

The identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities on family-owned estates in the north-east of Scotland.

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THE IDENTIFICATION AND EXPLOITATION OF
ENTREPRENEURIAL OPPORTUNITIES ON FAMILY-
OWNED ESTATES IN THE NORTH EAST OF SCOTLAND.

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I dedicate this thesis to Lorraine Mai Cowie, the love of my life. Never say never.

Abstract

Family owned estates face challenges achieving economic stability. Estate owners, including those in the North East of Scotland, the focus of this study, are committed to perpetuating family ownership. To enable this, entrepreneurial diversification is advocated by both landowner associations and rural consultancies. However, upper class estate owners have historically been perceived to be reluctant to engage in entrepreneurial activities, and some remain so. With other remunerative options available to them, this research investigates the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners in the North East of Scotland.

Multiple perspectives drawn from institutional and entrepreneurial theory provide insights into estate owners' embeddedness in the institutions of family and social class, and their influence on the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurial motivations, personality and process. Individual case studies of estate owners in the North East of Scotland provide rich insights into what activities estate owners engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Cross-case analysis identifies patterns of similarity and difference between individual estates.

Case state estate owners are found to engage in similar ranges of activities, with a minority identifying and exploiting differentiated opportunities. Motivations are layered in nature. Explicit commitments to community, and implicit commitments to family, motivate estate owners to ensure continued financial stability of their estates. Awareness and identification of estate resources are push factors for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Their entrepreneurial process consists of multiple, overlapping journeys which consist of phases of awareness, identification, development, action and outcomes. Estate owners whose continued entrepreneurial activities have short term requirements have retained traditional identities of estate owners or farmers, whereas those whose activities are planned to continue over a longer time are those who have embraced - albeit partially - entrepreneurial identities.

Contributions have been made to theory and understanding in the areas of entrepreneurial process, personality, and motivation. Contributions to policy and practice include recommendations for enterprise and / or landowner support organisations and to policy makers to support estate owners engaging in entrepreneurial activities. Finally, methodological contributions are made to the

process of sampling and interviewing elites and the use of individual case studies of elites and cross-case analysis.

Keywords: estates, class, family, entrepreneurship, opportunities, institutional theory

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Research Problem

Achieving economic stability is a challenge for many family owned estates in Great Britain, due to their costs of upkeep (DC Research, 2015). In Scotland, Wagstaff (2015) reports a bleak future for many landowners, with “long-term economic sustainability [...] at best, tenuous” (p.231). Despite facing financial challenges in the maintenance of their estates, many Scottish estate owners are committed to retain family ownership of their estates to perpetuate the family name, for personal enjoyment, and also to exploit commercial opportunities on their estates (Wagstaff, 2015; Woolvin, 2013).

To maintain family ownership in the face of financial pressures, Scottish estate owners are therefore faced with a number of options including selling assets, reducing expenditure on the maintenance of the estate, borrowing money and diversifying into potentially more lucrative activities (Wagstaff, 2013).

Entrepreneurial diversification is one route advocated by both landowner associations and consultancies in Scotland and across Great Britain. For example, Scottish Land and Estates (2017), who represent the interests of landowners across Scotland, argue that land-based businesses need to adapt their business practices by innovating and diversifying their commercial activities. Rural Solutions (2017), a land consultancy, are critical of estate owners’ commitment to tradition and heritage, and recommend diversification and entrepreneurial activities.

Despite being encouraged to engage in entrepreneurial activities, some Scottish estate owners remain reluctant. MacMillan et al. (2010) argue that Scottish landowners are wedded to traditional approaches to estate maintenance, with little appetite for innovation or change. Whilst “innovative and entrepreneurial estate owners and managers have been successful in overcoming financial problems” (Glass et al., 2013b, p.219), some Scottish estate owners remain reluctant to engage in entrepreneurial activities, with their adherence to a set of traditional core values seen as a barrier to innovation.

The prevailing historical narrative, exemplified by Wiener (2004), is that, as members of the upper classes, estate owners across Great Britain did not engage in entrepreneurial activities. An anti-enterprise sentiment was inherited through subsequent generations of the upper classes through what Scott (1982) terms

their “gentlemanly code of behaviour”, in which the “capitalist spirit of trade and industry [...] were regarded as ungentlemanly in the extreme” (p.93). Fox (2014) argues that a “vestigial trade-prejudice rule” (p.293) continues to exist amongst the upper classes, which appears to explain their continued reluctance to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

There are, though, some arguments that the upper classes have historically been more engaged in entrepreneurship than previously acknowledged, both on and outwith their estates (e.g. Thompson, 2001; Rubinstein, 1993; McCahill, 1976). Scott (1982) documents the evolution of the gentlemanly code amongst the upper classes during the 19th and 20th centuries to increasingly accommodate an entrepreneurial ideology. However, little is known regarding the further evolution of attitudes towards entrepreneurship in the 21st century.

Whilst estate owners have increasingly embraced an entrepreneurial ideology into the late 20th century, and in the 21st century are both encouraged to engage in entrepreneurial activities, and have also demonstrated financial successes through entrepreneurial activities, there remains a reluctance amongst some to do so. This suggests that, despite the potential benefits of engaging in entrepreneurial activities, an ambivalence towards entrepreneurship may still exist amongst some estate owners, requiring further investigation.

1.2 Rationale for an Exploratory Approach to the Research

The study of estates represents an under-researched area (Waterfield, 2012). In Scotland, a country with a high proportion of private landownership, assessments of estates’ social, economic and environmental contributions are limited (McMorran et al., 2014). In particular, there is limited understanding of what type of core and entrepreneurial activities estate owners engage in, with what Hindle et al., (2014) describe as a “substantial gap” remaining in knowledge of the “number, extent, type and activities of privately owned estates in Scotland” (p.87). With a number of other options available to them to improve estate finances, there is also little understanding of how and why estate owners in the 21st century engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Responding to this lack of knowledge, this qualitative research is exploratory in nature. The case study approach adopted aims to explore estate owners and their activities, with the intention of generating new understanding of what activities

estate owners engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

1.3 Locating the Research

It has been argued by Campbell (1994) that the literature on Scottish estates has been too heavily concerned with the Highlands, specifically an overriding interest in land reform and crofting, at the expense of other economic activity (Perchard and Mackenzie, 2013). Following Campbell's plea for a change in focus, the geographic locus of this research is the North East of Scotland (defined for these purposes as the historic counties, or shires, of Aberdeen, Moray, Nairn, Banff, Kincardine and Angus), in which Hindle et al. (2014) estimate there to be a total of 62 estates, comprising 21 small (less than 1,000 Ha), 34 medium (1,000-10,000 Ha), and seven large (more than 10,000 Ha) estates.

The output of the 'Sustainable Estates for the 21st Century' project (Centre for Mountain Studies, UHI) has made a contribution to contemporary understanding of estates. However, its focus was on upland estates, i.e. those above the upper limits of enclosed farmland in Scotland (Glass et al., 2013a). This research into estates in the North East of Scotland provides balance by considering estates that cover a more diverse topography, and whose challenges and priorities may differ from those of upland estate owners.

1.4 Aim and Research Questions

An overarching research aim, together with a number of research questions are detailed below in order to guide the research.

1.4.1 Research Aim

The overall aim of the research is to:

Explore the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by owners of family owned estates in the North East of Scotland.

1.4.2 Research Questions

This research seeks to answer three specific questions:

RQ1: What types of activities do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in?

RQ2: How do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities?

RQ3: Why do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities?

1.5 Defining Estates

There is “no single accepted or adopted definition” (Hindle et al., 2014, p.14) of what constitutes an estate, nor continuity between historical and contemporary definitions.

Historian of the country house, Girouard (1978), defined three elements of an estate. They comprised a country house, with landed estates, and rich, powerful owners. Similarly, Mandler (1997) writing about the country house defined it as “a house that when built stood at the centre of a sizeable landed estate, and was therefore originally the property of a large landowner (an ‘aristocrat’, whether titled or not)” (p.419). As Mandler (1997) implies, and Cannadine (1990) explicates, their owners were historically the upper classes: a rich, socially and politically powerful group, who perpetuated family ownership of their estates. Allen’s (2008) comprehensive definition builds on these tripartite definitions, identifying five constituent elements of an estate, being: the ‘seat’ or home, the landed estates, the family name and any titles and the furniture and other mobile capital.

A contemporary definition, used by both Hindle et al. (2014) and Woolvin (2013) in relation to Scottish estates, focuses not on family ownership or the presence of a country house, but on the activities that take place on privately owned estates, defining them as “landholdings with a range of interests that may include in hand farming, let farms, sporting interests, forestry, residential property, workspaces, tourism and community facilities” (Hindle et al., 2014, p.14; Woolvin, 2013, p.3).

The focus of this research is on the contemporary activities that Hindle et al. (2014) and Woolvin (2013) articulate, but within the context of the traditional family owners with whom Allen (2008), Mandler (1997), Cannadine (1990) and Girouard (1978) are concerned. Accordingly, the following definition is employed in this research, defining estates as “landholdings with a range of interests that may include in hand farming, let farms, sporting interests, forestry, residential property, workspaces, tourism and community facilities, owned by direct descendants of the upper classes.”

1.6 The Upper Classes in Great Britain

Ownership of a country estate has been claimed by historians to be a status indicator of social prestige, although not a guarantee of class position (Bush, 1984; Musson, 2005). As a proxy measure, however, to be the owner of a country house estate historically ensured with some certainty membership of the upper classes (Musson, 2005; Thompson, 2001; Bush, 1984), particularly in estates larger than two thousand acres (809 hectares) (Thompson, 2001), although Allen (2008) defines five to ten thousand acres (2023-4047 hectares) as the minimum. What is certain though, is that land ownership of some form was the primary, though not only, factor for inclusion in the upper classes (Cannadine, 1990).

Historically, the upper classes consisted of two groups: members of the hereditary peerage and their families, often defined as the aristocracy, and the landed gentry (Burke's Landed Gentry, 2012; Allen, 2008; Bush, 1984). The peerage, or aristocracy, is defined purely by ownership of a hereditary title, i.e. Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount and Baron (Allen, 2008). Members of the peerage of the United Kingdom were automatically granted the right to a seat in the House of Lords.

The general composition of the landed gentry is more contested, but is generally agreed to consist of holders of non-peerage titles such as the hereditary Baronet and the non-hereditary Knight, together with Esquires and Gentlemen, encompassing a landed group, with 'gentle' status and who were not required to have an occupation (Allen, 2008). Non-occupational status was also implicitly afforded to the peerage, making the upper classes in general of 'gentle' status.

No one criterion ensured membership of the upper classes, nor was it ever a stable and unchanging group (Lane, 1972). Whilst the dividing line between peer and non-peer is easily established, acceptance within the upper classes as a whole relied on a combination of factors: most importantly the ownership of land and land-derived wealth, but also the possession of a title or another symbol of social prestige, such as inclusion in Burke's "consolidated and systematic guides to the titled and the leisured classes" (Cannadine, 1990, p.13): the *Peerage and Baronetage* and the *Landed Gentry*.

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of a coherent Great British identity, (Colley, 1993), during which period Scots, Anglo-Irish and Welsh landowning aristocrats were all absorbed into the ranks of the powerful, ruling classes. The

peerage and their estates were broadly geographically distributed throughout Great Britain (McCahill, 1976), and intermarriage between English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish landowners ensured that cultural variations amongst owners became less pronounced over time (Jenkins, 1983).

Cannadine's (1990) Weberian analysis demonstrates that by the late 19th century, this combined group of the upper classes in Great Britain occupied elite positions across three dimensions. As an economic class, they constituted a wealthy elite in that they "encompassed most of the richest men in the country" (Cannadine, 1990, p.10), as a territorial elite they owned most of the land in Britain, and as a status elite they were endowed with "those highly esteemed titles of honour that defined and preserved the gradations of society, and their own position at the top" (Cannadine, 1990, p.11). This combination of endowments of wealth, land ownership and status provided the upper classes, and specifically the peerage, with unequalled economic and political resources (Allen, 2008), reinforcing their powerful status (McCahill, 1976). However, according to Girouard, (1978), it was land ownership that was the most important, forming the "only sure basis of power" (p.2).

Due to the lingering effects of the agricultural depression of the 1880s (Girouard, 1978), increased legislation and taxation that reduced inherited wealth, and the impact of the First World War, the upper classes' social, cultural and economic dominance diminished (Thompson, 2001; Mandler, 1997; Bush, 1984). Many estates were either sold to nouveau riche industrialists or substantially reduced in size (Mandler, 1997), with a new class emerging that was a fusion of aristocratic landowners and the nineteenth century nouveaux riches, notably industrialists, traders and bankers (Porter, 1991). This decline of inherited ownership of estates - and a concurrent decline in the power and status of the upper classes - has been seen by Munton (2009) as terminal, with families forced to sell outlying estates, followed by lands closer to the house itself, if not the house itself. Certainly by the mid-twentieth century entire estates were increasingly being sold, not only to the newly rich, but also institutions such as the National Trust (and in Scotland, the National Trust for Scotland), insurance companies, unit trusts, and pension funds (Bush, 1984), and those that remain in private hands have been argued to have a precarious future (Wagstaff, 2013).

Not all landowners have seen their estates diminished or sold, however. The peerage and baronetcy, i.e. the titled levels of the upper classes, have, in part,

remained more resilient than the rest of the upper classes (Bush, 1984) with Dukes, such as those of Bedford, Buccleuch, Devonshire, Northumberland, or Sutherland, still constituting major landowners (Cahill, 2001).

1.7 Estate Ownership

Whilst private ownership of estates is generally in decline, it remains a major type of land ownership across Great Britain. The latest record of land ownership was the 1872 Return of Owners of Land (with subsequent revisions), although in itself an imperfect and inadequate source of data (Cannadine, 1990). Nonetheless, it provides a starting point in understanding broad patterns of land ownership, leading Cannadine (1990) to estimate the numbers of owners of estates of more than 1,000 acres in the 1880s as: 4,200 families in England and Wales; 2,500 in Ireland; and 800 in Scotland.

Cahill (2001) has investigated changes in land distribution and ownership since then. Although impossible to account for all land ownership, he demonstrates that a large proportion of the land in Great Britain remains in private ownership, claiming that 40 million acres of the 60 million acre landmass of the UK and Ireland is owned by 189,000 families, with the top 27 landowners owning 2.31 million acres of land in the UK and Ireland. Of these, there are 4,778 estates over 741 acres (Cahill, 2001), primarily owned by the aristocracy and landed gentry.

In Scotland, Bird (1981) in the 1980s, and more recently Wightman (www.whoownsscotland.org.uk) have attempted to trace and map contemporary ownership of land, including estates. Although ownership has become more diluted since the 1872 Return of Owners of Land, Scotland is believed to have the most concentrated landownership in Europe (Sellar, 2003). Four hundred and thirty two families own over 50% of Scotland's privately held land (Hunter et al., 2013) and private ownership remains the "most characteristic and spatially dominant form of land ownership in Scotland" (Glass, Scott and Price, 2013, p.255).

Attempts to quantify the total number of estates remaining today are best guess estimates, as it is "clear that the information on the total number of privately-owned estates, the area that they cover and their individual size and type does not exist" (Hindle et al., 2014, p.87). Nonetheless, Hindle et al. (2014) attempt, with a number of caveats, to estimate the total number of private estates in Scotland, concluding that in Scotland there are an estimated 1,125 estates in total.

