ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE INTERSECTION OF WORK, LEISURE, AND FAMILY

by

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Abstract

Entrepreneurship, and more specifically, home-based operations are frequently cited as a new and progressive form of employment that will not only lead to enhanced economic development, but will also improve the quality of life for people employed in this market sector. Some of the main advantages believed to be associated with entrepreneurship include greater flexibility and autonomy in relation to work schedule, greater independence, and increased opportunities for career advancement. Yet, at the same time, the entrepreneur may face challenges obtaining sufficient start-up capital, obtaining financing for expansion of current operations, and developing relationships with clients. Many of these concerns may be exacerbated for women due to traditional gendered ideologies and stereotypes. For example, women continue to retain primary responsibility for childcare and may, therefore, face challenges negotiating family commitments in addition to paid employment.

The purpose of this study was to critically examine the experience of entrepreneurship for women and men in home-based businesses, and in particular to explore how these entrepreneurs manage and negotiate the competing life spheres of work, family, and leisure. The study examined the values assigned to work, family and leisure, the extent to which conflicts were experienced between life spheres, and whether the entrepreneurs were able to achieve a sense of balance in their lives. Particular attention was paid to the role of gender and gender relations in determining the daily life experiences of the entrepreneurs.

A feminist qualitative methodology was utilized to gather data from 13 entrepreneurs (7 men and 6 women) who owned home-based businesses located in St. John's and Mount Pearl, Newfoundland and Labrador. Nine of the businesses were sole-proprietorships and two were partnerships (owned and operated jointly by both spouses), as well, all of the businesses had been in operation for at least two years. The majority of the entrepreneurs were married (n=11) and six of the families had young children living in the household. The other two entrepreneurs were single (with one living with an opposite sex partner and the other recently divorced). In-depth interviews were conducted with the entrepreneurs and with five of their life partners. The interviews focused on the daily life experiences of the entrepreneurs, including the time spent on work, family and leisure, as well as the kinds of activities involved, and the experiences and valuations of each life sphere. In addition, reasons for moving into entrepreneurial work were explored. The life partners were asked about their experiences of living with an entrepreneur and about family and leisure activities. The data were analyzed qualitatively, using the constant comparison method, and the Q.S.R.*N.U.D.ist. software programme to search for emergent themes. Validation interviews were conducted, both with the entrepreneurs and with the life partners, to test these emergent themes.

The analysis showed that gender was a primary determinant of the daily life experiences of these entrepreneurs. The men devoted more time to their businesses and were away from home on business-related matters more frequently than the women. As a result the men spent considerably less time than the women in household or family activities, although most of the men did engage in leisure activities outside the home with friends or colleagues. The women's lives represented a

combination of paid work and household work. In all of the cases, except one, they retained primary responsibility for the home and family, despite being in two-income households. Participation in leisure activities for the women also sustained this focus upon the family as their involvement centered upon their children, with very few opportunities being experienced for personal leisure.

When reflecting upon their negotiations of work, leisure, and family, differential experiences were uncovered for the women and men. The women were more satisfied with their ability to balance work and family, while the men expressed frustration at not being able to spend more time at home. Most of the women had chosen entrepreneurial work so that they could spend time with their children, while the men had more typically been pushed into this form of employment for economic reasons.

The findings indicate the centrality of gender in the lives of entrepreneurs. This was evident in their work-related decisions, their division of household labour within the family, and their leisure constraints and opportunities. In addition, the entrepreneurs' negotiations of their daily lives can also be seen as reproducing gender, in that the gendered basis for their decisions reinforced traditional ideologies associated with femininity, masculinity, motherhood and fatherhood. While the women indicated some freedom of choice with regard to their work, this was clearly constrained by their family responsibilities. The men, on the other hand, felt they had less freedom regarding their decision to operate a business, but more freedom in relation to their family and leisure spheres. The Newfoundland culture, which places particular importance on family and family life, also played a significant role in the experiences of the entrepreneurs in this study. This focus upon family produced a sense of pride and satisfaction for the women with their key role in the family unit, but a sense of loss for the men who played a much smaller role in the family.

Overall, it was evident that entrepreneurial work does not provide easy solutions to quality of life concerns for employed people. While this form of employment does have some advantages (e.g., greater ability to combine work and family for women, a larger potential income), it also has many disadvantages (e.g., leisure constraints, lack of freedom), and continues to reinforce traditional ideologies of gender.

Chapter I

Introduction

Entrepreneurship and small business ownership have been labelled the "vital force driv[ing] job creation and economic expansion" in Canada (Royal Bank, 1994). According to Revenue Canada, ninety-seven percent of Canadian businesses are categorised as small businesses (Royal Bank, 1994). Small business entrepreneurship has, therefore, been seen as one of the "newest" forms of employment and has been targeted as an occupational alternative by government, the media, and financial institutions (Royal Bank, 1994; Shaw, 1995). For example, many provincial governments are providing loans to students who are unable to obtain traditional employment. As well, many organisations (e.g., Newtel, Microsoft) have been developing an increasing number of products to assist in the operation of a small business from the home (e.g., call waiting, cell phones, lap top computers, modems, fax machines). In fact, Gurstein (1995) found, in a study for the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), that the most popular location for small business operation was the home environment.

The popularity of small business entrepreneurship has also been a result of the movement occurring in society towards a more service-based economy (Drucker, 1993). A vast number of jobs within the manufacturing sector have been down-sized or reduced leaving many people unemployed, while alternatively, the service sector has been increasing at a rapid rate (Homa, 1994). It is estimated that approximately 80% of paid jobs in Canada are now within the service sector (Bruchey, 1994). Starting a small business within this industry has, therefore, been a solution for many people who have lost (or are unable to obtain) positions within the manufacturing sector.

Small business entrepreneurship has also been chosen by many middle managers facing barriers towards their advancement within traditional organisations. Feinberg (1984), in a study of seventy-seven entrepreneurs, found the most common reasons driving entrepreneurs to start their own business were feelings of being unappreciated by their previous employers and dissatisfaction with their previous jobs. Entrepreneurship enables the individual to "be his/her own boss" and, therefore, provides a greater sense of independence (Bruchey, 1994). The ability to escape from traditional organisational structures has been especially enticing for many women as it enables them to avoid hierarchical systems which tend to favour the advancement of men (Acker, 1990; Martin, 1990; Shaw, 1995). In fact, women have been starting small businesses at three times the rate of men, although men continue to outnumber women in business ownership (Royal Bank, 1994).

Another reason driving women (and many men) towards entrepreneurship is the increased ability to negotiate work, family, and leisure. Faced with these multiple life spheres, operating a business is seen to provide the individual with the possibility of "having it all". Due to the greater flexibility and control over a personal work schedule, it may be possible to have more say or choice over how time is relegated to each of the three life spheres (e.g., work, family, leisure) (Lee-Gosselin, 1990). It is believed that without the restrictions of employers' time lines, entrepreneurs will have greater autonomy. This greater control over daily life is typically seen as a benefit, especially by women, as more of them seek to enter the paid work force (Acker, 1990). Because women continue to be primarily responsible for childcare, flexibility in work scheduling has been seen as a better way to negotiate family and work.

Yet, little research has been conducted to explore whether these apparent benefits of entrepreneurship occur, in reality. It has been estimated that 50% of small businesses fail within

the first two years of operation (Foley & Green, 1989). Some of the problems entrepreneurs face include: a lack of a clear business concept, a lack of knowledge about the operation of a business, a lack of operating capital and/or credit, cash flow difficulties, a lack of sales, a recession in the economy, and a lack of skilled staff (Bruchey, 1994; Feinberg, 1984; Marleau, 1995). Therefore, entrepreneurship is not simply a "worry-free" alternative to traditional employment as it is often portrayed.

Further, these problems may be compounded for many women. For example, Marleau (1995) found that women entrepreneurs faced greater challenges than men did when seeking sufficient capital from financial institutions. Shaw (1995) documents a similar challenge and notes that the majority of women's businesses were started on less than $10,000. The ability to obtain financing may influence not only the feasibility of starting a business, but also the ability to expand or develop the operation (Marleau, 1995). However, Gay (1994) argues that the difficulties women are having securing financing may not be a result of discrimination, but may instead be due to the predominance of women's businesses in the service sector with few "seizable assets". It is estimated that half of the businesses within the service sector are owned by women (Curtis, 1994). In addition, Gay (1994) found that the small amount of "start-up" capital is due in part to women entrepreneurs' unwillingness to "get into debt". She found that women entrepreneurs were not as interested in large financial growth and/or success as men entrepreneurs. Instead, women had more holistic definitions of business success and were more interested in "simply making a living from their businesses" (Gay, 1994, p. 6). This unwillingness to get into debt may be part of the reason behind women small business owners' greater success (Curtis, 1994). Curtis (1994) cites that "60% of businesses started by women survive the first five years, compared to 40% of those started by men" (p. 14).

Shaw (1995) found that the next "biggest bugbear" women entrepreneurs faced after financing was childcare. Female entrepreneurs continue to be primarily responsible for the care of their children, whereas male entrepreneurs often receive childcare assistance from their life partners (Lee-Gosselin, 1990). Therefore, although entrepreneurship offers greater flexibility in the paid work schedule to combine paid work, unpaid work, family, and leisure, it does not remove the responsibilities (i.e., organisation, caring, labour) associated with each, especially for women. As a result, the female entrepreneur may face a second shift outside of her business (e.g., housework, caring for children, shopping, cooking), or even a third or fourth shift if she is also involved in volunteer work or caring for ageing relatives (Hochschild, 1989; Schor, 1991). Therefore, the flexibility of entrepreneurship is not always a benefit and may even make the negotiation of work, leisure, and family more challenging. As well, the benefits that do accrue seem to be unevenly distributed between men and women.

Another concern in relation to entrepreneurship is whether or not it allows the individual to resist traditional gender stereotypes. Entrepreneurship has become a popular choice for many women (and even men) because of the ability of entrepreneurs to forge new roles for themselves. Goffee and Scase (1985) found women entrepreneurs were "breaking new ground" for women within society. In other words, they suggest that by operating their own business, women are able to resist the traditional gendered views of woman as "caregiver" and man as "breadwinner" (Goffee & Scase, 1985). However, this potential benefit of resisting traditional societal gendered norms is not always realised. Instead, women (and even men) may experience discrimination in their business operations (e.g., from suppliers, customers, financial institutions, employees) which may lead to a negative experience rather than an empowering one. The division of labour at home may also remain structured along traditional lines for many entrepreneurs, putting a

heavy work burden on women and leaving little room for resistance. Thus, the extent to which women entrepreneurs are able to resist narrow gender roles because of their choice of occupation remains unknown.

In addition to the previously cited challenges that entrepreneurs are facing, entrepreneurship itself may serve as a form of marginalization for these individuals (Young & Richards, 1992). Young and Richards (1992), in a hermeneutical study of women entrepreneurs, found that the vast increase in the number of women entrepreneurs may not be a form of advancement or resistance to gendered norms, but may, instead, be operating as a form of marginalization or reproduction of traditional gendered stereotypes. A large number of women and immigrants are being drawn to entrepreneurship because they have been denied access to more traditional forms of employment (Young & Richards, 1992). Therefore, the increased popularity of entrepreneurship or self-employment may be resulting not from its own merits, but instead from the constraints to other, more traditional, forms of employment.

Examination of the benefits and challenges associated with entrepreneurship, raises two questions. The first question relates to the impact that entrepreneurship has on the intersection of work, family, and leisure. Further exploration is needed of this form of employment to determine whether it provides men and women with greater autonomy and/or flexibility when manipulating their other life spheres. By documenting the nature of this occupation in relation to the other life domains, it will be possible to situate it within a contextual life experience. As entrepreneurship is only one part of the individual's daily life, it is necessary to explore both of the other areas.

The second question concerns the analysis of the role entrepreneurship plays in resisting or reproducing traditional gender relations. Many women and men have turned to (or been

pushed towards) entrepreneurship as a potential solution to traditional occupations. It is hoped that this new form of employment will: 1) provide a solution to unemployment, 2) provide greater room for advancement, and 3) provide greater work schedule flexibility. Yet, the literature (e.g., Marleau, 1995; Shaw, 1995; Young & Richards, 1992), to date, does not provide complete support and may even contradict the existence of such benefits, especially for women. Therefore, further research is needed with a gendered analysis to examine this new form of employment within its accurate context.

This study seeks to answer these two questions for women and men entrepreneurs living in St. John's and Mount Pearl, Newfoundland. Due to the centrality of gender as a focus for this study, the next chapter (i.e., the literature review) contains a critical analysis of previous research on both gender and its social construction. This analysis draws attention to the system operating which works to reproduce patriarchal ideologies prevalent in society. Next, this analysis is applied to the literature on the values and meanings of work, family, and leisure. Further, questions are raised as to what anticipated role entrepreneurship may play within each of these life spheres.

The following chapter serves as an introductory chapter to the methodology section, providing a descriptive background of the setting. The Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, due to its unique social, cultural, and historical background, serves as a particularly interesting location to conduct a gendered examination of the intersection of entrepreneurship, work, leisure, and family. The tremendously high levels of unemployment have driven more people to pursue alternative forms of work. Further, family and people's roles within the unit have an intense importance for many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. Due to the hardships many people have had to face in eking out a living, the contributions of family members have become vital to

the survival of the unit. Therefore, two of the three life spheres (i.e., work, family) are particularly salient for many of the population of the Province.

In the fourth chapter, the methodology is outlined. A qualitative interpretative approach was deemed to be appropriate for this study, in part, because of the lack of previous research examining gender relations and entrepreneurship. This approach allowed for flexibility within the research process to ensure that additional questions could be explored as they arose. As well, a qualitative approach was suitable due to the emphasis upon understanding work, leisure, and family from the participants' perspectives, including their expectations and ideologies of gender.

In addition to a qualitative approach, this study utilised a feminist methodology. A feminist approach directs attention towards examinations of whether misogynous and patriarchal ideologies surrounded participants' experiences of family, work, and leisure (Jary & Jary, 1991). This approach also recognises how participants may resist and/or transform these potential ideologies. Yet another point to note is that no one theory could adequately examine the gendered nature of everyday experiences, rather a multitude of perspectives are required to work towards "eliminat[ing] the invisibility and distortion of women's [and men's daily life] experiences" (Henderson et al., 1996, p. 73).

Thus a variety of feminist approaches and ideologies were used to facilitate the exploration of: how entrepreneurship intersected with work, leisure, and family; the personal meanings and valuations entrepreneurs placed upon work, leisure, and family; the conflicts and compatibility that occurred between these spheres; and the influence that gender relations had upon the entire process.

A total of 13 entrepreneurs (i.e., 5 men, 4 women, and 2 couple-owned businesses) were selected from the communities of St. John's and Mount Pearl, Newfoundland and Labrador who

were currently involved in a significant relationship to facilitate the investigation of "family".

Interviews were arranged at a time and place of their convenience. As well, the life partners or

spouses were also invited to participate in this study. Interestingly, the female life partners were

very enthusiastic about participating and four of them did; however, the male life partners were

not as interested or willing, and only one male life partner agreed to be interviewed. The other

three explained they did not have anything to do with the business and, therefore, felt they did

not have anything to contribute to the study. After primary data analysis, validation interviews

were conducted with the same participants to ensure the arising themes accurately represented

their experiences with entrepreneurship.

The resulting findings are presented in four separate chapters. First, descriptive

information is presented on the lives of the entrepreneurs. This includes not only a description of

the households, and the nature of the businesses with which they were involved, but also a

description of a typical day for these entrepreneurs. Next, the spheres of work, family, and

leisure are explored for both men and women with and without children currently in the

household. This is followed by an investigation of the overlap among all three domains. When

this overlap is examined, the reality of the "work" required to achieve a balance becomes readily

apparent as well as the requisite strategies. In the third chapter of findings, the influence of an

overarching ideology of gender upon the entrepreneurs' lives is highlighted. Further, an analysis

is performed of the entrepreneurs' resistance to and sustenance of these prevailing ideologies of

femininity and masculinity. The final chapter of findings presents an alternative cultural analysis

drawing attention to the importance of examining the participants' cultural background in order

to understand their life situations.

The last chapter of the thesis concludes by examining the implications of this research both for future research as well as practice. Perhaps more questions have arisen as a result of this study than when it initially began.

Chapter II

Gender, Entrepreneurship and the Intersection of Work, Leisure, and Family

Over the last few decades there has been a vast influx of women into the paid workforce. In fact, according to *The Economist* (1996), women have been obtaining more jobs than men. Since 1990, women have accounted for three-fifths of the increase in jobs in the U.S. and two-thirds of European job increase (The Economist, 1996). In Canada, the employment growth in full-time positions for adult women over the past year (+3.0%) has been almost twice that for adult men (+1.8%) (Statistics Canada, 1999). Although women have always worked, the majority of this effort previously occurred within the household (i.e., domestic labour) and was, therefore, not open to the "public eye". However, with the entrance of women into paid employment, the three life spheres of work, leisure, and family have been brought to societal attention. By doing so, the fluidity and interconnected nature of these spheres have become recognised. It is no longer possible to consider any one of these spheres as a separate entity because of their overlapping nature. As well, focus has also been devoted towards the conflicts that occur at the intersection of these life spheres. In other words, the combination of work, leisure, and family does not always result in a positive experience for those involved. People must constantly make decisions about how to allocate their time and energy to each sphere. The allocation of time to one domain, results in the reduction of time for another. As well, conflicts may occur between the different spheres as each attempt to vie for an individual's time and attention.

While there is sometimes a tendency to assume that the overlap of life spheres is a recent phenomenon, this is not the case. In fact, the separation of work, family, and leisure was largely a by-product of the Industrial Revolution (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Before the development of

factories and the vast migration of workers into cities, work (especially in hunter-gatherer societies) was less differentiated from the other life spheres (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Life tended to follow the rhythm of the seasons and was less governed by the clock and traditional notions of time (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Leisure time flowed into work and the family tended to participate in much of the labour together (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). However, with the development of factories and the resulting urban migration, many families were forced to leave their farms and the fluidity of their life spheres behind (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). As a result, work became separated from the family, and leisure and was forced into a particular location (e.g., the factory) away from home. This resulted in the separation of work from leisure and family (Kelly & Godbey, 1992).

Yet, the differentiation of work from the other life spheres did not occur equally for men and women. Because men were primarily the ones being employed in the factories, they tended to experience this separation to a greater extent than did women. However, for many women, the life spheres continued to reflect a strong connection (Henderson, 1990; Shaw, 1992). Henderson (1990) found that women often combine work activities with leisure. For example, teaching a daughter to iron clothes (i.e., domestic labour) may be seen as leisure for some women (Shaw, 1994). As well, Shaw (1992) found that some family leisure activities were viewed as work for some women, as they were primarily responsible for the organisation and implementation of the family's activities. Therefore, it is difficult for many women to distinguish these spheres on the basis of activity.

Yet, the interconnection of work, leisure and family is not only an issue for women. It is also becoming a concern for many men. Men's primary responsibility within the family unit, since the Industrial Revolution, has been "breadwinning" (White, 1994). This responsibility has been to ensure the economic survival of the family. Because of the believed importance of this task,

forgiveness has been granted if other responsibilities are overlooked (e.g., a reduction in domestic labour is granted). However, with the entrance of women into the paid work force, the assumption that the primary role for males is that of breadwinner has received criticism. No longer is it assumed "natural" that the male partner will be solely responsible for the economic stability of the family. Instead, assistance within the other life spheres (e.g., leisure, family) has become expected. Yet, researchers have documented that men's level of assistance has been negligible, especially within the family sphere. Women, even when employed full time, remain primarily responsible for the caring of the family, organisation of the family, operation of the family, and provision of family and other leisure activities (Firestone & Shelton, 1994; Shaw, 1992; White, 1994).

It is evident, therefore, that gender has a major influence upon how the three spheres of work, leisure, and family are experienced and negotiated. That is, gender and gender relations serve as a pervasive influence upon one's daily life. Due to the different life experiences of men and women, it is important to place their experiences with work, leisure, and family within an appropriate context. As a result, it is necessary to examine the role gender relations has played within the individual's overall life situation to understand the meanings associated with specific experiences or lifestyle decisions.

This, in turn, suggests the need to examine how gender itself has been historically and socially constructed. Gender is a term that serves as a container for a multitude of meanings and connotations. Thus, understanding how these meanings and connotations have arisen, helps to explain the gendered nature of the meanings of work, family, and leisure. Accordingly, the first section of this literature review explores the literature related to the concept of gender, the social

construction of gender, and the impact gender has had upon our three life spheres (i.e., work, leisure, and family).

Entrepreneurship is a unique type of employment, which is often seen as a solution to some of the difficulties that people face in managing the conflicts between work, family, and leisure. That is it is seen as a way to "have it all". It is believed by being one's own boss, the negotiation of work, leisure, and family will suddenly become more feasible. However, in reality, a number of additional challenges or concerns may be raised. For example, the pressures of owning, operating, and having a successful business often lead the individual to spend greater time at their paid work and, thereby, result in less time for either family or leisure. This chapter also examines the literature on how work intersects with family and leisure for people who are entrepreneurs, as well as the impact that this type of employment may have for society.

What is Gender?

The term gender has multiple connotations. Gender refers to men and women, or masculinity and femininity, but it is also the social context of being male or female within our society. Thus it relates to issues of dress, appearance, emotions, language, and personal identification. However, it also includes attributes and social expectations that have become associated with masculinity and femininity. For example, masculinity has been linked to muscularity, strength, and stability, while femininity has been associated with beauty, emotions, and nurturing (Spade & Reese, 1995; White, 1994). Gender has also become more of a familiar term within the twentieth century due, in part, to the success of the women's movement. This movement has served to bring to the forefront concerns about women's equality, equity, and power. In so doing, it has indicated the need to distinguish between the terms sex and gender, with sex being used to refer to the biological distinction of male versus female, while gender has

been used for individuals' personal, cultural, and contextual identification as a man or a woman (Butler, 1990).

Although this differentiation in terms has provided recognition that gender is not fixed or biologically determined, the term gender has still served to maintain a polar dichotomy between men and women (Bem, 1993). This has been because gender has only provided for two possibilities (i.e., woman or man). Individuals have been forced to define their gender in relation to only these two options. They are either women or men. This polar dichotomy pervades all manner of thoughts and actions so that people tend to only think in this polarised stream (Bem, 1993). Bem argued that until this dichotomy is removed, true gender equality will not be possible because the focus on differences is too prevalent. To remove this dichotomy, it is necessary to recognise the "hidden assumptions embedded in thoughts, processes and behaviours which serve to render male as dominant and female as subordinate" (Bem, p. 2). In other words, it is necessary to examine the cultural/historical specificity of gender as well as the idea that it is a dynamic process.

Another concern related to the dichotomization of gender, raised by Butler (1990), is that too often the term is utilised to assume there is some type of a "common identity" among women. Gender does not operate independently, but instead intersects with race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and disability (Butler, 1990; Henderson, 1990). Therefore, it is impossible to separate an individual's experiences with gender from these other factors.

A final concern related to gender is the degree of self-determination associated with it and how it has been influenced by the hegemonic power structure. Self-definitions as "masculine" and "feminine" are not simply a matter of personal choice. Butler (1990) raises the question: To what extent do individuals paint their own portrait or image of their gender? She also points out that,

gender cannot be seen as "an essential attribute that a person is said to be" (p. 3). Rather, societal ideologies, power relations, and hegemony play a role in the process of gender construction. That is, the individual is not simply the sole agent in the selection of his or her gender. Foucault (1990) argued that masculinity and femininity are products of a diffuse regulatory economy of sexuality. This economy serves to maintain the masculine heterosexual hegemony and repress other forms of sexuality by imposing upon them strict sanctions such as restricting them to the bedroom and making them appear "abnormal" (Foucault, 1990). However, it is difficult to recognise this economy because its most important feature is that it is able to maintain its power by making it appear invisible (Foucault, 1990). Foucault's regulatory economy could also be considered an ideology of gender relations. Through ideology, masculinity becomes normalized and sustained as dominant, while femininity is placed in subordination to it and as "the other". As a result, society does not question the power associated with masculinity, but assumes it is natural or normal.

It can be seen from the literature on gender, then, that this term refers to a fluid and dynamic concept and is related to an individual's personal identification as man or woman. However, the assumption should not be made that this process is completely self-determined. Instead, it is the result of a struggle with power, structure, and society. Therefore, when examining how this term influences an individual on a daily basis, the ideology surrounding gender should not be overlooked. In the next section, the power of this ideological system will be explored.

The Social, Historical, and Cultural Construction of Gender

When examining gender relations, it is important to not only consider the multitude of meanings associated with gender, but also the impact that context has had upon these experiences.

To do this, it is necessary to examine the social, historical, and cultural forces that have served to construct what is known as "gender". In this section, the literature on social constructionism will be explored, including an examination of the approach, the criticisms levied against it, and the utility of this standpoint for examining gender.

Social Constructionism

A theoretical approach that recognises the fluidity and contextual nature of gender is social constructionism. In essence, social constructionism claims that there is no essential, innate, characteristic that a person has which can be termed "gender". Rather, this concept is a reflection of social discourse, which shapes and creates what one refers to as gender. Constructionism also recognises that gender can vary substantially over time and space. From this standpoint, gender does not reflect an entity that exists irrespective of social circumstances (Gergen, 1985). Instead, what one perceives to be "gender" is a product of one's social, historical, and cultural perspective. Therefore, what one person considers "gender", could be very different from another person's conceptualisation.

There are several versions of social constructionism, with different theorists highlighting different issues. Two of the most important features of social constructionism are the rejection of assumptions about theories of causality, and the direction of attention to the complexity and interrelated nature of individuals within their communities. Apart from the inherited and developmental aspects of humanity, social constructionism hypothesises that all other aspects of humanity are created, sustained, and destroyed in our interactions with others through time. Thus, this approach tries to highlight the ways that socialisation and enculturation have been active in shaping our mutual existence with others. To do this, social constructionism draws upon

a number of disciplines including feminism, existential-phenomenological psychology, social

history, hermeneutics, and social psychology (Holstein & Miller 1993, Watzlawick 1984).

Feminist theorists have been particularly interested in the social constructionist perspective

due to its ability to critically examine gender and the construction and reconstruction of gendered

ideologies. A feminist approach is based on the assumption that gender is not biologically fixed,

but instead, is a product of an individual's social situation (Donovan, 1991). Feminist research

works toward not only understanding gender, but also conducting social change directed towards

gender equity and empowerment of women (Reinharz, 1992). Thus, social constructionism,

which provides the potential for ongoing negotiation and renegotiation of meanings is consistent

with a feminist approach to research and social change.

Criticisms of Social Constructionism

Despite the support for social constructionism among feminists and other social science

researchers, this approach has been fraught with a number of tensions. Many of these tensions

have resulted from the leanings towards relativism of its followers. Social constructionism,

because of its focus on uncovering the constructed nature of reality, tends to reduce the possibility

of claiming anything is "real" or "good". For example, Harre (1986; 1988; 1992) found the

existence of strong competing tendencies even within the same individual. One person could have

a variety of different types of information (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity) that s/he both gathered

from and provided to the world all of which would "compete" for attention. Therefore,

determining which piece of information was more relevant, accurate, or appropriate could often

be very confusing. However, he was concerned about the possibility of "slid[ing] into relativism";

therefore, he resisted abandoning his commitments to traditional science and resorted to biological

essentialism as an explanation (Harre, 1988; 1992; Harre & Gillett, 1994).

Another scholarly development stimulated by early constructionist critique also contributed to these conflicts. As researchers became aware of their educational background preferences, they began to draw upon their theoretical underpinnings. In particular, the area of feminism, psychology and sociology were popular areas from which to draw (Gergen, 1988). This allowed researchers to highlight the problems with traditional ideologies as well as with how they have been sustained (Gergen, 1988). In this context, for example, feminist critics demonstrated ways that androcentric metaphors have guided theory construction in the sciences (Bem, 1993; Laqueur, 1990). However, the same criticism has been raised with regard to feminist researchers, many of whom are white, middle-class, well-educated women. The privileged position of these feminist researchers compared to other minority groups (e.g., women of colour, lesbians, the poor, women of disability) has been challenged, as has their and the right to speak for all women (hooks, 1990).

Gergen (1988) herself, though, does not view the conflicts and tensions within social constructionist theory as problematic. Rather, she feels these conflicts have served to produce a "pluralistic" discourse (Gergen, 1988) which is actually benefiting theorists. In effect, one could argue that the debates surrounding social constructionism are merely critically examining how the theory (itself) has been constructed.

Social Constructionism and Gender

Despite the criticisms levied against social constructionism, this approach continues to provide an interesting exploration for how societal views and beliefs about gender have been constructed and perpetuated. Bem (1993), for example, has provided an extensive documentation of this process within her "three lenses of gender". These three lenses shape how individuals view

the world and result in not only gender differentiation, but also in gender inequality and male

power. To understand this process, each lens will be explored separately.

According to Bem (1993), the first lens is biological essentialism, which focuses upon the

biological differences between men and women. Bem argued that this lens serves to naturalise

any differences in experiences between men and women (e.g., women's role in the household,

men's role in the workforce) as being simply due to genetics. For example, one theoretical

approach that functions to reinforce biological essentialism is sociobiology (Horna, 1994).

According to this theory, women are inherently more nurturing because they have fewer eggs than

men have sperm. In other words, "Sperm are cheap. Eggs are expensive." (Wilson, 1975). This

biological difference is believed by sociobiologists to have led women to be more protective of

their offspring than men (Wilson, 1975; Zihlman, 1996). Recent sociobiologists (e.g., Zihlman,

1996) have tried to move away from this nurturing focus; however, they have still maintained

their emphasis on biological determinism. For example, Zihlman (1993) has been interested in

examining differences between species as well as differences between genders. To do this, she has

focused upon biological differences (e.g., body composition, skeletal form). Yet, she has

neglected to examine how many of these differences have been a result of other factors (e.g.,

environment, socialisation) and instead has labelled them as solely biologically based (Zihlman,

1993).

Another researcher who has been criticised for being too biologically deterministic,

although not defined as a sociobiologist, is Gilligan (1982). She has documented a connection

between women and caring (i.e., "the ethic of care"). She believes that relationships with others

(and the nurturing of these relationships) are more important to women than men, thus implying

that this observed gender difference is inherent or natural. Her explanation for this constraint

tends to be deterministic. While Bem argues that this concern with social responsibility and social obligations places a constraint on women's lives and personal situations as "others" are often placed before "self" (Gilligan, 1982). Bem (1993) identifies several major flaws with this emphasis on biological differences including: it ignores the role of social context, it ignores the affect of psychological gendering, and it ignores the fact that many of these supposedly "inherent" differences could disappear in some social contexts Further, focusing on "caring" leads to a devaluation of women's other capabilities.

Similar criticisms have also been made of the ways in which men's capabilities, through the linkage of men to "breadwinning" have also been devalued (Bernard, 1995). A traditional stereotype that continues to prevail is that men are responsible for the economic survival of the family. However, this belief places undue pressure on men to provide for the family, to the exclusion of other familial responsibilities (e.g., caring). As a result, it devalues men's other responsibilities and abilities, while, at the same time, devaluing women's economic contributions to the family.

In Bem's (1993) analysis of the first lens, she also criticises role theory. Although this theory is not biologically deterministic, it does suggest some inevitability to women's and men's life situations (Barnett & Baruch, 1985). Traditional role theory assumes roles are pre-determined, and that the individual is expected to adapt to these socially determined role expectations. For example, women may have several roles including that of mother, wife, sister, daughter, while men may also have a number of roles including that of father, husband, brother, son. Certain expectations are carried by each role with regards to what is considered appropriate behaviours, actions, and attitudes (Barnett & Baruch, 1985). Although some expectations may vary from role to role, they lead to preconceived ideas about the individuals operating within

these roles: that is, that certain behaviours are expected. For example, women when operating within the mothering role are expected to be nurturing, caring, and attentive to their children and partner(s) (Crosby, 1991). The problem with this approach is that it does not allow for change or negotiation of roles. Crosby (1991) documents how women attempt to negotiate among multiple roles or "juggle" them. Yet, there is also the need to recognise that an individual can also change within a single role. The role of mother or father (for example) are not stable entities, but instead are fluid concepts which include a variety of life situations, challenges, and benefits. For example, the role of mother may include that of sister, daughter, partner, caregiver, mother, while the role of father may include son, brother, partner, caregiver. Thus, again, the biological deterministic aspects of this approach have been seen by critics to be problematic.

The next lens Bem (1993) identified, that has assisted in the social, historical, and cultural construction of gender, is that of androcentricism or male-centeredness. Through this lens, says Bem, the world is defined in relation to "the male" and "the male experience". As a result, this standard has been seen as "the norm" with all others (i.e., "the female experience") being labelled as deviant or "abnormal". Viewing maleness as "the norm" is a common perspective in our society as has been documented by Laqueur (1990). Through the use of historical and medical texts, as well as the work of a variety of theorists, Laqueur was able to document how the female perspective originally simply did not exist in these writings because everything was defined by the male view. In other words, a "one sex" model (i.e., male) existed (Laqueur, 1990). Yet, even when evidence was found that contradicted this belief and there was recognition that there were actually "two sexes", it did not lead to a "dethroning" of the old model. Instead, the old model lived on in thoughts, beliefs, and actions with the male still being represented as the norm in many scientific and medical textbooks.

Another concern related to the lens of androcentricism is the emphasis that has been placed on the domestic and reproductive capabilities of women. It is assumed that because women bear children, they must be treated "fragiley" so as not to hamper their reproductive functions (Bem, 1993). Further, the emphasis on women's bodies is also maintained through a focus upon women's ability to both stimulate and satisfy male sexual appetites (Bem, 1993). Androcentrism has, thereby, assisted in making the objectification of women's bodies appear acceptable and practices such as prostitution, pin-up "dolls", strippers, and an overall sexual focus upon women's bodies, are viewed as natural avenues for satisfying these desires (Bem, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994).

The final lens identified by Bem (1993) is that of gender polarisation, and is concerned with an extreme concentration on the polarities of women and men. According to Bem, all of society is organised around these divisions (e.g., organisations, households, school systems, religions, and leisure). As a result, gender differentiation permeates into all areas of life, for example through dress, social roles, emotions, and sexuality, and is, therefore, impossible to escape (Bem, 1993). However, this "marking" of gender does not occur equally for men and women. Tannen (1995) explains that women tend to be marked or gendered, while men are seen as unmarked. She argues that everything a woman does identifies her as a woman (e.g., hair styles, clothing, shoes), while men are able to remain unmarked or ungendered. Bem (1993) believes it is these polarised types of thoughts and actions that have led people to the belief there are two and only two distinct and separate genders.

Bem (1993) believes most feminist theorists have recognised the first two lenses of biological determinism and androcentricism, but have overlooked this third lens. This oversight, she says, is evident in the assumption of many feminists that women's issues should be considered

separately from men's because they are fundamentally different (Bem, 1993). The belief that

women and men are fundamentally different is strongly supported by many researchers examining

the psychology of gender (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). It is believed that men and women have

inherent differences that cannot be removed. For example, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) believe

that, although men and women do not differ in how much they socialise, they do differ in how

well they socialise. Although Bem (1993) recognises the advancement of women's issues this

type of research has uncovered, research that focuses on gender differences also maintains and

reinforces gender dichotomy (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1994). Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1994)

believe that although it was important to study sex differences in the past, it is no longer as

beneficial. This is because they serve to realise and legitimise differences between men and

women and create the belief that these are "natural" (Bem, 1993; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1994).

