The first line of support in moving toward a leader's goal is the group of people I refer to here as proponents. Proponents are people who put forward theories, ideas, and proposals, or suggest courses of action. Sometimes, proponents are future leaders who may be members of the leader's team (by contract, assignment or delegation). An example of a proponent can be seen in Doug's leader (the "*tommy knocker*") and Fraser's successor (the "*sandpaper*") relationship at Bonavaree. Proponents may also operate outside of a team structure and may challenge the leader often stimulating reflection on a goal by providing new insights and information. An example here would be a marine scientist providing informed opinion that either challenges or supports a resource consent application. Proponents do not simply follow the leader; rather they offer ideas, including critique that is designed to refine the pathway to the goal and to increase the chance of a good outcome. In addition to proponents, critical mass is given to the leader's efforts by people I call followers.

I define a follower as a person who follows as an attendant, retainer, employee, contractor, or supporter. Followers do not decide the direction, nor substantively critique the goals of the leader but instead lend their skills and abilities to getting the task done, or support the

leader's endeavour in principle. Examples of followers are Peter's "*best team in the country*" and the many people who have joined Smart and Connected working groups to undertake local activities such as cleaning up beaches. Referring to the right of figure eight, the obstructor becomes aware of the leader's goal (it becomes visible) and targets the leader (and thus the goal) for obstruction. The first line of support in moving toward the goal of obstruction is the group of people I refer to here as the disaffected. As noted previously, the disaffected are estranged from sets and are hostile to instituted authority. The obstructor harnesses the hostility of the disaffected to target the leader. The disaffected are not without skills and resources and these are brought in to serve the obstructor. The disaffected do as they are told, and in return for this they achieve a sense of inclusion and a chance to disrupt an institution (see figure six, B). In between the followers and the disaffected there exists, in Marlborough, a grey social space that I call the apathetic; that is, people who are indifferent to the leader's goals.

The apathetic do not contribute actively to support leaders or obstructors. I decided the best course of action to learn about this group was to walk the streets of Marlborough and ask people why they fail to turn up to meetings, vote, assist in development, or either support or allay obstructive attacks on others. The consistent reply I received was: "*Its apathy, I suppose.*" The apathetic appear to be comfortable with both change and stasis. In my opinion, however, apathy in Marlborough is related to conflict avoidance, as conflict causes discomfort. Yet, the apathetic still have a role for the obstructor as their apathy is used as evidence against the leaders:

"Before we get too carried away...according to the 2013 census there are 2745 permanent residents in Picton. Forty people liking something equates to an inconsequential 1.45% support . Hardly overwhelming."

(Online Comment, Marlborough Express, 2015d)

Thus, the power of apathy is usurped by obstructors to provide a passive "bulking" of their own small numbers, and weighted against those who turned up to work together toward a goal. The apathetic, through their silence, enable the achievement of obstruction. Finally, an issue created by the process of obstruction involves the creation of "white noise"⁶⁷. This describes the obfuscation that occurs when obstructors and their adherents imitate

⁶⁷ White noise is a metaphor for random noise that makes it difficult to distinguish what should be heard.

proponents by advancing challenges that are intended to distract leaders, waste resources and create conflict.

An example of such obfuscation in relation to The Marlborough Story can be seen in the tautological stream of challenges I previously related. When such obfuscation occurs it is possible to miss the substance of an issue. This problem was apparent in the work on vineyard labour in Marlborough where researchers identified improving socialisation, connection and health and safety as valid foci to improve conditions for transitional Marlborough vineyard workers (Beer & Lewis, 2006, p. 104). Beer and Lewis (2006, p. 96) noted a "... series of sensational headlines ... in local and national media ... [s]tories of human trafficking, vineyard workers living under bridges, exploitative employment practices, and violent coercion." This obfuscation may reflect an obstructive process where valid workplace issues become more difficult to identify amidst the white noise. Similarly, Joseph, Chalmers, and Smithers (2013, p. 60) explored the Marlborough farmers market in terms of differing views on product authenticity and discussed a dramatic contest played out through the media, that "while rich in rhetoric and hyperbole" was actually solved by altering a lease. This may indicate an obstructive process where an issue was inflated into conflict and complicated by the white noise of obstruction. In this chapter I have outlined rich points from the fieldwork data including a discussion of social sets in Marlborough, processes by which social sets are manipulated and a model of the social system that can obstruct the goals of leaders in Marlborough. In the following chapter I will explore relevant literature and discuss both the shared themes delineated in chapter five and the social themes delineated here. I will also offer recommendations for further research.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Future Research

The broad aim of this study has been to describe and analyse the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough, New Zealand. The study is informed by a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm and embraces relativist ontology. I have explored the inter-subjectivities of the participants' life-worlds by applying a combined method of interpretative phenomenological analysis conducted in conjunction with two years of anthropological participant-observation fieldwork. I have presented case studies on six innovative entrepreneurs and through analysis of these case studies I have described five shared themes that I present as a process through which their entrepreneurship is expressed (figure three). While this process is influenced by a desire, formed early in life, to be valuable; for these innovative entrepreneurs desire is not enough, one must *be* valuable by showing or proving one's value. The desire to be valuable leads these innovative entrepreneurs to engage in perfectionistic striving where they analyse for problems both within themselves and in the social world, which they will strive to solve. Ever open to new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs then engage in actions to create solutions; I refer to this as pragmatism. By engaging in this pragmatic application of new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs solve problems, resulting in development of both themselves and outcomes such as businesses, products, and processes. These outcomes are tangible evidence thus validating that the participants are *being* valuable. The participants experience this validation as meaningful reward.

Meaningful reward is, therefore, both internal and external as it reflects both developments within the individual as well as in the social world. This latter aspect is important as the participants seek to be valuable to others. When others purposively engage with these innovative entrepreneurs and their businesses, products and processes they validate the value of the developmental outcomes to those outside of the inner world of the innovative entrepreneur. Thus, the innovative entrepreneur experiences—albeit temporarily—being valuable. While these innovative entrepreneurs desire to be valuable, the social world in which they dwell is complex and not always compatible with or supportive of their goals. The support structure available to them includes locally-based institutions (figure four) which are affected by fragmentation of the local society into social sets (figure five). In addition, there are obstructive individuals that seek to reinforce and manipulate these sets in order to obstruct the goals of leaders and usurp the power of institutional leaders (figure six). As entrepreneurs become more visible, accessible and influential they can be drawn into obstructive processes, drawing energy away from the

innovative entrepreneurs' pursuit of their goals (figure eight). This leads to confusion between the developmental challenges made by proponents and the "white noise" of obstruction, and creates an environment where innovative entrepreneurs can feel invalidated and manipulated by (for example) rumours and backstabbing.

This is complicated further by the effects of these forces on the support institutions, causing these innovative entrepreneurs to avoid—as much as possible—both the support institutions and, eventually, much of their localised social world. In order to explore these insights further, I conducted a review of literature. The range of literature in entrepreneurship is vast and definitions vary (Bouchikhi, 1993). Further, issues with sample construction and the validity and reliability of measures make a review of all literature prohibitive and the comparison of findings unsound (Bouchikhi, 1993). In addition, my analysis expands into multiple disciplines, culminating in a life span human development perspective where entrepreneurs are not well-researched (Obschonka, Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rödermund, 2010), but where there exists a vast array of literature from multiple perspectives (McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 158). I have therefore approached the literature in the manner suggested by previous scholars, reviewing literature that is "broad and judiciously selective" (McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 158) and that maintains as its centre the thematic findings drawn from my engagement and analyses of the life-worlds of innovative entrepreneurs (Bouchikhi, 1993; Hisrich, Langan-Fox & Grant, 2007; McAdams & Cox, 2010). Following the discussion of this literature and foci for future research, I will summarise my conclusions and their contribution to the exploration of entrepreneurship.