McKee et al. (2013) report that ownership structures amongst upland estate owners in Scotland are split between personal ownership (38%), family ownership (34%) and family trust (28%), all aimed at maintaining family ownership. In general, many estates do not publicise their management structure: however, the Buccleuch Estates do. The Buccleuch company “represents the business interests of the Buccleuch family” (buccleuch.com) - who control the largest privately-owned estates in Scotland. The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry is the current incumbent and head of the family. Although he does not directly own the estates due to its legal structure (this is discussed in further detail at www.andywrightman.com/archives/942), he is Chairman of Buccleuch and lives on the estate. More commonly, estate websites commonly highlight the current incumbent as occupying a figurehead position within the estate without detailing their position within the organisation(s) which own the estate. For the sake of clarity, herein ‘estate owner’ is taken to mean the current family incumbent who occupies a figurehead position within the estate, unless stated otherwise.

1.8 Estates in Scotland

Scottish estates, specifically those in the North East of Scotland, are the focus of this research. Whilst their owners became culturally assimilated into a unified Great Britain from the 18th century onwards, Scottish estates continue to demonstrate some differences from their English and Welsh counterparts. They are generally larger (Millman, 2008), and with the landowner historically able to exert considerable power over the local community, often acting as de-facto rural planners (McKee, 2015). This power has continued in the 20th and early 21st centuries (McKee, 2015; Bird, 1981).

During the period of cultural assimilation, land ownership in Scotland was formalised. Prior to the Act of Union in 1707, land was controlled, although not owned, by Clan Chieftans (Bird, 1981), with land seen “as the common heritage of all clan members” (Hoffman, 2013, p.290). The defeat of the Jacobite rebellion of 1746 on Culloden Moor led to the reduction of the power of Clan Chiefs: “the military basis for clan society was eliminated by parliamentary acts that stripped clan chiefs of all their powers except the right to collect rent” (Hoffman, 2013). These acts led to some Clan Chiefs having their lands removed or sold. Others reinforced their new position as rent collectors, rather than military leaders, by installing professional estate managers to capitalize on the return available from

their lands (Hoffman, 2013). This capitalization took the form of the Highland Clearances, in which Highland tenants were evicted, often forcibly, to make way for large scale, and more lucrative, sheep farming, which continues to be practised, although is often an economically marginal or unprofitable activity (Hindle et al., 2014).

The cultural legacy of the common heritage of land prior to the Act of Union continues. Whilst numerous traditional estates remain in family ownership in Scotland, not only is their economic sustainability under threat, their ownership is in question. Inequalities between powerful landowners and tenants and rural communities at large have been a long-contested issue in Scotland, resulting in historical acts such as the Crofting Act of 1886, which ensured rights of non-eviction and improvement for crofters. Although Home (2009) argues that in the UK at large there is little political pressure to reform structures of land ownership, there does exist in Scotland a powerful pro land-reform movement. Critics claim that Scotland is beholden to “an outdated, unjust and secretive system of feudal landownership dominated by a small number of lairds and corporate interest” (Lorimer, 2000, p.404). The long-standing argument for land reform in Scotland is characterized by a belief that land should be available for the benefit of the community as was the case prior to the act of Union, and not just a private individual (Hoffman, 2013).

1.9 Multiple Perspectives

Estate owners, and their estates, are unusual and under-researched phenomena. The unit of analysis in this research is the estate owner: the aim is to explore their identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities.

The interplay of environment, context and opportunities is an emerging trend of entrepreneurship research (Busenitz et al., 2014). Estate owners are unusual subjects of research, whose entrepreneurial activities are influenced by family and social class. An institutional perspective provides understanding of the multiple institutional contexts in which estate owners are embedded and which is used to inform entrepreneurial perspectives on process, personality and motivation.

These multiple perspectives help understand both the types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and also how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

1.10 The Research Approach

The research approach is underpinned by a social constructionist perspective to help understand estate owners' understanding of the world, and entrepreneurship in particular. By drawing on Berger and Luckmann (1966), this research is cognisant of the process of institutionalisation in which subjective constructions of knowledge are externalised and objectified, and which exert considerable influence over individuals' construction of knowledge and ways of behaving.

A case study approach (Stake, 2006, 1995; Yin, 2004, 2003) has been employed to present both individual case studies and also cross-case analysis. Individual case studies provide rich and contextualised explanation of individual estate owners in the North East of Scotland, and the specific entrepreneurial actions they have engaged in. Cross-case analysis, drawing on multiple theoretical perspectives, is used to explain the similarities and differences in how and why estate owners in the North East of Scotland identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

Data collection has relied primarily on semi-structured elite interviews to provide understanding of how estate owners construct their own understanding of the world (Perren and Ram, 2004). A pilot interview was conducted to provide insights into the process of elite interviews, which highlighted power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee, interruptions to the interview process, and difficulties in discussing issues of social class as specific challenges. Reflecting on the experience of the pilot interview, the interview guide was subsequently followed more loosely to provide a more fluid structure to the interview. The pilot interview also highlighted the requirement to collect additional data, specifically institutional texts (e.g. estate websites and promotional materials) and visual sources.

Due to the challenges of accessing elite groups (Conti and O'Neil, 2007), a pragmatic multi-stage process of sampling was employed. Two evaluative matrices were constructed to provide insights into estates, their owners and activities across Great Britain, and Scotland in particular. The latter matrix provided an initial sample frame for contact. Of nine estates purposively selected for contact, three interviews were subsequently arranged, all located in the North East of Scotland. Despite attempts to arrange interviews with female estate owners, none were secured. Social contacts were also leveraged to facilitate further access from which a snowball sample of estates was established. A

second phase of purposive and snowball sampling increased the total number of case study estate owners to eight.

Additional interviews were conducted with the late Robin Maitland, a retired and well-respected estate manager and partner in Strutt and Parker, an estate agent and land management company, to provide insights into the broader trends and actions of estate owners across the North East and Highlands of Scotland.

Transcribed interviews, institutional texts, and visual sources were subject to thematic analysis at the semantic level (Braun and Clarke, 2006) during the process of constructing the individual case studies. To aid the analysis, attribute and in vivo coding techniques were employed (Saldaña, 2015), with the specific aim of maintaining individual estate owners' voices and socially constructed perspectives on entrepreneurship.

Cross-case analysis employed thematic analysis at the latent level (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to uncover underlying "ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.13) and patterns of similarity and difference between individual estate owners. Multiple theoretical perspectives were employed during the cross-case analysis to provide explanation as to how and why estate owners identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. This allowed for the testing and trying out of theoretical notions (Nordqvist, Hall and Melin, 2009) through the interlacing of theory and empirical material (De Massis and Kotlar, 2014).

1.11 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the thesis continues as follows:

Chapter 2: Literature Review provides a review of literature relevant to the study of estates in the North East of Scotland. It introduces entrepreneurial opportunities as an orienting concept, specifically discussing developmental and constructionist perspectives, and argues for a contextualised approach to the study of entrepreneurship. Family and business are then introduced, with discussion of issues of definition, agency, stewardship and succession, and socioemotional wealth (SEW) which have relevance to the study of family owned estates. Social class theory, and the social class of estate owners is then analysed.

Commercial activities undertaken on estates are then discussed. The evolving entrepreneurial attitudes of the upper classes are then discussed. Theories of entrepreneurial motivation are then considered, and finally conclusions are drawn.

Chapter 3: Explanatory Theories considers multiple perspectives with the potential to explain how and why estate owners in the North East of Scotland identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Institutional theory at large, and Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) institutional logics perspective in particular, provides explanation of estate owners' embeddedness in the institutions of family, class, community, and commerce. The motivation for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial action is considered in the context of Dawson and Henley's (2012) model of overlapping push and pull factors, and Stephan et al.'s (2015) motivational category of family and legacy. Individual approaches of the entrepreneurial individual suitable for the study of estate owners are integrated into the Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System. Finally, entrepreneurial process is considered through Wood and McKinley's (2010) socially constructed model of entrepreneurial opportunities, Davidsson's (2015) reconceptualization of the opportunity construct, and McMullen and Dimov's (2013) metaphor of entrepreneurship as a journey.

Chapter 4: Research Approach introduces social constructionism as an appropriate theory of knowledge for the study of estate owners. The case study approach is discussed, followed by consideration of data sources appropriate for the study of elites. Two phases of purposive and snowball sampling are then detailed. The process of data collection is then documented. Thematic analysis is introduced and justified as an appropriate analytic approach. The writing up and presentation of case studies is discussed. Finally, conclusions are drawn, justifying the appropriateness of the research approach.

Chapter 5: Case Studies presents the individual case studies, in order of first interview, which are:

Callum Burnett, Williamston Estate (pilot case study)

Angus Gordon Lennox, Gordon Castle Estate

Melfort Campbell, Altries Estate

Earl of Dalhousie, Dalhousie Estates

Malcolm Nicol, Ballogie Estate

Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair, Haddo Estate

Earl of Moray, Moray Estates

Andrew Bradford, Kincardine O'Neil Estate

Each case study is presented and discussed in turn. Reflections on the interview process are then presented. The use of an additional informant, Robin Maitland, is then justified. The activities undertaken across the case study estates are then tabulated and discussed. Finally, conclusions are drawn as to the range and differentiation of activities undertaken on the case study estates.

Chapter 6: Cross-case Analysis presents the patterns of similarity and difference across the case study estates in two main sections. The first section considers the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners across a number of dimensions: necessity, potential, identification, entrepreneurial planning, entrepreneurial action and outcomes, entrepreneurial cycles, and identity. The second considers the continued activities and aspirations of estate owners across the dimensions of continued entrepreneurial activity, commitments, and inheritance. Conclusions are then presented.

Chapter 7: Conclusions presents the main findings of the research. The contribution to knowledge, policy and practice, and methodology that the research makes is then argued. Reflections are then presented as to the appropriateness of the research approach, and the limitations and areas for future research identified through the process of research. Finally, concluding comments and recommendations are presented.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Entrepreneurship is one of a number of approaches recommended by rural consultancies (Rural Solutions, 2017; DC Research, 2015), and landowner associations (Scottish Land and Estates, 2019; 2017) for estates to achieve sustainability. Whilst a contested concept, there is a “general agreement that sustainability is a process that enables current needs to be satisfied while maintaining long term perspectives regarding the use and availability of natural and other resources in the future” (Glass et al., 2013a, p.12).

However, individual interpretations of sustainability differ amongst landowners. Economically motivated estate owners view sustainability as a “short-term, monetary issue”, with environmental and social concerns viewed as secondary (Wagstaff, 2013, p.98). Estate owners engaging in entrepreneurial action for economic reasons “have been successful in overcoming financial problems, at least in the short term” (Glass et al., 2013b, p.219).

With entrepreneurial action by estate owners both recommended, and argued to be successful in alleviating short time financial pressures, this chapter reviews literature relevant to the study of estates in the North East of Scotland. Section 2.2 introduces entrepreneurial opportunities as an orienting concept, with specific consideration of developmental and constructionist approaches. Section 2.3 considers the influence of estate owning families on the business of the estate and the non-economic rationales of families in business. Section 2.4 discusses the social class of estate owners. Section 2.5 describes core and diversified commercial activities on estates and the uncertain political future of estate ownership. Section 2.6 documents the evolving attitudes of estate owners towards entrepreneurship. Section 2.7 considers theories of entrepreneurial motivation and discusses the ambivalent attitudes and motivations to engage in entrepreneurial action by estate owners. Section 2.8 presents various approaches to the entrepreneurial individual. Conclusions are reached in section 2.9.

2.2 Entrepreneurial Opportunities as an Orienting Concept

Entrepreneurship is a concept lacking clarity, beset by a “seemingly chaotic and contradictory literature” (Audretsch, Kuratko and Link, 2015, p.704). A plurality of approaches has led to a multiplicity of (Zhou, 2008) and inconsistency in (Hansen, Shrader and Monllor, 2011) definitions of entrepreneurship. As a result, there has been considerable disagreement on the nature of entrepreneurship as a

scholarly discipline, with little consensus on its theoretical base or purpose (Moroz and Hindle, 2012).

Audretsch, Kuratko and Link (2015) identify three broad perspectives of entrepreneurial research, which concern theories of organizational status, performance, and behaviour, which they argue are increasingly combined in what they term the Eclectic Paradigm of Entrepreneurship. Central to behavioural theories is the notion that the key identifier of entrepreneurship is not the establishment of new ventures: rather is it the observation or inferring of certain types of behaviour that identifies entrepreneurship (Audretsch, Kuratko and Link, 2015).

In this approach, entrepreneurship is not restricted to specific organizational forms or individual people: instead, entrepreneurship is viewed “as a process and not as the embodiment of a type of person” (Shane, 2012, p.14). The focus of its study is what Shane and Venkatamaran (2000) term the individual-opportunity (IO) nexus in which the focus of analysis is that of “individuals in interaction with the situations in which they operate” (Eckhardt and Shane, 2016, p.613).

The opportunity construct has been adopted by “most scholars” (Companys and McMullan, 2006, p.303). Despite the lack of total acceptance of the notion (e.g. Baker and Welter, 2017; Arend, 2014) it represents an “intellectual meeting place” (Zahra, 2008, p.245) for scholars. It continues to be of interest to the field of entrepreneurship (Garud and Giuliani, 2013) and management studies in general (Busenitz et al., 2014) as a common reference point that “allows individual researchers to orient their contributions” (Wood, 2017, p.24).

2.2.1 Approaches to Entrepreneurial Opportunities

Anderson and Starnawska (2008) argue that the predominant positivist view of entrepreneurial opportunities has taken a narrow and fragmentary perspective on entrepreneurship. Positivist approaches, with a reliance on quantitative techniques, are argued by Suddaby, Bruton and Si (2015) to have “artificially constrained” (p.1) the field of entrepreneurship research. They equate positivist approaches with the discovery view of entrepreneurial opportunities, in which opportunities are “objective realities that exist in the environment and are “discovered” as a result of the unique characteristics of individual entrepreneurs” (p.3). Although predominant, it is not the only approach to

entrepreneurial opportunities. Dutta and Crossan (2005) make a distinction between Kirznerian or Schumpeterian economic approaches to opportunities, and Alvarez and Barney (2007) make a distinction between discovery and creation theories of opportunities, demonstrating differing underlying epistemological and ontological commitments in entrepreneurial research.

2.2.2 Three Groups Which Critique the Discovery View of Opportunities

Korsgaard (2013) identifies three overlapping orientations of scholars who critique the discovery position, being: a developmental, post-positivist group; an evolutionary-theory led group; and a construction group. Each bring insights into the complex nature of entrepreneurial opportunities, as shown in the table below.