As well, the examination of sex differences produces an essentialist perception of these differences

so that it becomes assumed that there is an essential woman's or man's experience (Hare-Mustin

& Marecek, 1994).

Overall, a critical examination of the literature on gender construction shows that

ideologies of gender have been constructed through a variety of social, historical, and cultural

forces. These forces have served to develop an entire ideology of gender that has, in turn, served

to reify male power and suppress female. Through this system, women have been linked to their

reproductive capabilities and men to their productive abilities. As a result, the woman as

"nurturer" and man as "breadwinner" have been seen as normal beliefs and have not been

questioned. This has resulted in pressures on all members of the family unit to conform to these

stereotypical role expectations. As a result, men have been faced with added burdens related to

the economic survival of the family, while women have been given the responsibility of caring for

the family. However, analysis highlights that these responsibilities are not "natural" relegations, but instead are the result of conforming to stereotypes which have developed out of the social construction of ideologies of gender.

The Values and Meanings of Work, Family, and Leisure

Just as gender is a socially constructed concept, so are work, family, and leisure. Society's conceptualisation of these terms and the values and meanings assigned to them are a result of social context. Meanings are assigned, negotiated, and contested through a period of time. Therefore, to understand these terms, it is necessary to place them within their appropriate social context, with emphasis placed on subjective experiences, and subjectively defined meanings.

Shaw (1985) provides support for the importance of subjective definitions. She found her participants identified certain activities as leisure that would not normally have been categorised this way by researchers. Shaw, therefore, suggests that a "state of being" approach is a more appropriate way of classifying leisure rather than an activity-based definition which allows for subjectively-defined meanings to emerge. In other words, emphasis needs to be placed on individual or collective meanings, rather than on the activity perse. Shaw also found that there was considerable commonality among the meaning of leisure among the participants in her study, although some differences were evident between men and women. Further support for the need to focus on socially defined meanings or leisure and work can be found in research by Henderson et al. (1996), Hunter and Whitson (1991), Firestone and Sheltone 1988) and Desaulniers and Theberge (1992). All of these research studies also showed that meanings tended to differ between women and men, showing the impact of gender relations on the construction of meaning.

Another difficulty that can arise if socially constructed meanings of work or leisure are not used, and if gender differences in meanings are not recognised, is a tendency to overemphasise the

relevance of work domain in people's lives. For example, Reid and Mannell (1995) in a study of

employment found work centrality to be an important theme. This is the belief that work is the

primary or most important activity in people's lives. People who report this belief place the

importance of work over all other areas of life and, thereby, place leisure and family in

subordination to it (Reid & Mannell, 1995). However, when examining the lives of women who

owned and operated their own small businesses, Brown (1996) did not find work centrality to be

an important theme, but rather that the need for a "balance" in their lives overrode many other

concerns. Shinew and Arnold (1998) in a study of 215 recreation middle managers found further

support for this difference in work centrality between men and women. They found that men

were more likely to seek further promotions in their work settings and placed this desire as

prominent over other life commitments. However, women were often less driven by work

centrality and were more content in their current positions to ensure their lives did not become

too stressed and out of balance.

When the family sphere is examined from a social constructionist perspective, what

becomes readily apparent is that views about the family and what constitutes a family are

constructed through our social, historical, and cultural background. Everyday people in our

society are presented with images about what constitutes a "perfect" family. For example,

through the media (e.g., TV, magazines, posters, billboards) the image of a family, consisting of a

father, a mother, children, pets, a car, and a house, has become constructed as the "ideal". This is

the traditional view that has been maintained in industrialised western society and constitutes an

ideology of familism (Hunter & Whitson, 1992). This ideology helps to shape the actions of

individuals within the family, as well as the interactions with those outside of the family unit

(Hunter & Whitston, 1992). For example, household chores, care for family members, the

developmental needs of children, the socialisation of family members, and the physical and health care requirements of the family, all play a role in the overall operations of the family unit. Each of these factors influences the members within the family and their experiences and is also influenced by societal forces operating outside of the family (e.g., media, friends, peers).

Therefore, greater recognition is needed of the social construction of meanings. Social context influences this construction and, therefore, may result in different interpretations by men and women of similar concepts. Further, occupation is also a part of context and may also impact upon people's meaning systems. As a result, entrepreneurs may have different translations of terms than people in other forms of employment, and to continue this line of thought, women entrepreneurs may differ from men entrepreneurs. Finally, different members within the same family unit (e.g., life partners, spouses, children) may also have differential experiences with entrepreneurship.

Gender and the Life Spheres

Through daily life, one is faced with the intersection of three separate, but interlocking spheres (i.e., work, family, leisure). These spheres not only have separate meanings, but meanings may vary between men and women, and may be different for entrepreneurs compared to people in other occupational categories. The meanings associated with these three life spheres are discussed below with particular attention to the unique situation of self-employed entrepreneurs.

The Work Sphere

Definitions of work have greatly changed within the last few decades: no longer is it defined simply as paid employment. Instead, a large variety of other roles are also now included. Statistics Canada state that unpaid work within the household (e.g., cleaning, cooking, laundry), volunteer work, and assisting friends and relatives should all be included in measurements and

valuations of work (Jackson, 1996). The common theme linking all of these areas of work is the notion of obligation or necessity, rather than remuneration. Yet, many researchers continue to examine mainly paid employment or relegate unpaid work to a separate domain of consideration (Godbey, 1997; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). This has had important implications for people who are unemployed, retired, volunteers, and also those who perform domestic labour. As all of the previously cited work roles do not receive remuneration in the form of currency, these types of work have not been considered equally important to paid employment.

Debates are also occurring among researchers examining the work domain (e.g., Godbey, 1997; Hochschild, 1989; 1997; Schor, 1991) about the amount of work that people are actually performing and the availability of free time. Hochschild (1989; 1997) and Schor (1991) both document a "speed up" which is taking place in society. People are working longer hours at their paid positions, taking on several jobs, and trying to juggle their previous responsibilities at the same time (i.e., unpaid work). As a result, a "time famine" has been occurring where people in society are feeling they chronically do not have enough hours in the day to complete all of the necessary tasks (Hochschild, 1989; 1997; Schor, 1991).

This "time famine" has been a result of two forces: the increased consumerism trend, and a decrease in full time paid jobs. According to Hochschild (1989) and Schor (1991), people have been working longer hours at their paid employment and maintaining several jobs to obtain larger amounts of income in order to accumulate more "toys" for their leisure time. However, this maintenance of several jobs has not been solely a matter of choice: rather it has also been a result of the need to "piece together" full-time paid employment. There has been a decrease in the availability of full-time paid occupations, so that it is often no longer possible to simply hold only one job and obtain the same level of income possible a few decades ago. Instead, it is necessary

to maintain several positions and has resulted in increased pressures for men and women operating in the paid work force.

The maintenance of several positions, however, is not a new theme for women. Schor (1991) believes women typically experience a "second shift", taking place after paid employment. This second shift has been occurring because, despite the advancement of women into the paid labour force, they have still maintained primary responsibility for unpaid work such as cooking, cleaning, and shopping (Jackson, 1996). Therefore, once they have completed their first shift (i.e., their paid occupation), they have not automatically been bestowed with leisure or free time. Instead, women have been beginning their second "job". Jackson (1996) provides empirical support for Schor's hypothesis about the gendered nature of unpaid work. By examining the 1992 General Social Survey (GSS), Jackson (1996) found that women allocated 78% more time to unpaid work than did men. It is women therefore, who continue to perform the majority of unpaid work, in addition to paid employment, and who particularly are affected by time stress and the pressures of having too much to do.

Besides the challenges employed women continue to face from the unequal distribution of household labour and the difficulties of managing two shifts, they have also faced additional concerns within the paid work force. Acker (1992; 1994) questions whether the entrance of women into paid employment has truly caused any changes in the work sphere. Has the increasing number of women in the workforce really altered the structure of the work environment or has it remained largely unchanged? Frisby (1992) and Martin (1990) would suggest that the latter statement is more accurate; that is, that the entrance of women into the non-domestic work force has failed to result in a drastic restructuring of the traditional organisational structures (Acker, 1992, Frisby, 1992; Martin, 1990). In fact, women have been

predominantly required to change to fit the current system (Martin, 1990). Evidence to support

these statements can be found in the problems which still exist within the current employment

system, including: inadequate child care, inflexible work schedules, and glass ceilings preventing

the hierarchical advancement of women (Frisby, 1992). Perhaps some of these problems could be

addressed if paid employment was not considered solely on its own, but instead as a part of our

entire lifestyle (i.e., in conjunction with family and leisure). Maybe then attention would be

directed towards more "worker-family friendly" environments, including on-site child care or

alternative methods of provision, greater flexibility in work schedules and meetings, and the

provision of both maternity and paternity.

An alternative to examining the systemic discrimination against women within the paid

work force, is to examine the economic discrimination. From this approach, an examination has

been conducted of the salaries of female versus male employees (Acker, 1992; Frisby, 1992;

Shinew, Tucker, & Arnold, 1996). This examination has found that women's salaries continue to

remain lower (on average) than men's (Acker, 1992). The discrepancy exists due to a

combination of both discrimination and the higher concentration of women in lower paying

occupations (e.g., clerical, nursing, teaching) and part-time work. According to Statistics

Canada's 1996 Census, women continue to earn only 64.8% of men's salaries (when examining

all workers). Even if only those individuals working full time are considered, women continue to

earn less than men (i.e., 73.4%), despite similar educational levels. As well, there continues to be

a shortage of women in upper management or decision-making positions (Acker, 1992; Frisby,

1992; Shinew, Tucker, & Arnold, 1996). Interestingly, this trend also exists in the recreation and

leisure industry, despite the greater percentage of female undergraduates in these programs

(Frisby & Brown, 1990).

From the literature, it becomes apparent that there are differences in the meanings of employment/work for men and women. Women experience more stress in their lives than men, for the most part, because of the second shift performed after paid labour. As well, during their employment, women report greater discrimination. This discrimination is readily apparent in terms of unequal remuneration, however there are also more subtle types such as male-centered work environments or cultures.

Entrepreneurship: A Unique Form of Employment

Due in part to the frustrations that many women and also men have been facing with traditional forms of paid employment, an increasing number of people have been turning towards entrepreneurship as a solution. An entrepreneur is considered someone who "takes risks, pursues opportunities, and fulfills needs and wants through innovation and starting businesses" (Harry, 1994). These individuals own and operate their own businesses and, therefore, face the risks of financial success or failure (Drucker, 1993; Harry, 1994). Increasingly, the government is promoting entrepreneurship as a means of stimulating growth, change, and development within the Canadian economy (Drucker, 1993; Royal Bank, 1994). This is because entrepreneurial businesses create employment, goods, and services and, thereby, generate revenue.

The majority of new businesses being created within the last few decades are within the small business sector. Based on Revenue Canada's classifications of small businesses, defined as companies with sales of less than $2 million and fewer than fifty employees, ninety-seven percent of Canadian businesses fall into this category (Royal Bank, 1994). Furthermore, small businesses contributed thirty-eight percent to Canada's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1991 (Royal Bank, 1994). As well, approximately seventy percent of all new jobs created in Canada during the

1990's were derived from the growth of the small business sector. Small business can, therefore, be seen as driving the future of the economy.

Benefits to the entrepreneur. The increased number of individuals turning to small business ownership or entrepreneurship has occurred for a number of reasons. First, owning one's small business provides greater flexibility in terms of hours, scheduling, and operation (Moore, Buttner & Rosen, 1992; Scott, 1986). The individual, in essence, can create his/her own work schedule. This may be attractive to people, especially women, who are facing challenges due to the "time crunch" noted earlier. Those individuals who feel it is more difficult to balance their paid and unpaid work may find entrepreneurship particularly attractive due to the flexibility in scheduling. As well, one of the most popular locations for small businesses to operate is out of the home (Gurstein, 1995). This, therefore, provides even greater flexibility in one's daily schedule as one's work schedule is no longer fixed. It becomes possible to work for several hours and then take time out for other responsibilities.

Another popular reason driving the trend towards small business ownership is the ability to escape from traditional organisational structures. Such structures have been linked to cultural values associated with masculinity (e.g., rationality, bureaucracy, and the suppression of personal emotions) (Martin, 1990). It is assumed these values will produce a vital and economically thriving organisation (Drucker, 1993). However, this places individuals who do not possess these characteristics at a disadvantage (Acker, 1992; Martin, 1990). Developing one's own business may serve as a means of escaping from these traditional structures. Perhaps this is another reason behind the vast increase of women who have been starting their own businesses. Entrepreneurship, therefore, seems to be offering some strong benefits and enticements to these individuals.

Problems for the entrepreneur. Yet, the entrepreneurial experience has not been found to be entirely rewarding, and a number of concerns have been raised regarding entrepreneurship. For example, despite the increased entrance of women into entrepreneurship, the revenue of their businesses has not shown the same increases as men's (Loscocco & Robinson, 1991). Therefore, constraints appear to be operating which are impinging upon the financial success of women's businesses. Harry (1994) documents that due to traditional gender stereotypes, women face a variety of challenges when operating their own businesses. These include: limited educational and professional opportunities, problems networking and developing contacts, and difficulty hiring and maintaining employees (Harry, 1994). In other words, women entrepreneurs appear to face constraints due to the patriarchal nature of the business and economic system. Therefore, even though they may feel they have escaped the "maleness" of the traditional work environment, the ideology of patriarchy continues to impact upon their businesses.

Young and Richards (1992) provide support for the notion that entrepreneurship may not be as beneficial as it is portrayed. In fact, they found that entrepreneurship may be serving as a "new" form of marginalisation (especially for immigrants and women). Although starting one's own small business enables one to escape from traditional occupations, it also results in the loss of a number of benefits associated with these occupations such as regular pay cheques, pension benefits, and health and dental benefits (Young & Richards, 1992). Brown (1996) found that a concern over how to manage cash flow (without a regular pay cheque) was one of the largest challenges facing small business owners. These entrepreneurs stated it could be extremely difficult paying their own bills when they had not been reimbursed for services rendered. Therefore, a critical examination needs to be conducted of entrepreneurship and whether this new form of employment is truly serving as a form of advancement.

However, care must be taken not to devalue these entrepreneurs' experiences and the benefits that may accrue from self-employment (e.g., self-empowerment, increased self-esteem, enhanced skills and abilities). Further, care must also be taken when comparing the financial success of men's and women's businesses as some of these differences could be simply due to variations in priorities or meanings. Brown (1996) found that the women in her study were simply not as interested in "monetary" or economic success. Instead, their definitions of success were much more holistic and included: the ability to achieve a balance in their lives, the ability to help others, and the ability to "feel good about myself (Brown, 1996). Therefore, traditional definitions and measurements of success that focus upon economic benefits, may simply not be meaningful for all women or even many men. In other words, the lack of financial success of women's businesses documented by Loscocco and Robinson (1991) may not accurately capture the entrepreneurs' perceptions of their success. Rather, this economic differential may be simply the result of a different valuation of success.

In reflection, the meanings and perceptions associated with the concept of work may be different for entrepreneurs than other workers in more traditional forms of employment. Due to the greater autonomy associated with entrepreneurial forms of work, these individuals may have beneficial experiences within their work settings. Further, the opportunity to escape patriarchal work environments and enjoy greater work schedule flexibility may also be positive. Yet, given the differences in the meanings of work for men and women, in general, there may also be alternative experiences between genders within entrepreneurial work. For example, women entrepreneurs may sustain the second shift and their primary responsibility for household labour. As well, women may also continue to face discrimination and difficulties in their interactions with

clients, suppliers, financial institutions, etc. Therefore, researchers need to explore the meanings

of work for entrepreneurs, with sensitivity to the possibly gendered nature of those meanings.

The Family Sphere

Despite continued reinforcement of traditional images of the family in our society, for

example through media representations, the family unit has started to experience changes on two

levels: type and structure. At the level of type, there are now multiple family variations that exist.

The "nuclear" or traditional family is no longer the norm. Instead, there are several family

situations (e.g., single parents, remarried parents, cohabiting partners, lesbian couples, and gay

couples). Any discussion of the family sphere needs to take into account the changes occurring

in family structure and the variety of family forms available.

The second level that needs to be considered within the family domain is the structure of

the family. This includes an examination of how roles and responsibilities become negotiated

within a family unit (Bem, 1993). Traditionally, women have been responsible for domestic

labour and men for non-domestic. However, this structure has been starting to face increasing

pressure to change, in part from the advancements occurring in the paid work domain (e.g.,

increased entrance of women into the labour force). Many "white", middle to upper class couples

have been developing more egalitarian family structures, involving a greater sharing of household

tasks and responsibilities (Pyke & Coltrane, 1992). Yet, the number of couples sharing

responsibilities is still very small (Kay, 1998). As well, Spade and Reese (1995) document that

men have tended to overestimate the amount of assistance they provide within the family

revealing a discrepancy between the "culture of fatherhood" and the "conduct of fatherhood".

Spade and Reese state fathers have an increasing desire to be a part of the family and the family's

chores and responsibilities; however, their performance is not always consistent with this desire.

As a result, many fathers often face guilt for their lack of family assistance and a wish to help more (Spade & Reese, 1995).

Another important topic related to the structure of the family is the influence gender and gendered relations have upon the construction of decisions made within the family unit. Zvankovic, Greaves, Schmiege, and Hall (1996), in a study of sixty-one couples who had recently faced an important family decision (e.g., to have a child, to reduce work levels of the female spouse, to increase work levels of the female spouse, to relocate for the male spouse's job), found that these decisions served to perpetuate patriarchal relations within society. The societal perception of male as breadwinner and wife as care giver helped to inform the decisions the families made about either increasing or decreasing their work levels (Zvankovic et al., 1996). As a result, women were more likely to decrease their work load for the sake of the family, while men were less likely (Zvankovic et al., 1996). For example, the most commonly cited reason by women for reducing their work hours was the presence of young children. Yet, the presence of young children had no influence on men's decisions regarding work. This may have been because the men believed their work was essential to the economic survival of the family, while the women's work only provided for "extras" (Zvankovic et al., 1996). As a result, decisions related to the man's job (e.g., relocation) became seen as more important than the woman's and were, thereby, justified as necessary. Therefore, the family and their decisions were both influenced by gendered relations within society and also served to reinforce these beliefs.

The meanings of family as well have been differentially constructed for men and women, in that men often see the family and their role within it as that of "economic provider" (White, 1994). That is, they are defined in relation to their paid work. This focus upon their monetary contribution often results in an emotional distancing from the family (Bernard, 1991). In fact,

scant attention is given to men's role as caregivers (White, 1994). While women's emotional

linkage to the family is often the focus of many of their meanings and perceptions of the family. It

is ingrained in women from a young age through media, educational systems, and perhaps their

own families that their role is to "care" and to be linked inextricably with the "family" (Henderson

et al., 1996). As a result, "women's work" has been predominantly performed within the home

and has included the caring for children, caring for ageing relatives, cooking, cleaning, and

laundry. Due to the unpaid nature of the majority of these tasks women have been sustained as

subordinate to men, in a materialist culture (Nelson & Fleras, 1995). This has resulted in a

linkage of women to the home, while men are distanced from it.

It is evident from any discussion of the family sphere, especially when referring to the

meaning of family for women, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the work and family

spheres. This is because the majority of the responsibility for combining these spheres tends to be

relegated to women. When women seek employment outside of the home, they are primarily

responsible for arranging for alternative childcare (Grana, Moore, Wilson, & Miller, 1993). This

may produce a large amount of stress for the mother due to the multitude of decisions required.

For example, she may need to examine whether the childcare is adequate, what to do when the

alternative is not available (e.g., the caregiver is sick, the child is sick), and how to arrange for

transportation to the place of childcare. However, on top of these issues, the woman may also

face guilt due to the societal pressures and expectations placed upon her related to the ideology of

familism (Hunter & Whitson, 1991). It is often expected that women will be responsible for the

care of their children and family (Gilligan, 1985). As a result, those who rebel against these

expectations may face societal reparations and consternation. Further, even when appropriate

care is found, there is still the existence of emotional labour in terms of worrying about the

children (Hochschild, 1989). Recent research has highlighted that emotional labour is an additional form of work for women as they tend to be predominantly responsible for caring for family members and the maintenance of relationships within the family. Therefore, even when an adequate alternative is found, it does not guarantee a perfect solution.

Societal reparations have been particularly strong in the past. For example, many research studies have been conducted examining the impact of women's employment on both their children such as the increased number of problems children of dual-earner couples face, as well as their marriages such as the increased number of divorces associated with dual-earner couples (Crosby, 1991). Moreover, the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) found that these negative perceptions of women's employment may not actually have changed much. In fact, the survey found that 59% of male and 51% of female respondents, agreed that a pre-school aged child would likely suffer if both parents were employed (Ghalam, 1997). This indicates that stereotypes continue to exist in relation to childcare which assume that a parent must not be employed in order to be an effective caregiver. Further, 46% of respondents (both men and women) on the GSS survey reported that, "while a job is alright, what most women really want is a home and a family" (Ghalam, 1997, p, 17). Despite the fact that a fairly large number disagreed with the previous statement (i.e., 34% of men and 41% of women), and did not know or had no opinion (i.e., 18% of men and 11% of women), these percentages provide even stronger support for the continued existence of stereotypes surrounding women's linkage with the home.

Other factors cited as influencing the negotiation of work and family include the age and gender of the children (South & Spitze, 1994). South and Spitze found the younger the children, the greater the domestic work load. This occurred for two reasons: 1) younger children were often unable to assist with the household, and 2) younger children tended to generate more

household labour (e.g., dirtying diapers, creating mess around the home, being unable to help themselves). In terms of gender, South and Spitze found that boys added a greater family workload than girls because they provided less assistance. Yet, both age and gender were found to be more of an influence for mothers than for fathers as mothers tended to have greater responsibility within the household.

Another factor influencing the intersection of work and family is gender role expectations (Orbuch & Custer, 1995; Potuchek, 1992; Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). Orbuch and Custer (1995) found husbands could justify their wives employment when it was perceived to be motivated out of economic necessity and, therefore, followed traditional gender roles. This was because it did not jeopardise their views of themselves as the primary breadwinner (Orbuch & Custer, 1995). Vannoy and Philliber (1992) discovered that not only gender roles, but wives' perceptions of their partners' expectations, influenced whether there was a harmonious blend or a conflict at the intersection of work and family. This was because the husbands with more egalitarian gender role expectations assisted to a much greater extent in the household labour than the husbands with less egalitarian views (Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). The greater sharing resulted in a reduction in the number of conflicts among the couples and, therefore, led to greater familial satisfaction. As a result, not only gender role expectations, but also simply one's perceptions of these expectations could be seen as influencing the intersection of work and family.

The literature on family shows how the meanings and experiences of this life sphere differ for men and women. While there have been significant changes in terms of the form and structure of many families, societal expectations continue to place the responsibility for the family and household responsibilities on women. Thus, these differential meanings continue to be reinforced, and women continue to assume the burden of these responsibilities regardless of their paid

employment status. This combination of work and family for employed women can lead to high levels of stress and emotional turmoil.

The meaning of family for entrepreneurs. As mentioned earlier, entrepreneurship is often seen as a particularly attractive work alternative due to the greater flexibility of work schedules. This flexibility may make the combination of work and family more feasible as the entrepreneur has greater opportunities to restructure their work around their family commitments. For example, if a child has the 'flu, and cannot go to school, the entrepreneur could stay home with the child and then work later in the evening when the child is sleeping. This flexibility becomes even greater if the individual operates out of his/her home. However, at the same time, the increased flexibility of entrepreneurship may create challenges when trying to separate the paid work sphere from the family. If individuals operate their own business, they may feel greater pressure (e.g., to achieve financial success, to keep their business operational) to work longer hours and additional days. No longer is work simply "nine to five". Instead, paid work may flow into other life spheres (e.g., unpaid work, family). As a result, questions arise about how to balance the domains of work and family and the individual is forced to make decisions about how much time to relegate to each sphere.

Not unexpectedly, Lee-Gosselin (1990) found the separation of work and family to be even more difficult for women compared to men entrepreneurs. She found female entrepreneurs did not receive as much assistance in household labour from their spouses as did male entrepreneurs. Male partners of women entrepreneurs were willing to "help out" with household labour and caring for children, but they would not forego their own professional responsibilities. As a result, the women were largely on their own in terms of negotiating all of their life demands.

Nevertheless, entrepreneurship may lead to unique opportunities to renegotiate the gendered meanings of family and work. For women, it may lead to better opportunities for balance and/or for renegotiation of responsibilities with their spouse (Lee-Gosselin, 1990). For men, being located at home, may lead to greater responsibilities for the household and family. Thus, this form of employment may stimulate resistance to the traditional gendered roles within the family and gendered constructions of the meaning of family.

In summary, entrepreneurship appears to offer greater flexibility in the development of one's work schedule; therefore, the feasibility of balancing work and family may be enhanced. However, additional complications also arise due to the increased permeability of these spheres. The entrepreneur no longer has a rigid paid schedule to which s/he must adjust family commitments. Instead, both work and family become infused with one another and the boundary of where one ends and the next begins becomes hazy. This supports the contention that further research is needed to explore the true impact of this new form of employment upon the meaning and experience of the family sphere. As well, it is important to explore whether these entrepreneurs are forging new roles for themselves within society and resisting traditional gendered expectations, thus changing these meaning systems. Is it possible to escape the traditional organisational structures and patriarchal roles of the work sphere and, if so, does this resistance permeate into the family sphere and result in alternative familial/marital arrangements? Can entrepreneurs be seen to be at the forefront of new meanings of gender, work, and family? And if so, is this true of both male and female entrepreneurs?

The Leisure Sphere

When examining the area of leisure and gender, two main issues arise. First, as mentioned earlier, a focus on the social construction of meanings reveals some differences in emphasis

between men and women. For example, traditional definitions of leisure which focus upon freedom of choice are perhaps more relevant to men than to women (Shaw, 1992). Second, there are gender differences in opportunities for, access to, and constraints from leisure. This results in gender differences in both the availability of leisure time and the amount of leisure participation (Henderson et al., 1996; Schor, 1991; Shaw, 1992).

The availability of leisure time has been a controversial issue in the literature. Schor (1991) has estimated that because of the increased time people are spending at their jobs, the average person only has about 16 ½ hours per week of leisure. Yet, Robinson & Godbey (1997) feel this estimate is inaccurate and that leisure is more available today than in the past (i.e., 40 hours per week). Godbey (1997) and Robinson and Godbey (1997) believe people actually have more free time than previously; however, they do recognise the "time crunch" society is facing. This time crunch is believed to be a result of a "maldistribution" of free time, rather than an absence of it (Godbey, 1997; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Godbey states that free time has increased within the last few decades, with more time available during the week. This has been because of a decrease in work hours. Some people have been working fewer hours per day and are having shorter paid work weeks. As a result, Godbey (p. 168) estimates that people have twenty-five hours during the week of free time and fifteen hours on the weekend. Yet, the free time during the week is often "misused" or "wasted" (e.g., watching T.V.) because it does not occur in large segments, as on the weekends (Godbey, 1997; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Godbey posits that the misuse of time may be because short segments of reprieve (i.e., within the week) do not allow for psychological escape. However, Godbey fails to take into consideration the increasing rate of female employment and, therefore, the increasing time spent in paid work

activities by the family as a unit (i.e., both husband and wife). This argument, thereby, remains a controversial issue in the literature.

Despite this controversy, Horna (1994) has provided some clarification as to the main points to be considered when examining leisure time. First, Horna (1994) states that leisure time and leisure availability include not only "discretionary time" (the concept used by Robinson and Godbey (1997)), but also individual experience, freedom of choice, and individual perceptions. Thus Horna is arguing that the socially constructed meanings of leisure need to recognised in any discussion of leisure time.

When examining the literature on leisure meanings, two separate strands of focus can be seen. The first strand has been related to work and leisure, while the second has explored the family and leisure. From the work and leisure area, it has been possible to recognise the fluidity of these two concepts for women (similar to the permeability of work and family). Firestone and Shelton (1988, 1990) have documented how maintaining these two domains as separate is rarely possible. Instead, paid employment often flows into leisure and vice versa. For example, Gyba (1992) found that when faced with extra work, women were more likely to take it home to complete, while men were more likely to stay longer at the office. In other words, women were more likely to allow their work to infuse into their leisure, while men were more likely to maintain the two domains as separate.

Another insight gained by the work and leisure research is how gender differences influence decisions related to the utilisation of extra time (e.g., from a decrease in working hours). Several researchers have documented that when men are offered a decrease in their paid work load, they are more likely to translate it directly into leisure. However, when women are offered the same decrease, they are more likely to use it to complete family tasks and responsibilities

(Desaulniers & Theberge, 1992; Firestone & Shelton, 1988). This may highlight differences between men and women in their sense of entitlement to leisure (Henderson et al., 1989). Men may feel they have more "right" to engage in greater leisure, whereas, women may feel a greater sense of obligation towards their familial responsibilities and relationships with others.

The family and leisure literature further suggests the importance of considering the role of gender when negotiating the life spheres. This area of literature has uncovered the "work" associated with organising, delivering, and assisting in the family's leisure experience. Davidson (1996) and Shaw (1994) have documented that mothers (especially those with young children) may experience a variety of constraints to their leisure enjoyment (including a lack of a sense of entitlement, a stronger ethic of care, and feelings of guilt), while creating leisure and holiday experiences for the family. Research on women and leisure has also found that women tend to place family responsibilities and relationships with others as more important than their own needs and may even experience guilt or feelings of selfishness if they place their needs first (Henderson, 1992; Shaw, 1992). It is believed this stems from the ethic of care (noted earlier), as well as from an overlap in women's meanings of family and leisure (Gilligan, 1982; Henderson, 1992). The result of this different valuation is that any increase in discretionary time may be quickly translated into fulfilling the needs of the family, rather than one's own (i.e., personal leisure). Again, separating family and leisure may be particularly difficult for women, and may lead to a constraint on women's own leisure.

This constraint may be furthered by the ideology of familism, as noted earlier (Shaw, 1994). Through this ideology, a slogan has been developed: "The family that plays together, stays together" which Shaw notes may put even more pressure on women. It is believed that interacting together (as a family unit) will in some way lead to greater family cohesion and

stability. This belief serves as a powerful tool for those people concerned about the stability of the family unit.

Some researchers (e.g., Crosby, 1991; Othner, 1975; Othner & Mancini, 1990) have focused upon this notion of family stability and highlight the benefits of family leisure as a means for achieving this stability. It is suggested that to obtain a "long lasting" family, it is necessary to engage in family activities that involve parents and children interacting together on a regular basis. The belief is that these family activities will result in a stronger family unit and will also contribute to good child development. However, the conflicts and disagreements which occur during these activities are often masked or obscured (Shaw, 1994). In addition, the differential experiences of members within the family are not portrayed and the additional workload on women is often ignored (Shaw, 1994). Instead, it is assumed that all members of the family are interested in participating in the same activities, at the same time, and that "family leisure" is a desired leisure experience for all participants.

Another area of research on family leisure that has also focused upon the stability of the family, concentrates more upon the parents' activities. It is believed that joint activities with both partners participating together (as opposed to parallel or separate activities) will lead to increased marital satisfaction (Othner & Mancini, 1990). In fact, these researchers have warned that involvement in too many activities without the partner may actually lead to marital dissatisfaction. It is not only believed that the family will be more satisfied, but that they will also be more stable and/or maintain a stronger family unit (Googins, 1991; Othner & Mancini, 1990). With the increasing divorce rate, this belief serves as a powerful tool to increased partner interaction (Googins, 1991). Yet, this research too often fails to recognise the impact of gender relations on family leisure, and the differential meanings of family leisure for men and women.

Leisure for entrepreneurs. The different valuations of work and leisure of men and women may affect the behaviours and decisions of men and women entrepreneurs as well. There is a lack of literature in the area of entrepreneurship that examines the impacts of owning one's business upon leisure. However, if the insights gained from Desaulniers and Theberge (1992) are applied to entrepreneurship with its flexibility in work scheduling, it may be hypothesised that women would be less likely than men to translate time away from work or their businesses into leisure. Rather, women might be more likely to devote extra time to their relationships with others instead. Thus, women may face greater challenges developing their personal leisure time, while men may find it easier to find (or create) leisure outside of their work or businesses.

Further research is also needed to explore to what extent traditional gender relations are influencing men and women entrepreneurs' negotiations of time between work and leisure. It is necessary to explore whether owning and operating one's own business enables the entrepreneur to resist traditional ideologies of masculinity and femininity or whether entrepreneurs are still influenced by their interactions with the outside world (e.g., clients, financial institutions, suppliers, customers). For example, the question of whether women entrepreneurs experience a greater sense of entitlement to leisure than women in other forms of paid employment could be explored. Unfortunately, this question extends beyond the scope of this study, but provides an interesting angle to pursue in further research.

Another area to explore in the area of leisure and entrepreneurship is whether this alternative form of employment allowed for greater interaction with the family in a leisure setting. Operating from a home-based environment as well as having greater work schedule flexibility may result in greater opportunities for interaction with the family in a leisure-like atmosphere. Yet, from a gendered perspective the question of who will assume greater responsibility for these

interactions could be asked. Will women continue to assume primary responsibility for the organisation, co-ordination, and delivery of the family's leisure activities or will the greater proximity to the family through home-based operation result in more of an egalitarian sharing? Further exploration needs to pursue these questions and determine the interaction between entrepreneurship and leisure.

It can be seen that researchers have examined work, leisure, and family, but rarely all three simultaneously. That is, when the intersection of these spheres has been addressed, it has generally occurred two spheres at a time (e.g., work and family, family and leisure, leisure and work). Horna (1994) has looked at all three domains and found that, by examining all three simultaneously, unique considerations arose which may not have been found by exploring the spheres separately. This was because at the conjunction of the spheres, new meanings and interpretations were created. Therefore, when examining these three spheres, it is necessary to consider the personal meanings, experiences, and subjectivities of the people involved. As well, it is important to examine how time and energy are allocated to each sphere and the personal valuations which became assigned to each. Focus on personal interpretations ensures that life spheres are placed within their appropriate social, historical, and cultural context. Further, the conflicts arising when these spheres collide needs to be considered as well as the possibilities for compatibility with one another. The question of whether it is possible to achieve a "balance" among these spheres needs to be addressed or whether individuals are simply capable of sustaining or living with conflicts in their lives. Due to the vast amount of evidence documenting the differential experiences of women and men, it is evident that analysis of work, leisure, and family needs to be framed within an understanding of gender relations and the impact these relations have upon the intersection of these spheres. Finally, this analysis has suggested that the

meanings of work, family, and leisure may be unique for entrepreneurs. This type of paid employment has been portrayed as a solution to those people facing challenges combining work, leisure, and family. The belief exists that owning and operating one's own business allows for the creation of a more "flexible" work schedule. This increased flexibility is believed to result in an overall life "balance", where work, leisure and family are able to co-exist without complications. As well, many people are turning to entrepreneurship as a means of escaping traditional organisational structures. Thus entrepreneurs may be forging new meanings of gender, work, family, and leisure; however, they may also be serving to reproduce traditional gender relations as they become constrained into traditional approaches to business. These issues are examined in this study through analysis of the life experiences of entrepreneurs living in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter III

The Newfoundland and Labrador Setting: "A Culture of Our Own"

Newfoundland and Labrador consist of 371,634.56 square kilometres of land and a large number of inland lakes and ponds (Statistics Canada, 1999). Yet, despite the vast expanse of land, the majority of residents live close to the coastline. The proximity to the ocean has been largely due to the population's dependence upon the ocean for economic resources. The importance of this link with the ocean will be explored in greater detail within the historical overview section of this chapter. Another important factor which has played a role in the heritage and culture of Newfoundland and Labrador has been its physical separation from the rest of Canada (by water), as well as the fact that they did not join confederation until much later than other provinces (1949). As a result, the province has managed to sustain a unique social, historical, and cultural background. Therefore, in order to understand the experiences of the entrepreneurs participating in this study, it is first necessary to obtain a picture of this unique lifestyle and cultural context.