Shared theme: perfectionistic striving

The innovative entrepreneurs in this study find opportunities to be valuable by engaging in perfectionistic striving which I have defined as a drive to continuously analyse for problems then work hard to achieve solutions. I have discussed sub-themes within perfectionistic striving as: accountable, analytical, assiduous, opportunity and originative. The construct of perfectionism has been studied for some time but this is primarily in relation to its role in psychopathology (Hewitt & Flett, 1991). This bias toward a psychopathological view of perfectionism has persisted in spite of the contention made by Hamachek (1978) that perfectionistic tendencies can be differentiated into adaptive perfectionism (perfectionistic striving) and maladaptive (neurotic) perfectionism. Over time the psychometric measures used to assess perfectionism have evolved from uni-dimensional to multi-dimensional, with a wide array of measures utilised (Hewitt & Flett, 1991). However, in a recent meta-

analysis of measures the decision was made to “exclude” measures of “positive perfectionism” (Flett & Hewitt, 2015). At issue is both a resistance to accepting perfectionistic tendencies as a “normal” or “adaptive” aspect of human psychology, alongside adherence to simplistic analytical tools that fail to account for complex interactions such as suppression effects (Stoeber, Kobori & Brown, 2014). Reflecting upon Hamachek’s (1978) differentiated model, Stoeber and Otto (2006, p. 296) explored “*perfectionistic striving and perfectionistic concerns*” [emphases theirs]. Stoeber and Otto (2006, p. 296) conceptualised perfectionistic striving as “high personal standards and self-oriented perfectionism”. They (2006, p. 296) conceptualised perfectionistic concerns as “concerns over mistakes, doubts about actions, socially prescribed perfectionism and perceived discrepancy between actual achievements and high expectations.” For Stoeber and Otto (2006, p. 296) the difference between adaptive perfectionism and maladaptive perfectionism rests with the degree of emphasis an individual places on perfectionistic striving as opposed to perfectionistic concerns.

Stoeber and Otto (2006, p. 295) contended that a change in the focus of research to include positive articulations of perfectionistic striving in psychologically healthy populations is warranted. Stoeber and Otto (2006, p. 295) argued that preliminary findings suggested that “self-oriented perfectionistic strivings are positive, if perfectionists are not overly concerned about mistakes and negative evaluations by others.” In order to test the contentions of Stoeber and Otto (2006), Hill, Huelsman and Araujo (2010, p. 586) conducted a study on 216 students and found that perfectionistic striving predicts desirable outcomes such as “psychological well-being, life satisfaction, and affect” with maladaptive perfectionistic concerns acting as a suppressor variable. Similarly Rice, Lopez and Richardson (2013) explored maladaptive and adaptive perfectionism in 450 students and found that adaptive perfectionistic striving was positively associated, and maladaptive perfectionism negatively associated with academic performance. Economist Gerald Sirkin (1976, cited in de Vries, 1987) discussed, more than thirty years ago, the need to study “Resource-X”, that being, the entrepreneur “striving for ideals with resigned acceptance of compromise and imperfection” (rearticulated by de Vries , 1987, p. 58, as perfectionistic striving). However, research into adaptive perfectionism in relation to entrepreneurs is scarce (Ahmetoglu, Harding, Akhtar & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2015). Hisrich and Grachev (1995) conducted a study of 32 Russian entrepreneurs who had started new ventures. While this study focused broadly on “characteristics and prescriptions for success” (1995, p. 3) rather than perfectionism or perfectionistic striving, the study did present an interesting

finding under the category “personality characteristics” (1995, p. 7). Hisrich and Grachev (1995, p. 7) showed that on the scale of tolerance-perfectionism their entrepreneurs showed variable results with a stronger coalescence of data around the mid-point and a slanting of the data toward tolerance.

Similarly, Hisrich and Grachev (1995, p. 7) showed a strong tendency to the mid-point on the scale of realism-idealism with low representation in the extremes of the measure. Ahmetoglu *et al.* (2015) conducted a study of 210 participants, primarily employees but including seventeen “self-employed” participants. The study included entrepreneurial potential as a variable, alongside creativity and perfectionism. Ahmetoglu *et al.* (2015; p. 198) found that the hypothesised negative relationships between perfectionism and creativity, and perfectionism and achievement (derived from the pathological perspective of perfectionism) was not supported. Thus, Ahmetoglu *et al.* (2015, p. 203) noted that “components of perfectionism (for example, adaptive versus maladaptive) may have a differing impact on creative outputs.” The case studies and analyses I have presented indicate that adaptive perfectionistic striving is a valuable focus for future studies of innovative entrepreneurs. Further, innovative entrepreneurs may be a useful group through which scholars exploring adaptive perfectionism can progress their work. An important aspect of the shared theme of perfectionistic striving is that the innovative entrepreneurs in this study do not show perfectionistic striving in everything they do. Nor do they communicate a requirement that everything in their lives must be perfect. This task or focal specificity should be accounted for in studies of perfectionistic striving in innovative entrepreneurs and may be of interest more broadly in studies of perfectionistic striving in the general population. Future research should also focus on development of the sub-themes of perfectionistic striving and exploration of how these “link” to the next part of the process delineated in figure three. For example, this includes the role of originative thinking and how this links to openness in pragmatism.

Shared theme: pragmatism

The innovative entrepreneurs in this study enact their perfectionistic striving through pragmatism which I have defined as to act in a practical or efficient way, to get things done; alongside openness to new ideas that can be applied and tested. I have discussed sub-themes within pragmatism as: achievement, collaboration, contingency, decisiveness, research, resourceful, and strategic. Prior to discussing this literature, I would like to differentiate between theoretical pragmatism (which is *not* the focus of this study) and the

theme of entrepreneurial pragmatism (which is defined above, and *is* a theme in this study). Theoretical pragmatism is a theoretical perspective that advocates that scholars should “judge an idea by its consequences” (Dewey, 1948, in Bohman, 2002, p. 499). Thus, according to Bohman (2002, p. 499), it is a theoretical perspective that seeks to “make social science practical.” Theoretical pragmatism is embedded in an ongoing debate on perspectives, amongst scholars (Bohman, 2002, p. 499). In order to be clear in differentiating these, hereinafter I will refer to entrepreneurial pragmatism (rather than simply “pragmatism” in this discussion). Searching for literature on entrepreneurial pragmatism is challenging due to the proliferation of articles on theoretical pragmatism. With this being said, entrepreneurial pragmatism has not garnered the attention of substantive academic research (Wennberg & Berglund, 2014, p. 9). According to Wennberg and Berglund (2014, p. 1-12) this has occurred as entrepreneurship research has become “institutionalized” within the “mental straightjacket” of management, strategy and organisational research and too focused on a single region of the world.

Wennberg and Berglund (2014, p.9) argued that “[i]n our own experience ... [e]ntrepreneurs are pragmatic types” and suggested that “this attitude is one of the reasons for the rapidly changing nature of entrepreneurship.” This view is supported in a discussion piece derived from practice (as opposed to empirical research) where Waddock (2009, citing Dees, 1998) presented characteristics of “social entrepreneurs” (figure nine) that mirror some of the aspects of entrepreneurial pragmatism outlined in my analysis.