Table 2.1: Three Groups Which Critique the Discovery View of Opportunities (Korsgaard, 2013)

	Development group	Evolutionary group	Construction group
Main references	Ardichvili <i>et al.</i> (2003), Sanz-Velasco (2006), Dimov (2007a, b), Endres and Woods (2007), Wood and McKinley (2010), Krueger (2000), Berglund <i>et al.</i> (2007), Dutta and Crossan (2005), Sarasvathy (2001), Read <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Luksha (2008), Companys and McMullen (2007), Pacheco <i>et al.</i> (2010), Buenstorf (2007)	Fletcher (2006), Gaddefors (2005, 2007), Garud and Karnøe (2003), Baker and Nelson (2005), Sarason <i>et al.</i> (2006, 2010), Jack and Anderson (2002), Chiasson and Saunders (2005), Schindehutte and Morris (2009), Hjorth (2007), Sarasvathy (2001), Read <i>et al.</i> (2009)
Main critique of the discovery view	Collapses the time between initial insight and implemented opportunity, thereby overlooking the creative development of the opportunity	Needs to be supplemented with a theory of how opportunities are created before they are discovered Or overlooks the existence of multiple types of opportunities	Overlooks the social and relational construction of opportunities, thereby presenting an oversimplified view of the entrepreneurial process
Theoretical focus	The individual entrepreneur (or organization) as creative agent drawing on feedback from network contacts. Creative, interpretive and learning processes	Market processes, collective action and the change of market structures	Social and relational processes in which opportunities emerge. The world creating force of interpretation, discourse and conversations
Implications for method	Use of both qualitative and quantitative methods – focus on micro-level processes	Use of both qualitative and quantitative methods – focus on macro-level processes	Priority given to qualitative and processual methods – focus on micro-level processes or the duality of structure and agency (structuration)
Implications for practice	Emphasis on developing the creative thinking and learning capabilities of individuals and organizations	Issues of legitimacy, mobilization and legislation	Enhancing, e.g. narrative, improvisational and relational competences of potential entrepreneurs. Emphasizing emergence and improvisation before planning and structure

Developmental Approaches

The development group are cognisant of the fact that opportunities undergo a process of development, i.e. they are not initially identified in their final, implemented format. Dimov (2007) criticises the opportunity literature for its “conceptual collapse of the time between a first insight and the idea that ends up being implemented” (p.714), and proposes a new definition of what he terms *opportunity development*, which represents “a dynamic, iterative, and a socially embedded view of how entrepreneurial opportunities reach their final form” (p.714).

Gielnik et al. (2012) argue “entrepreneurship literature would benefit from regarding opportunity identification as a process that starts with the generation of business ideas and continues with the development of these ideas into business opportunities.” (p.571). Crucial to this proposition is the notion that entrepreneurial action is necessary to convert idea into opportunity, and that there is a temporal component to the unfolding entrepreneurial process (McMullen and Dimov, 2013): in the case of estates there is a particularly long time horizon through which the process unfolds. McMullen and Dimov (2013) conceptualise entrepreneurship as a journey, arguing that the end point of the journey is “the introduction of a new product – good or service – that realizes a profit for the firm and /or economy” (p.1493). They also argue that firms are not limited to “a single entrepreneurial journey “and that for some firms, the journey “has not yet ended and perhaps will never end.” (McMullen and Dimov, 2013, p.1496).

Constructionist Approaches

The constructionist group identified by Korsgaard (2013) provide insights into the social and relational contexts in which opportunities emerge. Constructionist approaches to the study of entrepreneurial opportunities are recommended by Hansen, Monllor and Shrader (2016) in their organizing framework of the opportunity construct: the rationale for a social constructionist approach to this study is outlined in Chapter 4.

Moroz and Hindle (2012) argue that “crucially, context *really* matters: an entrepreneurial process can never be abstracted from its contextual setting; an overt commitment to understanding context must always be an integral part of appropriate process” (p.811). Garud and Giuliani (2013) argue that entrepreneurship is a contextualized phenomenon, and for Busenitz et al. (2014)

the interplay of environment, context and opportunities is an emerging trend of entrepreneurship research.

Contexts are by their nature, varied. Zahra (2008) describes them as “those variables which shape the characteristics of a setting, as well as the motivations and behaviors of different actors in that setting” (p.243). Of particular relevance for the study of entrepreneurship on estates are social and physical contexts.

Sarason, Dean and Dillard (2006), argue for entrepreneurship to be seen as a recursive process between entrepreneur and social system, i.e. that exists within, and is shaped by, social structures. Subsequent work has examined various contexts, such as social and relational contexts (Korsgaard, 2013) and social and cultural contexts (Suddaby, Bruton and Si, 2015). Baker and Welter (2017) claim that “patterns of entrepreneurship are extraordinarily varied across social contexts” (p.171) and argue that research should be more aware of the variety of social contexts in which entrepreneurship happens, such as “life courses, families, household decisions and wider spatial and institutional contexts” (p.174).

Estate owners are unusual subjects of research. They are members of the upper classes, who are argued in following sections to be reluctant to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, acknowledgement must be made of the social contexts in which their entrepreneurial activities are undertaken. Two particularly relevant social contexts for estate owners are family and social class. As part of a contextualised approach to understanding the entrepreneurial activities of estate owners in the North East of Scotland, section 2.3 discusses the influence of family on business, section 2.4 considers social class, and section 2.6 discusses the entrepreneurial attitudes of the upper classes.

Not only does entrepreneurship exist in the social contexts discussed above, it also exists in material contexts. These can be geographical (Korsgaard et al., 2016; Lang, Fink and Kibler, 2013; Steyaert and Katz, 2004), rural (Jack and Anderson, 2002) or physical (Dimov, 2007). Estates have a specific materiality which affects their ability to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. They are valuable, yet geographically bounded sites of activity. The material aspect of estates is considered in the following chapter on the material instantiation of logics, and also in relation to resource factors of motivation.

Reconceptualising the Opportunity Construct

Davidsson's (2015) re-conceptualisation of the opportunity construct provides granularity of detail. He disaggregates the concept into three constructs: external enablers, new venture ideas, and opportunity confidence. He argues that the term opportunity is "predominantly used to denote a subjective and unproven idea" (p.682), which is made explicit in his proposed construct of new venture ideas, which are "imaginary combinations of product/service offerings; potential markets or users, and means of bringing these offerings into existence" (p.682). This construct differs from previous conceptions of opportunities being either discovered or created, by recasting opportunities instead as ideas that are imagined.

Davidsson (2015) highlights the cognition of ideas as the start of the entrepreneurial process, although argues that these ideas may not be necessarily innovative. The literature on the cognition of entrepreneurial opportunities (e.g. Grégoire, Barr and Shepherd, 2010; Baron and Ensley, 2006) discusses prototypes and exemplars that entrepreneurs draw on when identifying opportunities, but is limited in its explanatory power as to why individuals directly replicate existing ideas.

In addition to the construct of new venture ideas, Davidsson (2015) proposes what he terms external enablers. These are a "a single, distinct, external circumstance, which has the potential of playing an essential role in eliciting and/or enabling a variety of entrepreneurial endeavors by several (potential) actors" (p.683). Examples of these are given as "changes to technology, demography, culture, human needs and wants; institutional framework conditions, macro-economic conditions, and the natural environment" (p.683).

Implications

Developmental and constructionist perspectives have demonstrated that entrepreneurship is a contextualised, unfolding process. Davidsson's (2015) reconceptualization provides granularity of detail to the construct. Having established entrepreneurial opportunities as an orienting concept for the understanding of entrepreneurship, the contextualised nature of entrepreneurship on estates is now discussed, firstly in the context of family and business, and secondly, within the context of social class.

2.3 Family Influence on Business

Family businesses are the dominant form of business worldwide (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003), yet family business is an elusive concept. Whilst distinct from non-family businesses, with different governance and reward structures (Hausman, 2005), they are not homogenous entities (Chua et al., 2012), making definitions difficult.

Estates are particularly difficult to define. Not only are the estates considered in this research businesses owned and run by families, they are families embedded in business. Commercial activity is only one element of the “utility function” (Hanssen et al., 2013, p.242) of estates: they function as the site of the family home (Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent, 2016) as well as fulfilling other functions. In particular, Girouard (1978) argues that they historically acted as symbols of the social class of the owners.

Estates are keen to identify themselves as businesses rather than purely as non-productive landowners, both to counter public perceptions of landowners, and also more pragmatically, to receive entrepreneurial support from agencies (Woolvin, 2013). Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016) concur, reporting that estate owning families define the estate and its core activities as a family owned business.

Therefore, to understand the entrepreneurial activities undertaken by estate owners requires an understanding of the family business context in which they are undertaken. This section covers three main aspects of family business literature: defining a family business; issues of agency, stewardship and succession, and the non-economic rationale of families in business.

2.3.1 Definitions

Overcoming previous dichotomous in/out definitions of family business, such as that of Chua, Chrisman and Sharma (1999), The F-PEC Scale of Family Influence, initially proposed by Astrachan, Klein and Smyrnios in 2002 and further validated in 2005 (Klein, Astrachan and Smyrnios, 2005), conceptualises family influence on a business as a continuum, measured on three subscales of power, experience and culture.

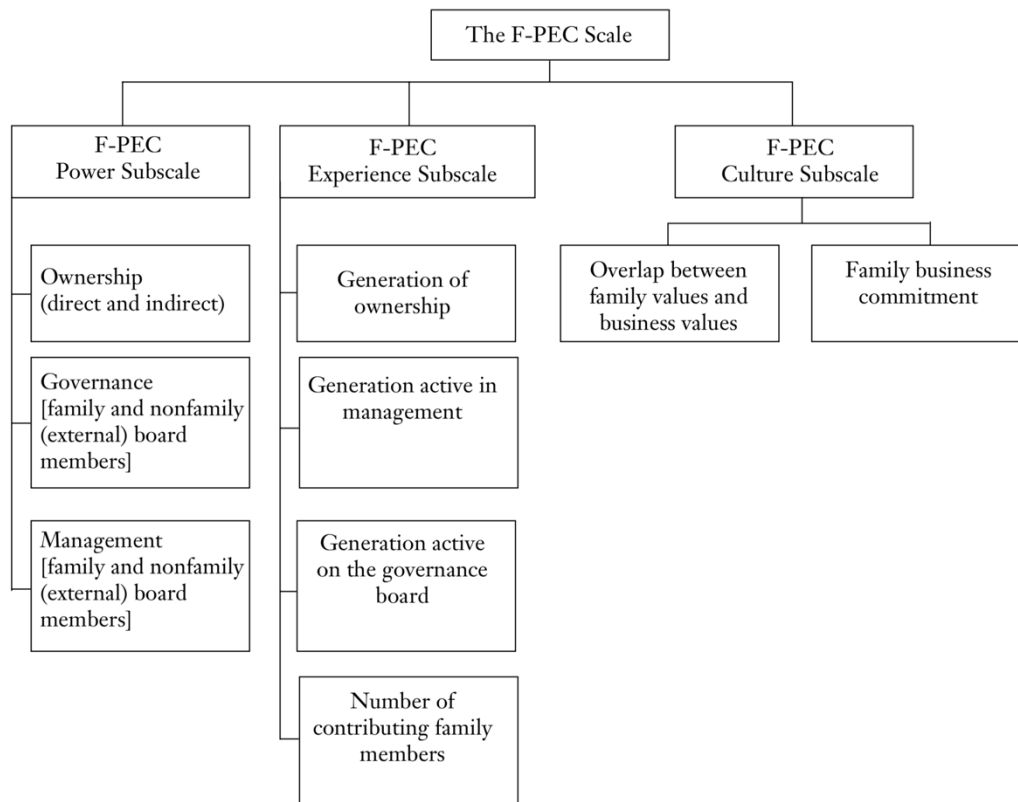


Figure 2.1: The F-PEC Scale of Family Influence (Astrachan, Klein and Smyrniotis, 2002)

Accepted as a “rigorous, relevant, and rich construct” (Cliff and Devereaux Jennings, 2005, p.631), the F-PEC scale offers a multi-dimensional approach to the definition of family business, with the potential to “untangle the ‘jungle’ of theories” (Rutherford, Kuratko and Holt, 2008, p.1099) that populate the family business literature.

As the figure above shows, the Power Subscale measures ownership, governance and management, and the Experience Subscale measures generations of ownership, management and governance, together with number of contributing family members. The target sample for this research is estates that have remained in family ownership for a number of generations. Therefore, they would measure highly on the ownership and generation of ownership scales, demonstrating that estate owners wield considerable power and bring considerable experience to the ownership of the business of the estate. The Culture Subscale is cognisant of the non-economic rationale and influence of family on the family business. For estate owners, the influence of family and social class also exerts considerable influence on the business of estates, and are discussed more fully throughout this chapter.

2.3.2 Agency, Stewardship and Succession

Two major concerns form the core of research into family businesses: conflicting theories of agency and stewardship theory within family enterprises (Madison et al., 2016; Miller, Le Breton-Miller and Scholnick, 2008) and the issue of succession.

Both agency and stewardship theories “describe the relationship between two parties” (Madison et al., 2016, p.66). In the former it is between the principal and the agent-manager, and in the latter, between the principal and steward-manager. Whilst this research engages in concepts of agency and stewardship, they are conceptually distinct from their usage in family business theories.

Stewardship and responsibility for the land is often a motivation cited by owners of inherited estates (McKee et al., 2013). Amongst estate owners, and the literature of estates, the word is used to denote a responsibility for the land, with owners identifying their role as custodians of the land for future generations. Stewardship, for estate owners, is therefore not related purely to the management of the business of the estate and the relation between principal and steward-manager: it is a deeper concern for the land on which the business is sited and has functioned as a justification of motive (Scott, 1982) to legitimise commercial activities.

Succession is of particular importance in both the family business literature at large, and estates in particular. The desire for family ownership across generations provides a rationale for the existence of family firms even when there is not an economic one (Gedajlovic and Carney, 2010), with family firms often characterised by an intrinsic motivation to ensure long-term survival (Carter and Welter, 2015). To achieve this, familial kinship - genealogical links and social ties within families - provides family businesses with capital, support and encouragement over long periods (Alsos, Carter and Ljunggren, 2014).

Upper class estate owners have historically attributed much significance to the “perpetuation of the family name” (Scott, 1982, p. 158) as an action that differentiated them from other social classes (Cannadine, 1990). The perpetuation of family estate and name remains an overriding preoccupation amongst many estate owners (James, 2009).

Unlike other types of family business in which the business is situated in a different location from the site of family life, estates are both the site of both the family business and the site of family life. The geographical intertwining of the two leads to a tension between the values of the family and the business as shown on the Culture Subscale of Astrachan, Klein and Smyrnios' (2002) F-PEC Scale of Family Influence. The overriding rationale of estate owning families is the non-economic rationale of perpetuation, whereas the business of estates is driven by the economic rationale of financial viability. As the family and business are physically intertwined, so also are the economic and non-economic rationales that drive them.

2.3.3 Socioemotional Wealth

The concept of socioemotional wealth (SEW) relates to non-economic rationales in family business. It is described by its creators, Gómez-Mejía et al. (2007) as the “non-financial aspects of the firm that meet the family's affective needs, such as identity, the ability to exercise family influence, and the perpetuation of the family dynasty” (p.106), or what Chua, Chrisman and De Massis (2015) define as “family-centred non-economic goals” (p.173).

The essential premise of SEW is that when faced with potential threats to their socioemotional wealth, family businesses will opt for strategies that may threaten their economic stability in order to preserve their SEW. In this approach, “the preservation of SEW represents a key noneconomic reference point for decision making” (Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012, p.260).

The Promise of SEW

SEW is argued to have the potential to “constitute a key building block in an emerging theory of the family firm” (Schulze and Kellermans, 2015, p.2). The concept has gained substantial traction in the family business literature (Chua, Chrisman and De Massis, 2015), and brings insights into the influence of non-economic aspects such “as identity, the ability to exercise family influence, and the perpetuation of the family dynasty” (Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007, p.106) in the decision making process of family businesses.

By illuminating the tension between family and business, or non-economic and economic, priorities it also highlights that estates owners are not the only stakeholders in the business of the estate. Not only may they employ other family members, they also have non-family employees (in some cases many

hundreds) and, in larger estates, often have boards of trustees or directors, depending on the legal structure, to provide oversight of management activities whose concerns may be at odds with the estate owner's. However, estate businesses are closely associated with the owning family, with the current incumbent - or closely related family member - usually occupying a figurehead role in the organisation.