Background Social and Demographic Statistics

Currently, there are 543, 829 (1998) people living in Newfoundland and Labrador (Statistics Canada, 1999). The majority of this population inhabits a few large communities (e.g. St. John's, Mount Pearl, Gander, Corner Brook, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador City, Wabush), with a much fewer number in other smaller settlements. It is interesting that this is the only province that has experienced a decrease in population within the past fifty years. All of the other provinces have been witnessing an increase in residents. It is hypothesised the decrease is being driven by the vast outward migration movement that is occurring as residents are leaving the Province to find employment.

The search for employment is being driven by the tremendously high unemployment rate within the province which currently stands at 17.9% (19% for men and 16.4% for women, Statistics Canada, 1999). This rate is almost double the national average of 9.7% (Statistics Canada, 1999). A reliance on fishing, mining, and forestry, all of which have faced severe problems due to supply shortages or limited room for expansion, has led to a decreasing number of paid positions (Davis, 1995). These restrictions were brought to the forefront, in 1992, for the fishing industry with the cod moratorium. During this year, the federal government closed this industry in an attempt to preserve the vastly depleted cod stocks. The result was a loss of jobs to 30,000 Newfoundlanders. At the same time, restrictions in unemployment insurance and federal government transfer payments have resulted in a greater number of people living at or below the poverty line. Yet, poverty does not exist for all Newfoundlanders as there is also an exceptional number of people in the middle to upper socio-economic classes with an increasing number of people in white-collar occupations (e.g., lawyers, doctors, managers, professors). Therefore, there is a large range in the income levels of residents, but also a constant concern about escaping and/or avoiding unemployment due to the vast pool of potential employees. This tension between social classes is only one of the concerns that has been affecting Newfoundlanders dating back to the times of the original settlers.

The Historical Background

From the 1480's onwards, Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, French, and English fishermen made voyages to Newfoundland and Labrador waters to fish: however they did not remain (or settle) the lands (Story, 1969). Instead, they stayed for the spring/summer season and then returned to their home-lands in the fall/winter. Although other people were already living in the province, few records existed documenting this activity as much of the information was passed on

orally. When some of these fishers later stayed and started to settle these lands, tremendous tension was experienced between those who currently lived there and the new arrivals.

Unlike in the rest of the "New World", the "new" villages of Newfoundland and Labrador did not have British approval. In fact, many received outright harassment. British policy supported the assumption that Newfoundland and Labrador was a "great ship moored near the Banks during the fishing season, for the convenience of English fishermen" (Story, 1969, p. 13). Therefore, the province remained outside the traditional pattern of British colonial development. Rather, the settlements were primarily shaped by the fishing economy and remained (apart from a few towns) remote and undisturbed until the 1940's. It was hoped that the settlers in the remote communities would "go away", while those towns disturbed were often the main harbours for the fishing possibilities.

Most of the written accounts of these communities were documented by fishing admirals, naval officers, and clergymen seeking missionary support. Therefore, care must be taken when analysing the historical background of Newfoundland and Labrador and comments such as one made by a British admiral that the province was "a place where the far greatest number of the inhabitants live as mere savages" (Story, 1969, p. 16). It would not be wrong to surmise that the living conditions were probably extremely harsh for many of the settlers. However, this did not prevent continuous immigration as conditions in other regions of the world were often worse economically and politically.

As settlement continued, an economic relationship was developed between fishers and merchants that could be classified as feudal (Wadel, 1969). Although the fishers had their independence, they depended upon their relationship with the merchants to obtain supplies in exchange for fish. To obtain these supplies, fishers would work extremely hard in the summer,

during May-July, and then "play" in the winter. Work in the summer included long and hard hours in which the entire family was involved. Fathers and sons worked on the boats, while mothers and daughters split, cured, dried, and salted the fish. As well, small gardens were also tended by the women to supply a few other necessities (e.g., vegetables), and berry picking (e.g., blueberries, raspberries, strawberries, partridgeberries, bakeapples) was a popular activity to obtain fruit for preserves, jams, jellies, and baking (Omchundo, 1995). Winter was used to obtain non-cash income in the form of wood for fuel and to repair fishing devices (Story, 1969). However, the workload during the off-season was greatly reduced and allowed for more time to visit with friends and family and to socialise. Later with the advent of logging and mining, other forms of paid employment became available during the off season (Wadel, 1969). These did not fundamentally alter these people's lifestyles as the "new" forms of employment were primarily performed just as supplementary income. However, they did serve to increase the amount of work done in the off season and to reduce the time left for play.

Due to the tremendous demands placed upon families to fulfil all of these work related roles, families would often operate as joint households (Porter, 1985). Upon the marriage of a couple, they would typically form a relationship with their extended families so that the entire unit would operate as a whole to perform all of the various duties. For those families who did not have extended family members nearby, patrilocal extended families would often be created in which several families would assist one another. This was especially important for "newer" families who did not have many older children (if any) to assist in the familial duties (Porter, 1985). Therefore, social support was a very important aspect within the communities.

During the 1800's many missionaries arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador and developed churches and schools (Story, 1969). Thereby, they brought greater access to

education in the province. However, the increase in religious movements also brought greater social tensions to communities as members became strongly divided based on their religions. This was especially prevalent among some of the lower socio-economic classes during winter as many struggled to find methods of supporting themselves. In particular, this reflects the situation for those who were only involved in the fishing industry as fish servants (people who assisted fishers and did not actually own their own fleet) and not as fishers. As emotions and tensions were already high due to a lack of food and supplies, any type of difference became expounded. Therefore, the differences among religion became a sort of rallying point among the settlers and were a source of many fights and struggles.

Many of these struggles have not been resolved today and rifts continue between religious denominations as evidenced from the recent battle over education in terms of separate school boards and systems. Some of the religions which are more dominant and evident in practice today and whose influence can be noted in the various communities include Roman Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, and Protestant.

With the increasing number of people settling in Newfoundland and Labrador, came the entrance of alternative professions and trades (Davis, 1995). This produced a greater diversification in the economy and resulted in greater employment in a wide range of sectors. However, the role of the fishing industry still continued to be prominent within many of the communities (especially the majority of outports). As a result, the cod moratorium had a harsh impact upon the people of Newfoundland and Labrador when its pressures were first experienced in the 1960's and left many wondering what alternatives to employment existed. If the population had not been so tightly enmeshed with the fishing industry, the fall out may not have been quite so severe.

The Cultural Background

The dependence on the ocean for employment and resources as well as the struggles among settlers due to economic, religious, and other differences have all interacted to produce the rich cultural background of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is a culture that is plentiful in oral literature and music (Story, 1969). Folklore and traditions are an important part of the Newfoundland and Labrador heritage and efforts are being made to document the past because the majority has not been written down (Porter, 1985). As well, there is a diversity of musical styles and preferences, ranging from classical to celtic to rock and roll. With a number of artists having made a name for themselves in each of these genres (e.g., The Great Big Sea, The Fables, The Irish Descendants, Bucket Truck).

Food, celebrations, and festivals are also a major part of the Newfoundland and Labrador heritage. In the past, the kitchen was the source of many community festivals and meetings, especially if no alternative locales were available and was thereby considered a public sphere with the rest of the house being private (Porter, 1985). This conception of the home may have been different from other provinces within Canada in which the home has been mostly sustained as a private locale, with the community and local community centres or town halls being the place for public exchanges.

Another important point related to food and festivities is that the role of preparing for the celebrations was given to women in the communities. They were required to prepare an entire meal whenever a visitor, friend, or relative arrived at the home. This meant the kitchen often had something simmering on the stove or baking in the oven. As well, due to the harsh physical labour required with fishing during the busy season (May-July), families often ate 7-8 meals a day during these months (and from 4-5 in the other ones) to maintain their strength and stamina.

These meals were prepared by the women and daughters in the families in addition to their tasks of curing and salting the fish. Food was, therefore, used as a means of sustaining the demands of physical labour, but was also used as a means of celebration. This celebration continues and can be seen in the tremendous number of community festivals that take place across the Province especially in the summer months.

One may assume that the responsibility for this preparation was a burdensome task; however, from historical accounts, it provided great prestige and status to the women. Because they were highly involved with the labour in their communities, women's roles within society were widely recognised (Porter, 1985). Women were involved in the fishing industry, household labour, and festivities and entertaining. In addition, they were often the family's only source of economic remuneration. This remuneration came from the profits of selling leftover berries they had picked to local merchants. As fish were primarily exchanged for supplies and other "in-kind" resources, the women's monetary source of income was extremely important. Therefore, women were responsible for the family's finances as they controlled the berry picking money and also the men would often turn their proceeds from their interaction with the merchants over to their wives as well. This financial responsibility has not been witnessed to the same degree in the history of any of the other provinces in Canada, and serves to recognise the primary role women have played in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Summary

The setting of Newfoundland and Labrador provides a number of important implications for examining entrepreneurship and the intersection of work, leisure, and family. First, the economic reliance upon fishing and the resulting financial hardships associated with the demise of the fishery, as well as other factors, may have led to an increasing number of people turning to

entrepreneurial forms of employment. Next, culture plays an important role in terms of Newfoundlander and Labradorians' meanings of work, leisure, and family. For example, the history of seasonal work may have resulted in a tradition of greater time for leisure during the off season. As well, the centrality of the family and members' contributions to ensuring its viability may result in alternative conceptualisations of this social institution than in other parts of Canada. Finally, gender differences may exist in terms of entrepreneurs' experiences with work, leisure, and family. The need for research exploring how men and women negotiate work from a home-based environment is apparent. Evidence of the high level of interconnectedness of work, family, and leisure in this culture and the high rate of entrepreneurial types of employment makes this a suitable context to examine the issue of the interrelationship of life spheres.

Chapter IV

Methodology

After exploring the relevant literature on gender, work, leisure, and family, the complex nature of these variables became readily apparent. Not only does each individual component (e.g., gender, work, leisure, family) create its own unique challenges and benefits, but once they are placed in conjunction with one another, a whole new web of interactions becomes evident. Further, given the unique social, cultural, and historical background of Newfoundland and Labrador, it is clearly necessary to explore the meanings of these three life spheres in this setting. As well, the additional considerations associated with entrepreneurship also need to be taken into account. In this chapter, the methodology used to address these issues will be outlined. The guiding purpose for this study was to explore the intersection of work, leisure, and family for entrepreneurs, and to examine the ways that entrepreneurship may be reproducing or resisting traditional gender relations for women and men. Leading from this purpose and from the analysis of related literature, the specific research questions that initiated this study included:

1)   What values and meanings are assigned to work, leisure, and family in entrepreneurs' daily lives? What are the relationships between these values and meanings and gender?

2)   Do conflicts exist between these spheres for entrepreneurs? How are they resolved? What is the relationship between these conflicts and gender?

3)   To what extent are entrepreneurs able to achieve a positive "balance" among the three spheres? Is "balance" a relevant concept for entrepreneurs and, if so, is it experienced similarly and/or differently by men and women?

Qualitative Research

A qualitative approach was utilised to gain an in-depth understanding about the experiences of entrepreneurs with the intersection of work, leisure, and family (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). This approach was used due in part to the exploratory nature of this study. To date, there has been a lack of research that examines the simultaneous interaction of the spheres of work, leisure, and family. As well, the experiences of entrepreneurs with this intersection have been predominantly ignored. Further, a qualitative approach facilitated the exploration of the meanings, values, and subjectivities of these individuals, as highlighted in the research questions.

A qualitative, interpretative approach is similar to the conduct of Sherlock Holmes, as it enables the researcher to search for clues and data about the topic area and then piece together an idea or "grounded theory" about what the participants are experiencing (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). An interpretative approach is also consistent with a social constructionist theoretical framework as emphasis is placed on how individuals and groups construct and assign meanings to everyday activities associated with work, family, and leisure. Marshal and Rossman also argue that within this approach, the researcher must be constantly open to change as the information and data collected may result in the recognition of previously unimagined concepts (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Therefore, it was necessary to maintain flexibility in terms of the development of research questions, the selection of participants, and the collection of data, to allow me to adjust to change within the project (Patton, 1990).

A qualitative approach is also consistent with the need to recognise unequal power relations based on gender as it allowed for the development of relationships with participants instead of simply viewing them as "subjects" or "the other" (Fine, 1994). However, simply

using a qualitative approach did not remove me from adopting an "othering" perspective. Fine (1994) explains that researchers need to be aware of how they "work the hyphen" between self and other. This hyphen produces a distance between the researcher and the participant and, thereby, prevents the development of close relationships and the collection of "rich" data. Researchers can be aware of this hyphen by recognising their relationship with the contexts they study, their informants, and themselves (Fine, 1994). As well, Fine (1994) suggests researchers create occasions for discussion between researchers and participants about what is and what is not "happening between and within negotiated relations" (p. 72). In this study, "working the hyphen" involved noting whose interpretation and story was being told within the written report (i.e., was it my interpretation or the participant's story?). As well, the discussion of the emerging findings with the participants further ensured that an accurate representation of their reality was obtained

Feminist Methodology

A feminist methodology was utilised in this study due to its focus upon the gendered nature of daily experience, its exploration of the two-way relationship between gender and the intersection of work, family, and leisure, and its recognition of the differential experiences of men and women. Moreover, a feminist methodology recognised the role of the participant, the importance of the context, and the power imbalances that exist between researcher and participant (Gergen, 1988; Reinharz, 1992). Traditional methods of research de-contextualise participants because they are studied in isolation from their personal circumstances (Gergen, 1988). Such methods also maintain minimal contact between researcher and participant, and rely upon an assumption of objectivity. On the other hand, a feminist methodology, consistent with a qualitative approach, seeks to examine the context as well as the individual, explores the

power differential between participant and researcher, and values the subjective nature of the relationship that is formed between the participant and researcher (Gergen, 1988).

The development of relationships with participants is also consistent with a qualitative approach (Gergen, 1988; hooks, 1988; Reinharz, 1992). Reinharz (1992) believes that a feminist qualitative methodology enables the researcher to avoid exerting control over others and enables the development of a "sense of connectedness". This connectedness assisted in the examination of the participants' experiences and their willingness to share their insights. I attempted to develop this "connectedness" with both men and women participants through the use of empathetic understanding devoid of judgement or criticism. This understanding, however, may have been more easily formed with women due to our shared experience of gender. Yet, I believe a shared understanding was also developed with the male entrepreneurs because of my previous research in this area.

The adoption of a feminist qualitative methodology within this study, therefore, provided an opportunity for me to explore with the participants the true nature of how they negotiated work, leisure, and family. This resulted in the collection of "rich" data that was grounded in the participants' lived experiences.

Site and Sample Selection

In order to address the primary purpose of this study, the population included both men and women entrepreneurs. Traditional research on entrepreneurship has explored either men's or women's experiences, but rarely both simultaneously (Lee-Gosselin, 1990; Young & Richards, 1992). By including both men and women, it was possible to examine the relationship between gender relations and the life spheres (i.e., work, leisure, family). This included examining both the impact of gender (being male or female) on the experiences associated with the life spheres,

as well as ways in which daily experiences might affect the social construction of gender for male and female entrepreneurs.

The entrepreneurs were selected from the City of St. John's and the neighbouring community of Mount Pearl. Both these communities have a rapidly expanding small business industry. With the decreasing feasibility of the traditional resource industries in Newfoundland and Labrador (especially the cod fishery) and the vastly increasing unemployment rate (i.e., currently estimated at 17%), many people have turned to small business ownership as a means of economic survival (Economic Recovery Commission, 1992). The operation of a small business from the home has been an especially popular option due to the lower necessary start-up and overhead costs, as well as the added tax advantages (Thornhill, 1991). The Province has recently conducted numerous investigations into this issue due to its increasing prevalence.

In an attempt to make Newfoundland and Labrador Municipalities recognise the importance and economic significance of home-based businesses, both the Economic Recovery Commission and the Provincial government have conducted a number of studies into this topic area (e.g., Barry, 1991; Economic Recovery Commission, 1991; 1992; Thornhill, 1991). Based on this research, the Commission estimates that there are approximately 21,000 home-based businesses operating in Newfoundland (this number is derived from those who report to Revenue Canada) and possibly several more than this number who are operating "underground" (Barry, 1992). The purpose of the studies was to maintain Newfoundland and Labrador as a "national leader in its support of home-based business" (Economic Recovery Commission, 1992, p. 5).

The Commission found that although home-based businesses, alone, will not result in a complete revitalisation of the economy, they will play an "integral role in launching new enterprises and in nurturing business growth" (1992, p. 5). Further, the development of a strong

small business community is anticipated to provide a greater diversification of municipal economies so that a strong reliance is not made on a few larger companies (Economic Recover Commission, 1992). These studies have, therefore, been focused upon examining economic and regulatory barriers to home-based business development in the hopes of potentially alleviating them. Some areas of examination have included: municipal regulations (e.g., parking, noise, land-use zoning) and their impact upon home-based business ownership, the influence of home-based businesses upon established businesses, the attitudes of municipal officials towards home-based businesses, the willingness of municipalities to support home-based businesses, methods of increasing the economic viability of home-based businesses (e.g., time sharing of resources, re-processing and refining of resources), and the development of quality and unique home-based business products or services (Barry, 1991; Economic Recovery Commission, 1991; 1992; Thornhill, 1991).

Yet, despite the large amount of research that has currently been conducted on home-based businesses within Newfoundland and Labrador, most have focused solely on economic and regulatory concerns (e.g., Barry, 1991; Economic Recovery Commission, 1991; 1992; Thornhill, 1991). Few studies have been conducted which examine the experiences of the entrepreneurs. As their businesses are only one part of their lives, it is important to provide a holistic context for future research to obtain the true nature of the "home-based business experience". Simply examining the business and its impact upon the community does not provide a true picture of entrepreneurship. At best, it may provide insights into the paid work domain. Therefore, it was important to explore all of the spheres of their lives (e.g., paid work, non-paid work, leisure, family). Further, the impact of gender relations upon these spheres had to be considered. Were the paid work, unpaid work, leisure, and family experiences of men and

women similar and/or different? What role did gender play in negotiating these various domains?

To provide answers to the aforementioned questions as well as the earlier cited research questions, home-based businesses within both the communities of St. John's and Mount Pearl served as the population of this study. Both of these communities have a registration process for home-based business owners. As a result, it was possible to obtain mailing information for these business owners. Thirty individuals who were registered with either of these communities were mailed information letters that detailed the nature of the study as well as the requirements for participation (see Appendix A). Interested individuals were able to return a "consent to be contacted" form indicating the best times to be reached. However, only one participant returned the self-addressed stamped envelope. When this person was contacted, he was surprised to find that I was currently living in Newfoundland. As the recruitment letter had been on University of Waterloo letterhead, he had originally thought I was living in Ontario. He noted that (in future) I should mention in the letter that I am working in Newfoundland since "Mainlanders" are not generally well accepted by Newfoundlanders and Labradorians given the perceived history of oppression. I also obtained a response from 5 of the other participants in the form of the initial recruitment letter being returned in its entirety with a rejection indicated. These responses were obtained within three weeks of the initial recruitment letters being sent. Therefore, a second mail-out was sent to an additional 30 potential participants and in the letter I explained that I was currently teaching at Memorial University of Newfoundland (see Appendix B). From this secondary mailing, I received a positive response from three more people within a four week period. The remaining participants were referred from initial participants (i.e., "snowballing" technique). These participants were related either through professional associations or friendship

groups. The end result was a total of 13 entrepreneurs from 11 small businesses (i.e., 5 men, 4 women, and 2 couple-owned businesses).

Only small businesses were included to ensure the entrepreneur maintained a major role in his or her business. Small businesses were defined based on Revenue Canada's classification of having less than five full-time employees. Further, only businesses which had been in operation for a minimum of two years were selected as it has been found this is the crucial "make it or break it" guideline (Foley & Green, 1989).

Selection also ensured there was diversity in terms of marital and family type (e.g., married with children, married without children, co-habiting). However, due to the focus of the study on exploring the intersection of work, leisure, and family, only individuals who were currently involved with a significant other were included.

During this initial selection process, the participants' life partners were also asked if they would be willing to participate. The inclusion of life partners assisted in obtaining additional insights into the intersection of work, family, and leisure by exploring another family member's perspective. Unfortunately, only one male life partner out of the four men agreed to be interviewed. The rest of the men felt their lack of involvement in the business meant they could not provide information for my study. Some became quite aggressive and adamant in asserting their lack of involvement in the business and in their role within it. The female-owned businesses were seen as solely their own with the male life partners not performing any function in relation to them. Yet, the male-owned businesses were seen as integral to the family and the female life partners thereby played a vital role within them.

Researcher's Role Management

Due to the intensive nature of my involvement within this study, it was necessary to consider in advance how I would manage my role. This included a consideration of how I would teach the participants about my role, how I would conduct myself within the study, and how I would find stress and emotional release from this role.

I had to teach participants about my role in this study to establish an element of trust and co-operation (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Marshall and Rossman (1989) explain that the researcher must educate participants about his or her role so they know how to respond. This was done at the beginning of each interview when I provided a description of myself (e.g., doctoral student, instructor at Memorial University), my reasons for studying small business owners (e.g., research interests, previous small business owner), and my plans for the results (e.g., dissertation, publications, presentation to participants). I believe that starting the interview with a session of sharing information about myself resulted in a greater sharing of information (i.e., "rich" data).

I also needed to be aware throughout the study of how I conducted myself (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Because I was operating as a representative of the University of Waterloo, I needed to maintain a professional image for this institution. To ensure this professional image, I maintained sensitivity towards my participants (and their families) throughout the interviews and focus groups, followed the ethical guidelines established by the University, and followed-up with my participants to ensure the information was an adequate representation of themselves and their experiences. Interestingly, I found that the linkage of myself to the University of Waterloo had a negative impact upon my relationship with participants. Presenting myself as an "outsider" to

Newfoundland inhibited my ability to gain participants. It was not until I mentioned that I was currently working in Newfoundland that I was accepted.

Finally, some of the avenues by which I obtained some release from my researcher role included a combination of physical exercise, proper nutrition, and the counsel of friends and family. All of these aspects assisted me in maintaining this role on a long-term basis without any negative repercussions.

Data Collection Techniques

The next phase of the research process was the establishment of data collection techniques. In this study, interviews provided the basis for obtaining the data. Initially, I had hoped to also utilise focus groups as a validation tool, however this was not feasible due to the nature of operating a small business. It was not possible to find a convenient time at which more than one entrepreneur could attend. Therefore, the validation of initial themes had to be conducted in a follow-up interview format.

Initial Interviews

An interview can be defined as "a conversation with a purpose", with the purpose being to gather information or data about the participants (Berg, 1989, p. 13). Henderson (1991) elaborates upon this definition and states that it is not simply a monologue, but involves two-way communication so that the individual is not simply being interrogated. In other words, the conversation involves reciprocal interaction among the participants (i.e., between the researcher and the participant).

There are several types of interviewing techniques, ranging from unstructured to semi-structured, to completely structured (Berg, 1989; Bernard, 1994; Patton, 1990; Reinharz, 1992). The appropriate degree of structure depends on whether or not the researcher has a well-

developed idea about the concepts s/he wishes to obtain. In other words, the more exploratory

the research, the less structured the interviews. The low level of structure will then enable the

researcher to obtain the information that is truly important to the respondent without directing the

topic, but instead adapting and generating questions as the discussion flows along (Berg, 1989).

The unstructured interview, therefore, is very similar to a conversation in that both participants

engage actively in the dialogue and neither is aware at the beginning of the interview about the

ultimate outcome of the discussion (Berg, 1989; Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

With a semi-structured interview, an interview schedule is used which includes a variety

of predetermined questions and/or special topics (Berg, 1989; Marshall & Rossman, 1989;

Patton, 1990). The interview schedule enables the researcher to obtain information about

specific areas of interest, but also allows for freedom to move beyond the selected topics and to

probe beyond the prepared questions (Berg, 1989). There are three methods an interviewer has

to gain information above and beyond the predetermined topics, including: probing, revealing,

and reflecting (Bernard, 1994; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Reinharz, 1992). Probing attempts to

obtain additional information beyond the originally stated question (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984;

Reinharz, 1992). Some examples of probes include: "uh, huh", staying silent and waiting for

them to continue, and/or repeating the last thing they said and asking them to continue (Bernard,

1994). Probes that should be avoided include: "awesome", "perfect", or "excellent" to avoid

leading the respondents and biasing the outcome. Revealing probes provide an insight into the

researcher's interests and ideas about the topic of discussion (Reinharz, 1992). The researcher

helps to develop a sense of trust with their participant by sharing with him/her a "tidbit" about

the researcher. For example, the researcher may share an insight about him/herself with the

participant by "revealing" a similar experience they have had. The final method of obtaining

elaboration, reflecting, involves restating some of the respondent's own words in a different manner to ensure the researcher has understood what the participant was trying to say (Reinharz, 1992).

With a completely structured interview, an interview schedule is also utilised; however, the questions are formally structured and responses to each should be comparable across participants (Babbie, 1983). In order to compare responses, the researcher must word each question in the same way and not allow any room for variation. Therefore, even additional probes must be worded similarly.

For this study, the semi-structured interview format was used because many issues had already been derived from the literature review. However, to obtain an idea of the participants' true views and experiences, it was necessary to maintain some flexibility in the interview format to move beyond the predetermined questions. An interview was conducted with each participant, as well as those life partners who were interested. The first section of the interview (see Appendix C for specific questions) asked about the type of business in which the entrepreneur was engaged, including a description of a "typical day" and the time devoted to paid work activities. Respondents were asked about the different types of work with which they were involved, and the meaning and importance of work activities. The next section of the interview focused upon their marital and/or family situation. Questions centred on obtaining a picture of the respondents' family spheres and included the amount of time they spent with their families, and whether they found conflicts between family and work time. The third section of the interview was directed towards the leisure sphere. These questions attempted to determine the types of activities the individuals participate in for themselves and for their families, as well as the importance of such activities. Participants were also asked to consider whether they found

it challenging or difficult to find time for self. The final section of the interview examined the

relevance and applicability of the terms "balance" and "conflict" when considering their various

life spheres.

The interviews with life partners assisted in providing information about their

conceptions of work, family, and leisure, as well as their perception of their partners' attitudes

towards these three spheres, and their experience of living with an entrepreneur. This

information helped to clarify and reinforce the data from the entrepreneurs' interviews. The first

section of the life partners' interviews examined the meanings and importance of the

respondents' work, family, and leisure spheres (see Appendix C for the specific questions). This

included a description of the activities typically associated with each sphere, their relative value

and importance, and any conflicts that have arisen between each domain. The next section

attempted to determine the respondents' perceptions of their partners' attitudes towards work,

family, and leisure. Questions examined the partner's perceptions of the values and importance

the entrepreneur placed upon each life sphere. The final section of the life partners' interviews

focused upon the challenges and/or benefits of living with an entrepreneur. This section

provided additional insights into the daily experience of entrepreneurship and the impact this

form of employment has had upon the other life spheres.

Life partners were interviewed separately from the entrepreneurs because it has been

found that people tend to discuss their feelings about their roles and their marriages more freely

when their partners are not present (Reinharz, 1992). In total, 7 life partners were interviewed at

a place selected by the participants (e.g., home, coffee shop) and ranged in length from 1 hour to

2 ½ hours.

The interviews with participants and partners were used to develop emerging themes related to the nature of the entrepreneurs' experiences with work, family, and leisure, as well as the impact this form of employment has had upon each of these spheres. In addition, the entrepreneurs' ability to "balance" each of these spheres and the impact this balancing has upon the other life spheres were uncovered. Finally, the role that gender relations plays in both the process of entrepreneurship and the "balancing" act were examined, as well as any possible impacts of entrepreneurship on the attitudes towards or the social construction of gender beliefs and ideologies.

Validation Interviews

Validation interviews were conducted after the primary data analysis had begun with both the entrepreneurs and the life partners. These sessions served to ensure that the emerging themes were consistent with the participants' experiences. Participants were presented with the primary themes (see Appendix D) arising from the data, and were asked to comment upon them as well as to add any information they feel had been left out. As well, clarification was sought on a few points that I had not previously understood completely. For example, participants were asked to provide examples of experiences of when they had managed to balance work, leisure, and family. Interestingly, participants confirmed all of the initial themes and provided clarification as to why they had emerged.

I was thrilled at the entrepreneurs' enthusiasm for being included in the data analysis process. After experiencing so many challenges in obtaining initial participants, I returned to my participants with a feeling of trepidation. However, the participants were quick to dispel these concerns. Rather, they stated experiencing a combination of "relief", "satisfaction", and "worth" for being involved in this process. These feelings arose as they received the affirmation that

others had similar experiences as themselves and that, as a result of this study, other

entrepreneurs and future business owners would have the chance to catch a glimpse into their

daily life experiences. One woman laughingly suggested that I start my own home-based

business providing counselling services for home-business owners. To her, sharing in the

validation process had been therapeutic.

The validation sessions, therefore, served a two-fold purpose. First, they provided the

participants with a sense of remuneration for their previous efforts in the initial interviews and

also a sense of affirmation of their daily life struggles. Second, the interviews provided

confirmation and clarification of my emerging themes.

Managing and Recording the Data

Both the initial as well as the validation interviews were taped and later transcribed. This

process produced a vast quantity of data in the form of transcripts (i.e., 311 pages). It has been

estimated that to type one hour of a taped interview, takes approximately four hours (Patton,

1990, p. 349). Two senior students at Memorial University in the School of Physical Education,

Recreation, and Athletics assisted in this transcribing. However, these transcripts were only one

form of data that resulted from the interviews. Additional data were obtained through the

documentation of scratch notes, field notes, head notes, and timed writings and analytical notes.

This section will explore each of these forms of data as well as how order was maintained with

all of this information.

Scratch Notes

The first form of data gathered from the interviews were scratch notes (Sanjek, 1990).

These consisted of just a few words or phrases which were jotted down during the interviews or

focus groups (Sanjek, 1990). These words and phrases enabled me to make notes, while not

breaking the pace of the interview (Sanjek, 1994). As a result, I was able to phrase future

questions and/or probes and also show the participant the value of that which s/he was sharing

(Patton, 1994; Sanjek, 1990).

Field Notes

Field notes were the next form of data that arose from the interviews (Jackson, 1990;

Sanjek, 1990). Immediately after leaving the interviews, I translated the scratch notes into more

detailed field notes (Sanjek, 1990). Field notes served as a more detailed explanation of

additional insights obtained from the interviews (Sanjek, 1990). These included: information

about the setting of the session, any interruptions that occurred during the session, and any

additional information gained through conversations after the session. Field notes did not

include my personal opinions, but were reserved for simply recording the events and details

(Sanjek, 1990). They, therefore, served as an objective record of the sessions. I found these

notes very useful to refer to when my memory of the session began to fade.

Head Notes

Maintaining the field notes as an objective record was quite challenging which was why I

also utilised another form of note taking (i.e., head notes) (Sanjek, 1990). Head notes served as

the subjective record of my interviews (Sanjek, 1990). These notes included my personal views

about the interview, any feelings that may have influenced the interview (e.g., my emotional

baggage), and any subjective views about the information obtained from the session. Head notes

thereby served as a place where I could dump all of my personal views and feelings that arose

during the research process. They served as a place to air grievances, emotions, and personal

"joys" and addressed the issue of reflexivity as well.

Timed Writings and Analytical Notes

The final forms of data gained from the sessions were timed writings and analytical notes. Timed writings took place as the data were being collected and analysed. Tom (1994) suggests the researcher should sit down and write consistently for 10 minutes frequently throughout the data analysis process. Even if the researcher does not have anything to write s/he is forced to keep his/her pen moving. During these ten minute writing periods, I was able to write about any emerging themes I was noticing and any relevant patterns in the data. Tom (1994) believes there is a vast quantity of information buried in one's unconscious mind and this "buried" data became rapidly evident as I used this analysis tool. Through the timed writing it was possible to bring these thoughts to the forefront. However, the exploration of emerging themes was not solely restricted to a timed writing approach, I also maintained analytical notes in a small notebook or diary that served as a forum to work through emerging ideas and insights. I tried to write in this diary at least once a day during the data analysis process to ensure I was continually considering and examining emerging ideas and insights. These analytical notes enabled me to improve and develop my interpretation skills. The timed writings, on the other hand, tended to help me get past "analytical blocks". Whenever I reached a point when I was frustrated or not sure of what I was reading in the data, I performed a timed writing. I would then return to my analytical notebook and continue working through what I uncovered in the timed writing.

Maintaining Order

Before leaving the topic of data management, it is necessary to consider how I maintained order with the masses of data. Each of the forms of data was carefully labelled as to its type (e.g., interview, field note, timed writing). As well, it was important to have some

method of keeping each interview separate in my mind. This was performed through labelling

each interview by the date it was conducted. For example, an interview conducted on January

2nd, 1998 was referred to as 980102. Another consideration related to the management of data

was ensuring the information did not fall into the wrong hands (e.g., become public). Therefore,

I used pseudonyms for participants and maintained the security of the data.

Data Analysis Techniques

In qualitative research, data analysis is a cyclical process. Analysis is linked very closely

to data collection as it begins as soon as the data has begun being collected (Bryman & Burgess,

1994; Dolan-Mullen, 1986). Analysis continues alongside data collection and then for awhile

after it has completed (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). Marshall and Rossman (1989) define this

stage as the process of "bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data" (p.

112). The process I used will be examined and described in four stages which correspond to the

stages suggested by Marshall and Rossman (1989): organisation of the data, generating

categories, themes, and patterns, testing emergent hypotheses against the data, and searching for

alternatives.

Organisation of the Data

The first stage of data analysis involved organising the data into a manageable

conglomeration. The previous section on management of the data assisted in finding specific

interviews. As well, Bryman and Burgess (1994) suggest data should be indexed so that notes

and transcripts are all related to one another and easily found. For example, field notes from

January 2nd 1998 were indexed as FN980102, while an interview from the same day was

referred to as IN980102. This allowed for ease in referencing information and switching

between data types. This organisational stage also included the inputting of data into a

computer. Q.S.R.NUD.ist was utilised to assist with the data analysis process. This

computerised qualitative data analysis package assisted in information retrieval and storage and

served as an alternative to the old method of cutting and pasting (Bryman & Burgess, 1994).

