A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy


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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE HOST'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMERCIAL HOME

MAJELLA SWEENEY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

QUEEN MARGARET UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

The research presented in this thesis is an investigation of the views of commercial home owners within Scotland. The thesis is designed to deepen understanding of the commercial home sector, and more specifically, the relationship the host has with the commercial home.

The host’s relationship with their commercial home contributes to the provision of commercial hospitality within a home setting. The review of the literature points to a number of conceptual gaps in our understanding, notably that there has been no study directly focusing upon the host perspective of the commercial home and how this relationship with the home might potentially impinge upon the guest experience.

The specific aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between the host and their commercial home and its influences on product construction. As the hospitality product is more of a total sensory experience than has perhaps been acknowledged to date, it is appropriate to seek to understand the host perspective. Prior studies have very largely focused on readily accessible ‘objective’ issues, rather than below the surface issues accessing the inner self, the intangible dimensions of self, which may determine aspects of the hospitality product.

The field research involved the researcher taking photographs of the commercial home properties and then using the photographs as prompts to interview the hosts and explore intangible elements such as memories, emotions and senses. A conceptual framework was developed from the data, identifying the main components of the host home relationship, and was revised as each commercial home was analysed. The framework is divided into three sections; Home, Host, and Business. In relation to the Home section themes that emerged include, Meanings of Home, Décor, and Artefacts. In relation to the Host section, themes include Family and Lifestyle. With regards to the Business section, themes include Feelings, Space, Guests, Performance, Target Market, Tourist Board and Competitors.
Acknowledgements

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I am indebted to all the individuals who took part in the research. Their ‘voices’ are heard through the interviews, as they told their stories. This research would not have been possible without them.

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Introduction

1.1 Scope of the research

The research outlined in this thesis is an exploration into the host’s relationship with their commercial home. The research deals specifically and exclusively with commercial home hosts, who are owner-managers of commercial homes. This characteristic serves to define a key focus of the research, in that it is essentially concerned with the small-scale commercial home which functions as both a home and a business. The research is located within the small-scale hospitality sector throughout Scotland.

1.2 Concepts of hospitality

What is meant by different researchers when they use the term hospitality is rarely defined or explained. Yet, chronologically the semantic debate has been around for a while. Cassee and Reuland (1979) state that many working groups came to the conclusion that, as the hospitality industry is people orientated, a more thorough knowledge of the ‘why’ of human behaviour is needed. No longer should hospitality just be seen as providing food and shelter to satisfy basic needs. Hospitality is made up of tangible and intangible components – food, beverages, beds, ambiance and environment, and behaviour of staff (Cassee and Reuland, 1979).

Previous definitions of hospitality include, ‘Providing security, physical comfort and psychological comfort for reward’ (Nailon, 1982), and ‘a harmonious mixture of product, environment and behaviour to satisfy the needs of guests’ (Reuland and Cassee, 1979).

Slatterly (1983) states that the hospitality industry is frequently presented as a people industry, and he argues that accepting this view requires our understanding of hospitality management to be informed by a social scientific perspective, because the social sciences alone are able to offer theoretically grounded interpretations of people as well as social and historical events. Khan and Olsen (1988) are for academic
research in the field of hospitality management. They think it is paradoxical that an industry has thrived despite the limited amount of scholarly research directed to the problems and relationships occurring in all segments of the field of hospitality.

Wood’s (1992) comprehensive review of the hospitality industry argues that although specific hospitality management courses have been available in the UK for over 20 years, this has not led to any great improvement in industry practices or conditions for hospitality employees. Wood argues ‘While considerable progress may have been made in recent years, in terms of both quantity and quality of research, the field has yet to reach a stage of maturity’ (Taylor and Edgar, 1996). Taylor and Edgar go on to ask ‘how can academics teach and research in an area for which no clear theoretical/conceptual basis has been established?’ The research in this thesis is a targeted attempt to buttress the theoretical and conceptual basis of the discipline.

From a survey of the literature for the historical and sociological bases of hospitality, King (1995:11) describes hospitality in general as having four attributes:

- A relationship between individuals who take the roles of hosts and guests;
- This relationship may be commercial or private;
- The keys to successful hospitality in both the commercial and private spheres include knowledge of what would evoke pleasure in the guest; and
- Hospitality as a process that includes arrival, providing comfort and fulfilment of the guest’s wishes, and departure.

King further suggests that commercial hospitality has several key elements that must be included in a model of hospitality including host-employee and guest-customer who are involved in face-to-face interactions.

Jones (1996) comments on the current debate within hospitality education and research which considers the extent to which research effort has reached maturity, based on three emerging perspectives in 1995. He reveals that Littlejohn (1995) asserted that hospitality research was mature. Just six months later, Lockwood (1995) identified a number of shortcomings of research in the field. Then, Taylor and Edgar (1996) seriously questioned the maturity of hospitality research. From this it is
evident that there is a lot of debate concerning the purpose and focus of hospitality research. This study will intervene in those debates by exploring the intangible elements of hospitality, namely, memories, emotions and senses, by investigating the host’s relationship with the commercial home.

Lashley and Morrison (2000) feel that hospitality has moved on and should no longer be used to describe the industrial and commercial provision of food, drink and accommodation as an economic activity. They suggest that hospitality and hospitableness need to be studied in social, private and commercial settings. They also suggest a reflection on the differences between being a host and acts of being genuinely hospitable.

The following two definitions of hospitality come from different backgrounds. The first is from hospitality studies and the second from hospitality management.

Hospitality can be conceived as a set of behaviours, which originate with the very foundations of society. Sharing and exchanging the fruits of labour, together with mutuality and reciprocity, associated originally with hunting and gathering food, are at the heart of collective organisation and communality. Whilst later developments may have been concerned with fear of and need to contain strangers, hospitality primarily involves mutuality and exchange, and thereby feelings of altruism and beneficence.

(Lashley 2000:4)

A cluster of service sector activities associated with the provision of food, drink and accommodation.

(Lashley 2000:2)

Dittmer (2002) suggests that the word hospitality has ancient roots, dating back from the earliest days of Roman civilization, deriving from the Latin verb *hospitare*, meaning ‘to receive as a guest’. He argues that this phrase implies that a host is prepared to meet a guest’s basic requirements, which are food, beverages and shelter. He further argues that many hosts provide some sort of entertainment, but this is a
large separate industry associated with travel and tourism and is not necessarily an
ingredient to satisfy a traveller’s basic needs.

In *Hospitality A Social Lens*, (Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007), which develops
the arguments presented in *In Search of Hospitality: theoretical perspectives and
debates* (Lashley and Morrison, 2000), Morrison and O’Gorman offer a multi-faceted
definition of hospitality:

> It represents a host’s cordial reception, welcome and entertainment of guests
> or strangers of diverse social backgrounds and cultural charitably, socially or
> commercially with kind and generous liberality, into one’s space to dine
> and/or lodge temporarily. Dependent on circumstance and context the degree
to which the hospitality offering is conditional or unconditional may vary.

(Morrison and O’Gorman, 2007:3)

Since the publication of *In Search of Hospitality: theoretical perspectives and debates*
(Lashley and Morrison, 2000), Lashley (2007) points out that some academics have
taken up some of the issues that the word hospitality implies a social phenomenon
involving transactions between hosts and guests. Lashley (2007) argues Sweeney and
Lynch (2007) reflect this concern with hospitality as a human interaction. It explores
the relationships between hosts and guests in contemporary bed and breakfast
accommodation in Scotland. He further states that Sweeney and Lynch, informed by
traditional definitions of hospitality, explore the dynamics of the commercial home
where paying guests and hosts share the same premises. Lashley (2007:1) suggests
‘Hospitality is a ubiquitous human phenomenon with important emotional
dimensions’.

The focus of this research is on those small hospitality businesses that are categorised
as commercial homes. ‘Commercial home’ refers to the provision of commercial
hospitality within a home setting, for example, small family hotel, guest house, bed
and breakfast, host family (Lynch 2003). The commercial home, within a hospitality
and tourism context, is an area which is relatively under-researched. ‘It is suggested
that the ‘commercial home enterprise’ is worthy of recognition as a distinct type of
enterprise by the more generic business fields’ (Lynch 2004).
This research specifically examines host families, bed and breakfasts, guest houses and small hotels. This thesis focuses upon the relationship that the host has with their commercial home. More particularly, such a focus refers to the ways that hosts engage with the commercial home emotionally, conceptually and practically.

1.2.1 Relationship

For the purpose of this study ‘Relationship’ will be defined as:

An emotional connection, involvement, or association, between the host and their commercial home.

1.2.2 Concepts of home

The meaning of home is one of the major themes of this study. The emotional and social underpinnings of what home signifies, with its intersection of memory and longing, will be explored.

The deterritorialization of relationships made possible by communication services has implications for the salience and meaning of “home”. In an ever more globalized world, the question of where one lives or dwells is not a simple matter of residential geography. It is also a matter of emotional geography. Where does one’s heart, one’s identity, reside? Where is one’s emotional home? This “emotional home” can be distinguished from “house” and “household”, though its meanings overlap in some respects.

(Mallett 2004:69)

House refers to a material, spatial entity and household to the co-residence of people who constitute a social and economic unit based on traditional kinship relationships (Saunders and Williams 1988). In contrast, the meanings of home range from a physical entity to a place of emotional and physical well-being where one experiences loving and caring social relations as well as where one has control and privacy (Watson and Austerberry 1985). ‘Home brings together memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and
global, the positively evaluated and the negatively’ (Rapport and Dawson 1998:8). It is the symbolic or actual place from which people venture and to which they return.

1.2.3. Contributions to knowledge

Although much of the research literature in hospitality has focused on mainstream accommodation such as hotels and motels, recently more attention has been given to smaller accommodation such as small hotels, guesthouses, and bed and breakfasts. While acknowledging its significance, however, relatively little attention has been given to exploring the nature of the commercial home. A starting point is to explore the host’s relationship to the commercial home. Prior research into the phenomenon of the commercial home host and commercial home is scarce. This may be due to the difficulties faced in researching such businesses due to their size and scale of operation. Consequently, this study investigates the host’s relationship with their commercial home and its influences on product construction.

The original contribution to knowledge from this research is evident on a number of levels. It addresses a gap in the current body of literature and responds to calls by researchers and interested academics for a more sector-specific focus to be adopted with research that concentrates on issues important to the hospitality sector. Lynch (2003) identified a number of significant gaps in published research into commercial home enterprises in the UK, and these include; host personality, the nature of the host-commercial home relationship and its influences on product construction; in-depth business motivational studies of types of commercial home hosts; the extent to which commercial home hosting serves as an ‘entrepreneurial ladder’; further exploration of the relevance of the lifestyle entrepreneur concept across the range of commercial home hosts; studies of hosts’ lifestyles and work-life balance, as well as hosts’ children’s perceptions of the commercial home experience; studies exploring building alterations, outlay on and nature of furniture and furnishings, selection of décor, ethnicity, socio-economic grouping and previous occupation, presence of children in the household, period of opening, involvement in outside work, host attitudes and values, social control systems and approaches. The contribution of this research will go some way into addressing many of these gaps in the literature, focusing on the nature of the host commercial home relationship and its influences on product
construction, business motivational studies of commercial home hosts, studies of hosts’ lifestyle and work-life balance, and studies of selection of artefacts and décor.

1.3 Background

The literature on the ‘traditional’ private home suggests that the home setting is highly significant as a temporal, emotional and cultural construct (Madigan and Munro 1991, Sixsmith and Sixsmith 1991, Darke 1996, Douglas 1991). The private home has been identified as having a variety of meanings and associations, including being characterised as a place of security from the outside world, and as a place of escape where inhabitants can be themselves (Rybczynski 1988, Madigan, Munro and Smith 1990, Gurney 1995, Gurney 1996). It has also been suggested that the home may reflect gendered spatial exclusion, for instance, women can be found working in or close to the home, owing to inadequate child support and facilities, and gendered expectations may exist concerning the role of the mother (Welch 1996). The home and its artefacts have also been identified as a reflection of the self of the inhabitant(s) (Marcus 1995). The extent to which such findings have relevance to commercial homes is in need of exploration although some parallels seem to exist, for example, previous research (Wood 1992), has identified the way that hospitality establishments provide a ‘protected’ workplace for people marginalized from society on the basis of their gender, race or sexuality.

In the context of hospitality, the commercial home is numerically hugely significant. One estimate suggests that the majority of hospitality accommodation is types of commercial homes (Lynch and MacWhannell 2000). As a whole, the commercial home is relatively under-explored, and the relationship between the host and their commercial home has not been explored to date. Whilst the importance of the host to commercial home accommodation in constructing the hospitality product is well recognised (Morrison 1994, Morrison 2002), exploration to date has largely focused on their more tangible elements. Therefore, a project such as this which investigates the host-commercial home relationship is of great importance.

Previous research has identified types of commercial homes, with key characteristics, including size and number of beds. Darke and Gurney (2000) have drawn on private
home research to postulate one type of commercial home owner on the basis of their relationship with the home distinguished types of homeowners. However, it is very unlikely there is only one type of host. For instance, there is a range of types of commercial homes, and the frequency of receiving guests varies in intensity. Therefore, further exploration of the host-home relationship is required.

At a conceptual level, the study is important in terms of deepening our understanding of the nature of hospitality and the ways that products are constructed. The context of the commercial home setting brings together the three domains of hospitality suggested by Lashley (2000), the social, private and commercial, and the focus of study is on the more intangible elements of hospitality which have been under-explored.

1.4 Purpose of the research

The overall aim of the research is to construct a picture of the feelings of home and business held by the commercial home hosts. In doing so it is essential to explore how these hosts view themselves, their home and their business. The purpose of this research is to deepen understanding of commercial hospitality within the private home. In particular it is concerned with the relationship the host has with their commercial home, and accessing the intangible dimensions of the inner self, which may determine aspects of the hospitality product. The study aims to contribute to extending the positioning of hospitality as an academic subject and as well as deepening our understanding of the relatively under-researched area of the commercial home.

1.4.1 Research Aim

The main research aim is to investigate the host’s relationship with their commercial home and its influences on product construction.
1.4.2. Research Objectives

1. To investigate how the host perceives their commercial home.

2. To explore the social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host.

3. To understand how the host’s relationship with the commercial home affects the hosting behaviour, for example, space management and relationship with guests, selection of interior décor and artefacts and their contributions to spatial differentiation.

4. To elaborate on the industry relevance of the findings, particularly in relation to quality assurance and grading systems, training and development, brand marketing and product construction.

1.5 Broader contributions of the study

As an area of research the commercial home sector is only beginning to emerge. Deeper understanding may enhance policymaking, leading to more appropriate marketing and relevant training. However, whilst industry relevance is important, a broader conceptual and practical importance underpins the need for the study.

Research into larger hospitality businesses may not benefit smaller hospitality businesses such as the commercial home. Therefore this research and the conceptual framework derived from it may encourage further research into smaller hospitality businesses.

This research explores the nature of the small business in the hospitality sector from the view of the commercial home host. This approach allows participants to narrate their own subjective personal accounts, which have been notably absent in previous research. The qualitative nature of the study enables a focus on the intangible elements of hospitality.
1.6 Overview of methodology

As the hospitality product is more of a total sensory experience than has perhaps been acknowledged to date, and given that hospitality is socially constructed, it is appropriate to seek to understand the host perspective. Prior studies have focused on readily accessible ‘objective’ issues, rather than below the surface issues accessing the inner self, the intangible dimensions of self, which nevertheless may determine aspects of the hospitality product. Consideration is given to exploring the intangible dimensions of hospitality through interviews and photographs.

In order to investigate this topic, an interpretivist, approach was adopted employing purposive sampling to include a range of commercial home types, from host families to small family run hotels. A pilot study was carried out in order to ensure appropriateness of the research method. Semi-structured interviews were used and have been identified as an appropriate way of obtaining data when there is no previous literature of direct relevance (Willig 2001).

Each host was visited twice, and in some cases, three times. Generally on the first visit, the host gave a tour of the accommodation and photographs were taken, with permission from the host. On the return visit the host was interviewed. The photographs were used as visual aids, and as prompts to talk about the accommodation. It was considered that these mixed techniques would afford the generation of extremely rich data.

This study concentrates on the geographical region of Scotland, covering primary, secondary and tertiary regions, i.e. Edinburgh, the Lothians and the Highlands, respectively. Purposive sampling leading to topic saturation was deployed. The interviews briefly explored business characteristics before focussing particularly on specific themes in line with the project aims.
1.7 Thesis outline and chapter content summaries

The thesis is presented within the following structure:

**Chapter 2** critically analyses relevant literature. The term ‘commercial home’ is elaborated further. Definitions and theoretical concepts relating to the commercial home and the commercial home host are examined. The chapter discusses concepts and terms such as ‘family’ and ‘lifestyle’ business and reviews the relevant literature on the ‘nature of home’ and ‘setting’, exploring ‘space’, ‘objects’ and ‘gender’ in relation to the home.

**Chapter 3** presents theoretical perspectives and research methodologies adopted. The chapter examines the theoretical explanations and orientations underpinning the study, whilst acknowledging ‘audiencing’. In addition, this chapter also outlines the methodological approach, the method of data collection, selection of respondents, ethical considerations, method of analysis, application of qualitative software to the analysis process and reflections on the methodology.

**Chapter 4** provides an overview of all the commercial home units used in the research. This chapter outlines the type of property and its location and provides details of the host, the home and the business. The chapter also provides the emerging conceptual framework from the study.

**Chapter 5** describes in detail the significant findings of the study in the context of the conceptual framework and provides a comprehensive picture of the hosts’ perceptions, attitudes and experiences of the commercial home.

**Chapter 6** offers a theoretically-informed analysis of the findings of the study in line with the research aims and objectives of the thesis.

**Chapter 7** provides a summary of the research findings and provides major conclusions in relation to the research aims and objectives, communicating the overall contribution to knowledge by the study, before identifying specific suggestions for future research.
1.8 Conclusions

The introductory chapter has summarised the conceptual significance of this study, not least in terms of the ways in which the thesis problematises the concepts of hospitality, home, the host and their presumed relationship with each other. Furthermore, this introductory section has provided an overview of the scope and aims of the research as well as a preliminary justification for the design of the research.
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Given the background covered in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on a review of the literature in this field. Although much of the research literature in hospitality has focused on mainstream accommodation such as hotels and motels, recently more attention has been given to smaller accommodation such as small hotels, guesthouses and bed and breakfasts. While acknowledging its significance, however, relatively little attention has been given to exploring the nature of the commercial home. A starting point is to explore the host’s relationship to the commercial home.

This chapter is divided into sections (Figure 1) and will explore each theme sequentially, firstly giving a definition of the commercial home. The chapter will look at the concept of small accommodation, exploring the origin of the term commercial home and will explore the concept of family business, as the commercial home is typically operated from the family home. Consideration will be given to the concept of lifestyle business, as the host is often associated as motivated by the potential lifestyle the business has to offer. The host will be examined looking at the different types of host, who exactly is a host and who is the commercial home host. The nature of home will be explored looking directly at the private home area with further consideration given to setting. The theme of environmental psychology will explore relations between people and the environment. Space and home will be examined in relation to how space is comprised inside the home both within a hospitality and non-hospitality context. The theme of objects and home will look at the significance of artefacts within the home and the theme of gender and home will look at the gendered dimensions of the home. The theme of performance will consider how people act in different areas within the home. Finally, the theme of private and public will link together all of the sections as the commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of public/private space owing to its contested and fluid usage. In the review there may be overlaps and absences, although every attempt is made to keep these to a minimum.
Figure 1. Overview of literature themes.

Commercial home definition

| Small accommodation
| Family business
| Lifestyle business
| The host
| Nature of home
| Setting
| Environmental psychology

| Space and home
| Objects and home
| Gender and home
| Performance
| Hospitableness
| Private and public
2.2 Definition

As this study aims to investigate the host’s relationship to their commercial home it is important to focus on individual types of commercial home units in order to avoid confusion. It is vital that a clear understanding of commercial home accommodation is given. Lynch (2004) gives a definition of commercial home:

‘Commercial home’ is a specialist term which refers to types of accommodation where visitors or guests pay directly or indirectly to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place to a greater or lesser degree with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared.

Lynch (2004) furthers his study of commercial homes by identifying three broad approaches to the examination of small accommodation units. The first approach to the host is from the small firm or small business perspective. This is where the formative criteria is usually that of size. This gives rise to the development of conceptual understanding receptive to the type of business being observed, rather than impressing models imitative of larger firms.

The second approach is that of the family business. The distinguishing factor here is that of family involvement where size is not necessarily a dominant characteristic. The third approach is the lifestyle entrepreneur perspective. This takes into consideration personal values rather than monetary motivation for the entrepreneurs. Lynch proceeds to propose a fourth perspective, ‘commercial home enterprise’, which he argues is worthy of individual recognition (Lynch, 2004).

For the purpose of this study a commercial home will be characterised as accommodation where guests pay to stay in a private home that is shared with the host and/or family, and includes host families, bed and breakfasts, farmhouses, guesthouses and small hotels.
2.3 Small Accommodation

As previously mentioned, although much of the research literature in hospitality has focused on mainstream accommodation, such as hotels and motels, recently more attention has been given to smaller accommodation such as small hotels, guesthouses, and bed and breakfasts. However, statistics for these smaller accommodation units are difficult to compose. In 2006 accommodation occupancy registered in Scotland was categorised under hotels, guest house and bed and breakfast, self catering, caravanning and camping, and hostels (VisitScotland, 2007). Of these, 38% were guesthouses and B&Bs, (Table 1) and consequently would be classed as commercial homes, but as small hotels are not a separate category and come under hotels, they cannot be included in this statistic. Therefore these statistics do not give a realistic reflection of the number of commercial homes in Scotland. Further to this is the fact that not all commercial homes are registered, so finding accurate statistical information proves problematic, for example it does not include host families. To add to this, VisitScotland issued a statement saying that the statistics are not compatible with previous years due to changes in the surveys carried out:

Please note that due to changes in the ONS International passenger Survey (IPS) and the United Kingdom Tourism Survey (UKTS) statistics for 2005 are not compatible with previous years.

(VisitScotland, 2007)

Having a better understanding of small accommodation and a proper definition will certainly help with the collection of data within the area. However as Morrison et al, (1996:20) highlight, these smaller accommodation units have been ill defined. Their suggested definition is that of ‘specialist accommodation’, and this includes, ‘B&Bs, guest-houses and tourist homes, country inns, stately homes and mansions, country cottages and cabins, farms, dude ranches, wilderness and nature retreats, boutique inns and hotels, houseboats, and health farms’.
Table 1. Scottish Accommodation Occupancy 2001-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2001</th>
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<th>2006</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Bed occupancy %</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room occupancy %</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Guest House &amp; Bed and Breakfast</strong></td>
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<td>Bed occupancy %</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room occupancy %</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td><strong>Self Catering</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit occupancy %</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Camping and Caravan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit occupancy %</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td><strong>Hostels</strong></td>
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<td>Bed occupancy %</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scottish Accommodation Occupancy Survey, 2001-2006

A formal definition of specialist accommodation has been employed by Pearce and Moscardo (1992:). They argue that specialist accommodation should provide the following:

- Personal service, defined as the provision of guest interaction with a small core of host personnel in a range of settings (greeting, meals, information, conversation, administration).

- Some special opportunity or advantage to guests through location (e.g. a farm or wilderness setting), features of the establishment (e.g. a heritage or historic building), or activities offered to guests (e.g. craft courses or wildlife viewing).

- Accommodation that is usually owner-operated and not part of any chain or consortium.

Definition of small accommodation units (Table 2) has been a problem in hospitality and tourism research for some time. As Morrison et al. (1996) have pointed out, there are many terms for this internationally, ‘Schwaniger (1989) refers to it as the *parahotel business*, while Seekings (1989) views it as the *supplementary accommodation sector*. Elsewhere, the term *boutique accommodation* has become popular, while the phrase *accommodation alternatives*, has also been used (Tourism South Australia, 1990).'

**Table 2. Small Accommodation Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Schwangiger</td>
<td>Parahotel Business</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Seekings</td>
<td>Supplementary Accommodation Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Tourism S. Australia</td>
<td>Accommodation Alternatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Pearce &amp; Moscardo</td>
<td>Specialist Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Morrison et. al</td>
<td>Specialist Accommodation</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>McIntosh</td>
<td>Boutique Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Lynch</td>
<td>Homestay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Lynch</td>
<td>Commercial Home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However these definitions do not do the reality of small accommodation units justice. The term *Parahotel* focuses too much attention on the contrast between traditional hotels and other property types, while the term *accommodation alternatives* implies
the existence of other major accommodation types in the area. The term *boutique* has become increasingly elitist and now tends to be used in marketing to indicate the more expensive, aesthetically ‘stylish’ and exclusive accommodation properties, therefore limiting its use as a general term to include all categories of accommodation (Morrison et al. 1996).

Morrison et al. (1996) feel that the term *specialist accommodation* is preferable to other terms used to describe non-traditional accommodation, as it reflects not only the specialized nature of these operations and their physical structures, but also seems rooted in market reality. Segments of the tourism industry market with particular interests, including bird-watching and scuba diving, are frequently referred to as *special-interest markets*. However, the term ‘specialist’ may also be misleading since B&Bs would need to offer something extra or special to make them specialist.

In previous studies by Lynch (2003), before he defined the commercial home (2004), his definition of small accommodation units refers to ‘homestay’ and these include, ‘some (small) hotels, bed and breakfasts, and host family accommodation’.

Lynch and MacWhannell (2000:101) suggest three ‘types’ of ‘home’ accommodation:

Commercial hospitality within the private home where the owners live on the premises and public space is shared by visitors and the owner’s family – this category may be sub-divided by the degree of integration of the visitor with the family and their activities, for example private house bed and breakfast, host families.

Commercial hospitality where the owner lives on the premises and the unit is also the family home but where public space for the visitor is separated from that of the family, for example, small hotels, town houses, guest houses and some bed and breakfasts.

Self-catering where the home owners live off the premises – this category would be further sub-divided into those where the home is usually a second home and those where the accommodation unit is purely a letting unit and
home is a created concept (Wood, 1995 refers to this as ‘pseudo-domestication’) (Lynch, 2003).

From the suggestion of these three types of home accommodation, Lynch (2003) proposes a definition of ‘Homestay’:

Homestay is a specialist term used variously to refer to types of accommodation where visitors of guests pay directly or indirectly to stay in private (commercial) homes, where interaction takes place to a greater or lesser degree with a host and/or family who usually live upon the premises and with whom public space is shared to a greater or lesser degree.

The term ‘homestay’ may also be misleading as it is already identified with host families. Lynch recognised this and proceeded to use the term commercial home. The term commercial home is helpful as the home is being used on a commercial basis. The commercial home refers to the provision of commercial hospitality within a home setting (Lynch, 2003).

In the context of hospitality, the commercial home is hugely significant because of the move away from mass tourism. Small accommodation enterprises have experienced opportunities in the tourism market because of a greater emphasis on individualistic and authentic holiday products (Clegg & Essex 2000). Consumers are moving away from the mass tourism market and thus have provided small accommodation businesses the opportunity to grow within the market. The B&B sector has gained an important international profile over the years, and long gone are the jokes about the British housewives. B&Bs have flourished with accommodation being provided in friendly, intimate surroundings, where the visitor is welcomed in the home of the host (Hall & Rusher, 2004).

Previous research (Lynch, 2004) has identified types of commercial homes, key characteristics, size, and number of beds. Darke and Gurney (2000) have distinguished types of homeowners and it is unlikely that there is only one type. Commercial homes vary in intensity with family homes renting out one room on one side of the scale to small hotels renting out at least six rooms on the other end of the
scale. There is a range of types of commercial home, extending from small family hotels to host families. There has been some recognition of the home in a hospitality context - (Wood, 1994, Darke and Gurney, 2000, and Lynch and McWhannell, 2000) - although further exploration is needed.

2.4 Small Business

“The preponderance of small firms is one of the defining characteristics of the hospitality industry, both domestically and throughout the world” (Thomas et al 1999:497). Although there has been a lot of debate surrounding the definition of small businesses, Thomas (1996:131 in Thomas et al 1999) defines small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) by emphasising the number of employees: ‘micro’ or ‘very small enterprises’ employ fewer than 10 people, ‘small enterprises’ employ between 10 and 49 people, ‘medium-sized enterprises’ employ more than 50 but fewer than 250.

According to Thomas (1996) businesses with fewer than 10 employees are micro businesses. Baines and Wheelock (1998) carried out research into this area and they categorised their findings into four areas; ‘survival and security’ where satisfaction beyond providing or contributing to a living for the owners and family were in little evidence; ‘business intrinsic’ where satisfaction in the ownership and running of a business was associated with personal independence; ‘creative’ where there was a creative output, and finally ‘achievement’ where there was an expressed and demonstrated capacity to seek out and face business challenges. The commercial home enterprise falls into the first two categories, where satisfaction is gained from providing for the family and having the personal independence and ownership of running a business. For some commercial homeowners the third category may also apply, as they are creative with their home, i.e. the décor, artefacts, homemade items or home baking. The final category of seeking out and facing business challenges would not apply, as they are more concerned with lifestyle than profits.

Lynch (2004) goes further than this, when he proposes that the concept of entrepreneurs should be considered in relation to commercial homeowners. He argues that entrepreneurs often emerge from marginal groups in society, such as ethnic minorities and women. People may start up their own business to escape the control
of others, and for women who start up their own business; the reasoning may be to co-
ordinate their home life and work life. This is conducive to women and their 
lifestyles as it complements the public/private identity necessitated by patriarchal 
values and norms. Owners of commercial homes may not be seen as entrepreneurs as 
they are not striving for their business to grow, often staying deliberately under the 
tax threshold. On occasions it may not be a full-time business, and may be just to 
supplement income.

2.5 Family Business

Although it is widely accepted that the hospitality sector is dominated by small 
owner-operated businesses, little has been written specifically about family business 
(Getz 2004). In the USA it was proposed that a new sub-discipline of family business 
should be established (Brockhaus, 1994). Barry (1975:49) defines a family business 
as “an enterprise, which, in practice, is controlled by members of a single family”, 
whereas according to Rose, (1994); Dunn and Hughes, (1995); Poutziouris and 
Chittenden, (1996) “family business can be any size and belong to any sector of the 

According to Getz (2004) the essence of family business is when a business is 
established with the needs and preferences of the owners and their families rather than 
for growth and profits. Furthermore Getz argues that the hospitality industry can 
attract families to start up a business, because of the lifestyle and location factors and 
that the commercial home enterprise lends itself well to families that want to spend 
more time at home with the children. ‘Flexibility’ (Baines & Gelder, 2003) can mean 
arranging business around family needs, or the opposite, long working hours can 
restrict time spent with the family. Depending on the degree of business carried out in 
the home, hosts may have the flexibility to do things that would otherwise be 
restricted if they did not work from home. They may be able to enjoy hobbies during 
the day, such as playing golf, if they do not have to tend to guests. The other side of 
the coin is that their day-to-day family life will be affected by the presence of guests 
in the home. Children may have to be ‘well-behaved’ in front of guests or be 
restricted in the things they do, e.g. playing loud music.
The ability to afford a property that would usually be outside their limit often attracts families to start up in the commercial home business. Purchasing a large home in an attractive location can be affordable if there are guests paying to stay there. The family business may not be developed to pass on to the next generation but used to generate money to educate the children (Di Domenico, 2003). Getz, Carlsen and Morrison (2005) identify reasons for this as perceptions of hard work and low profitability. The children often see how hard their parents work and the sacrifices they make and are not willing to do the same, so often do not want to take over the family business. Therefore, most ‘family businesses’ in the hospitality industry are in fact operated by sole proprietors and couples, which Getz et al (2005:19) identify as ‘copreneurs’.

The concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the private personal life from the public spheres of work (Munro, 1996). The home and family are emotionally and physically incorporated into the business (Baines & Gelder, 2003). Couples and families running a business can face numerous challenges for balancing work and family, especially when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to the guests (Getz et al, 2005). It may be difficult keeping family life separate from the business and this will therefore have an impact on the guests’ experience.

Running a family business from home can confuse ‘identity work’ (Watson, 1994; Munro, 1996) where people construct identities for themselves at their place of work. It will be hard to create a work identity in the commercial home, where the home and work are together as the hosts may find it difficult to make the distinction between being at home and being at work. Ram, Deakins and Smallove (1997) suggest that through management of space and time people will be able to create and maintain different identities. Hosts may have designated parts of the home that are specifically for work or for personal use. The host’s bedroom may be private and they may feel ‘at home’ there. The dining room may be public and therefore may feel ‘in business’ there. However having a family business or becoming a lifestyle entrepreneur can also help creatively express a person’s identity. Seldom does working for someone else encourage people to put their own lifestyle or self-expression needs first (Schine, 2003).
2.6 Lifestyle Business

A lifestyle entrepreneur sees work as a lifestyle, not as an end in itself (Schine, 2003), as opposed to the traditional view of entrepreneurship to make money and preferably to maximise the financial return.

In a socio-cultural context, particularly in economically developed countries, working at home has become increasingly fashionable. Pink (2001:104) noted that a Wells Fargo study found 69 per cent of all new businesses are located in the owners’ residence; The American Association of Home Based Businesses estimated that in 2001 there were more than 24 million home businesses in the United States; the business group IDC estimates that there were over 37 million home-based businesses in 2002. No matter what the figure, it is evident that working from home is on the increase.

A study carried out by Blank (2000) reports that nearly 50 per cent of those starting a business gave lifestyle as their primary motivation, while 16 per cent said that making money was their primary reason for going into business. Similarly, Harris (1999) carried out a survey of 1,000 self-employed and small entrepreneurs, and found that money was not their top motivator. Nine out of ten respondents said that “setting their own priorities and independence influenced their decision most” (Schine, 2003:6).

Working at home can sometimes be portrayed as a utopian solution, promising work satisfaction and time for family. However the reality can be different as people try to unite ‘two worlds in one’ (Felstead, 1994:93). Juggling twin demands of work and domestic life in the same setting calls upon distinctive coping strategies that shape the emotional and psychological dispositions of commercial homeowners, for example, the ways in which temporal and spatial boundaries between various activities are generated, maintained and policed (Felstead, 1994). Schine (2003) found in his study with home workers that their biggest complaint was separating work from household responsibilities, for example dishes in the sink or a leaking tap. However commercial homeowners need not make this separation as they can do household chores alongside their business duties, as it is an integral part of the business.
Feeling inadequate as a business owner can also come with being a lifestyle entrepreneur. “A pervasive inferiority complex exists among self-employed people, especially lifestyle entrepreneurs” (Schine, 2003:260). Not being a big business and working from home can make commercial homeowners feel that they do not have a ‘real job’. Since they can be flexible in the hours they work and incorporate the business into their lifestyle sometimes they feel they are not at work at all. However, as they are providing a service for which people are paying then they are indeed at work and there is no reason for their feeling inferior.

In a hospitality context, Getz & Carlsen (2000) carried out a survey in Western Australia to examine goals pertaining to start-up, operations, the family and ultimate disposition of the enterprise by family and owner-operated business in the rural tourism and hospitality sectors. They found that a large majority of respondents were from middle-aged couples, new to the business, with strong motivation to live and work in the countryside. Lifestyle and family related goals were predominant, but there was also recognition that the business had to be profitable. Again the disparity between entrepreneurs and small accommodation owners is apparent. Success has more to do with lifestyle than profit for owner-managers.

The business, i.e. the commercial home, is a vehicle to living the lifestyle the hosts want. They can design their own lifestyle that grants them the freedom to pursue interests other than work. They can manage their time so that they can enjoy hobbies, when they please. Motivations for starting up a business relate to reasons of lifestyle and autonomy reasons. According to Getz et al (2005) people like the idea of being their own boss and not having to follow anyone else’s rules. This factor accounts for many people escaping from their previous job in which they felt restricted in some way.

DiDomenico (2005), conducting a study on lifestyle entrepreneurship in Scotland, found that lifestyle entrepreneurs often exhibit a desire for social relationships and enjoy playing the host. They usually own the type of property, often set in scenic surroundings that would normally be outside their income range, if they were not in the hospitality industry. She also established that lifestyle entrepreneurs often wanted to leave the ‘rat race’ of modern life. On some occasions one spouse continued
working away from the commercial home, so as to maintain a steady income, while the other took a chance on the home-based business. This meant that they could enjoy the desired family lifestyle and have leisure opportunities in the off-season period.

2.7 The Host

Telfer (2000:41) describes a good (private) host as someone who is attentive and skilful. She places emphasis on being hospitable, concluding that ‘hospitable people are attentive, but they are not necessarily skilful and therefore may not be good hosts’. Moore (2007:19) identifies a host as someone with a sacred duty. The host must provide shelter, food and protection. In Afghanistan hosts have designated space in their homes where a visitor will be fed and housed. Moore explains that even in the poorest of homes a guest will be well looked after, as it is an honour to be a host. It carries prestige, status and luck. Furthermore to have a person come into your home, it means that they trust the host, who will in turn show them hospitality and respect.

There is confusion about who is exactly a host in the commercial sector, as large chains may see themselves as being hosts, or indeed hosting events. Telfer (2000:45) notes ‘the professional people who are most nearly parallel to the private host are those who are directly in charge of the welfare of the guests’. This is usually the owners or managers of hospitality units.

There has not been intensive research into the host, and the research that has been carried out is somewhat unclear. In Aramberri’s (2001) article, he even suggests that ‘The Host should get Lost’. For him, there were three main features of the host and his guest. The first feature is ‘protection’. The host had to protect his guest on the ‘grounds of their common humanity’. Safety was provided for the guest for the length of his stay with the host. The second feature stipulated is ‘reciprocity’. The guest would return the protection he was offered by the host if the host or his family ever came to stay with him. There is no monetary exchange, but a ‘mutual pact between equals’. It is an agreement that works both ways. If ever one is in need of a place to stay the other would provide it. The third feature concerns ‘duties for both sides’. The host had to tend to his guest’s material well being as well as providing him or her with protection. The guest had to become an active part of the family,
following the rules of the home, respect the property, be helpful and not complain. This is where the confusion starts for Aramberri as he does not think the host-guest model works, but he is referring to mass tourism.

It is obvious from this that Aramberri does not either understand or accept the intensity of the host relationship in small accommodation units. Aramberri discusses the irrelevance of the host, but this is in mass tourism. He fails to look at the host in small accommodation units, whereby the host does play a significant role. Aramberri argues that the host-guest paradigm should be discarded and new conceptual venues explored. This may have some resonance in mass tourism, but in small accommodation units the host-guest paradigm is integral. The host plays a significant role in the commercial home and the host’s perception and experience of this role needs to be investigated further, not discarded.

Like Aramberri (2001), Slattery (2002) also criticises the host-guest model. Again this is in relation to mass tourism and no reference is given to small accommodation units. Aramberri and Slattery’s reasoning for the host-guest model not working is because it is commercial rather than non-monetary. However as Lynch (2003; 2004) clearly identifies, the whole point of the commercial home categorisation is to recognise that such accommodation borrows from both the private and commercial domain.

The commercial home host refers to the principal contact person whom the guest encounters when staying in the commercial home. They use their private home not only for family life but also business life. The commercial home host warrants more detailed attention, as it is they who are a fundamental part of the commercial home hospitality accommodation.

Stringer (1981) conducted a study of host-guest relationships in British Bed and Breakfasts, but failed to clearly identify the unit of study. He gives an account of interactions between hosts and guests and in doing so themes of space, gender, setting and performance become apparent. He suggested problems of staying in someone else’s home, and identified the importance of the homely atmosphere to the hosts.
Hosting in the commercial home is perceived as a gendered occupation (Lynch, 2005). It has been suggested that the home may reflect spatial exclusion, for instance, women can be found working in or close to the home, owing to inadequate child support and facilities, and gendered expectations may exist concerning the role of the mother (Welch 1996). Historically a woman’s place was in the home, therefore the commercial home host is perceived to be female. In larger units, Buick, Halcro and Lynch (2000) found that there is a decline in female hosts, with 39% of hosts in small hotels in Scotland being female and 69% male. Lynch (1999) found that commercial home hosts are overwhelmingly female, with increasing male representation as establishments become larger (Buick et al, 2000). The commercial host, male or female, may have gendered experiences within their home. For example the female host may do the cooking and cleaning while the male may do the gardening and DIY. The male and female host may display different behavioural traits in front of the guests. The female host may take on a mothering type of role, ensuring everything is alright, whereas the male host may take on a friendly type of role.

Based on a survey of small hoteliers in Scotland, Buick et al. (2000) found 83% of respondents were over 40 years of age. In a study of host families in Scotland, Lynch (1998) found 63% of hosts were over 40 years of age. In both studies the majority of hosts are over 40, highlighting the time of life when hosting is most popular. This may be for reasons such as having sufficient capital or that the hosts’ children are grown up. With regard to status, Lynch (1998) found in his study of host families, 74% of respondents were married or with a partner, 11% widowed, and 11% divorced or separated. Of this, 61% had children, of whom 91% were 18 years of age and under, and therefore, probably living at home.

Lynch (2005) identifies the lack of information regarding the socio-economic grouping of hosts. He deduces that hosts will tend to be from the mid to upper socio-economic categories. He also recognizes that no information has been identified regarding ethnicity, although does draw attention to the work of Tinsley (2004) who suggests that the more entrepreneurial accommodation providers in geographically remote areas tend to be ‘incomers’.
To date, only one study has been identified which addresses the issue of the commercial host personality. Gurney (1996) identified five different types of ideologies about private home ownership. Darke and Gurney (2000) suggest such a typology may be helpful in differentiating householder attitudes to hospitality and their expectations of guests. The five types are: pragmatists, petty tycoons, conflictual owners, extrinsic owners, and lexi-owners (Darke and Gurney 2000:89-90):

- Pragmatists see the home more as a setting for family life than an opportunity for creative statement. Their motivation for inviting guests is simply that they enjoy their company and want to see them. The home as a haven is very important.
- Petty tycoons see the home as an investment. They expect to have to work hard to achieve their financial goals and this extends to the presentation of the home, where they routinely set high standards. The home as a haven may be less important as they expect to spend what leisure they have in socialising with associates who can further their business interests.
- Conflictual owners are couples for whom the house is a site of battle. In the home the conflicts may be over discrepant expectations over the division of labour and standards to be achieved. Some potential guests may chose not to visit this battle-ground as they may be manipulated into taking sides or acting as seconds in the conflict.
- Extrinsic owners see the home as a means of expression on which they have lavished considerable labour. Their homes are seen as evidence for their owners’ creativity and thus positively require an audience. The role of guest is indispensable as audience for and admirer of these efforts.
- Lexi-owners are uncritical believers in home ownership, often using identical conventional phrases to confirm the rightness of their choice, the desirability of their neighbourhood and its contrast with other areas seen as rougher. Visitors are made welcome and comfortable.
Lynch (2005) identifies the extrinsic owner as closest to the commercial hospitality event, especially the better quality B&B establishments. He identifies, for this type of owner, that home is a means of expression where the guest is indispensable to admire the results.

Regarding motivations of commercial home hosts, the most in-depth study was carried out by Lynch (1998) in relation to host families. He proposed a motivational model reflecting push and pull factors which determine the attraction of hosting. The push factors included labour market and life cycle events, the quality of the guest-host/family experience and the home as a resource. Pull factors included social/psychological and economic benefits. Lynch argues that hosts who have been pushed into hosting by economic circumstances, for example farmhouse accommodation, may convey their feelings regarding the act of hosting towards their guests.

Lynch (2005) recognizes hosts’ values as important and how they have an effect upon decision-making. He identifies a study by Di Domenico (2002) who highlights guesthouse owners’ comments on criticism of wallpaper selection by quality assurance and grading inspectors perceived to be promoting a standardised image. Lynch (2005) also highlights the work of Tzschentke (2004:4) who:

Elaborates small hotel owners’ decisions to adopt environmental management practices as a lifestyle choice determined by ‘personal values and beliefs and influenced by a wealth of personal, socio-cultural and situational factors’.

The host can use food to incorporate the guest into the logic of family relations. The use of food as a mediator of social relations is widely recognised in social history and anthropological literature (Bouquet, 1996). Bouquet argues that the sharing of food expresses different levels of relation – inclusion and exclusion, rights and obligation, trust or suspicion, hierarchy and differentiation. Cuthill (2007:84) argues ‘it is through performances of service cultures that commercial hospitality spaces communicate messages of inclusion and exclusion for different social groups’. The food that is provided within the commercial home will convey messages about the host. Home-made jams may portray homely images to the guest. Guests may expect
home-baking when they stay in a commercial home. The idea of staying in someone’s home is very different from staying in a hotel, where you may not even meet the owner. The commercial home is the encapsulation of personal relations, and the personal aspect is crucial. Personal qualities and abilities are invested in these, which is what gives them value and significance in status.

For commercial home hosts there is always the option of having ‘no vacancies’ displayed in the case of undesirables, people hosts would rather not have staying in their home, although this does not happen often as the purpose is to transform the casual tourist into the guest- “one who not only respects but conforms to and appreciates the rules which underline hospitality” (Bouquet, 1996:100). The time available to accomplish this transformation varies, and will depend on the length of time available to establish a relationship. The time factor allows for the development of reputation based on hospitality, which goes beyond mere service (Bourdieu, 1977). This is often displayed when guests return with a gift, recognition of gratitude beyond monetary transaction.

This reciprocation of the intangible but prized hospitality with a gift, which symbolises its recognition, produces an emotional content to the relationship, which may develop into friendship over time.

(Bouquet, 1996:100)

2.8 Nature of Home

The concept of home is very lightly touched upon by the literature in hospitality. The home has been under-explored in relation to small accommodation units. However private homes have been considered by a number of authors. The following section will explore chronologically the literature on private homes. Table 3 shows the different concepts of home.
Table 3. Concepts of Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Concept of home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Gilman</td>
<td>Offers rest, peace, quiet, comfort, health, personal expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Goffman</td>
<td>Front, back regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Saunders &amp; Williams</td>
<td>Social meanings. Peace and tranquillity but also conflict violence and tension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Saunders &amp; Williams</td>
<td>Setting for social, political and economic relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Tyranny of home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Gullestad</td>
<td>Express self identity through home decoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Boym</td>
<td>Not the space but how it is inhabited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>Mirror of self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Darke</td>
<td>House is a back region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>Territory, bi-polar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Miller, Clarke</td>
<td>Objectify self identity through home decoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Chowers</td>
<td>Memories of self, evoke emotions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gilman (1903:82) defines home as ‘a human institution which offers rest, peace, quiet, comfort, health and personal expression’. Gilman acknowledges the linked
social and spatial dimensions of the home. Saunders & Williams (1986:82) leading on from this, identify the home as:

A place invested with special social meaning and significance where particular kinds of social relations and activities are composed, accomplished and contextualised. Peace and tranquillity may pertain for some at some times but conflict, violence and tension are also characteristics of the home.

It is recognised that although the home can be a safe haven for some, for others it can be a place of violence and pain. Home means something different to each individual depending on socio-cultural context. The home carries psychological significance. Saunders & Williams (1988) emphasise the home as a key setting in which broad social, political and economic relations link to the personal, sexual and emotional lives of individuals, households and kin.

Douglas (1991) reflects on the tyranny of the home in contrast to the affectionate images associated with the home. She suggests that the regularity of doing things is one of the distinguishing features of the home. Douglas also comments on the front back regions of the home, and furthers this idea by suggesting that there are four axes, ‘back-front, up-down, two sides, and inside-outside’. Douglas provides a deep understanding of what constitutes a home and makes some contrasts with the hotel:

For Douglas (1991:289) the idea of the hotel is a perfect opposite of the home, not only because it uses market principles for its transactions, but because it allows clients to buy privacy as a right of exclusion. This offends doubly the principle of the home whose rules and separations provide some limited privacy for each member (Douglas, 1991).

Gullestad, (1993:146) established that people ‘express their self identities through visual/visible and material/tangible practices of home decoration’. The décor people choose will convey messages about their identity. Boym (1994:299) argues that it is ‘not the space itself, not the house, but the way of inhabiting it that made it home’. Similarly to Gullestad, Marcus (1995) has identified the home as a mirror of self. In
her study of people’s relationship with their home, she identified the home as fulfilling many needs. She sees the home as a reflection of one’s self.

Wise (2000:295) identifies territory in the home; “home is a territory, an expression”. He describes the home as a collection of milieus, the organisation of objects and the formation of space. Although he insists that this is not all that makes up a home, and agreeing with Boym (1994), Wise (2000) states that home is also the presence of other people and habits. Wise also explores ways of marking that establish personal territories in a search for a place of comfort. He explores the nature of these markings, of this territorialization, and how such processes are cultural. He argues that identity is territory and thought establishes the home, ‘home is not an ordinary place from which identity arises. It is not the place we come from, it is a place we are’ (Wise, 2000:298).

The home may be a space of violence and pain: ‘home then becomes the process of coping, comforting, stabilizing oneself, in other words: resistance. But home can also mean a process of rationalization or submission, a break with the reality of the situation, self-delusion, or falling under the delusions of others.

(Wise, 2000:301)

Home therefore can be bi-polar. It can have different meanings for different people (Wise, 2000). Hosts will have different relationships to their commercial homes. Some may see it as a home first and business second or as a business first and a home second. Each person will have their own emotional ties and memories bound up in their own home.