Understanding Board Composition

Woolvin (2013) reports that estates view boards as both "beneficial and challenging" (p.9). The benefits include the advice and expertise that external members can bring. More challenging, can be boards' reluctance to embrace risk. Some estates have even dissolved their trusts "in order to allow for more entrepreneurial risk-taking" (Woolvin, 2013, p.8).

SEW theory has potential to better understand the nature of board composition (Le Breton-Miller and Miller, 2013). Family firms in general construct "stronger boards comprising members with greater human and social capital" (Wilson, Wright and Scholes, 2013, p.21). However, the presence of family members on the board can have both positive and negative impacts. Minichilli et al. (2014) argue that increased family membership of the board can be "harmful if the family oversight in the boardroom becomes overly concerned about socio-emotional priorities" (p.1173).

The Limitations of SEW

Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016) argue that there are limitations to the applicability of family business theory to Scottish estates in general. SEW has similar limitations. This may be due to the unusual format of estates. They do not feature clear boundaries between the family and the business, both in spatial terms, in that the family live and work on the estate, and also in terms of the split between business and family activities.

Family businesses are claimed in the SEW literature to be unwilling to undertake venturing risk, i.e. by engaging in innovative and entrepreneurial new ventures (Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007). Despite the known benefits of diversification which spread concentrated business risk (Gómez-Mejía, Makri and Larraza Kintana, 2010), family businesses are argued to be reluctant to diversify if it risks weakening their socioemotional endowments. However, estates routinely engage in a certain range of diversification activities as described in section 2.5. This

could be due to the limitation of Gómez-Mejía, Makri and Larraza Kintana's (2010) sample of publicly traded companies: alternatively, it could be attributed to the unique type of business that an estate is.

In the agricultural literature, the concept of portfolios of different business, clustered around a core enterprise are a particular feature of farming households. Portfolio activity, or pluriactivity is used by rural families as a wealth accumulation strategy (De Silva and Kodithuwakku, 2010). They are a common characteristic of multi-generational family firms (Sieger et al., 2011) especially in land-based businesses, such as farming (Alsos, Carter and Ljunggren, 2014).

There are limitations of the literature in relation to succession. Gómez-Mejía et al. (2007) argue that SEW decreases as the family business transitions through various stages. They state that "the family as a monolithic entity begins to lose its grip over the firm in later stages, and financial considerations of multiple stakeholders move to the forefront" (p.109). Explicating this view, Le Breton-Miller and Miller (2013) propose a typology of firm evolution, in which firm ownership is diluted to more distant relatives over time.

However, in most estates, control is handed from the incumbent to their offspring. Historically, the legal basis for this was primogeniture and continues to be practiced as a tradition amongst some estate owners. This is no longer automatic, though, with signs that estate owners are adopting a more strategic approach of selecting the offspring who is most suited to the successful management of the estate. Examples exist of cousins or more distant relatives inheriting estates, or inheritance along the female line (such as in the case study of the Williamston estate (see Section 5.2 Callum Burnett Pilot Case Study), although this is generally only in situations where there are no direct male offspring to inherit.

Applicability

With calls for multiple theoretical approaches to family business (Wilson, Wright and Scholes, 2013) and the use of moderating and mediating variables to understand the heterogeneity of family businesses (Chua et al., 2012), SEW offers promise to add new insights into the study of family business.

Wagstaff (2013) argues that within estates "not all landowner decisions are made solely on the basis of economic rationality" (p.89). Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent

(2016) distinguish between core and non-core activities on estates. The latter are “not especially core to the family vision but remain economically vital” (p.351). Therefore, across the portfolio of activities on estates, it could be that the balance of SEW priorities alter. Entrepreneurial diversifications may have stronger economic rationales than core activities, making families less emotionally invested in them than they are in core activities. Therefore, estate owners may engage in these diversifications for purely economic gain, as they do not threaten their SEW, which Gómez-Mejía, Makri and Larraza Kintana (2010) argue as being the reason family businesses do not engage in risk-reducing diversification.

Whilst the underpinning rationale for the perpetuation of estates is non-economic, and rooted in estate owner’s social class (discussed in the following section), the decision making relating to the individual activities of the business of the estate arguably occur on a spectrum of rationales, from economic to non-economic, depending on how core they are to the family vision. Despite variations in the rationales of individual diversifications, the overall rationale for the portfolio of diversifications, however, is economic, in that the estate business requires to achieve financial stability to allow for the continued perpetuation of family ownership of the estate.

2.4 Estate Owners and Social Class

Social class affects entrepreneurial action. For example, Scase and Goffee (1982) investigated the impact of social class in the entrepreneurial middle classes. More recently, Anderson and Miller (2003) have argued for the influence of social class on entrepreneurial action. As the discussion above on SEW demonstrates, social class influences the balance of economic and non-economic rationales in activities on estates, depending on whether they are core activities or entrepreneurial diversifications.

Despite the exemplars discussed above, the social class and entrepreneurial attitudes and activities of estate owners have received little attention in recent decades. Whilst the historical position of estate owners in various schemas of social class are well established, their class position in the 21st century is relatively unclear. Therefore, this section firstly considers various historical and contemporary models of social class. This is followed by a consideration of the social class of estate owners in the 21st century.

2.4.1 Models of Social Class

A number of models of social class are presented below: Weberian approaches; Cannadine's hierarchical, triadic and dichotomous models; Goldthorpe and the Nuffield school's occupational approach; Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital approach; and Savage et al.'s proposed elite class.

Weber

To understand the stratification of society, Weber (1978; 1922) remains the preferred starting point for many sociologists (Atkinson, 2015). The main contribution of Weber has been the articulation of class situation as being derived from the trilogy of class, status and power.

Class situation is represented by life chances that individuals are born into, determined by their market situation. Life chances "refer to an individual's typical chance of obtaining that which is deemed desirable in a society" and market situation "what they can bring to the labour market or to the goods market to generate income" (Atkinson, 2015, p.43). As per Marx, the crucial differentiator between higher and lower class is economic, exemplified by the ownership of property, and how it can be exploited. Varied class situations then combine to create aggregate social classes, with the highest dominant aggregate class being one privileged through property and education.

Drawing on Weber, Scott (1982) documents the decline of the primacy of the traditional upper classes, and concurrent rise of an emergent and homogenous business class. The latter is "a transmutation of the various upper classes which preceded it in history" which "remains a propertied class" (p.186). Despite the reduced presence of the traditional upper classes within the business class, Scott (1982) argues that it continues to embody many of the gentlemanly values and behaviours of the upper classes.

In Scott's conceptualisation, the business class became emergent during the latter part of the twentieth century, and is headed by the dominant status group of the establishment. The establishment is a "group of people allied around certain social institutions" (Scott, 1982, p.159). These institutions, such as the Conservative party, Church of England, public schools and elite universities, the legal profession and the army, are argued by Scott to have been traditionally associated with the upper classes, and Dacin, Munir and Tracey (2010) argue that similar institutions continue to collectively support a class system in Great

Britain. There may, though, be undocumented variations in the Scottish establishment. For example, Anglicanism is rare in Scotland, and the extent to which the establishment is composed by Scots is unclear in Scott (1982) and Dacin, Muir and Tracey (2010).

The establishment is argued by Argyle (1994) to have adopted many of the behaviours of the traditional upper classes: they are not only a status group, but also a “social group [...] linked by kinship and marriage” who live a lifestyle which revolves around “social activities in London, the gentlemen’s clubs and country-house life” (p. 159), including shooting, attendance at Ascot and Henley and other events of the social “season”. Additionally, its members purchase country houses and land and acquire non-hereditary titles, allied to their business activities, which act as markers of prestige (Argyle, 1994), but not as mechanisms to enter the upper classes.

However, whilst traditional large landowners in some areas are still considered to be an important social force (Scott, 1982), they are not the core constituency of the dominant business class, from which establishment members are recruited (Argyle, 1994). Davis (2018) argues that the establishment has become increasingly fragmented, and increasingly constituted by members of the private, rather than public sector: although they adopt the behaviours and titles of the upper classes, they have increasingly supplanted it.

Hierarchical, Triadic and Dichotomous Models

The business class, as argued by Scott (1982), is not a term in popular usage. Cannadine (1998) identifies three different models of social class that have been used not only by academics, but also by the general population, as a means through which to understand class: a hierarchical, finely grained and individualistic model, a three tier (typically using the terminology upper, middle and lower) model, and a dichotomous model (representing a divide between “them and us”). Being vague and superficial “ideal types” they have “enabled Britons to live with them for so long, and to move so easily from one to the other” (p.170).

The hierarchical model of class is the least simplified and most “pervasive and persuasive” model “about how life *was*” (Cannadine, 1998, p.170), rather than the three-tier model of “how life *is*” (p.170). The triadic model, particularly in its upper, middle, and working class version, remains the most persuasive in

general usage. However, the hierarchical model also continues to cast influence, particularly in the status afforded to title holders, such as those held by, but not restricted to, members of the traditional aristocracy, including the members of the Peerage included in this research.

Whilst the specific differences between ranks of title matter less (Scott, 1982), the holding of a title – whether granted for life or inherited - suggests a “sense of upper class separateness” (Cannadine, 1998, p.186). Subsequent increases in the number of life peerages, including the 2006-2007 Cash for Peerages scandal (in which wealthy donors and lenders to political parties were subsequently awarded peerages), may though have diluted the status of being titled and perhaps the link with upper class separateness is now somewhat diminished.

Within the upper classes though, different perceptions of hierarchy exist. Whilst membership of the peerage indicates some form of rank, it does not automatically position them above the landed gentry. Bence-Jones (1965) identifies some exceptional landed gentry families - who may have refused titles in the past - ranked with the “great territorial magnates rather than the ordinary country squires” (p. xv). It is therefore not possible to identify the upper class hierarchy purely from the presence, and type, of title estate owners hold.

Occupational Approaches

More recent approaches to social class have hinged on occupation as the identifier of the social class of individuals. The work of Goldthorpe and the Nuffield School has developed a number of influential models of class stratification, such as The Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) model. Indeed, the ‘official’ measure of class is through the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), based on Goldthorpe’s model. Class is defined in these schemes through current occupation, making them particularly well employed to track social mobility through occupational change (Atkinson, 2015), which is their main use.

However, occupation based class schemas have been argued as being simplistic (Szreter, 1984). They are not suitable for the study of the upper classes, who tend to be excluded from them (Savage et al., 2015b), due to the fact that they are numerically small, and are not picked up in large-scale surveys which are the usual data source for their employment.

Bourdieu

Although the language of class has become muted in the past decades (Bennett et al., 2009), increasing inequalities have become apparent that demand a new approach to the investigation of privilege and power. Class studies have been invigorated by a recent cultural turn, influenced in particular by Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital approach to class membership (Atkinson, 2015) which has been particularly employed in the study of elites, and the upper and upper-middle classes.

Particularly important in this Bourdieusian approach is the recognition that classes are constructed and reproduced by both economic and cultural means (Crompton, 2008), rather than cultural aspects of class being considered an add-on to a purely economically defined class position (Bennett et al., 2009) such as the occupational approaches above.

In Bourdieu's work, a three-dimensional axis situates people in class clusters within what he describes as a social space, based on their different endowments of three types of capital. Economic capital is considered as the sum total of an individual's wealth, income and property ownership. Cultural capital is one's symbolic mastery of abstract thought, for which educational qualifications act as a proxy. An important component of cultural capital, especially in the study of elites and dominant classes, is knowledge of traditional forms of culture: art, opera, literature etc, beyond qualifications (Atkinson, 2015). The third axis plots social capital, referring to the extent and strengths of one's social networks, together with membership of clubs and society (Atkinson, 2015). Those with the highest endowments of all three are classed as a dominant class (Atkinson, 2015).

In this research, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* helps overcome the division between class and status of Weber. Habitus is "every person's complex of durable dispositions, propensities or inclinations to do certain things" (Atkinson, 2015 p.66), or as Elliot and Lemert (2014) describe it "the moulding of a set of individual dispositions interlocking with the specific cultural characteristics of the society concerned" (p.462). Described as a structured and structuring structure (Hartmann, 2000), it aids understanding that it is not just the trilogy of wealth, status and power that describe class, but the inheritance of attitudes and behaviour – the rules of class – that also contribute, through a process of institutionalisation. When habitus is overlaid on the social space a 'symbolic space', or the 'space of lifestyles' is illustrated, indicative of one's class position.

Savage et al: The Elite Class

Savage takes a Bourdieusian approach to the study of contemporary class, defining it “as an emergent property of different ‘capitals’ which allow their possessors to accumulate resources over time so that their relative advantages over others rise” (Savage, 2016a, p.5).

Savage et al. (2013) proposed a seven-tier model of social class, based on the results of the BBC Great British Class Survey, and which identifies class membership based on the endowments of different forms of capital. It positions an elite class at its top who are described as having “very high economic capital (especially savings), high social capital, very high highbrow cultural capital” (Savage et al, 2013, p.230) who are fundamentally a powerful, senior corporate management group, meritocratic in composition. Expanding on the seven-tier schema, Savage et al. (2015b) argue that the elite class is not an evolution of the aristocracy, but rather a new, upwardly mobile class, which has supplanted them, much like Scott’s (1982) conception of the business class.

The term ‘elite’, Savage (2015b) argues was chosen pragmatically to avoid confusion with “images of the traditional landed gentlemen and senior professionals in their country estates and Mayfair clubs” (p.232) that the use of upper class would invite. The elite class he illustrates are an ‘ordinary’ wealth elite, who rely to some extent on the institutions of the aristocracy such as public schools, but have changed the discourse to one of meritocracy, which is oriented towards achievement and competition, rather than inherited privilege (Savage, 2015b).

Like Scott’s (1982) business class, Savage’s scheme of an elite class appear to have little room for the traditional estate owners who are the focus of this research, despite the elite class having drawn on the institutions of the establishment and adopted a lifestyle that was once closely identified with the upper classes. Therefore, although current schemes of an elite class have been demonstrated to have evolved from the upper classes, they appear to no longer be included in them.

Estate owners, though, continue to reproduce certain behaviours of the upper classes, such as the focus on the perpetuation of the family name and family ownership of their estates. It is thus necessary to attempt to define their current class position.

2.4.2 The Social Class of Estate Owners

Once the most powerful, wealthy and high-status in society, today “what remained of the old landed order had effectively ceased to be an economically definable class at all” by the end of the 20th century (Cannadine, 1990, p.638). Seen as increasingly irrelevant and of little consequence in the enterprise culture of the Thatcher era and beyond (Nicolson, 2011), the landed classes are now diminished, but not extinguished: they still hold titles, own large amounts of land and enjoy some privileges of status, but their political power has been substantially reduced and they no longer occupy primary positions in class schemas.

Since Scott’s (1982) investigation of the upper classes, he notes in a private correspondence “there is little, if anything, currently going on into this topic” (Scott, 2017). For Savage et al. (2015b), Scott’s (1982) work marked the end of an era: “the 1980s marked the last blast of this old aristocratic culture” (p.304), during which decade the presence of the upper classes in the national press greatly diminished (James, 2009).

Given the paucity of recent research on the social class of estate owners in the 21st century, the following question is raised: how can they be understood in terms of class, status and power? Although estates now have a more diverse ownership than in the past, with many traditional estates having been subdivided, dispersed and sold to foreign and corporate owners, there remains a substantial number of estates which have maintained family ownership for many generations, and whose original owners would have been members of the peerage or landed gentry.