Figure 9: Characteristics of social entrepreneurs (as defined by Dees, extracted from Waddock, 2009, p. 282)

- Mission and values driven
- Creative problem-solvers
- Focus on opportunity in social problem
- Persistent, passionate and purposeful
- Work incrementally using a process of continuous improvement
- Act boldly with [sic] being limited to current resources
- Constantly learning, adapting and innovating

Wennberg and Berglund (2004, p. 12) advocated a “grounding” of investigations of entrepreneurial pragmatism through participation in the ordinary lives of entrepreneurs such that exploration of entrepreneurial pragmatism can be achieved. The literature search I conducted illuminated a fragmented approach to the study of pragmatism in entrepreneurs. Two foci that are of interest are achievement motivation and effectuation.

McClelland (1961) explored the construct of achievement motivation focusing on three needs—achievement, power, and affiliation—and made the contention that need for achievement was a predictive motivation for entrepreneurship. McClelland’s work (amongst others) led to the development of multiple Achievement Motivation Questionnaires (Spangler, 1992). Langan-Fox and Roth (1995, p. 209) utilised McClelland’s “traditional theoretical framework” to study sixty female “founder businesswomen”. Langan-Fox and Roth (1995, p. 209) identified three “psychological types” amongst their participant sample: the need achiever entrepreneur who had high need achievement scores, the managerial entrepreneur who had high need for power and influence scores, and the pragmatic entrepreneur who had moderate scores on both “motivations of achievement and power.” While Langan-Fox and Roth (1995) mentioned the pragmatic entrepreneur, the failure to fully explore entrepreneurial pragmatism remains unresolved. In addition studies of achievement motivation have used multiple definitions and problematic samples (Johnston, 2009; Stewart & Roth, 2007). For example, McClelland’s (1965) study of need for achievement and entrepreneurship included a sample of fifty five participants including employed salespeople, managers (including in fundraising organisations), and “officers” and “assistant[s] of the President” of large companies, with only a small number of the sample in the category “operates own business”. With this being said, Stewart and Roth (2007, p. 412) contended that achievement motivation is a part of a wider body of evidence that is likely to be of use in analysing the entrepreneur and their entrepreneurship. In particular, when valid definitions, appropriate samples, and construct validity is achieved, and when mediating and moderating variables, behavioural factors and “cultural and contextual” factors are appropriately accounted for (Stewart & Roth, 2007, p. 412).

I reviewed three meta-analyses of empirical research on motivation in relation to entrepreneurship (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011; Shane, Locke, & Collins, 2003; Stewart & Roth, 2007;) which provided synopses of the development of motivation research. These studies all noted that motivation is worthy of further research. However, having analysed

these reviews it is my contention that the study of motivation should be contextualised within a broader perspective, life span human development, which I will cover in the section on being valuable. In relation to effectuation, Sarasvathy (2001a; 2001b; 2008) studied 235 “expert” entrepreneurs who had taken companies to public offering. Sarasvathy (2001a p. 254) developed process models of top down decision-making (causation) and bottom up decision-making (effectuation). For Sarasvathy’s (2001a; 2001b) expert entrepreneurs, business development begins from the position of expertise (what I know). Sarasvathy (2001b, p. 2) posited effectual reasoning as an alternative category of rationality, to causation. Recent explorations of effectuation have focused on co-creation (Read & Sarasvathy, 2012), effectuation and control (Bhowmick, 2011), the role of effectuation in corporate venturing (Evald & Senderovitz, 2013); entrepreneurial intention (Qureshi & Fawad, 2014); effectual logic and over-trust (Goel & Karri, 2006), and; enterprise internationalisation (Kalinic, Sarasvathy, & Forza, 2014; Sarasvathy, Kumar, York & Bhagavatula, 2014, p. 71-73). Effectuation theory has been criticised for failing to pass the theoretical test of parsimony, constraining the analysis to decision-making processes, and focusing only on “expert” entrepreneurs thus confounding expertise and entrepreneurship (Karri & Goel, 2008, p. 744-746).

With this being said, Sarasvathy and Dew (2008, p. 732) noted that the theory of effectuation is less about being an entrepreneur and more about being an “expert” with the theory extending to “all human beings, irrespective of whether they are entrepreneurs or not” As such, Sarasvathy and Dew (2008, p. 734) contextualise effectuation as a “tool” within a process, with the artefact either being a venture or another form of outcome. The insights gained through my analysis suggest that, as effectuation theory can focus on decision-making processes that create or co-create a business, effectuation would make a valuable contribution to a broader framework for future studies of entrepreneurial pragmatism. The case studies and analyses I have presented show that entrepreneurial pragmatism is a valuable focus for the future study of innovative entrepreneurs. While achievement motivation has been linked to the pragmatic entrepreneur it is my belief that this is best explored from the perspective of life span human development. Similarly, I contend that effectuation theory is a useful contributor to the study of entrepreneurship within the broader framework of pragmatism. Future research should also focus on further development of the sub-themes of pragmatism and exploration of how and where these “link” to the next part of the process delineated in figure three. For example, the

relationship between research styles in entrepreneurial pragmatism and learning styles in development would be valuable.

Shared theme: development

The innovative entrepreneurs in this study engage pragmatically with ideas and actions that will solve the problems they have identified through their perfectionistic striving resulting in development. I have defined development as to start to exist, or experience, to convert to a new purpose, and/or to cause to grow, mature or become more elaborate. I have discussed sub-themes within development as: adaptable, challenge, change, isolation, and learning. Development manifests in two interrelated forms. These are self-development and the development of external outcomes which may be in the form of businesses, products, technologies, systems and processes, markets. Cope and Watts (2000, p. 104) contextualised “parallel processes of personal and business development” where learning occurred in relation to “critical incidents”. Cope and Watts (2000, p. 104) conducted phenomenological interviews with six entrepreneurs and concentrated on critical incidents within the development process of the business, finding that these incidents led to “fundamentally, higher level learning.” However, Cope and Watts (2000) noted that critical incidents were difficult to define, were neither discrete nor were they isolated events, and that although they seemed to lead to learning were not clearly causal. Further, Cope and Watts (2000) did not integrate positive and voluntary catalysts for learning. In addition, Cope and Watts (2000) focused on personal learning and business development as a “parallel” duality, rather than as a symbiotic self-development process.

According to Lerner and Korn (2000, p. 13) the development of all “human beings” occurs within the symbiotic inter-relatedness of their life-world, with this development being both intentional and reactive. Development leads to interdependent “systematic and successive changes over time” that occur both within the individual and become manifest in changes to both the institutional and social structures that surround them (Lerner & Korn, 2000, p. 13). Lerner and Korn (2000, p. 13) described this continuous process of symbiotic development between individual, social, institutional, and broader environmental levels as both organic and inseparable “comprising the ecology of human life.” The resulting human development becomes a “fusion” (Tobach & Greenberg, 1984, in Lerner & Korn, 2000, p. 13) of the individual within a multilevel ecological development process. Decontextualizing the individual from these interrelationships has led, according to Lerner and Korn (2000, p.

15), to “unilineal theories of development” that are “severely limited” and present a “veridical depiction of development.”

“These theories emphasized either predetermined organismic bases of development, for instance, as in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969), ethological theory (Lorenz, 1965), behavioural genetics (Plomin, 1986), psychoanalytic theory (Freud, 1949), and neo-psychanalytic theory (A. Freud, 1969; Erikson, 1959), or environmental, reductionistic, and mechanistic bases of behaviour and behaviour change (Bijou & Baer, 1961).”

(Lerner & Korn, 2000, p. 14)

“... genetic reductionist conceptions such as behavioural genetics or socio-biology (Freedman, 1979; Plomin, 1986); psycho-genetic theories, for example, behaviouristic or functional analysis models (Bijou & Baer, 1961); nor sociogenetic theories, for example, “social mold” conceptions of socialization (Homans, 1961; Hartup, 1978) ... theories that stress critical periods of development (Bowlby, 1969; Erikson, 1959; Lorenz, 1965) ...”