Miller (2001a) and Clarke (2001) concur with Gullesstad (1993). Although rather than ‘express’ they believe people ‘objectify’ their self identities through visual/visible and material/tangible practices of home decoration. Therefore Gullesstad believes people show or reveal their identities whereas Miller and Clarke believe people take this a step further and represent themselves concretely.
Chowers (2002) believes the home where we grew up can remind us of who we are. He argues that it can evoke memories of childhood, the sound of neighbours, the smell of cooking, and the sight of particular trees: ‘A part of the human soul is drawn to the sensual, and this part is mostly space-specific, it presupposes an ongoing access to and conversation with a particular location’ (Chowers, 2002:235). Figure 2 demonstrates the author’s suggestions of different dimensions of the home.

**Figure 2. Dimensions of Home**

- Cultural
- Conversation
- Territory

- Sensual
- HOME
- Sound

- Sight
- Memories

- Smell

The relationship with home will be identified by the author by considering the meaning of home and the senses, memories and emotions that create a relationship (Figure 3).
Home is a place of emotions; you can ‘feel’ at home when you are not literally, physically in your home. You can be visiting friends and family and feel at home in their house because of the relationship you have with them. You feel comfortable, relaxed, at ease. You can go away on holiday and feel at home in the holiday accommodation. The objects may give you a ‘feeling’ of home. You can move away to university and bring emotional artefacts with you so that you feel at home in your student accommodation. You can surround yourself with photographs of your family and friends, bring souvenirs and presents that remind you of home. Home can be many different places; it does not have to be just where you live at present. Home can be where you grew up, but that does not mean that you do not feel at home where you live now. Home is a feeling.

There have been songs written about the home, a very famous one being ‘home is where the heart is’ – Blue Savannah song. A more recent tribute has been by a top male artist, Robbie Williams, ‘Home is where the hurt is’. Home is an emotion, it can be where the heart is, full of love and happiness, but usually where the heart is there can be hurt. Therefore home can be a range of emotions. In Western society it is usually expected that a home should be a stable happy place with lots of love and laughter, if it is then hosts will be willing to share this with guests. Home can be associated with love, good memories, stability, routines i.e. meals prepared for children, parent at home when they get back from school, encouragement, family activities, a place of comfort, warm bed, food, clothes. It can also be associated with
violence, pain, instability, abuse, embarrassment, neglect, illness, no sense of routine, the unknown, fear, and shame.

The home literature covers aspects of space and control, contrasting the home with the hotel. It identifies territories for different types of behaviour. It also points to gender differences, with women having different relationships to the home than men. In relation to the social sciences, psychological issues within the home are very important. The home is also seen as a reflection of one’s self. The literature on the home in relation to the commercial home needs to be explored and researched further. To date, Lynch (2000a) and Lynch and MacWhannel (2000) have explored the private home offering commercial hospitality. Lynch (2000a) highlights the significance of the private home setting in the provision of commercial hospitality and its contributions towards the construction of the hospitality product. Lynch and MacWhannel (2000) argue for recognition of the commercial home sector.

2.9 Setting

Various authors have suggested the importance of the home setting in hospitality.

Goffman (1959) studied a small hotel in the Shetland Isles and concluded that homes are organised on a front-back axis. He suggested that people put on a performance, acting differently in different places of the house. When people are in the back region they act as they would in the family home, but when they come to the front region they put on a performance. They are almost acting when they are in front of guests. These front and back regions mark out territories for different types of behaviours. Darke (1996) also comments on the front back regions (Goffman, 1959), stating that the whole house is a back region compared to the street, although she does say that some parts of the house are further back than others. This is referring to areas such as bedrooms, which are more private than areas such as the dining room.

The above metaphor (Goffman, 1959) has been highly influential in hospitality and tourism analyses, for instance, MacCannell 1973, Hochschild 1983, and Crang 1997. The greater significance that Crang (1997) identifies with the hospitality setting is perceived amongst small commercial hospitality enterprises through the meanings
associated with the home. Socially constructed definitions of the setting in which tourism product provision takes place are identified. Settings are a matter of negotiation within interactions, as tourists attempt to establish what product is actually being offered, and as employees investigate what tourists think the product being offered is.

MacCannell (1973) locates space and its usage within the context of tourism settings building upon the earlier work by Goffman (1959) who identified behaviours associated with front and back regions. MacCannell identified how the performed settings of tourism production and consumption, or front regions, increasingly expand to incorporate back regions. This results in tourism experiences being valued as authentic. MacCannell found that tourists try to enter the back regions of the places they visit because these regions are associated with intimacy of relations and authenticity of experiences. It was also identified that tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression that a back region has been entered even when this is not the case. In tourist settings, between front and back there is a series of special spaces designed to accommodate tourists and to support their beliefs in the authenticity of their experiences.

Stringer (1981) refers to the location of the bed and breakfast operation as guaranteeing a relatively high intensity of interaction between host and guest. He observes that such use of the home for the provision of an economic service is relatively rare. Hosts and guests are identified as expecting the provision of a homely atmosphere. Stringer clearly signals the importance of home setting.

Lowe (1988) focuses upon the family home business setting as a key determinant of the product. He sees the environment as being a prime determinant of the guest product, where the guests have a strong relationship with the hotel. The guests see the hotel as a ‘home away from home’, suggesting a relationship between the commercial host/householder and the commercial home. Wood (1994:70) also identifies the hotel as a ‘home away from home’. He draws attention to how ‘hotels have become increasingly domesticated’ (Lynch, 2000).
2.10 Environmental Psychology

Although there has been some research into studies concerned with relations between people and the environment in psychology, further exploration is needed. There has been focus on behaviours exhibited by people concerning the environment that surrounds them. Many studies have proposed to determine which spatio-physical properties most facilitate behaviour, or vice versa (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995). Importance has been given to the way people react or respond to specific dispositions of physical space. The built environment for residential purposes is certainly the subject most studied, as many people must share a physical space designed to fulfil the essential functions of everyday life. It is how people deal with this that is of interest.

The research carried out by Hole and Attenburrow (1966) exemplifies investigations into people’s need and desires in housing. The main concern of the studies is with describing how people use their homes. From the psychological viewpoint this provides intriguing information, as Hole and Attenburrow take the findings as of direct interest and value in their own right. The furniture found in rooms is recorded to provide an important indication to designers of likely space requirements, but is not examined to show how its layout relates to designers’ expectations, as Edwards (1974) has done, or to show the ways in which different types of house layouts facilitate a different pattern of activities as did Canter and Lee (1974).

Proshansky et al. (1976:4) identify the experiences of moving from one house to another. They highlight the initial feelings of strangeness with the new house, but how in time we get used to it. It becomes a place we can relax and be ourselves. As we become accustomed to it, we project something of ourselves onto its physical fabric. “The furniture we install, the way we arrange it, the pictures we hang, the plants we buy and tend, all are expressions of our image of ourselves”. These are all messages that we want to convey back to ourselves and to the people we invite into our homes. It could be said that we express ourselves through our homes.

Moore (2000) highlights the fact that the concept of home has been the focus of three decades of research within environmental psychology. Despite this awareness, she
identifies that there has been a lack of critical or innovative theories and methods to examine home. Previous discussions of the concept of home within psychology have tended to focus more on the experiential and personal aspects of home than the social and cultural aspects. Until recently, sociological discussions have tended to ignore the experimental significance of home.

Environmental psychologists began to focus directly on home in the 1970s (Cooper, 1974; Hayward, 1975; Porteous, 1976; Becker, 1977; Appleyard, 1979). Hayward (1975) drew up the first list of meanings associated with the home; home as a physical structure, home as territory, home as locus in space, home as self and self identity, and home as a social and cultural unit (Moore, 2000). Cooper (1974) argued that home is viewed as a symbol of the self and key to this was the symbolic and representative nature of home and its significance in our everyday lives.

Appleyard (1979) argued that home provides psychological comfort, social needs as well as physiological needs. Another influential study was conducted by Sixsmith (1986) who identified personal, social and physical constituents of home. Depres (1991) produced a list of the literature from 1974 to 1989 identifying ten general categories of home from six studies. It includes both psychological and social/cultural meanings of the home (Moore, 2000).

The focus within psychology has tended to be on the interaction between the person and home in a direct experiential sense. It has nearly always taken home to mean a person’s dwellings or house, although this link has not always benefited our understanding of home. Many researchers have argued that the emotional based relationship with the house is what defines the home. The main focus in relation to the concept of home has been in relation to its psychological significance to individuals (Moore, 2000).

The placing of home, not only puts the concept of home within a particular social and cultural context, it positions home within a place or transactional perspective (Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). In this way home is examined as a holistic entity comprising of inter-related qualities of people, environment and time. The continued examination of the concept of home is of considerable value to environmental psychology. The
growing emphasis on the difficulties and varied contexts of home experience needs to 
be encouraged so that environmental psychology can strengthen its awareness 
(Moore, 2000).

2.11 Space and home

Allowing the family and business to co exist within the same space confuses the naïve 
simplicity of economic theory (McCloskey, 1987). Couples and families running a 
business can face numerous challenges for balancing work and family, especially 
when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to the guests (Getz et 
al, 2005). It may be difficult keeping family life separate from the business, because 
of spatial issues, and this will therefore have an impact on the guest’s experience.

Ram et al (1997) suggest that through management of space and time people will be 
able to create and maintain different identities. Hosts may have designated parts of the 
home that are specifically for work or for personal use. The host’s bedroom may be 
private and they may feel ‘at home’ there. How space is generated within the home 
can be very significant. Wise (2000) suggests that space is in continual motion, 
composed of vectors, speeds. It is ‘the simultaneous co-existence of social 
interrelations at all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to the 
wide space of transglobal connections (Massey, 1994:168). Space is marked out to 
establish places of comfort. In commercial homes certain spaces may be marked out 
for guests. They may not be allowed to go into some places because these are for the 
hosts. The hosts may want space for themselves somewhere they feel comfortable. 
Goffman’s (1959) argument of front-back regions may be identified here. However 
that is not to say that the hosts put on a performance when they are in the front region. 
They may act the same in all areas of the home but have their own places of comfort.

Wise (2000:300) also identifies symbols as a mark of space. The symbols we use 
have an effect on the space around us, ‘it attracts or repels others, drawing some 
together around the same theme’. In commercial homes the symbols and artefacts 
displayed may be there to attract people to stay at that property. Indeed they could be 
a reflection of the host, as Marcus (1996:48) argues that ‘home is a reflection of self.’ 
Either way, the symbols and artefacts displayed in commercial home have
significance; they are displaying a message to the guests. Ainley (1998) identifies the security of having your own space. Home need not be seen as a place of boredom and limitation (woman as housewife) but also as a site of possibility and pleasure.

2.12 Objects and home

Wise (2000:301) states that home is ‘a collection of milieus, and as such is the organisation of markers (objects) and the formation of space. But home, more than this, is a territory, an expression’. Home is not just about objects but also feelings. It is the habits that are formed and the presence of others. The process of homemaking is a cultural one. ‘The resonance of milieus and territories are cultural in that the specific expression of an object or space will be differentially inflected based on culture’. Pink (2004:9) argues that objects within the home can have an affect on an individual’s creativity; ‘homes and objects in them can impose on the way individual creativity is realized in a particular material space’.

Sensory experience has usually been related to memory and emotion, (Rapport & Dawson, 1998a, Hetch, 2001, Petridou, 2001); which are important elements of the ways individuals create their homes and experiences in them. Artefacts that are displayed throughout the home can evoke memories of the past. A picture bought on holiday, dried flowers from an anniversary, photographs of a graduation or wedding, ornaments given as presents, can bring up happy memories from the past. Memories of sad times can also be triggered by pictures of past loved ones.

Chevalier’s (1998) work indicates how different relationships to the material of the home are embedded in values and beliefs, which in turn inform different uses of space and things in the home and how space and objects are implicated in social and kin relationships.

2.13 Gender and home

Within the literature, host gender has not been treated from a hospitality perspective. Rybczynski (1988) sets out the gendered dimensions of the home: nostalgia, intimacy and privacy, domesticity, commodity and delight, ease, light and air, efficiency, style
and substance, austerity, and comfort and well being. The masculine idea of the home is as a place of relaxation, to get away from everything. This is also the feminine idea, but with the added dimension of work. Commercial hosts may have gendered dimensions in their commercial home. For example the female may do the cooking and cleaning and the male may do the gardening and DIY.

In Victorian times, women were expected to stay at home and look after the children. This was known as the so-called ‘ideal divide’ (Pollock 1988). This separated the masculine public spheres of work and remuneration from the private sphere of domesticity where responsibilities were undertaken by women for love and duty rather than money. Women who have a commercial home can stay at home and look after the children while also earning money.

Boys (1998) has identified renewed interest in the relationships between social identity and space, developing new categories of position beyond man/woman, and home/work. Rather than mutually exclusive territories, defined by their oppositional characteristics, they are more fluid and overlapping. This applies to the commercial home where home and work overlap and male hosts undertake ‘feminine’ gendered jobs such as cooking, cleaning and ironing.

Darke (1996) also speaks of gender issues and the feminine perspective. She suggests that women do not share public space equally with men. Women’s relationship to the home is identified as having three components: a worksite, a source of judgements by others about the presentation of the home and its occupants, and as a haven from an alienating world (Darke, 1996).

Similarly to Darke (1996), Pink (2004) suggests that women still do more housework than men, although she argues they are doing less than they were. However they are rejecting characteristics associated with the housewife role and positively embracing their role in creating and maintaining their homes, signifying relationships of equality rather than oppression by their partners, rather than a forced gendered division of labour (Pink, 2004).
One might wonder how people’s experiences of the sensory elements of their home figure in the performative way they negotiate their gendered identities (Pink, 2004). Individuals’ gendered performances of housework and forms of home creativity such as hanging a painting, burning scented candles, choosing certain décor can be seen as the embodied actions with which they engage with the sensory environments of their homes (Pink, 2004). Female hosts may choose to have scented candles burning to create an ambience in their commercial home, whereas male hosts may see this as very feminine so choose not to do so.

2.14 Performance

Goffman (1959) studied a small hotel in the Shetland Isles and concluded that homes are organised on a front-back axis. He suggested that people put on a performance, acting differently in different places of the house. When people are in the back region they act as they would in the family home, but when they come to the front region they put on a performance. They are almost acting when they are in front of guests. These front and back regions mark out territories for different types of behaviours.

Darke and Gurney (2000) explore the concept of guests acting as audiences for the host. This has similarities with Goffman’s metaphor of putting on a performance, with front and back regions. They also identify ways that the host avoids tensions with the guest. This is primarily connected to issues of space.

In Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social relations in a mobile world, (Molz and Gibson, 2007:17) the authors recognize the contributions made to the book of the approaches to the spatial and temporal dimensions of mobility and hospitality. They identify that the contributions encourage us to rethink categories of ‘host’ and ‘guest’ by questioning who or what can be a host or guest, and when and where hosting and guesting might happen:

As such, they highlight the fluidity of these categories, and challenge the dichotomy between the host and guest. In particular, they point toward the various ways hospitality is performed in space and time.

(Molz and Gibson, 2007:17)
Bell (2007:31) identifies ‘work performances’ in relation to mobile hosting on rail commuting. He argues that rail commuting produces a complex network of performances of hosting and guesting:

Rail commuting, in fact, produces a complex network of performances of hosting and guesting, between railway staff (and subcontracted staff) and travellers (asking to share such proximal seating space echoes a host-guest relation).

(Bell, 2007:31)

Bell (2007) also identifies café and bar owners as playing a performance hosting role. He argues:

These owners play a central role in defining and promoting the ‘feel’ of the place, suggesting a more proactive role by local hospitality entrepreneurs in configuring certain performances of ‘host-ness.

(Bell, 2007:35)

2.15 Hospitableness

Building upon the comments made in the introduction chapter about hospitality, this is a good point to reflect on hospitableness. Telfer (2000:39) identifies hospitableness as ‘the name of the trait possessed by hospitable people’. She proclaims that it clearly has something to do with hospitality. However, Brotherton (1999:165) argues ‘to claim that the existence of hospitable behaviour is synonymous with the provision of hospitality would be patent nonsense’. He suggests that hospitality includes hospitable behaviour and motives but is something more than this. He further suggests that hospitable behavior may be displayed in many different circumstances, for many different reasons, none of which have anything to do with providing hospitality. For example, receptionists and salespeople would be expected to welcome and deal with visitors in a hospitable manner but invariably would not be expected to provide hospitality.
Telfer (2000:53) suggests that hospitableness is a moral virtue, and poses the question ‘if hospitableness is an optional way of realizing broader virtues, why would a person chose this rather than other ways of doing good’? She gives one reason as enjoyment; a person who enjoys entertaining has a disposition which will make it easy to be genuinely hospitable. A second reason she argues is for talent, even though hospitableness is not a matter of talent. Her third reason is the possession of relevant gifts of fortune, for example a large or beautiful home. Telfer (2000:53) explains that the most important reason why people choose to pursue the trait of hospitableness is that:

They are attracted by an ideal of hospitality, founded on a sense of the emotional importance of the home and of entertaining and of the special benefits which sharing them can bring.

O’Connor (2005:267) proposes the idea that in every human there exists, to varying degrees, a natural level of hospitableness. The word “natural” can be defined as being born with a particular skill or quality. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that genuine hospitableness cannot be developed or grown over time, but is instead printed onto our character or personality at birth, almost genetically.

O’Connor also argues, that another particular skill or quality every human is born with, other than a certain degree of hospitableness, is the ability to judge whether one's host is being genuinely hospitable. If hospitality is truly a virtue belonging to human nature, then it is not unreasonable to assume that for a hospitality employee to be seen as genuinely hospitable, he/she must perform his/her hospitable actions naturally.

2.16 Private and Public

The public-private dichotomy encapsulates a number of the previously discussed themes. The commercial home, small accommodation, family business, lifestyle business, the home, environmental psychology, space, objects, relationships, gender
and performance are all linked to debates concerning the private and public realms. The commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of public/private space largely because of its contested and fluid usage:

Blurring of boundaries’ between the public and the private, fail to capture the multiple mobile relations between them, relationships that involve the complex and fluid hybridising of public and private life.

(Sheller & Urry, 2003:108)

The concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the private personal life from the public spheres of work (Munro, 1996). It is hard to divide the home, which is usually a private space, into one that is private and public, when it becomes a commercial home.

Sennett (1977) understands an approach to the private as fundamentally rooted in private life, defined by private space, in which the means of inclusion and exclusion revolve around social relations and physical and symbolic boundaries between different spaces. This is the private sphere marked off from the ‘public spaces’ of the streets, or everything outside the household. The commercial home does not conform to this approach, as the workplace is not outside the household, but in fact inside the home. Therefore, everything inside the home cannot be private as there are guests inside the home, consequently dividing the home into private and public space. Although there may not be definite spaces that have to be solely public or private, they can sometimes be more fluid. For example there be certain times of the day when a space changes from being public to being private. The dining room may only be open to guests for breakfast and then be closed off so that the host can use it as a private space.

2.17 Summary

To recapitulate, this chapter has defined the commercial home as accommodation where guests pay to stay in a private home that is shared with the host and/or family, and includes host families, bed and breakfasts, farmhouses, guesthouses and small hotels. The chapter examined the concept of small accommodation, exploring the
origin of the conception of ‘commercial home’. Moreover, there was an analytical
discussion of family business, identifying that the commercial home is often operated
from the family home, and there was a related exploration of lifestyle business and the
reasons why commercial home owners choose this particular type of business. The
host was examined looking at the different types of hosts, who exactly is a host and
the commercial home host. The nature of home was explored, looking directly at the
private home and considering setting. The theme of environmental psychology
explored relations between people and the environment. Space and home examined
how space is comprised inside the home both within a hospitality and non-hospitality
context. The theme of objects and home looked at the significance of artefacts within
the home and the theme of gender and home looked at the gendered dimensions of the
home. The theme of performance considered how people act in different areas within
the home, and hospitableness was identified as a moral virtue. Finally, the theme of
private and public linked together all of the sections as the commercial home
challenge traditional conceptions of public/private space owing to its contested and
fluid usage. To date, no research has been carried out into the host’s relationship with
the commercial home; this study hopes to go at least some way to filling that gap.
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the conceptual orientation that has been adopted, the chosen methodological strategy and is divided into three sections (Figure 4). The first section explores audiencing and research philosophy. The second section explores the methods of data collection and the third section looks at reflexivity.

Figure 4 Overview of Methodology Chapter

Audiencing and Research Philosophy

| Methods of Data Collection
| Reflexivity

3.2 Audiencing and the principal approach

3.2.1 Audiencing

Harris, Wilson and Ateljevic (2007) refer to audiencing as ‘a method for how we write and position our voices’. They argue that audiencing depicts how we speak and translate research into various forms to engage with various groups and individuals. Hall (2004:142) argues that academic writing in the third person conveys an ‘impression of objectivity and scientific rationality which is almost the antithesis of the realisations of reflexive modernity’. He further argues that if an article was submitted written in the first person, to most academic tourism journals, the likelihood is that it would not be accepted, or that major modifications would have to occur before it was accepted. Because of the conservative nature of a thesis it is usually expected that it is written in the academic style of the third person. However, the researcher feels that this does not sufficiently convey the sensitivity and reflexivity of the qualitative research process in particular. To fully include the researcher in the
research process, the method of data collection section of the methodology will tell the researcher’s story, and will be written in the first person.

All research is influenced by the philosophical position of the researchers, the nature of their projects and the intended audience. The research philosophy underpinning the design of a study therefore impacts on both the way data are gathered and how they are analysed to create knowledge. In any research project it is imperative that the method chosen is appropriate for the goal of the study rather than choosing a method because it is convenient or familiar (Jordan & Gibson, 2004). The goal of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the nature of the relationship between the host and their commercial home. To achieve this it was determined that empirical research designed from a qualitative perspective would be best. Such an approach to data collection would enable the gathering of rich descriptive accounts of hosts’ stories by providing them with an opportunity to respond to open-ended questions.

This study was therefore considered within an interpretive paradigm, particularly corresponding to a phenomenological research approach (Henderson, 1991). In an interpretive paradigm, ‘the central endeavour is… to understand the subjective world of human experience’ (Cohen & Manion, 1994:36). This research is concerned with theorising experiences of the host-home relationship, and in doing so, endeavouring ‘to get inside the heads and hearts of the hosts’, therefore research designed within an interpretive paradigm would enable this to be done effectively. Data was collected using photographs and in-depth, one-to-one, face-to-face interviews in which hosts were encouraged to talk about their feelings and experiences, within a semi-structured framework. In doing so topics were explored that may not have been thought about when designing the research but which the hosts themselves identified as being significant. Thus, instead of imposing preconceived notions of the host-home relationship, the semi-structured questions acted as a guide to stimulate discussion about the hosts’ actual experiences of being a commercial home host.

3.3.2 The Principal Approach

Any research project can be categorised using three main classifications. These have been extensively discussed in numerous textbooks (e.g. de Vaus, 2001; Malhotra,
2000; Selltiz et al., 1964) and need not be repeated in detail here. In essence, these categories are: (i) the type of research, i.e. exploratory, descriptive or explanatory/causal; (ii) the type of data used in the analysis, namely qualitative (words) or quantitative (numbers); and (iii) the direction of reasoning, that is, deductive (where a general explanation is applied to a specific case) or inductive (a general understanding is built from a number of cases).

Traditionally, qualitative research has been viewed somewhat simplistically as a set of different research methods that have certain features in common. In this respect, qualitative methods are employed to collect data about activities, events, occurrences and behaviours and to seek an understanding of actions, problems and processes in their social context (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Those who viewed qualitative research merely as a set of methods have been accused of having an oversimplified view that fails to acknowledge the multiplicity of forms and functions of qualitative research (Silverman, 2000). In recent times literature concerned with the nature of social research is more likely to refer to qualitative research as ‘a distinctive research strategy simply than a set of methods’ (Bryman, 2001:264). As a strategy, qualitative inquiry can generate theory out of research, ‘should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants, and should view social life as being the result of interaction and interpretations’ (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004:4).

3.2.3 Paradigm

The researcher’s actions are underpinned by a basic set of beliefs that define their worldview, known as a paradigm, which has three main elements: ontology, epistemology and methodology (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Knowledge production relies heavily upon the ontology of the researcher – their definition of reality. Their epistemology – what they count as knowledge – depends on what they want knowledge about, while the kind of knowledge they seek determines their methodology (Jones, 1993). Within this, methods are merely tools which take on meaning according to the methodology within which they are employed (Silverman, 2000). The researcher can identify their inquiry paradigm by answering three interconnected questions, Table 4:
Table 4. Questions asked to identify inquiry paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The ontological question</th>
<th>What is the form and nature of reality and what can be known about reality?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The epistemological question</td>
<td>What is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The methodological question</td>
<td>How can the researcher find out what he/she believes can be known?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Phillimore & Goodson, 2004:35)

There are four major paradigms which structure research: positivist, post-positivist, critical and interpretive. Each provides flexible guidelines that connect theory and method and help determine the structure and shape of any inquiry. Guba and Lincoln (1998) give an example of a positivist paradigm where the researcher believes only in the existence of the ‘real’ (observable) world. Given that a ‘real’ reality is assumed, the relationship between the researcher and reality can only be one of objective detachment or value freedom to determine how things really work (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004:35). Feminists in particular have argued that the ideal objectivity portrayed by positivists is actually a generalisation from the subjectivity of a small group of people. Instead they argue that values, politics and knowledge are interconnected rather than hierarchical, and thus there is a need to explore how knower’s values and politics impact upon the ways in which they undertake research and create knowledge (Alcoff and Potter, 1993).

Researchers influenced by interpretivist paradigms, turn the conventional positivist approach to knowing on its head. Rather than arguing that only the qualified researcher is capable of knowledge production, they consider that the complex world
can be understood only from the point of view of those who operate in it (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Thus, research is undertaken in a collaborative fashion, with the researcher and the researched viewed as partners in the production of knowledge and the interaction between them being a key site for both research and understanding (Schwandt, 1998). Accordingly, this research is influenced by interpretivist inquiry paradigms.

Unless we can take account of the researcher’s inquiry paradigm and how it influences the choices they make throughout the research process, then we are unable to explore how the values associated with their worldview may have impacted on judgements about issues ranging from selection of research topic to deciding what conclusions to reach.

(Phillimore & Goodson, 2004:36)

Hollinshead (2004) argues that paradigms are indeed highly distinguishable by the under-suspected cognitive interests which propel them (Firestone, 1990). Under constructivism (or constructionism, or social constructivism), the ontological thought is relativist, seeking to understand the identities of, the meanings attributed by and the experiences of different populations, against a background of competing perspectives of different populations, against a background of competing perspectives on life and the world, within the setting being investigated (Hollinshead, 2004:77).

Hollinshead (2004:72) argues that Holliday’s attempt to distinguish naturalistic frames of reference from progressive frames of reference should be regarded not as a definitive indexing of available qualitative approaches but merely as a suggestive and illustrative mapping of new options in latter-day research. Furthermore Hollinshead suggests that while naturalistic researchers tend to gravitate towards like-it-is forms of understanding which seeks to capture the assumed single reality of a specific physical or geographical place, progressivist forms of research tend to take no such supreme universalisms for granted. Consonantly, progressive qualitative researchers tend to inspect not only how the people within the specific place construct the world, but how different groups of those people differentially construct the world, and, more especially how they each differentially construct the world in various settings. Holliday’s progressive qualitative outlooks are: critical theory, constructivism,
postmodernism and feminism. He argues (a) reality and science are socially constructed, (b) researchers are part of research setting, (c) investigation must be in self-critical, creative dialogue, (d) aim to problematise, reveal hidden realities, and initiate discussions. This research is positioned within a constructivism outlook, as the hosts’ view is looked at and interpreted as what they say as their world view.

Ontologically, qualitative interpretations are often richer or more pertinent where the researcher generates ‘open-ended’ and ‘contingent’ evocations of being and meaning, rather than yielding totalised, clean and tidy, non-complex classifications of lived reality. Epistemologically, the commonplace messiness of data and settings teaches experienced qualitative researchers not to assimilate their new ontological subjects or their ontological settings too quickly (Marcus, 1994). Almost all qualitative analyses can only ever be partial, and therefore open-ended, forms of inquiry are required; many researchers believe they can only ever yield ‘findings’ tentatively held, and never ‘results’ firmly concluded (Hollinshead, 2004:73).

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) divide the history of social research into seven phases which they have called ‘moments of qualitative research’. They argue that the moments ‘overlap and simultaneously operate in the present’. The first moment, ‘the traditional period’, is associated with the positivist, foundational paradigm. The ‘modernist’ or ‘golden age’ and ‘blurred genres’ moments are connected to the appearance of postpositivist arguments. In the blurred genres phase, the humanities became central resources for critical, interpretative theory, and for qualitative research. The researcher became a ‘bricoleur’, learning how to borrow from many different disciplines. The blurred genres phase produced the next stage, the ‘crisis of representation’. Here researchers struggled with how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts. The ‘postmodern’ moment was defined in part by a concern for literary and rhetorical tropes and the narrative turn, a concern for storytelling. In the ‘postexperimental inquiry’ moment researchers continued to move away from foundational and quasi-foundational criteria. The ‘future’, the seventh moment, is concerned with moral discourse, with the development of sacred textualities.
3.2.4 Role of Researcher

It has been argued by Phillimore & Goodson (2004) that research should be viewed as an interactive process whereby the researcher, merely through being present to observe or question, impacts upon the responses or behaviour of the researched. Following on from this, the perspective the researcher develops about the researched then impacts on the way in which they collect and interpret findings. Finally the whole notion of objective, value-free research has been challenged (Guba and Lincoln, 1998) with the argument that every researcher brings something different to a study: ‘different attitudes, values, perspectives, ideologies’, etc., all of which impact upon the unavoidable impact of the individual upon the research from its inception to its dissemination (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004:33). The role of the researcher and the impact on the research will be explored more fully in the Reflexivity section of this chapter.

3.2.5 Aspects of Validity and Reliability

Schutt (2001), Silverman (1993) and Yin (2003) note that the quality of any research project can principally be assessed by its reliability and its validity. Although numerous threads to these criteria have been identified, research is, in essence, reliable when it can be repeated. In contrast, the validity of research is split into (i) construct validity: are the applied methods of data collection correct? (ii) internal validity: have all variables been identified in the causal relationship? (iii) external validity: can the findings of the study be generalised beyond the immediate scope of the project? Finally, research is reliable when it can be repeated elsewhere. It is worth noting that not all types of research are concerned with all quality assessment criteria. Specifically, descriptive research is not concerned with internal validity because no causal relationships are determined.

Researchers often seek to generalize their conclusions from the population they studied to some larger target population. The validity of generalizations of this type is necessarily uncertain, for having a representative sample of a particular population does not at all ensure that what is found will hold true in other populations. Nonetheless, the cumulation of findings from studies based on local or otherwise
unrepresentative populations can provide important information about broader populations (Schutt, 2001).

However, as qualitative research is less concerned with reliability and validity and more with ‘footsteps in the sand’, it is more important to have a local narrative rather than a grand narrative, and emerging concepts can subsequently be tested/explored elsewhere.

The following section will explain the challenges and strategic decisions made during the data collection.

3.3 Method of data collection

In order to investigate the subjective nature of the host-home relationship I decided the most appropriate strategy would be to talk to the hosts of commercial homes and let them tell their story. I wanted to find out how they felt about their home and business and the most conducive method for doing so was to undertake one-to-one interviews with participants. First, I needed to select commercial homes that were identified by their hosts as homely establishments. I wanted the home to be the focus, but I wanted the hosts to identify this, not me. I looked for commercial homes that were advertised as being ‘homely’. I started off my search by reading marketing literature for accommodation in Scotland. This included accommodation literature for Bed and Breakfasts, guesthouses and small hotels, and was found in booklets such as VisitScotland, Bed and Breakfast Nationwide and various websites. I started with the VisitScotland website, but then soon realised that there were commercial homes that would not be registered with VisitScotland so continued using search engines on the internet, and searched for phrases such as ‘accommodation in Edinburgh/Lothians/Highlands’. This uncovered a considerable number of commercial homes that were not registered with VisitScotland. I read through the advertisements which had been written by the host themselves, describing their accommodation. I selected properties that mentioned the home, which advertised themselves with wording such as ‘we welcome you into our home’, ‘our comfortable country home’, ‘we invite you to share our home,’ and ‘traditional accommodation in a homely informal atmosphere’.
Led by concepts emerging from the accommodation marketing literature I decided that the home relationship may be seen more clearly through hosts with what might be described as distinctive lifestyles. It was apparent that the hosts I was interested in were not only inviting me into their home but also their lives. A keyword search on the Internet was carried out, and included areas such as, food preference, sexuality, recreation, sports and hobbies, religion, and life values. Examples of these distinctive lifestyles interviewed were Gay B&Bs and Vegetarian B&Bs. Purposive sampling leading to topic saturation was employed as the generic features of the new findings consistently replicate earlier ones. Rubin and Rubin (1995:66) suggest three guidelines for selecting informants when designing any purposive sampling strategy. Informants should be:

- Knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation or experience being studied.
- Willing to talk.
- Represent[ative of] the range of points of views.

In addition Rubin and Rubin (1995:67) suggest continuing to select interviewees until you can pass two tests:

- Completeness. ‘What you hear provides an overall sense of the meaning of a concept, theme, or process’.
- Saturation. ‘You gain confidence that you are learning little that is new from subsequent interviews.

For convenience and logistical reasons, commercial homes in Scotland were selected, in Edinburgh, the Lothian area and the Highlands. I contacted the selected hosts by letter, explaining the details of the research, a copy of which can be found in appendix 1. I contacted five hosts at a time to ensure that enough time was given to arrange interviews. It would have proved difficult if I had sent out a large number of letters at once and then had to try and juggle interviews to suit everyone. Doing the interviews in blocks of five gave me time to organise, carry out and reflect on the whole process.
After I sent out the letter I made a follow-up phone call to the host, a few days later to fully explain the research. I explained who I was, what the research was for and what it would involve if they decided to take part. I explained my desire to visit their commercial home and to interview them. At this stage, before they had agreed to take part, I did not mention taking photographs of their property, which was also not mentioned in the letter. I decided this was the best approach as I feared people would be scared off if photographs were mentioned from the outset. I thought that they would just read the word photograph, and decide that they did not want a ‘stranger’, which I initially was, in to their home to take photographs. After they had agreed to be interviewed, I then sensitively approached the subject of taking photographs, explaining how integral it was to the research and that they would be in full control of what I could and could not photograph. Everyone who had agreed on the telephone to be part of the research also agreed to let me take photographs. This approach seemed to work well and out of the first ten letters posted, there were eight positive responses, this high response rate continued throughout the sampling process. A date was arranged to visit the host to take photographs of the property. Fifteen commercial homes in Edinburgh and the Lothian area were visited and ten commercial homes in the Highlands. All of the properties were visited at least twice.

A pilot study was carried out in September 2004. Three visits were made to a guesthouse in Edinburgh. On the first visit, I explained the research and took photographs of the property. I came back with the photographs, a week later, and carried out the interview. When I analysed the interview I realised that I had not covered all the areas I wanted to, so I contacted the host and arranged another interview. They were happy do this and it helped me prepare for the rest of the research.

The visits to the commercial homes took place over an eight month period during October 2004 to May 2005. Visits to commercial homes in Edinburgh and the Lothian area took place in October and November but not at the end of December or beginning of January because of the festive season. Visits resumed in the middle of January and carried on until March. The majority of visits carried out in Edinburgh and the Lothian area were finished before Easter as that is when the high season starts again and it would have proved difficult for hosts to find time for interviews. Visits
to the Highlands were carried out between March and May 2005. The hosts had time for interviews as their high season usually begins in June. The visits carried out in the Highlands were more concentrated because of logistics. Hosts were very accommodating in arranging interviews around the same time because of the distance I had to travel. In total fifty-two visits were carried out.

When I arrived at the host’s commercial home, for the first time, introductions took place and I tried to make the host feel as comfortable as possible. This is usually what the host does, make their guests feel comfortable, but as I was not exactly a guest the roles were reversed. Although some hosts did try to make me feel comfortable, others were nervous. I wanted them to feel as relaxed as possible so that I would be able to get as much information as I could. I outlined the details of the research, explaining that I would take photographs on the first visit then organise a time to return with the photographs and carry out the interview. The host was given a chance to ask any questions, both about the research and myself. I felt that it was important that the host had a chance to get to know me as a person so that they would be able to trust me and feel comfortable enclosing personal aspects of their self. I was happy to answer all their questions and tried to do so as honestly and genuinely as possible.

The host then showed me around the property and I took photographs. Some hosts were very intrigued by what I was doing and watched me intensely while others just left me to it. Some hosts walked me around their home, opening doors to the rooms I could take photographs in, but then waited outside the room as I did so. On some occasions the host did not show me around but instead told me where I could go to take photographs. At the beginning of the research I took photographs of absolutely everything in the commercial home, scared that I would miss something out. As I did not know the significance of what I was taking photographs of until the host spoke about them in the interview it was hard to know what to photograph and what to leave out. After taking hundreds of photographs of my first few visits I realised that it was just too much. I realised that it may be overwhelming for the hosts if I arrived with a pile of photographs and they then had to sit with me and talk about every single one of them. Through experience I learned what got the hosts to open up most and took photographs accordingly. I took photographs of the décor of their home, the artefacts they had, pictures on the wall, photographs of family, ornaments, and anything else I
thought might be important. Written consent was given by each host for the permission of taking photographs of their property and also for the photographs to be published and used in presentations.

At the beginning of the research, I was appreciative of any photograph that the host allowed to be taken and did not ask to take photographs in any areas that the host had not first suggested. However, as the study progressed I realised that having photographs of the hosts’ personal space would give rich data so I was more direct in asking to take photographs of the host’s personal space. Some hosts agreed to this and other did not. Observations were made of the visits and written notes made of them after the visit, an example of which can be found in appendix 2. Observations included how welcoming I thought the host was, what they were wearing, if tea or coffee was offered, etc. After building a rapport with the host and taking photographs of the property, a second visit was arranged to come back with the photographs and carry out the interview. This was usually within one or two weeks of the first visit, depending on when the host was free.

On the first visit, the photographs of the commercial homes were taken. The photographs were used as visual aids, and as a prompt to talk about the commercial home on the second visit. I felt that this technique was conducive to more detailed research. Photographs were taken of all areas open to guests and some areas that were personal to the hosts. Décor and artefacts were photographed so that the host would have a visual stimulant when asked about décor in certain parts of their home, which they would not be able to see during the interview. The photographs jogged memories of the past, and some hosts told stories about certain artefacts that would probably not have been remembered had it not been for the photographs. The hosts were asked to have their photograph taken in their favourite part of the home. This was done to capture meanings of home for the hosts.

The photographs were used solely to initiate conversations with the host. The visual images helped trigger memories and the hosts gave more detailed responses to the questions because of the photographs on show. The photographs were not analysed in the findings, but instead used to illustrate quotes made by the hosts. Analysing the photographs warrants a study of its own because of the sheer volume of photographs.
Harper (2002) advocates the use of photo elicitation because images evoke deeper elements of human experiences than words alone. Collier and Collier (1986:106) suggested that photographs, when used in interviews, "sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character of realistic reconstruction" and that "photographs are charged with psychological and highly emotional elements and symbols" (Collier and Collier, 1986:108). The emotional content extracted from and projected onto the photographs affords the researcher a greater understanding of participant's experiences than from the spoken or written word alone (Carlsson, 2001).

Prosser (1998) noted that the status of image-based research has been disproportionately low relative to word-based research and, therefore, that image-based research has been undervalued and under applied. Harper (1998) echoed this sentiment and suggested that photo elicitation interviewing is an underutilised method with nearly limitless potential. In the interviews I carried out, discussion was initiated and propelled by photographs (Harper, 2002).

On the second visit I returned to the host with the photographs. Typically the atmosphere was more relaxed and there was a sense of familiarity between the host and myself. This helped the host trust me and therefore give honest answers, and helped me to probe deeper during the interview. Through trial and error an approach to the interview was selected. The first interview was too structured and the second not structured enough so a semi-structured in depth interview was selected. The interviews briefly explored business characteristics and focused particularly on specific themes in line with the project aims, a copy of which can be found in appendix 3. As each commercial host differed, each interview was different.

The use of interviews and their attendant power relationships between the researcher and the researched has been a topic of much discussion in feminist literature (Cotterill and Letherby, 1993; Eichler, 1988; McCarl Neilson, 1990; Reissman, 1991; Stanley, 1990). It can be argued that despite attempts at maintaining neutrality, researchers naturally tend to see the world through the lens of their own experiences, which influences all aspects of the research process. The simple fact that a researcher has control over the way in which a study is designed, the selection of respondents, the choice of interview questions and the way in which interviewees’ responses are
interpreted has the potential to create an inequitable relationship. The intention throughout this study has been to provide a forum through which the voices of the hosts’ could be heard. Quotes were selected from the transcribed interviews, which were, in my experience, useful for exploring feelings, emotions, memories, associations, eliciting stances which conveyed the sentimental nature of life and household.

Interviews were chosen as an appropriate method to accomplish the aim of gathering qualitative data, using an interpretive approach. Like all research methods, each has strengths and weaknesses. Advantages and limitations of semi-structured interviews are outlined in Tables 5 and 6 below (Jordan & Gibson, 2004:222):

Table 5. Advantages and limitations of semi-structured interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages of semi-structured interviews:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The face-to-face nature of the encounter enables the researcher to read body language and other non-verbal forms of communication in addition to speech, which can elicit valuable insights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• The personal nature of interviews may enable the researcher to develop empathy with participants thereby creating a more comfortable environment for both parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Little equipment is required, so the location can be varied easily to accommodate preferences of the researcher and the participant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Possible interconnections between experiences and views can be explored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is useful for generating experimental data that can then be theorised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It can provide contextual background for studies using multiple methods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Semi-structured interviews provide inexperienced researchers with some structure while also allowing them to develop their own approach to interviewing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Semi-structured interviews also allow for comparability across interviews, as the same questions are asked for each respondent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• They can provide rich, descriptive data with many colourful and illustrative examples of different experiences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Limitations of semi-structured interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Limitations of semi-structured interviews:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Misinterpretation of views by the researcher and/or the participant is possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The method requires training and confidence to be fully effective in data-gathering, and some theoretical insight to be able to probe for more detail on valuable ideas as an interview is conducted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It can be difficult to replicate, i.e. it has lower reliability (although it can be argued that this is not necessarily a disadvantage in qualitative research, as what you sacrifice in reliability you gain in validity).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The researcher may consciously or unconsciously steer the interviewee towards expressing views that agree with the research themes sought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interviewing can be an awkward and uncomfortable experience, especially for inexperienced researchers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The value of the data is dependant on the honesty of the interviewee (or their desire to say what they think the interviewer wants to hear).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The interviewer may be reactive to responses from the interviewees rather than structuring the interview themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Finding a location to suit both the researcher and the interviewee can be problematic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The technique relies on interviewees to volunteer to participate in what can be a time-intensive process. Interviews can last anywhere from one to two hours or more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recording of interviews can be problematic if the interviewee does not want to be taped or in conscious of being recorded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interviews, transcriptions and analysis of interviews are all time-consuming activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interviews can generate a large amount of data extraneous to the topic and it may be problematic to generate comparable themes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to ensure that there was a record of consent for the interviews and the photographs, each respondent was asked to sign a consent form (Berg, 1989), an
example of which can be found in appendix 4. When using interviews as a means of data collection it is always important to ensure the status and use of data collected are clearly outlined to the participants (Jordan & Gibson, 2004). Ethical consent was secured from the University Research Ethics Committee.

There are ethical issues associated with the power relations of interviews that invest researchers with a responsibility towards participants. The personal and subjective nature of interviews, which allows researchers to develop trust and empathy with participants, is a key benefit of the use of this technique for exploring the host-home relationship. The fact that the respondents were in contact with me on a number of occasions and not just on the day of the interview helped build up rapport.

When the concept of taking photographs of the hosts’ property was raised, some hosts were a little suspicious and needed to be reassured of the importance the photographs would have for the research. They may have had concerns about security, one host joked that I was taking photographs of his things so that I could come back later and steal them. Even though he was joking there may have been some genuine concerns. On one occasion, at the beginning of the research, one host refused to have photographs of her property taken but was willing to be interviewed. As the photographs were integral to the actual interview I decided to go along for the interview anyway and hopefully demonstrate the need for the photographs. After the first face-to-face visit with the host and after a long informal chat about the research, the host agreed to let the photographs be taken. A second visit was arranged for the photographs to be taken and then a third for the interview, using the photographs. By sharing my own experiences with the participants it helped establish a slightly more equal rapport, as each knows more about the other. This can assist in addressing some of the issues of unequal relations between the researcher and participant (Jordan & Gibson, 2004).

As the interviews were conducted they were transcribed verbatim immediately afterwards, in an ongoing process. Likewise, constant comparison of the data was also a continuous process. The process started during the interview stage, where patterns emerging in the data were incorporated into the later interviews to substantiate their relevance to other individuals, to work towards saturation.
saturation was achieved, constant comparison techniques were used to analyse the data, in the form of thematic coding. The basic unit of analysis was a quote. A quote was defined as a statement made by a host that expressed a single feeling or idea about their commercial home. Each quote was compared and contrasted to previous ones and either assigned to one or more existing codes or a new code was created for it.

Data were organised into broad categories and then as the data analysis continued, the categories were refined into themes. These themes were then divided into three areas; home, host and business, led there by the data. These three areas together with the themes belonging to each present the conceptual framework (see 4.3) that emerged from the study. The conceptual framework was prepared and progressively revised as each commercial home was analysed.

3.4 Reflexivity

In being reflexive, we understand that the researcher should fashion him or herself as the *bricoleur*, who:

understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting. The *bricoleur* knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications.

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:3)

3.4.1 Subjectivity

Accessing subjective feelings of the host, including dimensions of self not usually given consideration is a major methodological challenge. Therefore, the aim is to access the nature of the home-host relationship. As a result, this research is distinguished from what has gone before. Prior studies have largely focused on readily accessible ‘objective’ issues, rather than below the surface issues accessing the inner self, the intangible dimensions of self, which nevertheless may determine aspects of the hospitality product. It was not the hosts that took the photographs of
the property, but me. These photographs helped investigate the relationship the hosts have with their commercial home, deepening our understanding of the host-home relationship, leading to a more sophisticated and nuanced appreciation of how the commercial home ‘home’ product is constructed.

3.4.2 Sample

Purposive sampling does not produce a sample that represents some larger population, but it can be exactly what is needed in a case study of a clearly defined group, such as commercial home hosts. However, we need to be aware that the findings from this sample are not referred to groups that are larger than the sample or different from the population sampled (Schutt, 2001). For example, the findings from this study represent a sample of hosts within Scotland and are not representative of all hosts, everywhere, or even all hosts within Scotland. They should not be discussed as if they tell us about hosts in general. Maybe they do; but we just do not know for sure.

3.4.3 Building Rapport

It was very important to build up a rapport between myself and the hosts, to give the research as much depth as possible. I acknowledge that my background had different effects on the hosts. My Irish nationality influenced one host, who insisted on telling me how nice his Irish guests were, and that he just loved it when Irish guests came to stay. My female gender also influenced how I interacted with the hosts. With one female host, we bonded over shortbread and the topic of diets! This particular host had made me tea and offered me some shortbread. To be honest I did not want to eat the shortbread but felt obligated to do so, as she had gone to the trouble to get it for me and also I did not want to offend her as she was helping me with my research. After I took the piece of shortbread I passed the plate to her but she refused saying she was watching her weight. We then had a conversation about the pains of dieting and trying to constantly watch your weight. I did not have any conversations like this with the male hosts.

When one male host was showing me around his home, we went out to his garden and his really big dog came running up to me and started licking me. I am allergic to
dogs. However when the host starting telling me that the dog must really like me, because he does not just lick anyone, I felt obligated to pat it and say how nice it was. If the dog liked me then maybe the host would like me too and this could only be an advantage for my research.

I think my age may have influenced how I interacted with the hosts. At the age of twenty-four years while carrying out the interviews, many of the hosts were interested in why I decided to do a PhD at that age and what I would do after it. I think that the hosts were not intimidated by me or my research at all because I was younger than them. Some of them became almost motherly, making sure I had eaten, or got home safe, or had somewhere to stay.

3.4.4 Taking photographs

At the beginning of the research I was very appreciative of being allowed to take any photographs at all and did not ask the hosts if I could take photographs of their private space. Rather, I indicated that I would take photographs of the areas they wanted me to. I soon realised that it would be a way of obtaining rich data if I could also take photographs of all parts of the home to see if the personal area was different to the guest area. At first I felt unsure about how to approach this and was nervous about the host refusing, but I soon became more confident, and realised if I did not ask I would not know. I therefore asked the hosts if they would be comfortable if I took some photos in their personal space also. Some hosts refused, saying they would prefer it if I did not, others let me take photographs in some areas such as their kitchen and sitting room, but not their bedroom, while others let me take photographs in all areas of their home. It was a positive experience and with hindsight I would like to have been able to do this from the outset, rather than half way through my research, as it would have given more detailed research.

3.4.5 Data Collection

The data collection process was exhaustive. Having to visit each host twice and sometimes even a third time was time consuming and at times tiring. As I had to accommodate the host and make the visits when it was convenient for them, it
sometimes meant that I was going straight from one interview to another. This meant that I did not have time to go through the interview which would have been ideal, as I could have picked up on themes to address at the next interview. While travelling to the commercial homes, I always had to ensure my safety, so I left the details of where I was going, and who I was going to see with my supervisor.