Class theory suggests that we cannot refer to this group as the upper classes any longer (Savage et al., 2015b; Scott, 1982), which begs an issue of nomenclature. As Crompton argues, studying class involves “working with frameworks and approaches which at times might seem contradictory, but are nevertheless necessary in order to understand the complex whole” (Crompton, 2008, p.113).

Certainly, some of the precepts of the traditional upper classes are becoming increasingly visible as class studies develop. Pikkerty (2013) identifies the revival of a ‘patrimonial class’, that is, families living off inherited and accumulated wealth. Similarly, Dorling (2014) foresees a return to the world of lineage where inheritance and family are important markers of class again, rather than

occupation. Indeed Bradley (2014) in her critique of Savage et al. (2013) does include wealthy landowners within her definition of the elite, which she sees as comprising the wealthy (in terms of land, property, shares and investments and ownership) and/or highly salaried.

Yet Mills' (2015; 2014) critique of Savage et al.'s (2013) elite class as being too large to indicate elite-ness hangs in the air. Even if traditional landowners are conceptualised as being members of this elite class, it is in itself too broad a class to explain what differentiates estate owners from other groups.

Scott's (1982) Weberian approach offers the most focus, if used to define estate owners as a status group rather than as a discreet class. As a status group they can be conceptualised as a community, with a similar lifestyle, who exercise the reproduction of privilege through their engagement with certain institutions. Certainly, this group as a whole are discussed in following sections as allying themselves with certain inherited values and maintaining similar lifestyles. They have positioned themselves as a status group of "self-styled and self-promoting guardians of what they like to call the national heritage" (Cannadine, 1990, p. 639) for whom the upkeep of their country houses is argued to be the "all-consuming object of aristocratic existence" (p.693). As a broadly similarly group, Scottish members are argued to use the rhetorics of stewardship to create a "status group identity for themselves as "keepers of land"" (Stewart et al., 2001, p.381).

Therefore, at present, they will be continued to be referred to as the upper classes. However, and in line with Crompton's (2008) argument that the complexity class can only be understood through the use of multiple frameworks, they will also be considered as potential members of the elite class.

2.5 Commercial Activities on Estates

Traditionally, there have been differences in the range of activities undertaken on the estates of the peerage versus those of the landed gentry, with the former benefitting from a more diversified set of activities. Peers benefitted from a wide range of income streams, notably "town property, coal mines, harbours and other sources as well as land" (Bence-Jones, 1965, p.XV) whilst the landed gentry, often with smaller estates, "had to rely on land alone" (ibid). However, by 1965, Bence-Jones notes an increase in diversification by the landed gentry, who began to engage in a similar range of activities as members of the peerage.

In the 21st century, Scottish estates of all sizes engage in both core, land related activities, and also diversified activities. Core activities are notably farming, forestry, sporting, and the supply of residential property (Hindle et al., 2014). Beyond these, diversified activities can include opening gardens and nurseries to the public, game-bird shooting, fish farming, crofting, conservation work, film, photo and wedding locations, renewable energy, forestry management and contracting, hotels, caravan parks, golf courses, public access, walking and cycling, and hospitality, catering and retail (McKee et al., 2013; Mather, Hill and Nijnik, 2006). These activities are not restricted to Scottish estates: across Great Britain, similar types of activities are undertaken by members of the Historic Houses Association (DC Research, 2015).

In a farm context, diversification is taken to mean the use of existing farm resources for activities other than the production of conventional crops and livestock, whereas pluriactivity can include non-farm related income, including that generated off-site (Hansson et al., 2013). These distinctions are not always made in the literature. For the purposes of this research, and following the literature on estates, diversified activities are taken to be commercial activities based both on and off the estate, undertaken for the benefit of the estate. It is also important to note that many estates do not directly engage in traditional activities, such as farming and forestry. These may be let, either partly or fully, to tenant farmers and foresters.

There is historical precedence to diversification, both in the change of use of estate land and also diversification into enterprises beyond the estate. Until the 1870s, the country estate represented a good investment, as agriculture was profitable (Musson, 2005). Subsequent competition from overseas and a desire to fund external diversification, such as investing in stocks and shares, banking, commerce and manufacturing, led to diversification, change and reduction in size of many estates (Bosworth, Beedell & Annibal, 2001; Bush, 1984).

In the Highlands, many estates have changed dramatically: firstly, during the period of the clearances in their move towards sheep farming, and secondly through their rebirth as sporting estates (Pryor, 2010), run for pleasure rather than income generation. More recent diversifications, though, are engaged in to maintain a number of diverse income streams (Woolvin, 2013).

Estates therefore have never been static. They have grown and contracted over time, and the nature of their activities has changed in response to the economic climate of the day. In the 21st century, this trend continues, with estate owners looking to diversify further: Hindle et al. (2014) report estates identified two or three (average 2.86) sectors in which “they felt offered future opportunity” (Hindle et al., 2014, p.77) to ensure future economic sustainability. The range of diversified activities identified by Hindle et al. (2014) as currently being undertaken on Scottish estates is shown, below.

Table 2.1: Diversification Activities on Scottish Estates, by size (from Hindle et al., 2014).

	Very Small	Small	Medium	Large	Very Large	Total
Residential Accommodation	48.1%	80.7%	81.3%	90.0%	93.8%	79.1%
Sporting	11.1%	42.0%	86.6%	100.0%	93.8%	65.4%
Forestry	18.5%	58.0%	74.1%	90.0%	87.5%	65.0%
Agriculture	44.4%	63.6%	60.7%	70.0%	75.0%	61.6%
Ag Tenancy	48.1%	39.8%	64.3%	80.0%	75.0%	56.3%
Tourism Accommodation	14.8%	28.4%	41.1%	50.0%	68.8%	36.5%
Conservation	3.7%	27.3%	36.6%	55.0%	43.8%	31.9%
Renewables	18.5%	23.9%	35.7%	50.0%	43.8%	31.6%
Business	14.8%	22.7%	33.0%	45.0%	56.3%	30.0%
Heritage	3.7%	4.5%	16.1%	40.0%	56.3%	15.2%
Minerals & Quarrying	-	6.8%	12.5%	35.0%	50.0%	13.3%
Sports & Recreation	7.4%	11.4%	10.7%	15.0%	43.8%	12.9%
Retail	-	4.5%	6.3%	30.0%	18.8%	7.6%
Food & Beverage	-	3.4%	6.3%	25.0%	18.8%	6.8%
Other Activities	3.7%	3.4%	5.4%	15.0%	18.8%	6.1%
Fish Farms	-	-	6.3%	10.0%	18.8%	4.6%
Professional Services	-	4.5%	4.5%	5.0%	-	3.8%
Horticulture	-	1.1%	3.6%	10.0%	12.5%	3.4%
Adding Value	3.7%	-	5.4%	-	6.3%	3.0%
Manufacturing	-	1.1%	1.8%	-	-	1.1%

Their aggregated size of estates is based on the following:

Table 2.2: Size Classifications of Scottish Estates (adapted from Hindle et al., 2014).

CATEGORY	DETAIL
Small	Less than 1,000 Ha (2,471 acres) ((including very small = less than 100 Ha (247 acres)
Medium	1,000 -10,000 Ha (2,471 - 24,710 acres)
Large	10,000 + Ha (24,710 acres) (includes very large = more than 20,000 Ha (49,421 acres))
Note: 1Ha = 2.47105 acres	

2.5.1 Farming and Forestry

Farming has always been a core activity undertaken on estate land. Prior to the twentieth century, income from tenant farmers was estate owners' prime source of income (Bush, 1984), particularly amongst the landed gentry (Bence-Jones, 1965). Direct engagement with industry and trade was actively discouraged amongst the upper classes (Allen, 2008), although they were not entirely removed from commercial activities.

During the 18th century, the upper classes demonstrated commercial acumen through the adoption of innovative practices (Thompson, 2001), leading to the improvement of their farms through enlargement and enclosure. Noted English improvers included Thomas Coke (1754-1842) at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Charles Townshend (1674-1738) and Robert Bakewell (1725-95) whose improvements to agricultural practice produced considerable financial reward (Pryor, 2010). Certainly, the improving landlords are credited with bringing capital and entrepreneurial skills to the increasing commercialisation of estates (McKee et al., 2013). Some scholars though question how widespread the adoption of these innovative activities was, believing that only a minority were responsible for the discovery or diffusion of new techniques (McCahill, 1976; Mingay, 1963).

The economic viability of farming has diminished in the 20th and 21st centuries, although it continues to be practiced in-hand on the majority of estates (62% of Scottish estates, according to Hindle et al., 2014). Farming was believed in the early 20th century to exhibit signs of post-productivism (Mather, Hill and Nijnik, 2006), with a reduction in the numbers of acres dedicated to crops, cereals and cows. However, interest in locally grown produce has increased, and agriculture remains a key concern on productive land (Glass et al., 2013a).

Forestry has also been a traditional activity on estates (MacGregor, 1988), much due to the availability of grants, and was an earlier form of income generation beyond farming (Bence-Jones, 1965). However, the post-World War II programme of forestry expansion has now been achieved with the aid of various incentives and schemes, such as the Forestry Grant Scheme (FGS) and the later Woodland Grant Scheme (WGS) and shows signs of being in a post productivist state (Mather, Hill and Nijnik, 2006). It remains a popular activity on estates, although not always for commercial reasons: it can be maintained for sporting and amenity purposes (Wagstaff, 2013).

2.5.2 Indirect Entrepreneurship

During the 16th and 17th centuries onwards, the upper classes became involved in mineral and metal extraction (coal, copper, iron and lead), although their direct involvement diminished over time, with a belief that the role of a member of the upper classes was incompatible with that of an industrialist (McCahill, 1976). Subsequently, despite a lack of direct entrepreneurial activity by estate owners, considerable income for estates has been derived from acts of indirect entrepreneurship, such as ownership of stocks and shares in infrastructure projects such as urban development and the leasing out of proprietorial rights for minerals and mining (Bush, 1984).

Estate owners are not only able to facilitate, but also restrict entrepreneurial activity on their land. As Glenn et al. (2019) report, whilst some estate owners facilitate local enterprise through the provision of land and support to businesses, others have been criticised for refusing to allow land to be available for local businesses, and for restricting the growth of existing businesses.

2.5.3 The Sporting Estate

Scottish estates have a particular association with sporting use. Following the Highland Clearances, sheep farming became the dominant practice on the uplands of Scottish estates. Classed as poor land, uplands, i.e. those above the upper limits of enclosed farmland (Glass et al., 2013a) are of limited agriculture value. A combination of falling sheep prices in the late 19th century, the status anxiety of new industrial owners keen to become estate owners, and a fashion for hunting led by Prince Albert's enthusiasm for the sport, led to many estates being sold or alternatively reborn as sporting estates (MacGregor, 1988).

Maintained for the shooting of deer and grouse and the fishing of salmon (MacMillan et al., 2001), they were either used purely as sporting estates, or as mixed-use estates, with the farming of sheep continued not for economic reasons, but for the benefit of sheep being 'tick mops', reducing the number of deaths of young grouse being raised for sport (MacGregor, 1988).

In the 21st century, most sporting estates continue to be run either by landowners or commercial tenants as locations for the traditional sports of hunting, shooting and fishing (Wightman and Higgins, 2000), and are generally maintained for the pleasure of sport by the landowner, their tenants and guests, rather than for economic benefit (MacGregor, 1988).

Most are unprofitable. Higgins, Wightman and MacMillan (2002) stated that most sporting estates, even if run as commercial concerns with paying guests, were making annual losses. In 2010, over half of all grouse moors were unprofitable (McMorran, Bryce and Glass, 2015). Sporting estates though provide wider economic benefit, providing employment within local communities and supporting local businesses, such as equipment suppliers and hotels (McMorran, Bryce and Glass, 2015).

2.5.4 Housing

The provision of residential accommodation is identified by Hindle et al. (2014) as a particularly common commercial activity undertaken on estates (79% of all estates), often at affordable rents (Satsangi, 2005). It provides economic benefit to landowners, with one in ten landlords reported by Satsangi (2005) as deriving over half their overall business income from housing. He also reports that for individual owners or trusts (two common mechanisms for family ownership of estates), there are often significant non-economic motivations for the provision of housing, notably those of following a family tradition, and providing support for the local community.

However, McKee (2013) reports both negative and positive behaviours of landowners in relation to the supply of housing, with some landowners not engaging in repairs in a timely manner, suggesting a lessened commitment to their communities. Restriction of the supply of housing by some landowners has been attributed to depopulation and economic decline in areas of rural Scotland (Glenn et al., 2019).

2.5.5 Tourism

In addition to the supply of rental accommodation to the local community, the provision of tourism accommodation is undertaken, in differing percentages, across all sizes of estates (37% in total). Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016) also identify the use of estate properties for residential and holiday accommodation as a universal trend amongst their sample of Scottish estates.

Tourism has become a considerable revenue stream for estates (Hindle et al., 2014) and is a “major contributor to economic development” (Thomson et al., 2016, p.66). There is historical precedence for tourism activities on estates, although the trend, especially for visitors to country houses, has markedly

accelerated in the decades since the 1970s (Mandler, 1997). Estates have always been accessible in some format, and open to unannounced visits by the upper classes and respectable growing middle classes (Mandler, 1997), especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Girouard, 1978). Particular estates, such as the gardens at Stowe, acted as signals of aristocratic good taste and were specifically designed for visitors to view (Pryor, 2010).

DC Research (2015) prepared a report commissioned by the Historic Houses Association (HHA) which quantifies visitor numbers, total spend and other direct and indirect contributions (e.g. employment, spend on suppliers) that visitors to HHA member properties made in 2014. Visitor numbers to HHA properties in Scotland were estimated at 6,694,735, generating £ 311,709,847 in income, representing a considerable potential income stream for estate owners through tourist activities.

Not only is tourism a current contributor to the estate revenues, it offers future opportunities in relation to the development and protection of wild lands in Scotland. There is a “cultural power of wilderness, wildlife and wild landscapes in the popular imaginary” (McMorran, Price and Warren, 2008, p.177) that underpins the conservation movement that aims to protect areas of wilderness. The related concepts of wilderness and wild lands are ill-defined, with a lack of consensus from bodies such as the Scotland Office, Scottish Natural Heritage, the National Trust for Scotland and the John Muir Trust on what define them. Notwithstanding, development of them presents an opportunity for landowners, particularly in the development of ecologically sustainable tourism (Visit Scotland, 2019; McMorran, Price and Warren, 2008).

2.5.6 Land Reform

There has been a longstanding movement in Scotland to reform landownership. During the period of this research, the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016 has introduced further changes to land rights. It has extended the community right to buy land from estates for sustainable development and ended tax relief on sporting estates. It contains recommendations to:

1. Clarify information about land, its ownership and its value, with a Scottish Land Reform Commission being set up to make recommendations on future reforms.

2. Encourage better information and greater transparency on the ownership of land, through the land register.
3. Strengthen regulations where land owners are failing to take their deer management responsibilities seriously.
4. Introduce improvements to both systems of common good land and right to roam.

(Cook, 2015).

A consultation process in advance of the bill invited responses by landowners and other stakeholders in the management and use of rural land. Additionally, Thomson et al. (2016) were commissioned by the Scottish Government to write a report, intended to “inform both the on-going development of Scotland’s land reform policy and current deliberations over the Land Reform (Scotland) Bill.” (p.1).