(Lerner & Korn, 2000, p. 15)

For Lerner and Korn (2000, p. 14-15, citing Gottlieb, 1997) at issue is the creation of false dichotomies which must be “healed” to refocus on processes of human development that reintegrate change and plasticity, autonomy and relatedness, historicity and temporality. According to Bouchikhi (1993, p. 556) the study of the entrepreneur and their entrepreneurship has been limited by such default to dualisms. Citing Bygrave (1989, in Bouchikhi, 1993, pp. 549-550) Bouchikhi argued that the study of entrepreneurship moved too quickly into hypothesis-driven “scientism” without investing intellectual focus and qualitative research activities into data gathering that would support the development of cohesive and meaningful theory. Bouchikhi concurred with Bygrave’s (1989, p. 16, in Bouchikhi, 1993, p. 550) contention that: “The emphasis in an emerging paradigm should be on empirical observations with exploratory or, preferably, grounded research rather than on testing hypotheses deduced from flimsy theories.” Bouchikhi (1993, p. 550-555) contended that this premature relegation of the study of entrepreneurship had occurred before stable definition could be achieved, leading to poor sample construction and poor understanding of what constitutes the development of entrepreneurial process. Bouchikhi

(1993) contended that in order to understand the entrepreneur and their entrepreneurship a return to the gathering and exploration of broadly-based qualitative data was required. More recently, Hisrich, Langan-Fox and Grant (2007) argued that the emphasis on such dualisms as independent and dependant variable (2007, p. 580) led to gaps in the study of the development of entrepreneurs and their outcomes.

Hisrich *et al.* (2007, p. 575) also argued that too much focus has been placed on abstract theorising and not enough on developing theory from grounded, longitudinal empirical data. Hisrich *et al.* (2007, p. 575, citing Filion, 1997 and Baum, Frese, Baron and Katz, 2007, p. 1, in Hisrich *et al.*, 2007, p. 576) noted that despite “over 50 conferences and 1,000 publications each year” even “the psychology of the entrepreneur has not been thoroughly studied.” Hisrich *et al.* (2007, p. 580) contended that long term empirical research that gathers more holistic data is required before scholars can begin to understand the range of variables and their interrelatedness in the ecosystem of an entrepreneurs development. The case studies and analyses I have presented show that development is a valuable focus for future studies of innovative entrepreneurs. The sub-themes require further exploration, in particular in relation to links to meaningful reward. In addition, isolation is an interesting sub-theme as this may change in relation to factors present in the entrepreneurs’ immediate social world. While this is likely to relate in part to conflict avoidance, this should also be explored in relation to the self-development process. Isolation could be endemic to the self-development process (time to integrate learning), or influenced by the network-development process catalysed by their role as entrepreneurs (mediating quantity and quality of relationships). An interesting perspective for future research would be to view the businesses, products, processes and so forth of innovative entrepreneurs as developmental outcomes within the context of a broader self-development process (figure ten).

Shared theme: meaningful reward

The innovative entrepreneurs in this study engage with pragmatism in order to achieve development. This results in self-development and in both social and material developments outside of the self. External developments are tangible evidence that these innovative entrepreneurs perceive as validation that they are being valuable. The innovative entrepreneurs in this study experience this validation as meaningful reward. I have defined meaningful reward as rewards that validate these innovative entrepreneurs in their belief that they are being valuable. I have discussed sub-themes within meaningful

reward as: external, internal, reciprocal, temporal and validation. The external reward of economic gain is insufficient to account for the motivations of all entrepreneurs (DeCarlo & Lyons, 1980, p. 37). While the risks of entrepreneurship are high, often economic gain is not achieved; with many entrepreneurs persisting even after venture failure when the costs of failure are truly known (DeCarlo & Lyons, 1980, p. 37). The contention has also been made that many entrepreneurs who achieve economic gain remain dissatisfied with their own attainments (Ehrenberg, 1970, in DeCarlo & Lyons, 1980, p. 39). For Cromie (1987, p. 251) understanding why people participate in entrepreneurship requires that scholars explore entrepreneurs' motivations for participation. In a sample of sixty-seven "business proprietors" Cromie (1987, p. 255-259) found "various" motivations for participating in entrepreneurship with economic gain being just one (though not unimportant) motivation. According to Kuratko, Hornsby and Naggziger (1997, p. 24) motivation is an important element in the study of entrepreneurship; however, they argued that motivation should be viewed as an element of wider entrepreneurial processes that include exploration of goal-directed behaviour and the entrepreneur's "perception of successful outcomes."

Kuratko *et al.* (1997, p. 30) explored "personally relevant" goals in a study of 234 business owners who were selected from the directory of a Chamber of Commerce. Kuratko *et al.* (1997, p. 30) identified sixteen goals that were linked to "satisfaction" which they expressed as both "intrinsic rewards" and "extrinsic rewards". Kuratko *et al.* (1997, p. 31) noted that due to the variety of goals and complexity of motivations caution is required in relation to a "simple economic risk vs. return equation." Entrepreneurs may sustain their entrepreneurship due to the meaningfulness they perceive in other goals and rewards, and may define success via multiple other criteria (Kuratko *et al.*, 1997, p. 31). The contention that financial reward is not the primary motivation for people to participate in entrepreneurship is also supported by other studies exploring the relationships between financial reward and sustained or serial entrepreneurship. For example, Hamilton (2000) showed that when studies are not focused on "superstar" performers, median income for the entrepreneur after ten years of sustained entrepreneurship was an average of 35% less than those of employed contemporaries. Hamilton (2000, p. 629) concluded that entrepreneurs show a "willingness to sacrifice substantial earnings in exchange for non-pecuniary benefits." Åstebro and Thompson (2007) found that the financial returns of entrepreneurship did not exceed those of employed contemporaries, while income risk was higher for entrepreneurs. Åstebro and Thompson (2007) contended that the probability of becoming an entrepreneur was related to intrinsic motives such as a desire for variety in

work experiences and that this variety might lead to serial entrepreneurship, but may also create opportunity cost to the entrepreneur in terms of income over their lifetime. Åstebro, Braunerhjelm and Brostöm (2013) explored financial reward for academic entrepreneurs who transitioned from university employment to entrepreneurship.

Åstebro *et al.* (2013, p. 281) found that income as an entrepreneur was comparable to that as an academic, but “that the income risk is three times higher in entrepreneurship.” With this being said, Ohyama (2007) explored data from highly educated science and technology “change-agents” who apply their specialist technical skills (in science and engineering) to create and commercialise new innovations and found that they earned “substantially” more than employed contemporaries. Braguinsky, Klepper and Ohyama (2012) later supported this finding in relation to specialist “high-tech entrepreneurs”, who are “highly educated” and in “fast-growth private firms”. Unfortunately it is not possible to assess whether these superstar performers enjoyed other forms of reward. Braguinsky *et al.* (2012, p. 871) contended that these entrepreneurs “earn substantial pecuniary returns, so we do not need to rely on alternative motivations in order to explain high-tech entrepreneurship.” In relation to entrepreneur’s based in New Zealand, Lewis (2009, p. 139) explored the meaning that “young New Zealanders attach to their business”. Lewis (2009, p. 132) focused on the concept of success rather than reward (2009, p. 115). Lewis (2009, p. 139) found that the participants contextualised their entrepreneurship, not so much as meaningful work (p. 134 & p. 139) or as purely financially motivated (p. 73), but as a way to express their “personal truth, creativity, passion, intensity and faith (in themselves, in others, and in the future).” Lewis noted that “for some” participants their entrepreneurship “was a means to feeling useful, serving a purpose beyond that of self-satisfaction or capitalist reward⁶⁸”, and that for “a number” of participants legacy through the firm “was a consideration” (p. 77). Thus, Lewis’ (2009) findings complement the findings of my own study.