3.4.6 Data Analysis

I was advised by one of my supervisory team to use the software package NUD*IST. NUD *IST is an index-based system that allows the researcher to code data and store memos in a tree-like matrix (Richards &c Richards, 1994). As the volume of data was so large if was felt that NUD*IST would be useful in organising and storing in a systematic fashion, which could then be used for further analysis if needed. Being new to research and not having used the package before I took the advice and used it. However in hindsight I think it was more of a hindrance than a help. It was time consuming learning how to use the software and then transporting all the interview transcripts into the package. I felt that I did not use it to its full potential, and that I could have done it myself without spending time learning new techniques. The one thing that was good about NUD*IST is that it will be helpful for future research to analyse the findings further, but for this study I felt that it was unnecessary and slowed down my PhD process. Further, it was noted that Charmaz (2000) suggests such software is more suited for an objectivist approach and reduces the creative ability to gain insights from data.

3.4.7 Limitations

The findings of this study are from one individual and relate to a limited sample of commercial home hosts within Scotland. No attempt is made to generalise from the findings although many conceptual issues are raised which could be followed up in further research.

The following chapter will present a thematic overview of the findings generated from the data generation and analysis procedures.
Overview and Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of each commercial home that was visited and presents the conceptual framework emerging from the study. Firstly a brief synopsis of each commercial home is provided. Secondly, the conceptual framework emerging for the analysis of the commercial home units is presented.

4.2 Overview of Commercial Homes

The following section gives an overview of each of the commercial homes visited, to assist the reader gain a feel of each property. The property type and location are described, before giving details of the host/s.

1HF

*Host Family:* The property is set in a residential area of Edinburgh. The host is a female over 40 years, with no children living at home. She hosts students throughout the year and stays can last between one week and several months. One bedroom of the three-bedroom home is dedicated to the student/students, although the rest of the home is open to the student also. The only space that the students are not welcome to use is the host’s bedroom. Both the host and her husband have other jobs and the income from hosting is supplementary. They encourage the students to be part of the family.

2B

*Bed and Breakfast:* The property is a Georgian detached house, set in Balerno, a little village on the outskirts of Edinburgh. The host is female, over 40 years, with no children living at home. The host works full time in the business and her husband has another job, although he helps out with things like the accounts. The principle reason to start up the business was so that they could afford to stay in their large house after their children had left. There are three guest bedrooms. The property is un-graded, as the host did not want to comply with all the rules of the tourist board. The majority of
the space within the home is given over to the guests, with the host moving out of her own bedroom during the busy season to give it to guests. The kitchen is not open to guests although they have to walk through it to get to the dining room. This commercial home seems to be more of a home than a business.

3B
Bed and Breakfast: This Mill House property is located in Penicuik, a village outside Edinburgh. Both hosts are over 65 years and this is their sole income. They have three guest bedrooms and are not graded by the tourist board. They have some animals which they look after and encourage their guests to see. The female host is the main host with her partner helping out wherever necessary. The hosts’ accommodation is in the basement which is separated from the rest of the home. They share their living room with their guests and encourage them to sit down and spend the evening with them. They enjoy having the company of their guests.

4B
Bed and Breakfast: This Four Star Georgian House is located in a rural setting in Lasswade, a village outside Edinburgh. Both hosts are over 40 years with no children living at home. They have lived in the property for 22 years and were motivated to buy it because of the location. They started their business seven years ago as they wanted to be their own boss. They have given most of the space within the property over to their guests and no longer use their sitting room with the guests as they find they need their own space. They have collaborated with other B&Bs/guesthouses in the area to promote the destination rather than just their own business and have done a lot in the way of marketing.

5B
Bed and Breakfast: This Georgian Farmhouse B&B is located in a rural setting in Haddington, outside Edinburgh. The host is a female over 40 years and has no children living at home. She has been living in the property for 15 years and was motivated to start the business as extra income, but has become dependant on the business now as farming has declined. Most of the space within the home is given over to guests with the host moving out of her own bedroom for several months of the year. There is a sitting room just for the family, although guests have to walk through
this to get to the dining room. It is un-graded as the host did not want to make changes to her home to comply with the tourist board.

6B

*Bed and Breakfast:* This Lodge property is located in a cul-de-sac in Spean Bridge, a village in the Highlands. The male host is over 40 years with no children living at home. His wife works away and he runs the business, opening for a few months of the year, usually June to September. He enjoys meeting people and hosting and is not reliant on the income. He started off hosting students and progressed to the B&B. His private space is divided from his guest’s space. It has three guest bedrooms and is a three star property, graded by VisitScotland.

7B

*Bed and Breakfast:* This Lodge property is located opposite 6B in the cul-de-sac in Spean Bridge, in the Highlands. Both male and female hosts are over 40 years with no children living at home. This is their sole income and they open for the majority of the year. They have a separate sitting room which they keep private, although they do allow guests into their bedroom to use the internet. They moved up from England to start the business because of the lifestyle. They have three guest bedrooms and have been graded by the tourist board and awarded three stars.

8B

*Bed and Breakfast:* This detached bungalow is situated in Ballachulish, a village in the Highlands. It has three guest bedrooms and has been awarded three stars by VisitScotland. The female host is over 60 years with no children living at home. She started the business because she was made redundant and still had to pay the mortgage. She keeps her private space separated from her guests’ space. She does not seem to really enjoy hosting, but is doing it out of necessity.

9B

*Bed and Breakfast:* This detached property is located in Ballachulish, a village in the Highlands. It has three guest bedrooms and is un-graded by the tourist board. The female host is under 40 years with four small children living at home. She was motivated to start the business so that she could stay at home to look after her
children. Her husband works in a nearby hotel. As her business is more expensive than her competitors she attracts guests from the upper end of the market, hoping that they will not be coming in late and disturbing her children.

**10B**

*Bed and Breakfast:* This four star bungalow is located in Dalgety Bay, just outside Edinburgh. It has four guest bedrooms. The female host is over 40 years with no children living at home. Her husband has a job separate from the B&B. Her principal motivation to buy the property was the location and starting the business was so that she could work from home. She shares her sitting room with the guests and sometimes has guests who stay for several months of the year.

**11B**

*Bed and Breakfast:* This end of terrace property is located in North Ballachulish, in the Highlands. The female host is over 40 years with no children living at home, although she did bring up her family in the business as she has been doing it for 15 years. She has lived in her home for 32 years and was motivated to start up the business as it was something her mother and grandmother had done. She has four guest bedrooms and her private space is located on the third floor of the property. She has a private sitting room and a guest lounge. Her husband has a separate job. The property has been awarded three stars by VisitScotland.

**12P**

*Private home with paying guests:* This Georgian Townhouse is located in Edinburgh. Although it is not registered as a B&B it is very guest orientated. The male host has given over most of the space to his guests and now lives in an attached flat only using the kitchen of the main house. He has help, a lady who lives in the home and deals with the guests on a daily basis while he only sees them if he has to. His wife looks after their two small children. He is resentful that he has compromised his space and his family.

**13G**

*Guesthouse:* This farmhouse is located in Spean Bridge in the Highlands. Both hosts are over 40 years with no children living at home. They moved up from England to
start a business so the husband could care for his wife from home. They have four
guest bedrooms and have been graded as a three star property. They share a lot of
space with their guests and personal artefacts are displayed all around the home even
in the guest bedrooms. They have a separate sitting room but sometimes invite guests
to join them.

14G
Guesthouse: This Old Fishing Lodge is located in Spean Bridge in the Highlands.
Both hosts are under 40 years with a young daughter. They were motivated to buy the
property because of the location and wanted to start a business from home as they did
not want to become part of the rat race. They have four guest bedrooms which are
separate from their area and have been awarded four diamonds by the AA. They
provide evening meals for their guests on request.

15G
Guesthouse: This Victorian House is located in Edinburgh. The male host is under 40
years with no children. His partner has a job not associated with the guesthouse. He
was motivated to buy the property because of the location and the garden; he started
the business for the lifestyle. He advertises in the Pink Press. The property has five
guest bedrooms and has been graded four stars by VisitScotland. The host does not
share any space with his guests.

16G
Guesthouse: This Victorian house is located in Edinburgh. Both hosts are over 40
years with no children living at home. They are un-graded by the VisitScotland.
They have lived in their property for six years and bought it specifically for the
purpose of having a guesthouse. They liked the location as it was where they grew
up. They have a private sitting room and the guest dining room is set out is tables of
two.

17G
Guesthouse: This Georgian House is located in Edinburgh. Both male hosts are over
40 years with no children. They have six guest bedrooms and have a three star
grading. The host was motivated to buy the house because it felt right and he wanted
to start his own business because he did not like his previous job. The space is very separated from the guests with the hosts living on the third level of the property. They advertise in the Pink Press

**18G**

*Guesthouse:* This Victorian House is located in Edinburgh. Both hosts are under 40 years with no children. They are strict vegetarians and only target fellow vegetarians as guests. They serve organic vegan and vegetarian breakfasts and have natural produce such as home-made soap and home-made biscuits. They have six guest bedrooms and are un-graded by the tourist board. They had thought about starting their own business later in life but after being made redundant decided to do it sooner rather than later. They do not share space with their guests.

**19G**

*Guesthouse:* This Scottish Mansion is located in Dalkeith, just outside Edinburgh. Both hosts are over 40 years with no children. They have six guest bedrooms and have been awarded three stars by the STB. Their private space is located on a level away from the guests and they have a bell for guests to ring for attention. They are part of the Gems of Midlothian, a marketing strategy promoting other commercial homes as well as their own.

**20G**

*Guesthouse:* This Farmhouse is located in East Calder just outside Edinburgh. The female host is over 40 years with no children living at home. Her daughter and daughter-in-law live beside her and also have commercial homes. The host has six guest bedrooms and has been awarded four stars by VisitScotland and five diamonds by the AA and the RAC. Guest space and personal space is separated. The business is run very efficiently and the host has CCTV installed in the property.

**21G**

*Guesthouse:* This Bungalow is located in Spean Bridge in the Highlands. It has six guest bedrooms and has been awarded four stars by VisitScotland and four diamonds by the AA. The female host is over 40 years with no children living at home. The space is divided between host and guest with the host having now moved into an
adjoining house with a garden separated by a fence. There is a door joining the two properties. The host uses the main property when guests are not staying there.

**22H**

*Small Hotel:* This Victorian House is located in Edinburgh. Both male hosts are under 40 years and have no children. The property has four guest bedrooms and has been awarded four stars by VisitScotland and five diamonds by the AA and RAC. The hosts no longer live in the property deciding they needed their own space after living there to begin with. It was felt that they should still be included in the study as they had not long moved out of the property. They advertise in the Pink Press.

**23H**

*Small Hotel:* This Inn is located in Spean Bridge in the Highlands. It has six guest bedrooms and has been awarded two stars by VisitScotland. The hosts are both over 40 years with no children living at home, although their son did stay with them for a while when he was recovering from an accident. The male hosts works in the bar area, and the female host mostly works in the kitchen area. The hosts’ personal space is separated from their guests’ space although they do like to socialise with friends and guests in the bar area.

**24H**

*Small Hotel:* This Victorian House is located in Edinburgh. The Australian host is under 40 with two young children. He looks after the hotel while his wife looks after the children. His main motivation to start the business was to meet people and to enable his wife to stay at home to look after the children. His personal space is located in the basement and they family have a separate entrance if they do not wan to go through the hotel. The property has been awarded two stars by VisitScotland.

**25H**

*Small Hotel:* This Victorian House is located in Edinburgh. It has 16 guest bedrooms and has been awarded two stars by VisitScotland. Both hosts are over 40 years and have two teenagers living at home. The children do not work in the business as they can earn more money working elsewhere. The family used to live in one small room
in the middle of the guest area and would be in contact with guests constantly, but now after refurbishments they are more separated from the guests.

4.3 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework was prepared and progressively revised as each commercial home was analysed. The final framework is given in Table 7. The framework is divided into three sections; Home, Host, and Business. In relation to the Home section themes that emerged include, Meanings of Home, Décor, and Artefacts. In relation to the Host section, themes include Family and Lifestyle. With regards to the Business section, themes include Feelings, Space, Guests, Performance, Target Market, Tourist Board and Competitors. These themes emerged after rigorous analysis of the transcripts. The conceptual framework takes the host perspective. The issues arising from what the hosts spoke about were put into categories. These categories were then located into themes. The themes were then divided into the three sections, Home, Host and Business. The conceptual Framework based on Dimensions of the Host’s relationship with the commercial home follows:
Table 7. Dimensions of the Host’s Relationship with the Commercial Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
<th>ISSUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meanings of ‘home’</td>
<td>‘the place where a person, family or household lives’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:899).</td>
<td>Feelings, what home means, favourite part, house custodians, motivation to buy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>‘the style of furniture and furnishings chosen for a room or a house’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:492).</td>
<td>Reasons for choice, likes, dislikes, themes, atmosphere, nomenclature, personal area décor, previous décor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artefacts</td>
<td>‘an object made by a human being, especially one that has archaeological or cultural interest’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:97).</td>
<td>Reasons for buying, emotional, memories, integration, separation, reflection of self, Scottish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>‘a group of people who are closely related by birth marriage or adoption’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:673).</td>
<td>Feelings, partner, children, family management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>‘a style of living that reflects the attitudes and values of a person or group’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:1089)</td>
<td>Integrated with business, separated, perks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUSINESS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings</td>
<td>‘a thing that is felt through the mind or the senses’ (Oxford Dictionary, 1995:427).</td>
<td>Motivations, perceptions, benefits, constraints.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>‘the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all objects are located’ (Collins Dictionary 2000:1471).</td>
<td>Feelings, separation, privacy, exceptions, shared space, spatial displacement, dining area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests</td>
<td>‘one who is recipient of hospitality at the home or table of someone else’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:831).</td>
<td>Feelings, type, feedback, trouble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>‘the manner in which someone or something functions, operates or behaves’ (Encarta Dictionary, 1999:1402)</td>
<td>In front of guests, backstage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Market</td>
<td></td>
<td>Target market, selling point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Board</td>
<td>‘an official representative of a country with responsibility to market that country’s attractions to inbound tourists and trade’ (<a href="http://www.caltia.com">www.caltia.com</a>).</td>
<td>Graded, un-graded, feelings, restrictions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitors</td>
<td>‘a person or an organisation that competes against others, esp. in business; a rival’ (Oxford Dictionary, 1995:232).</td>
<td>Feelings, working together, competition, rural community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the main findings from the study. Synthesised findings using the conceptual framework as the presentational structure are described. The order of the findings follow that of the framework i.e. In the Home section, Meanings of Home, Décor and Artefacts; within the Host section, Family and Lifestyle; and within the Business section, Feelings, Space, Guests, Performance, Tourist Board and Competitors. Chapter 6 will provide a discussion of the findings in line with the aims and objectives of the study.

HOME

5.2 Meanings of home

5.2.1 Feelings, Meanings, Motivations

The hosts have many different feelings about their home, some find it welcoming (5B), some relinquish it (12P), some think it is not a family home (4B) and some felt it was home as soon as they moved in (13G, 7B), while it took others a lot longer (14G). 5B discusses how she feels about her home.

I think it’s a comfortable feeling. It’s sort of welcoming... it’s a very easy house to live in or to stay in but it’s easy to manage at the same time. There are some awkward pieces but then that’s what makes it interesting, you know. You can’t have everything just immaculate and perfect and the right size and the right shape, I mean even if you built it yourself you wouldn’t get it perfect. I would love a bigger kitchen and I’d probably like to eat in the kitchen rather than the slightly separate breakfast room and I wouldn’t miss, I’d have them all leading through each other, but that’s how it is you know. I just like the feeling of the house, the house is welcoming. It has a nice feel, I mean its not just because it’s my home, lots of people comment on how nice it feels. It’s got quite a happy feel about it, you know.

(5B: 946-959)
How the hosts feel about their home, is reflected in the things they do. Some try to make it homely for their guests.

*We just put the throws on to it to make it look a little bit more... I don't know, we just want to make it look nicer. I don’t want to make it look hotelly or anything like that, just a bit more homely.*

(14G: 471-473)

*We don’t want this place to be a place where people just get up and get out, we’d like them to come back again, and they only way you’re going to do that is by creating more of a friendly look, homely atmosphere. That room, once its been said, in fact several times, is that its like a home from home.*

(13G: 522-526)

There is a degree of compromise for some of the hosts. They give up space for their guests, and 12P feels that it has compromised his family life, but justifies why he has done it:

*I feel that it is slightly weird that you know, I’m married and moved from what was my house, which is this house, a big house to a small house. It really is a corridor flat, it’s all a bit awkward because we really wanted to give X his own bedroom. So you know, but I mean I don’t mind, it seems to me that there is no point having an awful lot of space if you don’t use it, and why would... how on earth can you possibly use... a five bedroom, five bathroom house?*

(12P: 506-514)

The fact that the host has moved out of his home to the adjoining flat and only uses the kitchen of the original home, and gives the rest of it over to his guests, seems a lot to compromise. Other hosts have made compromises for their guests too, albeit not to such a large extent. For example 5B and 2B move out of their own bedrooms for a period of the year so that their guests can use them, and 4B has compromised their own sitting room for the guests.
We’ve just left the sitting room as it is... when things are quieter in the winter we’ll use it... we were actually working out the next time we can get into the sitting room is the 21st, no the 20th of December. So we have people staying right through which is a bit annoying, because we like the use of lighting the fire and sitting in winter, it doesn’t matter in the summer, because we have got the garden.

(4B: 217-223)

Although the hosts are willing to compromise they do demand respect for their home.

It’s a very personal thing... they’re coming into your house and what people have to remember is that they are a guest in your house, its not that this is a hotel and I’m just a manager here, and it doesn’t bother me whether you do this or don’t do this, its not the same, and what they start to do is take the piss, you know, after that, so I would have none of it, and you wont come back again, and we do actually have our blacklist, and I wouldn’t have them back no matter how much they begged.

(18G: 1264-1272)

Because of incidents of safety that have occurred in the home some hosts feel the need for security:

Its reassured me somewhat that there is that separation, that door separation which we do lock and bar between the guests and downstairs, because you know, basically you don’t know who you get really you don’t know what is coming in the front door so we do have that sort of security.

(24H: 887-890)

He woke us up so he was on his way down, so there was no reason why he should have been down there so that’s again why the private goes on the door and it did force us to put Yale locks on the doors as well which... and that was very early on, it was a lesson well learned and he should have been at the top
of the house, he was in a room upstairs, so he shouldn’t have been there and that’s the only time touch wood that that’s ever happened.

(18G: 716-722)

This shows that the hosts feel unsafe in their own home, some have even gone as far as putting CCTV cameras into their home (20G, 24H), which are in primary and secondary regions. Others (21G, in a tertiary region) however, feel completely at ease with having people coming and going and do not feel like they have to have the place locked up:

I give them house keys which is quite an important thing, we never lock the door against guests so… if doors aren’t locked guests can come and go as they please, as though they are at home, they have a front door key. And I think that’s quite important. A lot of places have a house rule you must be in by eleven or you know. People holiday at the end of the day and we’ve never had any problems about giving them keys.

(21G: 22-27)

As opposed to a host located in a secondary region who feels differently towards keys:

We have a keypad number, so they have a keypad number, and I mean if I didn’t like somebody and they left this morning, I could change that, you know, and the only thing they have is the key to their bedroom, and if they go away with the key of their bedroom, well they can’t get back into the house. My daughter-in-law next door has a keypad and my daughter is just putting one in because one of her guests just recently went away with one of the keys.

(20G: 1042-1048)

Therefore, location affects safety perceptions for the hosts. The hosts that live in primary and secondary regions feel their safety may be at risk and have taken measures to stop this, whereas hosts in tertiary regions seem to be less concerned with taking these types of measures, conveying that they feel safer than their counterparts.
Home means many different things for the hosts; it can mean family (5B, 18G, 14G), having your independence, (24H), somewhere to curl up with a cup of tea (8B). Home can be a haven (21G) or where the heart is (3B, 25H). It is a place of comfort (10B) or somewhere to relax (16G). One host (17G) feels it is somewhere you can be yourself, implying that he may not be able to be himself, outside of his home. This may be true of people marginalized in society, for example sexuality issues. As this host targets the gay sector of the market, i.e. the pink press, he feels he can be himself in his own home, surrounded by like-minded people who do not make judgments on his sexuality.

*What does home mean to me? It’s a place for relaxing, it’s a place for entertaining friends, it’s where you can be yourself.*

(17G: 569-570)

One couple of hosts could not really agree on what home meant to them:

*R1b*  
*I don’t know, it’s where your family is really, isn’t it.*

*R1a*  
*I don’t know if it is actually because none of our family’s here.*

*R1b*  
*No, well that’s what I mean, it’s become more of a home now that X [their baby daughter] is here I think a wee bit more of a family.*

*R1a*  
*Just for me, its what you know and it’s where you feel completely happy and secure and you know where everything is and how it works and it’s like you go on holiday and you have a good time but it’s nice to get back home and get back to your bed which you know what your bed feels like and you sleep properly in your bed.*

(14G: 1125-1134)

On request, the commercial home host placed their property as either being closer to a home or to a business. Twelve hosts (1HF, 2B, 3B, 4B, 5B, 6B, 9B, 10B, 11B, 13G
14G, and 21G) placed themselves as being closer to a home than a business. Five hosts (8B, 16G, 17G, 18G, and 19G) felt they were somewhere in the middle, and 7 hosts (7B, 12P, 13G, 15G, 20G, 21G, 23H, 24H, and 25H) felt they were more of a business than a home. The hosts of the small hotels all felt they were more of a business than a home, and the hosts of the B&Bs felt they were more of a home than a business, with the exception of 8B who felt she was somewhere in the middle and 7B who said:

*It’s our business because we couldn’t afford to retire, so we needed some income just to pay the bills and this more than pays the bills, so the business is important to keep us.*

(7B: 490-492)

23H feels completely detached from the property and does not see it as her home at all, but rather:

*I don’t look at it as my home, I look at it as I have accommodation here that’s how I cope with it...it’s my accommodation, when I live here I get my business and when I leave here I get my real home.*

(23H: 32-38)

She deals with this by reminding herself that what they are doing is a means to an end, they have built up the business so that they can then move on to the home they want:

*When I move on we probably will buy another commercial premises but the emphasis will be on the home and not the commercial side of it the next time.*

(23H: 47-49)

Although 15G sees his property as his business, he still respects it as much as he would his home, even though he separates the two completely:
I see this as my business. I treat it as...I give it as much if not more care and attention than I would probably do my home. I treat it like this space is my business space but in terms of the respect I have for it, I really... I don’t ever just walk in here and think ‘och that’ll do’. I never have that attitude towards it. If anything, it has to be more perfect in here than it does in my part of the house. X was saying, your part of the house is always the last to get painted and so on. You know, you have, to the outside world, this lovely house, and then you know your own chaos reigns kind of. But I do very much feel that this is my business. For instance if I had friends round we never eat in the dining room, I don’t do that in this dining room, I have my own dining space, my own with my friends, I don’t regard this as somewhere that I would socialise with my pals, I take them to my part of the house.

(15G: 361-377)

21G who also runs a guest house, but in a tertiary area rather than a primary region feels that the property is more her home, but like 15G she feels she has to kept her house tidy, at least the area that is on display:

It’s still part of my home but it’s a part of the home that I look on slightly differently, in other words it’s the part of the home that I always ensure is clean and tidy because of the public viewing of it whereas in my house, I might have a pile of ironing sitting in the middle of the dining room table waiting to be done which I couldn’t leave out here. But when we’re closed, this is just as you know, the ironing could be in the middle of the dining room tables so it’s difficult. It is my home but it is also my business, and I think that’s where you have to... there’s a defilation between the bit we’re living in and this bit but it’s all mine, it’s all my home you know, as such.

(21G: 875- 885)

25H who runs a small hotel feels that his property is definitely more of a business than a home and compares it to a fun fair:

This is a different type of living. I don’t know what else could compare with a hotel. Maybe a fun fair, maybe this is what it’s like in here, you know people
who travel with the fun fair, their houses are there but they can’t get away
from the business, the noise and the hustle, the only time they get away from it
is when the business closes at night, and this is a bit like here when the bar
closes at eleven, half eleven and your last guest goes to bed, that is the only
time you are not involved in the business. So, it’s probably like a fun fair.

(25H: 684-693)

For the purpose of a photograph the hosts chose the favourite part of their homes,
ranging from the kitchen (2B) to the balcony (6B) and the living room (16G) to the
conservatory (1HF). Figures 5 and 6 show the hosts 5B and 1HF, respectively, in
their favourite part of the home. They give reasons why they love them so much:

In the summer when it’s very busy I do like to disappear through to the
conservatory in the afternoon or evening and that I find a sort of, slightly our
area. It’s awkward because in the summer that’s where most guests have
breakfast, but they do have a sitting area in the big drawing room, and there
are benches outside to the front of the house and I try and keep sort of a little
bit round just outside the conservatory where we can have you know, benches
and a barbeque and whatever else and most people are you know, if I’m
sitting out there reading, I’m so lucky! Then you know, on the whole they
might walk round looking at the garden or whatever and exploring but they’re
not going to come and join me on the whole. So… it’s a matter of you know, I
just keep my nose in my book and then people soon get the message.

(5B: 210-222)

1HF also loves her conservatory and describes the intangible elements of it and then
goes on to describe why she chose the décor for it:

I look on my garden, which is really great, and I feel relaxed there and I love
sunshine, I hate being anywhere dark and dingy, it depresses me. So the more
light, I just feel totally relaxed there, looking out in the garden when its in
bloom and just the evening goes on and on and on, the sunsets, you see it all
and surrounded with glass, its just lovely, I love it.

(1HF: 103-108)
Figure 5. Photograph of 5B in her favourite part of the home.

Figure 6. Photograph of 1HF in her favourite part of the home.
The décor, well I just wanted to keep that simple and just... I wanted somewhere nice to sit and chill out, so the décor... we built it all ourselves, so I wanted the wood to remain consistent through the house and again, I like wicker, it’s natural... and the blinds are natural so its really natural things I like, you know, natural woods, natural flagstones and anything that’s natural.

(1HF: 115-122)

Some hosts become house custodians, linking to the past, preserving and continuing the memories of the people who have lived in the house previously. The relationship is represented in the time invested in finding out about the history. An example is 4B:

R1a  These little bottles were when we were clearing a bit beside the garden we found them.

R1b  So it was obviously the house rubbish dump, you know. So even though some of them are slightly chipped we thought, oh, it doesn’t matter we’ll just keep them.

Int  So why did you decide to keep them?

R1a  Because they are part of the history of the house I suppose. Just that they have been used by people who lived here, so we thought well, we’ll just keep them.

(4B: 96-105)

Motivations to buy their property vary between the hosts, although 8 hosts (13G, 23H, 8B, 9B, 14G, 21G, 16G, CH 22, 7B) did buy the property to start a business, all of which are in the rural area, with the exception of 16G and 22H. One rural host (9B) bought the property because she thought it was a good way of living in a bigger house and looking after the children.

I’m from this area but we just moved to a bigger house and it was an ideal way of allowing us to have a bigger house and also the way to run a business as well as look after the children.

(9B: 19-21)
Hosts also bought their home because of the surrounding views (6B) and the location of the property (13G), which were in rural areas, while hosts in urban areas where more concerned about not having people directly opposite so that they could not see into their property (15G). Others had a feeling about the property when they walked in:

*It just felt right... we liked the look of it.*

(16G: 166)

*The spaciousness of it, the elegance of it, the fact that well, if I didn’t have a guest house I wouldn’t have a four storey Georgian town house, it’s as simple as that, it’s a nice place to live, the house itself has a very good feel to it I mean when we first saw it... you know how you walk into a place and you get a feeling even in the state it was, we still got a feeling, you know, we knew that we could do something with it.*

(17G: 541-546)

14G also wanted to live in a big property in a particular area and the only way they could afford to do so was to have a guesthouse:

*We really bought it because we wanted to live here we wanted the house but the guest house was the only way that we could do so.*

(14G: 19-20)

5.3 Décor

5.3.1 Choice, Reasoning, Atmosphere

Décor is a very important aspect of the home; it reflects the tastes and preferences of a person. The hosts have specific reasons for their choice of décor; because they liked it (5B), it was fashionable at the time (16G); it is low maintenance (25H) or it was cheap (24H). It was chosen to portray a corporate image (24H) so selected colours
accordingly, or to give tourists a feel of Scotland, so used Scottish décor (25H). Some hosts have taken more interest in choosing their décor than others, namely 23H who let someone else choose her décor for her:

_We never chose this, we got an interior designer in and totally revamped the bar, the shape, the length of the bar, everything we started with four walls, took everything out that was here and we let him choose it, specifically not a country house because we’re not a country house, we are a bar in a small village but we wanted it to have a Scottish theme, and he chose this for us._

(23H: 105-110)

As opposed to 15G who put a lot of effort and thought into choosing just the right type of décor for his commercial home:

_There’s quite a lot of dark wood in the hall as well, so in terms of the wall it had to be, it really had to lift the mood of the area, and so I made it very light, and the hall flooring is quite low as well, just to lift the dark wood. All the doors in the hall we stripped and stained, they were all just painted white when we moved in and it all felt very institutional. So we stripped those back to the natural wood and it just makes it feel warmer._

(15G: 478-484)

Some hosts chose the décor to accommodate their guests, whether it be the colour of a wall because it covers up marks left by suitcases rubbing against it (14G) or the choice of bedspread so it suits most tastes. 5B wanted bedspreads that were not too feminine:

_You don’t want things to be too pink and frilly. Okay I’m not a pink and frilly person, but most men don’t like pink and frilly, you know. You’ve got to be careful with your bath things as well, so they are not so overpowering floral_
and female so a man won’t use them. There’s a fine balance of getting something everyone will use.

(5B: 749-783)

And 1HF chose bedspreads (Figure 7) that she felt would be appreciated by the young students who would be coming to stay with her host family.

Well I had it originally cream walls and very florally covers because before I did this I had X and X (her step-daughters) in mind, so it was very feminine and there was a carpet on the floor and everything. And then I had mainly boys staying when it was the Indians, and I thought gosh, they are in here all florally florally and the carpet was getting a bit shabby too and they were sticking things on the wall. So it needed re-vamped, so I painted the walls...

but I thought well they are young people we’re now getting, we were beginning to get the Japanese kids, so I thought well we like the fun covers and the Japanese are very childlike, you know the things they do and everything and they’re wee paper things and everything so they love this kind of thing, you know, because it’s bugs and everything so that was the reason behind that, and just green and fresh, you know.

(1HF: 577-594)

Unlike these hosts 11B did not decorate to please her guests but rather chose décor that she liked, her own personal taste, (Figure 8).

The bows, I think the bows are actually quite eighties but I still like them, so that’s why they’re there. I like this colour with the pale pink, but as a say it’s quite old-fashioned looking... yeah I’ve tried to sort of match the colours, it’s the same in the blue room, the sort of light lilacs and blues. And this is sort of like your two pink colours, your light and dark; I think they go quite well together. Just sort of like bring it in.

(11B: 807-817)
Figure 7. Photograph of bedspreads from 1HF.

Figure 8. Photograph of a guest bedroom in 11B.
5.3.2 Themes

Décor was also chosen with a theme in mind by some of the hosts. Three of the small hotels decided to decorate with a Scottish theme. One particular Australian host thought having a Scottish theme was reassuring for his guests:

*It's got the Scottish theme to complement the tartan... there’s nothing worse than turning up in Scotland and being served by an Australian and having your meal cooked by an Italian and your bedroom serviced by somebody who is Chinese, foreigners, so we introduced the Scottish element into it.*

(24H: 395-404)

Other themes that have been introduced by hosts include an Italian theme (17G) and a Scandinavian theme (22H). 6B has several themes running through his house:

*All the wallpapers in the house are from Laura Ashley and that’s a theme that goes right through the house.*

(6B: 331-332)

*And that’s just another theme as you see it, the lilac theme. And the bathroom is the same, the lilac wallpaper.*

(6B: 337-338)

*It’s a kind of sea theme on the walls with pictures, just kind of little shell picture and with the lighthouse and there are a couple of boats.*

(6B: 367-368)

*Crockery is kind of a green ivy I think it actually has a theme doesn’t it, it’s called something, country violet I think.*

(6B: 429-430)
Décor has been influenced by styles from around the world. 15G has been influenced by styles from France: (Figure 9)

So I love roses actually, they’re lovely. There’s a restaurant in Paris that I’ve been to quite a few times and they have one single rose on each table and they have very long stems and they sit in the middle of the table and the chairs in the restaurant, the seats are all quite low, and then on each, the tables are quite low so when you look across the restaurant all you can see is heads of roses and its just visually, its just amazing. So I really like the height of the tables, that’s nice it works well.

(15G: 434-442)

Figure 9. Photograph shows décor influenced by Paris in 15G.

And 2B has been influenced by Spanish décor: (Figure 10)

The bathroom which we redid, oh probably about seven years ago and we’d just been out in Spain and I loved all their styles, so I took lots of pictures and X my husband did the art, I really like having arches rather than squares so it was quite fun to do that, yeah good fun.

(2B: 610-613)
Hotels are another source of influence when it comes to the décor of the commercial homes. 15G who identified his commercial home as more of a business than a home, has used part of the space in his commercial home as something that could be likened to a hotel reception area:

*But the bottom (of the stairs) is a more kind of arriving and leaving kind of space, functional space, and it’s got you know, brochures and whatever and where you make your telephone calls if you need to make a call, and the seating area here, for people just sort of arriving or leaving or just sitting making a phone call.*

(15G: 459- 463)

20G justifies why she has all her bedrooms the same, just like hotels:

*All my rooms are the same. Lots of hotels and places you go they’re not different, but you know people are only in one room so they wouldn’t know*
what the one next door would look like, would they? No, and it’s easier for
the daily woman if she can just take all the duvets along and each one has the
same kind of duvet in it.

(20G: 741-745)

11B has brought her skills that she learned working in the hotels and has applied them
to her own commercial home, i.e. the idea of rolling the towels and displaying them
on top of each other and pointing the ends of the hand-towels on the handrails:

That’s a little quirk I leant from the hotel... I tried to get the angels right but it
doesn’t look right! But these wee labels shouldn’t be showing. I tell you as I
said that’s a drop off from working in the hotel, something I picked up and
learnt.

(11B: 948-953)

5.3.3 Atmosphere

The choice of décor can create an atmosphere within a home. This atmosphere can be
pre-empted or come together when a whole room is finished. Some of the hosts set
out to create a specific atmosphere in certain parts of their commercial home. They
want to create a welcoming atmosphere (16G) or one of calmness (10B) or cleanliness
(16G). 15G endeavoured to create a relaxed and contemporary atmosphere whereas
1HF wanted to create a country feel to remind her of where she came from. 25H who
had chosen a Scottish theme for his small hotel, but decided to create a different
atmosphere for one particular room, may be to cater for his foreign market.

It’s so different from other places, it was to give a piece of ancient tranquillity
mixed in Roman, Egyptian, Greek symbols and designs. And it’s called Ceildh
Atlantis because we want, eventually to have a little description in the
brochure or on the web that this room is... tranquility Atlantis, the civilisation
before time so...that allowed us to use Greek, Roman, Egyptian, anything,
there all... anything put it all together and call it Ceildh Atlantis.

(25H: 636-643)
Light played an important part in creating the right atmosphere for the hosts. Soft lighting from lamps or wall lights (16G) was preferred over Central lighting. Or if this was not possible central lighting was used with dimmer switches (10B). 6B thinks “its kind of nice to light up the hallway when people come into the house it gives it a nice soft atmosphere” (6B: 229-300).

5.3.4 Nomenclature

Nomenclature can be associated with the décor of the room. Hosts refer to particular rooms by calling them the colour they have been decorated in, the pink room (11B), or the yellow room (4B). The role of the female can play a part in the choice of décor even if it is the male that runs the business, “It’s my wife’s taste in décor, I tend to agree and she tends to be right” (6B; 257-258). This may resonate with deep-rooted issues of the female knowing the home best. Previously the wife in particular was the homemaker so may therefore know what guests like in terms of décor. Bold decisions about the choice of décor have been blamed on his wife’s pregnancy by one host, (12P). He may have thought it was her hormones doing the deciding and thought it was best not to argue:

*Turquoise room, chosen when Cass was pregnant, a radical colour, I think it’s quite nice really very bold colour, very bold, I think probably it was a good idea for her because you know, it’s the only dark room in the house, it does have a window, but it’s the only really potentially dark room in the house, I think quite a bold colour was a good idea.*

(12P: 302-306)

Choice of décor was divided between one couple of a small hotel, the female chose the décor for the bedrooms and the male chose for the bar area. These could be seen as feminine and masculine areas. The fact that the male hosts says he was given full control to decorate the bar area, implies that he needed his wife’s permission.
You know, in the bar and restaurant area I was given full control, and my wife takes control of the bedrooms.

(25H: 199-200)

5.3.5 Personal area décor

As the hosts have mentioned before, some of them pay more attention to the part of the home that is in view of the guests than to their own personal area. This may be just in terms of keeping it cleaner and tidier, or it could go deeper than that. Some hosts chose different décor for the different parts of the home, one for their guests and a different one for them. The B&B hosts, in particular, insist that the décor is the same throughout the whole house. However, one small hotel host insists that even though he has decorated the hotel in a Scottish theme, this is the décor he would chose for his own home:

If the guests weren’t coming here, if this was just your home, would it be still be Scottish?

Oh yeah, oh our last house before it was a guesthouse had a Scottish flag in the floor laid out in timber yeah. No choice in the matter, genetics skipped in when I was about one year old and I was Scottish I just knew I was Scottish you know, I could go back to when I was five or six, yeah, don’t know why. Call me William Wallace.

(25H: 772-778)

However, to some hosts (23H) it is important to differentiate between the décor in the guest area and their personal area décor. One host (21G) feels that her personal area décor is very different but when she starts to describe it finds that it is quite similar:

They’re completely different in that they’re still simple and plain because I don’t, we’re not into bright oranges and turquoises and things, so they’re relatively simple and plain, but the furnishing is different, carpets are
different, the bathrooms for instance are very different than the guest’s bathrooms. There are four bathrooms attached to each bedroom. I suppose in some ways they’re not that different when I really think about it, you know, because we don’t, we’re not into the old patterns on walls and things. But for instance some of the guest bedroom papers we’ve been very careful to try and pick relatively simple papers that aren’t going to be overpowering and won’t offend but I wouldn’t necessarily put the guests, the papers I’ve put in the guest bedrooms into my bedroom.

*INT: Why?

Because perhaps they’re too non-descript. How can I say it, I don’t mean by that, it sounds as though I’m not liking what I’ve done. I actually go to great lengths to try and ensure that we pick patterns in the bedrooms that are simple not going to hit you in the face, soothing, whereas our bedroom it’s a simple paper but it’s a more modern paper because it’s got a variety of things that go with it, and match it. It’s also a paper that’s not washable in our bedroom, like there is in the guests’ bedrooms.

(21G: 94-117)

19G is embarrassed by the décor in his personal space and argues that all the attention is given to the guest area:

Int And so what’s your décor, the décor like in your own space? Is it similar or?

R Fuck off [laughing] it’s manky! In 1984 we went in there and decorated it. We did repaint the bathroom four or five years ago, put tiles in and stuff, put a shower into it, now I’m used to it but it’s embarrassing up there, it’s a shite mess. The time and attention and the thought that has gone into making nice bits of space outside our mess and the dream is that now that we’ve got a business.

(19G: 536-546)
The décor in the commercial homes may not always belong to the present host, sometimes décor from the previous owner is left behind and the hosts choose whether or not to keep it. It may not be to their taste but they keep it because it would be too expensive to change it (16G), or because it could be worse (12P), and even if they do like it they may not necessarily have chosen it:

The previous owners did this actually with the dolphins, we love dolphins in our house but I wouldn’t actually have done that, we are hoping to upgrade the shower it is all cheap plasticy things.

(9B: 473-476)

Although sometimes the décor just had to be changed as it was not what the host wanted, i.e. did not want carpets (15G) or found it too clinical (21G) or really did not like the colours:

Oh it was disgusting when we moved in, I mean not disgusting, the colours were disgusting, they were all oranges, white tiles, she painted all the cupboards orange, but she painted the grout around the tiles orange as well. Oh it was a nightmare.

(7B: 345-348)

Although not all hosts were as unfortunate, 3B were happy with the décor when the moved in so they decided to keep it:

It had been done up for sale, the guy who had the house before had somebody in obviously who laid floors and carpets and curtains and wallpaper and we’re still using it. I think possibly come the time when this wallpaper has to be replaced we might get something a bit lighter. It’s very effective but it does make it a bit dark here, you need to leave the lights on more than you would normally. But as it goes upstairs and downstairs and round the corner there’s an awful lot of wallpaper.

(3B: 89-96)
5.4 Artefacts

5.4.1 Reasons for buying

Artefacts play a significant role in the messages they convey about the hosts. They portray impressions of the type of hosts in the commercial home. Whether it is a commercial home surrounded by little nick knacks (11B) or one that is very minimalist (15G). Hosts that like to be surrounded by memories (13G) all around their home or others prefer to keep them separate from their business (9B). Artefacts evoke memories for the host and can be a talking point with the guests. The guests can also see elements of the host’s lifestyle through the artefacts on display. Many artefacts have been given to the hosts as presents, but the ones they do buy themselves are usually bought because they match the décor; a picture that fits in well with the décor (16G) or a bowl that matches the bedspreads (20G). Pictures are also bought because the host (15G) really likes them. 13G “loves pictures which tell a story” (15G: 924). Hosts sometimes differentiate between their home and business when choosing artefacts:

This particular picture here, I liked it, but I also wanted, I... it was... I bought it partly for the bed and breakfast as well, because it has... it details the path of Glencoe which is that mountain out there so some days when it’s really low clouds you can’t see it so you know, because a lot of people know there’s a lovely view up here and if there’s low cloud, well that’s what it’s supposed to look like, so that was another reason for getting it, especially that in this particular room as well, so I could show my guests, so that’s why we chose that particular picture.

(9B: 219-227)

Although the host bought the picture because she liked it, she had her guests in mind; it was not purchased just because it matched the décor like 16G:

Lots of ones in the rooms (guest bedrooms), probably don’t mean anything; it was maybe being picked, just to complement the décor.

(16G: 802-803)
21G not only has reasons for why she has purchased particular artefacts (Figure 11) but also why she has positioned them in particular rooms:

_We bought them while we were there. They’re in that room because there are waterfalls outside and they could hear running water. There is a reason for these things._

(21G: 1110-1112)

Artefacts are bought to please guests; to amuse children (13G) as a talking point (23H) or so as not to offend people. 9B has compromised what she would like by putting pictures up that she thinks her guests would like:

_I have other interesting pictures that I think they’d probably prefer to see, so I’m catering for my guests there I suppose rather than my one ones._

(9B: 192-194)

Hosts have an emotional attachment to artefacts. They can trigger memories of celebrations, childhood, places they have visited, past loved ones, births or of their own children growing up. Displays of affection are evident through some artefacts. Figure 12. shows a photograph of a teddy bear given by 13G to her husband when they first met:

_When we were courting X bought me Tigger because Tigger out of the Poo stories is probably one of my favourite characters._

(13G: 1041-1043)
Figure 11. Photograph of pictures of waterfalls in guest bedroom in 21G

Figure 12. Photograph of teddy bears in 13G.
Like 18G who also has kept a toy from when she first met her husband, this sign of affection is in the hosts’ own space. It is not viewed by the guests unlike 17G, who has a picture of him and his partner on the mantle piece in the guest dining area. This sign of love and affection is clear for all to see (Figure 13). More signs of affection are evident in 4B from the host’s grandchildren. The handprints (Figure 14) are sitting on a table, which is in the hallway, an area that is used everyday by the hosts and the guests. The host is obviously attached to the piece and reads out a poem on the back:

That’s handprints of our two grandsons, and that’s them in the photo. There’s a lovely poem on the back... “There used to be so many of these finger prints to see on furniture and walls and things from grubby sticky me, but if you stop and think a while you’ll see I’m growing fast, these little handprints disappear and cant bring back what’s past, so here’s a little reminder to keep not throw away, of tiny hands and how they looked to make you smile someday”.

(4B: 301-308)
Figure 14. Handprints from grandchildren in 4B

Memories of past loved ones are kept alive by artefacts on display. To the unknowing guests they are just artefacts but to the hosts they are more than that. They have a constant visual image that reminds them of their past loved one and guests would not know this just by looking at them. 4B has his late son’s trophies on display:

That’s a trophy our late son got, he was into rifle shooting and he actually shot for Scotland and that’s on of the trophies he got. The silver tray is another one.

(4B: 385-387)

10B has a cup and saucer that belonged to her late friend (Figure 15). As she has several cups and saucers on display throughout her house, guests would not be aware how sentimental it is and may just think that she collects them. But the host obviously has an emotional attachment to it as she explains where it came from when she sees a photograph of it:
The cup and saucer came from a friend... she actually died of cancer and I used to take her tea and it was just a pretty cup and saucer and her husband gave it to me.

25H goes slightly further than having one item to remind him of a past loved one and has a display of artefacts (Figure 16) from his late mum, which he affectionately refers to as “shrine to my mummy”. He is obviously proud of her and likes to be reminded of her, although he says that it will be time to let go soon:

They’re situated outside in the Internet Café area its more like a wee house its my shrine to my mummy there as well so, my ma! So that’s in there somewhere, her pictures not that one, that one here yeah. Its pottery and some painting that my mother did when she was seventy odd year old, I’m quite proud of her taking it up, my father had died and she got her own life
back, if you know what I mean so but you know, pictures of the kids, there’s
some people... they’re not very... if they make the connection then fine but it’s
just a little shrine which won’t be there, unfortunately it’s time to let things go,
my mum’s been dead for six year now so it’s time to let it go because we’re
redeveloping that area and, we’ll keep one or two things but that, that’ll go
away.

(25H: 599-610)

Artefacts are also used to evoke happy memories. 4B has a collection of champagne
corks that they have accumulated over the years, they write the date on the back so
they remember what they were celebrating. An old rocking horse is referred to as “an
old family friend, it’s been around forever” (5B: 722-723), conjuring feelings of
belonging and a sense of family. 2B, who also has a rocking horse, is happy that it is
being used again by grandchildren. It has been kept in the family for so long that it is
almost part of the family. A source of fun and pleasure has been passed down a
generation and may be passed down again:

Figure 16. Photograph of pottery done by the host’s late mum in 25H
This is my rocking horse Jenna, which I bought for my lot when they were young and they’re about 32 now, so probably about 28 years old... and it hung around in the way for quite a few years and now of course it’s being used again, which is lovely.

(2B: 255-261)

Memories of their children growing up are reflected in the artefacts on display. 10B keeps a little leprechaun that her son bought her over thirty years ago in view on the window sill and 21G also keeps presents (Figure 17) that her children bought her many years ago:

Oh the Russian dolls my daughter brought back from Russian when she went on a school trip when she was eight years old, gosh that’s thirty years ago.

(21G: 1230-1232)

Figure 17. Photograph of Russian dolls, a present from the host’s daughter in 21G
Artefacts not only bring back memories of the host’s children but also of their own childhood:

I bought that kettle, I just liked it. It reminded me of being at home when I was young; it’s an old iron kettle so I had to have it.

(1HF: 257-259)

Memories of the places the hosts have visited are conjured by the artefacts they have brought back. They may remind them of a story connected to the visit (8B) or of an era of their life (1HF). They are there as mementoes of their trip:

We try and get a souvenir painting when we go abroad, just to hold all the memories.

(4B: 155-156)

Or they may be a way of letting people know that they have travelled. It may be a way of showing off:

Things that we have bought on our travels... we have travelled quite extensively... those little circles with the flowers are from Canada, from Jasper in Canada and those two plaques are from Prague.

(16G: 463-465)

A lot of the artefacts in the commercial homes are presents for the host, leaving presents from work (8B), wedding presents (4B), presents from family (14G), friends (1HF) and from guests (23H). There are often stories behind the gifts that guests leave for the hosts, as with the glass cow in 4B:

This stylised cow came from a guest who stayed here three or four times. The father, he came with the son the first time... he was big Ed and he was little Ed, the son was 6ft 2, and the big Ed would be about 5ft none! And they couldn’t get the pronunciation of Glasgow right, they called it “Glas-gowe”, so he said well the way to remember it is to think of a glass cow being wrong.
it is “Glas-go”. So they sent this glass cow.

(4B: 348-356)

21G has another story about the presents (Figure 18) she has received from guests:

On to my koala tree! Well this is the big talking point I think I’ve mentioned to you before, we were given... it seems that Australians pack koala bears, a couple of them will have them when they choose a break and like to leave them when they’re on their tours, the places that they’ve felt really as home. Our first one was left to us, I think it was the first year we were here, and it’s got written on it’s back, with love from Australia. Well it used to sit on the front desk but then another Australian left us the Kangaroo, was the next one and the Kangaroo with his Joey in the pouch and then we had a third one which was the big one at the bottom and the front desk just wasn’t big enough to start taking these Kangaroos and I thought, what can I do with them. And we’ve got this big houseplant, I call it an umbrella plant, I’m not actually sure what it is. And it just struck me that I hadn’t got a gum tree but that was an ideal place to put the koala bears and it just seemed to multiply from them on! And then last year we had an American from Michigan who left us with a present from Michigan and she hung it on the tree as she went out she called it the present tree. But that has become a talking point our Koala Bear tree.

(21G: 586-606)

The host (21G) may display the presents so that other guests can see them, or in case the guests return and she wants to let them know that she likes them. The host feels good that guests leave her presents:

Oh I think it makes you feel really good. It makes you think well I’ve done something memorable for them in other words, their Scottish holiday will be a memorable one and that’s the important thing. But my view is that they’re on holiday therefore I’m here to help them have a good holiday, hopefully not to make it stressful for them. But oh yes, it makes us feel good when we get things like that.