Emerging Categories, Themes, and Patterns

The next phase of data analysis (i.e., emerging categories, themes, and patterns) has been

labelled the most rewarding as "meaning" is made of the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

First, the data were read and re-read numerous times to ensure familiarity (Patton, 1990). Next,

notes were made in the margins of the transcripts (Dolan-Mullen, 1986). Dolan-Mullen (1986)

believes these notes should include words and phrases directly from the language of the people

interviewed. As these words and phrases were developed, the data were re-read to ensure they

matched the participants' views and experiences. These words and phrases were eventually

drawn together into initial codes or categories (Dolan-Mullen, 1986).

These codes, however, were not developed for the data as a whole, but instead existed on

several levels. First, each of the research questions was analysed relatively separately. This

allowed me to ensure each question was properly addressed. However, linkages across the

questions were also examined to place each question in an overall explanatory framework.

Another level of analysis involved examining the entrepreneurs' experiences against their

partners'. This analysis both confirmed as well as provided additional evidence about the

entrepreneurial experience of negotiating work, leisure, and family. The next level of analysis

involved examining whether there were gender differences between entrepreneurs. For example,

the question of whether women's experiences as entrepreneurs were similar or different from

men's, was addressed. Finally, a fourth level of analysis was used to examine the influence of

negotiating work, leisure, and family upon gender constructions or gender relations. This

analysis was used to examine whether entrepreneurship was serving to reproduce traditional gender stereotypes or was allowing the individuals to create new definitions and meanings of work, leisure, and family.

From the initial categories, it was possible to move on to "theoretical coding" based on the literature (Dolan-Mullen, 1986). This coding allowed for the recognition of linkages or interactions between the conceptual categories and enabled me to link them together into an integrated set of relationships or broader "themes" (Dolan-Mullen, 1986). Bryman and Burgess (1994) warn that it is important at this stage not to lose sight of the original data and to ensure it is constantly re-checked or re-read. The final portion of this phase was to ultimately link the themes into a pattern or "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). At this point, the researcher appears to move away from the data to a more abstract level. The original themes served as building blocks for the theory, but were not a theory by themselves (Bryman & Burgess, 1994).

Testing Emerging Themes

While the theory was developing, it was important to ensure I was constantly testing the emerging themes and searching for "negative instances" (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Huberman and Miles (1994) state that it is important to search for instances which may contradict the emerging findings and examine why these contradictions may exist. These "negative instances" will provide a stronger theory in the end. One method used to examine negative instances was to conduct both a within-case as well as a cross-case analysis (Huberman & Miles, 1994). A within-case analysis for this study involved examining each participant (both the entrepreneur and his or her life partner) and exploring this unique case (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Through this examination a story (or description) of each participant was created. The cross-case analysis

involved examining each participant (both entrepreneurs and life partners) against other participants to determine similarities and/or differences (Huberman & Miles, 1994). This allowed for the clarification and consideration of the occurrence of these similarities and/or differences (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Both the within-case and cross-case analysis assisted in uncovering discrepancies existing among participants and in examining why these variations occurred.

Searching for Alternatives

The final phase of data analysis included a search for alternative theories or possibilities. Each researcher examining a set of data is likely to find unique and individual insights that another may not have obtained due to the variations in his/her personal data set. This phase of data analysis involved attempting to identify some of these alternatives and considering some of the other ways the data could be translated or read. To ensure alternative explanations were considered within this study, other people's interpretations (e.g., my supervisor, my committee members, my colleagues, my participants) interpretations were sought.

Criterion for Evaluating the Research

In addition to searching for "negative instances" and alternative explanations, there are several other methods for ensuring the results are valid or accurate. This section will explore some of the "tools" I used to evaluate the findings of this study. Marshall and Rossman (1989, p. 290) refer to this process as establishing "truth value" and identify four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

Establishing credibility can be defined as the researcher's attempt to accurately describe the participant and his/her experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to capture the true

picture of the participant, it was necessary to be thoroughly immersed in the data and to constantly re-read and refer back to them (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). As well, it was important for me to identify myself and the standpoint from which I operated (e.g., a woman, a student, a researcher) (Reinharz, 1992). This identification allows the reader to understand how my experiences have influenced my translation of the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Reinharz, 1992). The recognition of this standpoint was particularly important in this study as I interviewed several male participants. To ensure that I accurately understood, interpreted, and presented their experiences, it was important to seek confirmation directly from them. Further, as I was not a native Newfoundlander or Labradorian, I had to take care when translating their experiences as I did not share their cultural background. Confirmation was, therefore, sought through the validation interviews. A final point related to the criteria of credibility that I needed to establish was a good rapport with my participants during the interviews in order to facilitate the sharing of information and the collection of valuable data. Rapport was established through a number of techniques that were initiated through a phone conversation after the participants indicated an interest in being included in the study. These initial phone conversations often were as along as 30 minutes in length. After the initial phone call, a time was set to meet with the participant. At this initial face-to-face meeting, the session often started with a tour of their work setting (for those who were interviewed in their homes). Next, a few minutes of "getting to know one another" was conducted before the interview commenced. This session provided the entrepreneurs with some insight into why I was particularly interested in their lives and the information they were going to share with me during the upcoming session. The result of these techniques was a higher comfort level during the interview.

Transferability

The next criteria identified by Marshall and Rossman (1989) is transferability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also refer to this as "fittingness" as it is the degree of congruence between one research setting and another. Unlike generalisability in quantitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) do not feel it is the original researcher's responsibility to establish transferability; rather, it is the responsibility of the individual who wishes to transfer the findings to his/her context. Lincoln and Guba (1985) believe the original researcher's responsibility is simply to document the context of his/her study (e.g., the setting, the participants) to facilitate this transference. In other words, I needed to provide a detailed explanation of my subjects and the unique characteristics of them to enable other researchers to determine whether they have similar situations.

Dependability

The third criteria for evaluating qualitative research is dependability or the ability to account for changing conditions and refinements to the design of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Qualitative research involves continuous alteration to both the research questions, as noted earlier, as well as the entire design of the study. Due to the initial challenges with obtaining participants, my recruitment letter had to be modified to highlight my linkage to Newfoundland and Labrador and a genuine interest in my participants and their experiences. As Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had been abused by other researchers, it was important to display that I was not going to repeat such practices. Another change that occurred in my original research design was the use of validation interviews instead of focus groups. As noted earlier, the time constraints of my participants necessitated a more "time flexible" interview format. Attempting to co-ordinate their schedules around their own

lives was a large enough challenge without trying to also negotiate several others. It was, therefore, necessary for me to be open to refinements and alterations of the study and document these changes within the written report to allow the reader to be kept in touch with the advancements.

Confirmability

Confirmability is the final evaluation criteria and involves the ability of another to confirm or verify the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). However, Marshall and Rossman (1989) are quick to explain that this confirmation does not have to be performed by another researcher. Instead, it is the data that performs the confirmation. In other words, Marshal and Rossman argued that my findings had to be solidly grounded and emerge from the data (i.e., transcripts, scratch notes, field notes, head notes). Thus, it was necessary to remain immersed in these materials. However, Marshall and Rossman (1989) also note that the researcher can apply certain "checks" to ensure their findings are confirmed by the data. For example, I had another researcher serve as a "devil's advocate" and search for negative instances within the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). As well, following the guidance and suggestions of previous researchers regarding data analysis techniques ensured important findings were not overlooked (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). In addition, member and group checks were performed to ensure the findings were representative across participants and groups. Confirmability was further ensured through the use of follow-up sessions with each individual or couple.

Ethics/Reciprocity

A final topic related to the research methodology is the issue of ethics and reciprocity. The people who participated in this study donated their time and energy through their

participation in the interviews. Therefore, it was only fair that while participating, they were treated in an ethical manner and once finished, they were reciprocated for their efforts (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Within this section, some of the ethical issues related to this study (e.g., informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality) as well as the concern of reciprocity will be examined.

Ensuring participants were aware of all of the risks associated with participation was performed through an informed consent form (Berg, 1989). This form provided information about the study, the researcher, and any risks involved with participation (see Appendix A). As well, participants were made aware that their involvement within the study was completely voluntary and they had the right to withdraw at any time (Berg, 1989). A final ethical consideration to address, which is often more complicated, is the issue of anonymity (Berg, 1989). Because the participants were involved with the researcher in a "hands on" basis through the interviews, maintaining anonymity in relation to their responses was impossible. However, when writing up the results, it was possible to maintain confidentiality through the use of pseudonyms (Berg, 1989). During the interviews, participants were given the opportunity to select their own pseudonyms to be used within the study. This enabled the participants to know what personal information was included without anyone else being aware. As well, it enabled the participants to be directly involved with the study. The data linking respondents to pseudonyms were kept separately from the interview data to ensure respondents could not be identified.

Finally, to thank the participants for their involvement within the study, they are going to be provided with a copy of the results (in executive summary form). As well, simply their inclusion within the study seemed to provide the entrepreneurs with a sense of reimbursement, as

they were able to learn more about themselves and the experiences of other home-business

owners.

Chapter V

The Entrepreneurs' Lives

Entrepreneurship is a very unique form of employment and is very different from many other forms because the entrepreneur is not only the employee, but also the employer. S/he is, therefore, responsible for administration, promotion, sales, human resources, and delivery all at the same time. To provide insight into the everyday realities of this type of life, a description of the participants, their work and home situations, and the activities they are involved in on a typical day is included in this chapter. As well, a glimpse is provided into the three major areas of their lives, namely work, family, and leisure. This supplies a background context for the study, and for understanding the major themes.

The Participants

Included in the sample were 4 female entrepreneurs who ran their own business, 5 male entrepreneurs who ran their own business, and 2 married couples who owned and ran their business together (i.e., a total of 13 entrepreneurs were interviewed). The entrepreneurs were a relatively homogeneous group in terms of socio-economic status. That is, they were primarily from the middle to upper socio-economic classes. Another similarity among the participants was their racial/ethnic identity. They were all Caucasian and most (n=12) had been born and raised in Newfoundland. The other participant had been raised elsewhere in Canada, but had been living in Newfoundland for several years. Yet, this is where the similarities seemed to end. Beyond this initial resemblance, a number of differences existed among the participants related to

demographic factors, such as gender and family situation (see Table 1). Information on these demographic factors will be provided in the following sections.

Women with Children Living in the Household (Pamela, Valerie)

Two of the 4 women entrepreneurs had children living in the household, Pamela, and Valerie, and each had attempted to co-ordinate their businesses around their children and their activities. As well, both women were married and their life partners worked full-time outside the home. Pamela's partner worked in the educational system, and Valerie's partner worked as a certified general accountant. Both women identified their life partners' incomes as being the primary economic base for the family with their own businesses providing a supplementary income. Pamela owned a therapeutic massage business and Valerie operated a maternity clothes company. Both of the businesses were operated out of the home, however Valerie had a separate storefront away from her home and only used her home for the administrative aspects. Pamela, on the other hand, had her clients entering her home as her business was run entirely from her house. Another difference between the women was that Pamela's children were older (i.e., 15-20 years) than Valerie's (i.e., 5-15 years). Therefore, Pamela had recently started to devote greater concentration to her business than she had previously when her children were younger, while Valerie still felt her children influenced her work schedule to a great extent.

Women with Grown-up Children (Elfrieda, Joy)

The women with grown-up children, Elfrieda and Joy, had a slightly different life situation than those in the previous category. These women reflected upon the changes in their businesses since their children exited the home. Elfrieda had chosen to

Table 1

Brief Description of Participants' Family Situations

Name	Marital Status	Age	# of children	# of children in household	Ages of children
Janie & Bill	Married	Mid 30's	2	2	5-15
David & Annette	Married	Mid 30's	2	2	0-5
Carl	Married	Early 40's	3	3	5-10
Valerie	Married	Early 40's	2	2	5-15
Ed	Re-married	Early 40's	3	1	5-20
Dave	Married	Early 50's	2	2	15-20
Pamela	Married	Early 50's	2	2	15-20
Elfreida	Married	Early 60's	2	0	25-30
Herb	Married	Late 50's	3	2	20-30
Paul	Living with partner	Mid 40's	0	0	N/A
Joy	Recently separated/ Dating	Mid 40's	1	0	15-20

operate a home-based business so she would be close to home when her children were growing up, and since they had left home, still enjoyed having the benefit of her work place close by. She operated a sewing supply shop which had a storefront attached to her home. Having her work environment connected to her home enabled her to accomplish more tasks within her daily routine. For example, she could put on a load of laundry and then dash across when customers arrived at her business. Another benefit of this separate storefront was that clients did not actually enter her home.

A change Joy had experienced when her son left home three years previously was that she had more room within her home and a greater division between home and work. She operated a publishing business and had moved her business into his previous bedroom and out of her den. This move allowed her to keep the business in a relatively separate part of her home. Therefore, she could close the door to the bedroom to achieve a division between her life spheres. However, a difference between the work environments of Elfrieda and Joy was that Joy did not have any clients visiting her home. She met them at their work environments. Then, from her home, she would conduct the administrative aspects of her business as well as develop the final product.

Another difference between the life situations of the women without children at home was that Elfrieda was married and her life partner (Bob) assisted in her business on a part-time basis. As well, Bob had previously been full-time employed outside the home, but was now retired from a telephone company, and was currently receiving a pension that provided a primary source of income for the family. Interestingly, he was the only male life partner who agreed to participate in this study. Perhaps Bob's role

within the business provided him with a different perception of his contribution than the other male life partners.

Elfrieda and Bob's two children were in their late 20's and had been away from home for several years. Joy, on the other hand, was recently separated and served as the only source of income for her household. Her son was 23 and had just recently moved out on his own. She stayed in constant touch with him via phone and was emotionally closer to him than when he had lived at home.

Men with Children Living in the Household (Carl, Ed, Dave, Herb)

Most of the men who participated in this study had children currently living within the household. Yet, their life experiences were quite different depending on the number of children in the household and their ages. Carl had three children all living at home who ranged in age from 5-10 years. He operated a plumbing supply business out of his home and travelled extensively throughout Newfoundland to sustain contact with his suppliers. When Carl was in his hometown, his time outside of work was often quite full with his children's leisure activities. He was married and his life partner (Donna) had just started working part-time as a retail clothing sales representative. She assumed complete responsibility for the children while Carl was away and often also when he was in town. As well, Carl's parents lived within their home and would assist with childcare. Carl's business served as the primary source of income for the family.

Ed's life situation was similar in many ways to Carl's, however there were some differences as well. He also had three children, but only one was living in the same household. He was remarried and the other two children lived with their mother. He operated a wood finishing products supply business and travelled extensively throughout

Newfoundland. In fact, sometimes he would travel with Carl to keep in touch with a "friendly face" while on the road. Although the two men were in very different businesses, many of their clients were the same or were located in similar areas. While Ed was away on business, his life partner (Sharon) would also assume sole responsibility for the family. Yet, Sharon worked full-time in an administrative position and found this added obligation to be quite a strain both physically and emotionally. Despite the fact that Ed's parents lived next door and were willing to assist the family, Sharon felt guilty relying upon their assistance and, therefore, she tried to limit her reliance upon their assistance. Although Ed's business served as the primary source of income for the family, Sharon did not believe their family would have been able to survive financially without her income.

Another one of the men with children in the household who engaged in extensive travel related to his business was Herb. He had three children, two of whom were currently living at home. His children ranged in age from 20-30 years and were, therefore, older than the previous two men's. He operated a hardware supply business and travelled throughout Newfoundland to retail companies on a regular rotational basis, only conducting the administrative side of his business from his home. He was married and his life partner (Susan) worked full time in the educational system, similar to Ed's partner Sharon. However, Herb did not experience the same sense of familial obligation as did Ed when he was away because Herb's children were older and did not require the same type of care. Susan and Herb had other familial obligations because Susan's mother had moved into their home and required care. Susan was responsible for this care, although she did receive assistance from her children in relation to this care-giving

role. Currently, her mother required minimal care so Susan did not feel excessively burdened at this point, however she noted this may change in the future. Herb's work served as a supplementary source of income for the family when combined with his spouse's employment.

Dave was the final male participant in this study with children still at home. He had two children (one age 17 and the other 20) and was currently married. His life partner (Betty) was not employed outside of the home; therefore, the business provided the only source of income for the family. As a result, Dave found he spent extremely long hours at work and Betty was responsible for the home and family. Dave's business was a lighting supply company, operated from a room in their basement. However, this location was reserved for conducting the administration and co-ordination of his work, with client contact being sustained at alternative sites within the city. He did not travel much with his business except for trade shows.

Men without Children (Paul)

Paul was the only participant in this study who did not have any children, and the only male participant without children in the household. Paul operated a landscape business from his home with the majority of the work being conducted at clients' (both commercial and residential) locales. His home served primarily as a place to receive mail and telephone calls. All of his work was conducted within the city and immediately surrounding area. He was currently living with an opposite sex partner (Beth), who also had a full-time position outside of the home as a hairdresser. Their incomes contributed equally to the household.

Couples with Joint Ventures (David and Annette, Janie and Bill)

A final category of participants were those in which both members of the household shared the operation of the business (David and Annette, Janie and Bill). For these two couples, the administrative aspects were performed by one partner with the other partner concentrating on the rest of the business. For Janie and Bill, this situation had worked quite effectively as Janie was able to focus her attention on their cosmetics business, while Bill assumed the primary care giver role for their two children (aged 9 and 11) and maintained the bookkeeping aspects and payroll part of the business. Janie would assist with child rearing when she was available, but otherwise Bill maintained the household.

However, the life situation of David and Annette was quite different from Janie and Bill. Annette maintained the administrative aspects of their residential construction company, and also worked part-time as a social worker. David then focused upon supervising their 6-7 part-time workers on the new housing job sites. They also had two young children (aged 2 and 6). Therefore, the couple found negotiating their employment and family commitments to be extremely challenging.

Summary

The life situations of the entrepreneurs were influenced both by gender and by the presence of children within the household. The two women entrepreneurs who had children at home were primarily responsible for childcare in addition to their businesses. However, the men entrepreneurs with children were able to shift their family responsibilities to their life partner and direct greater attention and/or energy towards their businesses. This was even the case when the partner had a full-time position outside

of the home. One exception to the assumption of the primary care giver role by the female, was Janie who operated a joint business with her life partner. In her situation, her partner assumed the primary care-giving role and she focused more of her attention towards their business. For those participants with no children in the household, more attention could be given to the business for both the male and female participants. Yet, the women still tended to reflect upon the familial commitments they had previously maintained.

The Nature of the Participants' Paid Employment:

Business Ownership

The paid employment of the entrepreneurs revolved entirely around their businesses. Although some other activities were identified which could be classified as work, the only form of paid employment they conducted was entrepreneurship (i.e., operating a home-based business). Within this section, a background of these businesses will be provided to detail an overview of the nature of their occupations

Age of the Businesses

The entrepreneurs owned and operated a wide range of businesses as highlighted throughout the previous categorical descriptions. These businesses were well established and had been in operation for several years ranging from 5 to 35 years (see Table 2). The youngest businesses were David and Annette's (5), Valerie's (7 years), and Joy's (6 years), with the oldest one's being David's (32 years) and Elfrieda's (27 years).

Location of the Businesses

The preponderance of businesses was operated from within the home; however, two participants had an outside office or store location that was separate from the

Table 2

Brief Description of Participants' Businesses

Name	Type of business	# of employees	Clients	Age of Business
Janie & Bill	Beauty products franchise	25-50	Mostly female end users	10-15 yrs
David & Annette	Home construction company	5-10	Residential end users	5-10 yrs
Carl	Agent for plumbing manufacturers	0	Retailers, wholesalers, contractors, engineers	10-15 yrs
Valerie	Retail maternity wear	0-5	Expecting women end users	5-10 yrs
Ed	Sales representative for wood finishing business	5-10	Retailers	10-15 yrs
Dave	Sales representative for lighting company	0	End users	30-35 yrs
Pamela	Registered massage therapist	0	End users	15-20 yrs
Elfreida	Sales of sewing machines and fabrics	0	Retailers and end users	25-30 yrs
Herb	Sales representative for hardware building supplies	0	Retailers	15-20 yrs
Paul	Landscape design business	5-15	Commercial and residential end users	10-15 yrs
Joy	Publishing business	5-10	Retailers	5-10 yrs.

household (Valerie, Janie). These outside offices were operated as a place to maintain inventory or stock, with the administrative aspects of the business still being conducted from the home location. Although the businesses were operated from the home, clients only visited this location for two of the female entrepreneurs (Pamela and Elfrieda) and one of these locations was a store attached to the house (i.e., Elfrieda) so clients were not directly entering the home. However, clients had previously visited the home for another two of the women (Valerie, Janie) until they had developed outside offices. So, for most of the male-owned businesses, the home was sustained as a place from which to conduct the administrative aspects of the business and clients did not enter this domain. Yet, several of the women either currently or previously had clients visiting their home for business reasons.

The Clients

Depending upon the type of business, there was also a wide range of clients with whom the entrepreneurs worked. These ranged from retailers to wholesalers to direct consumers. The majority of the women were dealing with direct consumers, with the exception of Joy who was involved in contracting her publishing services to retail companies and Elfrieda who sometimes sold materials to commercial sewers. However, the rest of the women worked directly with the end consumer who would utilise the products they were selling (e.g., cosmetics, clothes, therapeutic massage).

In contrast, the majority of the male entrepreneurs were primarily involved with retailers and wholesalers. Instead of being in contact with the end user, they were dealing with the "middle" person. This meant a large amount of time was involved in ensuring the client was knowledgeable about the product that they were going to be selling and

that they had sufficient quantities of it. The only male entrepreneur who did not work with retailers or wholesalers, but directly with end users, was Paul. His landscaping business put him in direct contact with the people who would be utilising his end product.

Contact with Clients

The type of clients the entrepreneurs were involved with and the nature of the businesses influenced the contact made with these individuals. Interactions ranged from face-to-face contact to more indirect methods (e.g., phone, fax). Those dealing with end users were engaged in more of the face-to-face contact to conduct a sale or business transaction. At the same time, the entrepreneurs working with retailers and wholesalers often operated much of their business over the phone. Because they were primarily responding to questions about the product that the client would later be trying to sell or "move" (not the entrepreneur) or filling orders for inventory to be shipped, direct contact was often not needed. However, to ensure the product was being displayed appropriately and that the entrepreneur was "the only one in the retailer's mind", site visits still tended to occur on a regular basis and often included travel to outlying areas of Newfoundland.

Employees

All of the entrepreneurs classified their businesses as small and, therefore, had a limited number of employees. For most of the entrepreneurs, this ranged from 0 to 15, depending on the type of business. Those businesses requiring more manual labour (e.g., construction, landscaping) and larger geographical locations had additional workers. As a result, the male entrepreneurs (e.g., Ed, David, Paul) tended to have more employees than did the females. However, Janie had 25 active part-time employees and, in the past, had up to 50 people working for her in order to cover the large area that her business

encompassed (i.e., all of Newfoundland). As well, Joy had several people who were assisting in her publishing business (e.g., photographers, writers, printers) and upon whom she would occasionally rely.

A Typical Work Day? The Question Remains

The entrepreneurs were divided between whether a truly typical day existed or not. For some, there was a daily work routine that they tended to follow. This routine was described and documented with relative certainty. The routine included activities such as meetings, phone calls, administrative tasks, and report writing. These activities tended to follow a relatively structured pattern and occurred at relatively regular intervals. The women entrepreneurs (especially those with young children) tended to be the ones with more structured routines, because this was necessary in order to fit their work with their family lives. For example, Janie had a meeting with her partner (who operated the administrative side of her business) every morning, and then headed to her office space where she would schedule appointments for later in the day. The afternoons then revolved around these different appointments. As well, Valerie and both Pamela and Elfrieda (when their children were younger) had consciously shaped their work schedules to fit around their children's sleeping, eating, or leisure activities. Two of the male entrepreneurs (Paul, David) also had relatively regular working schedules or routines. As both Paul and David were working for end users, they found that their work routines were relatively concrete. They had specific contracts to fulfil (e.g., landscaping, home building) and there were specific tasks to be completed in relation to their work that did not vary much. However, this was only the case during their busy seasons. Each was influenced by seasonality and experienced a slow down or stoppage in their work during

their off-seasons (i.e., winter). As a result, neither had a regular routine during this "down" time.

However for other entrepreneurs, work was less structured and was more influenced by their clients. In these cases, a typical day often did not exist and work was referred to as being "all over the place", "erratic", and "I never really know". Depending on the client's needs, the entrepreneur could have completely different tasks from day to day and, in several cases, could be in completely different cities and geographical locations scattered throughout Newfoundland (and, for a few, even Labrador). This tended to be the case for most of the male entrepreneurs (especially those with retailers and wholesalers as clients). Carl, Ed, and Herb were often called away on travel trips on very short notice in order to ensure their clients remained satisfied. The irregular work schedule was also a case for Joy when she was getting towards the end of a contract and a deadline was fast approaching. In this situation, she would often work long and strenuous hours to ensure she was able to achieve the deadline. However, she would then have a reprieve once it was completed and her life would return to normalcy.

Length of a Typical Work Day

The length of a typical workday also varied depending on the nature of the work and the entrepreneurs' life situations. Some individuals worked at least 10-12 hours a day and often more than this, while others worked relatively structured traditional eight hour days. Things which influenced the length of the work day included: the geographical location of their clients, the geographical location of their suppliers, the size of the project, the urgency of completion of the project, the presence of children in the

household, one's role as care giver in the family, and the dependence of the family upon the business income.

Just as the length of the workday varied, so did the amount of paid work conducted on weekends. The majority of both men and women entrepreneurs saw the weekend, especially Sundays, as "sacred"; therefore, they reduced paid work levels on these days. A few did not work on the weekends at all (e.g., Ed, Herb). However, the weekends tended to be used as a time to catch up on the administrative or clerical side of the business for most of the entrepreneurs. In addition, as their offices were within the home, several commented about how challenging it was not to work on the weekends because it was so readily available. Carl captures this dilemma in the following quotation:

> And even though the office is right there in the house, I think that's sometimes even worse because if the office was outside I'd put it off or I would go into the office early and make it up that way. But because it's there, it's like the office is always crying out to me. I'll just slip in there and three hours later I'm still in there. Right? And I'm bad for that. And that could be weekends as well. If I could sneak in there on the weekends as well, I will!

Therefore, the office was difficult to get away from even on the weekends because of its location within the home. At the same time, the weekend was the most common time when work conducted in relation to the business was reduced. For the women this often included opportunities to catch up on household labour. Joy explained that when she needed to do some gardening, laundry, or run some errands, she would tend to do these activities on the weekend. By doing so, she would then be "back on track" during the week. While for the men, time away from work tended to be translated into leisure either for self or for the family. Therefore, opportunities to reduce work were used differently

between the men and women entrepreneurs. However, for both groups at least a small

amount of work related to the business was performed on the weekend.

Seasonality and Holidays and the Typical Work Day

Seasonality played an impact upon several of the businesses as already

mentioned. Most of the entrepreneurs were able to identify a "slow time" when they had

less business and work. This slow down was either caused by seasonally governed work

(e.g., construction, landscaping) or by a reduction in the need for one's services (e.g.,

sewing supplies, maternity clothes, publishing). Problems arose during this time because,

as Paul explains during the following quotation, the expenses still continued despite the

decrease in income:

> And you've still got expenses during your downtime because you've
> got advertising, and a vehicle, and insurance. You have some repair
> work that you need to do for warranty and so you still have expenses
> even though the income is not coming in.

During the "down time", many of the entrepreneurs took their holiday or vacation time.

The length of this time varied depending on the businesses and, therefore, so did their

ability to take time away from the business. However, as the business was the primary

means of livelihood for several of the entrepreneurs (especially the men), it was often

very challenging and many faced guilt taking any such holidays, as shown by Carl:

> They are still calling you, so it's always there jabbing you. You're never really
> free from it.

Not only does the business provide a source of guilt on holidays, but also it is necessary

to take one's holidays out of town to truly be able to have a reprieve. As the businesses

were home-based, one could not simply stay home from work to have a break.

As well, several incorporated the business and/or work into their holidays. For example, many would meet a client or attend meetings during their vacation that would also result in tax deductible benefits. The new advancements in technology (e.g., fax, cellular phones, email) served to be both a "curse" and a benefit during these vacations as they enabled the entrepreneurs to remain in contact with their business clients, but it also meant they never really escaped from them. Therefore, even while on holidays, many entrepreneurs were still very much linked to and infused with their work.

Daily Benefits and Challenges of a Home-Based Work Environment

To capture an idea of the daily negotiations that the entrepreneurs experienced, it was also necessary to consider some of the benefits and challenges associated with operating a home-based business. These benefits and challenges will be examined simultaneously to illustrate the multiple complexities associated with them. They include financial, relational, and status related outcomes.

Financial. Many of the business owners felt that there were tremendous financial advantages to being an entrepreneur. These monetary benefits were primarily derived from the tax deductions obtained through operating an office from the home. This enabled the entrepreneur to deduct part of his/her mortgage, vehicle, utilities, and travel expenses. As Paul explained, this meant that the entrepreneur actually had greater after-tax income:

> A lot of your business expenses, a lot of your travel if you're going to other parts of Newfoundland or Canada and you can fit in some suppliers then you can basically write off the trip. So you are not paying the same taxes as someone who is working in your position. Your taxes are deducted, but there's many opportunities for tax deductions. That's certainly positive.

However, at the same time, trying to link the business and travel meant that the entrepreneur did not actually get a complete break from his/her work (as noted within the section on holidays). Therefore, the financial advantages may be offset by other disadvantages. As well, for many of the male entrepreneurs, travel was a common part of their business and, thereby, was often not seen as a vacation, but rather as work.

In addition to the tax benefits, another financial advantage for the male entrepreneurs came from the possibility of enjoying all of the remuneration if the business was successful. The majority of the men explained they had specifically chosen to operate their current business due to the financial benefits. In fact, Carl, Ed, Dave, and Paul explained that they would actually have preferred to conduct another form of work if their businesses were not so financially viable. Yet, the business did not even have to actually be financially successful to enjoy this benefit, as simply the "opportunity of success" seemed to also serve as an incentive.

Yet, the entrepreneurs' financial experiences were not completely positive as many felt they lacked support from their communities. Support was being sought from government agencies, banks, and clients; however, these groups were not providing the necessary reinforcements for the entrepreneurs. The government was criticised for its lack of recognition of the difference between a large and a small business. The same amount of bookkeeping and legal information was being required for these small businesses as would have been required for much larger ones with additional support staff. As the entrepreneurs had few employees and most of these were assisting with the operation of the business as opposed to the administration of it, the owner was often the

only one fulfilling these requirements. Therefore, a large amount of time was being expended "filling out paperwork".

The lack of support from banks was being felt monetarily. Several of the men and women entrepreneurs commented about the lack of borrowing power they had due to their fluctuating incomes. As they did not have a regular salary, they were being labelled as having poor credit. As a result, the entrepreneurs explained they had to fund their own ventures. For those who do get into financial difficulties later in the business due to slow cycles, the problem was their sole responsibility as noted by Paul:

> In my 10 years in business, there's probably been three different years that my business was slow because of the cycle of business and you can get into real financial trouble. Once you get into financial difficulties and you can't meet your commitments, then you're ability to borrow and to have a good cash flow are very much limited. So, therefore, until you have the cash you need, it's a constant juggle and I would say probably 40% of my energy goes into maintaining that cash flow because you don't get a good line of credit. Banks won't lend you a line of credit unless you are something established. Something like [Tim Horton's].

The banks did not seem to understand or recognise the fluctuating income levels experienced by entrepreneurs or they were at least not willing to take a risk that the income level would increase later in their business cycle. Rather, there seemed to be an assumption that small businesses would fail and were, therefore, a significant risk or detriment to fund.

These problems with obtaining financing were more often experienced by the male entrepreneurs than by females within this study. This was because the majority of the women had life partners with stable incomes, therefore, they were able to offset their instability with their partners stability. However, for both Janie and Joy the business was their only income and, therefore, they did not have this financial benefit. Interestingly,

the majority of the male entrepreneurs faced similar situations to these two women, even though many had partners with stable incomes. The male entrepreneurs were still seen by the banks as having the primary family income regardless of their life partners' employment. As a result, their credit situations were deemed poor because of the instability of their business incomes.

Relational. The development of relationships and the ability to interact with people was another key point highlighted by some of the entrepreneurs. These relationships were forged through the travel associated with the business, daily activities of work, and social events tied to the business. The development of these relationships was mentioned by several of the women, but only one male entrepreneur (i.e., Paul). For the women, the chance to meet "fantastic people" and develop contacts was a prime method of reducing the isolation they otherwise may have experienced from operating out of the home. As well, Joy found that it served to keep her informed of activities occurring within the community and enabled her to develop future business contacts. She also believed that the majority of her friends and activities were interrelated with business related contacts:

> Most of my contacts and people that I've gotten to know as friends
> have been people that I've met through work and it gets you out and
> you get to meet other people. And you tend to be the one to go rather
> than somebody like the manager of the company. If you work for a
> company, chances are you won't be the one that's invited. It will be
> somebody up the line. So, I think it broadens the number of people
> you have contact with.

Yet, the male entrepreneurs had a slightly different explanation as to why contact with people was important. For Paul, meeting new people allowed him to obtain a better sense of their character as he was dealing with their money. He felt this was an important

lesson to learn due to the damage that one bad customer could cause to his business profits:

> You get to meet people from all kinds of walks of life and you get to
> meet them because you're dealing with their money. You also get to
> find out their character because it's not just bad business people out there,
> there's an awful lot of bad consumers out there that would like to get you to
> come in their yard and not reward you for your efforts. There's a lot of
> poor customers or bad people to deal with. Mean spirited. But you don't
> need very many, see. If you only have a 20% profit margin then umm...
> if you have 5 customers and you get a bad one...your profits are wiped out!

However, in addition to forging relationships with other people, Janie believed

that being an entrepreneur also enabled her to develop stronger bonds with her own

family. These bonds developed due to the increased respect she felt her children had for

her as a role model to them. Janie explained:

> I think that it's really interesting because with women today setting an
> example for their kids, and I couldn't pick a better scenario for our kids to
> grow up in, that it's OK for Mom to work. I mean I've missed kids concerts,
> I've missed special events, but Dad's been there, so it's been a really good
> lesson for them to know that Dads can be a really big part of their lives as well
> as Moms. And I don't have a problem with that. I don't have this thing that,
> 'Oh my gosh, I'm their mother. I have to be there.' It's OK. I'm OK with it,
> if they're OK and it hasn't been ever an issue in our family.

Therefore, besides her work enabling her to develop a stronger relationship with her

family, it was also enabling her life partner to play a larger role in the family and thereby

also forge greater bonds with the unit.

Yet, the entrepreneurs' interactions with other people as a result of their

businesses were not always positive. The majority of these concerns arose when

interacting with other business owners within the industry. There were mixed feelings

about whether other people working in the same industry assisted the entrepreneur or

served as competitors. For some, people were very supportive and provided contacts (as

already noted). However, for others, there were definite competitors with whom they had negative interactions. This competition occurred (in part) due to the relatively small market within Newfoundland and Labrador. As there were only a limited number of clients for any business, a need to covet one's clients was felt by many. Elfrieda commented upon her experiences with such competition:

> I've had so many people go into competition with me. Very direct competition and....so far I've outlasted everybody. One business opened up and when they went to see suppliers, they wanted all my suppliers and they told all the suppliers that they'd have me out of business in 6 months to sell to them. Suppliers in Montreal hear of a location and three people owning it and so of course they sold it to them because they think of the bottom line for dollars too. So, I've had a lot of competition. So, I've had to be very competitive and I think to have a business in this location you have to be better than anybody else. And there's no room for error because an error seems to be very personal. And in business if somebody makes a mistake or the business made a mistake, you correct it, but here it's like you made a mistake.