Finally it is, I believe, important to distinguish between meaningful reward and literature that explores “incentives” in managers and leaders. Incentives are framed in the literature as inducements to meet a particular performance standard. For example, in their meta-analysis of financial incentives on performance, Garbers and Konradt (2014, p. 102) defined incentives as “inducements offered in advance, intended to increase performance.” Garbers and Konradt (2014) found a positive, but complex, relationship between incentive

⁶⁸ “Capitalist reward” is not defined in Lewis’ (2009) treatise.

and performance in both employed individuals and teams. Importantly, the language of “incentives” was not used by entrepreneurs in my study. In relation to the literature, per Garbers and Konradt (2014) the focus of incentive literature is remuneration effects on employees and not on business owners for whom there is a higher degree of investment risk and outcome uncertainty. A further consideration is the difference found in achievement motivation between entrepreneurs and managers, which showed significantly higher achievement motivation in owners of businesses than those employed to manage them (Stewart & Roth, 2007). This supports the contention made in my study that meaningful reward is related to multiple factors, with the themes of being valuable, perfectionistic striving and development being prescient (and not incentives). The case studies and analyses I have presented indicate that meaningful reward is a valuable focus for future studies of innovative entrepreneurs particularly when viewed as developmental outcomes. While achievement of financial reward is not unimportant, the innovative entrepreneurs in my study have shown the tendency to prioritise other rewards above financial reward. Further research into meaningful reward may give insight into layers of development as expressed through developmental outcomes. In addition, a focus on meaningful reward through the lens of effectuation theory may lead to valuable insights into the relationship between development and expertise.

Shared theme: being valuable

The innovative entrepreneurs in my study seek development, with developmental outcomes validating them in the belief that they are being valuable. I have defined being valuable as an ideal but temporary state where one is validated in the belief that one is being valuable. I have discussed sub-themes within being valuable as: being, credence, idealism, legacy, symbiosis and valuable. As the case studies presented herein show, the desire to be valuable begins early in life and is expressed through the participants’ entrepreneurship throughout their adult lives⁶⁹. As shown in the case studies these innovative entrepreneurs do not conceptualise a clear ending to being valuable. It is a life-long development process, where their ability to be valuable to others grows and may extend to a time when they can no longer work or have passed from the world. This is expressed as legacy. The antecedent conditions to these innovative entrepreneurs prioritising being valuable appears to lie in childhood, though expression of this through entrepreneurship occurs at different ages. The concept of being valuable—the antecedent

⁶⁹ It is early in Joy’s emerging entrepreneurship to make this contention. Indications are that Joy is showing early signals toward serial entrepreneurship but this is not yet manifest.

conditions to this ideal and the selection of entrepreneurship as a pathway—is worthy of further study. I contend that this is best undertaken from a life span human development perspective. According to Obschonka, Silbereisen and Schmitt-Rodermund (2011, p. 183), the life span approach of human development “has mostly been neglected in empirical entrepreneurship studies to date.” Gottlieb (2007, p. 3-4) contended that “the present state of the art and science of various disciplines involved” and defence of disciplinary boundaries has subverted the “transdisciplinary” research required to achieve a synthesised exploration of human development.

Obschonka *et al.* (2010) explored entrepreneurial intent utilising the Five Factor Model of the entrepreneurial personality as developed by Ostendorf (1990, in Obschonka *et al.*, 2010). While Obschonka *et al.* (2010, p. 69) did find that personality is a “relevant” aspect of entrepreneurship their findings also evidenced greater complexity than a causal relationship, thus they (2010, p. 71) recommended a life span human development approach to future studies of entrepreneurship. Obschonka, Silbereisen, Schmitt-Rodermund, and Stuetzer (2011) later applied a life span human development approach to explore entrepreneurial personality and venture success in innovative start-ups.

Obschonka *et al.* (2011, p. 174) found that personality reflects three interrelated levels of *“dispositional traits, characteristic adaptations, and integrative life narratives”* [emphases theirs]. Obschonka *et al.* (2011, p. 184) concluded that venture success is mediated by growth in the entrepreneurs’ competence and that venture success should be viewed as a developmental outcome. Similarly, a study conducted on youth entrepreneurship utilised a life span human development perspective to explore the relationship between entrepreneurial intention and subsequent actions (Geldhof, Malin, Johnson, Porter, Bronk, Weiner, Agans, Mueller, Hunt, Colby, Lerner, & Damon, 2014). Geldhof *et al.* (2014, p. 410) noted the constraints placed on the study of entrepreneurship by “theoretical foundations that rely on static, trait-like approaches that equate entrepreneurship with stable personality characteristics” and premised their analysis on Relational Developmental Systems Theories as articulated by Overton (2010, 2013, cited in Geldhof *et al.* 2014, p. 411). Geldhof *et al.* (2014, p.418) found that entrepreneurial activities manifested prior to and during college and confirmed a strong relationship between entrepreneurial intention and actions.

My study concurs with Geldhof *et al.* (2014, p. 418) in relation to the early manifestation of the desire to be valuable, however, I conceptualise this as motivation (a reason) rather than

intention (a goal, aim or plan) (figure ten). Being valuable appears to relate more to a motivation that influences a life-long focus of self-development (consistent across all participants), with entrepreneurship being selected at various points in the life span as a process through which *being* valuable can be made manifest. This leads me to reflect on contextualisation of the development of these innovative entrepreneurs through the lens of self and identity. McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 158) explored self and identity from the perspective of human development across the life span. McAdams and Cox (2010, p.159) contended that the unified self develops through the interaction of three facets: (1) The actor, this being the social performer who mediates social relationships by projecting a socially adapted self; (2) the agent who is future-oriented, goal-focused and strives to achieve things in the world, and; (3) the author who reviews the life history of the self and articulates a future in a manner that is meaningful and brings a sense of coherence to the self-identity. According to McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 159): “In the adult years, all three guises of self—actor, agent and author—are fully operative.” Taylor (1989, in McAdams and Cox, 2010, p. 160) also conceptualised the “*modern self*” [emphasis his] as three aspects within a unified self but placed greater emphasis on the inner drive for development. Taylor (1989, in McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 160) focused on “inwardness, reflexivity, and executive control.” According to Taylor (1989, in McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 160) the modern self recognises that they alone know their inner drives, feelings and thoughts, and that they alone can reflexively analyse their internal self. Thus they alone are privileged with the knowledge of how the self can be developed.

While the developing self recognises external forces—whether institutional, social, or cultural—that influence the self, the influence of these relationships is mediated by the executive control function of the self. For the modern self, retaining control over self-development and self-expression is important as only the self truly understands the self and “losing control over the self is rarely a good thing.” McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 160) trace the lineage of these concepts to Plato’s conceptualisation of reason over desire. Then, to Aristotle’s expansion of that concept to include a socially acceptable self, that negotiates self-development and self-expression in the face of social tension. Finally, they discuss Augustine’s concept of radical reflexivity. McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 160) summarise thus: “With an eye to the outside world, the self aims to fashion a good life in society. With an eye toward inner experience, the self must *know itself* to achieve the good life” [emphasis theirs]. In the pursuit of an ideal state, being valuable, the innovative entrepreneurs in this study appear to present articulations of McAdams and Cox’ (2010)

actor, agent and author, and Taylor's (1989, in McAdams & Cox, 2010) modern self. Through their work and their businesses, the participants in this study create "object[s] in the world" (McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 160⁷⁰); developmental outcomes that provide them with reflexive mirrors, giving the self the ability "to take itself as an object of reflection and instrumental work" (2010, p. 161). The agent, in this process, focuses the self on self-development, resulting in transformational change across the life span. As expressed by Taylor (1989, in McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 161) this reflects:

"[a] growing ideal of a human agent who is able to remake itself by methodical and disciplined action. What this calls for is the ability to take an instrumental stance to one's given properties, desires, inclinations, tendencies, and habits of thought and feeling, so that they can be *worked on*" [emphasis theirs].