(21G: 608-614)
In a host family things are different; there is less likelihood of guests dropping in unannounced, so if presents received are not to the host’s taste then she (1HF) puts them away after they go:

*I do keep them up till they go and then I take them down, you know, because the Japanese always bring stuff, I had tons of stuff up from the Japanese, they always bring you things, so but, I do keep them there until they go unless. I’ve still got one or two things that I have out but it’s just not my taste.*

(1HF: 138-143)

Artefacts are often passed down through generations and hosts have many items that they have inherited from people like their; granddad (4B), aunt (23H), mum (21G), dad (4B) or even great great grandma (10B). They can hold treasured memories for the host:
That desk, the table there came from my grandfather and there are some scuffmarks on the struts, which, my grandfather told me, because I worked for him for three years, were made by my father. He sat down at the table one day with his boots on and he got a row from my mother, so yeah all these little stories.

(4B: 274-281)

5.4.2 Integrated

Artefacts have accumulated for many reasons and are spread throughout the commercial home. Where the hosts decide to display them is explained, as well as why the hosts decide to share them with their guests or to keep them in their own personal space. Artefacts that are integrated in areas also used by guests are placed there because the host is happy to share memories with her guests (11B), or because there is no more room in their personal area (8B), or because they feel they are safe enough (17G) or they want to see family photographs in their home (16G). 5B and 21G has everything where they would have it even if they didn’t have a guesthouse:

I don’t move any ornaments or any photographs; everything is as I would live with it.

(5B: 291-292)

Because we use this lounge ourselves in the winter months when, Christmas in particular and I wouldn’t want it to be devoid of personality and I wouldn’t want it to be, have just… I’ve got the stuff, I can’t... there’s not enough room in the other part of my house to put it all out so why leave it packed in boxes and go and buy cheap stuff

(21G: 177-181)

but yeah, I mean... a lot of the stuff in this part of the home are there because it’s a home I mean I could easily have said why not in your own house, I could easily have left if quite a blank there, canvas, and just well that’s the business
but because we also use this, see it as our home, it’s important that I feel that it’s a home as well. I’m not sitting in an area that I’m not supposed to be in you know.

(21G: 1306-1312)

Although the hosts are happy to share their personal bits and pieces with the guests sometimes their children are not:

The family pictures, the kids dislike them intensely because of course they change, well their hairstyles or you know, God how could I have worn that or whatever, but no they’re important to have around...the guests really like them, they want to know where everyone is and what they’re doing. People who come to Bed and Breakfast, do so, partly because of the cost but partly because when they are touring it gives them an insight into the country they are in... so you know it’s more personal, its as simple as that and its more interesting.

(5B: 865-888)

5.4.3 Separated

Hosts also have reasons why they keep artefacts separate from guests; because they are precious and they fear they might get stolen (8B), or they just want to keep some things private (9B). 16G keeps the artefacts that have some meaning separate from the ones that do not:

I’ve got some more precious ones I keep in my own areas; more expensive things are kept in my own personal sitting room.

(8B: 58-59)

You just want to keep some things private I suppose.

(9B: 190)
Lots of ones (pictures) in the (guests’) rooms, probably don’t mean anything, it was them maybe being picked just to complement the décor, the ones that do mean things to us are in our own private areas, because it reminds us of places we’ve been, we’ve probably brought something back, when you look at them it brings back memories, the ones upstairs help take plainness away from walls, really more than anything else, and maybe make it more homely, but they are not special to us.

(16G: 802-810)

5.4.4 Reflection of self

Artefacts can reflect the host in some way. They can convey their interests and hobbies, books about climbing (12P), or cooking (13G). What they like to collect, James Bond memorabilia (13G) ornament of birds (4B), or cats (1HF), clocks (5B) or blue and white china (11B). Pictures or photographs can reveal where they came from or where they lived before (23H). They can reflect the work that their partner does such as photography (12P) (Figure 19) or the work they used to do before starting their commercial home:

*We used to be in the butchery trade and these weights that I used to have a whole collection of the old fashioned weights for going on scales.*

(4B: 364-366)

They can reflect the host’s lifestyle, 21G:

*I think it needs to reflect part of the surroundings around you and the other things you’ll see is eagles and birds and dogs that are gun dogs, it’s all part of the Scottish lifestyle in the Highlands so, it also happens to be our lifestyle so which is, you know, convenient.*

(21G: 145-149)
14G who also runs a guesthouse in the Highland disagrees with this:

> When we started, I didn’t like to put things like that (Figure 20) up around the house because I thought you had to keep it sort of vaguely Scottish or so at least British and we didn’t have them up at all. And then I sort of thought, when we repainted the stairs and stuff and I thought well, it doesn’t matter. The sort of link is linked to us so and there you go it is still saying it’s our house as well so... they’ve all gone up now and they look really good.

(14G: 804-811)

![Figure 19. Photograph of photography done by a host’s wife in 12P.](image)
Figure 20. Photograph of artefacts from 4B

Figure 21. Photograph of homemade jams in 13G
The hosts are reflected through the homemade items they have in their homes, jams (Figure 21) (13G), candles (23H), soaps and biscuits (18G). They use their creative skills to make hand-made objects such as patchwork (1HF), tapestry (20G), artificial flower arrangements (11B) or put their own special stamp on mirrors:

That bark came from Corstorphine hill, that’s around the mirror.

(18G: 522)

And that one, tiles, I don’t know a pound, B&Q were selling them off, so I had fun smashing them up and then putting them back together again, but it was just one of those whims I’d got into my head, that was my mirror period!

(18G: 961- 964)

Artefacts which not only reflect the host but also the business are evident in the commercial homes. 4B have their grading certificate on display and think:

If you are graded you should display openly your grading.

(4B: 286)

20G also displays her three certificates for being in the top twenty landladies and Businesswoman of the year, and her husband’s certificates for gardening. 21G, which is also a guesthouse like the other two, has her grading certificates on display too.

Some hosts intentionally try to have Scottish artefacts while others do not. Commercial homes in the Highlands have artefacts that reflect their surroundings, pictures of Glencoe (13G), views of Fort William and Ben Nevis (23H), surrounding lochs (9B) or local views (8B). Whereas commercial homes in the Edinburgh area (25H) have selected iconic artefacts of Scotland:

The décor you see round about here is to give tourists a feel of being Scottish, tartan, bagpipes, music, whatever view they have of it is to feel that they’re in Scotland most people bash the tartan biscuit tins, their crazy I mean some of the biggest icons in the world as far as I know are whiskey, golf, tartan, bag pipes, shortbread, I don’t care, they’re all icons and you couldn’t invent them,
you know there’s not many countries that have such a strong visual image as Scotland for romance, history, genealogy, it’s got everything going for it, the only problem we’ve got is we’ve not got a government that understands the tourism.

(25H: 201-210)

14G, a guesthouse in the Highlands, prefers less iconic artefacts of Scotland:

We do have one tartan thing yeah we wanted to keep it away from all of that sort of going really too far so... and but just like to have things that are, have sort of local, because we’ve got a lot of prints around the sitting room that are, they’re all Scottish things I think, mostly are Scottish aren’t they but we like the tasteful Scottish.

(14G: 820-825)

In relation to the first section; the Home, the themes covered were Meanings of Home, Décor, and Artefacts (Figure 22) The next section; the Host, will cover the themes of Family and Lifestyle.

Figure 22. Themes within the Home
HOST

5.5 Family

5.5.1 Feelings

The hosts have emotions concerning their family and business. They feel that there are hardships (20G), and benefits (25H), feelings that the family have suffered because of the business (9B) and feelings that the business has suffered because of the family (2B).

25H feels that his children have benefited from having both parents work from home:

We see the kids as much as probably other parents see their kids, in more ways since we had the guest house and the hotel we’ve always been here, whether they’re to get picked up for not feeling well at school or to take them to school or go and watch their activities at midday or lunchtime or three o’clock in the afternoon, we were always able to go. So in many ways the kids have benefited, mum was always there when they came home from school, she was always there in the morning you could always nip up to school if they’d left something so in many ways they’ve benefited by their parents being available all the time.

(25H: 346-357)

As opposed to 9B who feel her children have suffered slightly because of her commitment to the business:

It’s very difficult with a family because... you’re constantly being interrupted by guests, that’s what they feel and sometimes quality time is interrupted by the phone ringing for a booking. Reading a story, phone rings, if I hadn’t run a business I would just let it ring if I was having quality time, but because I run a business I just stop the story, go and answer the phone, because it could be an enquiry.

(9B: 70-75)
2B feels that she cannot have family staying when she has guests staying, and feels that the business is losing out because of this:

I have worked out you do not mix family and guests because with grandchildren now, I’ve done it once and you just can’t relax and enjoy either so. That’s just beginning to start that they want to come up in August, you know when the children are on holiday from school, so actually you go out and miss out on a lot of income... but you have to keep thinking “family come first” ... well it’s so important it’s still their home, but it does hurt to say no to ten days worth of top money in August.

(2B: 216-227)

The hosts have concerns regarding their families; they are concerned about safety (24H) and routine (14G). 24H has carried out measures to ensure the safety of his children after he heard a story about another B&B:

What plays on my mind is, and it happened quite a while ago, when I first came over here, a child was abducted and killed by a guest who was staying at the child’s parents’ B&B, somewhere down south... so there was this happened and so you know, its reassured me somewhat that there is that separation, that door separation which we do lock and bar between the guests and downstairs, because you know, basically you don’t know who you get really you don’t know what is coming in the front door so.

(24H: 877-889)

14G is concerned about fitting her young daughter into the routine of the business as she grows up:

At the moment it doesn’t affect her so much it’s easier because she has naps in the afternoon and all that sort of thing so you can time things quite well around her. We’ll wait and see what she gets like once she gets a bit older and how it fits in and having to get to school and things like that, I mean that’s
why we’re sort of thinking of moving towards the self catering thing more self catering, but we don’t know yet we’ll see how we get on.

(14G: 149-155)

The dynamics of the family are important and the hosts have their role to play within the family as well as within the business. 25H sees his role as the dreamer and schemer of the business and his family are there to support him, but he goes on to say that he would never undermine his wife, conveying that he may not be the person with the last word:

Well their input is to support me and my job is to be the dreamer and schemer. My wife’s got more hands on skill she’s got all the efficiency, she’s got a great memory, she’s got a great nature with staff and people I can be a wee bit more abrasive simply because some tough decisions have to be made although they’re difficult you know you’ve got to make them.

(25H: 137-142)

My wife that put them all up, I’m not going to take them all down I would get a slap for that one!

(25H: 556-557)

5.5.2 Partner

7B conveys he has a good relationship with his wife and business partner, she tells him what to do and he does it:

We’ve been married sixteen years, second marriage for X never had a row, believe it or not yeah it is, it’s just incredible, never had a row, so we just, we both know what we’re doing and we just do it, yeah the shopping, she sends me with a specific list you know, large fresh farm eggs yeah, don’t bring any substitutes! So yeah, she sends me for the shopping.

(7B: 522-528)
2B has a different relationship with her husband, who is not directly involved in the business, although he does not notice her much, he does not complain about anything she does:

*My husband, he trained as an accountant which tells it all, I mean wouldn’t know what I was wearing you know, I get up and go somewhere in my pyjamas and he probably wouldn’t notice so you know, he doesn’t really notice an awful lot...It’s me, yeah, and I don’t even ask I’m afraid I just go ahead and do them. And he doesn’t complain so that’s good as well.*

(2B: 746-755)

18G runs the business with her husband and is happy to do everything together:

*I mean he and I, we work together, we live together, we’re in one and other’s company all the time which is extraordinary absolutely, and we have been for years and you know, we’re still, you have your moments but when... we get on amazingly well [uh huh] to work with somebody and you know they’re also your partner and you know, I’m not throwing plates at him all the time and that’s quite extraordinary yeah, because then we socialise together, there’s only us two so we go out together... and we have our own friends and our interests and we do actually take ourselves off and do because you have to you know.*

(18G: 1180-1189)

The partner of 15G, who is not involved in the business, took a while to get used to having guests in his home:

*It was difficult at first yeah, probably more so for him because it wasn’t so much his business as it was mine but he’s really used to it now and he’s... no problem at all for him now but it’s not the thing that, he more than me but I think both of us had to get... come to terms with it. I think we thought we were okay with it at first, and then we went through a period of sort of thinking actually I’m not sure and now we are fine about it, so we’ve had different kind*
of feelings about it along the way, our first year we were quite gullible and you think oh no I can do that, that’s fine, and then you kind of I suppose realise the reality the reality of having someone in your home and then actually just I don’t know, its fine, it’s fine, you don’t think about it after a while but it takes a little while it takes longer than you think its going to become comfortable with it so… yeah, but he’s absolutely fine with it now.

(15G: 520-536)

Host partners, who are not directly involved in the business, do help out when they are needed:

Yeah, he does most of my emails because it’s his computer and I try not to touch it, see he has his own work on it so if he messes it up he messes up, he’ll take them off for me and then I’ll give him all the answers and then he’ll feed them back. He helps in the kitchen when we’ve got eight in here, he’s quite good at poaches eggs, fried eggs, he never used to come up front very often but he’s started to do that now so, he’s getting brave.

(10B: 508-514)

The children have also helped out. They did it for fun when they were young, but now do it for money:

They come up here. Less so now when they were younger they used to love coming up and when we had the bar we were busy, busy for the rugby international history market, they would clear all the glasses and they used to get their tips, and there was one chap sitting there and X you know was sort of looking at him waiting for his glass to be finished, and he would say could you hurry up please because I want to take your glass away, and so the guy finished up and he took it over and he was standing there and the guy said yes, can I help you, well I’m waiting for my money!

(24H: 860-868)
The youngest will still come up and what I do now is I give them pocket money, if they want to save up so they can come and help me out.

(24H: 873-875)

25H also had his children helping out at a small age, and even has a dream of them taking over the business:

They’ve always helped out at a small age but now that they’re nineteen and seventeen they’re coming to the stage where they’ve got the option of working here for extra cash and that’s basically it because they will earn more in the real world but other than working here as bar or waitress and stuff, there’s not any management jobs for them at the moment but in years to come of course the family might move on to running the place and mum and dad will just slip off on one of these ever lasting holidays!

(25H: 54-61)

Family living at home are not the only people who help out with the business. 23H has jobs for everyone:

They’ve all got bits and pieces that they do for us, I’ve got a brother-in-law who’s a builder, you know, he’ll come and say what do you want me to do when I come. My son’s brilliant with the computers, he’ll come and de-fragment and do this, you know, they’ve all got bits and pieces to do.

(23H: 247-251)

5.5.3 Children

Four of the commercial home hosts have young children living with them (12P, 9B, 14G, 24H). 25H is living with his teenagers. Others had children living with them while they were running the business, but have now left home (5B, 11B, 20G, 23H), while some hosts started their business after the children had left home (1HF, 2B, 3B, 10B, 4B, 6B, 7B, 8B, 16G, 21G, 13G), and others have no children at all (17G, 15G, 18G, 19G, 22H).
23H, who runs a small hotel, had her son living with her for a while but feels that it is no place to raise a family:

My eldest son did but it was never intended he was hurt in an accident in the army and he was never included in our plans and he ended up with us! He’s not got his own home but it was never intended, it was only ever intended for the two of us because I don’t think this is a life for a family not at all.

(23H: 97-102)

9B who has four children aged four, six, nine and eleven has mixed emotions about bringing a family up in a B&B. She feels that the children understand why she does it and it is good for them but also that they make it stressful for her:

The children, they understand why we do it because they we get summer holidays, all the luxury things that we want, if mummy didn’t work we wouldn’t get that sort of thing but they, you know, at times it does sort of get them in summer holidays it’s very difficult because both... well my husband’s even in the hotel trade, so we’re both... when the children are off that’s when we’re normally busy as well, so it’s very difficult to go and do things with the children

(9B: 78-84)

When 5B’s children lived at home they too understood that the extra money from having guests was what bought them their nice things:

Interesting because they were teenagers, occasionally they got moved out of their bedrooms but they knew that that’s what bought them the pair of Nike trainers or the skiing trip or whatever else. And you know that’s how life is. It never meant that they didn’t bring their friends home to stay, well... it never meant the house wasn’t available for them to bring their friends home to stay I think they probably just came anyway.

(5B: 159-167)
5.5.4 Family Management

Having children at home while running a business from home takes a lot of management skills. 9B juggles getting the children ready for school and serving her guests breakfast:

*It makes life very complicated when you’ve got lots of children and especially in the morning, it’s very difficult trying to cook breakfast when you’ve got the three of them trying to get ready for school so as soon as you’ve taken something through to a guest, you know, you’ve got two minutes to spare and I’m quickly brushing that one’s hair to get it in a pony tail before they go to school, go and see my guests are alright, and then wave them off to school, bye bye, and so it’s like juggling every minute in the morning, very very difficult, but the good thing is I’m at home with my children all day so you know, so the business ties in well with my own private life.*

(9B: 42-52)

24H lets his wife deal with the children while he concentrates on the business although he wife also helps him out:

*The phone, if we’re sitting down watching television in the evening we take it in turns, you know, technically I’ve finished work so that’s... we work together. You know her focus is all very much on the kids, when they come home, they’ve got to do their homework and she helps with them with that.*

(24H: 89-93)

23H who also runs a small hotel does not feel that she could bring up a family and run the hotel like 24H does:

*I couldn’t have done it with a young family or anything, I wouldn’t have attempted it because the family would lose out without a doubt, I really think they would lose out, I would honestly say it’s not... maybe run a guest house or a B&B with a young family but certainly not this, not with the amount of*
hours it’s just I think it would be... I think the family would lose, or the business would lose, but I don’t think I think you just maybe want to balance it.

(24H: 659-666)

Family time is important to the hosts and most of them value Christmas as a time to be with family. They use their business to their advantage at this time of year and invite their family to come and stay with them:

_A few Christmas’s ago, we had a family Christmas up here and X has got sort of a big family, she’s got three brothers, one brother has four children, one brother has three children, one brother has five children, so we had them all here and X’s mother was here, her aunt was here, her uncle was here so you know, we had the whole hotel full of all her family and had a really great time._

(24H: 817-823)

When 6B has relatives staying he finds it hard to get out of ‘B&B mode’. He likes to look after them and does not like them trying to help:

_I had my brother and his son, and son-in-law and grandchildren up last week and we’d all sit down formally, especially at breakfast, but it wouldn’t, I don’t know if this is interesting or not, but when people come to visit, I tend to go into bed and breakfast mode for them for the breakfast because what I don’t like to do, I don’t like the compromise when people come into the house and come and try and help you out in the kitchen or they come and try to do it, I’d rather they sit down and certainly with breakfast, and we’ll go through that breakfast. Not to be pretentious or anything but I kind of feel that they get an experience out of it as well you know, I think the moment you start compromising what you’re doing, it becomes a little irritating._

(6B: 400-411)
5.6 Lifestyle

5.6.1 Integrated with business

Many of the hosts integrate their business with their lifestyle; by socialising with friends in their bar (23H) or in their living room (11B). Planning their day around their business (15G) spending time with their children (9B) or grandchildren (20G) during the day, which they could not do if they did not work from home. Basically not letting the business rule their lives. 4B have devised a code when they want to get away from guests:

\[ X \text{ is very good at front of house, you know, she’ll talk to anybody, the biggest fault is getting her to stop talking. I mean sometimes I’ve got to dial one phone from the other and then go through and say there’s a call for you, you know, to get her away.} \]

(4B: 1056-1060)

And 2B feels by giving the guests their own key her life is not interrupted too much:

\[ I \text{ really don’t let it interrupt our lives too much, in that they all get given a key, so you’ve just got to trust people, otherwise you couldn’t lead a normal life, because you know I play tennis and golf, so I go out a lot and I just have to let them... let them come and go as they want. So that’s it, it does slightly worry me. I mean a lot of people do Bed and Breakfast... and you know if there was a burglar around they could happily sort of do a check up who does B&B because we all have keys left, left right and centre but it is the only way to do it.} \]

(2B: 230-238)

23H who runs a small hotel likes the social life attached to it. Her family and friends fit into the routine of the hotel and she does not have to leave the hotel for parties as they usually take place in the hotel:
We actually find that our friends will work their routine into the hotel, which is fine. And family will come across and do the same thing.

(23H: 244-245)

I would actually say probably the social life is really good you don’t have to think about going out, you don’t. I just walk through here and I’m going to have somebody to talk to or, if I say to friends we’re going to have a birthday party on Friday night, two members of staff have had birthdays this week. I had mine last week but my aunt died and it wasn’t just quite appropriate to celebrate so we’ve got cakes and champagne for Friday night, so I don’t have to do that I just have to finish in the kitchen, have a shower and I’m there.

(23H: 256-264)

1HF who is a host-family enjoys spending time with the students in the evening, playing the piano:

I’ve had some of the Japanese usually can play the piano yeah, yeah, they seem to be the old fashioned way like we used to be, you always took an instrument when you were a kid and most of them can play the piano and they love to play it yeah oh I encourage them to play it if they can play it, oh they like that. No it’s been good; we’ve had some good nights.

(1HF: 303-308)

3B has integrated having guests to stay, and as an elderly lady she enjoys the company:

I still manage to do mostly Tuesdays and Thursday mornings, I get away to keep fit. It’s an interesting life; it’s something to look forward to and some reason for getting up in the morning.

(3B: 393-396)
5.6.2 Separate from business

Some hosts feel that they do not mix their personal life with their business life and strive to keep them completely separate. 15G does this by dividing his home into his business section and his personal section. He does not let them overlap, by having friends in his business section:

*For instance if I had friends round we never eat in the dining room, I don’t do that in this dining room I have my own dining space, my own with my friends so that’s very of the fact, I don’t regard this as somewhere that I would socialise with my pals, I take them into my part of the house.*

(15G: 372-377)

17G treats his business as he would an office job and feels the two do not overlap:

*The two are separate, I don’t think they overlap.*

(17G: 527)

*Separate yeah. Yeah, I mean if you work in an office that doesn’t sort of carry... it’s the same thing, if you work in an office, you leave the office and that’s your work and you go and do what you do for your life, you know hobbies or whatever, and they don’t mix necessarily, it’s just the same.*

(17G: 533-538)

3B implies that she gets back her life when she closes her B&B and does things that she cannot do while the B&B is open:

*We’re closed November, December and January so that we can get the carpets cleaned, any redecorating that needs to be done, done and general tidying up, refurbishment, it also allows us to have a social life, get out and go about and see old friends and relatives, they come to visit us, we go and see them.*

(3B: 56-60)
The last section covered the themes of family and lifestyle in relation to the host (Figure 23). The following section will cover the themes Feelings, Space, Guests, Performance, Target Market, Tourist board and Competitors in relation to the Business Section.

**Figure 23. Themes within Host section**

![Venn diagram showing the intersection of Family, Host, and Lifestyle]

**BUSINESS**

**5.7 Feelings**

**5.7.1 Motivations**

The hosts have various reasons for going into business. They have been pushed into it by factors such as redundancy (18G) or the need for money (5B) or indeed pulled into it by factors such as the lifestyle (7B) and the freedom of being their own boss (15G). Certain motivations like meeting people (24H), owning a big house (9B), or being able to work from home also attracted them into starting up their own business. Some hosts felt it was the natural path to follow as their parents had done it (11B), or it just progressed naturally after they had taken students in (6B).
For 17G it was the unpleasantness of his job as an off-licence manager that pushed him into starting his own business. He wanted something that he would look forward to getting up for in the mornings and felt that running a guesthouse would give him that:

*Och it’s just something that we often spoke about. And we never did anything, you know, you maybe go on holiday or you go out for a few pints and you think oh wouldn’t it be good, you know blah, blah, blah but the job I was in which was managing an off licence just got progressively more, well put it this way, I just got to the stage where I didn’t want to go in anymore and when it gets to that stage you know, you’ve got to do something about it but it was a case of what to do so just resurrected this idea and here we are.*

(17G: 28-36)

Being made redundant when the mortgage still had to be paid was the reason 8B started up her B&B:

*Well both my husband and I got made redundant and we were 60 years old at the time and mortgages still have to be paid you know...Well it was very difficult to get another job you know, as a secretary when you’re that age. It starts to become difficult from the time you’re 40, believe you me.*

(8B: 18-21)

Redundancy was also the reason 18G went into business, although they had thought about starting a B&B when they retired, it happened a lot sooner than they thought:

*Well originally I mean it was one of these things that you thought that you were going to do when you retire but then through a series of events, we’re both from corporate backgrounds and X used to work for IBM and then went to work for a software company and he was first of all made redundant from IBM and then unceremoniously fired from another firm which was rather horrific because we were, it was tribunal business and so we thought no, we*
don’t want any of this anymore and we said well why not, lets try it now sooner rather than later, but I was still doing law at the time and so I kept my job going until we got this up and running and then I packed it in something like three years later, so I think this is the fourth year for me that I’ve been at it, of the seven so I kept going for about three years and really we’ve not looked back and, but it was a series of events it wasn’t a… it was a why not do it now rather than a conscious decision that we were going to both stop at one given time, it just evolved.

(18G: 87-102)

What was just a way of earning extra money and making use of a big house alongside a farming business, 5B now finds herself depending on the B&B business more as the farming business has slowed down:

Farming is not economically viable at the moment to be honest, so it’s what we live off. We had to, we had the choice, of buying my brother out of his share of the farm which he would have sold elsewhere if we didn’t so we have large borrowings on the farm and so you know, the interest payments on that mean that we have to find our basic living expenses from somewhere, and it’s from the Bed & Breakfast and we’re very lucky that, well I’m very lucky that I can work from home and it can be flexible, you know, lots of people are not as lucky. It certainly makes good use of what is here you know because it’s a big house and you, you know now that the children are up and away you wouldn’t necessarily be you know, you can have lots of friends for supper and to stay, it’s still not going to fill the house you know. So it makes good use of what’s here...

Fourteen, fifteen years? It started off really as a means of providing sort of holiday funds and you know, school trips and university fees and whatever and then as the farming situation became worse, not better, it just sort of carried on.

(5B: 132-55)
Running a business is a way of being able to afford to stay in a large house, for 2B. It is quite a popular thing to do within her social circle:

Really I started it about eleven years ago because the children had gone it’s quite a big house so it helps keep the roof up and things like that.

(2B: 21-23)

...and the business is a real plus that one can do something with a house like this otherwise I don’t think we could go on living here because its jolly expensive to run a big old house so it’s just... and it’s so popular now, a lot of my friends do it now.

*INT: And why do you think they’re doing it?

Well I think they probably have got biggish houses, their children have gone, they don’t want to leave yet, you know, we’re not quite old enough for the bungalow, it’s a way of making money and everyone likes making a bit of money and you can, you can do it on a much smaller scale you know, I send people along the road to friends because you know we have a lot of overflow and I’d much rather say I’m sorry I can’t have you but here’s another number and so they do up to £4,500 of whatever it is you’re allowed so she doesn’t get taxed on that because that’s her income so you know, you can scale it right down and I think this year we might try and do less because I don’t you know, I feel a bit tired we will maybe do three quarters of the month and I can just say yes or no, I just say I’m sorry we’re full, but we’re not, and give them another number so, just play it by ear.

(2B: 972-991)

For 11B there had been a family tradition of ‘taking in’. In her area, Ballachulish, which is in the Highlands of Scotland that is the type of work that is readily available, because of the location there is always a supply of tourists and a demand for accommodation:
Well I’d always worked with the public. Our family have sort of a tradition of taking in, my grannies, my two grannies on my mother’s side and on my father’s side they took in bed and breakfast years ago and so I was sort of brought up with it. My mother did it for help with extra money for when we were children and so it’s something that was sort of like, brought up with... whether it’s a west coast thing anyway and so, I was working in the hotel industry myself with the two girls it was the only work I could really do in the area. And when my husband came home from work I was going out a night to work as a waitress in a hotel so I got sort of introduced to it in that in some respect.

(11B: 23-33)

There were a few factors that pulled 15G into the business; the lifestyle, being his own boss, doing a job that involved interiors and the fact that he could surpass people’s expectations. He also wanted a house with a garden:

It was a kind of lifestyle choice yeah, lots of reasons, I think for start, at first I knew I wanted to run my own business so that was really important and it was just for about two or three years I had lots of ideas and I was just trying to find something that I would really enjoy doing and I chose this.

(15G: 64-68)

Working from home was another factor influencing the hosts’ decision to start their own business, whether it be staying at home to look after a partner (13G) or to look after the children (9B), running a B&B seemed like an ideal solution:

We needed to find a job in which I could work from home and I could look after X [his wife] ... money considerations... ageism, a brand new manager was incapable of doing the job I would have been quite happy to do and the company were quite happy for me to do for them in excess of fifteen, eighteen years, there was a degree of discrimination as well where previous
management styles within the company were only too pleased to allow flexibility of working time to allow me to cater for a disabled wife, but the new manager decided to discriminate against such disabilities, her belief was that disabled people should be put up against the wall and shot you can use that if you wish!

(13G: 31-41)

I knew I would enjoy it, and it was the only job I could have and look after my four children as well, that I could do, and it pays very well too.

(9B: 57-59)

Location was an attraction for 14G. They knew they wanted to live in the Highlands, so when they found a property they liked the only feasible way they could earn money was by doing B&B as they knew they did not want a typical nine to five job:

Both, when we younger we travelled up here a lot and wanted, we wanted to live here, that was the first thing that we decided I think neither of us were particularly happy doing kind of nine to five jobs so we wanted to be self employed and you know, putting those two things together is you know, tourism is the kind of obvious thing to do and then when we found this house we knew we wanted to live in this house, it was like, it was the only way we could see of running it and making enough money.

(14G: 1072-1082)

The type of house a host lives in plays a part in deciding whether to do B&B, as 6B describes. He feels that the house ‘lends itself very well’ and after having students stay with him he felt that B&B was something he could do:

We never moved here to do bed and breakfast but it lends itself very well you know, the four bathrooms and the dining area overlooks the mountains and it’s kind of quite pleasant and airy, plenty of room, it’s just something I started to do and then enjoyed doing it.

(6B: 86-90)
We’ve had students staying with us for the language schools so we’d do that before so there’s some experience in sort of having people in your home.

(6B: 92-93)

*INT: Do you think that kind of encouraged you to start up the business?

I think it probably told us we could do it we were happy-ish to have other people in our house, which just kind of grew from there. We started off just trying it out just seeing, you know, people that were operating, saying to them look, if you are full, you can always send them over to us and see whether we liked doing it and then it would grow from there.

(6B: 545-555)

5.7.2 Perceptions

After taking on their business the hosts have many feelings and perceptions about their commercial home, they love meeting different kinds of people (1HF), or feel they are a slave to guests (12P). They feel too tired to put in the effort anymore (8B), or they strive to be the best (25H). They see it as an investment (19G) or not as a real job at all (1HF). They feel they offer a more personal touch than a hotel (10B) while others feel the industry is becoming too regulated (2B). They are offended by other people’s opinions of them (3B) or love getting compliments from their guests (6B).

Feelings change over time when it comes to the business. 15G took time to settle in and found that his partner who was not involved in the business took longer to adjust:

It was difficult at first yeah, probably more so for him because it wasn’t so much his business as it was mine but he’s really used to it now and he’s... no problem at all for him now but it’s not the thing that, he more than me but I think both of us had to get... come to terms with it, I think we thought we were okay with it at first, and then we went through a period of sort of thinking actually I’m not sure and now we are fine about it, so we’ve had different kind of feelings about it along the way our first year we were quite gullible and
you think oh no I can do that, that’s fine, and then you kind of I suppose realise the reality the reality of having someone in your home and then actually just I don’t know, its fine, it’s fine, you don’t think about it after a while but it takes a little while it takes longer than you think its going to become comfortable with it so… yeah, but he’s absolutely fine with it now.

(15G: 521-536)

1HF loves hosting as she enjoys the company very much. She feels that she could not host if she was not in a happy relationship with her husband, as when she has students to stay they become part of the family unlike a B&B:

I love it, personally, I just love it, it’s good fun, I enjoy them, and I just enjoy the company we have fun, yes. I enjoy it very much.

(1HF: 25-27)

Oh yeah, oh I wouldn’t do it if we weren’t happy together so I think you know, it’s… you know if you were bickering with each other and you had an atmosphere in the house I don’t think you could have people, because you have to live as a family when you’re hosting. I don’t think it’s like maybe hotels or B&B’s where they’re separate, they are part of it so you know, you could get on each other’s nerves if you weren’t careful and if you didn’t have the right mix so I think that’s important you know.

(1HF: 911-918)

For some the business has become tiring, “I just get very tired” (8B: 159), while for others it becomes a challenge:

Which is to try and be the best hotel in Edinburgh of our type. If we can achieve that then there’s nothing to stop you being the best in Scotland.

(25H: 116-118)
Some hosts feel that they are not running a business at all (17G), that they do not have a ‘real’ job, even though they have two (9B), and others find it hard to take up an offer to stay in a guest's home because of their job in the B&B (4B):

Or when I first did it, it took me about a year to think that I wasn’t skiving because you’re not going out to work you’re not physically leaving your house [uh huh] and going to work and doing whatever and coming home, you know, you’re at home all day although I was working from seven in the morning till eleven at night without stopping because it’s all in-house laundry and everything and I did everything myself for the first year, I still felt that I was skiving, you know.

(17G: 658-667)

I’ve got two full time jobs, well the bed and breakfast and the children! But you tend, with both of them think that it’s not a job and it is, and it is really. And people think well that’s it, I can be up at seven o’clock in the morning, I can be working straight through till about half ten at night.

(9B: 255-260)

We were staying with a family in Bangkok who were actually guests of ours and they invited us to stay with them and we kept saying oh no, no, and they emailed and she eventually wrote and she said look, we understand why you don't want to come to stay with us as our guests and I suspect it's because we paid to stay with you and she said but you must understand that we have our own jobs, which you know, so please come and we stayed for a week.

(4B: 166-173)

2B feels that rules and regulations will change the business, as she knows it. She feels that her home will not be the same if her pets are not allowed in the kitchen:

I’m afraid those days are going to change I think because I think all these rules and regulations, I mean some of them are fine but I think they’re going
to start saying you can’t have dogs in the kitchen I mean that would be the end of a load of people having B&B’s.

(2B: 664-668)

Some people’s perceptions of the reasons behind running a B&B can offend the hosts. 3B was offended by someone’s comments regarding her business:

She came in and she looked round and she said you’ve got a lovely house, I said thank you very much, she said what a pity you’ve got to do bed and breakfast in order to keep it, you really should just sell and go downmarket! And I thought oh! It really took my breath away.

(3B: 440-444)

Other hosts (6B) enjoy the compliments they receive and feel that they are giving something special to their guests:

It’s just something I enjoy doing because I’m made to do it.... You get to be like... and it’s nice to get people’s comments you know, and I think also I know a lot about the area, I’ve become pretty familiar with the area, it’s nice to pass that onto people who get to go the places they may not come across just direct them where they need to, because you don’t just let them get on with their own thing, it’s a bit of a balance.

(6B: 74-80)

5.7.3 Benefits

The hosts feel that there are many benefits to running their own commercial home. They enjoy the lifestyle (21G), being their own boss (14G), having freedom (15G), having money to give to the children (6B), working from home (9B), meeting new people (1HF), having time off (18G) and learning new skills (23H). They also find it cost effective (2B) and that owning their own business gives them status (25H).
The lifestyle that comes with running a commercial home is more relaxed and a lot calmer than her previous job for 21G, and for 18G it means being able to have the time to enjoy hobbies during the day:

Well the advantages are you can continue a nice lifestyle yourself obviously and the big advantage for us is that we can still do something that we really love and that’s working with people...the advantages, in many ways, a calmer lifestyle I suppose. I don’t have the stress of as I say politicians to work to, and huge budgets to juggle, and make very serious decisions about services and either funding them or not funding them. So, it’s a different type of stress I suppose working for yourself it’s just making sure that you can pay the bills still you know.

(21G: 206-224)

The lifestyle is that when you’ve gone on and we’ve got people in because they’re really cool people and they look after themselves we’ll go out for a walk or we’ll go for a picnic or we’ll go to the supermarket or we’ll go to the cinema this afternoon and couldn’t do that before and that’s even with people in.

(18G: 144-148)

Being their own boss is a huge benefit for a lot of the hosts. They like that “you can say when you work and when you don’t” (10B:38) “you can suit yourself to an extent” (17G: 249), “you are responsible for everything that goes on” (18G: 126), “you have complete control” (14G: 1004). Working from home is a benefit for 17G especially in the Scottish weather; “you don’t have to go out in the rain or the snow in the winter” (17G: 248-249). 9B finds that working from home ties in well with her life, as she can stay at home to look after her children whilst still earning money:

This was an ideal way of allowing us to have a bigger house and also the way to run a business as well as look after the children.

(9B: 20-21)
The good thing is I’m at home with my children all day so you know, so the business ties in well with my own private life.

(9B: 50-52)

15G likes the freedom involved in running his business and finds it refreshing that he can be himself and not have to work to other people’s expectations:

I’m allowed to be much more my own person, I don’t have to be somebody else from nine to five during work, I’m just myself all the time I don’t have to go to work and be, you know, a businessman, somebody who has to fulfil a role to other people’s expectations, I have my own expectations now.

(15G: 833-837)

6B feels that because of his business he has a better lifestyle and can afford to give his children money without having to worry about it:

I suppose it enhances the lifestyle, it allows you to do things that you might not be able to do, given that we’re only extraordinary busy in the months of July and August, if you commit yourself to that point then it maybe allows you to have a better lifestyle. I mean I’ve got two sons in their twenties, one at University and one in London and now and again they say they need to be assisted in some ways, so you’re able to do that without thinking too much. I get to meet a lot of people who pass by, get to pass on a lot of information and the interaction with people so yeah, it adds to the life... but I think I would not like to do it all year round the way I operate is probably just about right.

(6B: 477-487)

1HF feels that her life is enriched by the people she meets through hosting:

Oh it enriches our life, definitely without a doubt. Oh no, it enriches my life. I mean I’ve met so many lovely youngsters and I do like youngsters, I like that...
I like that age group, I’m not very good with babies but I love teenagers because I can remember how I was.

(1HF: 882-885)

Meeting people from different cultures is another added benefit for 21G:

Advantages are it’s meant I could keep working with people and see all sorts of people from different walks of life.

(21G: 202-203)

For 19G not only meeting people but the fact that some of the people are children is an added bonus as he has no children of his own:

Very pleasant actually, we’re a childless couple. I find it very pleasant, you know, in the summer when there's kids playing crochet out the back.

(19G: 420-422)

Learning to cook was one of the skills 23H picked up because she started running her own business; increased confidence and an improved social life just added to the benefits:

I’ve got a lot more confidence than when I first came here but then I stayed at home for an awful long time, I was a stay at home wife and mum and I think your confidence very slightly goes away, yeah, I’m much more confident now in fact sometimes maybe a wee bit over confident!

(23H: 211-215)

I would actually say probably the social life is really good you don’t have to think about going out, you don’t, I just walk through here [the bar area] and I’m going to have somebody to talk to.

(23H: 256-264)
Yeah, so that’s a nice side of it I’ve learned to cook yeah, and I’ve enjoyed that, I didn’t enjoy cooking I can’t tell you why, it’s very different doing it on a commercial basis, very different, and the first time I had to make soup and someone said that was fantastic so, so different and there’s nothing I wouldn’t try now.

(23H: 267-272)

Having a commercial home proves to be cost effective for 2B, as she can get things for her home but claim them against the business:

The good things about Bed & Breakfast, my husband being an accountant is that you can put so much against the bed and breakfast, you know, like redoing bits of the kitchen and food and a bit of your car and so on, so it’s he calls it very cost effective yeah, I mean that’s a big big plus of doing it so which actually encourages you also to do things to your house while you’re still doing bed and breakfast.

(2B: 791-798)

Owning a small hotel can portray a certain status. 25H finds that people think he is well off because he has his own business, and he recalls being at school with a girl, whose parents owned a guesthouse and thinking she was well off:

Get their benefits as well especially now that they’re growing up we get the “oh your dad’s got a restaurant, your mum’s got a bar you know, you live in a hotel” if they go back a long time to when even someone when I was young when I was with a girl’s mum and dad who had a guest house, and I thought oh well they must be really well off.

(25H: 170-174)

5.7.4 Constraints

Although the hosts enjoy a lot of benefits from their commercial home they also experience some drawbacks. Some feel that they are tied to the home (4B) and are on
call 24hrs a day (22H). They find that they are very busy (23H) and work long hours (6B). Some find that they get no breaks (25H) or time to sit down and eat (20G), while others feel that quality time with the family is interrupted (9B). Never having their home to themselves is a drawback to 1HF.

When guests arrive early it can disrupt the host’s plan for the day (4B), although 22H resolves being on call 24hrs a day by using technology, such as diverting calls from the house to his mobile:

People don’t realise just how tying it is, because I mean your today, people coming in early and one of us has got to go and get tea and tell them about how things work and where everything is. If they want information about the area, one of us has just got to do it, and we enjoy doing it but it means that it’s made a mess of you coming today It is tying it is tying.

(4B: 792-797)

Because it can be a very tying job you can’t... because you’re basically on call 24 hours a day so you have to use a little bit of technology to try and give you a bit of space.

(22H: 573-576)

11B feels that she is restricted at times because of her commercial home. She has swapped her babysitter for a house sitter:

When I was younger and I had the girls I had to have a babysitter to look after the girls if I wanted to go out and do anything, now if I want to go out and do it I’ve got to have a house sitter because you can’t, there’s sometimes when I need to go, being just in the wee village, I have to go maybe to the cash and carry to get things, I don’t drive and if I get a lift anywhere like down to Oban to go down to the cash and carry I could be away and somebody might be wanting to come and book in at a certain time so I need to get somebody to

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come into the house to make sure that they’re there for guest arriving so you
know, and that way you’re restricted as well.

(11B: 68-77)

Sometimes important occasions cannot be attended because someone has to be in the
home to look after the guests, as happened to 18G:

That was the award that we won and X went down to collect it because again
we were tied to the house because people were here so one of us had to stay.

(18G: 530-532)

Running a small hotel, 23H finds that she is busy all the time, and imagines what it
would be like if they did not have the bar to run, how much easier it would be for
them:

The bar and that... this is so time consuming you have to be here, well my
husband’s not here just now, there’s a motion detector behind me and a CCTV
camera there so we know when people are in the bar and, you know, you’ve
always got to be ready to go backwards and forwards and that would take,
give us such a lot of the day, you know finishing house maiding to have it to be
ready at night. I mean we would maybe get as much as five hours and that
would be fantastic five hours I never have here...Yes, yes, and the same as
well I mean we’re sometimes through here until two o’clock in the morning it
is hell in the summer when you’re back up again for seven but you know, so
it’s not even like you’re finished for work for the day and think right, I can sit
down, put on my dressing gown and my slippers, you don’t you have to get
back through and finish here at night.

(23H: 323-338)
No breaks may be common practice if you work for 25H, as he believes that if the chef cannot have a break then no one should have a break. He realises this may be against the law but justifies it because it is a small family business:

Yeah, you need to have people skills and you need to know that you don’t get a tea break or you don’t get a bar break or a cigarette break because the customer, you know, as we say to the staff before, you went on a smoke break or you had a little break, well what about the Chef when she’s on duty for six hours cooking meals, she can’t just say oh well away and put... I’ll be back in fifteen minutes and I’ll finish your steak off, so if the Chef doesn’t get and we don’t get the staff, contrary to probably the law, you know, you’re a small family business and you can’t have the same procedures that big businesses do.

(25H: 731-739)

Having a break or just getting time to sit down and have something to eat also proves difficult for 20G at times:

You never get a meal in peace because the minute you sit down to have something to eat the phone either rings or somebody comes, you know, but that’s just, well tea time’s six o’clock, guest arrival time is six o’clock so my tea gets put in the oven and out and in but I don’t have all sorts of anything so I’m fine.

(20G: 582-586)

Interruptions are also common for 9B, especially as she has a young family. She often finds that quality time is interrupted by the telephone:

It's very difficult with a family because you're constantly being interrupted by guests, that’s what they feel and sometimes quality time is interrupted by the phone ringing for a booking, Telling a story, phone rings, if I didn’t run a business I would just let it ring if I was having quality time, but because I run a business I just stop the story, go and answer the phone, and it could be an
enquiry, same when I’m making the dinner bit of a nightmare, try to cook
dinner, the phone rings, the door bell rings, you know, it’s quite difficult.

(9B: 70-77)

Quality time in another sense is interrupted for 19G. It is not time with his family that
is interrupted but rather time watching his team play rugby:

The bells at the bottom of the stairs, it is bloody annoying when Scotland are
playing rugby and somebody rings the bell, that annoys the shit out of me, I’m
almost prepared to go down stairs and tell people to bugger off! Come back at
a sensible time but of course I don’t, so it does intrude on my life.

(19G: 415-419)

Being spontaneous can be hard for the hosts because if they want to go somewhere
they have to plan it months in advance. They know that they are going to be really
busy during the summer months so often find it hard to get away if they have to. 10B
has to organise things in December if she wants time off in July:

It does interfere with your life; it does take over if you let it. You have to
think, you can’t just do something, you have to think ahead if you’re going to
do something because of all the bookings you have, so if you want something
in July, a week off in July, you jolly well have to think about it early probably
Christmas the thing is most of my July has gone already and August, you
know, so I know July and August I can’t go anywhere, I don’t probably even
go out the Bay just work for those eight weeks solid, and if people want you to
go to a wedding or anything, they have to ask you well in advance, they can’t
just drop it on you otherwise you can’t go. I mean you could get somebody
else in to run it but there’s always that sort of, will they do it, it’s your
reputation.

(10B: 962-973)
Finding a downside to hosting is hard for 1HF as she really enjoys it. The only thing that can sometimes be difficult for her is when she would like to have some time on her own in her home:

*I can’t think of a downside, no, I really don’t see any downside. Maybe occasionally just like anybody, you come in a bit stressed you know and they’re in the house and you don’t feel like talking at that particular time and you know, but that’s... that happens occasionally you know, you maybe come in and think oh god, I just wish I had the house to myself for half an hour before they come in aye, but nah generally, but that’s in everybody’s life isn’t it you feel like that with your own partner! So, I can’t see any downside to it I wouldn’t say to anybody there is a downside, not in my experience.*

(1HF: 973-982)

5.8 Space

5.8.1 Feelings

The hosts feel that it is important to have a line between them and their guests when it comes to space (15G), they feel it is vital to have their own space (19G), and to give guests their own space (22H), although some feel they cannot get away even if they want to (10B). There may be less space than the previous home (16G), or just the same (7B). Some feel that their space has been compromised; they now live in a smaller area because of their guests (12P), or their garden has been turned into a car park (16G), while others are happy that areas of their home are still in use because of the guests (2B).

Having his own space and giving his guests their own space is important for 15G, as he feels it makes each of them more comfortable:

*It’s very important to have private space, its important for me because I need to see that you know, there’s a line and guests can’t step over that line, and it’s also important for guests as well to feel that they’re not imposing on you*
and that is actually really important, I think with a lot... the way that B&B’s and guest houses started was you know, little old ladies would just rent the room that their son used to live in because it sits empty so they you know, so you just sort of oh we’ll just rent that out and that’s absolutely fine but I think what in the past what happened was that people always felt that they were imposing, they were staying in somebody’s house and they felt a bit awkward, and now I think a lot of guest houses and B&B’s have become much more of a business, it’s certainly much more of a business and having that element of well this is actually my business and this is the area that you are allowed in and you’re allowed to feel comfortable in this area, it gives them some kind of security and some kind of ...they’re happier about that, you know, because they know that this is their space, and they’re not imposing on you and it’s important, I think it’s really important for guests to know that. Because there’s nothing worse than going to a B&B and thinking you know, you want to creep around you know what I mean, I feel like oh I shouldn’t really be here.

(15G: 309-329)

When 19G stays in a B&B he likes to have his own space, so he puts himself in his guests’ shoes and gives them their space and at the same time has his own space:

“It’s quite interesting to know that when I go to a place, I know I want to meet the owners, I know I want to say how do you do, I’m curious but then when it’s time for me to go to my own personal space, I want to go to it, I want my bedroom, I want to go to my bedroom and I want to watch telly and I don’t want to be bothered it’s my space. And my space is very important.

(19G: 403-408)

Watching his guests’ every move is not something 22H wishes to do. He keeps out of their way so that they have their own privacy:

“We don’t want to be seen in people’s faces all the time the problem you get with a lot of small places is the owners watch everybody walking in and out of
the building and a lot of people do not like that I would hate to be watched, every movement I’m making so we keep away from the guests most of the time.

(22H: 158-163)

Because her home is very open there are not a lot of places where 10B can go to be apart from her guests, but 10B feels she cannot shut herself off too much. However, she does allow her guests to use her private sitting room at times her guests seem to know when is appropriate:

It’s quite good. It’s a very open house, you know, I mean if you open the patio doors to the breakfast room, they’re on their... they’re straight into your kitchen so you really can’t sort of shut yourself off that much.

(10B: 680-683)

If breakfast is sort of running a bit late or they’re running a bit early or something, they’ll come and sit in here quite comfortably and it doesn’t really matter, they seem to know when to have access to it and when not to have access to it without me even putting big notices up so it works quite well actually.