Landowner submissions were collated by Peterkin (2013) and published in The Scotsman newspaper, revealing mixed attitudes towards the bill. Scottish Land and Estates (2016), the organisation that represents the interests of Scottish landowners, expressed concerns about certain aspects, specifically the ability of government ministers to enforce the sale of land, and also the proposal to extend rights of succession for tenant farmers. Others were more positive about the bill, such as Wightman (2015) who argued that it constituted a move towards Scotland realising comprehensive land reform.

Most recently Glenn et al.’s (2019) Investigation into the Issues Associated with Large scale & Concentrated Landownership in Scotland for the Scottish Land Commission expressed concerns on the effects the current patterns of landownership in Scotland have on local economic opportunities, community and social cohesion, the natural and built environment, local housing needs, and agriculture.

The practical ramifications of these bills, legislation, and reports remain to be seen, although the abolition of tax relief on sporting estates introduced in the act may well have a substantial impact on their profitability. It is clear though that land reform remains a political issue and one with the potential to influence the current and future activities and priorities of landowners. Diversification activities and the exploitation of future opportunities are thus undertaken by estates against an uncertain political future, made even more uncertain by the

UK (at the time of writing) being on course to leave the European Union at the end of January 2020.

2.5.7 Future Opportunities on Estates

Hindle et al. (2014) report estate owners as keen to engage in additional diversifications. Particularly in Scotland, tourism and wilderness represent potential future diversifications, yet their empirical examination is scarce. What is clear, though, is that estates have historically engaged in a diversified range of activities, and are looking to pursue further diversification. However, estate owners have historically not engaged directly in entrepreneurial behaviour (McCahill, 1976). The following section will consider the changing entrepreneurial attitudes of the upper classes.

2.6 Entrepreneurial Attitudes of the Upper Classes

Entrepreneurship is not only rooted in place(s), it exists in a social context also. Baker and Powell (2016) point to social stratification as one such social context in which to examine the exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities: “what this literature does not explore adequately is how these structural and related cultural and institutional sources of advantage and disadvantage shape the lived experience of entrepreneurs and would-be entrepreneurs around notions of what is feasible and desirable in the contexts in which they find themselves” (p.45).

While Suddaby, Bruton and Si, (2015) and Korsgaard (2013) examine the social contexts of entrepreneurship, and Anderson and Miller (2003) examine the influence that social class has on the profitability and growth of a new enterprise, there is little contemporary literature on social class as a context in which entrepreneurship happens and which affects the propensity to engage in entrepreneurial action. Specifically, the entrepreneurial activities and attitudes of the upper classes in the 21st century have been little examined.

Cannadine (1990) identifies behavioural norms that historically signalled the upper classes as unique and marked them as ‘different’ from other social classes. of people. In particular, they would use male primogeniture to ensure perpetuation of their estates by the eldest son, and terms of strict settlement making it difficult to sell the land. They would engage in endogamous (and often strategic) marriages within families of similar background to ensure the perpetuation of their identity and position at the top of a hierarchical society. They would maintain residencies in both country and London houses, be

educated at public schools, and if attending university, Oxbridge - particularly Christ Church college, Oxford (James, 2009). Finally, they would maintain a leisured lifestyle, characterised by their 'gentle' status of having no occupation. This lack of remunerative occupation allowed them to become the focus of society events and to provide voluntary service to the state, whether in politics, law or the military, rather than engage directly in commercial activity. Additionally, estate owners were responsible for providing munificence to their estate workers and local communities (Bush, 1984; Jenkins, 1983).

One of the other behavioural norms of estate owners was to renounce their association with commerce (Bush, 1984) to begin the process of social recognition that was key to becoming accepted into the upper classes (Allen, 2008). This thesis is most associated with Wiener (2004), in which he claimed a cultural ambivalence amongst the middle and upper classes to modern industrialisation and economic growth. He argues that these classes had a "way of life and an outlook that gave little attention or status to industrial pursuits" (Wiener, 2004, p.24), which was primarily inculcated through the establishment institutions of public schools and ancient universities. Wiener's book resonated beyond the discipline of history, and was distributed to every member of Thatcher's cabinet (Hatherley, 2011), which contained a number of aristocrats, and helped inspire the concept of the enterprise culture that Thatcher's government promoted to stimulate trade and industry.

Wiener's argument has been refuted by some. Rubinstein (1993) demonstrates that the composition of public schools was dominated by sons of professionals and businessmen, who mostly replicated their family occupation, rather than become leisured gentlemen. Thompson (2001) argues that not only was the new money of the industrialists more accepted into the upper classes than presupposed, but also that the traditional landed classes were more engaged in entrepreneurial activities than previously argued.

Thompson (2001) divides the upper classes into three main groups. Firstly, were the "solid central core" (p.44) who maintained the traditional image of the aristocracy – "rural, paternalist, hunting-shooting" who did not engage much with London life, and whose estates were mainly agricultural. A second group are described as dissolute, immoral, extravagant and anti-enterprise, who were disproportionately represented in the press due to their social visibility in London and other social capitals. Thirdly, there was a group of "businesslike and

entrepreneurial" landowners, whose business activities were not just farming related, but "tended to change as the scale of business and the forms of business organization changed" (p.44). Therefore, despite the popular view of estate owners as not engaging in industrial and entrepreneurial activities, Thompson (2001) argues that there was a group who did precisely this, and who became in time the most powerful group of the three, due to their increasing wealth in relation to the other two fractions.

The latter half of the twentieth century saw an increased engagement with commerce amongst landowners, who Cannadine (1990) described as being forced by necessity to seek income beyond the estate and its agricultural income. The move towards country house tourism is argued to be the "most significant innovation" (Cannadine, 1990, p.645) of the upper classes in the post Second World War period, and which Mandler (1997) sees as the saving grace of the aristocratic identity, if not their fortunes. Mitford (1959), although asserting that the aristocracy do not directly work for money, described their direct participation in the commercialisation of the estate, particularly through the opening of their houses to paying visitors, in which they "throw themselves into the sad commerce with rapture" (p.49).

These activities were undertaken with a degree of reluctance, in which landowners were wary of becoming enmeshed in the workings of business for fear of becoming *déclassé* (Cannadine, 1990). This is directly articulated by several members of the upper classes. Waugh's (1959, in Mitford) acerbic rebuke to Mitford (his great friend and correspondent), states "You should have said, not that aristocrats can't make money in commerce, but when they do, they become middle-class." John, Duke of Bedford (1985) is similarly wry when he states that his interest in commercialising Woburn Abbey may be going against the spirit of the upper classes: "Not being commercial may be noble and distinguished: but it does not take you far in this commercial age" (p.31).

Whilst these sources are mainly focused on the aristocracy, the landed gentry's association with commerce has been less well documented. Nicolson (2011) though, does argue that the landed gentry had a similarly uneasy relationship with the commercial world as the aristocracy did. The nature of this relationship is explored through Scott's (1982) concept of the gentlemanly code.

2.6.1 The Gentlemanly Code

Scott (1982) identifies the concept of social honour as the mechanism that guided attitudes towards commerce. Drawing on Weber (1978; 1922), Scott (1982) argues that status is determined by a person's social standing in relationship to a normative order. That order identifies certain attributes as being relevant to the following of an 'appropriate' life-style, the central attribute being that of social honour.

The concept of *noblesse oblige* is used by Lacey (1983) to describe a similar concept to social honour. He argues that the Victorians blended the "purest meaning of aristocracy - the rule of the best" (p.134) with the middle class values of "thrift, hard work and duty" (p.134) to produce an idealised version of the upper class gentleman, who had common values, ways of behaviour and attitudes, notably a sense of philanthropic duty to not only serve, but rule society.

The code of gentlemanly behaviour defined what was 'done' and what was 'not done' (Scott, 1982), with one of the key components of this code being the understanding that "The capitalist spirit of trade and industry [...] were regarded as ungentlemanly in the extreme" (Scott, 1982, p.93). Although status can also be expressed in other ways, such as through the use of insignia and titles that Veblen (2014; 1899) identifies as markers of a leisured lifestyle (indeed, in Scotland, Innes of Learney (1956) advises that to not take up one's hereditary right to a coat of arms endangers one's social position: it is a duty of *noblesse oblige* to do so), the principal explanatory concept of social honour in relationship to entrepreneurial activities is that of the gentlemanly code: the belief that the upper classes, from peers to gentry, are imbued with "gentility" and thus must comply with an unwritten code of practice, which precludes having an occupation or engagement with commerce.

The values and behaviours embodied in the gentlemanly code have been reproduced through certain formal and informal institutions of the establishment and particularly through the "old-boy network" (Argyle, 1994, p.15). This network consists of those who attended public schools and ancient universities and who are members of clubs such as Whites, the Garrick and the jockey club (Devine, 1997; Scott, 1982). This network serves to perpetuate privilege and upper class attitudes, and particularly an anti-enterprise sentiment, which is most strongly enforced in public schools (Scott, 1982).

Thompson (2001) strikes a note of caution however: whilst he argues that Eton was the only truly aristocratic school, most public schools educated the children of trade as well as the aristocracy, and the anti-enterprise sentiment of the schools may not have been as formalised nor as strident as believed. Rubinstein's (1993) analysis of the attendance and parental occupation of the prestigious Clarendon schools (Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylor's, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St Paul's, Westminster, and Winchester) demonstrates that the proportion of sons of professionals and businessmen was much higher than thought. Therefore, whatever the composition and level of anti-enterprise influence may have been in public schools, two things are clear: a perception of anti-enterprise sentiment amongst the upper classes continues to hold sway in the popular imagination, and that the curriculum of elite institutions – both public schools and elite universities – were not, until the introduction of business education in the 1970s, useful preparation for a generation of businessmen (Thompson, 2001).

The values, beliefs and behaviours of aristocratic women are notably absent from these accounts. Indeed, the notion of a gentlemanly code is a gendered concept, yet with male primogeniture in relation to the inheritance of estates (though not, at present, titles) a less dominant practice amongst the upper classes than it was historically, the concept of the gentlemanly code must be approached with some caution. There is also little cognisance in the literature of the Scottish independent school system, perhaps demonstrating the Anglo-centric focus of much literature on the upper classes.

The Scottish Council of Independent Schools lists 74 members (scis.org.uk). In the North East of Scotland, the school most associated with the aristocracy is Gordonstoun in Moray, having been attended by the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales amongst others. Unlike other more academically successful Scottish independent schools (the most academically successful, measured by Advanced Higher results are St George's School for Girls, George Heriot's and Dollar Academy), the focus of a Gordonstoun education is on broader character-building (gordonstoun.org.uk).

2.6.2 The Perpetuation of Values

Scott (1982) argues that the gentlemanly code has been perpetuated through the formal and informal institutions of the establishment, and also through the institution of the family. Bennett et al. (2009) argue that families “remake

themselves, and their children, in remarkably persistent ways" (p.13). Specifically, they perpetuate social class positions, as Harvey et al. (2011) argue: "Families especially imprint themselves, and it is through families that cultural differentiation between social classes and class fractions is perpetuated" (p. 437).

This imprinting endows subsequent generations of alumni with a Bourdieusian, embodied cultural capital, peculiar to elite classes (Bennett et al. 2009) – "a particular way of being in the world that identifies themselves, and allows others to identify them, as members of the elite" (p.89), analogous to the distinct differentiation of the upper classes from other classes, identified by Cannadine (1990).

Within the upper classes and elite groups – whether the traditional estate owning upper classes, or Scott's (1982) business class that has evolved from the traditional upper classes, or Savage's (2015b) meritocratic elite class, there is a common importance given to the perpetuation of privilege, power, values and norms: "the perpetuation of the family name and tradition is of particular significance, as is securing access to political power" (Scott, 1982, p.158). As previously argued, this perpetuation of the family name and the estate remains an overriding preoccupation amongst many estate owners (James, 2009).

2.6.3 A Flexible Code

Whilst attitudes are perpetuated through generations by the institutions of the establishment and the family, they also evolve. During the Victorian period, Scott argues that the gentlemanly code became more flexible, with the "landed meaning system [...] accommodated to the entrepreneurial ideology" (Scott, 1982, p.95). Savage et al. (2015b) provide support for this claim, arguing that the "aristocratic and gentlemanly upper class" were "unusually innovative and forward-looking, realizing at an early period that it could thrive through taking advantage of commercial opportunities" (p.28).

The gentlemanly code having altered once in the 19th century, proved flexible again in the twentieth century. Aristocrats increasingly had occupations, particularly in the City (Cannadine, 1990), at odds with their supposed leisured status. In addition, existing early forms of commercial diversification were augmented by the simple opening of the estate house itself that Mitford (1959) refers to, with Scott (1982) identifying "newer ventures such as country parks, zoos, museums and, of course, 'stately homes'." (p.135). The compelling rationale

for many of these activities is not necessarily in the terms of being custodians of heritage that Mandler writes of, but more the “public relations and the tax exemptions that compel them to open their doors” (Cannadine, 1990, p. 656).

2.6.4 Entrepreneurial Attitudes in the Late 20th and Early 21st Century

Identifying the entrepreneurial attitudes of the upper classes becomes harder in the 21st century. Academic literature has become limited in recent decades, but the cultural norms of the traditional upper classes remain a perennial favourite of non-academic literature. Etiquette books, such as the Debrett’s series, have seen a recent resurgence, which attempt to set out the manners and etiquette inherent in the gentlemanly code. Writers, such as Cooper (1999) and Jennings (1997) have both illuminated and satirised the behaviours of the upper classes.

Anthropologist Fox (2014) has explored the ‘hidden’ rules of the English and Paxman (2007) has explored the concept of the modern English gentleman. In the absence of much scholarly work in this area, these texts provide useful insights both into popular perceptions of the attitudes of the upper classes towards entrepreneurship, class, family perpetuation and inheritance.

Jennings’ (1997) year long, (informally) ethnographic study of the traditional upper classes was spent attending society events such as balls, polo matches, horse racing events, shoots and parties, concluding that “only in Britain is the relationship between class, wealth and background so institutionalised, so ossified, so unfair” (Jennings, 1997, p.10). He found the strictures of social honour still evident, with the upper classes still wedded to historical notions of identity and behaviour: a world of doing “the right things” (p. 25), of “*noblesse oblige*, that sense of duty” (p.147).

He argues that members of the upper classes are focused on the past grandeurs of their forebears and finds a world intent on replicating historical assets, identifying them as a group living in a “bizarre flux of the historical and the contemporary” (p.139). He does note an engagement with entrepreneurship but generally restricted to lifestyle businesses: “little retailing businesses flogging wine, artificial flowers, knick-knacks, jewellery and whimsical trash are popular [...] as are food shops” (Jennings, 1997, p.181).

Most recently, Fox (2014) has attempted to develop a ‘grammar’ of behaviour stemming from an identification of “standards, norms, ideals, guiding principles and ‘facts’ about ‘normal or usual’ English behaviour” (p.15). In many ways the

book owes a huge debt to Mitford (1959), particularly in her assertion that the determination of class origin is governed by a specific type of cultural capital, in which linguistic capital is a stronger indicator of class than economic capital (Fox, 2014, pp. 115-116). Fox then contradicts her initial assertion that class is distinguishable by language alone, by identifying certain behaviours that distinguish the upper classes from others: the commitment to sending their children to boarding school, a preoccupation with fractional class divisions, such as the hierarchy of peerage titles, family longevity and land ownership. Fox (2014) identifies the “vestigial trade-prejudice rule” (p.293). However, whether this relates to specific forms of commerce and includes or excludes specifically entrepreneurial activity is unclear.