Through this lens, these innovative entrepreneurs can be seen to situate the self within a sustainable process of entrepreneurship (embracing both achievement and crisis), that is optimally self-prescribed. According to McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 161) in a setting where the self is no longer defined by the prescriptions of society the self identifies with its withinness; it is self-aware. The self then projects "*self-representations*" [emphasis theirs] to a social world with which the self seeks relatedness that provides both "meaning and purpose" (2010, p. 161). However, the self remains reflexively aware of what is "I", and what is a socially-negotiated projection of "me" (2010, p. 161). As Peter asked me on our first meeting: "*Why do you want to study the entrepreneur? That's just a part of me. It's not who I am*". Reflecting on William James (1892/1963, in 2010, p. 162) McAdams and Cox conceptualise this "I" as subject, and "me" as object, reflexively engaged within the unified self. Within "I" the process of self-development occurs and without "me" the materialisation of all developmental outcomes will not be realised: "Me is all that a self can call their own ... the material, social (including family), and spiritual Me." All of the "objects" that are a part of "me" provide the "I" with opportunities for self-reflection and self-development (2010, p. 163). McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 164) traverse discussion of the psychoanalytic theorists from Freudian concepts of the id (desire), ego (self) and superego (reflexivity), Fairbairn's and Mahler's object relations theory, and Kohut's "self theory"; through "*the ego psychologists*" [emphasis theirs], "A. Freud, Hartmann, Fromm, Horney, and White." They then alight upon Erikson's (1958, 1963, cited in McAdams and

⁷⁰ McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 160) reflect here on Descartes and, later, Locke's conceptualisation of the self as separating to become that which is "inner" and that which is "outer".

Cox, 2010, p. 164) introduction of an “identity”, a self that is both embedded in continuity and dynamic with change.

According to McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 164) Erikson’s conceptualisation of identity emphasised the impacts of dynamism, periods of change so dramatic as to be “crisis”, and the agency of the “I” in catalysing those crises in adulthood. McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 165) contend that it was Erikson who showed that “identity is never set in stone”, thus opening “the Pandora’s box of self-development.” For Maslow (1968, cited in McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 165) this self-development was conceptualised as a desire to achieve “peak experience” through “self-actualisation”. As the focus of the self (“I”) is on self-development towards an ideal, activity undertaken by the self (“Me”) that validates progress is experienced as rewarding:

“Behaviour that grows the self is intrinsically rewarding. It is performed not to obtain external rewards but rather to fulfil inner needs that are believed to be finer and nobler than what the material world has to offer.”

(McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 165)

As the case studies presented show, these innovative entrepreneurs appear to strive for such an ideal, which I conceptualise as being valuable. However, a criticism of humanistic perspectives such as those discussed here is that they fail to articulate a “step-by-step process through which selves grow” (McAdams, 2010, p. 166). This led to exploration of the cognitive aspects of development where the self is conceptualised as an “active knower who structures experience in ever more adequate and complex ways.” For Loevinger (1976, in McAdam & Cox, 2010, p. 166) the self develops through “hierarchically arranged stages” with the “highest stage represent[ing] a psychological ideal for development.” Most people do not reach the higher stages of development, as they “tap out” in the middle stages (2010, p. 166), however:

“... for those who reach Loevinger’s highest levels, the I strives for reconciliation among opposites, self-fulfillment [sic], and a sense of unity and purpose in life.”

(McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 166)

The innovative entrepreneurs in this study, as their development progresses, appear to struggle with such reconciliation of opposites. Recall, for example, Nick’s discussion of imperfection and perfection as symmetry; John’s reflections on whether perfectionism is a

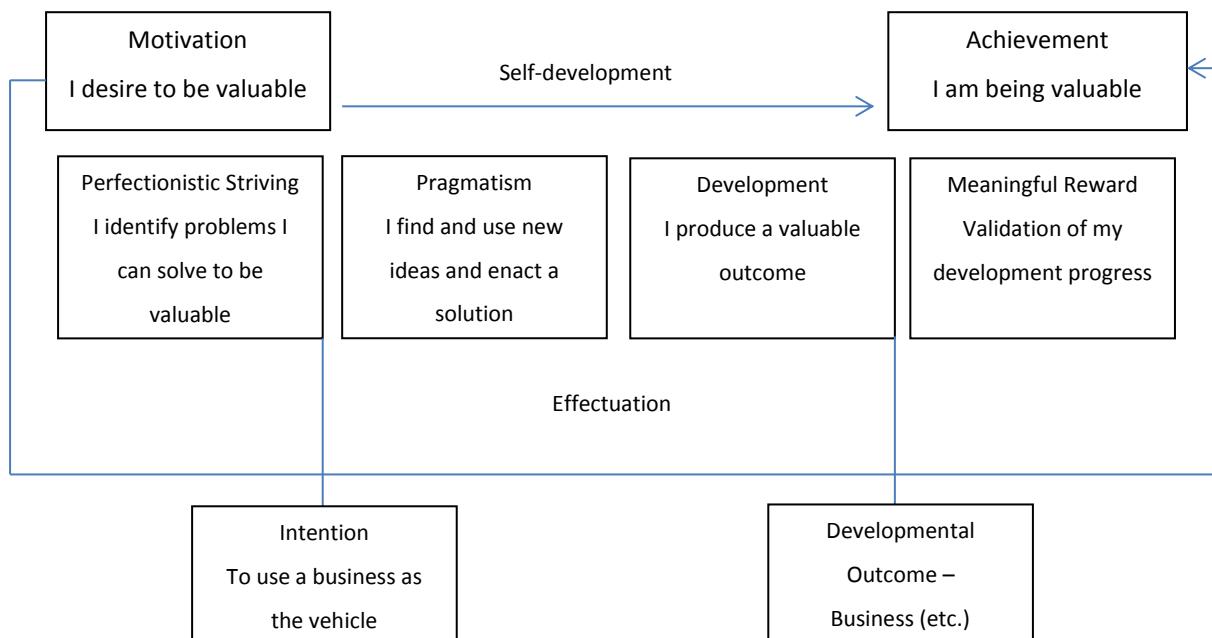
strength, weakness, or both; Doug's description of the dangers and rewards of perfectionistic endeavour, and; both Peter and Marcus' management of the tension between perfectionistic striving and pragmatic surrender. In particular these innovative entrepreneurs appear to focus on reconciliation of the "I" who desires to be valuable, the "Me" that is validated as being valuable, and the "I" that is self-analysed as flawed, thus still in need of development in order to be, using Marcus' word, "*optimised*".