(10B: 68-72)

Moving from one home to another to start up a business has cut down the personal space dramatically for 16G, whereas 7B feels he has not compromised at all, although he later contradicts himself:

We moved from a four bedded bungalow to come here, we had lots of space in our own house but now in a way sharing a house with people even though they are paying for the privilege, our own space now, our own personal space is cut down to probably this lounge and the bedroom and that’s probably it, so we don’t really have another room that we would call ours.

(16G: 568-573)
Well, where we lived before, we basically lived in two rooms, you know, the only rooms we use is the lounge, kitchen and the bedroom and it was the same when we were anywhere else so we’ve not lost any space you know, because the rest is just beds that you never go in apart from tidying up after the guests.

(7B: 462-467)

Oh that’s ours, all these pictures came from our old house we had to get rid of a lot of stuff because it was... we did have to get rid of a lot of stuff because we basically live in two rooms you know, we had a three bedroom, four bedroom house before so that’s us taken all the furniture you know, so basically we had this room and that room and then every other room is for the guests yeah.

(7B: 455-460)

Although 12P feels he has compromised the space he now lives in, he justifies giving his guests the majority of space in his home:

Well I feel that it is slightly weird that you know I’m married and moved from what was my house, which is this house, a big house to a small house. It just really is a corridor flat, it’s all a bit awkward because we really wanted to give Harry his own bedroom. So you know, but I mean I don’t mind, you know, it seems to me that there’s no point in having an awful lot of space if you don’t use it, and why would... how on earth can you possibly use a you know, whatever the size is, this house is a five bedroom, five bathroom house.

(12P: 506-514)

16G also feels that he has made compromises over space. He used to enjoy the garden, but has had to give some of it up for a guest car park:

I quite like being outside to be honest I like being out in the garden, and so on, but if anything, probably I wish I had a bigger garden, but we really need the space for all the cars so if we measure from back to front it’s about fifty yards but most of that space is taken up for cars. Other houses that I had been in
before had nice gardens and I quite enjoyed messing about in them but it doesn’t make sense for a business we need the car parking spaces.

(16G: 598-606)

Having guests use a particular room that 2B does not use that often is very nice for her. In fact, she likes that the drawing room gets used more than once a year:

The drawing room, we don’t use it much so it’s actually really nice when it’s used by the guests, but we use it, you know, over Christmas and New Year and when we’ve got people to supper and quite a few of us.

(2B: 509-512)

5.8.2 Separation

The hosts separate themselves from their guests by divisions of space. Previous themes also explored hosts separating themselves from their guests through artefacts and lifestyle. The hosts have divided parts of the home (15G), or created a separate flat (25H), to separate the space between themselves and their hosts. They close off part of the home (14G), or have a separate home with adjoining door (21G). They live in the basement (20G), or the first floor (17G) or the top floor (11B) or the servants’ quarters (3B). They ensure that their area is always securely locked up (17G).

Running a commercial home is the most bizarre job in the world according to 15G, because you live where you work, which is one of the reasons he feels it is so important to have separate areas of the home: One area for business use and one for personal use:

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

(15G: 304-307)
If you have your own space you don’t need to bother about it as long as you’ve got your own space. It’s really important because it...that makes it the most bizarre job in the world because you live at your business so you need to have down time mentally you need to have down time or you need to have space where you can get away from it, so you might have your own space, I you know, that’s one thing you kind of have to learn how to do as well because at first it’s a bit weird living where work. It’s like you know, if you worked in a big office but have a bed by your desk you know, it’s the same thing. I don’t understand why people would share their own space with their guests. I don’t understand why they would want to do that, that’s a bit odd you know. It’s also not really taking your business that seriously you know because ultimately it’s your livelihood.

(15G: 345-358)

After having to live in one room with his family, 25H created a flat within his small hotel to cater for his family’s accommodation:

We’ve also for the first time ever created a flat for the family so we don’t live with the tourists within corridors, we have a flat between us, three bed roomed, a living room for the family...Well we enter in off the main corridor but we’re not within the corridors as we used to be.

(25H: 16-26)

Although 14G did not start off wanting to be separate that is the way it evolved:

I mean it develops your feeling after, it was after our first or second year that you really start to feel bad, I think that we’ve got more of that feeling that you needed to keep it more separate. We didn’t really think about it when we started up we weren’t thinking well this will be a completely separate part and we can get away, but it sort of became more like that you know.

(14G: 220-225)
Having separate space is also very important for 21G who has built an adjoining house onto her guesthouse:

We have built our own separate two bedroom, two storey house. It is the traditional, well one and a half storey, which is attached through a door that leads into the guesthouse, which can be locked if necessary.

(21G: 37-40)

The hosts have different areas of the home that they use which keeps them separate from the guests. 20G live in the basement, 17G live on the first floor, 11B live on the top floor and 3B live in the old servants’ quarters of their home. 17G also likes to ensure that he keeps his area securely locked up:

They are always locked, they’re never left open, because again security just as guests rooms are always locked when they go out or in, so are ours.

(17G: 504-506)

5.8.3 Privacy

The hosts like to keep certain areas of their home private, for example their own personal space (19G), or the garden (15G) or the toilet (18G). Some do this with the use of private signs (11B) and some choose not to display signs (5B). Sometimes guests ignore the private signs anyway (23H).

19G likes to have his private space, so to ensure this he has displayed a private sign for his guests to see:

So I mean basically, I wouldn’t want to come out of a bathroom and see the guests I need to be grumpy from time to time.

(19G: 398-399)
There’s a notice saying don’t come into our private apartment when we get into our private apartment, you know, we can be private people, and it only changed when the bell goes, and I mean people try not to ring the bell.

(19G: 658-661)

The back garden is a place that 15G likes to keep private although it is overlooked by his guests:

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

(15G: 551-557)

To ensure that her guests stay out of her private toilet 18G has put up a private sign:

It’s really, it’s our toilet people would just wander in and use it and it wasn’t sometimes you know you’d put the fish bits and things in, and oh I’ve just cleaned the fish out, don’t go in there! So there are things that you don’t want people to see and well you’re just sitting and somebody’s due to arrive and they would then go and use the toilet and say no, it’s private, it’s our toilet!

(18G: 444-450)

11B has private signs displayed throughout her home, although she feels that guests do not always comply with them:

I’ve got notices here and there you know to sort of say you know like its private area, but it’s not really! Likes of people, I’ve got one in the kitchen for obvious reasons for a safety factor apart from anything else, but people come into the kitchen to blether or come in to put something maybe in the fridge or things like that and I variably, although my office is an office come dumping
hole and it’s got everything in it, people come in there when they’re paying in the morning or so the whole house really is open. The only place I would get a wee bit annoyed at if people do go up into our level which is our bedrooms which I really believe is private.

(11B: 218-228)

Not all hosts like to use signs and notices in their home, preferring to politely mention where is private (6B), or leave it up to the guests’ discretion where they should not go (5B).

Out with that, the other part of the house is private to ourselves but we don’t have signs we just politely say that this is our you know, there’s nothing to indicate that people can’t go anywhere but it’s kind of, it’s just polite.

(6B: 99-102)

No, and I don’t have private written on a piece of paper anywhere. I hope perhaps that if a door is closed then people won’t walk in.

(5B: 180-182)

5.8.4. Exceptions

Sometimes the hosts let the guests use areas of the home that they usually like to keep private, for example their lounge (13G) or the kitchen (19G). The guests also on occasions have to pass through areas that are used personally by the host, the sitting room (5B), or the kitchen (2B).

When 13G had a Polish lady staying on her own they invited her to spend the evening with them in their private lounge, something they would not usually do with guests:

That is off limits but having said that it depends entirely upon the individuals. We have had some guests, we had a Polish lady, she came through the tourist board, she was pretty much out on a limb a single lady, her English was okay, it was passable, she could understand English a damn site better than she
could speak it and she had no transport of her own so she was very limited in what she could or couldn’t do, the poor woman walked pretty much everywhere and for her to sit in her room of an evening on her own was ludicrous, it was really impersonal, very unfriendly, it’s quite cold really so, she came and sat in our lounge and watched the TV or had a chat.

(13G: 536-546)

Although the kitchen is off-limits to guests, 19G concedes this rule when a mother has to warm up milk for a baby:

We will concede that when a mother has a baby and she needs to heat milk up, that she can use it, but otherwise we keep that strictly as a province where we cook breakfasts in an organised and disciplined way so that we keep hygiene issues absolutely top.

(19G: 686-689)

5B has a personal lounge that her guests do not use, however they have to walk through it in the mornings to get to the conservatory for breakfast. The same goes for 2B, her guests have to walk through her kitchen to get their breakfasts also in the conservatory:

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

(5B: 461-462)

They have breakfast through in the conservatory... I mean the only annoying thing about the layout of the house is that they have to walk through the kitchen to get to breakfast.

(2B: 49-51)
5.8.5. Shared space

Space that the hosts and guests share include the kitchen (10B), the bar (23H), lounge (3B), and everywhere except the bedroom (1HF).

10B does not keep her kitchen out of bounds to her guests as she feels she has nothing to hide:

_They come in and talk to me in the kitchen and sometimes if I’m really busy they come in and pay the bills in the kitchen! it’s not run very commercialised, it’s very laid back and it’s not them and us, we’re all in it together I feel with the kitchen, there’s nothing to hide, it’s as clean as the rest of the house so I don’t feel that it’s off out of bounds for them._

(10B: 89-95)

23H socialises in the bar area of her small hotel, which is shared by guests:

_The only one we actually share probably socially is the bar and it’s just as easy to have friends in the bar than it is to have them in the living room because everything else is in the bar._

(23H: 16-19)

3B invites her guests to come and sit with her and her husband in their lounge, and does not mind if her guests use it after they have gone to bed:

_We ask them if they’d like to come and sit with us. Sometimes they disappear up to their room and prefer to stay there, some arrive late, go and get a meal and come in and go straight to bed so we don’t see much of them before breakfast the next day. But if they stay two or three days they’ll come in and spend the evening and unless of course it’s festival time when they’re out at various things and they come in after we’ve gone to bed._

(3B: 124-130)
1HF encourages her students to come and join the family when they come and stay, and finds that they rarely stay in their rooms. She allows them the whole use of her home except her bedroom:

_We sit and watch telly or they bring their CDs and what have you, oh yeah. In fact the people that we’ve had that have had a room have rarely actually stayed in the room and we haven’t encouraged them to stay in their room because I don’t think that’s... that’s really sharing your house your home, you know if you’re not willing to share it then I wouldn’t put somebody in a room and just leave them there, I wouldn’t like that myself. So just really treat them, as I would like to if I went to somebody’s home I’d hope they were like that with me you know._

(1HF: 64-72)

5.8.6. Spatial displacement

The hosts have displayed signs of spatial displacement by moving to different areas of their home because of their guests. They now eat out in the garden instead of the kitchen (12P), or use the office to wash in the morning (11B), or not use their sitting room anymore (4B), or move out of their own bedrooms (2B), or have the computer in the bedroom (1HF), or eat dinner on their laps instead of the dining room (16G), or move the laundry room outside (11B).

Although 12P has given over a lot of space within his home to his guests, he has gained space in the garden by building a garden room, and now spends time eating outside rather than inside:

_The full length right across and filled the V and left this natural, this natural little patio area there, and that’s proved to be a great success. There’s a lot of it, the room is not really worth the money we spent on it but, well that proved to be an enormous success, it’s again, its an extra address and giving us this extra sort of eating out area. So in terms of space management it proved to be, you know an unexpected thing that we didn’t actually plan on it._

(12P: 417-423)
Having the computer in the kitchen was not working out for 11B so she decided to change the bottom bedroom into an office, which she also uses as somewhere to get washed and ready in the morning if the guests are using the shower:

*The computer came into being and originally it was on the kitchen table but it kind of took over and we decided just to use the bottom bedroom as an office.*

(11B: 44-46)

*This is the make up corner. I think we’re going to have to get an extension!* You see originally as I said this was a bedroom so the sink and the wash hand basin was there anyway, but in this house we’ve got the two bathrooms and at eight o’clock in the morning my daughter’s got to get ready for work for nine o’clock. I’ve got a house full of guests, I’ve got my husband up and sometimes they need to go to the toilet and you can’t get there you know, so we thought right, we’ll start using this for washing our faces and so we just usually automatically, unless we get into the shower, this more or less where I sort of have a wash if I can’t get into the shower before the guests in the morning. And as you can see there’s quite a collaboration of junk there! *Woman’s bits!* (Figure 24) And the computer in the corner there and as I said my husband being in the community council he’s got a lot of paperwork, this is kind of his area here, (Figure 25) you know, and this is sort of like mine and your want for a better word but we get, it can get. That’s actually looking tidy! But that’s where I do most of my bookings if anybody rings up, I’ve got, that’s my booking book.

(11B: 1185-1202)

4B no longer use their sitting room because of their guests and have calculated the next available date they will have it to themselves, as they now prefer not to share it with their guests:

*We know we’ve got somebody in from now until 20th of December so we won’t be able to use our sitting room again. No, because that really becomes very*
tiring, because you’re having to react with them all the time and it just, it becomes very tiring, you’re having to concentrate, you’re having to make conversation. I mean we used to use that sitting room and not give our guests the chance of using it, until we altered the layout of the house. And what we found was, because of the glass door, guests would come in from their night out and they could see us sitting there and you had two alternatives. You either say come in, and if you did that it was fatal because they would sit down and two hours later you were saying well I’m going to my bed. Or, you open the door and go out, and I think that possibly there was a wee bit of resentment that you know, we weren’t inviting them in to sit down.

(4B: 1170-1187)

Figure 24. Photograph of female toiletries in the office area of 11B
2B moves out of her bedroom for two months of the summer so that she can give it to her guests:

*No actually we are in one on the top floor, and we actually move out, there is another tiny tiny little bedroom, that’s about six foot high that we move into for two months of the summer.*

(2B: 13-15)

1HF has changed how she used the space in her home because she has students staying. Her husband’s computer is now in their bedroom although 1HF would have liked to put it in the spare bedroom, but cannot because that is where the students stay:

*Quite happy he’s got his wee place there and, it was really just all the phone terminals and everything for the fax and everything there. I would have preferred it in the back room but then if we have people it’s no good so it will*
have to stay in the front room, it’s fine, fine. Not out of place, we’re not struggling for space.

(1HF: 692-696)

Although 16G have a dining room they choose not to use it to eat dinner, preferring to have their dinner on their laps. If they are entertaining they sometimes use it depending on whether or not they have guests occupying the nearby bedroom:

Dining area, which we use, really just for guests we are inclined to be slovenly and eat on our laps, we can use the dining room as well because we only offer breakfasts to our guests, if we want to eat in the dining area at tea-time that’s fine and breakfast is very much taken on the run I don’t think we ever sit down for breakfast.

(16G: 29-34)

Yeah we tend if we are having people for a meal, it all depends if we have a room up the back stairs from our dining room if we have someone in that and we are entertaining we are inclined to eat here but if we have nobody in that room, if we have people entertaining we will use that room but its just a bit like a restaurant you know if you’ve got people passing through you just try not to think about it and people don’t usually stop and talk.

(16G: 552-558)

11B has moved her laundry room from inside the house to the outside, as she feared the noise was disturbing her guests:

There’s the laundry yeah, I’ve got a utility room at the back door. We did have the washing machine and the tumble dryer in there but when we had the bottom room downstairs it was too noisy, sometimes I would try to wash at night time to catch up with the sheets and the family clothes and things, so it was a bit noisy so my husband built this, I did have an old garden shed but we knocked that down and my husband built this, (Figure 26) and this is the laundry part here and this is his bit here, and I’ve got my washing machines,
my tumble dryers, my ironing board and a couple of wee freezers because I can’t get a chest freezer because I’ve got shelves with all the towels and sheets and things in there but that’s for my laundry so it’s separate from the house for the noise.

(11B: 1110-1120)

Figure 26. Photograph of laundry room built outside the home of 11B

5.8.7. Dining Area

The hosts have different theories for the layout of their dining rooms. Some prefer to have one large table (13G), while others prefer to have two tables (17G), or many individual tables that they can move accordingly (21G), while others are not so keen on individual tables (5B). Having two sets of tables is practical for 11B while 3B has one that can extend if needs be.
Having one large table (Figure 27) is not only because of space issues for 13G, but they also feel that it provokes an intimate atmosphere, encouraging guests to interact with one another:

So the best way was just throwing it out as a long table and it actually works, it works extremely well which surprises me because we also have flexibility there we can have, if there’s a family of three for instance you can extend the table in the evening for at the end of the table or whatever. It is, space is limited and that was the reason for going for the long table idea. But it also creates a more of an intimate atmosphere you are forced to talk to your next-door neighbour.

(13G: 493-502)

17G decided to have two large dining room tables (Figure 28) as he felt it was friendlier, but also gave guests the choice of sitting on their own if they wished:

**Figure 27. Photograph of dining room table in 13G**
It’s friendly, people will speak to each other if there in this type of set up, if you’ve got separate tables you tend to come in, good morning, sit down, goodbye and you leave and that’s it. You tend to, this is our space and don’t sort of encroach on it, but with this set up it does encourage people to speak. Not everyone likes that of course so if they don’t like that, they can choose the smaller table and depending on how much they don’t like it, they can choose their seat according. I mean they can choose this seat which is facing the wall it’s obvious don’t come near me! I’m not a morning person don’t bother! But it works, it works, it gets people talking it gets people you know, discussing what they’ve done the day before and what they’ve seen must go and see that, blah blah blah blah and so it goes. So I mean it just encourages a bit more interplay between the guests.

(17G: 76-92)

Figure 28. Dining room in 17G
21G has individual tables in her dining room, which she moves about according to the different size groups of guests she has in at the time. She always moves them back after breakfast though (Figure 29):

*It depends on who we’ve got in and the groups we’ve got in because we actually move furniture every night so if we’ve got groups of six or groups of four or three’s, we move furniture every night and sit them together if that’s what they want, it just stays like that when it’s been cleaned and tidied up for the day and in the evening... and of course it may dinner time, I mean I would, dinner time the table cloths are white table cloths, so it would be relayed up for dinner anyway. If I’d got dinners tonight I’d already have the tables laid up ready for dinner tonight so, and again you would move the tables out depending on the numbers.*

(21G: 773-782)

*Figure 29. Photograph of dining room in 21G*
5B does not like little individual tables and finds that guests enjoy sitting around talking to each other, sometimes too much, and that some extraordinary coincidences happen:

I am not very keen on little individual tables with the one single carnation sort of stuck in the middle of it. I don’t think they’re friendly. We’ve never had, well we’ve only had one couple that was a bit snooty about it. We are a working farmhouse, and that’s how you know, that’s what all the advertising says and I suppose the only disadvantage from my point of view is that quite often people are enjoying themselves so much, they sit there and chat, for hours you’re trying to clear the table and you want to get on and you can’t because they’re still sitting there chatting and you know, or finding those most amazing coincidences. One time in the summer there were people who were, some were eating in the conservatory and some were in the breakfast room, and there were an English couple who had booked months in advance and they were here for about 3 nights, and there were four Australians who books literally the night before, and they came down and they joined each other at the table and they started talking, and it turned out, I mean it’s quite creepy, I’m going goose pimply already, but the two ladies, the English lady ran a dog, a specific breed of rather rare breed dog club as such and the Australian lady had been writing to her for years because they had one of these dogs and that was so scary.

(5B: 993-1012)

Little individual tables with a flower in the middle may be what 5B does not like, but it is what 15G likes (Fig.28). Having two sets of tables is practical for 11B as she can seat her guests if they do not want to sit beside each other:

Yes, I’ve got that one there. Because sometimes if I get people that maybe will have a family of four or something like that and Germans and French don’t like each other. And if you’ve got people staying, maybe four or five days and you know that they’re not really wanting to know each other, you’re better to have a table where you can sit so many you know, and just sort of say
well or if you get odd numbers you can put three at the big table and two it doesn’t always work that way, sometimes we put them all at the one table so it varies. I’ve got it set there so I can just sort of like put them there if they need to, but I don’t usually use it in the winter.

(11B: 1086-1095)

3B can seat up to twelve guests around her dining room table if she extends it out, but as she only has eight chairs she needs to find others from around the house to accommodate her guests:

*It seats eight and it also extends and you can sit twelve around it quite comfortably so, we’ve only got eight chairs so we have to make up the balance with some chairs from other places.*

(3B: 217-219)
5.7 Guests

5.7.1. Feelings

The hosts all have varying relationships with their guests, some have special guests who have been coming for a long time (20G), or who have become part of their lives (4B) and have seen the family grow up (21G), some invite certain guests to have dinner with the family (4B), and others come back to stay as friends rather than paying guests (9B). Hosts keep in touch and send Christmas cards to some of their guests (3B), and some become friends with their guests (17G). Guests have also cooked for their host (10B) shown respect for them and respect for their home (21G). Hosts make a special effort to communicate with their guests, overcoming language barriers (1HF) and find spending time with them a pleasure (1HF), while others limit the time they spend with their guests (12P), and will not take guests if they seem demanding (12P). Some hosts can be a little controlling (20G) when it comes to their guests, and not be afraid to approach them when they are not happy about something (20G), while others refrain from conflict by biting their tongue (2B).

A guest who has been coming to her guesthouse for a long time is what 20G refers to as a special guest, for whom she buys gifts:

\[
I \text{ always buy calendars for special guests every year and } I \text{ put my own with compliments on them, not too many because you don’t have that many special, special guests you know.}
\]

*INT: And what’s a special guest?

\[
\text{Well someone who’s been coming for a long time. And I maybe, I gave one to the CA and one to the Doctor you know, as well, but no, there’s maybe only about a dozen people you think.}
\]

(20G: 839-847)

Some guests have become part of 4B’s lives, knowing them well enough to buy them a present for their ruby wedding anniversary:
That was a present for our ruby wedding two years ago, it’s a guest who we got to become very friendly with and we invited them up for the weekend and that’s a map of the area from the year that we were married.

(4B: 322-325)

While 21G’s guests have been coming to stay for so long that they have seen her grandchildren grow up:

This is two of the grandchildren when they were younger; that’s Eve who’s now three, and that’s Kieran who’s now six. Yeah. A lot of the guests know these children; they’ve actually seen them from babies onwards.

(21G: 183-189)

When a guest is staying with 4B for a long time, the relationship moves from paying guests, to acquaintance, to possibly friend, as they share meals and wine with one guest who joins them for dinner:

We’ve got a chap staying just now and he’s in Monday to Thursday and he’s been in for three weeks, this is the start of his fourth week and he’s here right until Christmas now. He’s relocating, there’s a big engineering company in Loanhead and he’s going to be in their sales team. He’s started there already so he’s just in the process of buying a house but he’s going to be here until Christmas. And we have him for supper one night every week and it was the night before last he came down with a couple of bottles of wine and you know, so, it was nice. The other two weeks we’ve given him wine so it irons itself out. We don’t expect him to bring wine but we feel if someone’s here alone for a long period you’ve got to interact with them he’s a nice chap.

(4B: 442-453)

Another host whose guests have become part of her life is 9B. Some of her guests have now become friends and are like grandparents to her children:
I’ve got one couple who’s been before, they come up about 20 year now to see us and they’re really good friends, we’ve made friends and they’re like grandparents to my children, absolutely brilliant, absolutely brilliant, and they came from the last owners and they much prefer us, but they’re lovely they can actually come up at new year, not really as paying guests so you make a lot of friends doing this, sometimes, as well but that was lovely.

(9B: 437-444)

Hosts have also become part of their guests’ lives, with 3B seeing one of her guests through a divorce and re-marriage:

We’ve had guests that some of them have sent us Christmas cards and letters but some have kept in contact over the last twenty years one woman from California, she came in 85, another couple who came also in 84/85, as I say we’ve seen them through a divorce and a re-marriage and that one a visit, this time just as friends, not as paying guests and yeah, we still keep in touch it’s nice. They were the ones who brought the mask from Nigeria.

(3B: 447-455)

Another host who has made good friends with some of his guests is 17G, who has them to back to stay, but not as paying guests:

He began to do a commission for us, you know, so we did, so but he has become a friend since then, he comes over several times a year, but our guest rather than a guest, paying guest, that’s right you know the others who come regular, they’ve become friends as well, I mean not that we go around with them yeah, yeah, I would say there’s quite a lot that have become friends which is good.

(17G: 230-237)

Korean guests who had been staying with 10B for a long time, wanted to show their appreciation so they cooked a meal for her:
In my kitchen, and they’d cooked soup with lumps in, they brought back from Korea, they’d been home and brought back what they call Kimshi which is like a fomented cabbage with stuff in it was quite different but they laid the table, well I sort of showed them where the stuff was and they laid the table and of course they brought their chopsticks out, and okay, how do you eat lumpy soup with chopsticks, but what you do it you pick all the lumps out with the chopsticks, you pick up the bowl and then you drink it! So that was that and they done really well, they didn’t wreck the kitchen too much!

(10B: 754-763)

21G believes that her guests respect her and her property because she provides a nice atmosphere for them:

I actually believe that if you give guests a nice atmosphere in a nice environment that’s well cared for, they continue to care for it but if they see a place that looks as though it’s unloved then it doesn’t really matter, they’re more likely to make a mess and to damage property and that philosophy seems to work. But whether I’m right are wrong will remain proof time.

(21G: 183-189)

1HF really enjoys being a host family and finds spending time with the students a pleasure, even though it is hard to communicate because of the language barriers:

We sit with our dictionaries and they sit with their little computer dictionaries and you know, we get books out I thought there was a lovely story from one of the Japanese I had, and we’re sitting struggling with the dictionaries and everything and I was asking you know, is this what your parents would do at home of a night sitting round a table and talk like this? You know, and I’m making it very simple and they say, “yes we would but we don’t sit like you do with dictionaries!” No! I thought that was really hilarious. We’ve never forgotten that, I said no, neither do we!

(1HF: 409-417)
I love the Japanese culture but it is changing, it’s getting westernised but they are just so grateful for anything you do, it’s a pleasure you know, it is just a pleasure for to do anything for them. And they’ll cook for you and they’re just super, they’re just super people and the Indians are so... want you to be part of their family and they’re, the Japanese are a wee bit more sort of, they like to hide away they’re different and the Indians are in your face and cooking and the windows are open and they’re giving it loads you know! But some super food and big nights we’ve had with them because if people appear at the door and they don’t tell you they’re bringing all your friends in you know, but they cook for everybody and I says well... we’ve had some great nights, great night that you would never have if you didn’t do this it’s really a pleasure, no, I enjoy it thoroughly. I think I would do it supposing I didn’t get paid! It wouldn’t really matter to me but obviously it’s a bonus! But no, it’s great fun. Great fun.

(1HF: 434-449)

A host who does not seem to get as much pleasure from his guests as 1HF does is 12P. He feels he builds a relationship with his guests from the moment they arrive until the moment they leave, but only sees them at breakfast. He also refuses to take guests who he feels are being demanding by asking if there is a hairdryer in the room when they call to book:

Generally we get lots of really nice people, who talk about politics or the difference between nations at breakfast and stuff, and that, we don’t really have to you know, relate to the guests much more now, mainly at breakfast we can make ourselves available for people who come, pick our brains about what best restaurant to go to and all that and you know, and you try and get a sort of system together whereby so you know, you’ve built a relationship with them on the moment they get there, arrive at the door until the moment they leave.

(12P: 488-496)
I wouldn’t take somebody who’s too demanding. I mean for instance the first question that would pass marks is are there hairdryers in the rooms, then you say sorry, I’m fully booked, I think you’d probably prefer to stay in a hotel or worse to that effect, I mean you discourage them from staying. You, you know, you’re not trying to get business at all costs, you say... you say to people are you sure this is where you’d like to stay and providing you are sure that you would like to stay here then please book but you don’t push it.

(12P: 226-233)

20G likes to keep her guests under control, and is not afraid to confront them if they are doing something she does not approve of:

I keep them under control.

*INT: How do you do that?

Well I make them take their boots off at the door and they know that they don’t smoke in the house. I know they eat pot noodles but they don’t bring in Chinese food and Fish & Chips because they are the things that smell and the other things too, if you get Chinese sauce on your bed covers you’d never get rid of it. But you know you read of so many places where they have damage done. These guys, they’ve never damaged anything. I did catch one the other day and he had his cup, hot cup sitting on top of the dressing table and I just went through and I picked up a saucer, because they don’t speak much English and I just picked up the saucer and I put the cup like that and said to him, this way!

(20G: 408-421)

Yes, we do. You do get the odd person who thinks that they can smoke in the room but I can smell it, I mean if you don’t smoke yourself of course you go along you knock on the door and you say to them would you mind not smoking! Oh, I’m in the bathroom, well you don’t smoke in the bathroom
either. I'm smoking out the window, you don't smoke out the window either you're outside. That's when the high price of the paint bit comes in

*INT: So you just ask... you just approach them about it?

Yes I do. Yeah. It's then they see another side to me you know, I mean if I'd been good enough to put that there [no smoking sign] and its on the main. I mean they've had plenty warnings and I'm sorry, I just... I just say to them you'll have to go, and then they say oh I'll not do it again, well okay then well don't.

(20G: 783-802)

Not all hosts are as forthcoming about confronting their guests as 20G. 5B thinks it's not worth the hassle, 18G sometimes bites her tongue and 2B does not like confrontation:

You just put it down to Americans you know. Usually it's because they are interested and they want to find out more or chatting, you know, so its part of their holiday in that sense. They're not terribly good at sort of recognising the possible boundaries but then at the same time if I can invite them into my home and there aren't any notices anywhere then you know. And then if they're here for long enough for it to be a real problem you know, it's not as though people are here for two or three weeks or anything So, if you get somebody who you perhaps would prefer not to come again, they're gone within two or three days so it doesn't really matter.

(5B: 194-203)

What you see is what you get, sometimes you have to kerb your tongue, sometimes if people are being outrageous.

(18G: 1206-1207)

There was a guy last summer who just came and plonked himself on the sofa and started reading his book and he just didn’t... and actually he was only staying one more day so I didn’t stay anything, if he was staying longer I
would have because I’m terribly bad at confronting people, I mean it wouldn’t even be confronting, I’d just say I’m terribly sorry but this is our sort of area and there’s a drawing room upstairs but he just liked talking to he just sat there and talked but I just then though I really this is my room, you know.

(2B: 1008-1016)

Trust can be an issue that affects the relationship between hosts and guests. 12P who does not appear to have close friendships with his guests also has conditional trust with them, while 20G and 4B have guests as part of their lives, and have become friends with them, seem to be able to trust their guests very easily:

Wouldn’t be allowed in the door unless you give them your credit card details it’s an exchange of trust between the person booking and me, I mean I trust them if they have keys to my house they have to trust me, they have to trust me with their credit card details.

(12P: 259-262)

I’ve never had anything stolen, I never have anything taken, and I think people don’t because I’m nice you know. If I was a right old bag they’d probably think I’ll just take that but no, no. I mean the guest lounge got all those videos in there, it’s got ornaments, its got all sorts of things in there, and nobody, no… nothing’s gone missing, ever.

(20G: 1561-1566)

We are not licensed to sell alcohol to our guests so what we do is we put a tray in the corner and it’s very much an honesty thing, they are very welcome to take what they want, fill in the book and we charge them cost price so most of the time we you know, for all that it’s used it’s something you know, if they want to drink then they can.

(4B: 242-247)

5.9.2 Type

The hosts get different types of guests; from the sporty outdoor type (21G), to actors (17G), to foreigners (7B), to vegetarians with similar views to them (18G).
Living in the Highlands 21G gets a lot of outdoor sports people and other types of guests that she does not like to put into little envelopes:

*I would say the vast majority of them as I’ve said before are actually outdoor, they’re Munro baggers, they’re hill walkers. Then the next largest group are the mogs that use us as a base, what I call the middle aged older group that want a base to go out and back every day, and then there’s the transient, one nighters, that are just you know, passing through. But the vast majority age group wise I would say are between the age of twenty five and forty the outdoor sports types and are in the main hill walkers and I would say young professionals, thinking about it, most of their jobs, one’s that we know well yeah but I mean I don’t actually like to put people into you know little envelopes.*

(21G: 742-752)

17G has had all walks of life stay at his guesthouse, including actors and actresses:

*What types I mean you know, it’s as varied here as it would be in any big hotel, people from everywhere, all walks of life, all… we have had och just the completely across the boards, we’ve had actors and actresses and holiday makers, the whole lot, I mean there’s not a particular area of where we sort of home in on or anything like that.*

(17G: 142-146)

7B has had almost every nationality stay with him and thinks that up to 65% of his guests have been foreigners:

*We get Koreans, I think we’ve had every nationality, a lot of Australians, New Zealand, Yanks, a lot coming from Eastern Europe, Dutch, I would say about 50 per cent, in fact probably about 60, 65 per cent are foreign.*

(7B: 113-120)
18G has guests who are very similar to her and her husband. They are vegetarian with the same views about the world:

They just go off and do their own thing they don’t stay out late, they don’t get drunk, they come back, you know, we usually have them all back by about ten o’clock you know, but they’re just not outrageous people so they’re not coming up for all the reasons that of getting drunk and things so we have a good client base as well so and they tend to think like us and that’s... that’s probably one of the benefits as well, you have a you can talk vegetarianism until you’re blue in the face and they will agree with you and you’ll talk ethical things, you’ll talk environmental things, you’ll talk about yes, there should be tolls into the city, yeah I agree with you, yeah we all bicycle, you know, we all look at things in a very similar way and so they think like you, and you can tell the people that don’t think like you.

(18G: 1217-1229)

5.9.3. Feedback

On the whole the hosts enjoy getting feedback from their guests. It is usually positive and they have been complemented on their home (4B) and the food they serve (23H). Although not all feedback has been positive, as one host found out when she just started out (20G).

Simple comments made about food can leave the hosts feeling very happy, from the soup (23H) to the cheese (6B) to the overall meal (19G):

The first time I had to make soup; and someone said that was fantastic!

(23H: 271)

A guy yesterday said it's the nicest food he's ever tasted in his life now that's something; he's a college professor from Wisconsin.

(19G: 131-133)
Cheese on the table it tends, the breakfast tends to go well, down well, visitors book... tends to, to make comment on that particular aspect of their stay... it’s nice to get feedback.

(6B: 450-452)

When a guest writes a nice message about her home in her visitor book, 2B takes it as a personal compliment, and values the guests who appreciate the oldness of her home:

The curtains and duvet covers and you know, they don’t appreciate the oldness of the house whereas people from abroad who want, you know, or the Chinese or whatever, they just think it’s fascinating so actually I really appreciate more that sort of person and actually I get such pleasure when people think oh Jesus it’s so beautiful, yeah it’s really nice when people say nice things about your house and actually I always rush to see what they’ve written in the visitor’s book you know, and it’s usually things about the dogs and cats and the house being lovely and not much about us, but you know, there are so many nice remarks and I think the nicest remark is when they say “I feel just as if I’ve been at home” and I always think that’s such a compliment.

(2B: 944-954)

However not all feedback is positive, as 20G found out the first week she opened:

*INT: And how did you feel?

I was really quite hurt more than anything. You know, but they were young, they... you know you just... it’s a shame. It’s a shame about that.

(20G: 818-823)
5.9.4. Trouble with guests

On occasions, hosts have had trouble with guests. Guests arriving on the wrong date (12P), parents with unruly children (21G), guests leaving because of hosts’ children (9B), guests not paying for rooms (5B), complaints about noise (11B) and wandering guests (18G).

12P had his Saturday night out ruined because guests arrived looking for a room that they had booked for the previous month:

Disasters that have happened when somebody’s booked, 18th, 19th, 20th of July, double room en-suite bathroom don’t turn up, just don’t turn up at all, so we, as part of our cancellation policy they get charged eighty pounds for the, for the first night of the three night stay, you know we just, we just write off a hundred and sixty pounds of his, and then they turn up on the 19th August when you’re a hundred per cent fully booked since year’s door saying where’s my room? We says no sorry, you booked in July, not in August, and they start going well I’m going to get my solicitors on to you, and then well show me your written confirmation and you know, come 19th of August and then there are clearly set rules for responsibility but you know, you know, just because your girlfriend thinks that she booked August where in fact she booked July, there’s no reason to start shouting at me and telling me I’m in the wrong, you know, and this is after you know, and I think the last time that happened as well, no it’s you know, I’ve had... I’d just come back, I was out to dinner and, and the housekeeper rang me and I had to take a taxi all the way back, yeah, just to say to them there’s nothing we can do for you. You know, you didn’t book. And when you have no rooms, sorry, you know. Yeah, but you know I’ve had a lot that have fucked up my Saturday evening completely, you know, they disputed the eighty pounds when I took it off them in July, so we took a big loss in that booking and we got a whole mouth full of abuse for that, and you know, and you know, and all the pissing around and that you know, they’d booked in July and stuff like that.

(12P: 461-486)
Children can be troublesome for hosts; a child who is unruly (21G) or who wets the bed (18G):

    Oh it was just totally out of control, the parents just kept saying well we’re on holiday and we... so we suggested that they could control the child because it was annoying other guests, so ultimately we did actually have to ask them to leave, they booked in for three days so, it was spoiling everybody else’s holiday so. But they’re argument was they were on holiday so they didn’t have any responsibility for controlling the children while on holiday, I don’t agree with that one actually.

    (21G: 827-833)

    We’ve had occasions were, and I don’t blame the children, I blame the parents, where they’ve peed on the seat and things and you think well somebody’s coming in after you and now this has got to be cleaned and it’s going to be all damp and wet.

    (18G: 927-930)

Sometimes it is not the guests’ children that are the problem, but the hosts. 9B had two guests leave because of her children:

    the children because I do know loads of people don’t like coming to stay in a bed and breakfast or guest houses with children and I have had one couple leave yes, they had come into the... they’d checked in, into the room, and after about ten minutes they came up the stairs and said I’m sorry, we would like to leave. Why? They hadn’t heard the children, the children were here and they weren’t noisy or nothing and they said you’ve got children, I said yes, what’s wrong with that? Well we prefer to stay somewhere that doesn’t have children I said well they’re very quiet and they sleep up in the attic so you’re not going to be wakened through the night, it’s not a problem at all, and they still left.

    (9B: 104-113)
5B had an incident where some guests did not pay for the room, but even worse for 5B was that they did not thank her for not having to pay:

I’ve only had one... it was years and years and years and years ago, a chap who had asthma attack, and it was really awkward because he had... he and his wife drunk too much and they’d been with friends who had animals and it was at two o’clock in the morning and he got a car off to hospital. And his wife implied that you know, if he hadn’t have drunk so much it wouldn’t have happened etc And it must have been the first couple of years after doing B&B and they didn’t actually stay the night because they were in hospital. But of course they’ve used the room because they’ve changed in it and had everything else in it was really quite awkward, I didn’t charge them but they didn’t they didn’t offer to pay either I think... you know, I felt quite sort of, I mean I wasn’t looking for halo polishing or anything but I think they should have well either said well that’s really kind or you know, maybe we can pay half or something but they didn’t.

(5B: 534-548)

11B once had a complaint from a guest about the level of noise coming from her daughter’s music. She was not happy as it was two o’clock in the afternoon, so felt that it was uncalled for:

And there was only once that I ever had a complaint about the music and that was my daughter, she’d actually stripped the bedroom and she was painting and that was at two o’clock in the afternoon and of course she had the music on, and I had a guest and he got booked in about the two o’clock mark, say three o’clock mark. So of course the music was going boom boom boom boom and I never told my daughter to put it... because it was the afternoon but anyway the guest came in and he came in about the three o’clock mark and he actually made a complaint about the noise which I didn’t think it was right because if it was a night time, two o’clock in the afternoon you don’t expect people to complain about household noises you know so I was a wee bit annoyed at the fact that he made a complaint, I mean my daughter was quite furious because
she was busy decorating you know, and you know what you’re like when you’re decorating you put music on and it wasn’t that particularly loud but he did make a complaint about that, you know. But as I said I didn’t take it too seriously and I did point out to him that it was two o’clock in the afternoon if it was eight, nine o’clock at night I could see his point but not at this time of the day, you know when they could be going out, and I think it was a lovely day as well so the windows were all open so that made things even worse for noise but that’s the only, that’s about the only things I can see that was ever a problem with the girls.

(11B: 534-548)

18G had trouble with a wandering guest, which frightened her into having locks on her doors:

Only once did we have somebody who came in to the kitchen and started to go through the fridge but that was very early on very early on, I think even in that first three months perhaps which caused us to put lock on doors so by simply doing that, I mean he was on his way downstairs although he’d taken a pastry out of the fridge and a beer and was on his way downstairs and he dropped the beer and so it bounced all the way down the stairs and woke us up so he was on his way down, so there was no reason why he should have been down there so that’s again why the private goes on the door and it did force us to put Yale locks on the doors as well which... and that was very early on, it was a lesson well learned and he should have been at the top of the house, he was in a room upstairs, so he shouldn’t have been there and that’s the only time touch wood that that’s ever happened.

(18G: 709-722)
5.10 Performance

5.10.1. In front of guests

The hosts can put on a performance in front of their guests. They may do this by keeping their home tidier than they would normally (5B) or by paying more attention to it (21G). They may make an effort to be nice when they really are not in the mood (2B) or bite their tongue when really they want to say something (18G). They try to hide all their junk and keep the children’s toys out of sight (9B).

If 5B did not do B&B her home would probably be less clean and tidy “my house is certainly cleaner and tidier because I do Bed and Breakfast” (5B: 131-132). 21G treats the certain areas of her home differently. The areas in view of guests are the areas that she ensures she keeps clean and tidy:

   It’s still part of my home but it’s a part of the home that I look on slightly differently, in other words it’s the part of the home that I always ensure is clean and tidy because of the public viewing of whereas in my house, I might have a pile of ironing sitting in the middle of the dining room table waiting to be done which I couldn’t leave out here. But when we’re closed, this is just as you know; the ironing could be in the middle of the dining room tables.

   (21G: 875-881)

15G takes more pride in the areas of the home that is in view of the guests. He ensures that they are more perfect than his own private space:

   I don’t ever just walk in here and think och that’ll do I never have that attitude towards it. If anything, it has to be more perfect in here than my part of the house, I was saying your part of the house is always the last to kind of get painted and you know, so you have, you know, you have to the outside world this is lovely place and then you know your own chaos reigns kind of behind.

   (15G: 365-370)
Sometimes it is hard to put on a smiley face to entertain guests (2B), but 18G explains that the guesthouse owner act comes into it and the same things are said over and over. Although sometimes things are not said even though they should be:

\[
\text{If you’re tired and you’re in the middle of a good film or something on the telly, it’s quite an effort to go out grinning and not sort of say did you have a good day and now sod off up the stairs!}
\]  

(2B: 901-903)

The guesthouse owner act comes into it, you know, and you start saying the same things over and over again and they ask you the same questions and you say the same things back …the same spiel. You also can’t say to them what you would really like to say to them sometimes so you are you are putting on a front you know, so yes, that does change. But more often than not though what they see is what they get you know, without being rude about it but we’re very much what you see is what you get and but you do have to kerb your tongue sometimes if people are being outrageous not too outrageous but what you consider to be well, it is my house you shouldn’t be doing this.

(18G: 1197-1207)

9B finds it hard to keep her home tidy with the children, but she tries her best to hide their junk, and always has a quick tidy up of their toys if the doorbell rings:

\[
\text{That’s just a junk area that guests don’t really, I try not to let them look into it’s usually a bit of a mess, the kids piano, all the things that are crammed in there.}
\]  

(9B: 206-208)

\[
\text{Yeah, it’s hard to keep things tidy especially when you’ve got a big family because you know, we don’t have very much storage space in the house so it’s very difficult to keep things tidy and out of site and I do like to… well certainly not today but when my guests are up and things everything’s you know, everything’s tidy so it’s very hard to do that with the children.}
\]  

(9B: 211-216)
Well, they wouldn’t be coming up there anyway so that’s fine because downstairs it’s quite good that because the children don’t really don’t leave too much of a mess and if the doorbell goes I usually just, whatever’s lying, I quickly put it away, but the front of the house, if the kids are playing out the front, well if they want to stay here, see how many children I have oh that’s fine, that’s up to them.

(9B: 523-528)

Clearing up after the children is also something that 12P has to do, when he uses the kitchen that he shares with his guests:

When I’m in this house, this is the public area. When we’re in our house we can leave toys all over the floor and it’s nothing to worry about too much. It’s just basically cleaned up every time we leave here.

(12P: 125-128)

5.10.2. Backstage

The hosts go to a lot of trouble to ensure that the area of their home open to guests is always presentable. However in doing this, their private space often suffers. They often spend money on the business side of things rather than the home side (19G). Their private space is often the last to get painted (15G). They also feel more relaxed about keeping it tidy (14G).

19G chooses to live in a “midden” because all his money is spent on the business:

So first thing is we live in a midden upstairs because all the money goes into the downstairs where the guests see.

(19G: 95-97)

He finds it embarrassing because it is so messy and admits it is a beautiful room although it has not been decorated in 15 years:
It's embarrassing up there; it's a shite mess. The time and attention and the thought that has gone into making nice bits of space outside our mess, and the dream is that now that we've got a business.

(19G: 544-546)

We've got a beautiful room upstairs but we haven't decorated it in fifteen years. We've got a coal fire, and it's usually got piles and piles of linen in it and ironing boards and... its now got half of my mother's flat.

(19G: 381-384)

Although 19G tries to keep his mess private from the guests, there was an embarrassing incident when the Italian Minister walked in and embarrassed his wife so much she wanted to die:

And the Italian Minister, one of the things he did was he walked straight into my house, straight into the private accommodation and said where's the whisky!

*INT: Did he? What did you do?

Well my wife just about committed suicide because she was so embarrassed so we have thoughts, we have cycles of getting the place more or less tidy up the stairs and then something happens like my mother dies and more crap goes in there.

(19G: 156-164)

5.11 Target market

The market the hosts target reflects the host home relationship. The hosts aim to encourage people who are like them to become their guests. They want to have people in their home that they will like so that they will be comfortable sharing their space with them. The hosts target like-minded people (15G), forty plus (9B), Britons and Europeans (22H) and UK-based vegetarians (18G).
What we wanted to do was really just attract people that we thought we’d like and I think that’s a good place to start. You know, its kind of like... it’s about attracting light minded people and if you can, if you can start off by attracting ten light minded people to come and stay, you hope that those ten will go and tell ten each light minded people, each another ten, and it goes like that, you know, it’s a mushroom effect like that so if you start with the right people, you will hopefully continue to get the right people and I just thought well, I just want people that will come and appreciate and have a similar attitude to me if I, if I reflect myself in the house then my friends will probably like it because they like similar things to me. There will be lots of people that don’t like it as they’re different but that’s fine because, but if I can reflect myself in the house, then probably my friends will like and their friends will probably like it as well it’s generally what happens. So the target market has grown from that, and the target market I would say is 25 – 40 year old couples really, gay or straight couples and that’s if I look at my friends, it’s pretty much my friends you know. 25 to 40 year old gay or straight people, I don’t tend to get very many families, it’s not really my market and I don’t really cater for families I’m happy to have them but I generally don’t get them you know. This is a short break destination and there’s not really that family orientated the destination anyway so you know, if couples come they’d probably prefer to go away for the weekend and leave the kids at home.

(15G: 199-225)

9B likes that the advertising she is recommended in attracts guests who are over forty years as they are usually more tolerant of children:

I like the age group of the guests that that they attract which is usually the forty plus because they’re a bit more tolerant with children, and they also come in, earlier in the evening, they’re not out really late, getting drunk you know so it’s not the young ones I really go for because I’ve got family, you know, and I don’t want to be up through the night and the older ones, they come up for breakfast early in the morning as well which suits me.

(9B: 139-146)
22H also likes the over forties as they seem to appreciate the type of accommodation he has on offer. He has noticed that his clientele are coming from further away now due to budget airlines:

*Our average age group is probably 45 to 55, okay, that’s the audience we’re aiming for, we don’t want the younger crowd because they cause damage and they really don’t care about the property, and also the younger generation are only interested in price, they’re not interested in quality so the market we are aiming for is the person that’s looking for a quality bed and breakfast, small hotel where they don’t want a large place where they’re just a number, they want a small place but they want the standards that you would get in a larger hotel. They also have to pay for it.*

(22H: 73-81)

*So they now come up for the weekend, so our audience has actually changed with introduction of more budget airlines our weekend break people have come from further a field, it used to be the north of England and Northern Ireland but now it can be anywhere in Britain, Europe.*

(22H: 105-108)

Being a vegetarian guesthouse it is evident that 18G targets vegetarians:

*We certainly don’t get the stag and the hen and the cliché sort of you know, groups that come to Edinburgh for the weekend ours are mainly probably UK not a huge amount of foreign business, UK based, London, 20-30 somethings, no children, vegetarian, vegan, ethically minded, environmentalists, teachers, academics, social workers, they fall into that particular category.*

(18G: 209-215)
5.11.1 Selling point

The hosts have unique selling points that they feel distinguishes them from all the others. It could be location or décor (CH23), views (CH12), special offers (CH6), added services (CH5), licensed premises (CH22), or presents for guests (CH10).