Beyond the upper classes, there has been an increased value placed on entrepreneurial activity in the United Kingdom. The enterprise culture fostered by the Thatcher government and subsequently, has had a “significant impact [...] on business life and life in general in countries such as the UK in recent times” (Carr and Beaver, 2000, p.106), with one particular strand of the discourse being the casting of the entrepreneur as ‘hero’ who is valorised for his actions as an “economic saviour, involved in the generation and regeneration of the nation’s economic fortune” (Kalden, Cunningham and Anderson, 2017, p.93).

Despite this, Fox (2014) claims that the English class-bound prejudice against trade (even amongst the middle classes who engage in it) whilst eroded, is not eradicated. In an estate setting, Wagstaff (2013) reports that such attitudes still exist amongst some traditional upland estate owners, who – although faced with economic ruin – were still wary of estate diversification: “the old-fashioned notion that diversifying into trade is socially unacceptable was still held by some [...] landowners” (p.97).

Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016) report a division of attitudes amongst Scottish estate owners who differentiate between “a “core” family business (the estate) and the presence of a second layer of businesses which are not especially core to the family vision but remain economically vital” (p.351). This entrepreneurial activity is therefore separate from the core business, but vital to its survival, with profits re-invested into the maintenance of the core assets - i.e., the estate and its buildings. This conceptual division between core and secondary activities may be evidence of both an increased engagement with diversified, and

possibly entrepreneurial, activities, and also a means of justifying entrepreneurial activity, as economically vital, but not central to the family vision.

On the strength of these limited reports, the gentlemanly code may no longer be as flexible as it once was, or only limited to lifestyle entrepreneurship. However, caution must be taken in reference to what is a very limited literature. Rather than providing insights into the entrepreneurial attitudes of estate owners in the 21st century, the paucity of literature highlights a gap in knowledge regarding the attitudes of the upper classes towards entrepreneurship, and also more broadly, discussed next.

2.6.5 Evolving Attitudes

Despite the lack of knowledge regarding entrepreneurial attitudes amongst the upper classes in the 21st century, there is some evidence that the establishment itself and the upper and elite classes are evolving. They continue to be allied to certain traditional institutions and activities (such as schooling at Eton, membership of clubs such as Brooks's, Boodle's, Pratt's and White's (Bryant, 2017)). However, the institutions and values of the establishment are also evolving. Bennett et al. (2009) argue that "Britain's elite schools unlikely now engender the antiquated embodied style of the British Gentleman [...] they are now more focused on cultivating broader dispositions of embodied and self-presentational 'polish' that has a currency across a range of elite occupational settings." Reeves et al. (2017) concur that the attitudes and behaviour valued in elite circles have evolved from the traditional gentlemanly values: "a 'modern' strand of gentility - deftly combining modesty and a knowing mode of cultural consumption - remains highly valued in elite circles" (p.10).

A particular change in attitudes amongst the descendants of the traditional upper classes can be identified towards matters of inheritance of both titles and property. Hereditary titles remain bound by rules of primogeniture, with the eldest son, or nearest male relative should there be no sons, inheriting the title in most cases, although in Scotland certain titles can be inherited by women.

Victoria Lambert, the Countess of Clancarty argued in the Telegraph (2012) of the inequity of the current system, which would see her husband's title inherited by a distant relation on the account of them not having any children. Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to raise a Bill in parliament to change the law from male to absolute primogeniture, allowing the eldest child, regardless of

sex, to inherit titles. In March 2019, though, the Hereditary Titles (Female Succession) bill passed its first stage in the House of Commons, but has yet to become law.

Primogeniture in relation to the inheritance of assets was legally abolished as a right in Scotland in 1964 (Thomson et al., 2016). All children in Scotland have automatic inheritance rights to moveable assets such as cash and shares, but the inheritance of immoveables, that is, land and buildings, can be specified by the landowner, whereas in England, the inheritors of both moveable and immoveable assets can be specified. As part of the land reform movement, there are moves to change the law on the inheritance of land and buildings in Scotland, ensuring that all children inherit an equal share, like the continental system. However, due to the adoption of protective legal structures, many estates will be able to circumnavigate these proposed laws (Thompson, 2014).

Whilst not a legal right, the practice of primogeniture in relation to the inheritance of the estate remains a customary practice amongst some estate owners, although there is evidence that this custom is changing. A report in *Country Life* magazine reported that almost 60% of major landowners were prepared to leave their estates to their daughters, with the reason cited as being that complex, diversified estates should be inherited and run by the “child who is best placed to do so, regardless of age or sex” (Hough, 2011). This provides some evidence that for estate owners, inheritance is now decided on reasons of merit, rather than birth order.

2.7 Entrepreneurial Motivations

As previously argued, estate owners are being advised by landowner groups and advisors (e.g. Rural Solutions, 2017; Scottish Land and Estates, 2017) to diversify and engage in entrepreneurial activities. The motivation ascribed by external organisations to engage in entrepreneurship is implicitly that of necessity, in which entrepreneurial action is required in order to improve estate finances, rather than an active desire by estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activity.

Entrepreneurial motivations are often characterised by dichotomous categories of pull vs push (Amit and Muller, 1995), or more recently, opportunity and necessity, entrepreneurship. The shift towards the latter (Giacomin et al., 2011) is primary attributable to their usage as analytic categories in the Global

Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), the “predominant global survey of the degree and nature of entrepreneurship” (Williams and Williams, 2011, p.3). The construct of push, or necessity, entrepreneurship is predicated on people being forced into entrepreneurship due to a lack of other employment opportunities.

In the UK, opportunity entrepreneurship appears to be more prevalent. In their report for the Department of Business Innovation & Skills, Stephan et al. (2015) report that - from a re-sample of 1,000 UK participants in the GEM surveys - 59% of business can be categorised as opportunity, 24% as necessity motivated, 12% with mixed motivations and 5% reporting other motivations.

Pull, or opportunity, entrepreneurship receives greater focus in the literature, arguably attributable to the greater economic contribution opportunity entrepreneurship makes (e.g. Levie and Autio (2013) on growth and growth intentions). Segal, Borgia and Schoenfeld (2005) argue that pull factors are more important factors as determinants of entrepreneurial behaviour. Similarly, Schjoedt and Shaver (2007) argue that pull factors in terms of increased life satisfaction are more important than push factors.

Reporting on GEM results, McMullen, Bagby and Palich (2008) argue that opportunity entrepreneurship is more prevalent in developed countries, whereas necessity entrepreneurship is “most prevalent in developing countries such as Thailand, India, Korea, Brazil, China and Mexico” (p.876) in which unemployment levels are high and state support for unemployment lacking or absent. Examples of studies of necessity entrepreneurship include Brünjes and Diez (2013) on entrepreneurship in Vietnam, who find that the underlying requirement to engage in entrepreneurship is that of survival. To fail to maintain oneself (and one’s family) through entrepreneurship can lead to failure, “which could mean starvation” (Carsrud and Brännback, 2011, p.14).

Necessity entrepreneurship can also arise from dissatisfaction with an individual’s current job (Schjoedt and Shaver, 2007), which broadens its scope to include studies of developed economies. The focus on opportunity entrepreneurship and the pull factors of motivation has been argued to denigrate necessity entrepreneurs (Williams and Williams, 2011). Certainly, the findings of studies within developed economies tend to attribute negative characteristics to necessity entrepreneurs.

Deli (2011), whose data is culled from the American Panel Study of Income Dynamics, claims that necessity entrepreneurs are those who have no other employment opportunities and are “not generally creative and are often low-ability employees” (p.39). Block and Wagner (2010) argue that, in a German context, necessity entrepreneurs earn less, in general than opportunity entrepreneurs. Further research into the same German context finds that necessity entrepreneurs - lacking in human capital - are “unlikely to have the special knowledge, education, or skills needed to design and produce differentiated offerings” (Block et al., 2015, p.5). In the context of deprived urban neighbourhoods in the UK, Williams and Williams’ (2011) findings are more nuanced. Despite the lack of employment opportunities for their sample, they still find entrepreneurs to be motivated by a mixture of necessity and opportunity and whose income levels vary widely.

Necessity entrepreneurs who are pushed into it through unemployment or lack of better work alternatives have been argued by Block and Koellinger (2008) as being less satisfied with their business than opportunity entrepreneurs. They argue that this can be ascribed to either a lack of procedural utility gained by these entrepreneurs, i.e. that they do not gain satisfaction beyond the purely financial, or that the necessity of entering entrepreneurship is through lack of control and free will.

2.7.1 Models of Motivation

The categorisation of opportunity and necessity motivations is increasingly viewed as a false dichotomy. Dawson and Henley (2012) propose that there is ambiguity at the overlap between internal and external push and pull factors, shown in Figure 2.2. They argue for example that financial motives could indicate push factors, such as “current financial distress” (p.714) or pull, such as “the perception of a lucrative market opportunity” (p.714). Therefore, they argue that there is considerable blurring of the boundaries between push and pull, or necessity and opportunity motivations, and that the two are not binary opposites.

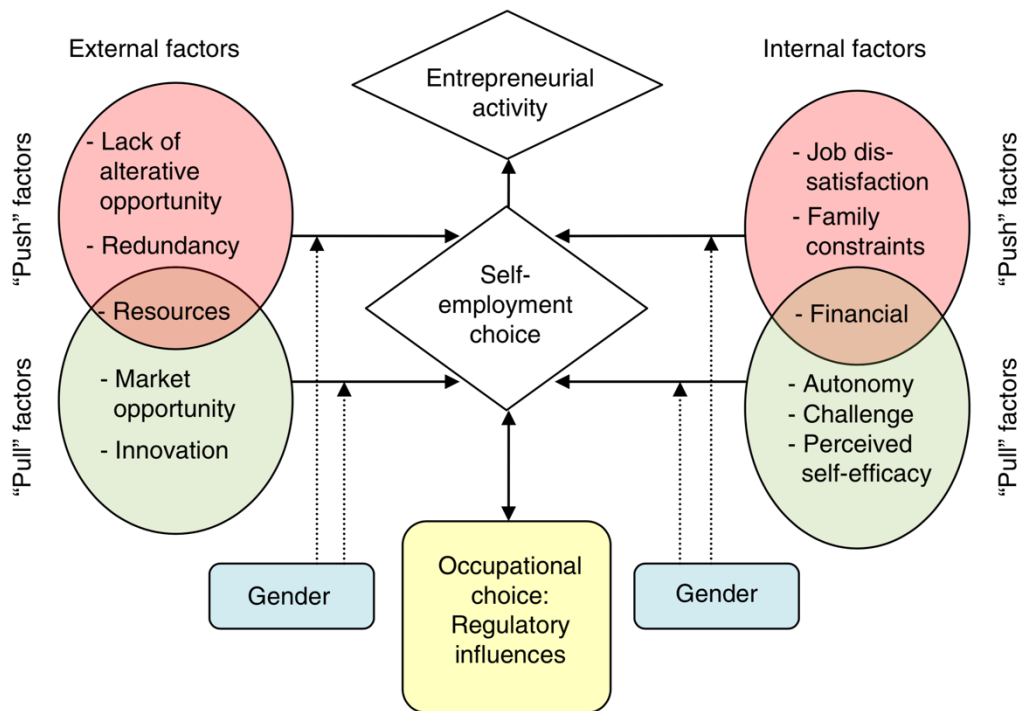


Figure 2.2: “Pull” and “Push” factors into entrepreneurship, from Dawson and Henley (2012)

The 2016 GEM UK report (Hart, Bonnar and Levie, 2016) acknowledges the overly simplistic nature of the opportunity-necessity dichotomy, and in future seeks to “move away” (p.19) from this classification. In their literature review of empirical evidence on entrepreneurial motivation, Stephan, Hart and Drews (2015) note a paucity of investigations into overlapping necessity-opportunity based motives which are “rarely included in analyses” (p.11), although the potentiality of belonging to both categories has been acknowledged (e.g. Hart, Bonnar and Levie, 2016; Giacomini et al., 2011; Block and Sander, 2009; Bhola et al., 2006). Williams and Williams (2011), whilst welcoming of studies that move beyond dualistic accounts, acknowledge that much of this research is based in the margins, rather than in the mainstream of entrepreneurial research. Their own empirical research into a deprived area of the UK confirms multiple motivations, and shifting motivations over time, amongst those who started their own business. Similarly, Mahto and McDowell (2018) argue that reassessment of self-identity can enhance people’s openness to the influence of entrepreneurship.

Some literature on entrepreneurial motivation engages with issues of rurality and highlights multiple motivations for engaging in entrepreneurial activity. Rosa, Kodithuwakku and Balunywa (2006) in studying entrepreneurship in poor rural areas of Uganda and Sri Lanka, find sophisticated motives and complex

economic lives amongst their case studies. In particular, they find those who have set up urban businesses to support their rural farm, where their family live. Brünjes and Diez (2013) similarly state that necessity entrepreneurship in rural areas of developing countries is a response to “shocks, risks and seasonality related to agricultural production” (p.252). Whilst these are settings far removed from that of estates, these findings point to a common condition, in which farming cannot be relied upon as a steady source of income to maintain one’s family. In the context of farming in Sweden, Hanssen et al. (2013) also report mixed, family influenced, pull and push motivations amongst farmers for engaging in entrepreneurial activity.

Multi-dimensional approaches to entrepreneurial motivations move beyond the categories of necessity and opportunity, whether overlapping or not. Jayawarna, Rouse and Kitching (2013) arguing that “it is simplistic to conceptualise motivations as singular or discrete” (p.36). Stephan, Hart and Drews (2015) argue that there is broad consensus on the main, plural, dimensions of motivation, being: achievement, challenge and learning; independence and autonomy; income security and financial success; recognition and status. A further three dimensions are “rarely included” (p.15) in research: family and roles; dissatisfaction; community and social motivations.

Also presenting multiple motivations of entrepreneurship, and building on the nine categories of motivation highlighted in the literature review of Stephan, Hart and Drews (2015), Stephan et al. (2015) propose a four-fold taxonomy of entrepreneurial motivation, being: Autonomy and Better Work; Challenge and Opportunity; Financial Motives; Family and Legacy. Whilst the last - Family and Legacy - is the smallest category, it resonates with the literature on estates, in particular those who responded that they engage in entrepreneurship to build a business that their children can inherit (18%) and / or to follow a family tradition (9%). This category is also reported as, alongside the autonomy group, having a higher chance of survival and longevity than the two other motivational categories.

Family influences entrepreneurial motivations in complex ways, as Jayawarna, Rouse and Kitching (2013) demonstrate: whilst Galloway and Mochrie (2006) report that inheritors of businesses are less likely to exhibit necessity entrepreneurship than start-up, Bhola et al. (2006) conceptualise a situation where individuals are “pushed into entrepreneurship taking over the family

business” (p.14), although they also acknowledge the family as a pull factor. Similarly, Giacomini et al. (2011) attribute family as being both necessity and opportunity motivational factors towards entrepreneurship.

As a whole, the entrepreneurial motivation literature has not fully captured the competing motivations and attitudes towards entrepreneurship demonstrated by estate owners. This can be attributed to both the paucity of knowledge on estates in the 21st century, and also to methodological shortcomings of the literature. As Stephan, Hart and Drews (2015) report, studies that are qualitative in nature and/or from an institutional perspective - that could provide the empirical nuance and contextualisation currently lacking in much motivational literature - are rare. Subsequent publications, though, have demonstrated an increased interest in these approaches: e.g. Boudreaux, Nikolev and Klein (2019), Amorós et al. (2017) and Angulo-Geurrero, Pérez-Moreno and Abad-Geurrero (2017). Institutional approaches tend to focus on economic and state level institutions, however: class and/or family institutional investigations of entrepreneurial motivations remain lacking.