Therefore, entrepreneurs had to be extremely careful and protective of not only their clients, but also their suppliers in order to sustain their businesses.

Status. The final benefit and challenge faced by the entrepreneurs in relation to their work was related to status. Many of the male and female entrepreneurs experienced a tremendous amount of status or sense of achievement from their job. Operating a business was seen as being a relatively prestigious occupation and enabled the entrepreneur to develop important relationships with other people. It served as a form of integration into their communities and enabled them to build strong connections with other people they met through their business negotiations. The male entrepreneurs tended to emphasize the sense of prestige they experienced from having the label of "business owner", while the women were more concerned with the development of relationships with others and a connection to their communities. Therefore, even though

both groups achieved status through their work, the perceptions and meanings attached to this prestige were translated slightly differently.

At the same time, many of the entrepreneurs did not feel that they were being taken seriously. As the entrepreneurs were operating primarily from their homes, there existed a belief that they were not truly working. Paul felt that people viewed his business as "less legitimate" because it was based out of his house. As a result, initially he rented an office space from a friend in which there was only a sign and a desk. He did not even work out of the place, but had all of his calls forwarded. However, simply having an outside office, provided a greater sense of legitimacy for his business.

In addition to not recognising the business as legitimate, selected people in the community (e.g., clients, government, financial institutions) also did not consider the entrepreneurs' family commitments. As many of the women had specifically chosen to operate a home-based business in order to be at home when their children were young, there were a number of child care responsibilities which were negotiated around the business. However, several women felt their clients had been upset that time was taken away from their interests when they attended to children. It was as though the clients hoped work would still be separate from home life. Valerie highlighted the tension she had experienced from clients in regards to her negotiation of work and family:

> Even though I operate a [maternity] business, I breast fed both of
> my kids and there would be people who would be put out if the baby
> was there crying and needed attention. There were people who were
> self-centered enough that you know, 'I'm here and I'm a customer and
> I need to be served,' and that used to make me think...I am trying to
> give you good customer service and that's really important and at that
> time the store was downstairs, right in our basement and that used to be
> a struggle. I would be trying to breast feed [daughter] and you would
> have your impatient customer and it would be so tense. And here would
> be the baby crying and I found that really frustrating, you know.

Clients did not seem to recognise that the entrepreneur had additional life commitments besides their business and that both of these obligations could fall under one roof.

In summary, the daily operation of a home-based business resulted in the entrepreneurs obtaining financial, relational, and status benefits from their work. However, at the same time, these three themes also produced challenges as the business owners struggled with people in the community, competitors, and their work.

Importance of Work

Before leaving the entrepreneurs' work environments, one final theme to address is the importance of this life domain. Work and owning a business can become all encompassing. Ed mentioned, "it surrounds my whole life". This is because entrepreneurs focus on the business and creating a sufficient livelihood. The extreme importance of the business could be seen when Annette (referring to the business she operates with her life partner) mentioned,

> We hope that family is more important but it seems that most of your time is spent working. It's just the reality of it. I mean you can't do anything about it.

Within her comments, the reader can hear her concern about focussing too much upon the business and perhaps the pressure she also feels from society to place her family before her other obligations within the wording she utilises (i.e., "we *hope* that family is more important"). As well, she has forged a link between work and family in her declaration of the former's primacy. This link draws attention to an underlying concern for family that seems to be driving an overlying commitment to work. Further, she is expressing her frustration with the current lack of adequate employment alternatives within Newfoundland.

The underlying familial focus of the entrepreneurs could be seen in several instances throughout the entrepreneurs' explanations of their work's importance to them. For those for whom the business was the primary form of income for the family (i.e., Janie, Joy, and most of the male entrepreneurs), the need to generate sufficient income was seen as justification for the importance of their work. It was believed that if more money were generated from the business, then the family would have a greater variety of leisure options, as explained by Ed in the following quotation:

> You are trying to do the best you can for your kids and to do that,
> you know, like...I mean years ago kids would play with two blocks of
> wood and they'd be happy. You know you try not to spoil your kids,
> right, and I...want to provide as many opportunities as I can for the
> kids and then that would give them more choices and hopefully better
> choices.

Therefore, a concern about providing for their families was driving the entrepreneurs to focus upon their work and business.

Yet, as well as being able to sustain the family's economic situation, operation of a small business also served to provide a larger form of income than many other forms of work currently available in Newfoundland. Four of the male entrepreneurs (both those with children and those without) believed they made more money as small business owners than they could have with other forms of employment. This meant that they could live in Newfoundland and retain their cultural background, while still achieving a certain standard of living. Paul highlights the importance his Newfoundland culture has for him:

> Well, a priority for me would be I want to stay in Newfoundland.
> In order to do that, obviously you need an income from this that would
> allow you to stay here because the cost of living here is prohibitive.
> You're on an island and it's not easy to get out. It's expensive to travel

from here and you have high unemployment so, therefore, you have to
focus on your work. You can't just quit and start something else.

The entrepreneurs' ability to make a sufficient living from their businesses in order to afford to stay in Newfoundland, was being driven by a need and desire to stay in contact with their families. If they were able to sustain a sufficient family income, then the business owners would be able to remain in their home provinces. Therefore, an underlying importance of family may again have been driving this emphasis placed upon work. Carl drew attention to the existence of such an underlying familial commitment. When questioned about the importance of his work to him, he responded:

> That's a good question. That's a funny question because I spend so much time at it. You would think it's up, but it's not. I would say it's...I mean my family is the most important to me and that's why I probably work so much. Right, so, it's a funny question.

Therefore, the importance placed upon work was seen as being driven by an overarching importance upon family.

The Entrepreneurs and Their Family Situations

The entrepreneurs' lives revolved around their families and their commitments and obligations to them. This domain was driving many of them to sustain the other aspects of their existence. Family was defined as the people living within the same household, but also children who had moved away. In addition, for three of the male entrepreneurs it included extended family in the form of ageing parents who either lived in the immediate neighbourhood or even within the same home. Activities that were considered to be family related consisted of household labour (e.g., cleaning, shopping, cooking, laundry), childcare, elder care, assisting with homework, and organising, scheduling, and

transporting children to their leisure activities. Within the next section, a snapshot will be provided of how these activities were performed on a daily basis.

Interactions with the Family on a Daily Basis

The actual amount and level of contact the entrepreneurs had with their families varied and were greatly influenced by the presence and number of children in the household, and their ages. That is, those with several children as well as those with younger children were involved with a greater number of family activities. In addition, the amount of travel required for the business also played a role in determining the level of participation the entrepreneur could have with his/her family. Several of the male entrepreneurs who travelled extensively assumed a secondary role in their households with their female life partners adopting the majority of the family responsibilities. The inability of the entrepreneur to be a major part of the family was documented very succinctly by one of the life partners who commented that she felt like a single parent whenever her spouse was away on business.

Family Activities of Entrepreneurs with Children in the Household

When there were children in the family, the family activities that consumed the majority of the entrepreneurs' daily activities were organising, scheduling, and transporting their children to leisure activities. When asked to reflect on their family activities, these entrepreneurs would often let out a sigh and ask, "Where should I begin?" Janie elaborated upon the busy nature of her family's leisure,

> It's pretty well a seven day adventure. Everyday we have something. And just a side note here, people are so busy today. It's unbelievable that the schedules are so crazy. And the kids are only involved in two things each, but there's so much more they could be involved in but there's just no time.

As a result, the first thing that seemed to come to the entrepreneurs' minds was their work in relation to developing their children's leisure options. The large amount of time and energy put into this area seemed to be at the forefront of their thoughts.

Yet, gender also played an important role here. That is, it was the female entrepreneurs who were responsible for the organisation and scheduling of activities, while the male entrepreneurs tended to conduct more of the driving to and from events. However, often the female life partners had to fill in for the male entrepreneurs when they were away due to business reasons. Because of the larger commitment these life partners had to fulfil, one of the women (Sharon), had her son in only a few activities at the moment. Sharon felt that with working full time she did not have the time or energy required for his greater leisure participation.

Another commonly cited daily activity for the families with children in the household was caring for children. This activity varied depending on the age of the children ranging from direct care (e.g., dressing, feeding) to a more indirect or assistive role (e.g., assisting with clothing selections, assisting with homework, supervising interactions). However, as all of the families but one had school-aged children (or older), childcare during the weekdays was not an issue. The one family who had younger children, had arranged for a babysitter during the day and attempted to alternate who would transport the children to the day care. Therefore, during the weekdays there were not many problems for the families with regards to childcare as long as children did not stay home with the flu, or other illness. However, many challenges arose concerning co-ordinating childcare during the other times of the week (i.e., mornings, evenings, weekends).

These challenges resulted from attempting to negotiate the entrepreneurs' business commitments with their obligations to their families. As many of the male entrepreneurs were travelling on the weekends for their work, they were not able to assist their life partners in caring for their children. In addition, the age of the children influenced a role in the amount of childcare required. For those families with young children, the business owner had to play a larger role in supervising their children, while those with older ones found they were more self-sufficient.

Besides caring for children, three of the families were also assuming responsibility for their ageing parents (Carl, Ed, Herb). Carl and Ed both had young children who also needed supervision, while Herb's were older and therefore required less direct attention. However, the amount of care currently required by the older adults was currently quite minimal as they were all in good health. Yet, there was a concern that this was not always going to be the case. For the present, these older adults were assisting in reducing some of the childcare responsibilities (for the two families with young children) as they would often take care of their grandchildren as needed.

Family Activities of the Entrepreneurs without Children in the Household

Eating and talking were the most popular family activities for the three families who did not have any children in the household (i.e., Paul, Joy, Elfrieda). Both Paul and Elfrieda enjoyed dining with their life partner and catching up on their lives. Joy was interested in preparing gourmet meals and entertaining friends. She also communicated, by telephone, regularly with her son. The chance to enjoy one another's company seemed to be the most rewarding thing about interacting with one's family. However, the

regularity with which the entrepreneurs could participate with their life partner seemed to vary.

Elfrieda tried to have dinner every night with her spouse, however, both Paul and Joy saw family members (partner and son respectively) on a more irregular basis. For Paul, his business took precedence over his interactions with his partner and for Joy, long distance stood between her and her son. Therefore, for both of these individuals, their interactions with their families were more sporadic.

Other Family Activities of the Entrepreneurs

Other family related daily activities engaged in by both entrepreneurs with and without children living in the home included performing activities related to household labour (e.g., cooking, cleaning, laundry) and shopping for groceries. These activities tended to be performed during the evenings or on weekends (with the exception of cooking), however, several of the women entrepreneurs would multi-task during the day. Multi-tasking consisted of conducting business related activities (e.g., talking on the phone, writing reports), while, at the same time, performing household activities (e.g., ironing, starting a load of laundry). By fulfilling some of these household obligations during the day, the women felt they had accomplished more with their time. None of the men noted such multi-tasking in their activities, rather they performed household skills individually.

Although all of the entrepreneurs participated to some extent in household labour and grocery shopping, there were differences between the men and women in terms of which of these activities they performed. The women entrepreneurs were involved in all of these activities, while the men entrepreneurs' participation was greater in meal

preparation and shopping for groceries. None of the men mentioned assisting in any of the other tasks related to household labour. Therefore, there was a substantial difference between the men and women in time devoted to household labour activities.

The Importance of the Family

For all of the entrepreneurs, their families played an important role in their lives. Although several commented that to an outsider it may have appeared as though their work took precedence over their lives, due to its large quantity and "all consuming" nature, their families were actually the reason driving them and also what was pushing them to work so hard.

The family's importance was derived from the release it provided. It enabled the entrepreneur to escape from work and served as a change from their daily schedule. In addition, the support the family provided emotionally to the business owner produced "the only thing stable in life". Therefore, the family served as a beacon guiding the entrepreneur through the other aspects of life.

Yet, the nature of this beacon seemed to be more precarious for the men with children in the household as they seemed to hold the belief that it could disappear (as if hidden by fog) at any time. Carl drew attention to this precariousness when referring to his concern when he receives a phone call from home while away on business:

> When we get a phone call, your blood just stops. Because you
> get back to the hotel and [wife] wants you and the bells go off.
> It means there's something wrong. This is not good, right, because
> they wouldn't phone for anything stupid. And they know we're
> going to phone. So when we get the call ahead of time, you say,
> 'OK, this isn't very good'. And it's funny. I think people in our
> situation we overreact to that because they represent the only stable
> soil we've got. The only thing we can have control of, we think.
> Because the rest of the stuff, we're running around trying to control.
> We know we don't have control of it. That's why we're out there.

> So, when they call it's like your world could crumble in a second.
> You always think of the worst. Oh, god, that's all I've got. That's
> why I'm out here. So, there's a panic.

Although Carl talks about having control over his family life, there seems to be a feeling

of helplessness in his dialogue. This feeling of not having any control over one's family

life was also mentioned by several of the other men with children in the home, however,

none of the women felt the same way. As the majority of the women had purposefully

developed their businesses to fit around their families' and children's lives, they seemed

to have greater feelings of control over their family sphere.

Another difference between the men and women in terms of family activities was

the differing levels of time relegated to this domain. Despite the similarly stated

importance of the family for both the men and women entrepreneurs, tremendous

differences existed between them regarding the amount of time actually spent in family

related daily activities. The women spent a much greater amount of time than did the

men with their families. As well, their role was much more continuous, while the men

played a more sporadic part. When the business required travel or became busier, the

men would reduce their family commitments, whereas the women would tend to sustain

them. The only exception was Janie, as Bill would take over greater household

responsibilities when her work became pressing. Therefore, although the family was

considered to be the most important part of the entrepreneurs' daily lives, differences in

how time was allocated to this life sphere differed by gender

Families without children living in the household also commented about the

importance of their families to them, however, there were differences in terms of how this

precedence was portrayed. For the two entrepreneurs living with life partners (i.e.,

Elfrieda, Paul), time spent with the partner was deemed satisfying and enjoyable. However, it did not seem to have the same overriding importance as for those families with children. This was especially the case for Paul who explained that both he and his partner tried to give precedence to their work and "work when work's available" and then to enjoy time together during "down times" or the "off season". For Joy, as she was currently living alone and her son was living outside the province, her business came first but she always made time for her son when he was in town. She also felt that her cats were an extremely important part of her family life and she spent a large amount of time with them.

The Entrepreneurs' Leisure

The other area of the entrepreneurs' life situations examined was their leisure. Leisure included aspects that did not involve paid work, or family and household responsibilities. It was seen as a time to revitalise and often occurred alone, but could also include leisure companions such as friends, spouses, and children.

Personal Leisure

Personal leisure provided a number of benefits to the entrepreneur including health (e.g., stress relief, physical exercise), educational, and social (e.g., social support, relationships) benefits. There was a tremendous range in activities with which the entrepreneurs were involved, including: sports (e.g., hockey, tennis, swimming, golf, squash), exercising (e.g., weight lifting, walking, biking, running), music (e.g., playing an instrument), reading (e.g., for pleasure, for business), and volunteering (e.g., coaching, working with a business-related association). Those without children in the household tended to engage in a greater number of activities on their own, while those with children

tended to have much reduced personal leisure lifestyles. Further, personal leisure tended to occur either during their children's school time or when they were asleep. Therefore, families with children had to "fit in" their own leisure around their families. As a result, leisure became "hurried" and was often not as relaxing. Rather, it was used more for exercise and/or to visit with friends. Women tended to participate more in walking and running and the men engaged more frequently in sporting activities (e.g., water polo, hockey, tennis, golf). As well, the women experienced regrets for not being able to obtain greater opportunities for their personal leisure as did their male spouses.

Many without children in the home found leisure to be more relaxing, serving as a chance to escape from their paid employment. Joy highlights this potential for escape in the following quotation, "It's good to get out after being in the house all day. You get out and get fresh air and exercise." This need to get out of the home was a greater concern for many of the women as their businesses tended to revolve more closely around the home. As the majority did not have an outside office, any chance to escape from this location was valued. Because many of the men were involved in travel away from the home, they seemed to have the opposite desire of the women. That is, they were being driven by a need to get back to the home. Interestingly, this need to be closer to home was ignored in regards to their sports participation. It was accepted that sports participation required time away from home.

A final point with regards to the entrepreneurs' personal leisure was that this area was the first to be reduced when work became busy or family commitments became pressing. Activities for self seemed to be the most transient for the business owners. Yet, four participants (Janie, Carl, Dave, Herb) continued to engage in their own leisure

regardless of outside obligations. These individuals would instead modify when they participated so they could continue to do so. They felt that they would not have been as successful in their other life endeavours, if they were not happy and satisfied with their leisure.

Leisure with Friends

When participating in leisure activities with someone else, a popular companion was friends. For the male entrepreneurs (with and without children), friends were often related to the business. This was also the case for one of the women (i.e., Joy). The most common leisure activities performed by the men with their friends were sports, with the most popular being golf, tennis, and hockey. Joy, on the other hand, enjoyed going to concerts and festivals with her business associates.

Besides developing business connections, another reason for participating with friends was to enjoy a reprieve from the business. Both Joy and Pamela enjoyed going for walks as it enabled them to get out of their homes. The chance to "communicate with another human being" was greatly appreciated and valued. Even though both women worked with clients on a regular basis, they could not communicate as openly with these people as with their close friends.

Leisure with Spouse

Another leisure companion was the entrepreneur's spouse or partner. For those with children in the household, these opportunities to participate solely with the life partner were few and far between, as activities with the children often occurred simultaneously with the partner. Some of the activities which were mentioned by these couples included: watching movies, cooking, and talking. For those without children in

the home, similar activities were cited but they occurred more frequently. In addition,

going for walks was another popular activity for these couples. Participating with the life

partner provided the entrepreneurs with a chance to develop their relationship and also

again served as a reprieve from the business and other life commitments.

Leisure with Children

Those entrepreneurs who had children living in the household spent the majority

of their leisure time co-ordinating their children's leisure (as noted in the section on

family daily activities), but very little time actually participating directly with them (with

the exception of two of the parents who were coaches/administrators).

Because the children were involved in such a large number of activities (primarily

sports related), there was very little time available for other events. Some activities that

the families were able to enjoy with their children included: attending church, playing

board games, talking, reading, and wrestling or "rough housing".

Due to the busy nature of the children's activities, lack of time was one of the

most dominant leisure constraints the families experienced with regards to their

participation with their children. This lack of time, however, did not necessarily indicate

a lack of leisure participation within the family unit, rather (in many cases) it showed an

excess or overload of children's activities.

However, this lack of time within the family unit was not experienced to the same

extent on the weekend. Rather, weekend leisure served to provide relaxation for most of

the families with children, as their children's activities occurred primarily during the

weekdays. Activities on the weekend tended to be more sedentary and included reading,

playing board games, watching television. However, for those families in which both

parents maintained paid employment, the weekends were also used to "catch up" on household chores. Yet, these families also wanted a chance for themselves to relax on the weekends after the strains of the workweek. Therefore, weekends were often a mixture of leisure and household labour.

Holidays

A popular leisure activity for many of the entrepreneurs was taking a holiday. A holiday provided a reprieve from work/business and produced more time for family. Vacations usually consisted of getting away from Newfoundland or at least from their home community to truly ensure an escape from the business. The business owners who had employees, generally left the business in operation while they were away. However, for the others, it was necessary to close down operations or to have calls forwarded. Therefore, it was more challenging to actually leave the business. As a result, many of the vacations tended to be short trips consisting of only a few weeks per year. As well, the presence of children in the household also influenced the number and length of holidays. Those families without children tended to take more frequent trips of longer duration. The presence of children in the household seemed to reduce the travel flexibility of the entrepreneurs and resulted in greater details and smaller duration being required for trips.

Common activities performed while on vacation included visiting relatives and travelling to new and "unique" destinations. Many relatives had moved away from the Province and, therefore, travel was often required. As well, the search for "warm and sunny weather" was also driving many in their vacation destinations. Florida was a popularly cited holiday locale.

Summary

The entrepreneurs were a relatively homogeneous group in terms of socio-economic status and racial/ethnic backgrounds; however, they varied in terms of their gender, ages, and marital and family situations. Two women and four men had children currently living in the home. Three of these families had young children. Only one participant did not have any children and only one male did not have children living in the household. Nine of the entrepreneurs were married and two were single with one currently living with an opposite sex partner.

Their businesses were well established and had been in operation for several years. Most had hired employees to assist in business operation. The businesses served to be both a blessing as well as a "thorn in one's side" as the entrepreneurs experienced both positive as well as negative experiences when operating their enterprises. The men engaged in greater travel in relation to the business with the women staying primarily within the immediate vicinity.

Life outside of the business tended to revolve around the family and for those with children in the household, more specifically the children and their leisure activities. As well, holidays provided a chance to truly get away from the business and daily life stresses as it enabled the entrepreneur to leave their home and thereby their work. For those without children in the household, life away from work included the life partner and/or other friends. Participation with these individuals during leisure time varied by gender with the men performing more sports-related activities and the women engaging more often in exercise regimes.

Chapter VI

The Interconnected Nature of the Participants' Lives

To better understand the entrepreneurs' experiences, it is necessary to examine how the life spheres of family, work, and leisure interact or intersect with one another. As each area of life is experienced simultaneously, it is important to examine this overlapping nature to obtain an authentic representation of life experiences. In this section, the interplay between two spheres at a time will first be explored and then the interaction of all three simultaneously. This will provide an insight into the life experience of a home-based entrepreneur.

Family and Work: The Permeable Complexities

The operation of a small business proved to be "a mixed blessing" for the entrepreneurs. While the literature suggests that entrepreneurship provides work schedule flexibility and possibilities for negotiating family and work commitments, the overlap between work and family presented a number of challenges including both advantages and disadvantages for the participants in this study. Factors that played a role in the negotiation of family and work for the entrepreneurs included: the heterogeneity of home-based businesses, social support structures, and the roles of the spouse/partner.

The Gender Differences of Home-based Business Owners

Literature on home-based businesses tends to assume homogeneity of experience for men and women entrepreneurs. However, each of the businesses operated by the participants in this study was very unique. As a result, individual entrepreneurs had different abilities or possibilities for negotiating their work schedule, but also some commonalities based on gender. Not surprisingly, the women participants had given

more consideration to the balance of work/family when initially selecting their businesses. The male participants had not made such a careful evaluation of "balance", but rather seemed to be driven in their initial set-up by other factors (e.g., financial feasibility, competitors).

Three of the women entrepreneurs explained that they were very careful when setting up their businesses and selecting the type of business they chose to operate to ensure a positive work/family balance could be achieved. This finding supports Hochschild's (1997) statement that women are being driven to more worker-family-friendly opportunities. Elfrieda had specifically chosen a sewing supply business as her form of employment in order to be within the home as much as possible when her children were young. She wanted a business that would enable her to remain close at hand for her children. As a result, she originally operated the business from her living room. Later, when her children were older, she added a separate storefront that was still attached to the home.

Two of the other women used similar tactics with their businesses. In addition, they had manipulated their businesses and their work hours to fit more easily with their family's lives. Pamela had organised her work and clients around the sleeping times of her baby, while Valerie used her baby's feeding times as her guideline. Then, as their children were older, both women allowed their businesses to grow with them as they slowly added more clients and business hours. For Pamela, relegating more time to the family was a priority and did not produce any second thoughts, while Valerie had experienced many doubts and concerns about the lack of attention her business was receiving due to her focus upon her family.

However, the majority of the male entrepreneurs and two of the women (Janie, Joy) had not directed such great attention to work/family balance when selecting their businesses. Rather, they had been more driven by satisfying a need for their services and/or reaping financial rewards. That is, they were being driven by an "entrepreneurial ethic" (Royal Bank, 1994). These entrepreneurs were seeing a "need" for their services and were responding to it. Further, the type of businesses they operated necessitated the ability to continuously respond to clients. As a result, they faced less mobility in their work schedules and were on more of an "on-call" schedule. Therefore, these people tended to work longer hours and conduct more travel in relation to their work. The entrepreneurs, in these situations, became almost employees of their clients and, thereby actually had several "bosses" to whom they responded. This meant that a "conscious effort to spend time with the family" had to be made.

Adoption of the entrepreneurial ethic also created a different type of challenge in terms of "never being free" from business or work. Further, the ability to separate work and family became even more challenging during busy seasons, and Carl commented about how often he needed to, "come out and reintroduce [himself] to [his] family". David explained that although one would think that operating out of the home enabled him to spend more time with the family, it actually just served to, "make it more obvious that you are spending time away from the family". This is because even though work and family were within the same vicinity, interactions between these life spheres were minimal.

Interestingly, both of the women who worked longer hours and were more closely governed by their clients, felt they still had a significant interaction level with their

families. Janie regulated her travel to fit that of her children's sporting events.

Therefore, when her children had tournaments out of town, she would negotiate with her

clients and work so that she visited them at the same time. Joy meanwhile, tried to

regulate her work so that when her son came to visit, she was able to spend as much time

as possible with him.

In addition to the gender differences in the entrepreneurs' behaviours in relation

to their work and family negotiations, differences could also be seen in the discourses

they used. While both men and women talked about the importance of family, only some

of the women had directly modified their work situation to fit with their perceptions of

the family's needs (or their roles within the unit). For the men (and a couple of the

women), there seemed to be greater conflict between their work/family spheres. This

resulted in these entrepreneurs living with a sense of not having enough time for their

family and produced, for many, a sense of inevitability as they did not feel they could

change their current lifestyles.

Supportive Social Networks for Entrepreneurs

The most consistent theme that arose in this study was the importance of

developing supportive social networks. This theme arose continuously throughout the

entrepreneurs' discussions of their work and family spheres. Without such a system,

many felt it would be impossible to be as successful or to survive as a business owner.

The importance of these networks was believed essential for any entrepreneur, but was

multiplied for home-based business owners. This multiplication effect occurred as the

business was operated directly from the home and, therefore, the linkage between family

and work was drawn closer together through proximity.

Support was derived from life partners, children, and extended families. Each of

these groups contributed to providing a network of strength for the entrepreneurs.

However, the role which each played was not identical, but fulfilled a unique and

separate role. As well, differences existed between the men and women entrepreneurs in

the roles these support networks played.

Life partners. The roles that the life partners of the men and women

entrepreneurs occupied were very different. For the male entrepreneurs, their life partners

were recognized for the part they played in sustaining the family/work balance. Ed

clearly recognizes this role in the following quotation:

> Spouses are underrated a lot of times by entrepreneurs because they
> just see, Blessed that husband does what he does, 'Oh, Look, he's got
> all these balls in the air, he's just the greatest', but I mean there's no
> way...it's definitely the case that as the saying goes, 'behind every
> successful man...'

All of the male entrepreneurs with the exception of one drew attention to the importance

of their spouses/partners during the interviews. The female life partners assisted the male

entrepreneurs in sustaining their negotiation of work and family. When the demands of

work became too intense, the female life partner (regardless of her employment status)

would assume unfulfilled obligations (e.g., transportation of children, small home repairs,

full responsibility for child care). Lee-Gosselin (1990) reported a similar finding when

interviewing male and female entrepreneurs. In her studies, the male entrepreneurs had a

considerable amount of assistance from their life partners on which they relied heavily.

For her participants, the family and the life partner were seen as the only stable soil in the

turmoil of the male business owners' life. No matter how out of control the male

participants' business and work became, the family was always there as a form of support

and stability, picking up loose strings as needed.

Although the male entrepreneurs recognized the role their spouses played, the

men did not appear to recognise the impact it had upon the women's lives. It was only

when these women were interviewed that the true challenges of living with an

entrepreneur were uncovered. This strain was documented through the interviews of the

female life partners. For example, Ed's life partner (Sharon) outlines this very clearly in

the following quotation while referring to a typical day when her husband is away on

business:

> There were days I used to run home at lunchtime and I used to take
> ground beef and I remember making meatloaf at the office, and putting
> it in the oven and [my boss] said, 'What smells so good, probably
> [Sharon's] supper'. I had made supper at the office. The days that I
> just had a craving for something half decent. So, I'd go down at lunchtime
> and I'd shove it in the oven and I'd let it cool, and I'd take it home
> with me and just heat it up. Cause when he was out of town there was
> no time. You couldn't get anything to eat, by the time we ate and you're
> just so tired. Like, forget housework, forget laundry, forget making
> beds, forget it! You know there were nights when [son] would go up
> to bed at 8 o'clock and I'd got to bed at 8:30.

The strain of sustaining the household on her own could be clearly heard in Sharon's

voice. Donna also comments about the strain of negotiating a household alone when her

partner (Carl) is away, however, she feels more of a burden immediately before he is due

to return:

> And usually when Carl goes away, it's a holiday. I don't cook. I don't
> clean and the day he comes home, or the night before, whenever he's
> coming home, I'm gone mad through the house cleaning it up. But it's not
> so bad now 'cause the kids are getting older too and I'm picking up and
> straightening up all the time, but I mean when the kids were younger, the
> house was a pig sty.

For her, having her partner away was actually a reprieve from daily household chores and labour. The daily requirements of cooking, cleaning, shopping, and doing laundry for her husband were reduced when he was away and resulted in almost a "holiday" from housework.

However, the role of the life partner in the female entrepreneur's life was very different. For most women entrepreneurs, the husband or life partner assumed an arms-length or "support from afar" role. Instead of receiving support or assistance in her family/work negotiation, the female entrepreneur was expected, for the most part, to manipulate these two domains alone. When work needed greater time commitments, she still had to sustain her family obligations, and vice versa. There are many studies (e.g., Grana et al., 1993; Hochschild, 1989; Hunter & Whitson, 1991) which document this dual role that women are required to fulfil when they work outside of the home. An indication of this arm's length approach could be seen in the unwillingness of the male life partners to participate in this study. As their role within the business was perceived to be inconsequential, they did not feel that they could contribute to the study. Several of the men commented, "it's her business, what would I know about it?" Because it was not their own business, their inclusion within the study was seen as ridiculous and a waste of time. Lee-Gosselin (1990) also found differences in the level of support exhibited by male life partners in her study. The women entrepreneurs were responsible for all of the household responsibilities in addition to their businesses. Interestingly, the women did not seem to feel bothered or concerned by the greater amount of work they were conducting. Rather, they were very proud of themselves for all they were able to accomplish in their daily lives.

The only female entrepreneur who received assistance in her daily activities was

Janie whose life partner assumed greater familial responsibility to enable her to devote

more time to their business. Janie commented during the interview:

> If I was single and had a family...if I was a single parent...that
> would be really tough. And then you'd have to look at other options
> of where you could get your child care, your household care, you know,
> like doing your laundry and having supper ready. You'd have to be a
> whole lot more organised and a lot more busier in the household end.

Because Bill shared the household labour and often assumed a greater load than she did,

Janie was able to focus more of her attention on the service delivery aspects of their

business from a separate office space. Bill, on the other hand, performed the

administrative tasks of the business from their home. Janie believed Bill's larger role in

the household responsibilities occurred because the business was their sole economic

livelihood. Economic necessity may, therefore, have been driving his increased

assistance. Orbuch and Custer (1995) also found that economic reasons served as a salve

for work-family conflicts in dual employed couples. If the wife's employment could be

justified through financial necessity, then greater sharing of family obligations occurred.

The other couple who shared a business also experienced an unequal distribution

of household labour. In this case, Annette was responsible for a greater amount of the

household labour, in addition to her part-time position and the administrative work she

performed for the business. This allowed David also to focus upon the service delivery

aspects of their construction company. Annette received very little assistance in caring

for their children or in performing other household labour activities. In fact, she would

often get up much earlier in the morning than did David in order to fit in all of her daily

chores.

Extended families. Another dimension of the social support networks for several of the families included extended family members. Three of the male entrepreneurs had their parents living either next door or within their same home. These extended family members provided assistance when needed with childcare and with transporting children to their leisure activities. They, therefore, served as an additional member of the household, especially when the male entrepreneurs were away. This additional support, then, appears to be a source of support for many of the female life partners. However, the extended family members also provided an additional person for whom to care. Many of the women commented that it would have been easier to not have any help. Further, Sharon (Ed's partner) felt guilty for relying upon assistance with child care and would ask for it as little as possible and when she truly needed it would attempt to get all of her chores down as fast as possible. As a result, she was referred to by many who knew her as a "whirlwind".

The Negotiations between Work and Family

Despite the support the entrepreneurs felt they had from their families for the operation of a home-based business, a number of challenges arose when negotiating their parental/spousal and work roles. These challenges resulted from operating a business while also sustaining previous family/partner/spousal commitments.

Many researchers within the fields of human resources and organisational behaviour (e.g., Barling, 1990; Kosek, & Ozeki, 1998; Leiter & Durup, 1996; O'Driscoll, Ilgen, & Hildreth, 1992) have examined work-family conflict to understand and reduce its negative effects on the employee. There have been three main theoretical approaches used to date that include, spillover, segmentation, and compensation.

The spillover hypothesis, the most commonly cited, states that attitudes and behaviours carry over from one role to another, such as from work to family and family to work (Leiter & Durup, 1996). The majority of studies favouring this hypothesis tend to focus primarily upon the negative aspects that may ensue from spillover. Barling (1990) noted the spillover is not entirely negative and instead could operate in a positive manner (e.g., happiness experienced at work could spread to home life). For some of the male entrepreneurs in the current study, this hypothesis could be used to explain challenges they experienced between their business and their family. An example of the spillover effect could be seen in some of the men's interactions between their children and their business.

Children were "trained" how to act around clients, how to answer the phone in an appropriate manner, and how to quickly exit a room to provide privacy to their parents if a client called. The male entrepreneurs felt this "training" taught their children to be more professional in their daily lives. They were proud of their children for being able to sustain such professionalism. Carl exclaimed proudly that his son Chris was able to sit totally still in the car if Carl's cellular phone rang while they were travelling to hockey practices. The training of their children was used to "control" the negative spillover that occurred between work/family. Through training the men felt it was possible to negotiate overlap between their life spheres. In addition, female spouses assisted the male entrepreneurs in sustaining other spillovers that may have occurred between work/family. By adopting responsibility for unfulfilled familial obligations during busy business times, the female partners removed the negative aspects of spillover for the men. Therefore, the

male entrepreneurs were largely able to avoid the challenges. Instead, the burden of familial responsibilities was placed predominantly on the female partner.

As a result, an alternative approach to understanding work-family conflicts may be more appropriate (if the assistance of the female spouses is considered). From this approach, it is believed that people can segment or compartmentalize their various life spheres (Lambert, 1990). The male entrepreneurs with children could not always successfully sustain their businesses as separate from their family lives. The operation of a home-based business necessitated that these two life spheres would spillover into one another; however, their female spouses assisted in "wiping up" any of this interaction. The male entrepreneurs were, thereby, able to re-compartmentalize their two life spheres.

A final approach used to address work-family conflicts is known as counter-balancing (Greenglass & Burke, 1988). From this view, work and family roles are seen as interrelated and they, therefore, counterbalance one another. Many feminist leisure reseachers (e.g., Henderson et al., 1996; Shaw, 1990) have suggested that women, especially, may experience their various life spheres in such an interrelated manner. Rather than trying to maintain work and family as separate, these two spheres are often seen holistically. The women in this study, and the man without children (Paul), seemed to identify with this holistic approach to these spheres.