Having a city centre location with great characteristics is a unique selling point for CH23:

*The thing with a small property like this is you know, you can have quality of product you can be close to… a great location but ultimately Travel Inn’s probably have that and a lot of hotels and things like that, so I need to differentiate myself from all of those guys.*

(CH23: 135-139)

*It’s the lovely Victorian, with the Georgian, you know, it looks Georgian, but it’s actually Victorian, but you know, you walk into the reception here and none of them apart from Coates Gardens have lovely wood panelling, if you look up the stairs there, the arches and so forth and this is very different and you know, people come into this building and say wow, this is fab, architecturally this is fabulous, it’s like a tardis, but you have a priority, once you come in and you stand at the sort of hallway there you just don’t appreciate the size of what is inside from the outside, and this all appealed to me and this all, this was all to be what will differentiate us from all the other competition, you know, my competition and make people come back to us, they prefer us, they prefer us.*

(CH23: 239-450)

Scenic views are what differentiate CH12 from other commercial homes:

*This small book called Bed & Breakfast Nationwide and they advertise through this little book and it tends to have maybe one property in each area that they’ve picked out and each property has something different, for instance here we’ve got a fantastic view of the loch, the guests think this is fantastic.*

(CH12: 133-137)
CH6 gives his guests special offers for the nearby visitor attractions:

On the dressing table in each of the rooms, last year we organised special offers from visitor attractions and activities and what have you, and we give people a Midlothian visitor card free which gives them access to these special offers and that’s just a list of all that’s available and we’re going to do the same again next year.

(CH6: 472-476)

CH5 offers added services to her guests including picking them up from the airport:

We fetch and carry people and get them from the railway station up the road if they haven’t a car, I mean we always get their luggage in if they want help.

(CH5: 374-376)

Having a licence to sell alcohol and serving food at night is what CH22 feels makes him stand out from the crowd:

We obviously do food, which is unusual for places at night.

(CH22: 11)

Six bedrooms, small hotel, very few places have a drinks licence, we have to make ourselves stand out from the crowd a little bit, again it was actually designed and we actually.

(CH22: 140-142)

Every room has a little table and chairs it’s so that people can sit when they come in from a day sight seeing or a day in business and they can sit and look out the window, on arrival every room has chocolates and sherry, again it says to people I’ve picked a great place you know, I’m the lucky people where I’m staying.

(CH22: 228-232)
CH10 also gives her guests little gifts:

_That’s the wee drams that I give to guests, if they’re staying for three nights or something like that it’s just a wee gift. A lot of people when they’re out in the hills you know and they come back down from the hill I think they quite enjoy a wee dram._

(CH10: 1181-1184)

5.12. Tourist Board

The hosts choose to become part of the tourist board so that they can receive a graded certification that will be recognised by potential guests. However, regulations enforced by VisitScotland often threaten the host home relationship. Hosts are asked to make changes to their home that they are not entirely happy with and that do not reflect them. Some hosts chose to leave VisitScotland as they were not satisfied with them. Some hosts refer to VisitScotland as its former name of the Scottish Tourist Board (STB).

5.12.1. Graded

The hosts decide to get graded by the tourist board for various reasons, for some it is to get bookings (25H), or to get overseas clientele (13G), or to attract a certain market (23H), to use the grading on other advertising (15G), to prove that they are of a good standard (21G), to have a body for guests to complain to if necessary (20G), to get into other advertising brochures (5B), or just to show that they are quality assured tested (6B).

Although 25H does not feel the benefit of the tourist board directly, he chooses to be graded because he knows that he gets bookings from them:

_Directly you can’t feel it, but indirectly yes through the Visit Scotland you get booking from them or the old Edinburgh and Lothian’s Tourist Board, you get a percentage of your bookings but most of it is repeat and secondly… the main_
tourist magazines from Edinburgh & Lothian seems to get more business than the official Scottish book and Visit Scotland give us the business but we’re tied into a couple of Universities that constantly give work colleges etc and we’re trying to expand on that.

(25H: 228-235)

13G chooses to be a member of VisitScotland because he believes that they are first place people contact when they are looking for accommodation, especially overseas clientele:

Needs must because the UK based client as well as the European / overseas client, the first thing they do is certainly in the UK is to pick up the phone to the tourist board can we have your brochure please, or they look on the internet. Most of the UK people who do pick up the phone to the STB or do a check on their internet site, are a little bit more worldly wide and they pick up a phone direct to us to enquire availability. But there is a fairly large percentage I have to say, at the moment, that insist on booking through the STB on the belief that they are getting a better service, a better deal where in truth or not.

(13G: 333-344)

Being graded is important for 23H if she wishes to maintain her current market. Although she has been graded at three stars she chooses to advertise at two stars, as she believes that is where her market is:

I’m quite happy to have my quality assurance because I think that gives anyone that’s coming to stay in the hotel; you’ve got a standard to work on. I’ve got three stars but I choose to stay at two because I need to work out where my market’s coming from [there’s only four hotels in the two villages so if you go and you keep going up and up, you lose the local trade in the winter months which we have to have in the winter months.

(23H: 133-139)
15G sees his grading from VisitScotland as a stamp of authenticity, and finds it useful to put it on his other advertisements:

_The main reason I’m with them is because we get a star grading from them, it’s a good thing to be able to have on your other advertising. It’s like a stamp of authenticity almost and if you get nothing else from the Scottish Tourist Board then it’s a way of giving a stamp of authenticity and I could go to probably you know, the RAC or the AA or whatever but I think the Scottish Tourist Board is the most widely known so you know, I think it’s probably the best in that respect to get that._

(15G: 145-152)

Having a good grading is a way of showing her guests that she has a good business for 20G, and she likes the fact that if any of her guests should ever need to make a complaint then they have VisitScotland to complain to:

_For one thing they can see it must be good if you've got a good grading and secondly if there is a complaint there is somebody to complain to because if you go and stay with Joe Bloggs who doesn't advertise anywhere and it's rubbish there's nothing you can do about it other than go to the environmental health or whatever. No, I think it's nice to have a grading._

(20G: 43-48)

Because 5B has a farm stay she wanted to promote her B&B as such, but the only way she could advertise in Farm Stay UK was to first become a member of VisitScotland:

_I’m a member of something called the farm holiday, well its Farm Stay UK now. It used to be called Farm Holiday Bureau. And it's about the only UK wide active farming group of B&B specifically farming. You have to have, or you had to until recently had to have agricultural holding number to be eligible to be in it. And since they don’t have their own grading system, you_
had to be a member of the tourist board to be a member of that so that was one of the reasons.

(5B: 39-46)

Although 6B does not believe in their system he stills sees a great value in being graded by VisitScotland, as he considers the grading to be an invitation to guests to see the quality of his business:

*I think the quality assurance I think may invite people in if they see that you’re quality assured tested, I see a great value of being with the tourist board we don’t particularly believe in their system as such.*

(6B: 156-159)

5.12.2. Un-graded

Some hosts have decided not to join VisitScotland at all (18G), but 14G had been a member for eight years then decided to leave:

*Oh yeah, we were in it for eight years, seven years say. Last, was last year our first year out of it. Yeah, last year was our first full year that we weren’t in, so we’d been in it a while and we had, I mean we had good gradings we were four star so that wasn’t the problem.*

*INT: So do you think now because you don’t have the tourist board grading, has that made any difference or?*

*I don’t think the grading has because we still, we’re in the AA and we get a grading from them, I think, certainly we’ve lost business because of the advertising but on the other hand we were spending £700 with membership and advertising so you know, we’re probably we’re having to take like, I don’t know twelve or thirteen hundred pounds just to cover that from profits so you know we can lose that much business straight away without having actually lost income so you know, we have lost some business, but again its because we’ve downsized a bit we’re not saying bugger to it.*

(14G: 605-919)
Being a vegetarian B&B 18G felt that VisitScotland were being very narrow minded and not catering for their needs, so decided not to join at all:

Because they were very parochial and very narrow-minded and didn’t understand where we stood in the niche of things and really we’d had just gone in a brochure with everybody else and we weren’t what that was.

(18G: 337-339)

5.12.3. Feelings

Many of the hosts that are with VisitScotland have strong feelings towards them, mainly negative. They feel that VisitScotland is just a money making scheme (15G), and they do not like that they take 10% for a booking that comes through them (13G). They feel that VisitScotland has become too impersonal and centralised (8B) and that they lack local knowledge because of the call centres that they use (14G). The hosts feel VisitScotland has unrealistic expectations when it comes to the cost of making changes to the commercial home (13G), and fail to advise properly on changes to be made (19G). They feel that the Highlands are not being marketed sufficiently (21G), nor areas other than Edinburgh (5B). Some feel that the grading system is too restrictive and would like to have grading up to ten stars rather then five stars (25H).

When bookings come through VisitScotland, 10% goes directly to them, which 15G feels is unfair and prefers to get bookings on his own:

They’ve changed the way that they do their bookings recently and they’re trying to channel all the potential customers through their central booking system and the Tourist Board are deliberately doing that so that they can take ten per cent of their booking. It’s a money making activity so I tend to try not to have to take direct bookings from the Tourist Board because there’s not really much point, you know, if it’s the middle of peak season, what’s the point of me giving a room and booking via the Tourist Board and having to give them ten per cent when I know I’m going to get a direct phone call for that room anyway, no point. So I’m happy to fill rooms, I generally have to fill
rooms at the last minute with the Tourist Board I don’t particularly like to book by advance with them.

(15G: 152-164)

Not only do VisitScotland take 10% they also charge 3% booking fee. 13G feels that the guests believe the 10% is going to them rather than VisitScotland, which he feels, is unfair:

They are being ripped off and that’s putting it politely. The STB charge you a three per cent booking fee plus a ten per cent deposit, which gives the client the impression that the deposit is being transferred to the proprietor or the establishment. No it is not, it remains the property of the STB.

(13G: 352-356)

Both 8B and 14G feel that VisitScotland lacks local knowledge because of recent changes:

I’m not so happy now that they’ve closed the TIC’s down, quite honestly, it’s become too impersonal when they have the you know, the small tourist board information, we had and now it’s all down to one big central location, they don’t know the area.

(8B: 295-299)

They’ve also taken over the call centres, you can’t call the local tourist office anymore, you just have an 0845 number and you go through to the call centre in Livingston and basically what they do is they take ten per cent commission on all the bookings that they take so they try and divert all of the business through the call centre and on the website they don’t, they don’t put a direct link to members websites either because they try and put you through the kind of impersonal system because this private company then takes a ten per cent cut because that’s how they get their money and it’s... it looks very… it makes the whole thing very impersonal because they want people to book without
having any contact with the establishment that they’re booking and also they
try to kind of package the whole, package holiday, the Highlands is not that
kind of destination, we just got fed up with it, but also because we were...

R1b because you end up with people who don’t know what kind of place
they’re coming to.

R1a Yeah, exactly, I mean we’re not... it’s, every where’s different and you
know if somebody wants to be kind of in the variation go to the pub
and whatever it’s not the greatest place at all and we want to just make
sure that people who come to the right place they’ll be happy and they
won’t be you know, if they don’t like the place they won’t enjoy it so.

(14G: 568-598)

13G feels that the VisitScotland are unrealistic when it comes to making changes to
the commercial home:

That’s the other thing, of course they don’t take into the consideration is cost
no interest in cost. As far as you’re concerned that this is what they want you
to do, they expect you to do it by the next time they make a visit, and the fact
that it would cost you about fifteen to twenty thousand pounds to achieve, what
they expect you to do, is totally and utterly realistic, unrealistic.

(13G: 445-450)

And when 19G decided to make changes to his business and used the STB advisory
system to do so he was very unhappy with the results:

What is probably more upsetting than anything else is that we went to the
tourist board, we said we’re about to spend a quarter of a million which has
turned into £350,000, and when we finished that we’ll obviously have lots of
interest to pay, and the objective we have is we want to convert this, which
used to have a wonderful garden and in six months time we’ll have again it’s
been damaged by building and so now, only now we’re beginning to put the
thing back together again. We want to have a four star Bed & Breakfast here’s the artist drawings, you report to have an advisory system, advise! Very good, well we think you should have smelly bits in the bathroom and so on, so we build it, come back for second advisory meeting, oh the bedrooms are too small. Run that past me again please! Well this won’t do as a four star bedroom, excuse me you’ve had the drawings. I mean we’d just spent £350,000 to get the place and I’ve been before!

(19G: 218-234)

21G is considering leaving VisitScotland if they do not advertise the Highlands as a separate entity:

I think we will remain members of Visit Scotland but if they cease to market the Highlands as a separate entity we will leave Visit Scotland because to market Edinburgh is easy but to market the more remote areas... and people in the call centre don’t necessarily know what’s going on up here. So this year we’ll see how it goes and make a decision at the end of the year. But we would never leave the AA.

(21G: 655-665)

The actual grading system is also a concern for the hosts. 25H feels that there is too much of a range between each grade and would prefer it if there were ten stars rather than five, as he feels this would better reflect the accommodation available:

Too much of a range in between, they really need to start pushing up to ten stars and you know, there’s a huge difference between one and four and that’s the way I feel about it, I think five is restrictive we can’t make the step into a four star hotel because you need parking, you need night porters you need you need room service, we’re not at that level that we could do that but we’d like to be a four star yeah, but it’s easier for a guest house to get four stars. Because I’m competing against three businesses in the area that call themselves hotels but they’re not, they’re guest houses so when a tourist walks past or sees that they go oh, four star, they can advertise as a hotel if they
want but it can’t be listed by the official bodies as hotels, they go under guest houses but for all purposes people see them as a hotel yeah, that is a problem.

(25H: 246-259)

Other discrepancies with grading by VisitScotland are what the properties are being graded on. 13G feels that VisitScotland grade on cleanliness rather than quality of service, whereas 5B feels they are quality led unlike England who are facilities led:

_It has a different criteria of which the measurement is taken by. The AA god bless them, have got a hymn sheet which is the same for the RAC and my understanding is it’s also the same for Visit England, Visit Britain, and Visit Ireland and Britain ferry’s as well apparently, so it is the same hymn sheet, and they do a criteria measurement, it’s not just on the accounts itself and the quality of the services, you know the rooms etc, but it’s also the whole atmosphere the interaction between the proprietors and the guests, the atmosphere within the house itself, is it clean cut or is it friendly or is it homely or is it, whatever, I mean what they are looking for, god only knows but they know. There’s also the gardens, the view and as well as the facilities, whereas the STB their interest is purely simply cleanliness is next to godliness!_

(13G: 297-310)

_Luckily in Scotland they are quality led, not facilities led. In England they are facilities led so if you have you know, a television in your room, you tick the box, no matter whether the television screen is six inches and you can’t actually see it from anywhere you’ve still got it so you tick the box._

(5B: 579-584)

Discrepancies in grading also occur between VisitScotland, RAC and the AA. Some hosts have a different grading by each, usually with the higher grading coming from the AA or RAC. 20G was awarded 4 stars by VisitScotland and 5 diamonds by the AA and RAC. 13G was told he barely scraped three stars with VisitScotland, but got comfortably received three diamonds with the AA:
4 stars with the tourist board and 5 diamonds with AA and RAC, but that may change because the... a few years ago they did something down south and they took diamonds as the way they wanted to be graded and up here we stuck with stars. Now, believe it or not, the English in their wisdom, now I think they are coming back to stars but I have a slight problem because its all going to be graded the same so how can I own the 4-stars, not own the 4-stars but 4-stars with one, but 5 diamonds with the other. So they've either got to downgrade me to 4 or the tourist board has to upgrade me to 5.

(20G: 61-69)

Yeah, according to the STB because of their criteria’s and they say we had only just scraped in on the point for three stars yet the AA when they measured us or inspected us they turned around and said you’re comfortably with three diamonds in fact you are just a shade short of four and that is why you will see an imbalance if you see, you’ll see four diamonds and three stars, that’s the reason why, the criteria is different.

(13G: 1303-1309)

5.12.4. Restrictions

The hosts feel that they are restricted by VisitScotland in some ways. They feel that they are being told how to decorate (13G), what sheets to use in the rooms (13G), what magazines they should have (4B), to have everything colour co-ordinated (7B), to have buckets in the bathroom (11B) and to have notices in the rooms and have a register of guests (11B).

13G felt that his choice of décor was torn apart and that the guidelines given are often contradictory:

And they maintain that they are not style gurus or décor police but in fact that is exactly what they are they come down and they tear your decoration to pieces.

(13G: 310-314)
Oh the fight was, oh yes, you must have halogen lamps in your bathroom because there’s a new set of lamps that are available through Ikea.

R1a Can you imagine that in here!

*INT: No!

R1b This is 150-year-old Victorian farmhouse. Halogen lights are very much the twenty first century some time I think there’s a conflict in time zone especially within the next breath they turn round and tell you that they are looking for continuity with the, with the decoration of the house itself inside and out, in keeping with its period.

(13G: 321-332)

We have different colour sheets in the rooms, well part of it is some that we inherited, we will mix and match, you know. And the girl, she said they’d like to have the same in all rooms. What! People only go in one room! You don’t hear them say well we’ll be staying here tonight. I couldn’t understand their logic.

(13G: 398-408)

I mean it depends on the individual you get, like one of them turn around and said we are expecting dado rail, you know, and another one turns around and says dado rails and borders are so par say, they’re so yesterday, and we’re trying to bring that... and they’re now dictating the size, the minimum size of en-suites for us they can be wide, two meters by one meter or something ridiculous like this. They’re even telling the sort of porcelain you must put in there. This is not their remit you know, they are not style guru’s, they are not Trinny and Suzanne you know, if you were anybody else other than the Scottish Tourist Board you would get, and told exactly where to go and I mean I am totally aware of what instance in one guest house where they turn around, the STB that is, and said that the paintings on the wall, the pictures that are on the wall are two small. Where do they come from?

(13G: 419-432)
Magazines have to be up to date according to VisitScotland, as 4B found out when they were told to replace their out of date magazines:

The others are just house and garden, you know, bits and pieces that, we try and change them maybe twice a year so that they’re relatively up to date. The tourist board don’t like old magazines when they come to grade they don’t like old magazines.

(4B: 717-721)

The choice of colours to be used for towels or sheets is not left up to the host; instead they have to be colour co-ordinated as 7B found out:

That’s part of VisitScotland, part of the standard that everything is got to colour coordinate, you know you couldn’t put any old towels in, or any standard towels you’ve got to have high quality this, that and the other you know, so everything’s got to kind of match.

(7B: 280-283)

11B was told by VisitScotland that she needed a register for her guests and also had to put up a notice about a bell for emergencies in her home after an incident with an inspector:

The registration card, I’ve got my book in there that people sign in but it’s up to them whether they want to sign it, but the tourist information... not the tourist, but the tourist board has sort of emphasised that I really should have a register for my guests for insurance purposes in case there’s a fire and you’ve got to know. So what I do is I leave the registration document in the room and people, I always point it out to them, I say right, once they’re getting settled, you know, the hotel it’s the first thing you do, but I can’t very well... I’ve got people coming in after one and it’s people in there’s busy so what I’ve done is I bought them and I put them in the rooms now.

(4B49-659)
A wee story as well. This is also the tourist board. I didn’t have that before, the wee notice about where the fire bell is (Figure 31) did you see the fire bell (Figure 32), in the hall right. Now the reason for that is another wee story. One of the, it was a gentleman who was coming round, he was actually a nice man, to do the grading you know how we get graded. And we get people coming into the house and they inspect the house to see if you’ve got everything, blah, blah, blah. Well this particular gentleman had a heard attack, maybe a lot of, too many breakfasts in the morning. And in the night he wasn’t able to contact anybody and so I don’t know how, I don’t know how it happened or what have, but after that they realised that it might be a good thing to have a notice so that if there’s an emergency they can go to it, and that’s what that is for and it means that if there is an emergency or even somebody getting locked out of the room at night, they get up and they have to go to the toilet and they lock themselves… they ring that bell, I hear it and come down it’s a safety factor.

(11B: 662-678)

Other rules and regulations enforced on 11B by VisitScotland were to have a bucket in the bathroom which was covered and a non-see-through window in the bathroom:

*Through the tourist board I’ve got to have a bucket in the toilet but I’ve got to have a cover on it, it’s one of the stipulations.*

(11B: 774-776)

*The window there, that’s just plastic, it’s a see-through window and it can’t be seen through for the rules and regulations again, and that, you know that sticky foam stuff that you can put, well that’s what that is so it’s just to sort of... it still lets the light in.*

(11B: 877-881)
Figure 31. Photograph of guest registration form and notices in 11B.

Figure 32 Photograph of night bell in 11B.
5.13 Competitors

5.13.1. Feelings

The hosts display fairness when they talk about other commercial homes in their area. They help each other out when starting off (11B), families work side by side as separate businesses (20G), different nationalities are welcomed to join the industry (7B) and helpful advice is shared among the hosts (11B).

11B, who runs a B&B in the Highlands, does not feel any threat or competition by another business starting up beside her. Instead of seeing this as rivalry she goes out of her way to help them get off the ground:

In fact that one (Figure 33) the set of that one, I’ve actually given to my friend, a friend started to do bed and breakfast and she just not long built their house and she can’t afford to have anything and she had a table but she didn’t have chairs and I think I had six chairs, and I actually bought that second hand actually from the people that it came from, so I gave her four of them and she’s I think still using them.

(11B: 844-850)

20G feels no threat that there are two commercial homes right next to hers. They are family but working independently of each other, but help each other out when needed.

They’re all separate businesses... Oh aye, they all pay their own tax. Next Whitecroft is by daughter in laws she has three rooms to let, and Glen Almond is my daughter and she has two rooms to let. They use the same CA as us but they’re all separate.

(20G: 472-478)
The fact that English people have set up business in the Highlands is no cause for rivalry either, as 7B found out:

_They’re not thinking you’re coming up here to take over they’re business or anything like that._

(7B: 597-598)

Good advice is shared among the hosts in the Highlands. 11B was given advice by a fellow host on how to make more money on her business:

_That actually was going to be a toilet, a downstairs toilet, dining room, living room, kitchen, and a very good friend of mine who is in the business came in and he said look, if you’re talking about doing bed and breakfast for a start off you don’t make money on a toilet, he says so forget to the toilet, he says make it a bedroom, you’ll make money on a bedroom. So I took his advice and that’s what we did._

(11B: 200-205)
5.13.2. Working together

The hosts work together within their communities. In the Highlands, they recommend each other (6B), keep their prices the same (7B), use a bed availability scheme (7B), work together as a community by ensuring that at least one of them is open at any given time (21G). In the secondary regions 20G works together with her family, recommending each other to guests when it is suitable and 5B ensures that she does not tread on anyone’s toes.

By recommending nearby properties, they, in return, recommend 6B, who finds that he gets a lot of business by working together with his local hosts:

> Well there are a lot of people around. The important thing is to network with a few properties in the general area you know, like the lodge house and the property across the road, so that when you can’t meet someone’s needs that you can send them onto someone else and they can do it back to you and that makes good sense and you tend to fill up on that basis.

(6B: 185-190)

By keeping their prices the same and using a bed availability scheme, three hosts in the Highlands work very well together:

> We have a bed availability scheme within that...Every time you get a booking you stick it on, we all have broadband, we couldn’t do it until we had broadband so if I get a booking I put it in on my file and everybody can access it, so if somebody comes here and says, especially like July and August, to save having to ring round half a dozen, you can just go on there and have a look and say oh, such and such has got a bed. I mean it is really only in July and August because you know because the rest of the time nobody is full all the time you know.

(7B: 607-619)
Yeah, so work together, no problem I think it’s more forwarding it. Everybody’s slashing their prices you know, you see beds from fifteen pound but there’s never a fifteen-pound bed. You get more per night and we’d only use our own prices it’s not a case of you know, I’ll do it for forty, you’ll do it for thirty five you know, we all do it round about the same price. But Fort William good luck! But yeah, it works very well.

(7B: 622-629)

In low season, when only a few regulars may come to the Highlands, 21G ensures that there is somewhere for them to stay even if she cannot take them herself. By working as a community the village arranges that at least one commercial home is open to guests at any given time:

Most of those are regulars if it happens to be in the months that we are going to be away, and we will always book them in somewhere else where we would stay ourselves so, within the village we always work it that there’s at least one guest house is open at a time.

(21G: 258-262)

On the outskirts of Edinburgh, 21G has a solution for guests no matter what their budget. If they find she is too expensive she recommends that they stay with her daughter or daughter in law, who are just next-door:

I’m more expensive because I’ve VAT so if somebody doesn’t want to pay my price I can offer them something cheaper rather than me having to send them elsewhere you know and it’s good. But no, they’ve got lovely places too, very nice.

(20G: 488-491)

A code of ethics surrounds 5B’s view of her competitors. Rather than compete against them, she chooses not to tread on their toes:
But X has taken over the sort of upper market, a thing called Wolsely Lodges? Well I wouldn’t do Wolsely Lodge, partly because when I started, a neighbour given a decision you know, you’d never tread on someone else’s toes.

(5B: 105-108)

5.13.2. Competition

Unlike the Highlands, Edinburgh seems to be very competitive. Rather than working together, the hosts have to compete very hard against one another. 24H thinks that there is a lot of competition coming to Edinburgh, and that all the commercial homes are the same:

There is so much more competition coming to Edinburgh, Travel Inns, budgets, chains, and I think really... it’s almost like there’s a for B&B’s and small hotels around town and I really think you have to be different to sort of get effects and different decoration and such.

(24H: 424-428)

There’s a street that’s round there with guest houses, B&B’s, small hotels, but we were there with all of them, you know, we had all similar front doors, and you know similar stairs and were all the same size and all the rooms were the same size.

(24H: 432-435)

5.13.4. Rural Community

Living in a rural community can be pleasant for the hosts. They can work together and help each other, but living so far away from the city can have its drawbacks too. It can mean taking a whole day to travel to get supplies (8B), shopping takes longer (14G), and can be expensive because of the distance involved (13G), and if something breaks down it can take a long time to get a replacement (11B). However living in a
rural community can be advantageous, like having fresh eggs delivered to your doorstep (11B) or having the local plumber help you out of a tight spot because he knows you have a commercial home (11B).

Sometimes hosts have to settle for something less than they would have liked. For instance 8B needed paint but it would have taken a whole day to travel to Inverness to get the one she wanted so she had to settle for the one available in nearby Fort William. 7B does not have the luxury of browsing for new things and often has to settle for what he can get over the Internet.

It was all pealing off and the trouble is, to get anything decent you either have to go to Inverness or Glasgow and from here to Inverness it takes 2 hours and 2 hours back the way, you’re talking about taking a whole day off, you know, it’s not quite a straight forward as you know, and that was all we could find actually, in a hurry in Fort William.

(8B: 275-280)

I don’t know where we bought that, probably B&Q or something like that we, most of our shopping out here is you know, because Inverness is the closest B&Q or you know, any of your other superstores, they’re all Inverness way so we use the Internet a lot and we do have trips up there obviously but if we want something quick its that.

(7B: 301-306)

14G combats the difficulties with the time it takes to do shopping, by doing it all at once, ensuring she does not have to travel back and by getting more things delivered.

You do your shopping in one go, because when we started I’d be ending up having to rush back into Fort William once or twice a week and it was awful you know, trying to get your cooking done and things and being in a panic about that, and you get more things delivered.

(14G: 50-53)
The distance to travel to get shopping is not the only concern for 13G. They feel that it is a lot more expensive too, and their prices reflect this, although this was an issue for one guest, who compared the Highland B&B to one in Glasgow:

Well she thought it was more expensive than it should be for an equal, for a lesser rated star or sorry greater rated star in Glasgow! And you cannot equate the two! In Glasgow for instance, Bed and Breakfast, Guest houses and hotels, there is an awful lot of them and competition is fierce also they have everything at their doorstep, all their supplies literally within spitting distance our food supplies come from Inverness if we’re lucky, if we’re unlucky then it comes up from Glasgow, Edinburgh or something like that the distances involved make things so much more expensive.

(13G: 683-693)

When her dishwasher broke 11B really felt the disadvantage of living so far from a city:

Och, my dishwasher packed in! So I’m washing by hand not good I can tell you, I don’t like washing dishes! So these things happen. See that’s the thing, if I lived in a city I would be able to go and get a dishwasher but I have to wait a minimum of ten days before I can get one and that’s only by luck, you know, I have to phone away because it’s something I’ve got to have. See that’s the trouble, that’s the one thing about doing a bed and breakfast. If you break anything or have an accident, I can do without a dishwasher I can wash my dishes by hand but things have happened to me in the past like there was one day I was making the bed in the four poster and I happened to hit the lamp with the duvet when I was putting it on, and it smashed to smithereens. Now I had to, I don’t drive but I had to go to Fort William and get another set of lamps for the side of my bed because I had guests coming in that night so that’s one thing that’s not so good.

(11B: 1151-1166)
Although the dishwasher had to be replaced, if it could have been repaired 11B would have been a priority for the local plumber because she owned a B&B:

*I’m very lucky because I’ve got a wee plumber and if I’m on the phone, they’re very good the local boys like that, if they know you’ve got a guest house or a bed and breakfast they know that it’s an emergency they are really good at coming out. But that’s the kind of thing that happens that you’ve got to sort of ensure you know what I mean.*

(11B: 1172-1177)

She also has the advantage of having fresh eggs (Figure 34) delivered to her doorstep in the mornings:

*This is the egg man delivering the eggs so I get some fresh eggs from him, which is quite good in the morning you know.*

(11B: 1182-1183)

Figure 34. Photograph of fresh eggs delivered to 11B.
The third part of the findings has looked at the Business section, which included Feelings, Space, Guests, Performance, Target Market, Tourist Board and Competitors (Figure 35). These three sections, Home, Host and Business, together construct the host home relationship (Figure 36).

Figure 35. Themes within the Business section.
Figure 36. Construction of the host home relationship
Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this project is to investigate the relationship between the host and their commercial home and its influences on product construction. The nature of the host home relationship is displayed through the hosts’ connection with different elements of the commercial home. The host has a relationship with the themes previously mentioned in the findings chapter and therefore the host’s relationship with their commercial home is identified. This chapter will discuss the themes in relation to the objectives of the thesis. Figure 37 gives an overview of the objectives and themes to be discussed. Table 8 shows details of the commercial home units. This table first appeared in the findings chapter but will be useful for the reader to see here in relation to the discussion.

The commercial home units in Table 8 are arranged in order of number of rooms, starting with the host family (1HF) having one bedroom and ascending to 25H which is a small hotel with 16 bedrooms. It states the type of commercial home i.e. HF = Host Family, gives the type of property and its location, how many bedrooms there are, what grading it has and the main contact host.
Objective 1
To investigate how the host perceives their commercial home.

Themes
Relationship with: Home, Family, Lifestyle.

| Objective 2
To explore the social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host.

Themes
Relationship with: Business, Tourist Board, Competitors.

| Objective 3
To understand how the host’s relationship with the commercial home affects the hosting behaviour, for example, space management and relationship with guests, selection of interior décor and artefacts and their contributions to spatial differentiation.

Themes
Relationship with: Guests, Space, Performance, Artefacts, Décor.

| Objective 4
To elaborate the industry relevance of the findings, for example, in relation to quality assurance and grading systems, training and development, brand marketing and product construction.

Themes
Target market, selling point.
### Table 8. Commercial Home Units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CH</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>NO. OF ROOMS</th>
<th>GRADING</th>
<th>HOST</th>
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<td>Family</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
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<td>Balerno</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Un-graded</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Mill House</td>
<td>Penicuik</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Un-graded</td>
<td>Female + Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
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<td>Female + Male</td>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
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<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Lodge</td>
<td>Spean Bridge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3* STB</td>
<td>Male + Female</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ballachulish</td>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
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<td>Dalgety Bay</td>
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<td>4* STB</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
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<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Terrace House</td>
<td>North Ballachulish</td>
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<td>3* STB</td>
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<td>Private home with paying guests</td>
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<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>Male</td>
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<td>Farmhouse</td>
<td>Spean Bridge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3* STB</td>
<td>Male + Female</td>
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219
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<td>Dalkeith</td>
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<td>Farmhouse</td>
<td>East Calder</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4* STB 5^AA/RAC</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>Spean Bridge</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>4* STB 4^AA</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Small Hotel</td>
<td>Victorian House</td>
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<td>4* STB 5^AA/RAC</td>
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<td>Inn</td>
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HF – Host Family
B – Bed and Breakfast
P – Private home with paying guests
G – Guesthouse
H – Small Hotel
6.2 Objective 1

The first objective was to identify ‘How the host perceives their commercial home’. Emerging themes include relationship with home and relationship with family.

6.2.1. Relationship with Home

In this section the hosts discuss their feelings about their home. This is often reflected in the things they do. They talk about what home means to them, the compromises they have had to make and their favourite part of their home. They also discuss security and what motivated them to buy their home. When 5B discusses how she feels about her home she states, ‘I thinks it’s a comfortable feeling, it’s sort of welcoming’ (5B: 946). Similarly, Gilman (1903) within his definition of home emphasised the concept of ‘comfort’. The hosts talk about their feelings when they are asked what home means, they do not talk about the physical structure of the home, but rather how it makes them feel.

Marcus (1995) argued that the home ‘is a reflection of self’. This can mean that it reflects the person that now lives in the home or indeed people who have lived in it previously. 17G talks about the feeling of previous owners of his home, ‘I’m not saying that there are spirits around, but again people who have been before have left something in the place’ (17G: 574-575).

How the hosts feel about their home is reflected in the things they do. They try to make it homely for their guests, ‘I don’t want to make it hotelly or anything like that just a bit more homely’ (14G: 472-473). Douglas (1991) identifies the idea of the hotel as the perfect opposite of home. The hosts want to make their guests’ stay like a home away from home, rather than staying in a hotel. Gullestad (1993:146) established that people ‘express their self identities through visual/visible and material/tangible practices of home decoration’. By the hosts using visual tangible practices of home decoration they are trying to convey their identity as being friendly and homely. For example 14G has soft comfortable cushions on the beds and 15G uses soft lighting to create a homely atmosphere. Miller (2001a) and Clarke (2001)
concur with Gullestad (1993) but believe that people ‘objectify’ themselves rather than ‘express’ themselves. 17G ‘expresses’ his like for Marilyn Monroe by displaying pictures of her in his home. 21G ‘objectifies’ her passion for embroidery by concretely presenting her handiwork on the walls of her home. 13G deliberately uses home decoration to create an atmosphere within his home, by displaying family photographs in the guest bedrooms. He is creating an atmosphere that he thinks his guests will like, almost putting on a performance in the way of decoration to ensure that they come back to stay:

We’d like them to come back again and the only way you are going to do that is by creating more of a friendly look, more homely atmosphere.

(13G: 523-555)

Proshansky et al. (1976:4) identifies the home as a place ‘we can relax and be ourselves’, 17G also identifies these characteristics of the home, ‘It’s a place for relaxing, it’s a place for entertaining friends, it’s where you can be yourself’ (17G: 569-570). It is interesting that 17G identifies the home as a place you can be yourself. This implies that he is not himself outside of the home. As a gay man he may have felt marginalised in society (Lynch 2004) or in his previous line of work which was as an off-licence manager. In his own home he can be himself even when he is at work.

14G, a young couple who have just started a family, cannot quite agree on what home means to them. Firstly they say it is about family but they no longer live with their parents. Wise (2000:295) states that the home is ‘not the place we came from, it is a place we are’. They then describe their home as being more of a home since the birth of their daughter. Boym (1994:299) states that home is also ‘the presence of other people’. The couple go on to say that the home is somewhere you feel happy and secure. Appleyard (1979) argued that the home provides psychological comfort, social needs as well as physiological needs. The couple discuss what home means to them:

14Gb I don’t know, it’s where your family is really, isn’t it.

14Ga I don’t know if it is actually because none of our family’s here.
The couple think of home as somewhere to be completely happy and secure, this is the ideal. Home may not be able to provide complete happiness and security all of the time, but to this couple this would be their ideal image of home. They like the familiarity of knowing where everything is and knowing how it works. They like to go on holiday but like to come back to their own space and get into their own bed. They try to create these feelings for their guests so that they feel at home when they stay with them. They do this by creating a homely atmosphere, having comfortable furniture and welcoming décor.

Wise (2000:295) argues that the home may be a space of violence and pain: ‘home then becomes the process of coping, comforting, stabilizing oneself, in other words: resistance. But home can also mean a process of rationalization or submission, a break with the reality of the situation, self-delusion, or falling under the delusions of others’. This is significant for the commercial home host as they could fall under the delusions of their guests or indeed their guests could fall under the delusions of them. Home therefore can be bi-polar. It can have different meanings for different people (Wise, 2000). Hosts will have different relationships to their commercial homes, with varying degrees of attachment. Some may see it as a home first and business second or as a business first and a home second. They will be either really attached or detached because of the view they have of it and each will have their own emotional ties and memories bound up in their own home. On the continuum of commercial
homes (Figure 40), host families and B&Bs are at the home end and small hotels are at the business end.

Working at home can sometimes be portrayed as a utopian solution, however as Felstead (1994) argued the reality can be different as people try to unite two worlds in one. Sometimes this united-ness can be too much and hosts feel that they can not get away from the business. ‘Identity work’ which Watson (1994) explains is where people can construct identities for themselves at their place of work, can be confused as the hosts seldom get time off from being on duty. 25H, owner of a small hotel in the city, feels like he is living in a funfair:

This is a different type of living. I don’t know what else could compare with a hotel. Maybe a fun fair, maybe this is what it’s like in here, you know people who travel with the fun fair, their houses are there but they can’t get away from the business, the noise and the hustle, the only time they get away from it is when the business closes at night, and this is a bit like here when the bar closes at eleven, half eleven and your last guest goes to bed, that is the only time you are not involved in the business but then you’re sleeping or trying to sleep. So, it’s probably like a fun fair yeah.

(25H: 684-693)

Mother of four, 9B, feels that her children have suffered slightly because of her commitment to the business. Trying to unite two worlds of being a mum, reading a story and a business woman answering the phone proves difficult for her. ‘Identity Work’ can be confused as she has to switch off from being a mum and become a commercial home host:

It’s very difficult with a family because... you’re constantly being interrupted by guests, that’s what they feel and sometimes quality time is interrupted by the phone ringing for a booking. Reading a story, phone rings, if I hadn’t run a business I would just let it ring if I was having quality time, but because I run a business I just stop the story, go and answer the phone, because it could be an enquiry.

(9B: 70-75)
Getz et al (2005) identify the challenges for balancing work and family, especially when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to the guests. 4B has compromised his own sitting room for his guests and feels slightly annoyed that he and his wife will not be able to sit by the fire during the winter:

_We were actually working out the next time we can get into the sitting room is the 21st, no the 20th of December. So we have people staying right through which is a bit annoying, because we like the use of lighting the fire and sitting in winter, it doesn’t matter in the summer, because we have the garden._

(4B: 218-223)

Although 4B feels that his space has been compromised he makes himself feel better by acknowledging that this is OK in the summer, as they have the garden to sit in. He justifies having guests to stay even though he has to give up his space. Although, in fact he does not have to give up his space as he could share it with his guests, but this would not be the same and he would not be able to spend time alone with his wife. Compromising on space is one of the negative effects of hosting which influences the host-home relationship.

The hosts can feel unsafe in their own home and feel the need ‘to manage the stranger’. 24H feels more secure by having a physical barrier between him and his guests, which he keeps locked:

_It’s reassured me somewhat that there is separation, that door separation which we do lock and bar between the guests and downstairs, because basically you don’t know who you get, really you don’t know what is coming in the front door so we do have that sort of security._

(24H: 887-890)

The hosts feel different about security in different locations. In the tertiary region 21G feels completely safe and never locks her door, ‘I give them house keys which are quite an important thing; we never lock the door against guests’ (21G: 22-23), whereas 20G who lives in a secondary region feels the total opposite, ‘We have a
keypad number, so they have a keypad number, and I mean if I didn’t like somebody and they left this morning, I could change that’ (20G: 1042-1043).

Hotels are legally required to accept any guests whereas Bed and Breakfasts usually have the choice of who they accept. For commercial home hosts there is always the option of having ‘no vacancies’ displayed in the case of undesirables, although this does not happen often as the purpose is to transform the casual tourist into the guest—“one who not only respects but conforms to and appreciates the rules which underline hospitality” (Bouquet, 1996:100). The time available to accomplish this varies, and will depend on the length of time available to establish a relationship. The time factor allows for the development of reputation based on hospitality, which goes beyond mere service (Bourdieu, 1977:4-6). This is often displayed when guests return with a gift, recognition of gratitude beyond monetary transaction.

When some hosts talk about their favourite part of the home they emphasise the intangible elements, the light, air, sunshine and the views. They do not talk about the physical elements of the room or the tangible materials but about the feeling their favourite place gives them. 5B loves her conservatory because she can ‘disappear through’ to it and she feels ‘very lucky’ (5B: 210, 218). The room gives her a feeling she does not get anywhere else in her home. The conservatory is also the favourite part of the home for 1HF. She loves to, ‘look on my garden’ and says ‘I feel relaxed there’. Light is very important to her, ‘I hate anywhere dark and dingy, it depress me’ the sun makes her feel better, ‘I love sunshine’. The views are what makes this place special for 1HF, ‘looking out in the garden when it’s in bloom and the evening just goes on and on, the sunsets, it’s all surrounded with glass, it’s just lovely, I love it!’

(1HF: 103-108)

Motivations to buy their property vary between the hosts, although 8 hosts (7B, 8B, 9B, 13G, 14G, 16G, 21G, 22H, and 23H) did buy the property to start a business, all of which are in the rural area, with the exception of 16G and 22H. One rural host (9B) bought the property because she thought it was a good way of living in a bigger house, and looking after the children. These findings triangulate with previous
findings from Di Domenico (2003) who found that it was a way of owning a bigger property, Baines & Gelder (2003), who found that it was an ideal way of staying at home to look after the children and Lashley (2002), who found that it was a lifestyle choice:

I’m from this area but we just moved to a bigger house and it was an ideal way of allowing us to have a bigger house and also the way to run a business as well as look after the children.

(9B: 19-21)

Hosts also bought their home because of the surrounding views (6B) and the location of the property (13G), which were in rural areas (Getz & Carlsen, 2000), while hosts in urban areas were more concerned about people living directly opposite (15G). Others had a feeling about the property when they walked in, ‘It just felt right... we liked the look of it’ (16G: 166). 17G wanted to live in a property that would normally be outside his income range (Di Domenico, 2005);

The spaciousness of it, the elegance of it, the fact that well, if I didn’t have a guest house I wouldn’t have a four storey Georgian town house, it’s as simple as that, it’s a nice place to live, the house itself has a very good feel to it I mean when we first saw it... you know how you walk into a place and you get a feeling even in the state it was, we still got a feeling, you know, we knew that we could do something with it.

(17G: 541-546)

6.2.2. Home and Family

In this section the hosts discuss the benefits and drawbacks for their family, of having a commercial home. They discuss the dynamics of family and coping strategies for running a business in the family home. ‘Flexibility’ (Baines & Gelder, 2003) can mean being able to arrange business around family needs, or the opposite, long working hours can restrict time spent with the family. 25H feels that his children have benefited from having both parents work from home:
We see the kids as much as probably other parents see their kids, in more ways since we had the guest house and the hotel we’ve always been here, whether they have to get picked up for not feeling well at school or to take them to school or go and watch their activities at midday or lunchtime or three o’clock in the afternoon, we were always able to go. So in many ways the kids have benefited, mum was always there when they came home from school, she was always there in the morning you could always nip up to school if they’d left something so in many ways they’ve benefited by their parents being available all the time.

(25H: 346-357)

It is significant that this is a small hotel and not a B&B as this means that there were staff around to help out and there was distance between the hosts and the guests. However in a B&B where there may be no other staff around and guest intensity is high, the host may not have the luxury of spending more time with the children. 9B who has four young children and runs a guesthouse in the Highlands, feels that her children do suffer a little as she has to sacrifice time she would like to spend with them for the business. When the children are off school for their summer holidays, this is the busiest time for the business so she has to focus her attention on it.

The dynamics of the family are important and the hosts have their role to play within the family as well as within the business. Watson (1994) points out that ‘identity work’ can be confused when running a family business. 25H sees his role as the inspiration for the business and his family are there to support him, ‘their input is to support me and my job is to be the dreamer and schemer’ (25H: 137), but his role may be different when it comes to his family, he may be the one who supports them. 24H runs the business while his wife looks after the children although at times identity work (Watson, 1994) does get confused as his wife helps him out when he has finished work even though his wife’s work is not ‘technically’ finished:

If we’re sitting down watching television in the evening we take it in turns to answer the phone, technically I’ve finished work. We work together. You
know her focus is all very much on the kids, when they come home, they’ve got to do their homework and she helps with them with that.

(24H: 89-93)

A fantasy for 25H would be that his children take on the small hotel business and he and his wife go on an ever-lasting holiday, “in years to come of course the family might move on to running the place and mum and dad will just slip off on one of these ever lasting holidays” (25H: 59-61). However it may just be a fantasy as his teenage children do not work in the business at the moment because ‘they will earn more in the real world rather than working here as bar or waitress staff, there is not any management jobs for them at the moment’ (25H: 56-58). It is interesting that he refers to work outside the business as the real world. This implies that he thinks working in the business would not be real work. Getz et al (2005) identify reasons for children not taking over the family business as they see their parent’s hard work and sacrifices and are not willing to do the same. Therefore most family businesses in the hospitality industry are in fact operated by sole proprietors and couples which Getz et al (2005) identify as ‘copreneurs’. However it may not be as simple as Getz et al (2005) make out. Seeing their parent’s hard work and sacrifices may not be the only reasons the children do not want to take on the family business. Society is changing; there are more opportunities for young people, to go to University, to explore the world. Taking on their parents business may not be what they aspire to and this may not have anything to do with it being in the hospitality business.

Felstead (1994) argues that juggling the demands of work life and family life in the same setting, calls upon distinctive coping strategies that shape the ways in which temporal and spatial boundaries are generated. Commercial home hosts do this by either separating their business from their personal life or integrating both of them together, both temporally and spatially. 15G, who owns a guesthouse in the city and shares it with his partner, has a clear divide between his personal life and business life, he does not use the business part of his home to spend time with friends, ‘I don’t regard this as somewhere that I would socialise with my pals, I take them into my part of the house’ (15G: 376-377). 17G who also owns a guesthouse in the city which he shares with his partner, treats his business as he would an office job and feels the two are completely divided, ‘the two are separate, I don’t think they overlap’ (17G: 527).
Other hosts integrate their business with their lifestyle; by socializing with friends in their bar (23H), or in their living room (11B), planning their day around their business (15G), spending time with their children (9B), or grandchildren (20G) during the day, which they could not do if they did not work from home.

Darke and Gurney (2000) suggest that the typology of home owners identified by Gurney (1996) may be helpful in differentiating householder attitudes to hospitality. The five different types of ideologies about private home ownership are; pragmatists, petty tycoons, conflictual owners, extrinsic owners and lexi-owners. In the literature review it was identified that extrinsic owners were the closest to commercial home owners. Extrinsic owners are classified by Darke and Gurney (2000:90) as:

Extrinsic owners see the home as a means of expression on which they have lavished considerable labour. Their homes are seen as evidence for their owners’ creativity and thus positively require an audience. The role of guest is indispensable as audience for and admirer of these efforts.

Emerging from the findings and the host home relationship this concept can be taken further and typologies for commercial home owners are identified. Acknowledging that the extrinsic owner encapsulates the commercial home owner, this typology can be broken down further into four categories. These are the economic, eco-socio, socio-eco and social commercial home owner. A further sub-category emerges as the ego commercial home owner. These typologies are explained:

Economic: The economic commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a resource. Their motivation for having guests to stay is for monetary gain only. They do not take pleasure in hosting.

Eco-socio: The eco-socio commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a way of earning extra income to pursue a certain lifestyle, for example affording property outside their income range. They like hosting and enjoy having guests to stay, making their stay as comfortable as possible.

Socio-eco: The socio-eco commercial home owner sees the commercial home as an attractive lifestyle, a way of meeting new people and widening their social circle.
They enjoy hosting but are not driven by monetary gain. They go out of their way to ensure their guests have a pleasant stay.

**Social:** The social commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a place to enjoy with their guests. They really enjoy hosting and the extra income is just a bonus.

Each of the commercial home owners in this study have been placed into one of the above categories, based on how they perceived their commercial home (Table 9). The following typology of the *ego* commercial home owner is a sub-section of the categories and applies to some of the hosts.

**Ego:** The ego commercial home owner sees the commercial home as platform to showcase their achievements. They are driven by compliments and display signs of satisfied guests throughout their commercial home. They like guests to admire their home.

**Table 9. Typologies of commercial home owners.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECONOMIC</th>
<th>ECO-SOCIO</th>
<th>SOCIO-ECO</th>
<th>SOCIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8B</td>
<td>2B</td>
<td>3B</td>
<td>1HF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12P</td>
<td>5B</td>
<td>7B</td>
<td>6B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>10B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13G</td>
<td>11B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14G</td>
<td>15G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EGO</strong></td>
<td>18G</td>
<td>4B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19G</td>
<td>20G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22H</td>
<td>21G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25H</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Objective 1 explored ‘how the host perceives their commercial home’. Emerging themes included relationship with home and relationship with family. Relationship with home explored how the hosts felt about their home. To some it was welcoming and comfortable, somewhere they felt relaxed and themselves. How the hosts felt about their home was reflected in the things they did, how they decorated it to convey certain things about their personality, using comfortable furniture and soft lighting to convey themselves as being friendly and homely. The intangible elements of the home were explored; the hosts described their favourite part of the home focusing on the views, light, air and sunshine. The hosts identified the constraints of having a commercial home, the spatial difficulties of sharing their home with guests. They also identified issues of security when having strangers staying in their home. Motivations to buy their property were identified, which included buying the property to start a business, to live in a bigger house and to work from home so as to look after the children. Surrounding views and the right feeling about the house also persuaded hosts to buy their property. The home and family theme explored the benefits of working from home. Some hosts felt their children benefited from having their parents at home during the day while others felt they could not give their children their full attention because of the business. The work-life balance was addressed as some hosts found it difficult to juggle the demands of work life and family life in the same setting. The hosts dealt with this by either separating or integrating their personal life and business life both temporally and spatially. Typologies of hosts were identified through their host home relationship; economic, eco-socio, socio-eco, and social commercial home owners. Each of the hosts were placed in a category according to the way the perceived their commercial home. A further sub-section of hosts were categorised as ego commercial home owners.