Here, the balance between perfectionistic striving and pragmatism becomes a vital area of study as this balance may signal the key to adaptation. While self-development such as that described here is likely to lead to greater fulfilment, self-evaluation and self-development of the individual can become maladaptive and even pathological (McAdams & Cox, 2010, p. 167). While the thematic analyses conducted for my study indicate adaptive striving in this cohort of innovative entrepreneurs, periods of crises are visible as are decisions to periodically self-isolate, self-prescribe surges of focused development, and re-engage. This appears to be adaptive and may signal an important juncture between those who continue to develop, those who "tap out" completely, and those who become maladaptive. Finally, the innovative entrepreneurs in this study provide support for McAdams and Cox (2010, p. 169-170) conceptualisation of the self as author. In telling their stories they sought to meet my needs by creating the narrative. They achieved this by reflecting on their life journey as expressed through entrepreneurship. Each story began in childhood and traversed all aspects of life—not solely their interrelationship with their businesses. Reflecting on history (including the history of their parents) they conducted a critical self-analysis of themselves while relating material information that could be validated. As time went on they moved the narrative (of their own volition) to their aspirations and ideals. The process of self-development is so endemic to these innovative entrepreneurs that by the end of the study each had changed. This change was notable in the manner of their interactions with me, and was manifesting in their material worlds in a manner that showed coherence with that personal change.

The case studies and analyses I have presented show that the desire to be valuable and its expression through entrepreneurship is a worthwhile focus for future research. This is a particularly important shared theme as it appears as a desire, formed early in life, catalysing a life-long process of self-development in these innovative entrepreneurs. It culminates in a succession of states of being valuable that are embedded in historicity, temporally located, but future focused on the ideal of being valuable. It is my contention that when

viewed through the life span human development perspective this shared theme assists to contextualise and add insight to, for example, the entry into entrepreneurship and the reason it is sustained (or not). I recommend an inclusive, multidisciplinary approach that focuses on relevance rather than boundaries. I offer an indicative example of this in figure ten, below. I conceptualise this diagram as a starting point only, as further research is required to integrate serial entrepreneurship and broader developmental outcomes (for example, philanthropy) and to integrate aspects of crisis—all of which are likely to challenge the unilinealism of the simplistic model presented here. While it was not the aim of this study to explore the entrepreneurship of these innovative entrepreneurs through the theoretical lens of life span human development, I contend that this approach would add further insight to our understanding of the motivations and processes of entrepreneurship. In addition, the insights gained from this study indicate that exploring these innovative entrepreneurs—with their life long focus on development—would make an insightful contribution to life span human development theory.

Figure 10: A starting point (only) for conceptualising entrepreneurship as a part of a broader self-development process



Social themes: social sets and obstructive processes

My analysis of the social themes is limited to how these relate to innovative entrepreneurs and rich points derived from their data; in particular their descriptions of self-isolation which suggest incompatibilities with the social structure and obstructive process in Marlborough. Through my social analysis of the fieldwork data I have delineated the structure of the support institutions available to innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough (figure four), and identified a tendency in Marlborough for people to form social sets (figure five). Social sets form in response to conflict avoidance in the social environment, where those who share similar views cluster together to live in relative harmony. These social sets are not impermeable, but are reinforced by obstructive processes at work in the society (figure eight). The tendency to cluster around those who are similar is common across many societies and is referred to in scholarly discussions of social network formation as homophily (Aguiar & Parravano, 2015, p. 30). Homophily can be perceived as a strategy to reduce conflict by limiting one's relationships (as much as possible) to those of like-minded others; as such, homophily is related to intolerance (Aguiar & Parravano, 2015, pp. 30-32). While leaders in the entrepreneur's forums I attended noted that inclusiveness should be a core value for Marlborough, they also noted that tolerance of differences was low and that diversity should become an "*aspirational*" goal for the region (Personal Communication, 5 August 2013). The social dynamics of homophily and its influence on segregation has been explored via quantitative modelling for some time resulting in the development of Balance Theory (Heider, 1946; Cartwright & Harary, 1956), Axelrod's (1997, in Aguiar & Parravano, 2015, p.42) model of cultural dissemination, and Schelling's (1971, in Aguiar & Parravano, 2015, p. 30) model of social segregation.

According to Aguiar & Parravano (2015, pp. 43-46) in societies where intolerance is widespread multiple social sets will form, with the number of sets increasing as the population increases. As this occurs tolerant individuals become trapped in a social dilemma where they must either give in to the homophilic pressure and match their views to the set, or disconnect (Aguiar & Parravano , 2015, p. 46). Intolerance and the formation of social sets is an important topic for study as the structure of a society has implications for information flows and the development of social capital. Akşehirli and Bayram (2009, p. 89) described "social capital [a]s a value that is derived from and between social networks within a society." According to Akşehirli and Bayram (2009, p. 89) this is particularly important in relation to economic development due to the role of social capital in enabling entrepreneurship. Despite this Akşehirli and Bayram (2009, p. 89) contend that the

influence of social structure on entrepreneurship has been under-researched as social network analyses focus primarily on the process of entrepreneurial network development, rather than the social capital implications of their social networks. Akşehirli and Bayram (2009, p. 89-90) conducted a study involving twenty Russian entrepreneurs to explore the concept of social capital in relation to the social structure within which entrepreneurs are regionally embedded. Akşehirli and Bayram (2009, p. 90-91) found that entrepreneurs tend to favour heterophilic social networks that are open, broadly located, and diverse; where ideas are developed independently thus providing new thinking from different perspectives.

Heterophilic networks are the opposite of homophilic networks, and describe networks of diverse individuals (Akşehirli & Bayram, 2009, p. 91). These heterophilic social networks provide the entrepreneur access to a greater variety of resources and new ideas, thus encouraging originative thinking; whereas homophilic social sets “are lower in creativity and openness to new ideas” (Perry-Smith & Shalley, 2003, in Akşehirli & Bayram, 2009, p. 91). The insights gained from my analysis of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough support the findings of Akşehirli and Bayram (2009). Social sets in Marlborough appear to be homophilic and the innovative entrepreneurs describe discomfort with old ways of thinking and a lack of fit between their previous social sets and the more open and diverse social networks they develop through their business activities. While the innovative entrepreneurs describe the benefits of these new networks, the degree of their detachment from the institutional structures—due, in part, to homophilia and, in part, to obstructive influences within Marlborough—may be problematic. Steketee, Miyoaka and Spiegelman (2015, p. 461) argued that “patterns” of social network relationships have “important effects” on individuals providing both constraints as well as opportunities “for individuals to engage and influence their social world.” Nicholls (2013, pp. 612-615) noted that conflict within and between social networks has been shown to undermine the political influence of those social networks, while networks with “cohesive ties” and links to powerful institutions are more effective in political advocacy (Nicholls, 2013, p. 612-615).

This suggests that, while it is enabling in one way to innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough to become somewhat detached from local social sets, there may be a weakening of their political power at a local level due to disconnection from local institutions. Meetings with industry groups that I attended while in Marlborough suggest that this is the case. While disconnecting from local institutions reduces the amount of

social conflict the entrepreneur must engage in, their views are no longer clearly represented within those local institutions leaving room for “advocacy” that may be representative, or may be obstructive. While structures proliferate in Marlborough in attempts to heal this issue, due to the homophilic tendencies in the wider society each new structure is likely to become infused with the same issue. A compensating factor may be found in strengthening political advocacy at a national level. However, this level of political advocacy may have limited ability at the local government level where legislative power is devolved to the regions. At this point, locally based innovative entrepreneurs are likely to find themselves re-engaged with local institutions while suffering the effects of weakened local ties. The negative emotion expressed and obstructive scenarios described by the innovative entrepreneurs (both within case studies and in the broader field data) indicates that these innovative entrepreneurs would prefer to maintain better local connections than they do; and that disconnection is precipitated, not solely by social sets and new network development but as a response to obstruction. The effects of obstruction such as those delineated have not been studied, especially in relation to innovative entrepreneurs and are likely to be regionally specific.