All of the women identified this linkage of their business and their personal lives. The interviews revealed that the operation of a home-based business was not (and could not) be segmented from their family life. Instead, the two were intricately interwoven. The linkage could be seen in the women entrepreneurs' performance of family related responsibilities (e.g., child-care, transportation of children, laundry) while also

negotiating business responsibilities (e.g., talking to clients, dictating reports, typing reports). However, even though the life spheres of work and family were seen as interrelated, this did not mean they were always positively experienced. Rather, conflicts could arise in the daily negotiation of responsibilities.

Elfrieda commented on the challenge of negotiating work and family when operating your own business. Her spouse had retired and she wanted to spend more time travelling with him. However, she could not simply close up her store for several days or her customers would go to her competitors. Therefore, she battled between the desire to maintain her business and the desire to spend more time with her husband.

Another concern many of the women with children faced revolved around the impact the business had upon their family lives. As the business was operated from the home, clients would often call at all hours of the day and night and thereby interrupt the family's activities. Women, therefore, felt guilty about the impact these interruptions had on their relationship with their children. Being continuously "on-call" meant they were often called away from important life events of children (e.g., birthday parties, conversations, school performances).

Paul (the male entrepreneur with no children) also identified this strong linkage between both business and personal in a description of an emotional battle he recently negotiated. He explained that he had recently had some "trouble with his relationship" and at the same time his business had "gone through a rough patch". With both happening at the same time, it really caused him to recognise their interconnected nature. He felt that the issue was "magnified" for him because he was operating his own business. If he had simply been working for someone else, he would not have

experienced both so personally. Therefore, his relationship was personal, but so was his business. He could not separate one or the other from his personal life. Therefore, Paul seemed to be experiencing an interconnection between his life spheres similar to what the women negotiated.

Summary

The entrepreneurs' ease with balancing work and family commitments depended upon two main factors. First, the type of business they operated greatly determined work schedule flexibility. As several of the women had specifically selected a home-based business that would allow them to balance family and work, they were better able to manipulate these two spheres. On the other hand, many of the male entrepreneurs were "on-call" to their clients and, therefore, in reality had very little flexibility. Second, the surrounding social support network also greatly determined success with work/family negotiation. This network included life partners, and extended families. Yet, even though support was provided, it did not mean the entrepreneur actually received it or perceived it as assistance. For example, although the women entrepreneurs believed they had supportive partners, this assistance did not actually translate into a reduction in household obligations. Rather, the women continued to sustain their previous obligations in addition to their business. As well, many of the male entrepreneurs felt they had extremely supportive life partners, but were unaware of the excessive burden this placed upon them.

Work and Leisure

When the spheres of work and leisure were simultaneously examined, a whole new set of issues was raised. Three such concerns will be detailed in the following

section. First, the challenges of negotiating the two spheres became more apparent. Next, the personal valuations of the two domains could be considered. Finally, a number of problems were identified with attempting to distinguish between the spheres.

The Work/Leisure Negotiation Battle

When examining the interaction between the entrepreneurs' work and leisure spheres, what was immediately apparent was that the combination of business demands and family responsibilities clearly interfered with leisure, especially personal leisure. When the business became quite busy and longer hours and greater travel were required, many entrepreneurs were faced with very few opportunities for leisure. As travel was more often associated with the male entrepreneurs' businesses, they were the ones who most frequently referred to experiencing reduced leisure from business demands. Leisure within these settings was defined as experiences enabling one to escape from this work and obtain a sense of relaxation. The women entrepreneurs did not experience the same penetration of work into leisure as they did not or could not allow it. This was because they also had family responsibilities.

Family responsibilities as a constraint to leisure tended to be cited by the women. Interestingly, the constraining obligations were not childcare or traditional household labour, rather they were providing leisure for their children. Therefore, the provision of leisure for family members proved to be a constraint to the women entrepreneurs' leisure. Many female entrepreneurs, with children in the household, noted that they were primarily responsible for organizing their children's leisure. In order for their children to participate in leisure, extensive work was required in the registration, organisation, transportation, and co-ordination of these events. The result of this work produced a

sense of satisfaction that their children were involved in as much as possible. However, they also experienced a sense of loss, as the family was spending so much time "running around" between activities and events. For the male entrepreneurs, children's leisure activities were not defined as work. This may be a result of their reduced involvement in the "work" of providing leisure.

The Personal Valuations of Work/Leisure

Despite the leisure constraints the entrepreneurs faced from their business demands and/or family responsibilities, the majority placed a higher value on leisure than on work. Although they were not always able to reduce their work hours or experience their own personal leisure, they all cited the importance of such personal time. The ability to revitalize was seen as vital to ensuring the sustenance of their sometimes extremely busy cycles. To enjoy this reprieve, work hours tended to be reduced on the weekends (except for pressing assignments). The weekend, therefore, tended to be reserved for leisure. Yet, family obligations (especially for women in families with children) also filled up weekends and tended to reduce this leisure availability.

In addition, one of the greatest survival mechanisms the entrepreneurs noted for surviving the busy business periods (with little opportunities for leisure) was the knowledge that slower sections (enabling greater opportunities for reprieve) would soon follow. Therefore, simply the knowledge that sometime in the future the entrepreneurs would be able to experience leisure, served as a means of continuing with their busy lifestyles.

Distinguishing Work and Leisure

The final theme when examining work and leisure was the challenges in clearly distinguishing these two domains. First, work was identified by some of the participants as a "container for leisure" as described by Henderson et al. (1996). Some of the men and all of the women considered their businesses or work to be leisure-like experiences. When explaining what they enjoyed in their leisure settings, the business was often mentioned. Carl and Ed both noted the impossibility of doing all that they were doing without loving their work and feeling extremely satisfied and a sense of accomplishment from it. Part of this intense enjoyment was a result of being their own boss and thereby experiencing all of the gratification resulting from the success of the business. Whereas in other forms of employment, the rewards may be shared among several individuals, these entrepreneurs were able to experience first hand the benefits of their accomplishments. Therefore, "loving" what they were doing enabled the entrepreneurs to justify the tremendous long hours and travel associated with their businesses. Instead of being solely "work", their businesses became "fun", as Ed explains:

> I think you have to really like what you're doing. That's the bottom line. Oh sure, I mean we've all got to work for that great big pay cheque but in the meantime, if you don't like what you're doing, you're not going to be a success at it. You're just punching in time.

This work-related "fun" did not take away from their desire for their own leisure, but instead served as compensation when free time was reduced due to business obligations.

Work and leisure were also linked through the entrepreneurs' leisure participants. For example, Carl, Ed, and Herb would often golf regularly with business associates. They found this assisted in developing further business and enabled them to stay on top of trends in their industries. Joy found that she received many invitations to parties and

celebrations as a result of her work connections. For her, work produced greater friendships or social leisure.

Leisure was also indistinguishable from work for some of the entrepreneurs as it could be experienced as "work". Joy had recently gone back to exercising over lunch hour and because she had not done so in quite awhile, this activity was perceived as work. She explained this sense of work:

> I work out. Right now that is becoming work. I haven't been doing it for awhile now. I used to go at lunchtime every day and depending on...I went back yesterday and ...it's really good and I did that.

Therefore, activities that would normally be thought of as "leisure", for Joy, were currently experienced as work.

Not all of the entrepreneurs actually labelled their leisure activities as work, however, many were simply not able to completely enjoy them. Instead, leisure could be stressful because of work demands that carried over into leisure time. As a result, holidays, evenings, and weekends were often never completely free from the business. Instead, a fax may arrive or the phone could ring which would "call" the entrepreneur back to work. This sense of being "on call" was perceived more by the male entrepreneurs as their clients often required more personal assistance, while the female entrepreneurs were often able to let their clients wait until later. However, many women noted they would often read faxes or check their messages on weekends and holidays and sometimes responded to them. Usually, they were able to wait until the following weekday.

Finally, as noted previously, some aspects of family leisure could be experienced as obligatory and, therefore, had work-like aspects within it. In order for children to

participate in leisure, extensive work was required in the registration, organisation, transportation, and co-ordination of these events. As women performed the majority of this work, some concerns were raised about the large amount of time and energy spent doing so. Although they noted a sense of satisfaction with having their children involved in as much as possible, several experienced a sense of loss as the family was spending so much time "running around" between activities and events. This sense of chaos within leisure was particularly an issue for those with several children. Often the family members would never have the chance to even see each other as their schedules did not match. While one child was figure skating, the other would be eating dinner and getting ready to go to piano lessons, then when the first was finished, she would eat dinner and prepare for piano lessons. The cycle was timed perfectly to ensure all children arrived in time for their events, however, meant that they seldom had the chance to visit with other family members

Summary

Commitment to paid work and the operation of a home-based business interfered with the entrepreneurs' leisure in several ways. From reducing opportunities to experience leisure to reducing their enjoyment of it, a number of concerns were raised by the participants in this study. However, work also provided some additional opportunities for leisure as a result of the social connections created through their businesses. As well, the business served as a form of enjoyment for several and, therefore, was perceived as leisure.

Family and Leisure: The Impact of Children

When analysing the spheres of family and leisure simultaneously, two different types of situational experiences arose depending on the presence of children in the household. For those families without children, household tasks tended to be shared and the spheres of family and leisure tended to involve the participation of both life partners. While, for those families with children, household labour was unequally shared (with the female partner assuming greater responsibility) and the spheres of family and leisure were less equitably negotiated. This conclusion is similar to Shaw's (1988) research which showed how increased family workload, related to larger families and younger children, disproportionately increased women's rather than men's work hours.

Families without Children

Families without children living at home reported more egalitarian sharing of household responsibilities and greater leisure participation with their life partners. Elfrieda and Bob enjoyed spending as much time together as possible. This included cooking and travelling, both of which they considered to be family and leisure activities. However, Elfrieda tended to have greater responsibility for cleaning and laundry than Bob as she noted he tended to "help out" rather than share these obligations. Instead, when Elfrieda was doing these tasks, Bob explained that he often repaired sewing machines (sold and serviced as part of Elfrieda's business). Paul also enjoyed cooking meals with Beth:

> It gives us a chance to talk and go over our days together. She can tell me what has gone on at work and I can do the same. We have started to experiment too...with our cooking. We bought a new cookbook and are making some gourmet meals now. Before it was always just something quick but now we are trying to spend more time. It is sort of some "us time" at the end of our days.

The satisfaction Paul has experienced from sharing in the cooking and creating some "us time" can be heard in his voice. Paul and Beth also shared shopping, but Beth tended to perform cleaning tasks around the home. Joy also enjoyed cooking and going for walks with her friends and partner, but as she was living alone was completely responsible for household labour.

Thus, the absence of children provided greater opportunities for couple socialisation during leisure than for those families with children. As well, these families did not have any extended family members living nearby, which further provided greater time for the couple. Time away from work and household responsibilities tended to be shared with the partner. Interestingly, participation with friends also tended to occur as a couple, whereas for those families with children it often was limited to only a single partner. As well, greater sharing of household responsibilities was also evidenced for these couples. Cooking and grocery shopping, two activities that may often be labelled as work, were typically defined as leisure activities by both partners. However, cleaning and laundry (more traditionally defined aspects of household labour) were still predominantly performed by the female life partner.

Families with Children: "You just do it for them"

For the families with children in the home, family activities tended to be performed by only a few members at a time. Participation by the entire household, at the same time, in the same activity, was a rarity. This was true for both household labour as well as leisure activities.

Household labour was only shared in a few of the households. Predominantly, women were responsible for the division of tasks and also the more traditional housework

(e.g., cleaning, laundry). This was the case for both the female entrepreneurs as well as the female life partners (even those employed outside the home full-time). Women's primary responsibility for household labour despite their labour force involvement has been documented by many researchers (e.g., Hochschild, 1991; 1997; Jackson, 1996; Schor, 1991). In this study, men occasionally assisted with cooking and shopping; however, very little sharing was performed in any other tasks. As Valerie commented:

> I have total responsibility for the home. [My husband] will sometimes
> help with some of the chores but that's usually just going shopping.
> Otherwise it's basically always me. I think he wants to help but
> he just never does. Mind you, his work does keep him quite busy.
> He's an accountant and that is pretty seasonal work. Right
> now he has been extremely busy.

Therefore, despite the fact that both Valerie and her spouse were working full-time, she was still primarily responsible for the household labour. The male entrepreneurs did not see themselves as providing little assistance, rather they simply saw their spouse as being supportive. Part of being supportive, then was to play a larger role within the household. By sustaining the household, it was then possible for the male entrepreneurs to focus upon their businesses. This ability to concentrate upon the business, however, was not provided for the women entrepreneurs (except for Janie)

Household labour was also the first activity to be reduced by both men and women when schedules became too busy. The specific household tasks most commonly reduced, included cleaning by the women and shopping by the men. Less time was devoted to these household tasks to create more time for family and leisure, with the women tending to devote more time to family and the men to leisure. As a result, the women gave up their personal leisure because of family and household responsibilities. As Annette explained,

> It's more important that they [her children] have the chance to go
> swimming or figure skating than I go for a walk with my friends. I will
> always have that chance later. But you never know if they will. I figure
> if you provide a good range of choices for them now, then they'll have
> more things to choose from later on. To me that's the most important!

Many of the other women also commented upon this importance of providing

opportunities for their children. To ensure children were able to engage in a wide range

of leisure activities, the women sacrificed their own personal leisure. Time for self

and/or friends was occasionally "squeezed in" during the women's daily lives (e.g., early

in the morning, late at night), however, for the most part, it disappeared.

The men, on the other hand, would often continue with their personal leisure

regardless of business/family commitments. David explained that nothing prevented him

from golfing every Sunday morning with his work colleagues. He felt it was important

for his business and also for his personal well-being:

> Yeah, every Sunday I get up while the family is still sleeping and head
> to the course. It gives me a chance to talk to some people I work with
> in the industry. I will often find out opportunities for future work
> contracts. I'm usually there for four hours. While I'm gone, my wife will
> get up and make a big brunch for the family which we'll usually eat together
> with the girls when I get home around noon. It's become a ritual. Then if
> I have any messages, I'll go downstairs and respond to them if they can't wait
> until the next day.

Therefore, regardless of his business or family responsibilities, David continued his

personal leisure routine.

Leisure participation for the family tended to revolve around the children's

individual activities. These activities would often involve the participation of one parent

and one child at a time. This was true for both the male and female entrepreneurs.

Despite the large amount of work required when facilitating children's participation and

the fact that only one child tended to directly participate, the activity was still considered

"family" leisure. Having children involved in multiple activities was seen as a parental duty. Interestingly, this duty was born with grace and few complaints. Although family leisure was provided as a parental duty, the parents seemed to enjoy the experience of it. Valerie referred to her participation in her daughter's youth club as "girl's night out". It provided a chance for her to spend time with her daughter away from the rest of the family.

The participation by children in their own leisure activities satisfied the children's personal needs. As children had their own interests, there were few activities that all family members shared. As a result, providing the opportunity for children to satisfy their various leisure needs and interests took up the greatest proportion of leisure opportunities. This meant that parents' leisure opportunities were often compromised. Both men and women entrepreneurs commented about having to "give up" some of their personal leisure for their children's. Carl explains this focus on children:

> My boy, he plays hockey. He plays triple A hockey. So, he's 8
> hours a week of hockey and I coach his all star team and I co-
> ordinate that division. So, I got involved there. I used to, for
> myself...I was involved in water polo. My kids weren't involved
> in water polo yet at this age so I had a decision to make and I
> decided to help out where my kids were. It didn't make sense
> to me to be up here and they're over there and, you know, so
> I got involved.

This provides an example of how the children's leisure tastes would often dictate their parents' participation whether or not this was experienced as leisure by the parents. Therefore, in total, there were few opportunities for personal leisure for either the men or women entrepreneurs.

Summary

Examining the spheres of family and leisure simultaneously revealed the differential experiences of those with and without children in the home. For those without children, household tasks were more equally shared among both members of the couple. As well, greater time was spent with the life partner during leisure participation. For those with children, the female members of the household assumed a much greater responsibility for household tasks. This increased workload was not simply the result of having more people within the household, but also resulted from a lower level of participation by the male spouse. Therefore, women had reduced opportunities for personal leisure than did men. As well, leisure participation for couples with children was further reduced as activities tended to revolve around the children's activities and interests.

Intersection of All of the Spheres:

Balanced or Not? That is the Question!

After examining the interplay between spheres, it is possible to explore the additional dynamics created when all three are viewed simultaneously. The entrepreneurs were asked if they saw their various life spheres as being balanced, and in response all but one of the entrepreneurs (i.e., Dave) were proud of what they had managed to achieve. Operating a small business as well as sustaining positive social relationships with family and friends, while at the same time negotiating a leisure lifestyle made the entrepreneurs feel successful. This sense of pride could be seen in their explanations of how they perceived the negotiations among their various life spheres.

The Negotiation Process

In order to sustain all the responsibilities the entrepreneurs negotiated in their daily lives, they had developed systems for managing the tensions between their life spheres. Some terms used to describe the tensions included: "prioritise", "opportunities", and "challenges". As David explained:

> I think you got to prioritise it and say, you know, obviously if someone has to go to a doctor, or someone has to do something out of the ordinary, or there's a party to go to, or there's a family gathering, or whatever, obviously, you make those points you have to for your own sanity as much as anything else.

Prioritising enabled the entrepreneurs to manipulate their life domains to fit with one another or to at least avoid discordance. Viewing any problems that arose among their life spheres as challenges to be negotiated and dissolved was another method of coping with multiple life tasks. As well, Valerie explained that instead of challenges, it was necessary to see these problems as opportunities. That is, they were opportunities to work through and find new methods or alternatives to solving them.

The vast amount of effort required to sustain or negotiate a balance meant that this effort was often the first thing the entrepreneurs' identified. Joy highlights this in her exclamation, "Do I have a life?!", when asked about how her business fit with the rest of her life. The work resulted from the presence of the business within the home as well as the duties associated with business ownership.

Tiedje et al. (1990) found similar support for the simultaneous experience of both positive and negative feelings in response to work and family. In a study of 158 married women college professors and middle-managers, they found that women had perceptions of both enhancement and conflict among their life domains. Some women experienced

positive feelings (i.e., enhancement) from occupying several roles, while others experienced conflict, and still others experienced both of these feelings at the same time. Interestingly, women who perceived their roles as conflicting were more depressed and less satisfied only in their parental role. To uncover why feelings of conflict only seemed to affect parenting and not job satisfaction, Tiedge et al. examined transcripts (n=69) of an open ended question on combining roles from their pilot study, focusing on those women who reported experiencing less conflict. They were interested in determining whether the "low conflict" women were simply not reporting their concerns about work/parenting as candidly as the other women.

After conducting this analysis of their data, Tiedge et al. (1990) found that the women's jobs assisted them in placing their personal lives into perspective. The women's jobs enabled them to "enjoy parenting" (p. 70). Tiedge et al., therefore, suggested that greater research is needed to examine the role that choice and appraisal played in the relationship of conflict/enhancement between life spheres.

In the current study, a similar experience could be noted for the women entrepreneurs. As many of the women had specifically chosen to operate a home-based business, a sense of choice operated in their experiences of negotiating work/family/leisure. As a result, a sense of accomplishment can be felt in Valerie's voice earlier when she refers to the challenges she faces as "opportunities". As well, even Joy who previously sounded extremely frustrated when exclaiming, "Do I have a life?!", later went on to talk about the "wonderous feelings of accomplishment and well-being" she experienced every day for being able to negotiate all of the demands of her business along with her personal life. For the women, operating a home-based business made

them feel extremely proud of themselves for all they were able to negotiate. This may have been because the decision to operate a business had largely been one of personal choice. As the majority of the women had specifically chosen to operate a home-based business to ensure they were able to negotiate their family commitments and paid work, their businesses were viewed as a very positive addition to their lives.

However, the male entrepreneurs did not seem to cite similar experiences with operating a home-based business. Instead, the operation of their businesses did not carry over similar emotionally gratifying results into their parental roles. Rather, the only carry over from their business to personal spheres seemed to be the economic remuneration of their paid work.

Further, as the office was located in the home, it was not as easy for the male entrepreneurs to separate the work sphere from the other aspects of life. This meant that work had a tendency of subsuming other areas, producing great feelings of discomfort for many of the men. Carl drew attention to the pervasiveness of work when he explained, "I could never count the hours that I'm in there" and "It's like the office is always crying out to me". David felt similarly about the challenge of escaping work when operating a home-based business:

> I find it more difficult. I mean you can say, if for the obvious
> reasons if I was working in a building, you can walk away from
> it at 5 o'clock. Everything's over there. And what I find now is
> that in the case of someone makes a phone call to me upstairs asking
> about certain things. Where you gonna go? You come down here,
> and then all of a sudden there might be a fax or a message on the
> computer or there might be something like that and it's harder
> when you're in the same dwelling. More people than not would
> say the same thing. When I went to Toronto, there was a fellow
> from Winnipeg and he said 'It's so difficult', his wife she's
> working as a representative and that works and doesn't work, but
> similarly I, you know, have no problem. They know where I am if

> they need me sort of thing, my family, and I think the customers do
> the same thing. But, more often than not, that phone will ring (in
> the night time) and I know it'll be an external call either gone
> upstairs, and my wife will refer it to me and I'll come down and
> talk to the customer there. So, it seems like you're never away
> from it. Put it in your house and I'm sure you'll hear the same
> thing from other people that are involved.

When operating out of the home, there was no longer a physical separation between work

and the other life spheres. As a result, work tended to drift into the other areas of the

male entrepreneurs' lifestyles. Further, as the men received assistance from their life

partners with the family sphere, they were, therefore, able to allow their work to

encompass their lives. They were not primarily responsible for the family and thereby

could place greater emphasis upon work. However, for the women, the business could

not become the main focus of their lives as they sustained other responsibilities as well.

The women were, therefore, better able to negotiate their life domains largely because

they had no other alternative. This was true for both those with children in the home, as

well as those with older ones.

Another aspect the entrepreneurs had to cope with in their daily lives was simply

operating a business. Many explained they tended to spend even greater time on work

because it was "personal". Therefore, as there are only a limited number of hours in the

day, the increased focus on work resulted in decreased time for other aspects. Again, this

was a greater concern for the men than for the women. David explained how he felt this

may have been having negative implications for his family:

> There's no open and closed time, it's always around you. It's
> always work. I think day to day you are spend more hours on
> work. I think your success is relative to the number of hours you
> put in and I could finish here and go upstairs, maybe read the paper or
> watch a bit of TV, but I find now after 8 or 9 o'clock, you're pretty

wiped out, so you're you know restricted that way. There is an adverse effect on your family. I think in relative terms.

Ways of Coping with Competing Spheres

To cope with their various life stresses, the entrepreneurs had developed a number of coping strategies. These strategies, however, were not without their own pain and anguish. Pamela highlights some of this anguish:

> I think that it is very important to have a balance so I work hard to do that. I think I'm getting better at it, but it's easy in a self-employed business to let business dictate and in certain economic times you can get anguished about those sorts of things.

Elfrieda also noted this effort, "It takes a lot of hard work, a lot of dedication, and you can't give up [laughter]". When performing this "hard work", a number of techniques or coping strategies were utilised to obtain a sense of stability in their lives.

Keeping in touch. Communication was one of the most frequently utilised tools. Keeping in touch with their children and life partners enabled the business owners to negotiate with these family members. Herb explains the importance of communication:

> If I'm out on the road and I'm out like say for three or four days, it's ah, well, it's constant calling then...yeah. I call my wife quite often and my kids call me quite often. So, it's daily, you know, daily interaction which I think is very important. You know, right?!

During telephone conversations, negotiations were conducted regarding family responsibilities and tasks (e.g., child care, meal preparation), child discipline (e.g., who performed the discipline, when it occurred), leisure participation (e.g., transportation, organisation, administration), and business commitments (e.g., travel, meetings).

Keeping things in perspective. Another tool consisted of maintaining a broad perspective on life. Recognising the relative importance of business and family and not placing greater emphasis on one or the other assisted the entrepreneur in clarifying when

their life started to get out of control or unbalanced. Herb explained you have to

remember that the family and business are tied and they fit together. He could not be an

effective worker if he did not have the support of his family. Therefore, the importance

of each had to be addressed and one could not be allowed to subsume the other. However,

even though the entrepreneur attempted to sustain this balance between each life sphere,

the reality was that often one demanded more time. Herb later explained how his life

could easily become unbalanced:

> It makes it more challenging because the business demands a lot of
> my time. And ah, people that you're dealing with demand a lot of your
> time. So, you've sort of gotta try to fit it all together you know, and
> ah, yeah, it kind of works itself out though, really. You know, sometimes
> it's a little bit frustrating you know, right?

The tension produced when trying to maintain his life spheres could be clearly heard in

Herb's voice. Therefore, despite his prior recognition that he tries to cope with his life

stresses, the reality was that this negotiation was extremely tiring and frustrating. This

frustration is not only experienced by the entrepreneur, but can also be felt by the family.

Herb's family often became concerned about the lack of time they were able to spend

with him due to his large amount of work-related travel. However, he believed they had

learned to accept this frustration as "[the business] puts bread on the table".

Waiting out the busy times and ageing of children. A final coping strategy was to

recognise or take a step back and look at the "overall picture". Although at times work

was incredibly busy, there were also relaxed and slower periods. Therefore, if one

looked at the entrepreneurs' overall lifestyles, they were more balanced. In other words,

changes did not always need to be manually conducted, rather sometimes such change

just naturally evolved as the business cycled through its busy and slow periods.

As well, the ability to negotiate business, family, and leisure also became easier as children aged. This change can be seen in Elfrieda's discussion of her lifestyle:

> At this stage in our life there is a balance between my family, work, and personal time. When the kids were teenagers, I'd say there wasn't. My business demanded too much of my time. Too many hours and you know, the kids were on the go a lot, but it was just rougher in that way I'd say.

Therefore, as children grew, so did the ability to have greater time for personal and couple leisure. Further, the male spouses (without children in the household) more equitably shared the household responsibilities, also producing greater time for personal leisure of the women entrepreneurs.

"You Just Do Certain Things for Your Children": The Acceptance of Conflict

Despite the various coping strategies used by the entrepreneurs, one individual (Dave) felt that it just was not possible to negotiate his various life demands. Perhaps he was the only participant willing to admit "defeat" within his negotiation process and others also experienced similar feelings. Or perhaps the other participants were interviewed at more positive times and had managed to get through what he was currently experiencing. Dave felt his life spheres were often in conflict with one another. This conflict arose as work and the business invaded his entire life. As his life partner was also involved with the business (performing the administrative tasks) on a part-time basis, the family was entirely enmeshed in the business. The majority of his conversations with his life partner revolved around their business and they were rarely completely free from its influence. Although Dave and Annette felt this intense concentration upon the business was not a positive experience, they did not see any other solutions (given the Newfoundland and Labrador economy) in order to provide the desired opportunities for

their children. They explained, "You just do certain things for your children," and as a result, "We sort of put ourselves [and our own needs and interests] last".

When all three spheres are examined simultaneously, the challenges and negotiations required when balancing these spheres became readily apparent. The male entrepreneurs received greater assistance from their life partners, enabling them to place a greater focus upon their businesses. However, this increased attention produced feelings of unbalance in their lives and caused them to work harder to try and re-create the previous illusion of stability. The women did not receive much assistance and their difficulty in achieving balance was a result of coping with household obligations as well as paid work. Yet, the women, for the most part, experienced much more positive feelings in relation to the operation of a home-based business, largely because they had specifically chosen to operate one in order to be able to continue to negotiate their previous family commitments. However, both male and female entrepreneurs had developed coping strategies or tools to try and negotiate their various life spheres in a more positive interaction. These included: regular communication with the family, keeping one's life spheres "in perspective", and "waiting out" the busy times.

Chapter VII

Home-Based Ownership: Resistance To or Sustenance of the Prevailing

Gender Ideology?

The increasing popularity of home-based ownership as a form of employment is important to critically examine for the impact it is having upon the entrepreneurs, their lives, and also society. Throughout the previous two chapters, a variety of gendered differences were raised in relation to the entrepreneurs' experiences of work, leisure, and family. Within this section, some of these gender-related issues will be explored in more depth incorporating discussion of related literature. This exploration will also include an examination of the ways in which entrepreneurs' lives act to reinforce or resist traditional gendered ideologies.

Surface Contentment

The home-based business owners in this study appeared to be very content with the operation of their businesses, on the surface. They commented about the flexibility it provided in terms of negotiating work, leisure, and family, the economic benefits of "being one's own boss", and the sense of satisfaction they obtained from their "balanced" lives. Support for the existence of these rewards is documented in the literature, typically broken down into personal, social, and economical benefits (Fischer et al., 1996; Gray, 1985; Loscocco & Robinson, 1991).

The literature suggests that the entrepreneur obtains a greater sense of empowerment and control over his or her life through control of work (Acker, 1992; Ferree & Martin, 1995). Additionally, empowerment has been shown to be derived from the greater sense of self-efficacy that occurs with operating a business. Ferree and Martin

believe this sense of empowerment is one of the key reasons driving more women to develop their own business. It is thought that escaping from traditional organisational structures supported by patriarchal ideologies provides a refreshing sense of accomplishment for many women. Interestingly, in this study, the male entrepreneurs were the only ones to refer to these personal benefits. The ability to operate a self-sustaining enterprise seemed to result in feelings of accomplishment for several of the men. The recognition of their efforts was seen as a "pay off" in the form of a successful business and made them feel powerful. As Carl explained when referring to what people thought of his plumbing supply business:

> And I think people look at us and I know they'll say, 'You're doing
> all this work. You're going around like you're wore out, so you
> know...you can't enjoy it. It must be too stressful for you. You must not
> like it.' But, I like that...I really do and it may not be the plumbing
> aspect. That's not what I enjoy. People think you're a plumber. Well,
> I'm so far removed from plumbing. But just the aspect of working for myself
> and you know having to take a program and run with it and then to
> try this with the engineers or whatever. All that aspect of the business,
> I really enjoy that and I don't think I'd be able to put the time in if I
> didn't. I'd be looking for something else to do.

The ability to develop new and unique programs within his business to entice new clients (e.g., engineers) resulted in tremendous feelings of accomplishment and satisfaction for Carl. Both Ed and Paul also reported feelings similar feelings in relation to their business. Paul explained that even though other people did not always provide greater recognition to home-based business owners, he still felt extremely important when meeting people for the first time and telling them he operated his own business.

These personal benefits were not the first to be noted by the women; rather, they found the social benefits more enticing. In the literature, the social rewards believed to accrue to entrepreneurship are linked to the relationships developed with peers,

colleagues, employees, and customers (Young & Richards, 1992). Forging strong bonds with a variety of people is thought to provide a sense of connection with community. A connection to community was identified by several of the women in this study as being a benefit of their businesses. For example, Joy received more invitations to social events from her clients and was, therefore, able to interact on a less formal basis with them. Valerie enjoyed the relationships she developed with her customers. She prided herself on the fact that she could remember their preferences in styles, colours, and sizes of clothing. Further, she also tried to provide other information to her clients such as breastfeeding support groups for new mothers.

The literature also contains discussion of the ways in which the greater work flexibility for entrepreneurs has the potential to facilitate closer relationships with family (both immediate and extended). Gurstein (1995), for example, believes this is one of the most important reasons driving women to operate home-based businesses. She argues that when family commitments arise, it may be possible for entrepreneurs to take time away from work with little explanation to anyone (e.g., a boss). This perceived flexibility was what had driven three of the women in this study (i.e., Pamela, Valerie, Elfrieda) to operate a home-based business. They had specifically chosen to develop businesses that could be manipulated to fit with their family lives. As well, Janie found her business flexibility enabled her to conduct work in alternative locations when needed if her children had to travel for sporting activities. The women seemed to be seeking these social benefits and reaping rewards from them. However, it was also clear that this belief was closely related to the women's roles as primary care-givers in the family. Caring for others (e.g., family, children) as well as developing supportive relationships was the

primary reason driving both the women with children as well as those without to start

their own business. This drive was not evident for the male entrepreneurs.

With respect to economic factors, the literature suggests that the operation of a

home-based business has the potential to provide the owner with greater financial

rewards because all of the proceeds from the prosperity of the business will be funnelled

towards the entrepreneur (Gray, 1985). As a result, Gray suggests that even though the

entrepreneur, in actuality, may not be successful financially, simply the chance of being

so may produce a sense of economical benefit. This chance for success was driving

several of the male entrepreneurs in the current study. Both Paul and David felt that

operating their own business enabled them to obtain a sufficient income to remain in

Newfoundland. This income was larger than they could have otherwise obtained from

alternative forms of employment. It was clear that economic benefits were not driving

the women entrepreneurs to the same extent. Only Janie commented about the financial

security she received from her business. Several of the other women's businesses

provided additional security for the family, but this was not seen to be the primary

benefit. Pamela drew attention to this sense of security:

> I love the emotional link I form with my clients. For me, that would be the
> biggest benefit! After a session, I am sometimes completely exhausted
> because of that bond we develop. I will often just go for a walk to
> relax. I need that. Another sort of secondary benefit I guess though would be the
> monetary support it gives our family. My husband's income is our primary
> support but the business definitely...probably provides the same amount
> of income. That sure comes in handy to pay for the kids' music lessons
> and soccer and everything else they do. I don't think we could enrol
> them in all that otherwise.

In some ways the entrepreneurs appeared to "have it all", the utopic lifestyle, or to

at least gain some, personal, social, and economic benefits. When family and leisure

obligations placed pressure on their lives, they were able to complimentarily reduce work to compensate and return their lives to a state of personal balance. They were obtaining (or at least had the chance to obtain) higher incomes than otherwise would be possible from alternative employment and increased opportunity for personal control. These benefits seemed to be reflected in their claims about being able to achieve a sense of balance, as well. Yet, the business owners in this study revealed a much more complicated lifestyle than this "utopia" as their experiences with being an "entrepreneur".

Beneath the Surface: A Tangled Fishing Net

The entrepreneurs were quick to explain that although the previous benefits do exist, in reality, a number of complexities cause turmoil in their daily lives. These complexities can be compared to the analogy of a tangled "fishing net". The analogy of a "fishing net" is a particularly appropriate choice given the Newfoundland culture and setting (outlined in Chapter III). Part of the complexity or tangled nature of this "net" comes from the ideology of gender that pervaded their lives.

One of the benefits mentioned in the literature related to entrepreneurship is that this form of work may serve as a means of escaping traditional occupations and provide a method of creating more rewarding work environments (Gurstein, 1995; Marleau, 1995). Acker (1992) has suggested that the desire for alternatives has been produced (in part) due to dissatisfaction with the current situation and the constraints of the traditional gendered ideologies of male as breadwinner and female as caregiver. These constraints have produced a relatively inflexible work environment or "family un-friendly" situation which has led many people to explore other possibilities. Yancee and Martin (1990) hope that alternative work environments may produce a "catalyst of change" for both

men and women resulting in greater empowerment similar to the process that Henderson et al. (1996) describe in relation to leisure for women. Many researchers (see Berrett et al., 1989; McKenna, 1997; Ryan, 1998) have advocated the pursuance of entrepreneurship and the operation of a home-based business as being one such catalyst.

Yet, this study found contradictory evidence as to whether or not this change is actually occurring in the working environment. Instead, evidence was found that the operation of a home-based business was actually (for the most part) serving to reify the ideologies of femininity and masculinity.