6.3. Objective 2

The second objective was ‘to explore the social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host’. Emerging themes include relationship with business, relationship with the tourist board and relationship with competitors.
6.3.1. Relationship with business

Motivation to start up hosts’ business can be divided into two parts; push factors and pull factors (Figure 38). Push factors include redundancy (8B, 18G), needed income (5B), to keep big house (2B) and to get away from old job (17G). Pull factors include working from home (10B, 9B, 13G), being own boss (4B, 16G), lifestyle (7B, 15G), location (14G), started with students and enjoyed it (6B) and family tradition (11B).

Figure 38. Push and Pull factors motivating business start up.

Getz et al (2005) identify ‘lifestyle and autonomy’ as reasons for starting up a business. 15G states ‘it was a lifestyle choice; I wanted to run my own business’ (15G: 64-65). Emotionally, 15G’s commercial home is very important to him. He made a choice to have a certain lifestyle which would make him feel happy. He wanted to be his own boss so that emotionally he would be content. 11B was brought up with her mother and grandmother having guests stay in the home, ‘our family have sort of a tradition of taking in so I was brought up with it’ (11B: 23-24). 11B felt it was a natural progression for her to do the same sort of business when she had her own home. She had emotional ties with her mother and grandmother’s commercial homes and now her commercial home is equally important to her emotionally. Another host who naturally progressed into the business was 6B. He had students staying with him for several years and then decided to take it a step further, ‘it’s just something I started to do and then enjoyed doing it’ (6B: 90).

Eight properties were bought specifically for the purpose of becoming a commercial home (Table 10). Although 12P and 15G became B&Bs when they moved into the properties it was not their motivation to buy them. These hosts tended to have clear separation of personal space and guest space. The final column in Table 10 shows
how separated hosts are from their guests on a scale of 1 to 10. If the hosts are very separated from their guests they will have a high score and if they share a lot of space with their guests they will have a low score. Scores were given on the basis of space shared with guests; sharing a living room with guests, using the same dining area as guests, guests passing through personal space, hosts having their bedroom on the same level as guests, or giving up their bedrooms for guests.

1HF received a score of 2. As she is a host family she shares almost all of her home with her students, the only area that the students do not have access to, is her own private bedroom. 23H has scored high as she is very separated from her guests. 23H does not share a living room with her guests, nor does she share a dining room. Guests do not pass through her personal space. Her bedroom is on a different level than the guest bedrooms. However, she does spend time in the bar area with guests so this is why she receives a score of 9 rather than 10.

A pattern emerges; as the commercial home units get larger the majority of hosts are more separated. However an exception to this rule is 13G, a rural farmhouse. They do not have a separate level for their own space and their living room and bedroom is on the same level as their guests. They do not share a living room with their guests but have on occasion invited longer-term guests into their living room. The majority of hosts with smaller commercial home units tend to share more space with their guests. However 12P is the exception. He has a private home with paying guests. He is very separated from his guests, living in a small adjoining flat and only using the kitchen of his commercial home.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Length of time in business</th>
<th>Motivation to buy property</th>
<th>Principle motivation to start business</th>
<th>Private signs within property</th>
<th>Separate space 1-10*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1HF</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>20yrs</td>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>11yrs</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>3yrs</td>
<td>Good deal</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>7yrs</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Own boss</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>15yrs</td>
<td>To run family farm</td>
<td>Needed income</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>3yrs</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Started with students</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
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<td>7B</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>3yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>8yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Redundancy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4 young children</td>
<td>4yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Work from home</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>10yrs</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Work from home</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>15yrs</td>
<td>Family area</td>
<td>Parents had done it</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12P</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 young children</td>
<td>6yrs</td>
<td>To let out upper part</td>
<td>Trial of existing business</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13G</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>1yr</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Work from home</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14G</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1 young child</td>
<td>3yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15G</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>5yrs</td>
<td>House with</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During data collection hosts were asked to have their photograph taken in their favourite part of the home. The space that they chose may not have necessarily been their favourite part but rather the space that was most convenient at the time of asking. Table 11 shows the location the hosts chose. Let it be noted that seven of the hosts did not have their photographs taken, for reasons such as they were too shy or did not want to be identified. The table shows the space the hosts’ selected in relation to guest space, shared space and private space.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16G</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>6yrs</td>
<td>It felt right</td>
<td>Own boss</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17G</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>9yrs</td>
<td>It felt right</td>
<td>Dislike of former job</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18G</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>7yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Redundancy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19G</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>8yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20G</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>43yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21G</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>6yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>To stay at home</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22H</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>12yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23H</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Left home</td>
<td>10yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24H</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 young children</td>
<td>6yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>To meet people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25H</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 Teenagers</td>
<td>6yrs</td>
<td>To start a business</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11. Location where host photographs were taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>GUEST SPACE</th>
<th>SHARED SPACE</th>
<th>PRIVATE SPACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1HF</td>
<td>Host Family</td>
<td>Conservatory</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Living room</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Conservatory</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Front door</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Living room</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Conservatory</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Front door</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Guest lounge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>X*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Living room</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Front door</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Living room</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24H</td>
<td>Small Hotel</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25H</td>
<td>Small Hotel</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates private space but is seen by guests. Guests may walk through it but they do not use it.

12P who had bought an existing B&B business, intending to change it to a letting space changed his mind about how he felt about his home drastically. At the
beginning the commercial home was very important to the host, emotionally, he loved the place when he first bought it, ‘I liked this house from the first minute I walked through the door, I thought it was a nice atmosphere that was one of the reasons I bought it’ (12P) This conveys the feelings the host had with the house when he first moved in, however these feelings are less evident now. The host had a strong connection with the house at first but this seems to have faded. This may be because it is no longer his home, but rather his business. The connection is loosening because he is sharing it with other people. The personal bond is no longer there. The space is being shared. ‘I relinquish this place, I don’t think of it as my home any more’ (12P). The language he uses conveys very strong feelings, “relinquish”, he has given up his home, surrendered it to the guests. The initial feelings he had are no longer there, which suggests a dynamic host-home relationship affected by hosting.

Lynch (2005) argues that people may start up their own business to escape the control of others and for women who start up their business; the reasoning may be to co-ordinate their home life and work life. 9B who runs a rural guesthouse and has four young children at home sees the benefits of running a commercial home, ‘this was an ideal way of allowing us a bigger house, enable us to run a business as well as look after the children’ (9B: 20-21). Emotionally, 9B’s commercial home is very important to her. Running a business from home enables her to spend more time with her children. Emotionally this will be of a great benefit to all the family. 9B will have peace of mind that she is there for her children and will not feel guilty about having to work, as she does not have to leave the house. It is not only the women who benefit from working from home. By having a commercial home, 13G can stay at home to look after his disabled wife, which he was not able to do when he had to go out to work, ‘we needed to find a job in which I could work from home and look after X’ (13G: 31-32). This will be of a great emotional benefit for both him and his wife, he will be happy that he can take care of his wife and she will feel well looked after.

Getting away from his previous job was a push factor for 17G, he was not happy in his job so was pushed into starting up a commercial home by this reason, although the pull factors also enticed him. His commercial home not only provided him with a business but also the emotional stability he needed to be happy at his place of work. Getz et al (2005) argue that people like the idea of being their own boss and not
having to follow anyone else’s rules. This factor accounts for many people escaping from their previous job in which they felt restricted in some way, like 17G:

*The job I was in which was managing an off licence just got progressively, well put it this way, I just got to the stage where I didn’t want to go in anymore and when it gets to that stage you know, you’ve got to do something about it but it was a case of what to do so just resurrected this idea and here we are.*

(17G: 28-36)

Economically the commercial home can be very important. Redundancy was a push factor for starting up a commercial home business for 8B and 18G. As 8B were over 60 years old when they became redundant they realised that starting a B&B was a way of paying the bills:

*Well both my husband and I got made redundant and we were 60 years old at the time and mortgages still have to be paid you know…Well it was very difficult to get another job you know, as a secretary when you’re that age. It starts to become difficult from the time you’re 40, believe you me.*

(8B: 18-21)

Table 10 shows that 5B was pushed into the business by economic circumstances, but was the host with the lowest scale in relation to having space separated from guests. 5B has guests walk through her living room to get to the conservatory for breakfast. She also moves out of her bedroom for seven months of the year. She has no private signs, just keeps it as her home. She never really intended it to be her business therefore has made fewer changes to her home. She started off doing it ‘as a means of providing holiday funds, school trips and university fees’ (5B: 132-133). Di Domenico (2005) found that the family business may not be developed to pass on to the next generation but used to generate money to educate the children. As 5B would prefer not to be doing B&B she is reluctant to make changes to become more business-like. The hosts who had lived in the home for many years and then
developed it into a commercial home viewed it more strongly as their home than their business.

Hosts can be pushed into starting up their business to finance the house they are already living in, or pulled into the business by the attraction of owning a property outside their income range. Di Domenico (2005) found that the ability to afford a property that would usually be outside their limit often attracts families to start up in the commercial home business. Purchasing a large home in an attractive location can be affordable if there are guests paying to stay there. 2B lives in a large house and running a B&B was a way for her to stay there after her children had left ‘otherwise I don’t think we could go on living here because it’s jolly expensive to run’ (2B: 9973-974). It proves to be cost effective for 2B as she can get things for her home and claim them against the business:

*The good things about Bed & Breakfast, my husband being an accountant, is that you can put so much against the bed and breakfast, like redoing bits of the kitchen and food and a bit of your car and so on, so he calls it very cost effective. I mean that’s a big big plus of doing it so which actually encourages you also to do things to your house while you’re still doing bed and breakfast.*

(2B: 791-798)

These economic rewards may be one reason why having a commercial home has become quite a popular thing to do in her circle of friends:

*I think they probably have got biggish houses, their children have gone, they don’t want to leave yet, you know, we’re not quite old enough for the bungalow, it’s a way of making money and everyone likes making a bit of money.*

(2B: 977-980)

Baines and Wheelock (1998) categorised their findings of small businesses into four areas; survival and security; business intrinsic; creative; and achievement. Although the area of ‘achievement’ was previously not considered as a commercial home business as this category seeks out and faces business challenges, 25H falls into this
category. This owner of a small primary region hotel strives to be the best and knows that it takes hard work to become a success:

*Which is to try and be the best hotel in Edinburgh of our type. If we can achieve that then there’s nothing to stop you being the best in Scotland.*

(25H: 116-118)

Schine (2003) found that a pervasive inferiority complex exists among self-employed people, especially lifestyle entrepreneurs. 17G who runs a guesthouse in the city centre found it hard to adapt to working from home ‘it took me about a year to think that I wasn’t skiving because you’re not going out to work, not physically leaving your home’ (17G: 658-659). Although 9B says that she has two full time jobs she still feels that they are not ‘real jobs’ ‘I’ve got two full time jobs, well the B&B and the children, but you tend to think it’s not a job, and it is really’ (9B:255-256). As the hosts are not going out to work they reflect cultural values of not having a real job. When 4B was invited to visit one of her guests after they had become friends, she found it hard to accept as she would not be paying to stay there, like they had to do in her home. She found it difficult to identify her job, and separate her personal life from her work life, unlike her guest who suspected that was the reason she was unsure of visiting:

*We understand why you don't want to come to stay with us as our guests and I suspect it's because we paid to stay with you but you must understand that we have our own jobs, which you know, so please come.*

(18G: 6-173)

It is socially acceptable, even desirable, to have a commercial home with 2B’s circle of friends. It has become quite popular because of the social and economic advantages that come along with it. Living in the suburbs they know who their neighbours are and who is willing to take in guests. They have a social network operating, sending guests to each other if one of them is full, which is also identified by Lynch (2000). They do not do it as a full-time job, just as a means of earning
some extra income. Other hosts who are full time are more determined to strive for success as a business.

Socially the commercial home can be very important. 1HF enjoys the camaraderie that comes with hosting students ‘I just love it, I enjoy them, I enjoy the company, we have fun, and I just love it’ (1HF: 25-26). 21G sees hosting as a way of meeting people and widening her social circle, ‘advantages are working with people and seeing all sorts of people from all walks of life’ (21G: 202-203). Running a small rural hotel has boosted 23H’s confidence, ‘I have a lot more confidence than when I first came here’ (23H: 211), and she also enjoys the social life that comes with her commercial home, ‘I would actually say the social life is really good, you don’t have to think about going out, I just walk through here’ (23H: 256-257). Di Domenico (2005), conducting a study on lifestyle entrepreneurship in Scotland, found that lifestyle entrepreneurs often exhibit a desire for social relationships and enjoy playing the host.

The commercial home can also have negative social impacts for the hosts, ‘people don’t realise how tying it is’ (4B: 792). Although hosts feel they have a better lifestyle, work from home, have time to enjoy hobbies and interests this does not always go to plan. If a host has arranged to do something and then a guest arrives early they have to tend to the guest. One way of overcoming the restriction is to introduce ways for guests to contact you even if you are not in the home, ‘because you’re basically on call 24 hours a day, you have to use a bit of technology to try and give you a bit of space’ (22H: 573-575). However 11B stills feels restricted by her commercial home and has swapped her babysitter for a house sitter:

When I was younger and I had the girls I had to have a babysitter to look after the girls if I wanted to go out and do anything, now if I want to go out and do it I’ve got to have a house sitter because I could be away and somebody might be wanting to come and book in at a certain time so I need to get somebody to come into the house to make sure that they’re there for guest arriving so you know, and that way you’re restricted as well.

(11B: 68-77)
Even when both partners are hosting, social occasions are missed out on because one host has to stay and look after the guests:

That was the award that we won and X went down to collect it because again we were tied to the house because people were here so one of us had to stay.

(18G: 530-532)

Most hosts liked their commercial home and the fact that they ran their business from home, however this was not always the case; ‘I would love not do Bed and Breakfast.’ The reason for this is ‘I’d like my house back to myself’ (5B). This is very telling in how the host views her business. She feels that her house is not her own, she has to share it and she is not overjoyed at the prospect of this. She looks forward to the day when she no longer has to share her home. She gives an explanation to why she is doing it, ‘because farming is not economically viable at the moment.’ So, economically the host needs her commercial home, but emotionally she would prefer to have just her home.

The motivation for using the home as a business was monetary, ‘it started off as a means of providing sort of holiday funds, and school trips and university fees’ (5B). There is an indication that the host may have been pushed into the B&B business, as ‘the farming situation became worse, not better it just sort of carried on’ (5B). As the female host could do B&B from home this seemed like an ideal solution. Rybczynski (1986) identifies the home as a place of work for women, albeit a place of no pay. This host needed to be at home to tend to the farm so could not go out to work. She needed to be able to work from home and she could do this by running a commercial home.

Benefits and constraints of having a commercial home affect the host-home relationship. Table 12 summarises the positive and negative discourses of hosting, with the benefits strengthening the relationship and the constraints straining the emotional attachment to the home.
Table 12. Positive and Negative Discourses of Hosting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own boss</td>
<td>Tied to home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better lifestyle</td>
<td>On 24hr call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working from home</td>
<td>Long working hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra income</td>
<td>Family time interrupted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generate money for children</td>
<td>Very busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afford larger property</td>
<td>Little time to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting new people</td>
<td>Missed social occasions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having time off</td>
<td>Difficult to be spontaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives status</td>
<td>Summer holidays limited with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning new skills</td>
<td>Not having their home to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost effective for home</td>
<td>Inferiority complex about work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially desirable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased confidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2. Relationship with Tourist Board

The hosts feel that they are restricted by the tourist board, VisitScotland in some ways and this challenges the host home relationship. The emotional attachment to their home is being strained as VisitScotland imposes certain requirements on the hosts. They are being told how to decorate (13G), what sheets to use in the rooms (13G), what magazines they should have (4B), to have everything colour co-ordinated (7B), to have buckets in the bathroom (11B) and to have notices in the rooms and have a register of guests (11B).

The hosts’ relationship to their home is being put under pressure when their choice of décor is criticised by VisitScotland, ‘they tear your decoration to pieces’ (13G: 314). VisitScotland have said, ‘oh you must have halogen lamps in your bathroom because there’s a new set available through Ikea’ (13G: 321-322), even though the host wants to keep décor within the period of the home, ‘this is a 150-year-old Victorian
farmhouse, halogen lights are very much the twenty first century’ (13G: 326-327). The hosts are losing emotional attachment with their home as they are being told how to decorate. They do not have the freedom to choose which bedspreads they have in the bedrooms as, ‘the girl said they (VisitScotland) would like to have the same in all rooms (13G: 400). They have to have up-dated magazines on display, ‘the tourist board don’t like old magazines when they come to grade (4B: 720-721).

Being a vegetarian B&B 18G felt that VisitScotland were being very narrow minded and not catering for their needs, so decided not to join at all:

Because they were very parochial and very narrow-minded and didn’t understand where we stood in the niche of things and really we had just gone in a brochure with everybody else and we weren’t what that was.

(18G: 337-339)

18G has strong values and beliefs and stand up for what they believe in, that is why they started a B&B that catered specifically for vegetarians. They have a strong emotional attachment to their home and did not want VisitScotland to compromise that in any way. They decorate their home paying particular attention to the environment and were not prepared to change that for VisitScotland.

Economically 15G feels that he is better off not taking bookings through the tourist board as they take ten per cent of the fee. He feels he is better off getting direct bookings from guests:

They’re trying to channel all the potential customers through their central system and the Tourist Board are deliberately doing that so that they can take ten per cent of their booking. It’s a money making activity so I tend to try not to have to take direct bookings from the Tourist Board.

(15G: 153-157)

Emotionally 8B and 14G feel let down by VisitScotland as they lack local knowledge because of recent changes, ‘I'm not so happy that they’ve closed the TIC’s (Tourist Information Centres) down’ (8B: 295). This means that guests are not well informed
about the area and therefore business suffers or guests are unhappy, ‘you end up with people who don’t know what kind of place they’re coming to’ (14G:591-592). Guests may be looking for nightlife and be disappointed when the only pub in the village shuts early. The hosts feel that their community should be promoted appropriately by the VisitScotland.

6.3.3. Relationship with Community

The relationship with the community varies in relation to the size of the community. In the Highlands, hosts tend to work together and help each other out. Competition in the Highlands is low unlike Edinburgh where competition is much higher. In low season, when only a few regulars may come to the Highlands, 21G ensures that there is somewhere for them to stay even if she cannot take them herself. By working as a community the village makes arrangements so that at least one commercial home is open to guests at any given time:

Most of those are regulars if it happens to be in the months that we are going to be away, and we will always book them in somewhere else where we would stay ourselves so, within the village we always work it that there’s at least one guest house is open at a time.

(21G: 258-262)

5B, who lives in a secondary region, chooses not to be in direct competition with her neighbours, ‘you’d never tread on someone else’s toes (5B: 108), whereas there seems to be a lack of community between hosts in the city, ‘there is so much more competition coming to Edinburgh’ (24H: 424). Tinsley & Lynch (2007) found that in small rural tourism businesses, manager-owners did not like to tread on their competitor’s toes.

Living in a rural community can be pleasant for the hosts. They can work together and help each other, but living so far away from the city can have its drawbacks too. Economically it can be draining. It can mean taking a whole day to travel to get supplies (8B), shopping takes longer (14G), and can be expensive because of the distance involved (13G), and if something breaks down it can take a long time to get a
replacement (11B), which can be emotionally straining. However living in a rural community can be advantageous, like having fresh eggs delivered to your doorstep (11B) or having the local plumber help you out of a tight spot because he knows you have a commercial home (11B), so socially you are more part of the community.

Sometimes hosts have to settle for something less than they would have liked. For instance 8B needed paint but it would have taken a whole day to travel to Inverness to get the one she wanted so she had to settle for the one available in nearby Fort William. 7B does not have the luxury of browsing for new things and often has to settle for what he can get over the Internet.

_It was all peeling off and the trouble is, to get anything decent you either have to go to Inverness or Glasgow and from here to Inverness it takes 2 hours and 2 hours back the way, you’re talking about taking a whole day off, you know, it’s not quite as straight forward._

(8B: 275-280)

_I don’t know where we bought that, probably B&Q or something like that we, most of our shopping out here is Inverness it’s the closest B&Q or any of your other superstores, they’re all Inverness way so we use the Internet a lot and we do have trips up there obviously but if we want something quick it’s that._

(7B: 301-306)

The social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host is intertwined and giving examples of each on their own proved difficult throughout objective 2. It was felt that discussing the issues separately would result in repetition so many issues were discussed incorporating two or three of the concepts. Table 13 attempts to address this by identifying the individual social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host. The first section of the table looks at the social, emotional and economical importance of the commercial home to the host and its positive aspects, and the second section of the table looks at the negative aspects. The hosts did not identify any negative aspects of the economic importance of the commercial home.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL</th>
<th>EMOTIONAL</th>
<th>ECONOMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepted by friends as socially desirable</td>
<td>Escape control of others</td>
<td>Income helps afford larger house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widens social circle</td>
<td>Spend more time with children</td>
<td>Income helps after redundancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to live in a socially desirable location</td>
<td>Ability to stay at home to care for partner</td>
<td>Ability to afford luxuries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaraderie of guests</td>
<td>Raised emotional state working from home</td>
<td>Extra income to help with university fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boosts confidence with people</td>
<td>Lifestyle choice, increased happiness</td>
<td>Ability to claim items for home through business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to enjoy hobbies during the day</td>
<td>Ability to carry on family tradition of ‘taking in’</td>
<td>Ability to buy property outside income range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good social life</td>
<td>Content being own boss</td>
<td>Extra profit by not taking bookings through VisitScotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not always able to attend social occasions</td>
<td>Loss of home to self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult to separate personal and business life</td>
<td>Connection to home is threatened by business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be tying</td>
<td>Inferiority complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to accept invitations to stay in guest’s home</td>
<td>Unhappy with regulations imposed by tourist board</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Objective 2 explored ‘the social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host. Emerging themes included relationship with business, relationship with the tourist board and relationship with competitors. Relationship with business examined push and pull factors for the hosts entering their business. Hosts were pushed into the business by factors such as redundancy, dislike of previous job, the need for income or to be able to keep the large house they already lived in. Pull factors included wanting to work from home, the desire to be their own boss, the lifestyle, the location, or the natural progression of having students to stay leading on to wanting to have guests staying. The relationship with VisitScotland was largely negative. Hosts were unhappy with a number of things. They did not like the way VisitScotland criticised their décor or imposed their views on them. They felt VisitScotland did not take their values and beliefs on board, nor did they have local knowledge of the area after they closed down the TIC’s and finally they felt they were being ripped off by VisitScotland as they took 10% of their fee. The relationship with the community varied in relation to location. In the tertiary regions the community worked closely together, helping each other out when they could whereas in the primary regions the hosts were more competitive. Table 12 summarises the social, emotional and economic importance of the commercial home to the host.

6.4 Objective 3

The third objective was to identify ‘how the host’s relationship with the commercial home affects the hosting behaviour.’ Themes emerging included relationship with guests; spatial displacement; privacy; separation; artefacts; and décor.

6.4.1. Relationship with Guests

The hosts’ relationship with their guests varies from one commercial host to another. They have special guests who have become part of their lives and have seen the family grow up (21G), or invite certain guests to have dinner with the family (4B), and others come back to stay as friends rather than paying guests (9B). Hosts keep in touch and send Christmas cards to some of their guests (3B), and others become friends with their guests (17G), and some guests have even cooked for their host (10B).
Guests who return to the same commercial home over the years, get to know the family and are familiar with the family photographs, so much so that, ‘a lot of the guests know these children; they’ve actually seen them from babies onwards’, (21G: 184-185). Guests become interested in the host’s life and want to know how the children are getting on, because they feel they know them. Although the guests may not actually know the children they feel they do because they have seen their photographs over the years. They will have seen the changes in the children and together with the stories they hear from the host they feel almost a part of their life. Not only do the guests become part of the hosts’ lives but the hosts become part of the guests’ lives too, ‘a couple who came in 84/85, we’ve seen them through a divorce and a re-marriage’ (3B: 450-451).

When a guest is staying with 4B for a long time, the relationship moves from paying guests, to acquaintance, to possibly friend, as they share meals and wine with one guest who joins them for dinner, ‘we have him for supper one night a week, and the last night he came down with a couple of bottles of wine, which was nice’, (4B: 447-448). The host’s relationship with the guest has developed over time. For one night of the week he becomes more than a guest, he shares a part of their life. The host has used food to ‘incorporate the guest into the logic of family relations’ (Bouquet, 1996:100). Bouquet (1996) argues that the sharing of food expresses different levels of relation, and in this case, it expresses ‘inclusion’. The guest does not pay for the meal as he is there as a friend, but ‘reciprocates’ (Aramberri, 2001) with some wine. There is give and take on both sides. There is no monetary exchange between host and guest, but the guest expresses his gratitude by offering a gift of wine to be shared among them. This recognises that the commercial home accommodation borrows from both the private and commercial domain (Lynch, 2003; 2004).

Guests that return time and time again build up a relationship with the hosts and their families, ‘we’ve made friends and they’re like grandparents to my children’ (9B: 438-439). The relationship then changes and it is no longer a host-guest relationship but a friendship, ‘they come up at new year, but not as paying guests’ (9B: 440-441). 17G also has a guest that returns to stay as a friend but interestingly he still refers to him a guest rather than a friend, ‘he has become a friend, he comes over several times a
Two types of guests are identified, the paying (commercial) guest and the non-paying (social) guest. Lashley & Morrison (2000) identified a commercial friendship in hospitality, in terms of a transition from a ‘stranger to a friend’.

Korean guests who had been staying with 10B for a long time, wanted to show her their appreciation so they cooked a meal for her. The language used suggests that 10B felt like the guest were intruding in her space. She could have said the kitchen but instead says my kitchen, ‘in my kitchen, they cooked soup with lumps in it’ (10B: 754), she helped them with it and did not leave them on their own, ‘they laid the table, well I sort of showed them where the stuff was and they laid the table’ (10B: 757-758). 10B does not seem entirely happy with having guests use her kitchen, but was grateful for the kind gesture from her guests, ‘they done really well, they didn’t wreck the kitchen too much!’ (10B: 762-763). This suggests that crossing boundaries, where guests become hosts, is uncomfortable for the host as it challenges normative power structures.

20G likes to keep her guests under control, and is not afraid to confront them if they are doing something she does not approve of, ‘I keep them under control’ (20G: 408). If she sees them doing something she would rather they did not, she says so:

I did catch one the other day and he had his cup, hot cup sitting on top of the dressing table and I just went through and I picked up a saucer, because they don’t speak much English and I just picked up the saucer and I put the cup like that and said to him, this way!

(20G: 418-421)

However not all hosts have the courage to challenge their guests if they do something they are not happy with, ‘sometimes you have to kerb your tongue’ (18G: 1206). Confrontation is often avoided by the hosts because, ‘if you get somebody who you perhaps would prefer not to come again they’re gone within two or three days so it really doesn’t matter’ (5B: 201-203). The hosts put up with certain things that they are not entirely happy with as it seems a better solution than upsetting their guests:
There was a guy last summer who just came and plonked himself on the sofa and started reading his book, he was only staying one more day so I didn’t stay anything, if he was staying longer I would have. I’m terribly bad at confronting people.

(2B: 1008-1011)

This particular guest entered a part of the host’s home that was not open to guests. However there were no private signs up and the guest may not have been aware that the sofa was not for guest use. MacCannell (1973) found that tourists try to enter the back regions of the places they visit because these regions are ‘associated with intimacy of relations and authenticity of experiences’. The guest may have seen the commercial home as ‘a home away from home’ (Lowe, 1988) and behaved exactly as he would have done at home. The host decided not to confront the guest as he was staying for just one more day but if he had been staying longer she would have said, ‘I’m terribly sorry but this is our sort of area and there is a drawing room upstairs’ (2B: 1013-1014). The host would have apologised to the guest even though there was an area for the guest to sit and read his book anyway.

Trust is an issue in the relationship between host and guest. 5B displays trust in her guests in her organisation of objects and formation of space (Wise 2000), by not hanging private signs around the house relying on the hope that they do not enter if a door is closed. The host has decided not to display privacy signs in her house; this may be because it would detract from the homeliness of her home. The majority of guests respect her privacy and do not enter the closed doors, apart from the occasional drunk person and some Americans. The host is not affected too much by the fact that the Americans do not ‘recognise the possible boundaries’ (5B) and puts it down to their interest in the place. Cultural perceptions of space differ together with ability to recognise non-explained rules.

5B feels that there is no point in hiding things away ‘of course you run the risk of having things stolen or whatever, but so’ (5B). Here the host is displaying trust in her guests. She leaves sentimental artefacts throughout the house and trusts her guests not to take them. It has been speculated by the hosts that people steal from hotels but there is a general expectation that people do not steal from B&Bs. This is because it
is the person’s home and generally people do not steal when they enter some one’s home. Having an open, honest relationship with guests seems to be part of the business; the guests are given trust and in return are trustworthy. 4B is not licensed to sell alcohol so has a tray in the corner with alcohol and a book for guests to record what they take, ‘it’s very much an honesty thing, they are very welcome to take what they want and fill in the book’ (4B: 243-244).

However not all hosts have this trusting nature with their guests. 12P has a conditional relationship in terms of trusting his guests. He will not let guests in the door unless they give him their credit cards details, ‘I trust them with the keys to my house, and they have to trust me with their credit card details’ (12P: 261-262). He sees it as ‘an exchange of trust’ (12P: 260), and does not seem to be willing to trust them otherwise.

Getz et al (2005) suggests that families running a business can face challenges especially when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to guests. 11B received a complaint from a guest about the level of noise coming from her teenage daughter’s music. She was not happy about it as it was two o’ clock in the afternoon, so felt that it was uncalled for, ‘I did point out to him that it was two o’ clock in the afternoon, if it was eight or nine o’ clock at night I could see his point’ (11B: 549-551). It may be difficult keeping family life separate from the business because of spatial issues and this will therefore have an impact on the guest’s experience, which is what happened to 9B, when two guests left when they found out she had children, saying:

We prefer to stay somewhere that doesn’t have children I said well they’re very quiet and they sleep up in the attic so you’re not going to be wakened through the night, it’s not a problem at all, and they still left.

(9B: 104-113)

The hosts can put on a performance in front of their guests. They may do this by keeping their home tidier than they would normally (5B) or by paying more attention to it (21G). They may make an effort to be nice when they really are not in the mood (2B) or give the same speech over and over (18G).
Most hosts give more attention to the tidiness of their home ‘my house is certainly cleaner and tidier because I do B&B’ (5B). This would suggest that the home is not lived in normally as it would be without guests, because of the guests the home is kept much cleaner. Commercial hosting therefore seems to encourage the putting on of a performance (Goffman, 1959; Darke and Gurney, 2000). 21G who runs a guest house in a rural area feels that the property is more her home than her business, she feels she has to keep her house tidy, well at least the area that is on display:

    It’s still part of my home but it’s a part of the home that I look on slightly differently, in other words it’s the part of the home that I always ensure is clean and tidy because of the public viewing of it whereas in my house, I might have a pile of ironing sitting in the middle of the dining room table waiting to be done which I couldn’t leave out here. But when we’re closed, this is just as you know; the ironing could be in the middle of the dining room tables.

(21G: 875-885)

This implies that the host does not live in her home as she would if it was not also her business, therefore putting on a performance (Goffman, 1959). The fact that she ensures it is clean and tidy in view of the guests but untidy in other areas displays signs of Goffman’s (1959) front-back regions. Although the host may not act differently in front of her guests, she does present her home differently, conveying a sense of performance. There are certain spaces within the commercial home that are not for guest use and these areas help define the work/family balance of a commercial home host (Ram 1997).

15G also takes more pride in the areas of the home that are in view of the guests, ‘to the outside world this is a lovely place and then you know your own chaos reigns kind of behind’ (15G: 369-370). As well as presenting the home differently in front of guests, 18G claims she puts on an act (Goffman, 1959), ‘the guesthouse owner act comes into it, and you start saying the same things over and over again’ (15G:1197-1198). These front and back regions mark out territories for different types of behaviours (Goffman, 1959). The hosts may act to a certain degree in front of their guests, but then this could be said for other types of professions too. A doctor, nurse
or dentist may put on a kind of act in front of their patient or act differently at home than when they are at work. A teacher may act differently at home than they would in front of their students, or a salesperson in front of a customer. To a degree, many industries and professions put on an act when they are dealing with their customers and the commercial home host is no different. There may be times in any job when the person does not feel like smiling and being polite but they have to, so they act happy and cheerful even though that is not how they feel, like 2B feels at times, ‘it’s quite an effort to go out grinning and say did you have a good day?’ (2B: 902-903).

The hosts go to a lot of trouble to ensure that the area of their home open to guests is always presentable. However in doing this, their private space often suffers. They often spend money on the business side of things rather than the home side, ‘we live in a midden upstairs because all the money goes into the downstairs where the guests see’ (19G: 95-97). Even though they feel ‘it’s embarrassing up there’ (15G: 544), they have done nothing about it, ‘we haven’t decorated it in fifteen years’ (15G: 381). The majority of time, energy and money is spent focusing on the business side of things and often the home suffers. As long as the hosts have a nice presentable home to show to their guests they are willing to let their private space suffer a little.

6.4.2. Relationship with Space

When considering issues of space, 22H thinks of his guests’ needs as well as his own needs. He likes to have his own space and imagines that his guests would like to have their own space too. His values are based on his personal values which he imposes on his guests:

We don’t want to be seen in people’s faces all the time, the problem you get with a lot of small places is the owners watch everybody walking in and out of the building and a lot of people do not like that I would hate to be watched, every movement I’m making so we keep away from the guests most of the time.

(22H: 158-163)

12P not only gives his guests their own space but has given them most of his space too. He has moved into an adjoining flat and only uses the kitchen of his original
home, ‘I feel that it is slightly weird that I’m married and have moved from a big house to a small house’ (12P: 506-507), he finds it a bit awkward as he wanted to give his son his own bedroom but now cannot do so because it is a guest bedroom. Although he has made compromises over space he justifies his reasons, ‘there is no point in having an awful lot of space if you don’t use it, how on earth can you possibly use a five bedroom, five bathroom house?’ (12P: 512-514). However it seems that he has moved from one extreme to another. He had a big house with lots of space for his family, but now he does not have enough space to give his son his own room.

Sometimes hosts get pleasure from guests using space that they do not use frequently, ‘the drawing room, we don’t use that often, so it’s actually nice when it’s used by the guests’ (2B: 509-510). 2B likes her drawing room but it’s the type of room that only gets used on special occasions so she is happy that her guests use it, so that it is not a wasted or unused space. 1HF also likes her students to use her sitting room with her and does not want them to stay in their room, ‘we haven’t encouraged them to stay in their room because I don’t think that’s really sharing your home’ (1HF: 66-68). 1HF puts herself in their shoes, ‘I wouldn’t like that myself, so really just treat them as I would like to be treated if I went to somebody’s home’ (1HF: 70-72).

However other hosts are not as happy to share space and time with their guests. 14G felt that they needed to be more separated from their guests and whilst they did not start off wanting to be separate, that is the way it evolved;

I mean it develops your feeling after, it was after our first or second year that you really start to feel bad, I think that we’ve got more of that feeling that you needed to keep it more separate. We didn’t really think about it when we started up we weren’t thinking well this will be a completely separate part and we can get away, but it sort of became more like that you know.

(14G: 220-225)

How space is generated within the home can be very significant (Wise, 2000). 14G realised that they were not entirely happy sharing space with their guests, and so for their business to work and their family life to be happy the solution was to separate the space between the two. Ram et al (1997) suggest that through the management of
space and time people will be able to create and maintain different identities. Hosts may have certain parts of the home that are specifically for work or for personal use, ‘this is very much our private space out in the back garden’ (15G: 551). Hosts go to different lengths to keep their space separate, ‘just as our guests’ rooms are always locked when they go out so are ours’ (17G: 505-506).

Hosts manage their space in different ways. Space is marked out to establish places of comfort (Wise, 2000). This can be done by displaying private signs throughout the home, or mentioning politely to guests areas that are private, or by leaving it up to the guests’ discretion as to where they should and where they should not go. 11B has private signs in some areas of her home, ‘I’ve got notices here and there, you know to sort of say it’s a private area’ (11B: 218-219). She has one in the kitchen, ‘for safety reasons, but people still come in for a blather or to put something in the fridge’ (11B: 220-222). Although she does not mind this there are certain areas which she would mind if her guests went there, ‘I would get a wee bit annoyed if people do go up to our level which is our bedrooms which I believe is private’ (11B: 226-228). Not all hosts like to use signs and notice in their home, and ‘hope perhaps that if a door is closed then people won’t walk in’ (5B: 182), or preferring politely to mention which areas are private:

\[
\text{The other part of the house is private to ourselves but we don’t have signs we just politely say that this is ours you know, there’s nothing to indicate that people can’t go anywhere but it’s kind of, it’s just polite.}
\]

(5B: 99-102)

Getz et al (2005) mention difficulties that may arise due to the physical overlap between home and space devoted to guests. For 2B this physical overlap is a very real problem, as her guests have to walk through a part of the home she would prefer to keep private to get to another part, ‘the only annoying thing about the layout of the house is that they have to walk through the kitchen to get to breakfast’ (2B: 49-51). Although the space is not used by the guests, it is still in view as they pass through it, which may make the host feel that it is not private, and she probably feels like she has to have it presented nicely at all times, whereas if it was not in full view of the guests she may be a bit more relaxed about it.
The hosts have displayed signs of spatial displacement by moving to different areas of their home because of their guests. 11B has firstly turned a guest bedroom into an office as she needed somewhere to do her bookings and for her husband to use the computer. This office has now turned into a place to get ready in the morning as there is a wash hand basin from the original bedroom, ‘this is more or less where I sort of have a wash if I can’t get into the shower before the guests in the morning’ (11B: 1193-1194). This challenges Ram et al’s (1997) theory of maintaining different identities through management of space. If the host is using an area that is specifically for work, i.e. her office, for the very personal use of getting ready in the morning then it would prove very difficult to have different identities in the same place, i.e. her work identity and her home identity, her place as host or as a wife and mother. Moving her laundry room outside in another sign of spatial displacement for 11B, she feared the noise was disturbing her guests, ‘sometimes I would try to wash at night time to catch up with the sheets and the family clothes, but it was a bit noisy’ (11B: 1210-1212).

How hosts organise the space within in their dining rooms and how they arrange the furniture can convey messages about how they feel about their home. Hosts control how guests interact with each other by the way they locate the dining room furniture. Having one large dining table encourages guests to talk to each other as would usually happen at a family dining table. However having lots of separate dining tables encourages guests to keep themselves to themselves and less conversations takes place when tables are separated than when everyone sits together. Figs 26, 27, 28, and 29 in Chapter 5 show some of the different types of space layout in the hosts’ dining rooms.

6.4.3. Relationship with Artefacts

Artefacts play a significant role in the messages that they convey about the hosts. They portray impressions of the type of hosts in the commercial home. Hosts differentiate between their home and business when choosing artefacts, ‘I liked it but also bought it partly for the bed and breakfast’ (9B: 219-220). The host is displaying a picture that she thinks will benefit her guests, her motive for having a picture of the surrounding path of Glencoe is, ‘there’s a lovely view up here so if there’s low cloud,
well that’s what it is supposed to look like’ (9B:223-224). She wants her guests to enjoy the surrounding scenery and if the weather will not allow this then she has a backup with her picture, which shows a relationship to the local setting. This portrays the host as being proud of her hometown and its surrounding nature. She cares enough about her hosts to ensure that they get to see the views even if it is as a picture.

As previously mentioned Marcus (1996) argues that ‘home is a reflection of self’. This would imply that the artefacts the hosts choose would reflect the type of person they are. However some hosts choose things that they think their guests will like ‘so I’m catering for my guests there rather than myself’ (9B:193-194), and that have little meaning to them or reflect their personality, ‘Lots of ones (pictures) in the (guest) rooms probably don’t mean anything, it was maybe being picked, just to complement the décor’ (16G: 802-803). Although other hosts put more thought into the pictures they hang in the guest bedrooms, not only does 21G have reasons for why she has purchased particular artefacts but also why she has positioned them in particular rooms:

_We bought them while we were there. They’re in that room because there are waterfalls outside and they could hear running water. There is a reason for these things._

(21G: 1110-1112)

Pink (2004) argues that the home and objects can impose on the way individual creativity is realised in a particular material space. 21G tries to be creative and recreate the feeling of being next to waterfalls. She uses the pictures (Fig.7 Findings chapter) to give a visual sense of running water and has them positioned in the bedroom next to the running water outside. She is creating an atmosphere that would not have been there without the artefacts. Wise (2000:100) identifies symbols as a mark of space. The symbols the hosts use have an effect on the space around them, ‘it attracts or repels others, drawing some together around the same theme’. 21G’s guests will either be attracted or repelled by the pictures of the waterfalls. It may draw them close to their host.
Hosts have an emotional attachment to artefacts. They can trigger memories of the past. Rapport & Dawson (1998a) suggest sensory experience has usually been related to memory and emotion. The visual reminder of artefacts can evoke memories. A stuffed toy (Fig.8 Findings chapter) reminds 13G of when she and her husband first met, ‘when we were courting X bought me Tigger, because Tigger out of the Poo stories is probably one of my favourite characters’ (13G: 1041-1043). This is a tangible memory, 13G can see it and pick it up and touch it. It stirs up emotions and set off memories by being in view. Surrounding herself with memories of her grandchildren when they were younger displays the emotional attachment 4B has with one particular artefact, ‘that is the handprints of our two grandsons and that’s them in the photo’ (4B: 301-302). The fact that it is displayed in the hallway which is used everyday by the host and the guests suggests that the host is very proud of it and likes to see it and share it.

Being surrounded by memories of good times is important to the hosts, ‘we try to get a souvenir painting when we go abroad, just to hold all the memories' (4B: 155-156). A collection of champagne corks with the date written on them evokes memories of celebrations (4B), and an old rocking horse referred to as ‘an old family friend, it’s been around forever’ (5B: 722-723), conjuring feelings of belonging and a sense of family. 4B has his late son’s trophies on display:

That’s a trophy our late son got, he was into rifle shooting and he actually shot for Scotland and that’s one of the trophies he got. The silver tray is another one.

(4B: 385-387)

Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney (2007:136) argue that artefacts play a role within the commercial home:

Artefacts have a performative role in that they embody the self of the host and the other household occupants, whom they mirror, communicating messages about the individuals ready to be deciphered by the guests.
10B has a cup and saucer that belonged to her late friend. As she has several cups and saucers on display throughout her house, guests would not be aware how sentimental it is and may just think that she collects them. But the host obviously has an emotional attachment to it as she explains where it came from:

The cup and saucer came from a friend... she actually died of cancer and I used to take her tea and it was just a pretty cup and saucer and her husband gave it to me.

(10B: 555-557)

Artefacts have accumulated for many reasons and are spread throughout the commercial home. The hosts have the choice to keep them in their private space or place them in public space shared by guests. 5B has everything where she would have even if she did not have a B&B, ‘I don’t move any ornaments or any photographs, everything is as I would live with it’ (5B: 291-292). Wise (2000:100) argues that home is ‘a collection of milieus, and as such is the organisation of markers (objects) and the formation of space’. 5B does not want her home to be altered just because she has guests; she wants it to remain the way she likes it with her memories surrounding her. However other hosts have reasons why they keep artefacts separate from guests; because they are precious and they fear they might get stolen (8B), or they just want to keep some things private (9B). 16G keeps the artefacts that have some meaning separate from the ones that do not:

The ones that do mean things to us are in our own private areas, because it reminds us of places we’ve been, we’ve probably brought something back, when you look at them it brings back memories, the ones upstairs help take plainness away from walls, really more than anything else, and maybe make it more homely, but they are not special to us.

(16G: 802-810)

Artefacts can sometimes reflect the host in some way (Marcus, 1995), ‘we used to be in the butchery trade and these are weights that I used to have a whole collection of
the old fashioned weights for going on scales’ (4B: 364-366), giving an insight into what their life was like in the past or what it is like now:

I think it needs to reflect part of the surroundings around you and the other things. It is eagles and birds and dogs that are gun dogs, it’s all part of the Scottish lifestyle in the Highlands so, it also happens to be our lifestyle so which is, you know, convenient.

(21G: 145-149)

Wise (2000:100) suggests ‘the resonance of milieus and territories are cultural in that the specific expression of an object or space will be differentially inflected based on culture’. Some hosts intentionally try to have Scottish artefacts while others do not. Commercial homes in the Highlands have artefacts that reflect their surroundings, pictures of Glencoe (13G), views of Fort William and Ben Nevis (23H), surrounding lochs (9B) or local views (8B), whereas commercial homes in primary regions (25H) have selected iconic artefacts of Scotland, ‘the décor you see round about here is to give tourists a feel of being Scottish, tartan, bagpipes’ (25H: 201-202), whereas 14G, a guesthouse in the Highlands prefers less iconic artefacts of Scotland, ‘we do have one tartan thing, but we wanted to keep it away from all of that sort of going really too far’ (14G: 820-821), they prefer to have local prints around the house, ‘mostly Scottish, but we like the tasteful Scottish’ (14G: 824-825). Both commercial homes are influenced by the hosts’ Scottish culture.

11B’s likeability factor is displayed by the gifts she has received from her guests ‘and he had his computer and he actually took the photo and printed them off for me’, ‘and I’ve got two table cloths and they’ve been left to me by previous guests as well.’ The hosts surround themselves with their artefacts “because you need things to jog your memory.” This shows that the hosts like to have artefacts around them that remind them of good times. Having sentiments of various times in their lives evokes certain memories and they like this. Their home is indeed “a mirror of self” (Marcus, 1995). Everything around them reminds them of a certain time in their life. The hosts had the choice to display their gifts or put them away out of site. As they have displayed them they obviously are proud of them and are happy to talk about them. It shows other people that they are liked and can also be a talking point with guests.
6.4.4. Relationship with Decor

Décor is a very important aspect of the home; it reflects the tastes and preferences of the hosts. Tastes in décor are different with each person. What someone really likes, another person might find really unsuitable or displeasing. The relationship the host has with décor affects the relationship they have with their commercial home.

Some hosts chose the décor to accommodate their guests, whether it be the colour of a wall because it covers up marks left by suitcases rubbing against it (14G) or the choice of bedspread so it suits most tastes. 5B wanted bedspreads that were not too feminine:

You don’t want things to be too pink and frilly. Okay I’m not a pink and frilly person, but most men don’t like pink and frilly, you know. You’ve got to be careful with your bath things as well, so they are not so overpowering floral and female so a man won’t use them. There’s a fine balance of getting something everyone will use.

(5B: 749-783)
1HF also considers her guests when choosing décor. She chose bedspreads that she thinks would be appreciated by the young students who would be coming to stay. Originally the bedroom was ‘very feminine’ (1HF: 579), but then she ‘had mainly boys staying’ (1HF: 580), so decided to change them, ‘I thought well we like the fun covers and the Japanese are very childlike’ (1HF: 585-586). Therefore parts of 1HF’s home are not a reflection of her (Marcus, 1995), or her likes, but how she interprets her guests/students tastes and what they like.

Hotels have been a source of influence when it comes to the décor of some of the commercial homes. 15G, an urban guesthouse, identified his commercial home as more of a business than a home, has used part of the space in his commercial home as something that could be likened to a hotel reception area:

*But the bottom (of the stairs) is a more kind of arriving and leaving kind of space, functional space, and it’s got you know, brochures and whatever and where you make your telephone calls if you need to make a call, and the seating area here, for people just sort of arriving or leaving or just sitting making a phone call.*

(15G: 459-463)

20G, a suburban guesthouse, justifies why she has all her bedrooms the same, just like hotels:

*All my rooms are the same. Lots of hotels and places you go they’re not different, but you know people are only in one room so they wouldn’t know what the one next door would look like, would they? No, and it’s easier for the daily woman if she can just take all the duvets along and each one has the same kind of duvet in it.*

(20G: 741-745)

20G compares her commercial home to a hotel, insisting that guests only see one room so it does not matter that they are all the same. However one could question whether the host would have all the rooms in her house the same if she was not having guests to stay. She may not want to have the same décor throughout her
bedrooms, choosing instead to make them individual. One explanation is given by the host as to why the bedspreads are all the same, because it is easier to maintain. Her home may have lost some of its character or charm now that it has become institutionalised.

12P has not changed the décor from the previous owner either because he really likes it or he did not want to spend the money doing it. He feels that it does not match, but he must have a reason not to change it. It may be because he feels detached from the house, as it is just his business. Or he may like the fact it does not match. The language suggests that he does not like it; it could be worse, but he’ll settle for it. This qualifies Marcus’s (1995) idea of ‘the home as a mirror of self’ as the host’s home is not a mirror of him but rather the previous owner. ‘I’ve never been very precious about imposing my own taste on places where she (his wife) likes to.’ This would suggest that the artefacts in this home are reflective of the female host more so than the male host, but also “reflective” (Marcus 1995) and “expressive” (Proshansky et al. 1976) of someone who lived in the house previously.