While my study has focused on innovative entrepreneurs it is my contention that a social network analysis that explores the broader social structure of Marlborough might be of value. In addition, comparison to other (similar) regions would be interesting. This would assist in understanding whether the processes of obstruction target only economic and political institutions, or whether social institutions (such as hospitals and schools) are also affected. A good starting point for the analysis of obstruction might be Burt's (2001) concepts of network closure and brokerage, which focus on information flows (as obstructors are manipulators of information flows). Burt (2001, p. 205) posited that network closure (into sets, cliques, or dense networks) encourages information to circulate within sets (hence a dearth of new ideas) and reduces the chances of cooperation between sets. Burt (2001, p. 205) posits brokerage as the process whereby information is taken from one closed set to another or brought to a closed set by a “broker”. In the case of obstructors information is used to manipulate the social sets and to gain power. This turns Burt's (2001, p. 208) brokerage in a new direction as Burt (2001, p. 208) focused on the role of brokerage in improving collaboration, whereas obstructors appear to use a similar pathway to reinforce sets, stem and control information flows and suppress collaboration. Further research is suggested to explore the role, motivations and effects of the process of obstruction in Marlborough.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

This study responds to the call, made by Anthropologist Alex Stewart (1990; 1991), for anthropologists to re-engage with the entrepreneur. Entrepreneurs are an important focus of study due to their role in economic and social change (Barth, 1972 [1963], Baumol, 2010; Baumol & Strom, 2008; Geertz, 1963; Long, 1977; Rosa, Kodithuwakku, & Balunywa, 2006; Schumpeter, 1983 [1911, 1934]; Schumpeter, 1994 [1934]; Sternberg & Wennekers, 2005; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999; Walter, Balunywa, Rosa, Sserwanga, Barabas & Namatovu, 2003, pp. 8-9). Further, the contention has been made that *innovative* entrepreneurs are a particularly important focus for research (Baumol, 2004, p. 316; Baumol 2010, pp. 1-8; Gunter, 2012, pp. 391-393; Low & Isserman, 2015, pp. 193-194). The broad aim of this study was to describe and analyse the lived experiences of innovative entrepreneurs in Marlborough, New Zealand. Wherever relevant within this thesis I have outlined limitations to this study. By applying the anthropological lens to the innovative entrepreneur, my study embraces the “humanness” of the participating innovative entrepreneurs. By utilising interpretative phenomenological analysis, alongside long-term participant observation fieldwork I have explored the inter-subjectivities of participants’ life-worlds, as well as rich points in their wider social context. My study makes an original and significant contribution to entrepreneurship research.

For example, I have presented in-depth case studies on six innovative entrepreneurs and thematic analyses that explore the inter-subjectivities of the life worlds of these innovative entrepreneurs. Thus, my study offers new empirical data on innovative entrepreneurs and presents a new model of a process that guides innovative entrepreneurship (figure three). This process begins with the desire, formed early in life, to be valuable. However to desire to be valuable is not enough, these innovative entrepreneurs must enact being valuable. The desire to be valuable leads these innovative entrepreneurs to continuously engage in perfectionistic striving where they analyse for problems both within themselves and in the social world, which they then strive to solve. Ever open to new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs then engage in actions to create solutions. I refer to this as pragmatism. By engaging in this pragmatic application of new ideas these innovative entrepreneurs solve problems, resulting in development of both their self (internal) and (external) developmental outcomes such as businesses, products, processes and so forth. These developmental outcomes provide evidence of development and validate the participants in the belief that they are, indeed, being valuable. The innovative entrepreneurs in this study experience this validation as meaningful reward. However, being valuable is a temporary

state. In order to continue to be valuable, these innovative entrepreneurs must continue their perfectionistic analysis—ever vigilant for new problems that can be solved.

Exploring the current literature on entrepreneurship research highlighted a dearth of research into adaptive perfectionistic striving (Hamachek, 1978; Stoeber, Kobori & Brown, 2014); in particular, in relation to entrepreneurs (Ahmetoglu, Harding, Akhtar & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2015). I suggest further research into perfectionistic striving, particularly in relation to innovative entrepreneurs. Similarly, little research has been undertaken on entrepreneurial pragmatism (Wennberg & Berglund, 2014). I suggest further research into entrepreneurial pragmatism. Further, I note the importance of exploring the relationship between perfectionistic striving and pragmatism to entrepreneurship research, and in relation to the study of adaptive mechanisms in (more broadly) perfectionism. In relation to development, simplistic approaches to previous research have led to unilineal theories of development in relation to both entrepreneurs and their businesses (Lerner & Korn, 2000; Rosa & Caulkins, 2013). Significantly, my study shows that the desire to be valuable—even beyond life itself—begins early in life and is a fundamental desire that infuses and energises the development processes of both self and businesses, such that they form a kind of developmental symbiosis that is expressed throughout the life span. Thus I recommend a life span human development approach to further research. This would include gathering deep empirical data, such as that gathered through the methodology applied in this study. My study suggests that, from a life span human development perspective, businesses can be viewed as developmental outcomes (McAdams & Cox, 2010) that are abundant with meanings within the context of the life course.

This is important, as viewing businesses as developmental outcomes supports a broader perspective on what may constitute meaningful reward to the innovative entrepreneur. This change in perspective is also important as it pulls entrepreneurship research further away from mechanistic searches for incentives that might cause innovative entrepreneurs to “perform”. In doing so we can resituate their entrepreneurship, organically, within the broader context of the entrepreneur’s life narrative, enduring motivation, and—significantly—their own potential. By elevating research on the innovative entrepreneur in this manner we can begin to explore why entrepreneurship presents itself to the individual as a meaningful developmental pathway. Importantly, by viewing the innovative entrepreneur through the anthropological lens we contextualise their “humanness” within the regional and social environment and can begin to understand what factors drive and

inhibit their development (Cipolla 1981, cited in Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, p. 37; Desjarlais & Throop, 2011). For example, the qualitative social network analysis I conducted allowed me to present an original model and description of the formation of social sets in Marlborough, along with a description of a process of obstruction which seeks to reinforce and manipulate these sets in order to usurp institutional power. I describe the effects of these social influences on innovative entrepreneurs, how they respond (through isolation), and some of the potential implications of that isolation (for example, political disempowerment). Recognising the importance of innovative entrepreneurship and its role in economic and social change I have suggested further research to expand this analysis.

In closing, my study provides evidence of the value of the anthropological perspective to the study of innovative entrepreneurs. It shows that anthropologists have a place in the exploration of contemporary entrepreneurship, one that embraces complexity, broadens the perspective and can engage with the humanity of the entrepreneur (Hann & Hart, 2011; Stewart 1990; 1991). For example, I have unveiled a new process model that guides innovative entrepreneurship and shown how this can be conceptualised as embedded in the broader life span development of the individual (figure ten). Previous scholars have noted knowledge “gaps” in our understanding of the entrepreneur, with able-scholars noting that after thirty years of specialisation their research has brought them no closer to understanding these amorphous “others” (Gartner, 2010). Freed, as much as possible, from ideology, relaxing the constraints of disciplinary boundaries—and focused on the entrepreneur—anthropologists can offer new insights by being willing to work alongside the entrepreneur and to embrace them, with patience and relativism (Stewart 1990; 1991). Standing alongside scholars from multiple disciplines, we can embrace the complexity of the entrepreneur who is neither defined, nor contained, by our disciplinary boundaries. This may lead us to see the innovative entrepreneur as:

A person who, focused on self-development through-out their life span, chooses to effect change both within themselves and in their social world (in part, but not wholly) through the ownership and control of businesses.

As such we engage with a person who struggles with the symmetry of perfection and imperfection in themselves, who is more than an economic mechanism and who seeks, suffers and surmounts challenges as they express what it is, for them, to be human.

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