The Reification of the Ideology of Femininity

The majority of the women in this study had chosen to develop a home-based business specifically because it enabled them to be closer to home. Several of the women both with children in the home as well as those with older ones commented about the importance of being "available" for their children when they were young and the ability to do this with a home-based business. Staying close to home was believed to sustain constant contact with their children, while still being able to maintain full-time paid employment. The women, therefore, appeared to be reinforcing the ideology of motherhood in which women's primary role is within the home and revolves around childcare. As the operation of a home-based business enabled the women to be closer to home, they had a predominantly positive negotiation of the business with family. That was because neither of the roles conflicted with others. They were able to operate a business while often (simultaneously) negotiating family responsibilities.

One challenge, though, that the women faced with operating a home-based business was that the home space was no longer viewed as sacrosanct and instead became

a public domain. As a result, people would just "drop in" upon the entrepreneur throughout the day because it was noticed that "they were home". Being home was associated with being available as the two were seen as similar. The transformation of the home into a public domain occurred because of the need to allow people to enter the home for business purposes. As people were brought into the home, they tended to forget that it was a home or private space. Several of the women commented that customers often did not respect the sleeping and eating patterns of their young children and did not understand if the women had to care for young children while also tending to business. In fact, some customers had become upset that they were not the primary focus. This was particularly ironic in the case of Valerie who operated a business in which the majority of her clients were pregnant women. Despite this, the customers did not seem to sympathise with the needs of women with young children. Such attitudes can be seen to perpetuate traditional gender ideologies, especially those related to women who work outside of the home.

Among the women with older children, who were no longer living in the home, many reflected upon their positive experiences with home-working while their children were younger. As well, the operation of a business was also seen as promoting the development of relationships. Forming contacts with clients and others in the business community proved to be rewarding. This may be associated with women's ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982). A focus upon relationship building is part of this ethic and is often linked to a traditional ideology of femininity. The importance of relationships for the women can be seen in Joy's comments about how her business increased her ability to develop a social network in the community. Her business provided her with greater

opportunities to meet new people and to be invited out to various social functions. Further, Elfrieda noted the importance to her of the relationships with her clients. They were more like friends to her than customers. As a result, many would often visit for tea or coffee rather than simply to buy fabric.

The male entrepreneurs did not seem to sustain such close personal relationships with their customers as did the women. Rather, clients seemed to be kept more at an emotional distance. Although several of the men golfed with their clients and colleagues, this activity was sustained more for business purposes. In fact, David explained that it enabled him to stay current on industry trends. Business rather than personal matters tended to be discussed during these sessions. As well, Carl and Ed explained that they tried to avoid interacting with their clients and colleagues outside of their paid work to ensure that an emotional distance could be maintained.

Child care and precedence of the family. Traditional ideologies of femininity could also be seen in the entrepreneurs' conception of childcare and the family. Women were primarily responsible for children and the organisation and transportation of them, while men tended to play a "helping" role. The difference in these roles could particularly be seen when business became busy or travel was needed. In these instances, the female partner took over a greater (or the complete) role to enable the male entrepreneur to fulfil these obligations. However, in the case of the female entrepreneurs, the women still tended to be primarily responsible for familial obligations in addition to work. As a result, work tended to be reduced to enable the family obligations to be addressed. This finding has been supported by many researchers which have recognised the "second shift" or "double day" which women perform after paid work (Hochschild,

1989; Schor, 1991; Shaw, 1992). The need for women to assume this responsibility was not questioned and, in fact, had been what had guided them in deciding to operate a home-based business in the first place.

It was interesting to note that although the primary responsibility for childcare fell to the women, the majority of the male entrepreneurs said that their family was of a higher importance than work. The only exception to this case was Paul who currently did not have any children and commented about the changes in his business that would have to be performed for them. The men's expressed valuation of family, though, did not lead to any reduction of work to fulfil family obligations. Rather, the female partner tended to compensate for the lack of the entrepreneur's contributions. As will be explored in the next section, perhaps the ideology of masculinity and the need to focus upon obtaining sufficient income for the family caused the male entrepreneurs to feel they needed to focus primarily upon their work. Therefore, if the family obligations were going to take just a small amount of time to complete, then they could be justified; however, longer diversions were considered not feasible. This common assumption, among both men and women, that it was the mother rather than the father who was responsible for child care, can also be seen as a continued reinforcement of traditional ideologies of gender, even though these assumptions were partially hidden by men's expressed valuations of family.

Feelings of guilt. Despite the apparently natural fit between the ideology of femininity and the operation of a home-based business, the women's experiences of this negotiation were not always positive, and many of the women who were mothers experienced guilt. This guilt arose from the concern that taking time away from one's business for family may result in less financial success than would otherwise be possible.

Valerie was particularly concerned about the impact having children had upon her maternity clothes business. She believed that her business would have been more financially successful with greater attention to business concerns. Elfrieda also had experienced some concerns that her sewing supply business had not experienced the same sales success when her children were younger as it was currently. Thus these women appeared to be negatively affected by the traditional financial definitions of success (Gallos, 1989). Even though they felt successful in their personal lives, they were experiencing pressures in their business lives to achieve financially defined success. These pressures were causing the women to wonder whether their commitments to "family first" and "business second" were the appropriate choices. As a result, their original premises for business creation (i.e., to develop a form of work that fits with their family) were coming into question. At the time of the interviews, however, the women did not seem to be changing their behaviours to focus more on financial success. One possible exception was Valerie who had recently opened a separate storefront outside of her home. She was maintaining only the administrative aspects of her business within the home in order to provide a greater separation between her business and family, and, in addition, to provide for potentially greater expansion of her business.

The Resistance of the Ideology of Femininity

Apart from Valerie, Janie's case can be seen to provide more substantial evidence of resistance. Janie was resisting and forging her own identity. In her family, her business took precedence over all of her other responsibilities. As a result, both she and her spouse had decided that Janie should focus her efforts on the delivery side of their business and that Bill would assume primary responsibility for the household labour and

childcare. Bill provided complete support for Janie, focussed on the administrative tasks associated with the business from an office located in their home, and served as the primary care giver for the children. Their business was the family's primary (and only) source of economic livelihood. As Janie was responsible for the development and day-to-day operation of the business, her paid work took precedence over any other issues or concerns. The result was a freedom from familial responsibilities documented by the other women entrepreneurs. Further research is needed to explore whether other female operated businesses providing the sole income for the family are also forging similar life situations as well as to document some of the characteristics enabling them to do so. In addition to a supportive life partner, what other requirements are needed?

Janie explained that her alternative negotiation of work and family had occurred primarily because of chance. That is, she was offered the opportunity to operate a franchise as a result of some personal connections. Ensuring the franchise was a success, required her complete devotion towards her work. As a result, Bill assumed greater familial responsibility and also the administrative requirements. His work-related experience had been management related so a match was made with his current skill set. Perhaps if he did not have the appropriate background, the result may not have been similar.

Interestingly, Janie and Bill's personal resistance of traditional ideologies of gender seemed to be carrying over to a broader perspective. First, Janie felt she was providing a positive example for their daughter of the roles women can play within society. Further, Janie had assisted in the formation of a Women and Business discussion

group which is now meeting on a regular basis to provide support for other women business owners and their personal resistance.

Leisure as resistance or sustenance of femininity? Besides Janie's personal resistance related to putting her work as a top priority, another place where resistance to the traditional gendered ideologies can sometimes be seen is in women's leisure. Wearing (1998) coined the term "personal space" to define how leisure experiences for women (and also men, especially through self-determined leisure) may serve as a place for resistance to power relations prevalent in society. In addition, Freysinger and Flannery (1992) explored how women may use their leisure settings as a place to resist rather than reinforce traditional ideologies. This resistance occurs when women forge alternative definitions of their leisure, and are "free" to explore their own unique identities.

In this study, there was little evidence of resistance through family leisure. Instead, this type of leisure served as a site for the reinforcement of traditional ideologies of femininity because it was the women who were primarily responsible for the organisation and facilitation of the family and their children's leisure experiences. This included registration, transportation, and co-ordination of the activities and settings. Their male partners served as "assisters" in this process; however, rarely did they assume responsibility. Instead, many of the women entrepreneurs explained that their partners were good at "helping out" when needed. As well, because the women were working out of the home, many of their male spouses assumed that it was the mother who would be more available to their children and thereby it was only "natural" that they would be responsible for this co-ordination. This finding is consistent with Shaw (1992), who

found that the work associated with family leisure is not equally shared by men and women, but is another aspect of women's caring work (or responsibility for the family).

However, for some of the women, discussion of personal leisure revealed a different picture. Valerie noted that for her to be able to continue with all of her family and business responsibilities, she had to occasionally take time out for herself. This "time out" often consisted of going for an early morning run, before the rest of the family arose. As well, Pamela would try and get out for a walk when possible to escape from the emotionally draining aspects associated with her work and family. These walks would sometimes be taken with friends and other times she would go alone. In their own leisure, at least some of the women were able to obtain "time for self" and friends separate from the family and their roles within it. This time provided them with a number of benefits, including: health, social, and emotional. As well, this leisure tended to occur outside of the home to provide a true form of escape from work and family responsibilities. It is interesting that previous studies have found women's leisure tends to occur close to the home (Shaw, 1992), however for the women in this study, the chance to "get out" was an extremely important aspect of their leisure. That is, leisure for these women most commonly took place outside of the home, although often within the immediate neighbourhood.

Yet, entitlement to this leisure seemed to have to be justified by many of the women both with and without children. When talking about their personal leisure, several of the women explained they needed to have this time for health related reasons. That is, there seemed to be a need to justify their right to personal space, and health concerns were one such justification. As well, their economic role in contributing to the

family's income also served as a reason for needing "time away". The women felt they were entitled to leisure as a result of their contribution to paid work, a finding which supports previous research on women's sense of entitlement (Frisby & Brown, 1991; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991).

At the same time, paid work seemed to be constraining their ability to have personal leisure. This was true of both women with and without children. Again, this finding resonates with previous research, for example it reflects the findings of Kay's (1998) research who notes that women continue to have unequal access to personal time due to their disproportionate share of household labour. During interviews with eleven women who were employed full-time, Kay (1998) found that leisure was a "desired but residual category" (p. 445). That is, it was something the women wished to obtain in their own lives, but were often unable to achieve. The women negotiated their lives and the aspects within them much more than their partners did. Similar findings were evident in the current study. Instead of work serving as a means of justifying a need for leisure, it became the aspect that encroached upon this personal time. Ineffective attempts to "find time" for leisure were often documented by the women entrepreneurs. This was especially true during busy business cycles when deadlines became pressing or their services were in greater demand. Despite the challenge for these women, personal leisure still retained its importance though little time was able to be devoted to it which represents the "trade-off" suggested in the literature about women's employment (i.e., a loss of time for leisure, but a gain in entitlement to it).

While there was one example (Janie) of resistance to narrow gender role prescriptions related to work and family, for the rest of the women resistance seemed to

be minimal. Leisure seemed to represent the highest potential for resistance through entitlement. However, leisure also reified the belief that women were responsible for the family and its enjoyment (Gilligan, 1982; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Shaw, 1992). Women's responsibility for the co-ordination of the family and children's leisure was often not questioned, but assumed to be natural. Overall, the work, family, and leisure lives of the women seemed to function to reproduce rather than resist traditional ideologies of femininity.

The Reification of the Ideology of Masculinity

The primary reason for the men to start a home-based business was the need for economic survival. They commented about the lack of other such viable economic opportunities (especially within Newfoundland). Operating a business provided greater potential for remuneration. That is, the ideology of male as breadwinner seemed to be driving these men in that they felt they were primarily responsible for the economic welfare of the family. Yet, it is important to note that the majority of the men were not the only source of income for the family: rather, several had an additional income through their life partner's work. The additional income was often equal to or close to equal their personal contribution. Yet, this income did not seem to reduce the male entrepreneurs' discomforts and stress associated with their "breadwinning" role. Further, they had an additional need to defend their status as breadwinner simply due to their type of occupation. Operating a business from the home seemed to carry negative connotations and several of the men commented that they were often not taken seriously as having a "real job". The home could not possibly be a place of work. Therefore, the men were required to defend their status as the economical provider for the family.

Economic responsibility was forcing several of the men to sustain a form of employment which was not their primary focus or interest. Several of the men explained that they would prefer to be doing something else if they were still able to obtain the same financial benefits. These alternatives ranged from completely different forms of employment, to work within the same industry but in a more traditional (9-5) format.

Materialism. The ideology of masculinity may also be further perpetuated by the increased societal focus being placed upon materialism (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Robinson and Godbey state that the emphasis on consumption of goods is drastically increasing and has produced a "psychology of entitlement" to material possessions. This perspective assumes that not only "more is better", but also that "more is needed" and that the concept of "enough" does not exist (Robinson & Godbey, 1997, p. 44). The male entrepreneurs in this study seemed to feel that they needed to obtain enough income to provide all of the leisure options their children wanted. This included being able to pay for sports equipment, lessons, musical instruments, computers, and other "toys". In fact, the need to provide such "toys" had become a major focus driving many of the male entrepreneurs.

The materialism evident in the fathers' discourses seemed to be fuelled by two frames of thought. First, the fathers wanted to be able to provide their children with the ability to pursue any leisure choice they desired. It was hoped that by doing so, their children would have greater options to select from later in their lives. Second, the parents wanted to ensure that their children were busy. This notion was being driven by what social psychologists have termed the "idle hands" theory (Mannell & Kleiber, 1996). By

ensuring their children were continuously busy, it would mean that they could not possibly be getting into any trouble. From this perspective, the men's priority on family can be seen not as a caregiver, but as a provider, thus reinforcing traditional beliefs.

A materialistic focus was also evident for the male entrepreneur without children in the home. Paul felt a need to obtain a high enough income to enjoy travelling during his off-season with his life partner. Frequent trips to Florida occurred during this time. Due to the tremendous expense associated with travelling, he needed to accumulate a large amount of wealth from his business for himself and his partner. However, his partner also worked full-time and, therefore, could have potentially obtained her own travel fare.

Feelings of guilt. Ironically, working such long, hard hours for their families and focusing so much attention on their businesses, was not making the male entrepreneurs feel they were improving the quality of life for their families. Rather, many were obtaining a sense of dissatisfaction with their experience of fatherhood and life partner. Spade and Reese (1992) have previously documented the dissatisfaction many fathers are experiencing as they recognise their minimal emotional role within the family. For the entrepreneurs, the long hours and extensive travel associated with their businesses meant that many men were not as intensively involved with their families as they would have liked. Laughingly, Carl commented about the need to come out of the office and "reintroduce yourself to the family". This was because he became so involved with the business that family took a secondary focus. A common assumption would be that operating a business out of the home would produce greater contact with the family; however, David explained that this just served to remind him of how little contact he did

have with them. If he had been working at an office outside of the home, it would have been easier to forget or push aside his lack of familial involvement as being a result of work. With the work environment located within the home, he was continuously surrounded by his family, but painfully aware of the lack of interaction with them.

The existence of the stress and conflicts associated with operating a home-based business and being a father and life partner seemed to be common knowledge among the participants. Even Paul (who currently did not have any children and was not yet married to his life partner) commented that male entrepreneurs needed to have extremely supportive life partners who would be willing to assume a larger share in the household labour. This support was needed because of the long hours, extended travel, and lack of a stable income. Paul explained that he honestly did not know how people could maintain such a lifestyle if they were married with children and did not have such support from a spouse. Interestingly, in this study, only the male entrepreneurs with children seemed to have such supportive spouses; however, the female spouses did not (themselves) have an option about whether or not they provided this support. Further, the women entrepreneurs did not have this luxury. Therefore, a supportive spouse seemed to be associated with the possibility of being excused from household labour and seemed to exist for the men but not for the women entrepreneurs.

Leisure as sustenance of masculinity. Due to the tremendous stress associated with being a father, life partner, and home-based business owner, all but one of the men commented on the importance of their personal leisure away from the family to assist in recuperation. Only David did not have any activities that he participated in separate from the family. He felt the need to maintain his focus upon business did not allow any time

for leisure participation. However, the rest of the male entrepreneurs were all regularly involved with peers in sporting activities. This was different from the women who had to justify their participation that tended to occur on a more irregular basis. The men, on the other hand, were able to identify their "right" to leisure as a result of the hard work they had been engaged in during the day. Their business, therefore, served as a justification of their need for leisure.

The men's leisure activities were often performed with business associates as a means of developing social contacts. Golf and hockey were the two most common venues for this bonding to occur. By interacting in a more relaxed setting with their colleagues, it was believed that greater business possibilities would arise and would "fall my way". Therefore, leisure often served as a means of developing the business. As a result, ironically, even within leisure, the men were still not able to escape the pressures of business.

This inability to "escape" could also be seen in their holidays. For the majority of the men, even while on vacation, they were still in contact with clients. The ability to maintain this focus was referred to as "self-discipline" and played a key role in whether or not they were going to be successful. However, this focus on clients displays the centrality of the breadwinning role for the men. Customers knew, and thus learned to expect, male entrepreneurs would be available on evenings and even weekends. When such behaviours are taken for granted and assumed "normal", the social construction of traditional norms of masculinity and femininity are perpetuated (Kimmel & Messner, 1997).

Summary

The entrepreneurs' life choices were influenced by the negotiation and social construction of gender in a number of ways. From the perspectives they had of business and leisure, to their role in a family, traditional gendered ideologies were sustained by the entrepreneurs' experiences. These experiences did not serve to create alternative ideologies of femininity and motherhood. The women did not have many opportunities for personal leisure and were predominantly responsible for family responsibilities and family leisure, in addition to their business responsibilities. Their actions served to reinforce the traditional beliefs that women should be primarily responsible for care giving and the home. In the case of the male entrepreneurs, much dissatisfaction was felt with their combination of life spheres and the relationship between men and "breadwinning". In fact, several would (if possible) have preferred alternative work options to home-based operation to enable them to spend greater time with their families and to enjoy a greater reprieve from business. For both men and women, there was little evidence of resistance to gender. Traditional gendered ideologies restricted the choices and behaviours of the participants, and the resultant restriction and conformity with traditional gendered roles and expectations, in turn, led to the reproduction of these dominant ideologies.

Chapter VIII

The Ideology of Gender and Entrepreneurship: An Alternative Cultural Analysis

After exploring the ideology of gender using some of the feminist literature, I would now like to offer an alternative exploration into the ideology of gender and experience with entrepreneurship of my participants. The question which triggered this alternative analysis was one which continually weighed in the back of my mind, "Why did the women entrepreneurs seem to experience their negotiations of work, family, and leisure relatively positively?" Although the women commented about receiving little assistance when negotiating their various life spheres, their views regarding their coping did not seem to be pessimistic. Rather, they seemed to be very proud of themselves for being able to accomplish so much, basically on their own. Further, the men entrepreneurs seemed to be experiencing an emotional turmoil with their negotiation, despite their acknowledgement of the tremendous support they received from their life partners. Specifically, the men seemed to be concerned about their lack of contribution as fathers and life partners within their families. The business was causing the men to spend more time away from home (i.e., travelling) and, therefore to be less present within the family unit. As well, even when they were home, the men still recognised their inability to fully participate within the family unit.

These questions and concerns were playing at the back of my mind throughout my analysis of the data and continually surfaced in my journaling. However, it was not until I went back to the literature and examined the historical, social, and cultural aspects of the Newfoundland and Labrador background (previously documented within Chapter III) that I was able to find an explanation for these seemingly conflicting data and

realised an oversight I had made. My participants in the follow-up interviews confirmed my oversight and provided further clarification.

Finding an Explanation

Conducting qualitative research involves the researcher "immers[ing] her/his identity into an interpretation of the data" (Henderson, 1991, p. 174). Through this immersion, the researcher uses her/his own background, intuition, insights, hunches, and impressions to assist in the analysis of the arising findings. Further, the researcher must alternate between reading and re-reading the data and searching for explanations for emerging findings within previous research. Therefore, to provide an explanation for the arising questions and concerns, I began searching for clarification. This explanation emerged within the literature on the Newfoundland and Labrador culture. By more closely recognising this background and its roles in the participants' lives, I was able to uncover two main cultural themes that helped to explain the previous questions with which I was battling.

The Importance of Family

The first of these themes revolved around the importance of families in the lives of the participants. Porter (1985) explains that each member of the Newfoundland and Labrador family played a vital role in sustaining the existence of the unit. In order to survive in a subsistence and exchange economy, each member had specific duties that needed to be performed. The extreme importance of members' contributions can be seen in the creation of quasi-extended families with several households joining together for those who did not have any extended family members in the community (Porter, 1985). These "new" extended families enabled smaller units to survive without the support of

relations (Porter, 1985). Within the current study, there were three families who included extended family members. These extended family members assisted the household when required, but otherwise tended to play a minimal role.

Porter (1985) documents how the dependence upon family members has created extremely strong familial units within Newfoundland and Labrador. As well, she discusses how women's role within the family has been highly respected and valued, with recognition being given to the tremendous amount of labour and duties performed. Wives and daughters, she concludes, play an important role in sustaining the family. Without their contribution, the family would not have food, clothing, and economic resources. This dependence upon the female members of the household has produced a different sexual division of labour from many other areas within Canada. Porter (1991) refers to this valuation of family members as being a focus upon equality. Each member of the family and their contributions are valued equally.

The value of each family member's contributions has not only been recognised by the family, but also has served as a source of pride. Members have been proud of their roles and the family's dependence on them (Porter, 1985). This has been particularly the case for the female members. Their work within the family has been greatly recognised and celebrated within the Newfoundland and Labrador culture. It is this pride which I did not originally recognise in the female entrepreneurs' experiences.

Pride in their role within the family seemed to be driving some of the women's beneficial experiences with operating a home-based business. As the business was based within the home, the women were able to be in greater contact with their families and were more present within their lives than if they were employed outside of the home.

This produced a sense of satisfaction for the women as they were in touch with their family members. Yet, it was more than simply being in touch with the family, rather the pride stemmed from the fact that they were basically the "needle and thread" holding the family together. The women were involved in scheduling and organising activities (e.g., leisure, educational, medical) and, therefore, were responsible for the co-ordination of the unit. Without them, the household would not have been able to function as efficiently or effectively. The recognition of the importance of their role by other household members seemed to produce tremendous satisfaction. This satisfaction with being able to combine work and family also seemed to have two other outcomes. First, it led, perhaps inadvertently, to the reproduction of traditional notions of femininity, and to reification of women's primary care giving role within the family. Second, satisfaction with being able to manage work roles without cutting back on family roles, may have led to their expressions of satisfaction with the way they had managed to balance their life spheres. That is, they were rejoicing in their cultural background and the importance of family and their role within it.

This conclusion leads to the need more carefully examine the situation of Janie, who was resisting traditional roles. Janie was the only entrepreneur who had not been born and raised in Newfoundland. She had been living within the Province for many years, but was not a native of the province. This may have played a role (in part) in her different conceptualisation of the importance of women's roles within the family that enabled her to maintain her work as her primary focus. When I discussed this alternative conceptualisation with her, she further clarified that her husband was a native of Newfoundland and she felt that as a result, he had a very strong linkage to family. This

may have been one of the main reasons why he assumed the primary care giver role so readily. However, greater research is needed before it will be possible to clarify what factors may have assisted in producing such unique resistance in their case.

Using this cultural analysis also helps to explain some of the men's negative experiences with entrepreneurship and their negotiation of work, leisure, and family. As the men were "technically present" in the home but still "functionally absent" from family life, the situation was serving to draw increased attention to their lack of contact with the unit. Operating their businesses out of the home meant the fathers were in greater physical proximity to their families, but were not able to interact with them. Therefore, the tremendous importance placed upon the family within the Newfoundland and Labrador culture was causing the fathers to feel inadequate in terms of their contributions. Participants justified their lack of functional presence by pointing to their economic contribution. The belief was that this monetary amount was greater than was possible in other occupations requiring less time commitment. This analysis helps to explain their negative feelings associated with operating a home-based business as revealed in the previous chapter. As well as battling with the traditional ideology of male as breadwinner, the men may have also been recognising their lack of interaction within their families. Therefore, their negative feelings about entrepreneurship may have been driven by a combination of their inability to play a more significant emotional role within their households and their rejection of traditional masculinity. Interestingly, Porter's (1991) previous research on attitudes to male roles within the Newfoundland and Labrador culture did not uncover the existence of this battle for men.

Yet, the operation of the male entrepreneurs' businesses seemed to produce similar travel situations as being away on a fishing excursion (i.e., the participants in Porter's research). As the entrepreneurs' businesses required extensive amounts of travel, this was not dissimilar to the fishers being away for several days at sea. However, Porter (1985; 1991) did not document similar emotional concerns about men's role within the family. Perhaps questions in relation to this had not been asked, or such responses were not considered appropriate for men given the societal stereotypes regarding emotionality and men. As well, an explanation for the materialistic focus, previously examined, may be that it was a way of compensating for the men's lack of involvement or at least was serving as an excuse.

A Home of Our Own?

Another theme arising from a closer consideration of the Newfoundland and Labrador culture was the difficulties associated with the home being a place of work. Within this culture, the home, with the exception of the kitchen, has traditionally been a private sphere to which the family could retreat (Porter, 1985). The kitchen in Newfoundland and Labrador often held community meetings and, therefore, was often designated as a public area. Outsiders were allowed into the kitchen, however, they had to be invited into the rest of the home. This dichotomy was very important to the Newfoundlander and Labradorian as it sustained a sense of privacy for the family and their activities. Neighbours and friends respect privacy and intrusions do not occur without an invitation. Yet, this division does not exist for the home-based business owners.

Operating a business out of the home challenges the dominant cultural conceptualisation of the home as private. This was the situation for many of the women entrepreneurs, and meant that since people were entering the home for business reasons, the entire area had become public. The entrepreneurs had, thereby, lost the division and the resulting privacy in their family lives. This helps to explain why many felt as though the outside world was able to intrude upon their personal space. By not recognising the importance of their cultural background, I did not address the confusion and tension caused by this transition from private to public. These intrusions meant the business owner was considered constantly available no matter what time of day or day of the week. Further, many clients seemed to hope the private side of the entrepreneurs' lives would simply disappear. This has produced concerns for many of the business owners as they no longer had a separate place to engage in activities with their families and those instances when they did tended to be on display.

The Interconnection between Gender and Culture

Examination of the cultural impact that living in Newfoundland and Labrador had upon the lives of the participants leads to further understanding of the social construction of gender for participants in this study. Despite the value placed upon women within the culture, women have continued to perform a vast majority of the household labour (Porter, 1985). This has been true throughout the historical evolution of the province. Previously, women were responsible for feeding the family (including the family's animals), clearing the grounds for gardening, planting and weeding the gardens, making butter, berry picking, selling the berries for money, bread-making, making clothes, pillow cases, and table cloths, quilting, and hooking mats (Porter, 1991). Although a number of

these tasks are no longer required, women in the households have continued to assume primary responsibility for child care, household labour, and cooking. The participants in the current study provided support for this reality. The female entrepreneurs and female life partners tended to assume primary responsibility for the household labour, with the male entrepreneurs or life partners being secondary. Despite the fact that the women did express the desire for more assistance, they generally rated their situations in a positive way. Concerns about the lack of assistance from partners did not seem to reduce the women's pride in their significant role within the family. Rather, they were simply reflecting a desire to have a reprieve from this role. Thus they were not seriously challenging the dominant patriarchal view of gender apparent in their discussions of their various life spheres. The cultural ideology of the family seemed to be affecting the ways in which they negotiated gender issues, and their apparent lack of resistance to dominant ideologies of gender.

The majority of the women were responsible for not only their businesses, but also the administration of the family and its activities. Therefore, in most cases, the women were essentially operating two businesses (i.e., their own and their family). This meant that if family responsibilities required greater attention and care, the women would often have to reduce their business obligations to compensate. There did not seem to be the consideration of any alternative options in regards to work allocations. This finding seems to supports previous research (e.g., Hoschild, 1989; 1998; Kay, 1998; Schor, 1991) on women of other cultural backgrounds which has documented that despite their advancement in the paid labour force, women continue to be primarily responsible for childcare and household labour. However, for the women in the current study, the view

of family within the Newfoundland and Labrador culture may have been further encouraging the reinforcement of femininity and stereotypically appropriate roles for women

On the other hand, for the male owners, the business was predominant. Family obligations were maintained only when they did not interfere with the occupation. This was possible as the life partner would correspondingly increase her share within the household. The male entrepreneur was, thereby, freed from any distractions to focus upon his employment. Freedom from household labour has been historically granted to male members of the household within Newfoundland (Porter, 1991). Men have traditionally been freed from household tasks to enable them to focus upon fishing and other economic activities; while, women maintained the households and also often the "onshore" work related to fishing (e.g., drying, salting the fish, hiring the crew) (Porter, 1985). Therefore, men have typically been released from household responsibilities to enable them to focus upon their paid employment and women have sustained multiple roles.

These differential experiences for women and men were reflected in this study, and help to explain the patriarchal as well as cultural underpinnings that influenced the men's lives. Despite the enjoyment and satisfaction the women entrepreneurs experienced in operating (essentially) two businesses, additional assistance at times would have been appreciated. The women had the emotional support of their life partner, but greater physical assistance was desired. Assistance was sought to enable the women to "escape" from their roles once in awhile in order to experience some time for self or

friends. As they were constantly in the home, the chance to get away from this location was considered a reward or "treat".

The male entrepreneurs were affected by the traditional perceptions of masculinity as well as their own cultural background. This meant an emphasis was placed upon their role within the family as bread-winner (despite the contribution of a life partner) and also on the lack of a role they were able to play due to their business demands. They, therefore, experienced a conflicting push-pull relationship between their businesses and their families. This push-pull occurred as the ideology of the centrality of family from the cultural perspective conflicted with the ideology of masculinity and male as bread-winner. However, the men seemed to be better able to enjoy time for self in a leisure setting, than the women entrepreneurs, as the demands of their businesses could be used as justification to their entitlement to leisure.

Change and the Newfoundland and Labrador Culture

With the increasing immigration of other cultures to Newfoundland and Labrador, future changes may occur and impact upon the culture. Davis (1995) has documented these transitions already occurring in rural communities in the province.

First, there is a decentralisation within communities. No longer is the same focus upon community and/or family evident. Rather, there is a growing sense that now "it's everyone out for him[/her]self" (Davis, 1995, p.281). Due to the harsh economic realities, people have been moving away from a focus on togetherness to one of isolation. This isolation is occurring even within family units with individual members no longer assisting one another, but instead, becoming focused on their own needs and interests.

Second, Davis suggests that a stratification system is developing among different classes which is further increasing the feelings of isolation. The stratification is due to widening differences between upper and lower classes. A system is developing ranging from professionals at the top to those on employment insurance or welfare at the bottom. This system has produced a greater sense of differentiation among community members.

Third, a desire to "escape" from Newfoundland is being felt by many young people (Davis, 1995). Due to a concern about a lack of adequate employment, many young adults are leaving the province in search of greater opportunities. This is particularly the case as higher educational levels are being attained and more specialised training is being pursued. After achieving this education and training, there are often few paid positions available within the province.

Although there was no evidence of any of these three future trends occurring within this study, the situation may change in the future. An increasing sense of isolation may result in further concerns for entrepreneurs in relation to work, family, and leisure. The participants in this study already noted feelings of isolation. A need to get out of the home and interact with friends and forge relationships with clients was documented by several women. With an increasing sense of isolation, the development of relationships may become even more important an issue. Further, many of the male entrepreneurs currently were starting to feel isolated from their families. Therefore, isolation was not only developing from other people, but also within the family unit. Finally, the increasing number of young people within Newfoundland and Labrador and decreasing number of adults is going to produce a changing labour force. This change in the labour force is going to produce a wide number of previously unthought of complications for

work, leisure, and family as these individuals negotiate their life spheres. Because the government is trying to entice more young people towards entrepreneurship with a number of tax break initiatives, a closer consideration is going to need to be adopted of the other life spheres besides work for the resulting implications.

Summary

By incorporating a cultural analysis, focusing on traditional Newfoundland and Labrador ideologies and values, the pride and satisfaction of the women entrepreneurs from operating a business within the home and thereby being closer to family is more fully explained. As well, the dissatisfaction of the male entrepreneurs with being emotionally distanced from their families can also be better explained. Until this additional analysis, patriarchy was seen as overriding the business owners' experiences instead of simply being a complex thread running through them. It was evident that analyses of entrepreneurship and the intersection of work, family, and leisure must take care to situate them within both the gendered and cultural context of the participants. Further, historical factors must also be taken into account since culture is flexible and dynamic over any given period.

Chapter IX

Conclusions and Recommendations

Before this thesis is drawn to a close, this final chapter will include three main components. First, an overall summary will be provided to highlight the main themes arising from this study. Next, a discussion of limitations of the project will be conducted, including a consideration of their impact upon the study design and the overall credibility of the findings and interpretations. Finally, a few final thoughts will be outlined addressing possibilities for future research and practice.

Summary

Entrepreneurship and especially home-based entrepreneurs are continuously being flaunted as the employment of the future (e.g., Royal Bank, 1994; Ryan, 1999). To escape challenges associated with more traditional forms of employment and avoid unemployment or underemployment, individuals are invited to start their own businesses. The resulting benefits to the entrepreneur are deemed almost "magical" as they supposedly carry over beyond the entrepreneur's work life and into other aspects of their lifestyle. For example, there is an increasing abundance of contemporary business literature (e.g., McKenna, 1997; Peters, 1997) targeted towards women citing the potential of "balance" in their family lives. It is suggested that somehow operating your own business will facilitate better work/family/leisure relationships.

This study of 13 men and women entrepreneurs living in St. John's and Mount Pearl, Newfoundland challenges this overly optimistic view of entrepreneurship. The men and women in this study were interviewed about their experiences with negotiating

work, leisure, and family, and some of their life partners were also interviewed about their experiences living with entrepreneurs.

Interestingly, the women in this study did comment upon a positive experience when negotiating all three of their life spheres. However, this emotional buoyancy seemed to be associated with their freedom of choice to operate a home-based business, rather than specifically a greater ability to balance. That is, the majority of the women had specifically chosen to be home-based business owners in order to sustain all of their previous life commitments (e.g., child care, organisation of family leisure). Working from the home meant the women were available for their children and their needs. They were, therefore, able to sustain work and family obligations at the same time. The ability to maintain both of these responsibilities was highlighted by both the women with young children as well as those with older ones. Yet, a result of this maintenance of multiple commitments was a reduction in leisure. Although a few women explained that their work created some opportunities for greater leisure as a result of increased social connections and an enhanced sense of entitlement, the majority reported a severe shortage of such instances. This shortage was particularly experienced in relation to personal leisure. Family leisure was not reduced and, in fact, contributed to the women's lack of personal space because they were primarily responsible for the work associated with creating, organizing, and delivering such instances.

The sustenance of family responsibilities, in addition to work commitments, was not a priority for the male entrepreneurs. Rather, their female life partners and/or spouses assumed primary responsibility for care giving to "free" the male entrepreneurs to focus upon their businesses. Yet, this freedom did not seem to produce feelings of relief for the

men as many were home-based business owners by default. That is, they had turned to entrepreneurship simply to avoid unemployment or underemployment and not out of a desire to operate their own business. Although the men did not experience the same satisfaction from their work as the women did, they experienced fewer constraints to their personal leisure. The only constraint to personal leisure identified was a lack of enjoyment resulting from a mental focus upon work. Therefore, in summary, both the women and men entrepreneurs faced challenges as well as opportunities when negotiating their work, leisure, and family that were (at least in part) a result of their freedom of choice surrounding business initiation.