Choice of décor was divided between one couple of a small hotel, the female chose the décor for the bedrooms and the male chose for the bar area. These could be seen as feminine and masculine areas, respectively. The fact that the male hosts says he was given full control to decorate the bar area, implies that he needed his wife’s permission, demonstrating that the female has more control of the décor in the home than the male in this commercial home; Pink (2004) argues individuals’ gendered performances of housework and forms of home creativity such as hanging a painting, burning scented candles, choosing certain décor can be seen as the embodied actions with which they engage with the sensory environments of their homes:

You know, in the bar and restaurant area I was given full control and my wife takes control of the bedrooms.

(25H: 199-200)

Proshansky et al. (1976:4) claim ‘we express ourselves through furniture’. Some hosts go to extreme lengths to get particular pieces of furniture ‘I saved up many many years ago to get that... I saved up because I liked it’ (11B). The host wants to
share her taste in furniture with her guests. The fact that she saved up to buy the piece of furniture conveys the changing culture of purchasing goods. In today’s society people generally buy something they like when they see it, if they cannot afford it they get it on credit. The host saved up for her purchase conveying her longing for it. Her desire for it ensured it was worth the wait.

Objective 3 explored ‘how the host’s relationship with the Commercial home affects the hosting behaviour.’ Themes emerging included relationship with guests; spatial displacement; privacy; separation; artefacts; and décor. Relationship with guests identified how some of the hosts became friends with their guests and the relationship changed from a paying (commercial) guest to a non-paying (social) guest. Some hosts like to have control over their guests whereas others trust them completely. Some hosts have had trouble with their guests, complaining about noise, or exploring areas of the home that are private. Some hosts put on a performance in front of their guests. They keep the area of the home in view of the guests very tidy while the rest of the house may be untidy. Relationship with space explored how the hosts designate space within their home for themselves and their guests. Some have sacrificed a lot of space in their homes for their guests, giving up their sitting room or even their bedroom. Some hosts display private signs around their home to show guests their limits while others prefer to rely on guests’ common sense to recognise where they should and should not go. Relationship with artefacts explored the dimensions of memories, emotions, reflection of host, culture, heirlooms, host/guest appreciation, integration and separation of artefacts. Relationship with décor identified the hosts’ reason for choosing the décor. Some chose it to accommodate their guests and others were influenced by hotels. Gender issues arose in relation to décor.

6.5 Objective 4

The fourth objective was to ‘elaborate the industry relevance of the findings, for example, in relation to quality assurance and grading systems, training and development, brand marketing and product construction’. Emerging themes include, target market and selling point. Product implications include, security, distribution of artefacts, issues of standardisation, intangible elements and issues with the STB.
The hosts target like-minded people (15G), forty plus, who tolerate children (9B), Britons and Europeans (22H) and UK-based vegetarians (18G). 15G wanted to attract people he thought he would like, ‘the target market I would say is 25 – 40 year old couples really, gay or straight couples and that’s if I look at my friends, it’s pretty much my friends you know’ (15G: 213-215). It is important to him to have people he likes in his house. His commercial home is not about getting just anyone through the door as long as they are paying. He wants to share his home with people he would normally get along with. He describes his target market as his friends; most of his friends are 25-40 years, gay or straight couples. He obviously feels comfortable inviting people who remind him of his friends into his home. He does not have any children and this is reflected in his target market, ‘I don’t really cater for families’ (15G: 222). Not only can the home be a reflection of self (Marcus, 1995), but the commercial home guests can be a mirror of self also. Cuthill (2007:84) argues, ‘it is through performances of service cultures that the commercial hospitality spaces communicate messages of inclusion and exclusion for different social groups. Lashley, Lynch and Morrison (2007) identify that it is the host who operates the rights of inclusion and exclusion.

One host to whom family is very important is 9B, who has four children of her own. She likes the fact that the advertising she is recommended in attracts guests who are over forty years as they are usually more tolerant of children:

*I like the age group of the guests that that they attract which is usually the forty plus because they’re a bit more tolerant with children, and they also come in, earlier in the evening, they’re not out really late, getting drunk you know so it’s not the young ones I really go for because I’ve got family, you know, and I don’t want to be up through the night and the older ones, they come up for breakfast early in the morning as well which suits me.*

(9B: 139-146)
22H also likes the over forties as they seem to appreciate the type of accommodation he has on offer. He has noticed that his clientele are coming from further away now due to budget airlines:

*Our average age group is probably 45 to 55, okay, that’s the audience we’re aiming for, we don’t want the younger crowd because they cause damage and they really don’t care about the property, and also the younger generation are only interested in price, they’re not interested in quality so the market we are aiming for is the person that’s looking for a quality bed and breakfast, small hotel where they don’t want a large place where they’re just a number, they want a small place but they want the standards that you would get in a larger hotel. They also have to pay for it.*

(22H: 73-81)

So they now come up for the weekend, so our audience has actually changed with introduction of more budget airlines our weekend break people have come from further a field, it used to be the north of England and Northern Ireland but now it can be anywhere in Britain, Europe.

(22H: 105-108)

Being a vegetarian guesthouse, evidently 18G targets vegetarians, and also people who have the same beliefs and values and them:

*We certainly don’t get the stag and the hen and the cliché sort of you know, groups that come to Edinburgh for the weekend ours are mainly probably UK not a huge amount of foreign business, UK based, London, 20-30 something’s, no children, vegetarian, vegan, ethically minded, environmentalists, teachers, academics, social workers, they fall into that particular category.*

(18G: 209-215)

6.5.2. Selling point

The hosts have unique selling points that they feel separates them from all the others. Views are what differentiate 9B from other commercial homes, ‘we’ve got a fantastic
view of the loch, and the guests think it is fantastic’ (9B: 137). Having a city centre location is a unique selling point for 24H, ‘the thing with a small property like this is you can have quality of product and can be close to a great location’ (24H: 135-136), with great characteristics:

It’s the lovely Victorian, with the Georgian. It looks Georgian, but it’s actually Victorian, but you know, you walk into the reception here and none of them apart from X have lovely wood panelling, if you look up the stairs there, the arches and so forth and this is very different and you know, people come into this building and say wow, this is fab, architecturally this is fabulous, it’s like a tardis, but you have a priority, once you come in and you stand at the sort of hallway there you just don’t appreciate the size of what is inside from the outside, and this all appealed to me and this all, this was all to be what will differentiate us from all the other competition, you know, my competition and make people come back to us, they prefer us, they prefer us.

(24H: 239-450)

The commercial hosts identified their commercial homes, on a scale of one to ten, as being more of a home or more of a business (Table 14). 12 hosts (1HF, 2B, 3B, 4B, 5B, 6B, 9B, 10B, 11B, 13G, 14G, and 21G) placed themselves as being closer to a home than a business. 5 hosts (8B, 16G, 17G, 18G, 19G) felt they were somewhere in the middle, and 8 hosts (7B, 12P, 15G, 21G, 22H, 23H, 24H, 25H) felt they more of a business than a home. There is a strong correlation to size of establishment (Lynch, 2005). The hosts of the small hotels all felt they were more of a business than a home, and the hosts of the B&Bs felt they were more of a home than a business, with the exception of 8B who felt she was somewhere in the middle and 7B who said:

It’s our business because we couldn’t afford to retire, so we needed some income just to pay the bills and this more than pays the bills, so the business is important to keep us.

(7B: 490-492)
23H, who runs a small rural hotel, feels completely detached from the property and does not see it as her home at all, but rather:

*I don’t look at it as my home, I look at it as I have accommodation here that’s how I cope with it...it’s my accommodation, when I live here I get my business and when I leave here I get my real home.*

(23H: 32-38)

23H plans to sell her small hotel and downsize to a guesthouse or Bed and Breakfast where the focus will be more on the home side of things rather than the business side. At the moment she does not feel at home in her home as she is constantly busy running the hotel. She wants somewhere she can relax and enjoy herself but she has too many guests to look after in the hotel to be able to do that now. She wants her guests to feel at home in her hotel but she cannot do this herself.

**Table 14. Scale of commercial homes between home and business.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Type of establishment</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Type of establishment</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Type of establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1HF</td>
<td>Host family</td>
<td>8B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>7B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>16G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>12P</td>
<td>Private home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>17G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>15G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>18G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>20G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>19G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>22H</td>
<td>Small hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23H</td>
<td>Small hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24H</td>
<td>Small hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25H</td>
<td>Small hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11B</td>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21G</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 40 shows the commercial homes on a continuum ranging from the very ‘homely’ commercial homes to the more business like commercial homes. The amount of space shared with guests is directly related to the ‘homeliness’ of the property. The more space shared with guests, the more homely the commercial home and the less space shared with guests the more business like the property. This will be discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

Figure 40. Continuum of Commercial Homes.

Feelings of security vary by type of establishment. This can be significant for product implications. Smaller commercial homes feel safer than the larger commercial homes and this is reflected in the lengths they go to, to ensure safety. 21G feels completely secure and never locks her door, whereas 24H has a physical barrier between him and his guests which he always keeps locked. However location may have something to do with feelings of security as well as size of establishment. 20G who is the same size as 21G but lives in a secondary region rather than a tertiary region does not have the same sense of security as 21G. She does lock her door. She has a keypad with a number which she gives to her guests and if she is unsure about a guest she changes the number after they have gone.

What artefacts the hosts have and where they chose to display them can have product implications. The fact that some hosts keep their ‘special’ artefacts, the ones that mean something to them, in their private space and display pictures that have no meaning to them in guest areas implies that guests are not staying in the hosts’ real home but in fact a fabricated area specially designed for them with little or no reflection of the host. Therefore the guest may not being getting the genuine hospitality experience.
Issues of standardisation also have product implications. 20G justifies having all her guest bedroom decorated the same:

\[
\text{All my rooms are the same. Lots of hotels and places you go to, they’re not different, but you know people are only in one room so they wouldn’t know what the one next door would look like, would they?}
\]

(20G: 741-743)

Again there are implications for the product. Guests may not be getting to stay in the host’s ‘real’ home but somewhere that is more like a hotel. The demands put on hosts by the STB also have product implications. They are told to have certain things on display, for example up to date magazines, and have to meet certain requirements when it comes to decorating their home. They do not have the choice of having their home entirely the way they would like it. The STB are also viewed by some as being very narrow-minded:

\[
\text{Because they were very parochial and very narrow-minded and didn’t understand where we stood in the niche of things and really we had just gone in a brochure with everybody else and we weren’t what that was.}
\]

(18G: 337-339)

18G have strong values and beliefs and stand up for what they believe in, that is why they started a B&B that catered for vegetarians. They have a strong emotional attachment to their home and did not want VisitScotland to compromise that in any way. They decorate their home paying particular attention to the environment and were not prepared to change that for VisitScotland. Other hosts are also unhappy with VisitScotland, because they have closed down the local tourist information centres,’ therefore guests are not well informed about the local area and also VisitScotland take 10% of their fee for booking through them. More hosts are leaving VisitScotland because they are not happy and this has product implications.

Intangible elements of the home were identified by the hosts which may prove hard to incorporate into the grading systems. VisitScotland may find it hard to measure elements such as views, light, air and sunshine which are important for the hosts.
therefore important for the guests. These are the things the hosts identified when they spoke about their favourite part of their home. The hosts want their guests to feel at home when they are staying with them therefore these elements become very significant.

Objective 4 was to ‘elaborate the industry relevance of the findings, for example, in relation to quality assurance and grading systems, training and development, brand marketing and product construction’. Emerging themes included, target market and selling point. Product implications included, security, distribution of artefacts, issues of standardisation, intangible elements and issues with VisitScotland. Target markets identified that hosts targeted people similar to them. They wanted to have people in their home that they would like therefore targeted people they thought they would get along with. Selling point identified that some hosts felt their unique selling point was the views from their commercial home. Security had product implications as some hosts had a very relaxed attitude towards keeping doors locked and other were quite instrumental in ensuring all doors were locked and that their area was locked away from guests. The distribution of artefacts and issues of standardisation had product implications as guests were not always getting an authentic experience while staying with some of the hosts. This was because areas of the home were fabricated for the guests and not a true reflection of the host’s home. VisitScotland influenced some of the standardisation as they wanted everything matching and artefacts to be non-offensive to all guests, therefore very neutral, and maybe not what the hosts would have chosen for themselves. VisitScotland also centralised tourist information centres closing down local area information, which makes the hosts unhappy with the service as well as taking 10% of their fee for bookings. As the hosts are unsatisfied with VisitScotland, a lot of them have left, leaving product implications. Finally, the intangible elements of the home were identified as being very important for the hosts and therefore the guests. However these will prove difficult to measure for the grading systems.
Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the research, drawing together significant dimensions of the literature reviewed, restating the significance of the method of data collection, describing and evaluating key findings and issues of discussion, outlining the key contributions to knowledge, prior to outlining suggested areas for further research.

7.2 Review

This study set out to investigate small accommodation units that operate dually as a home and business. These small businesses, categorised as commercial homes, are an area of hospitality that was relatively under-researched. Until recently much of the research in hospitality had focused on mainstream accommodation such as motels, hotels and guesthouses. This study has aimed to contribute not only to acknowledging the significance of commercial homes, but exploring the nature of the commercial home, and thereby developing the subject area.

The main research aim posed at the outset of this study was to investigate the host’s relationship with the commercial home. In examining this, the host’s conception and attachment to place has been explored. The complex interplay and interrelationships formed between the host and the home have been identified.

To examine this host-home relationship, firstly literature within the field was reviewed. The concepts covered included: small accommodation, exploring the origin of the commercial home; family business; lifestyle business; the host; nature of home; setting; environmental psychology; space and home; objects and home; gender and home; performance; private and public.

Defining small accommodation units has been problematic in hospitality studies for a while, as Morrison et al (1996) pointed out. Lynch (2003) firstly defined the sector as
‘homestay’ but then proceeded to call it the ‘commercial home’ (2004) which is the term that is used within this study and is gaining acceptance as seen in the forthcoming book by Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker (Forthcoming) with a significant group of international contributors. Having a proper classification and definition will help with understanding and research within this area. The commercial home refers to the provision of commercial hospitality within a home setting. The traditional private home setting is highly significant as a temporal and cultural construct suggesting a relationship between the host and the home setting.

Although it is widely accepted that the hospitality sector is dominated by small businesses, little has been written about the family business, which is pointed out by Getz (2004). Thomas (1996) defines small businesses and Baines and Wheelock (1998) discusses research carried out into the area. The commercial home is typically operated from the family home. Baines and Gelder (2003) identify ‘flexibility’ when having a family business and Di Domenico (2003) identifies some of the motivations for starting up a family business. Munro (1996) argues that the concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the private personal life from the spheres of work, a theme which is picked up on within this research.

The concept of lifestyle business is addressed by authors such as Felstead (1994), Getz and Carlsen (2000), Pink (2001), Schine (2003), Getz et al. (2005) and Di Domenico (2005), as the host is motivated by the potential lifestyle the business has to offer. They identify the advantages and disadvantages of working from home and suggest motivations for starting a lifestyle business. Working from home is a trend that has become increasingly fashionable and investigating the commercial home helps to provide further knowledge into this phenomenon.

The literature review then considered studies of the host and of the private home. The main study of the commercial home host was investigated by Lynch (2005). The concept of home has been very lightly touched upon by the literature in hospitality; however concepts of home were identified throughout other disciplines, which were chronologically located in Table 3 in Chapter 2. Dimensions of home were placed in categories; memories, smell, sight, sensual, conversation, cultural, territory and sound.
Various authors have suggested the importance of the home setting in hospitality and the literature review addressed this prior to examining environmental psychology, which explored relations between people and the environment. Space and home was examined in relation to how space is compromised within the home both within a hospitality and non-hospitality context. The theme of objects and home looked at the significance of artefacts within the home and the theme of gender and home looked at the gendered dimensions of the home.

Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgical metaphor was used to examine the concept of performance and how hosts acted in different parts of the home. Finally, the theme of private and public linked together all the sections of the literature review, as the commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of the public/private space owing to its contested and fluid usage.

Following the literature review, the thesis took the reader on the journey of the data collection. Commercial home hosts were selected by purposive sampling and a total of 25 units were chosen to investigate within Scotland; nine primary locations in Edinburgh, seven secondary locations in the Lothians and nine tertiary locations in the Highlands. Each host was visited at least twice with photographs of the property taken on the first visit and the interview using the photographs as prompts happening on the second visit. The exploration of subjective feelings should be noted and the use of photographs triggered memories and stories from the hosts, deepening the richness of the data.

Following analysis, a conceptual framework was produced which identified the key concepts of the host-home relationship, which were divided into three sections; home, host, business. The findings in relation to each element of the framework were described in depth. In relation to the home section, concepts included meanings of home, décor and artefacts. In relation to the host section concepts included family and lifestyle. In relation to the business section, concepts included feelings, space, guests, performance, tourist board and competitors.

Home had differing meanings for the hosts. For some it was somewhere they felt relaxed and could be themselves, for others it was a place of security and comfort.
The décor of the home reflected the hosts’ personality to a certain extent. Some had one type of décor for their guests and another for themselves, choosing something quite plain and non-offensive for their guests. Artefacts acted as signifiers of both identity and place. Some hosts were happy to share artefacts that they were emotionally attached to with their guests, displaying them in guest areas while others chose to keep such artefacts separate.

Hosts had various relationships with their families, with some being completely involved in the business and others not involved at all. Having young children and running a commercial home proved to be difficult with regards to space and time. In relation to lifestyle, hosts were divided into two groups, they either integrated their lifestyle with their business or they kept it completely separate. One group was happy to invite friends and even let guests join in with the dinner party whilst the other group did not even entertaining their friends in guest areas, but in their separate areas.

Feelings towards the business ranged from hosts absolutely loving having a commercial home to others relinquishing it and wanting their home back to themselves. Guests became friends with some hosts, returning year after year, and building up friendships until they no longer returned as paying guests but as friends of the family. To others, guests were just seen as income and the less they had to deal with them the better. Some hosts admitted to putting on a performance in front of their guests, but this was not an act of falseness but rather being polite to guests and taking time to talk to them when really they just wanted to have five minutes to relax on their own.

The tourist board was generally perceived quite negatively by the majority of hosts. Some hosts started with VisitScotland and when they had built up the clientele decided to leave. The reason some of them were still with VisitScotland was because they thought the recognition was what potential guests looked for. Those who had not already left VisitScotland because they felt they were being financially exploited were thinking about it because of all the restrictions that were being put in place.

The relationship with competitors was evidently different in the three areas of Scotland. In the primary location of Edinburgh, competitors were exactly that,
competitors. There was a strong sense of competition, with each commercial home competing for customers. However, in the secondary region of the Lothians, this sense of competition weakened. The hosts were more willing to recommend a fellow commercial home if they were fully booked. In the tertiary region of the Highlands this went even further and some hosts had a system in place so that they knew if their neighbours were booked up or not and who to recommend guests to. They were also very willing to help each other, with one guest giving furniture to a new host who was just starting up, even though this host was potentially going to be competition for the other host. Collectively, the elements of the conceptual framework outlined above were identified as constructing the host-home relationship.

7.3 Contributions to theory

The main research aim posed at the outset of this study was the host’s relationship with the commercial home. In examining this, the study sought to examine the host’s conception and attachment to place, identifying the complex interplay and interrelationships formed between the host and the home.

How the host perceives their commercial home identified the hosts’ feelings about their home, what motivated them to buy it, and their favourite part of their home. How the hosts feel about their home is reflected in the things they do, how they try to make it homely for their guests, by their choice of decor and artefacts. Working from home can sometimes be portrayed as a utopian solution, and the hosts discuss the advantages and disadvantages of having their business in their home; such as, the freedom to carry out hobbies in the middle of the day or the restrictions of being tied to the home waiting for a guest to arrive.

Gurney (1996) identified typologies of private home owners. From these typologies the extrinsic owner was identified as being the closest to the commercial home owner. This study makes a contribution to knowledge by identifying four types of commercial home owners; the economic, eco-socio, socio-eco and social commercial home owner. A further sub-section of ego commercial home owners was also identified:
Economic: The economic commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a resource. Their motivation for having guests to stay is for monetary gain only. They do not take pleasure in hosting.

Eco-socio: The eco-socio commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a way of earning extra income to pursue a certain lifestyle, for example affording property outside their income range. They like hosting and enjoy having guests to stay, making their stay as comfortable as possible.

Socio-eco: The socio-eco commercial home owner sees the commercial home as an attractive lifestyle, a way of meeting new people and widening their social circle. They enjoy hosting but are not driven by monetary gain. They go out of their way to ensure their guests have a pleasant stay.

Social: The social commercial home owner sees the commercial home as a place to enjoy with their guests. They really enjoy hosting and the extra income is just a bonus.

Ego: The ego commercial home owner sees the commercial home as platform to showcase their achievements. They are driven by compliments and display signs of satisfied guests throughout their commercial home. They like guests to admire their home.

Having young children can prove difficult whilst trying to run a commercial home. Trying to unite two worlds of being a mum, reading a story to the children and a business woman answering the phone can prove to be tricky. The advantages of being able to stay at home and look after the children must outweigh the disadvantages of the compromises made on space and time.

There are benefits and drawbacks for the family of a commercial home host. Some hosts feel that their children have benefited from having their parents at home during the day while others felt they could not give their children their full attention because of the business. The work-life balance is addressed as some hosts find it difficult to juggle the demands of work life and family life in the same setting. The hosts deal
with this by either separating or integrating their personal life and business life both temporally and spatially.

The social, emotional and economical importance of the commercial home to the host, identified relationships with business, the tourist board and competitors. The relationship with business examined push and pull factors for the hosts entering their business. Hosts were pushed into the business by factors such as redundancy, dislike of previous job, the need for income or to be able to keep the large house they already lived in. Pull factors included wanting to work from home, the desire to be their own boss, the lifestyle, the location, or the natural progression of having students to stay leading on to wanting to have guests staying.

The relationship with VisitScotland was largely negative. Hosts were unhappy with a number of things. They did not like the way VisitScotland criticised their décor or imposed their views on them. They felt VisitScotland did not take their values and beliefs on board, nor did they have local knowledge of the area after they closed down the tourist information centres and finally they felt they were being financially exploited by VisitScotland as they took 10% of their fee. The relationship with the community varied in relation to location. In the tertiary areas the community worked closely together, helping each other out when they could whereas in the primary areas the hosts were more competitive, with the secondary areas being somewhere in the middle, not as competitive as the primary areas but not as helpful as the tertiary areas.

How the host’s relationship with the commercial home affects hosting behaviour, identified relationships with guests, spatial displacement, privacy, separation, artefacts and décor. Relationships with guests identified how some of the hosts became friends with their guests and the relationship changed from a paying (commercial) guest to a non-paying (social) guest. Some hosts like to have control over their guests whereas others trust them completely. Some hosts have had trouble with their guests, complaining about noise, or exploring areas of the home that are private. Some hosts put on a performance in front of their guests; they keep the area of the home in view of the guests very tidy while the rest of the house may be untidy.
Relationship with space explored how the hosts designate space within their home for themselves and their guests. Some have sacrificed a lot of space in their homes for their guests, giving up their sitting room or even their bedroom. Some hosts display private signs around their home to show guests their limits while others prefer to rely on guests’ common sense to recognise where they should and should not go. Relationship with artefacts explored the dimensions of memories, emotions, reflection of host, culture, heirlooms, host/guest appreciation, integration and separation of artefacts. Relationship with décor identified the hosts’ reason for choosing the décor. Some chose it to accommodate their guests and others were influenced by hotels. Gender issues arose in relation to décor.

To elaborate the industry relevance of the findings, for example, in relation to quality assurance and grading systems, training and development, brand marketing and product construction, emerging themes included, target market and selling point. Product implications included, security, distribution of artefacts, issues of standardisation, intangible elements and issues with VisitScotland. Target market identified that hosts targeted people similar to them. They wanted to have people in their home that they would like therefore targeted people they thought they would get along with. Selling point identified that some hosts felt their unique selling point was the views from their commercial home.

Security had product implications as some hosts had a very relaxed attitude towards keeping doors locked and others were quite adamant in ensuring all doors were locked and that their area was locked away from guests. The distribution of artefacts and issues of standardisation had product implications as guests were not always getting to see all sides of the hosts while staying with some of them. This was because areas of the home were fabricated for the guests and not a true reflection of the host’s home. VisitScotland influenced some of the standardisation as they wanted everything matching and artefacts to be non-offensive to all guests, therefore very neutral, and maybe not what the hosts would have chosen for themselves. VisitScotland also centralised tourist information centres, closing down local area information, which makes the hosts unhappy with the service as well as taking 10% of their fee for bookings. As the hosts are unsatisfied with VisitScotland, a lot of them have withdrawn from the service, leaving product implications. Finally, the intangible
elements of the home were identified as being very important for the hosts and therefore the guests. However these will prove difficult to measure for the grading systems.

The commercial home has been identified as a relatively neglected area of research by academics, and this study goes some way redressing this imbalance. The framework devised from this research could be used to help with the grading system; engaging with the host and understanding better the commercial home. The commercial home should be marketed as a distinct type of hospitality product and the findings from this study could help with the implementation of this.

The relationship the host has with their commercial home has an influence on product construction. How the host feels about their home will affect the guest experience. This research has contributed to the field of hospitality with papers published in conference proceedings, journal articles and book chapters (See appendix 5), and also beyond the field of hospitality, as the researcher was asked to present findings from the study in the Geography Department at Leeds University. This adds to the body of knowledge in relation to understanding the private, non-commercial home. In this way hospitality research could be seen to contribute towards the development of knowledge in other disciplines. The host perspective has been explored in this study an area that was lacking from the literature in relation to the topic.

7.4 Future Research

Whilst the use of photographs aided in the development of this research, not all of the photographs could be discussed or analysed. By carrying out further analysis into the photographs taken for this study additional knowledge could be gained into the insights of the commercial home. Deeper analysis into décor and artefacts could develop a better understanding of the host and their commercial home. By analysing the photographs, this would elaborate the potential offered by the photographs. It might be informative to take further research along these lines and let the hosts take photographs of their property and then compare them with the photographs already taken by the researcher, to see the similarities and differences, to see the home through the eyes of the host.
The methodology employed in this research itself has facilitated new insights into the hospitality experience. The methodology has been used to carry out research in New Zealand, (McIntosh, Lynch and Sweeney, 2007) and it would be desirable to see it carried out in further studies. Another alternative would be to have a larger scale survey carried out to examine whether findings were replicated. This quantitative option would assist in covering a large scale of the population and the survey could be based on the conceptual framework devised from this study.

Further investigation into the distinctive lifestyles touched upon within this study could warrant further research. The industry is dominated by small businesses but little is written on the family side of things. It would be valuable to advance the research into hosting with children. Looking more deeply into the complexities of bringing up children in this setting would give a greater understanding of family business. This should include the expectations of the parents and the children with regards to the business and the long term ambitions, if the parents expect the children to carry on the business, and the reasons for doing so. Working from home would be another avenue that could be explored further as it is an ever increasing social phenomenon.

Another distinctive lifestyle within this study was sexuality. However, it was very lightly touched upon with commercial home hosts that advertised in the pink press and merits further study in its own right. The way these hosts are perceived by society and their views of society should be investigated. Aspects of inclusion and exclusion should be explored further.

An area worthy of interest is the marketing of the commercial home sector, an umbrella for all the B&Bs, guesthouses, small hotels etc. to be part of and be promoted as one type of hospitality. Within this there could be target audiences. If there is for example a website that includes all commercial homes, graded and un-graded then they could be linked to specific types of commercial homes, or for specific types of guests, i.e. commercial homes targeting couples, families, business travellers, singles, vegetarians, gays, or sports orientated people. This could also be
divided up into specific regions, city commercial homes, or more rural commercial homes.

Although the guest perspective has already been examined within the area of hospitality a further investigation exploring the intangible elements of the commercial home and its influence upon the guest experience would give a deeper understanding of the product. The conceptual framework devised in this study could be used to gain a greater insight into the guest experience and the intangible elements of the product. The results could be used to revise the grading system taking into account the subjective dimension to grading.
References


Appendix One. Letter to Hosts

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4th April 2005

Dear Proprietor,

My name is Majella Sweeney and I am a post graduate student at Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh. I am carrying out research into the small accommodation sector. The title of my research is ‘An investigation into the host’s relationship with their commercial home’.

I will be carrying out interviews with hosts in the Lothian area. I would be delighted if I could interview you for this project to find out your relationship with your commercial home.

I will contact you by telephone, a few days after the receipt of this letter, to explain more fully the details of the research. I look forward to speaking with you.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours sincerely

Majella Sweeney
Appendix Two. Notes taken on visit to 4B

First Visit to 4B

I arrived in Lasswade 45 minutes early because the bus driver told me it would take anything between 1hr-1hr1\2 to get there. It took about 45mins. I didn’t want to go to the B&B early as not to impose, also I was unsure of the reception I would get after our phone call. I decided to walk around and take in the view. The scenery was lovely. It felt like you were right out in the countryside, not just 6 miles from the city. The place was surrounded by fields. One field in particular had just been ploughed, and there was a tractor nearby. There was a very relaxed atmosphere about the place. I walked by a bus stop and was amused to see that only one bus came by that route, and it was every hour, something you don’t see it the city. On the main road from the B&B the buses are more frequent and come every 15mins.

I waited to just before 11.30 and walked up the path to the B&B. It was well sign-posted. There was a long path up to the B&B and it was not actually visible from the road. There were lots of trees, and they kind of covered you in an archway as you walked up. It felt nice, kind of magical or something. When I got to the house, I thought it looked very nice. There was a car parked outside, presumably the owners. On the window next to the door, there were stickers – Thistle awards, four-star graded etc. It was quite a large door. I rang the doorbell and waited.

A woman answered the door and welcomed me by name, she introduced herself as Mrs Dunlop. I was invited in and we went into the living room. Mrs. D offered me tea/coffee and told me to take a seat while she got it. I looked around the room. It had a real wooded floor with a bid rug, with wine and green colours. There were 3 old-fashioned chairs and an old-fashioned two-seater, with a coffee table in the middle. It had brochures of Edinburgh on it. They weren’t free brochures as I saw the price of one - £3.50. There were lots of knick-knacks scattered around the room and loads of pictures, on the walls and sitting on tables. There was a fireplace, with an electrical heater sitting in front of it. Sitting on top of it was a clock and loads of little ornamental birds. There was antique furniture and lots of family photos.

When Mrs D came back she said she had just made herself a mug of tea so she just made mine in a mug too. I said that was what I was used to. The two mugs were on a tray, with a milk jug, a sugar bowl, an empty saucer, and a plate of shortbread. Mrs D gave me my tea and said she would let me take out my own teabag, which I placed on the saucer. She lifted the plate of shortbread and offered me one. I didn’t really want one although I thought it would be rude to refuse. I said OK then, I shouldn’t really, but I’ll take one. Mrs D laughed and said she can never just have one. We were on a level we understood, women and their figures. I started to eat my shortbread, thinking how I was going to approach the situation. Mrs D didn’t take any shortbread.

I started off by saying that it was my first time in the area and that it was really nice. Mrs D said the scenery up the road was lovely and I said I had taken a walk up because I had been early. She said I should have just come on in, but I said it was a nice day and I had enjoyed looking around. She asked how I got here and I told her about the times the bus driver had given me. She did not know that the no.31 came
from St. John’s road, and said that that was really useful to know. I felt at least I had been up some kind of use to her. I left my notepad, tape-recorder and camera in my bag out of sight. I was unsure of how I was going to tackle this as on the phone I had been invited out for a talk, not an interview.

Mrs D started off by asking about my PhD and how long I had left. I explained what I was doing and she apologised for the way she was on the phone. I said not to worry about it, and actually she had helped me. I was able to look at it from a different angle now, instead of just academic. We laughed about it, and I started to feel more relaxed. She said that she still had difficulty with the idea of taking photos. I explained again, why I was doing it and she seemed to understand. I said that I wanted her to be totally comfortable with everything and if not to let me know. She said she was and started telling me that she had moved into the house 22yrs ago. I knew I wanted to recorded so I asked Mrs D how she wanted to do this, like an interview or just a chat, she said whatever, and continued talking about the difference in B&Bs and guesthouses. I asked if she minded if I took note of this, and then said that I had a tape-recorder and would be grateful if she would let me record, but if she didn’t want to then that was fine. She said it was OK to record. I thought the atmosphere changed slightly, less casual, when I brought out the recorder but it only lasted a minute. We soon got chatting the way we were and I managed to get Mrs D to cover the things she had said before recording. The interview lasted around 1hr and then Mrs D invited me to look around the house, she did not invite me to take photos, so I just followed her around.

We went into the dining room first, which had a large table and a small table. Mrs D showed me the table under the tablecloth, which she had spoke of, she was very proud of. I noticed the glass cows that she had mentioned. They were in a glass-fronted cabinet, and Mrs D tried to open it but it was locked. She pointed out the stone flooring in the dining area, which led out to the hallway and up the stairs. The place felt quite grand but also lived in. There were lots of little homely touches. At the top of the stairs there was a big antique chair, and on it was a big cuddly toy bear, with a baby bear sitting on its knee. On a table there was a collection of champagne corks in a bowl. I pointed them out and Mrs D, picked one up and looked at the date on it, which had been written in biro, and was able to tell me when it was from. One of them was from the time they had received money from X to put together the video for their website.

The bedrooms were lovely, the ceilings were very high. It would have been a pleasure to stay in them. The furniture looked antique which was contradicted by the adjoining shower rooms, which were quite modern. They had mahogany furniture with white and green tiles. There was a picture of a woman/mermaid on the tiles in the shower which I pointed out and Mrs D, said yeah, it was nice, although it wasn’t quite in keeping with the rest of room. There was a printed out sign posted on the mirror, saying something about being friendly to the environment and re-using towels. The second bedroom upstairs had similar furniture although the décor was different. It had quite bold printed wallpaper. There were tea and coffee trays in the rooms.

We came downstairs past the sitting room through a narrow hallway where Mrs D pointed out about the wheelchair not fitting. I noticed there was another sign saying ring the bell (for assistance). That must be in case they are in their room. To the right
was a door, which, I knew must be the kitchen because of the private sign. On the left was the downstairs bedroom. This was very different to the upstairs bedrooms; it had pine furniture and was very bright and modern. Mrs D said she had done the shower room differently down there because she knew mahogany would be too dark. There was a sticker of snoopy on the mirror saying smile in the morning, which I found an interesting touch. Mrs D said Mr D had been given it as a Father’s Day present a few years ago. She laughed, saying he wasn’t much of a morning person. There was a table, which had a tea and coffee tray; I also noticed a bottle of water sitting with two glasses arranged upside down. It looked quite fancy. There were also some stone steps at the corner of the room, leading to a door to the garden. Mrs D said she asked her guests not to use them because of safety reasons. It was quite easy to fall on them.

I followed Mrs D back to the sitting room complementing her on her house. It was really nice. I hinted that there were things I picked up that I didn’t get from the website. Mrs D asked what I wanted to take photos of, and I pointed out the little birds on the mantelpiece and the ornamental elephants on the hall floor. She said I could take the photos. I assured her that I would do it only if she was 100% happy with it. She said she was. I took the first photo, and then I started having problems with the camera. Mrs D got her husband to take a look at it. He was very good about it and we laughed about technology. I explained that I had used a different camera before and had no trouble. Mrs D suggested I would be better getting one of my own, as I didn’t want to have the same problem at other interviews. I apologised and Mrs D said I should get the camera sorted and come back to take the photos. I made sure this was OK and would be no trouble to her and she said it would be OK. I thanked her for her hospitality and said I was looking forward to meeting her again.

Second visit to 4B  18th November, 2004

I drove to Lasswade using the directions that Mrs. D had given me the previous week. While I was on the by-pass I was sure I was going the wrong way even though I had followed the instructions exactly. There were no signs for Lasswade and I had been driving for quite a while, so I turned off the by-pass and stopped to ask for directions. I was given directions by a bus-driver and was told that if I have of stayed on the by-pass I would have turned off at the next junction! As I was taking off again a car came quite close to bumping into me, which shook me up a little. I drove to Lasswade thinking that it didn’t matter how carefully I drove that someone else’s bad driving could have caused an accident. I was relieved when I reached Carlethan House, and in one piece! I took a few minutes to collect my thoughts and focus on what I wanted to find out from the hosts.

I knocked on the door and Mr. D answered. I said hello and expected him to remember me and invite me in. He said hello and waited for me to speak. I felt a little bit awkward, and asked if Mrs. D was in. He said, “Oh, of course she is, I’m sorry I didn’t recognise you, I thought the face was familiar.” He invited me in and directed me into the living room while he went to tell Mrs D I was here. I stood in the living room for a few seconds until he returned, unsure of whether or not to take a seat. Mr. D came back saying, “Oh, please, sit down”. He started asking me about my PhD, saying that he asked his wife what it was I was doing exactly, but she was unclear and didn’t explain it very well to him. I explained what it was and he was
genuinely interested. Mrs D came in and said hello, offered tea, then went out to make it. Mr. D started talking about B&Bs saying that it was definitely an imposition on your life, it was very hard work, but he did enjoy it. He said that they were cutting down next year, as it was too much, he said at 65 he was getting too old. I said he wasn’t old and definitely didn’t look 65. Inside I cringed a little, hoping I didn’t sound flirty. The conversion was light hearted and flowed easily.

Mrs. D came in with the tea; it was on a tray like the last time. Again she apologised for the mugs, and said something to the affect of “no airs and graces”. Her husband said, “you’re getting a mug this time, next time you’ll be getting it in a plastic mug”. It made me think that the guests were given tea in cups, not mugs, but it was nice that they didn’t think of me as a guest. I was on the same level as them. Again I was offered shortbread, but this time I refused, I don’t really like shortbread!

Mr. D was talking away and asking me questions, Mrs D couldn’t really get a word in edge ways. She went in and out of the living room, presumably doing housework. Mr D proceeded to tell me about a course he had done three years ago, called Fully Booked Solution” it seemed to be a customer care course. He said he really got a lot out of it and started to look at their business from the customer’s point of view. He said they started doing little extra things for their guests, adding value, and that they were very grateful for it, thanking them with gifts. When I asked what kind of things he said collecting them from the airport or driving them to the golf course. He then laughed and said that when his lawyer heard that they were doing that he turned visibly white saying that they must stop immediately because if they had an accident they could be sued.

Mr D said that he enjoyed doing the B&B but it had taken him quite a while to get into it, maybe even a few years. He enjoys the interaction with the guests and finding out about them, but sometimes he finds it tiring and may not be in the mood to talk to the guests so he just goes out of the way. He says that some guests prefer to be left alone, like a guy who came in the night before. He went up to his room and didn’t come down again, then sat at his own for breakfast, but Mr D went over and said Hello and they got chatting and he was very interesting. Mrs D came in at this point and laughed saying “yes, X was on early morning breakfast were you?” there seemed to be a little show of affection, which didn’t last long as they soon started debating about a few things. Firstly they disagreed on the prices that other B&B were charging and then went into a whole discussion on credit cards and how the new chip and pins were going to be a nuisance. They were not arguing just discussing, viewing their opinions. For a few minutes they talked like I wasn’t there. I didn’t find this offence. I thought it was quite good that they could talk and relax and just be themselves in front of me. I felt that I was building up a rapport with them. They were now a lot more sympathetic to my research, and wanted to help me rather than look at me as some kind of intrusion. Mr D said that what I was doing was interesting but he thought that I wouldn’t get any clear-cut results, more “grey areas”.

Both Mr and Mrs D then proceeded to suggest other people that I could interview. I let them talk. Mr D actually had some good ideas, about getting different ranges, grading 1-5, people who are more business orientated, people who are not in the Tourist Board. I said these were very good ideas, but I did not mention that I had already thought of them. He suggested that I interview X from Eskbank, a member
from Gems of Mid-Lothian. He said that he was very off the wall. He started to tell me that you either love him or hate him, and that they had a guest recently who had hated their stay there, because of the way X did things. I probed to find out what he did, and he told me that he placed kilts on the beds and insisted that everyone wore a kilt for breakfast, and then asked everyone at breakfast to bid him good morning in a language, other than their own. The guest had felt embarrassed by the whole thing and did not want to stay there again. Mrs D came back in at this point and said that Mr D should not have told me anything about X as I would now have a pre-conception of him. I assured her that I would go in with an open-mind. She started talking about another host but stopped herself saying, “oh I nearly done the same thing”, we all laughed. She said she would tell me anyway, saying that X was very business orientated and that she didn’t sit with her guests (like they did). She said that she was unsure if she would want to be interviewed. They said that it might be interesting for me to interview X and X who have set up a B&B with the “pink pound” I was unsure of this term but did not want to look stupid by asking what it meant. I soon picked up that it was the gay market. They tried to remember the name but couldn’t so Mrs D said she would ring someone to find out. She came back saying that X (Business B&B) said she wouldn’t have the time to be interviewed, but that she had the number for the other one (Gay B&B).

While Mrs D was on the phone, Mr D told me about other new areas in the market like Hen parties and Stag nights. He said if they know a booking is for this they’ll say they are full. I asked why and he said that there was too much drink involved, and that can lead to trouble. He talked about Dublin being the centre of stag nights but now it’s changed to Edinburgh. He gave me a website that does accommodation for these parties www.stagandhen.co.uk . He then proceeded to talk about computers, saying that before they started the business he didn’t even know how to turn on a computer but now he knows quite a lot. He spoke about the video on the website saying how good it was as a marketing tool and that 25% of their business has come from it since April. It cost £1,300 to make and they have a booking from a group which is £1,200 which they got solely from the video. He says he doesn’t understand why other B&Bs don’t do it, it definitely pays off. He said that being part of the Tourist Board is not enough to market yourself, you have to do more. They are part of another website www.aboutscotland.com and also in a brochure called Bed and Breakfast Nationwide, which he gave me a copy of.

The conversation then turned to grading schemes and when they asked me if I knew about how they were graded I played dumb. They said they were at the top end of four stars, which meant they had 90% and you needed 92% to be a five star. I asked if they were trying for five star and they were adamant they were not. When questioned they said it was too much work and that you had to give it 150% all the time. They said they were happy with the guests they had now and if they were five star they wouldn’t have the same guests. Mrs D got a copy of the grading sheet and seemed quite proud showing it off, pointing things out. They said that the other B&B in Gems of Mid-Lothian got 90% as well and that there was good hearted rivalry between them. Mrs D said the other had gotten more marks for lighting but she got better marks for something else. There seemed to be a slight undertone of jealousy, or wanting to be better.
I realised that nearly an hour had gone by and that I was going to have trouble remembering everything that was said. I had managed to take a few notes but had assumed that I would be taking pictures first then talking so had not be recording it. It didn’t seem appropriate to ask in the middle of it and I just let things flow. When Mr D had given me a website I had asked if he minded if I took note of it and he said it was fine. I then managed to make a few other notes too. However, when Mrs D had been talking about the business woman, I asked was it a B&B or Guest house, she said Guesthouse and I scribbled GH. Mrs D sharply asked what I had written down, and I explained that I had written Guesthouse because I needed to get a variety of guesthouses and B&Bs. I think she got defensive because she was saying something that maybe she shouldn’t have been and thought that I was taking a note of it.

I managed to steer the conversation back round to my work, and the idea of taking photos and then talking about them, as this was my initial proposal of work. Because that had not happened in this case I asked if I could just show the pictures after I had taken them and maybe talk a little about them. Mr D said that if that was my original plan then I should stick to it, I could take the photos now and come back and talk about them. He seemed very willing to help me, more so than Mrs D. I made sure it was OK with her and expressed my thanks and she said it was OK to come back again. I then said that I would start taking the photos so as not to take up any more of their time. Mrs D said I couldn’t go into one of the rooms as someone was staying in it and she didn’t feel it was right. I said just let me know where to go and I was happy enough for her to come with me as I took the photos, but she said she had to do housework as they was another guest arriving. So they left me to it and I went around the house taking photos as they did their own thing. I felt that I had come a long way with Mrs D from our first encounter. I felt that she now trusted me. I took photos in the living room, hallway, dining room, upstairs landing, one upstairs bedroom and the downstairs bedroom, and also the garden. Throughout this Mr D kept coming up to me and suggesting things I might want to cover in my research; B&Bs that provide dinner - DB&Bs, how they are marketed, what strategies they use, and B&Bs that are and are not graded by the Tourist Board.

I was in the last bedroom when I announced I was almost finished and Mr D reminded me that I had wanted to take photos of the garden. I hadn’t forgotten, but I thought it was nice of him to be so interested. He said he would take me around, and that their dog would be there, he asked if I was Ok with dogs and I said yes. I do not have a fear of dogs but I don’t like them jumping on me because I hate the smell of them and the way they leave hairs everywhere. Well, when I saw the dog I actually gasped out loud. It was huge! It was the biggest dog I had ever seen; it was the size of a small pony! It was lying stretched out on the ground. It looked lovely but I didn’t want it near me. Mr D started to talk to the dog asking if he was going to say hello to me, and I was saying how nice it was. Then it started to get up, it took it a while because it was so big, and it came waddling over to me. It brushed up against my thighs leaving a coat of hair and saliva. Mr D was saying “oh he likes you” and I was thinking “oh my god, get it away!” I took a step back to admire it saying that I had seen it on the website but didn’t realise it was that big. Mr D told me about a couple who have a picture of their dog on their website, and some people come just because the dog looks so cute. He then laughed saying “but the dogs been dead for nine years!” I found this very amusing. Mr D then left me to take photos of the garden. After I had finished I went back into the house to say goodbye. I thanked them both for all their
help and we arranged another visit. We laughed about me driving my boyfriend’s car
on the by-pass and about him being more worried about the car than me. It was all
light-hearted and the over-all experience was enjoyable.

**Third visit to 4B**

25th November, 2004

This was my third visit to 4B and I felt a lot more relaxed than I had when I was
arriving the other times. I felt at ease with both the hosts and was looking forward to
the interview. When I arrived I rang the doorbell and waited. After a few minutes a
woman answered the door and told me to come in, explaining that she was a guest but
no one seemed to hear the doorbell. We went into the living room and sat down. I
asked if she was just visiting the area, and she went on to tell me that she was from
Glasgow but had been living in the states for 20yrs. She was over for a wedding in
one of the nearby castles. After a few minutes Mrs D came in and seemed a little
surprised to see me sitting there, saying, “Oh Majella, I didn’t hear the doorbell”. She
went on to comment on how well the woman was looking at that her taxi would be
here soon. Mrs D asked would it be OK if we waited until the lady had left before we
started.

I had seen Mr D go upstairs, and while we were talking to the lady he shouted me.
Myself, and Mrs D exchanged bemused glances and she told me he was up in the
office to go ahead up. I went up and Mr D was on the phone, he handed it to me
explaining that it was his friend that we had spoke about, who also owned a B&B. I
felt unprepared and unsure of what to say as Mr D just left. I introduced myself and
asked what Mr D had told him about my research. I said I would be very grateful if
he would be involved, and explained about the photos and interviews. He said he had
been a lecturer for 10yrs so he would help, but he wanted proof that I was a student
and the details of my supervisor. I said that was not a problem. He then went on to
complain about the accommodation sector and about a B&B he had stayed in Ireland.
We arranged a time for me to visit, and he said he had to go, as if it was me who had
kept him talking! I felt uneasy after the conversation, he didn’t seem to be a very
pleasant man, but this was all part of the research process!

Nevertheless I went downstairs and thanked Mr D for setting up the visit. We then set
up for the interview. Mrs D offered tea but I refused so as to get started on the
interview. We had just started looking ay the photographs when a car pulled up
outside. Mrs D went outside while Mr D complained about guests turning up early,
and upsetting plans. The guest was not due for another two hours. Mrs D seen to the
guest while myself, and Mr D moved up to the office to continue the interview. I
showed the photos and tried to probe as much as possible. At one stage Mrs D came
up saying that she was sorry about the guests arriving but she would like to see the
photos before I left, as she had to attend to the guests. During the interview, the
young girl who does the cleaning came in to say she was finished. Mr D usually gives
her a lift home so I said I didn’t mind waiting until he came back. It took about
10mins. Mrs D stuck her head around the door as she was passing with the guest to
make sure I was all right. I felt I had come a long way with her from the first visit.
When Mr D returned we carried on with the interview, he was really touched by one of the photos I had taken of the garden. He told me that his son had died 5yrs ago and with the money from his estate they built the garden. They didn’t have a picture of it in the autumn so I said I would get it copied and send it to them. When we had finished we went downstairs and the guests were sitting in the living room. Mrs D told them that I too was from Ireland and explained about my research. I spoke to the little girl for a minute. She had red hair and freckles, a true Irish woman! I said my goodbyes and thanked them both for their help. They wished me luck in my research and said if I needed any more information they would be happy to help. They seemed genuine.
Appendix Three. Areas covered in interviews.

Areas to be covered in interview:

Can you give me a description of your property?
- No. of rooms, characteristics, layout, private space

How long have you lived here?
- Why use it commercially, start up business, feel different than other home

Can you tell me about the décor?
- Use photos, why chose particular furniture, artefacts

Space
- Available to guests, private, tensions, intruding in your space

Can you talk me through your daily routine?
- Food served, clothes worn

What kind of relationship do you have with your guests?
- What experience do they get when they visit

How did you choose the name?
- Significance of the word House, not B&B, hotel

What does home mean to you?

On a scale of 1-10, 1 being a business and 10 being a home, where would you rate yourself?
Appendix Four. Example of letter of consent from host.

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I hereby give my permission to Majella Sweeney, a PhD research student at Queen Margaret University College, to take photographs of my property and myself, in relation to the research project: An investigation into the host’s relationship with their commercial home.

I understand that in giving permission, the photographs may be used in association with future research publications and presentations.

Signed
Appendix Five. Author Publications