Another area examined within this study was the role of gender relations in the process of entrepreneurship. Women, especially, are being encouraged to start their own business, in the hopes of creating new definitions of motherhood and femininity (Acker, 1992). That is, by operating their own business, they will be able to "have it all". However, men are also becoming drawn into the desire to forge new meanings of fatherhood and masculinity. In particular, the greater work schedule flexibility associated with creating one's own hours is seen by many as very enticing. Yet, to date, little research has examined whether these opportunities in reality occur. The current study on entrepreneurship served as a stepping-stone towards more critically examining the relationship between work, family, and leisure.

By adopting a critical approach in this study, it was possible to recognise that traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity continued to be reinforced through entrepreneurs' negotiations of work, leisure, and family. The men continued to identify with the bread-winning role associated with traditional fatherhood and masculinity. They

were primarily focused upon their businesses and obtaining sufficient monetary rewards from them to provide for their families. The ability to concentrate so heavily upon the business was facilitated by their spouses who assumed primary responsibility for the household and children. Interestingly, this focus upon the entrepreneur's business as the primary economic livelihood for the family continued, even in those families which had additional sources of income provided by the female partner.

The women entrepreneurs also continued to identify with traditional ideologies of gender. Although the women appeared to be forging new life roles through their choices regarding business ownership, they (for the most part) continued to sustain the care-giving role associated with traditional femininity and motherhood. This could be seen in the women's maintenance of prior family commitments, in addition to the operation of a business. They received little assistance from their life partners to reduce their family obligations. Instead, they were primarily required to negotiate alternative methods of coping with multiple tasks.

Only one woman resisted this norm and had developed a greater focus upon her business, with her life partner assuming greater responsibility for household labour and childcare. She believed this had occurred because the business was their sole source of economic livelihood and her success within it translated into the family's success. His assumption of primary responsibility for the family and a "behind the scenes" role in their business (i.e., administration) enabled her to direct greater attention towards her strengths (i.e., service delivery).

Another factor besides choice and gender that played a role in the entrepreneurs' experiences with entrepreneurship was their cultural background. Recognition of cultural

context drew attention to the heightened awareness of the centrality of home and family for these participants (Porter, 1985; 1991). Social, cultural, and historical forces within Newfoundland and Labrador have resulted in magnification of the importance of the role of family members and their contributions to the entire unit. By recognising these differential meanings of family, it was possible to appreciate and understand the pride and satisfaction the women entrepreneurs received from operating a business within the home and thereby being closer to their households. As well, the importance of the family in the Newfoundland and Labrador culture assisted in explaining some of the dissatisfaction of the male entrepreneurs with being emotionally distanced from their family members.

When the entrepreneurs' experiences are considered as a whole, there seemed to be two main emergent themes for understanding the life situations of the entrepreneurs. First, there was a notion of degree of choice versus obligation. The women entrepreneurs seemed to have a greater choice when deciding to initiate business ownership. However, this choice did not seem to carry over into their day-to-day life negotiations of family and leisure. The male entrepreneurs seemed to have less choice in relation to business start-up. Nevertheless, they had greater options (or choices) surrounding leisure and assistance in family responsibilities. The second theme running through the study revolved around the role that culture played in the participants' lives. For both the women and the men, their Newfoundland and Labrador heritage was woven through their experiences with entrepreneurship.

These two themes (i.e., choice vs. cultural prescriptions) appear to be contradictory. However, they both reflect the impact on men's and women's lives of

societal ideologies, values, and beliefs. The choice model can be seen as decisions that individuals make based on their beliefs and on societal expectations about work, leisure, and family. Thus, these choices are constrained by, reflect, and often reproduce dominant societal ideologies about work and leisure, as well as about masculinity and femininity. The cultural analysis explanation, on the other hand, focuses on specific historical and cultural factors unique to Newfoundland and Labrador. That is, this explanation is based on local culturally determined valuations of the family, as well as beliefs about the private nature of the home. These two types of explanation can be seen as cumulative rather than contradictory. In other words, participants in this study were influenced by broader societal ideologies of gender as well as by local cultural values related to home and family. The validation interviews provided support for both of these explanations, suggesting that the participants were negotiating both sets of ideologies as they constructed their work, family, and leisure lives.

Discussion of Limitations

As with any study, a number of limitations existed and should be identified. Some of these also serve as a foundation for recommendations about future research. These limitations include the credibility of the researcher, the transferability of findings, the dependability of the detailing of the project, and the confirmability of the results.

First, my credibility as a researcher in the eyes of the participants took a considerable amount of effort to prove within this study. Because I was an "outsider" attempting to obtain entrance into the area of entrepreneurship and into the study of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, it was important to establish myself as credible. Due to my "outsiderness", some of the information I was given may not have been

completely open. Another researcher who is currently an entrepreneur may obtain more complete information from his/her participants. Therefore, future researchers will need to focus upon this relationship, especially if they are from a different cultural background as I was (i.e., non-Newfoundlander and Labradorian). At the same time, I found that being an "outsider" also meant that participants tended to provide me with greater clarification than I may otherwise have obtained as a "native" of the Province. To ensure I was able to understand "where they were coming from", participants often gave greater details than I feel they may have otherwise. Further, they would often ask me if I was following them and if I understood what they were saying. The phrases "Right?" and "You know?" were used a lot by my participants. Therefore, the resulting data may have been "richer" than if I had not received such explanations and clarifications.

Next, the findings of my study may provide interesting insights that are relevant for other entrepreneurs in other areas of Canada and North America. As few projects have examined work, leisure, and family simultaneously, the information about the challenges negotiating these domains may prove insightful. Further, the gendered analysis of the negotiations occurring both in and within the life spheres is also an important theme arising from this project. At the same time, the transferability of my findings to other contexts will need to be closely considered by future researchers wanting to apply the information. This is because the findings of this study are closely linked to the context from which they were obtained. Therefore, other entrepreneurs and even other home-based business owners in a different location may not have directly comparable experiences. As well, the entrepreneurs in this study were all from home-based businesses which may have made the concerns of work, leisure, and family more

prevalent, as they had a greater interaction within their home space. In addition, the sample only included people in business for at least two years and, therefore, did not explore the initial start-up phase of business operation. Entrepreneurs in this initial phase may face additional complications regarding the intersection of family, leisure, and work because of the concerns associated with "getting the business off of the ground". It is possible that work may take precedence to the other life spheres for these individuals. Future research will need to continue to advance our knowledge of this new form of employment and its intersection with the other life spheres.

Another limitation to be addressed is the dependability of the results or the ability to account for changing conditions within the project (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The original plan had been to include all life partners, however, I was unable to recruit males. A greater number of male life partner interviews may have provided additional insights for the study. It is unfortunate that so few of the male life partners were interested in participating. However, this situation also served to highlight the male partners' small role within the women's businesses. Thus, not obtaining any information from them actually served as a type of information, itself. Nevertheless, the interviews with the female life partners proved to be tremendously valuable in documenting the reality of the entrepreneurial life experience. As a result, future projects may want to consider placing greater emphasis on the role of the male life partners in the study to avoid this lack of participation. Perhaps a different title to the project reflecting their role may result in greater numbers of male participants.

The other change that occurred during the project was the change from validation focus groups to validation interviews. It would have been rewarding to have the

opportunity for the participants to engage in dialogue with one another. However, due to their life schedules and commitments, this was not possible. The main purpose of the validation sessions was to verify the emerging themes, and this was still possible in an interview format. At the same time, the focus groups may have uncovered additional themes (not previously considered) through dialogue and exchange among members. Previous research (Brown, 1996) using focus groups has found that some themes may not be immediately apparent until another group member identifies an issue. As well, it would have been interesting to obtain a chance for the male entrepreneurs to share their insights on their experiences with the women and conversely for the women to share their views with the men. On the other hand, perhaps having a group interview may have silenced some of the less confident members and resulted in less open sharing of information with me. Moreover, some discussion of cross-gender perceptions did emerge in the individual interviews; in that, many of my female participants reflected upon the experiences for male entrepreneurs and conversely, the males reflected upon examples of females they knew in the industry.

Finally, the confirmability of the results should be addressed. Ensuring the emerging results represent the participants' experiences is vitally important. Within this study, a number of methods were utilised to ensure confirmability. First, the transcripts were read and re-read numerous times during the initial data analysis phase. This allowed for the participants' voices to be represented. Next, my friends and colleagues were sought for their opinions. As well, my advisor offered insightful comments throughout the written phase of this project. Finally, the validation interviews served as an opportunity for the participants and researcher to discuss the emerging findings and

obtain further clarification. However, it is important to keep in mind that the important themes identified throughout this paper are ones that I identified based on my own personal background, and other people may recognise additional important themes due to their own interpretations. As I have previously operated my own home-based business and lived in a household with a home-based business operator, I may have had my awareness heightened to some of the issues facing entrepreneurs. Further, my master's thesis involved research related to entrepreneurs in the fitness and sport industry. Therefore, I may have developed a repertoire of knowledge that may not be similar to another researcher. However, to ensure I was accurately listening to my participants and hearing their voices, I engaged in a process of reflexivity in which I constantly read and re-read my data to thoroughly immerse myself in it and ensure familiarity with it. As well, through my head notes, field notes, timed writings and analytical notes, I tried to maintain my linkage with the data rather than my own personal beliefs and insights. Finally, I tried to continuously search for negative instances that did not support the emerging themes. Yet probably the most important confirmation of my findings came from the validation interviews. Future research on the topic of entrepreneurship also adopting a critical perspective will assist in clarifying other themes of importance to the field, not yet identified within the current study.

Final Thoughts

If you stand on the side of the ocean and throw a pebble into the water, you will immediately see ripples forming outwards from the entrance point. From this initial point of contact, thousands of waves are made. This study is "the stone" and "the waves" are the questions arising from this project. After interacting with the participants and asking

some preliminary questions about the interaction between work, leisure, and family, I am leaving this study with possibly even more questions than with which I entered. This has been referred to as one of the main benefits of research. The answer to one question leads to the production of multiple others (Henderson, 1989). In order to attempt to outline some of these arising questions in a coherent manner, I organised them into those related to methodology and those related to theory. Further, each of these categories will be broken down into separate sub-categories. As well, within each of these main sections, questions and thoughts will be explored both for practice and for research.

Methodology Questions

From a methodological standpoint, a number of aspects arose which could be relevant for further research. The use of a qualitative methodology provided a more in-depth examination of the experiences of entrepreneurship than had been conducted through traditional research methods. However, as this was only a preliminary study, further research using a similar methodology would be beneficial. Utilising a semi-structured interview format enabled the examination of key topic areas highlighted through the literature review, and also allowed for a more critical exploration of them. Further, conducting individual interviews, as opposed to group interviews, was one of the best methods of obtaining a "fit" with the entrepreneurs' business lives. As these entrepreneurs were negotiating a variety of different time schedules, group interviews would have been virtually impossible to arrange. The use of individual interviews between spouses also produced valuable data as the participants seemed to be more willing to share critical information about their spouse if they were not present. However, perhaps the inclusion of both spouses within the interview may have increased

the number of male spouses. This should be considered in future research to determine whether the men felt excluded as a result of the single interviews between spouses.

The sample of home-based business owners served to be a useful starting point for exploring the issues of entrepreneurship, work, leisure, and family. Future studies should include other types of entrepreneurs, including those who do not operate solely from the home. Operating solely from the home may have resulted in the entrepreneurs experiencing the intersection of work, leisure, and family as more of a concern than others would have. Perhaps, operating from a separate storefront would result in similar issues as those that exist for people in other more traditional forms of work. As well, business owners with and without families should also be compared for similarities and differences of experiences.

Another focus for future projects could include the role of recruitment procedures in gaining participants. As participants in this study highlighted, a connection must be established immediately within the first few lines of a recruitment letter or it will be dismissed. This may have been especially true for entrepreneurs because their busy life schedules did not provide room for reading seemingly "unimportant" information. The first two lines of the letter are probably the most crucial in recruiting potential subjects.

A final methodological area that could be considered in future research includes documenting the value of validation interviews. Obtaining confirmation from the participants of the emerging themes and creating moments for clarification served to be one of the most rewarding tools used in this study. Interestingly, these rewards were experienced not only by myself, but also by my participants as they were able to affirm feelings, concerns, and thoughts in relation to their experiences with entrepreneurship.

Theoretical Questions

From a theoretical standpoint, topics for future research will be examined in relation to the main areas raised in this project (e.g., work, leisure, family, gender, culture). As well, a number of potential questions will be highlighted which require a response through future research.

Alternative forms of work. With the changes occurring in the economy, many traditional forms of work are becoming obsolete and people are turning to new and alternative work options (e.g., home-working, tele-working, home-based business operation, small business operation) (Drucker, 1993; Gurstein, 1995; Marleau, 1995). Despite the "hype" about the benefits of these new forms of work, little documentation has been conducted of the true experiences of these workers. This study provided one glimpse into this arena and, as a result, has raised a number of questions that need to be resolved through further research.

First, because this study found many differences in men's and women's work experiences, future research should also examine the impact of gender on other new work options. Are there gendered differences in other occupations, as well? More specifically, one area of gendered differences that could be examined could include the topic of choice and the extent to which apparent "choice" represents only limited choice within the constraints of societal expectations. These expectations have produced an ideology of choice in terms of potential options related to work, leisure, and family. For example, the women seemed to have more choices regarding work as their spouse's work was labelled the primary source. Yet, they perceived themselves as having few choices relating to care giving for the family. On the other hand, the male entrepreneurs perceived relatively

few choices surrounding their work, while their leisure was viewed predominantly as their own.

Further, the support structures available for entrepreneurs and those selecting such alternative work options should also be critiqued in future projects, as this support was identified in this study as being vital. The support existing within the family unit from life partners was identified as being necessary to "survive as an entrepreneur". Yet, the support the entrepreneurs actually received varied by gender. The female spouses provided a tremendous amount of assistance for the male entrepreneurs, by assuming primary care for the family and completing all necessary obligations when the male entrepreneurs were unable. The male spouses, on the other hand, assumed predominantly a "support from afar" role. Further research is needed to determine whether such provisions and negotiations of support are typical. As well, extended family support also needs to be explored in future projects. Several of the entrepreneurs had extended family members living either within their household or in the neighbourhood. These members currently provided support for the entrepreneurs. However, many concerns were expressed about the increased amount of care which would be required in the future for these family members. Greater research is needed to explore the trend occurring within society for more community care giving and the resulting increase in extended family members living within their children's homes. What impact will this trend have upon entrepreneurship? Finally, the support the entrepreneurs received from their community was a part of their social support system. Many felt their communities did not support their alternative employment and faced many challenges as a result. One research question in this area could include: How common is the lack of support that

entrepreneurs receive from communities? Why does this occur? What support structures need to be implemented? Does this support vary if they are in their home community or a new one? Exploring the answers to these questions will provide a more detailed and critical awareness of alternative forms of employment currently being pursued and will provide a recognition that the availability of support may vary in different cultural contexts.

Family issues. Another area requiring future research is that of family. Despite the egalitarian advancements women have been making in society, many researchers (e.g., Hochschild, 1997; Schor, 1992; Shaw, 1994) have documented the lack of transition occurring within the family unit. Regardless of women's changing employment status, women have continued to be primarily responsible for household responsibilities. This finding was supported in this study with one exception. The majority of the female participants (both entrepreneurs and life partners) continued to sustain their familial obligations, in addition to their other life commitments. As a result, the male life partners and entrepreneurs were able to focus upon other concerns and issues than the family. More research is needed to explore why this inequality continues to exist and also to examine how some families are starting to produce an alternative familial framework (i.e., Janie and Bill). Further, the specific conditions that facilitate or encourage greater sharing should also be considered. Questions needing to be explored in relation to family issues include: How can greater egalitarian sharing be facilitated within families? What is preventing men from assuming a greater role within household labour? How can women be relieved from some of their household labour duties? Why do women seem to accept this continued inequity? How can society

provide greater support for families when negotiating multiple responsibilities? What is the impact of new work forms on egalitarianism? Is there an expectation of new work options leading to new lifestyles and greater egalitarianism? These are some initial questions that need to be considered to obtain a better grasp of why women continue to retain primary responsibility for the household.

More leisure? A third area explored was the participants' leisure lifestyles. The operation of a home-based business is often seen as providing greater work schedule flexibility and, therefore, presumably more opportunities for leisure experiences. However, this study did not provide any evidence for this increased leisure. The majority of the male entrepreneurs (with and without children) engaged in physically active leisure, but these opportunities were often related to work. Leisure involvement with a work colleague or potential client was one method of acquiring further business opportunities. As a result, leisure was not often seen as a complete reprieve from work.

For the female entrepreneurs with children, leisure opportunities tended to revolve around the facilitation of their children's participation. These instances were not always perceived as complete leisure. Instead, a considerable amount of work was involved with these leisure activities as well.

The women without children in the home also did not describe an increased sense of leisure: rather their businesses could often cut into their personal lives. This encroachment of work especially occurred during seasonally busy periods for the business.

In summary, the entrepreneurs in this study did not enjoy the benefits of increased leisure often described in the literature as accompanying the operation of a home-based

business (Ryan, 1999). Rather, business and/or family commitments impacted upon the entrepreneurs' lives reducing any sensations of freedom from work schedule constraints. Some resulting questions from this study requiring further consideration include: How widespread is this lack of leisure for entrepreneurs? Why has the expected increased in leisure not been realised? What impact does home-based business operation have upon leisure experiences? How can leisure/recreation providers be more cognisant of the needs of entrepreneurs? Does children's participation in leisure activities benefit the entire family? Why are women more often responsible for the work of organising children's leisure? How can personal leisure prove as rewarding and a chance to escape from business and family commitments? The responses to these questions will serve to provide a greater understanding of the leisure experiences of entrepreneurs.

Exploring all of the life spheres simultaneously. One of the main purposes of this study was to examine the interaction between all of the life spheres and to explore the dynamics among them. By exploring this complex dynamic, it was possible to uncover the strategies entrepreneurs utilised to sustain their various life commitments and to look at the overlap and conflict between life spheres. As an entrepreneur does not experience obligations from only one sphere at a time, it is necessary to overlap these domains to provide an accurate depiction of his/her life. However, one of the main challenges in trying to explore this overlap is conceptualising these various domains simultaneously. I could not have obtained a conception of each of their life spheres, if they were not first explored individually. It was necessary to capture the various life obligations related to each life domain before the interactions among them could be understood. The entrepreneurs were then able to refer to their individual obligations when explaining how

challenges arose among them. Therefore, future research on the intersection of work, leisure, and family needs to explore how all life spheres can be explored together; however, an individual consideration may be first required.

With an increasing number of people pursuing alternative forms of work (e.g., professionals with flexible work hours, tele-workers, home-based workers), as well as the advancements occurring in technology, work/family/leisure concerns are going to become increasingly prevalent. It is, therefore, important for future researchers to document the experiences of our increasingly diverse workforce. What issues will these individuals be facing? Will they face similar concerns as the participants in this project? Or will they face additional issues in their negotiation of their life spheres?

Gender ideology. Gender was woven throughout this entire project and the entrepreneurs' life experiences. The fabric of gender could be seen in the business owners' personal joys and also their sorrows. Their gender impacted upon their negotiations with self, family, clients, and friends both positively and negatively. These negotiations occurred in their work, family, and leisure spheres. In the work sphere, gender played a role in how they operated their businesses, their reasons for operating a home-based business, their relationships with clients, and the type of business they operated. In the family domain, relationships with children, life partners, and extended family were clearly gendered. In their leisure spheres, gendered negotiations could be seen in terms of the selection of activities, selection of leisure companions, and obligations and responsibilities for other family members' leisure experiences. Yet, not only was gender woven through their experiences, the entrepreneurs were also reproducing traditional ideologies of gender through their interactions with clients,

family, friends, and colleagues. These interactions reinforced traditional norms of femininity and masculinity, rather than resisting them. The norms of female as caretaker and male as breadwinner were maintained, regardless of business commitments. Only one woman resisted these traditional ideologies. Further research is needed to explore these gendered dynamics associated with entrepreneurship and to examine why these traditional ideologies persist. As well, consideration is needed of what factors facilitate resistance. In addition, research on work, leisure, and family will need to recognise the role gender plays or it will miss significant aspects of the experiences of the individuals involved. Future research should not only focus on how gender affects life (e.g., work, leisure, family) which is the approach traditionally adopted in the majority of research, but should also focus on gender reproduction and resistance an alternative perspective which leads to different types of questions and insights.

Recognition of the cultural context. A final theoretical topic for further consideration is the impact cultural context has upon participants and their experiences. Until I recognised the impact that my participants' specific cultural context had upon their life experiences, I was not capturing the complete nature of their lives. Future research needs to ensure an understanding is obtained of the cultural meanings and interpretations of the participants that may not be shared by the researcher. That is, work, leisure, and family, as well as gender constructions cannot be fully understood without recognition of the specific cultural context. Moreover, the recognition of cultural context does not simply include that of the participants, but also the researcher and the values and beliefs s/he carries with him/her.

Summary

This study has provided an initial exploration of the experiences of home-based business owners. Although a variety of questions were explored within the context of this study, many more have been uncovered as a result. Future research is needed to capture the dynamics of the entrepreneurial experience to provide a better understanding of this new form of employment being increasingly pursued by a large number of men and women. As well, continued examination of the role gender and culture play in the intersection of work, leisure, and family should also be sustained in examinations of other occupational categories.

Appendix A

Informational Letter and Informed Consent Form

October, 1998

Dear Study Participant,

I am a doctoral student at the University of Waterloo and am conducting a research study on the experiences of small business owners when negotiating work, leisure, and family. This research project is being conducted under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Susan Shaw and Dr. Alison Pedlar of the University of Waterloo, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, as I am completing a doctoral degree through this institution. The main purpose of the study will be to answer the following question: What is the experience of entrepreneurs when exploring the intersection of work, leisure, and family? The results from this study will provide a basis for understanding the true nature of the entrepreneurial experience and what impact this experience has upon one's life spheres (e.g., work, leisure, family). Previous research has highlighted that there are both advantages, but also disadvantages to being an entrepreneur and it is hoped that this study will be able to explore some of these in more depth.

To collect this information, I will be conducting interviews with people who operate a home-based business in St. John's and Mount Pearl and have been in operation for at least two years. The names and contact information of home-based business owners have been obtained from the Economic Development Divisions of these cities for individuals who own a registered home-based business.

Participation in this study will include involvement in an interview and an optional focus group. Interviews will be conducted at a place of the participant's choice and will range in length from one hour to an hour and a half. The general topic areas for the interviews will include: how people feel about their work, leisure, and family, the conflicts that occur when these spheres collide and the extent to which the spheres are compatible, and the impact that entrepreneurship has upon the balance of work, leisure, and family.

I would also like to interview your life partner separately, if s/he is willing to participate, to obtain his/her opinions about what it is like to live in the same household with an entrepreneur. However, if s/he is not willing to participate, it does not prevent your involvement in this study. The interviews with life partners will range in length from 45 minutes to an hour and will serve to provide further clarification about the nature of the entrepreneurial experience. They will also be scheduled at a location that is convenient for the participant.

After I have conducted the primary data analysis, I will schedule focus groups (or group interviews) with those interested. These focus groups will consist of 4-5 participants per session and will range in length from an hour to an hour and a half. The sessions will serve as a chance to present the preliminary findings from the study to participants and to

obtain feedback. The groups will be comprised of several different types including: all entrepreneurs, all life partners, and a mixture of entrepreneurs and life partners.

With your permission, I hope to audio tape the interviews and focus groups to ensure I accurately document the details from these sessions. The information on these tapes will be used in the form of summaries and direct quotations; however, none of this information will identify you, your partner, or your business as pseudonyms will be used. This data will only be used for the purposes of my doctoral dissertation and publication in a recognized journal. Further, the audio tapes will remain in my possession and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

The main benefit of this study will be the development of a greater understanding of the unique strategies people utilize to "balance" their life spheres (i.e., work, leisure, family). There are no inherent risks to participating in this study and participants can withdraw their voluntary participation at any time. As well, you may decline to answer any questions to which you do not feel comfortable responding.

If you are interested in participating, please fill out the attached consent to be contacted form and mail it in the pre-stamped envelope. However, even if you consent to participate at this time, you can withdraw your right to participate at any time.

This project has been reviewed and has received ethics clearance through the Office of Human Research and Animal Care at the University of Waterloo. However, if you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, please contact this Office at 888-4567, ext. 6005. If you have any general questions about this study, please feel free to contact any of the researchers listed directly at the end of this letter.

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this project. If after receiving this letter you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact any of the following researchers.

Yours sincerely,

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Consent to be Contacted Form

I, _____ **do not consent** to be contacted regarding my potential participation within the study, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family".

I, _____ **consent** to be contacted regarding my potential participation within the study, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family".

Telephone number _____

Best days/times to be contacted _____

Informed Consent Form

I, _____ understand the nature of the project, entitled
Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family and volunteer to
participate in the study. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time
during the project. The nature of my participation will include an interview and a focus
group.

I, _____ have been informed that all information I provide will be
held in confidence and that although direct quotations from the interview may be used, I
will not be identified by name in the final written reports (e.g., thesis, publications).

I, _____ **consent** to being audio taped for the study
entitled, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family.

I, _____ **do not consent** to being audio taped for
the study entitled, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family.

Appendix B

Revised Informational Letter and Informed Consent

January, 1999

Dear Study Participant,

I am an instructor at Memorial University of Newfoundland and am conducting a research study on the experiences of small business owners when negotiating work, leisure, and family. This research project is being conducted under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Susan Shaw and Dr. Alison Pedlar of the University of Waterloo, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, as I am completing a doctoral degree through this institution. The main purpose of the study will be to answer the following question: What is the experience of entrepreneurs when exploring the intersection of work, leisure, and family? The results from this study will provide a basis for understanding the true nature of the entrepreneurial experience and what impact this experience has upon one's life spheres (e.g., work, leisure, family). Previous research has highlighted that there are both advantages, but also disadvantages to being an entrepreneur and it is hoped that this study will be able to explore some of these in more depth.

To collect this information, I will be conducting interviews with people who operate a home-based business in St. John's and Mount Pearl and have been in operation for at least two years. The names and contact information of home-based business owners have been obtained from the Economic Development Divisions of these cities for individuals who own a registered home-based business.

Participation in this study will include involvement in an interview and an optional focus group. Interviews will be conducted at a place of the participant's choice and will range in length from one hour to an hour and a half. The general topic areas for the interviews will include: how people feel about their work, leisure, and family, the conflicts that occur when these spheres collide and the extent to which the spheres are compatible, and the impact that entrepreneurship has upon the balance of work, leisure, and family.

I would also like to interview your life partner separately, if s/he is willing to participate, to obtain his/her opinions about what it is like to live in the same household with an entrepreneur. However, if s/he is not willing to participate, it does not prevent your involvement in this study. The interviews with life partners will range in length from 45 minutes to an hour and will serve to provide further clarification about the nature of the entrepreneurial experience. They will also be scheduled at a location that is convenient for the participant.

After I have conducted the primary data analysis, I will schedule focus groups (or group interviews) with those interested. These focus groups will consist of 4-5 participants per session and will range in length from an hour to an hour and a half. The sessions will

serve as a chance to present the preliminary findings from the study to participants and to obtain feedback. The groups will be comprised of several different types including: all entrepreneurs, all life partners, and a mixture of entrepreneurs and life partners.

With your permission, I hope to audio tape the interviews and focus groups to ensure I accurately document the details from these sessions. The information on these tapes will be used in the form of summaries and direct quotations; however, none of this information will identify you, your partner, or your business as pseudonyms will be used. This data will only be used for the purposes of my doctoral dissertation and publication in a recognized journal. Further, the audio tapes will remain in my possession and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

The main benefit of this study will be the development of a greater understanding of the unique strategies people utilize to "balance" their life spheres (i.e., work, leisure, family). There are no inherent risks to participating in this study and participants can withdraw their voluntary participation at any time. As well, you may decline to answer any questions to which you do not feel comfortable responding.

If you are interested in participating, please fill out the attached consent to be contacted form and mail it in the pre-stamped envelope. However, even if you consent to participate at this time, you can withdraw your right to participate at any time.

This project has been reviewed and has received ethics clearance through the Office of Human Research and Animal Care at the University of Waterloo. However, if you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, please contact this Office at 888-4567, ext. 6005. If you have any general questions about this study, please feel free to contact any of the researchers listed directly at the end of this letter.

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this project. If after receiving this letter you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact any of the following researchers.

Yours sincerely,

Laurene Rehman	Susan M. Shaw	Alison Pedlar
24 St. Laurent St.	Recreation & Leisure	Recreation & Leisure
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A1A 2V2	Waterloo, ON	Waterloo, ON
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	(519) 888-4567,	(519) 888-4567,
	ext. 5019	ext. 3758

Consent to be Contacted Form

I, _____ **do not consent** to be contacted regarding my potential participation within the study, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family".

I, _____ **consent** to be contacted regarding my potential participation within the study, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family".

Telephone number _____

Best days/times to be contacted _____

Informed Consent Form

I, _____ understand the nature of the project, entitled Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family and volunteer to participate in the study. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time during the project. The nature of my participation will include an interview and a focus group.

I, _____ have been informed that all information I provide will be held in confidence and that although direct quotations from the interview may be used, I will not be identified by name in the final written reports (e.g., thesis, publications).

I, _____ **consent** to being audio taped for the study entitled, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family.

I, _____ **do not consent** to being audio taped for the study entitled, "Entrepreneurship: The intersection of work, leisure, and family.

Appendix C

Sample Initial Interview Schedule

Questions for the entrepreneurs:

1)   Background demographic information
      a)   What is your marital status?
      b)   Approximately how old are you?
      c)   How would you describe your family's financial situation (i.e., doing very well, doing O.K., sometimes struggling, facing many struggles)?

2)   a)   Can you describe for me what type of business you operate?
             Probes: What types of clients do you serve?
                            What type of service/product do you sell?
                            Do you operate your business out of the home or at an office away from home?

      b)   Could you describe for me a typical business day? For example, yesterday...
             Probes: Who are your clients, who do you interact with, how many employees do you have, what is your product/service?
                            How many hours do you typically devote to work?

      c)   Does this typical day change much during the week? Are any days "atypical"?
             Probes: Are evenings and weekends similar or do you work on these days?

3)   a)   Do you consider your business activities to be your "work"?
             Probes: Are there other things you do that are also "work"?
                            If so, what?
                            Do you consider things you do around the home to be work?

      b)   How important is your work or these various other kinds of work to you?
             Probes: Does work represent a higher priority than other things in your life?
                            What's the highest priority in your life?

4)   a)   Can you describe your family/marital situation for me?
             Probes: Do all members live in this same household?
                            How many children do you have (if any), what are their ages?

      b)   What does a typical day look like in terms of your interactions with your family?
             Probes: How much time do you spend with your partner and/or children (or other family)?

                            Are there any activities you do together as a family?
                            What are the most and least frequently selected activities?

c) How important is your family or the time you spend with them to you?
    Probes: Do you think your work cuts into our family time too much?
                  Do you think your family responsibilities cut into your work?
                  Which would come first if there were a conflict?
                  Could you describe such a situation or provide an example?

5) a) What do you do in your time away from work and family?
      Probes: What do you do during the week, weekend, and/or holidays?
                  What do you do for yourself? Do you have time for yourself?

   b) How important is this time away?
      Probes: Why is it important (or not important)?
                  Do you feel work cuts into your personal time?
                  Do you feel your family responsibilities cut into your personal
                  time?

6) a) Do you think that the various aspects of your life are in balance or in conflict?
      Probes: How would you describe the way you experience work, leisure,
                  and family?
                  Would you say your life is in balance or in conflict?
                  Do you experience conflict between the various parts of your life?

   b) Is "balance" and/or "conflict" the correct term to use when referring to the
      relationship between: i) leisure and work, ii) family and work, iii) family and
      leisure?

   c) Do you think operating your own small business as opposed to other forms of
      work makes it easier or more challenging to balance work, leisure, and family?
      Probes: Are there unique challenges or benefits from being an
                  entrepreneur?
                  Have you had other forms of paid work?

Questions for the life partners:

1) a) Do you work outside of the household?
      Probes: If so, is your position part-time, full-time.

   b) Can you describe for me what a typical work day looks like?
      Probes: What types of activities do you generally do during the day that
                  you would consider to be work?

   c) How important is your work to you?

d) Do you think that your partner views work in a similar or different way from yourself?

Probes: Do you think your partner places a higher value on work than you?

Do you think your partner places a lower value on work than you?

2) a) Can you describe your family situation for me?

Probes: Do all members live in this same household?

How many children do you have (if any), what are their ages?

b) What does a typical day look like in terms of your interactions with your family?

Probes: How much time do you spend with your partner and/or children (or other family)?

Are there any activities you do together as a family?

What are the most and least frequently selected activities?

Are your interactions with your family similar or different from your partner's?

c) How important is your family or the time you spend with them to you?

Probes: Do you think your work cuts into our family time too much?

Do you think your family responsibilities cut into your work?

Which would come first if there were a conflict?

Would you deal with conflicts similarly or differently than your partner?

3) a) What do you do outside of your work and family obligations?

Probes: Do you do these activities with family members, alone, or with friends?

What do you do during the week, weekend, and/or holidays?

Are your activities similar or different from your partners?

b) How important is this time for you?

Probes: Why is it important (or not important)?

Do you feel either your work or your partner's work interferes with this time?

Do you feel your family responsibilities cut into either your personal time or your partner's?

4) a) Can you describe your experience of living with a small business owner?

Probes: Are there specific benefits and/or challenges from living with an entrepreneur?

b) Do you think that your partner's business influences your life? If so, how?

Probes: Has his/her business influenced your daily schedule? Is there anything you do differently because s/he operates a home-based business than if s/he worked elsewhere?

Appendix D

Follow-up Questions

Themes

1) Relatively homogeneous group but varied in age and family/marital situation
2) Benefits — flexibility, financial, travel, relational
    Challenges — competition, lack of support, work/home encroachment, business responsibilities
3) Work/family — permeable, depends on type of work, importance of support
4) Family/leisure — activities with couple, do it for the children
5) Work/leisure — work isn't work anymore, free time isn't leisure
6) Intersection — triumphant balance (worked hard to achieve — strategies = keeping in touch, keeping things in perspective, waiting out the busy times), acceptance of conflict (just do certain things for the family)
7) Importance of Newfoundland culture

Questions

1) Why did you decide to work out of your home?

2) What other opportunities are there for people with your background in NFLD?

3) Do you think the terms work/leisure are completely different? Can work be leisure and leisure work?

   a) Do you feel others (e.g., friends, extended family) view your business and work the same way that you do?

   b) What value do you place on your leisure activities?

4) If a business and a family concern both arose at the same time what would you do? Can you think of an example when this occurred?

5) Is your life balanced? Why/why not? Can you think of a time when it was and/or wasn't balanced?

6) Do you feel being a (female or male) home-based business owner has had any impact upon your experiences?

7) Anything else that I missed before to understand your work, family, leisure experiences?

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