2.7.2 Vocabularies of Motive

By regarding their estates “as more than simply a capital investment” (Scott, 1982, p.134), estate owners, such as those reported by Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016), employ a “vocabulary of motive” (Scott, 1982, p.3) to legitimize their activities. Motivations cited by estate owners in Scotland include stewardship, or responsibility to the land (McKee et al., 2013) and commitment to their local community if practicable (Wagstaff, 2013). There is historical precedence for the latter, in which paternalistic care was historically delivered by landowners to not only tenants, but also estate villages and the countryside itself (Pryor, 2010), with landowners having played a pivotal role in providing housing and employment for the estate community (McKee et al., 2013). How owners act on these motivations is argued to have changed, with a move away from paternalism, and towards increased community involvement, which is seen as an exciting new agenda (Woolvin, 2013). However, ties to the community are relative to the length of ownership of the estate, becoming stronger over time (Wagstaff, 2015). There are, therefore, differences in motivation dependant on practicability, and also length of ownership. Differences also exist between individual entrepreneurs, discussed in the following section.

2.8 Individual Differences

Cannadine claimed in 1990 that the landed classes shared the same cast of mind and unspoken assumptions, which marked their differentiation from other classes. There is therefore an inclination to consider all estate owners as a homogenous group with similar motivations and attitudes towards entrepreneurship.

However, there are historic and contemporary exemplars that demonstrate a willingness amongst the upper classes to engage in entrepreneurship.

Aberdeenshire born Alexander Forbes-Leith, (1847 –1925), a minor member of the gentry, made his fortune as a steel magnate in Illinois, before returning to Scotland to purchase Fyvie Castle in 1889 and was made 1st Baron Leith of Fyvie in 1905. 21st century exemplars also exist. In the twenty-first century, contemporary press articles have identified an emerging field of so-called ‘posh-preneurs’ (McCartney, 2010; Fellowes, 2008), that is city or estate-based members of the upper class willingly engaging in entrepreneurial activity. For example, Martha Lane Fox, founder of lastminute.com, is a member of the Lane Fox family, whose family seat is Bramham Park in West Yorkshire.

Why some members of the upper classes are more willing to engage in entrepreneurship may be attributable to individual differences: a range of approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual are now discussed.

2.8.1 *The Entrepreneurial Personality*

The five-factor model of personality (Tupes and Christal, 1961) is the most widely accepted (McCrae and Costa, 2008) model of the structure of personality. It measures the five traits of: neuroticism (N) (also seen as emotional stability), extraversion (E), openness to experience (O), agreeableness (A) and conscientiousness (C). These “big five” traits have a biological basis and remain “relatively (but not perfectly) stable” (Obschonka and Stuetzer, 2017, p.205) throughout an individual’s lifetime.

Some have researched the link between these five factors and entrepreneurship to determine whether a certain personality profile demonstrates a positive association with entrepreneurship. Zhao, Seibert and Lumpkin’s (2010) meta-analysis investigates the five factors, together with the trait of risk taking, which they argue to be either a combination of all five factors or a separate trait. Their findings highlight conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to

experience as traits particularly associated with entrepreneurship. Researchers have also looked to additional, entrepreneurially specific traits such as self-efficacy, risk-taking, need for achievement and control, which are more adaptable over time than the big five factors (Obschonka and Stuetzer, 2017).

Results of the literature on personality traits though have “failed to yield consistency” (Bolton and Lane, 2011, p.222) in their attempts to identify an entrepreneurial personality type. Carsrud and Brännback (2011) argue that the study of personality alone cannot identify a unique entrepreneurial type.

2.8.2 Personal Motivations

Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) identify self-efficacy, risk-taking, need for achievement and control as personality traits. Similar concepts are also identified as motivations. Shane, Locke and Collins (2003) identify from a review of literature - and in particular McClelland's (1961) work - a number of specifically entrepreneurial motivations, notably: need for achievement (nAch), risk taking propensity, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, self-efficacy, goal setting, independence, drive and egoistic passion.

2.8.3 Confidence

Confidence is reported as a characteristic in the historic upper classes (Lacey, 1983) and the elite class in the 21st century (Friedman and Laurison, 2019) that differentiates them from other classes. Friedman and Laurison (2019) attribute it not to a single trait, but a suite of activities and behaviours that the elite class engage to “fit in” with their peers within certain industries.

Whether confidence is a trait or an ability is unclear: Burns, Burns and Ward (2016), testing for it using the five-factor personality model, self-efficacy, self-reporting on confidence and “online” measures which are post-task questions as to whether participants were confident that their answers to questions were correct or not. They found that depending on the way in which it is measured it can be considered either a trait or ability. However it is defined, confidence can influence the entrepreneurial process both positively and negatively. More common in older adults in general (Burns, Burns and Ward, 2016), over-confidence has been reported as one explanation for both the over-supply of entrepreneurial activity and relatively high rates of entrepreneurial failure (Koellinger, Minniti and Schade, 2007).

2.8.4 Cognition

Shane, Locke and Collins (2003) argue that not only motivational, but also cognitive, factors influence the entrepreneurial process of opportunity identification and exploitation, whilst Baum and Locke (2004) argue for the requirement of approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual to incorporate motivational, behavioural and also cognitive approaches.

Both identifying opportunities and generating ideas are cognitive processes that are crucial elements of the entrepreneurial process. Shane (2012) clarifies the distinction between the two: “entrepreneurial opportunities are situations in which it is possible to recombine resources in a way that generates a profit. Business ideas are entrepreneurs’ interpretation of how to recombine resources in a way that allows pursuit of that opportunity” (p.15).

What was a “burgeoning stream” (Corbett, 2005, p.275) of literature on cognition, creativity and opportunities has continued. Some of this literature has drawn explicitly on the literature of creative cognition. Creativity, since Stein (1953), has been defined as the generation of “new and useful” ideas (Runco and Jaeger, 2012).

Ward (2004) draws on creativity literature to identify different cognitive processes entrepreneurs use to generate new business ideas, such as cognitive combination, analogical reasoning, abstraction, and problem formulation. Baron and Ensley (2006) investigate the mental frameworks such as prototypes, schemas, tacit and procedural knowledge that allow for entrepreneurs to identify patterns in events and trends to identify opportunities. Grégoire, Barr and Shepherd (2010) point to the cognitive process of structural alignment in which individuals compare new knowledge to their existing knowledge to assess it, and Grégoire and Shepherd (2012) explore the cognitive effort required when assessing the superficial or structural similarity of new knowledge, with the latter requiring greater cognitive resource. Gielnik et al. (2012) look at the cognitive process and role of diversity of knowledge in divergent and convergent thinking, arguing that divergent thinking - the creative of multiple, varied, business ideas has an indirect, but positive effect on venture growth. Shepherd and Patzelt (2018) identify a positive relationship between education level, life experience and prior knowledge and opportunity recognition ability.

2.8.5 Family Attitudes

The literature of Entrepreneurial Orientation (EO) identifies that individuals' attitudes towards entrepreneurship can influence the propensity to engage in entrepreneurial activity, both on the individual and organizational level (Gloss, Pollack and Ward, 2017). Bolton and Lane (2011) measure the three EO scales of risk, innovation and proactiveness to identify an individual's entrepreneurial orientation. The antecedents of these attitudes is less well articulated in the literature: e.g. Anderson et al. (2015) identify risk-taking as attitudinal, but beyond arguing that it is a stable characteristic do not explore how it is developed in individuals.

The family system - their norms, attitudes and values - has been argued to have effect on individuals' attitudes towards entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). Nordqvist and Melin (2010) argue that family is the "strongest social institution when it comes to instigating and passing on values, norms and attitudes to its members" (p.222). The empirical findings of Zampetakis et al. (2009) demonstrate that prior experience of being part of a family that has run a business can give access to the resources and awareness of potential stressors involved in engaging in entrepreneurial activity.

2.8.6 Cultural Values

Fayolle, Liñán and Moriano (2014) argue that personal and cultural values, as broad guiding principles for individuals, impact on the formation of salient beliefs, that is motivations to engage in entrepreneurship. Liñán, Moriano and Jaén (2016) argue that those cultures which are more individualist in their values, and also those that are more individualist within that culture will exhibit a higher entrepreneurial intention.

Savage et al. (2015b) discuss an "aristocratic culture" (p.304), albeit in decline by the 1980s. Certainly, distinct cultural values of conformity have been identified in the historic upper classes (Cannadine, 1990) with Allen (2008) highlighting the requirement of new entrants to adopt the existing attitudes and activities of the upper classes. Arguably, despite potential variations in individual personality, the homogenous values of estate owners may influence their entrepreneurial intention.

2.8.7 Multiple Approaches

As the discussion above demonstrates, there are multiple approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual encompassing personality, motivations, confidence, cognition, family attitudes and values. Each provides insights into certain factors relating to entrepreneurial propensity, yet cannot in isolation provide comprehensive understanding of the entrepreneurial individual. The Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System provides an integrative framework to consider these individual approaches, together with broader contextual and cultural, factors and is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has considered a diverse range of literature, relevant to the entrepreneurial activities of estate owners in the North East of Scotland. It has introduced entrepreneurial opportunities as an orienting concept for the study of entrepreneurship. Through examination of developmental and constructionist approaches, opportunities have been argued as developing over time, and influenced by context. Estate owners, and estates, have been identified as unusual, and under-researched contexts of entrepreneurship.

The institution of the family has been examined as one context, in which estate owners exert considerable influence over the business of the estate, which exists as both the site of private and commercial life. The overriding preoccupation of both the family and the family business is to ensure perpetuation of the family name and family ownership of the estate. The non-economic rationale of perpetuation, however, can require the business of the estate to be economically maintained through various core and diversified activities which are themselves guided by a spectrum of economic and non-economic rationales.

The estate owners whom this research investigates are the descendants of the traditional upper classes, whose dominant position on Weberian, hierarchical and triadic class schemas has been considered. Modern class theorists have argued that their primacy has been supplanted by a new business (Scott, 1982) or, drawing on Bourdieu, elite (Savage et al., 2013) class, who nonetheless have adopted many of the behaviours and values of the traditional upper classes.

Despite their reduced position in class schemas, estate owners have been demonstrated to have retained some markers of class through their ownership of

land and inheritance of titles. In the absence of alternative terminology, they have been argued to be still referred to as the upper classes.

Having considered the contexts in which they engage in entrepreneurial activities, the commercial activities of estates have been documented. Estates in Scotland have been shown to routinely engage in a variety of diversified activities, from the traditional, and often unprofitable activities of farming, forestry and sport to more entrepreneurial diversifications, such as tourism, retail, hospitality, and food and drink.

The motivations to engage in these diversified entrepreneurial activities have been considered. A historically anti-enterprise sentiment has been identified amongst the upper classes, whose sense of *noblesse oblige* was believed to be incompatible with commercial activities. However, it has been argued that the gentlemanly code (Scott, 1982) was more accommodating of an entrepreneurial ideology in the 19th and 20th centuries than popularly believed. In the 21st century, however, there is limited evidence as to the attitudes of the estate owning upper classes towards entrepreneurship. Notwithstanding, estate owners are encouraged to engage in entrepreneurial action, against an uncertain political background.

Entrepreneurial approaches to motivation have highlighted a lack of clarity in understanding why estate owners are motivated to engage in entrepreneurial activities, and whether individual differences between estate owners affect their entrepreneurial personality.

Having identified literature relevant to the study of estate owners in the 21st century, the following chapter draws on, and integrates within an institutional perspective, a number of entrepreneurial theories of motivation, personality and process to present a multiple perspective approach suitable for understanding the types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

3: Explanatory Theories

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify theories that could help explain the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners in the North East of Scotland.

Sarason, Dean and Dillard (2010) argue for a multi-perspective approach to entrepreneurial research: “We hold that greater insight is gained from considering numerous perspectives [...] especially in understanding complex social phenomena, such as entrepreneurial activity” (p.239). Arend (2014) similarly states “the field should try working harder on building theory from different assumptions and approaches” (p.9), arguing that entrepreneurship research should not only incorporate, but also be defined by, multiple approaches. These should include single level approaches as well as multilevel ones, and those that rely on a single theoretical proposition as well as those that incorporate multiple theoretical viewpoints.

In 2007, Neergaard and Ulhøi argued that entrepreneurship was a pre-paradigmatic field. Subsequently, paradigms have emerged. Audretsch, Kuratko and Link (2015) argue that multiple level and/or multiple perspective approaches are an “emerging” (p.703) feature of the literature that draw on three streams of prior research that has focused on organisational status, behaviour, and performance, in what they term an “eclectic paradigm” of entrepreneurship. They argue that research that combines these approaches is “far more effective for researching the issues that arise under the taxonomy of entrepreneurial activity” (p.707) than singular ones.

In this exploratory research, individual perspectives alone cannot provide answers to the research questions of what, how, and why, presented in the introductory chapter. Therefore, this chapter presents multiple theoretical perspectives which draw on institutional and entrepreneurial theory, which together have the potential explanatory power to provide answers to the questions of what types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.1 discusses institutional perspectives, specifically the institutional logics approach of Thornton, Ocasio

and Lounsbury (2012). Institutional perspectives are argued as providing understanding of how estate owners are embedded in multiple institutions, particularly family and social class, which condition their engagement in entrepreneurial activities.

Section 3.2 considers multiple approaches to entrepreneurial motivation, and proposes a pluralistic model of motivation.

Section 3.3 integrates the multiple approaches to the entrepreneurial individual discussed in the previous chapter within the framework of the Entrepreneurial Personality System Model (Obschonka and Stuetzer, 2017). This model incorporates the “gravity effect” of culture within the development of an entrepreneurial personality. It is argued that the institutions and culture of social class and family may have a particular effect on the development of an entrepreneurial personality amongst estate owners.

Integrating Wood and McKinley’s (2010) socially constructed model of opportunity development and Davidsson’s (2015) reconceptualization of entrepreneurial opportunities within an institutional perspective, section 3.4 proposes entrepreneurial process as being a developmental and institutionally embedded process of opportunity identification, development, and subsequent abandonment or enactment through entrepreneurial action and outcomes. Drawing on McMullen and Dimov (2013), it presents a conceptualization of entrepreneurial process as a journey. It argues that estate owners may experience multiple, overlapping entrepreneurial journeys.

Section 3.5 concludes the chapter, arguing that the institutionally informed, multiple perspective approach to entrepreneurship outlined within this chapter is suitable to aid understanding of the activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland may engage in, and how and why they may identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

3.2 Institutional Perspectives

The unique culture of the upper classes, the replication of attitudes through family, and the non-economic rationale of the desire to perpetuate family ownership of estates have been argued in chapter 2 as being particularly influential in historically affecting the entrepreneurial attitudes of estate owners. These insights have been drawn from disparate bodies of literature, including

social class, history, and family business. This section outlines an institutional perspective that draws together these bodies of work by identifying family and class as institutions which can both guide, and restrict, the entrepreneurial attitudes and behaviours of estate owners in the North East of Scotland. It provides explanation of the multiple institutions in which estate owners are embedded and their influence on entrepreneurial activities. Through the institutional logics approach of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012), it also presents a theory of how estate owners can employ these multiple institutions to entrepreneurial effect through the blending and segregation of institutional categories.

3.2.1 Institutions

Institutions are “patterns of and for particular types of social practice” (Lok and DeRond, 2013, p.186). These patterns take the form of ‘scripts’, that is the “taken-for-granted, culturally embedded understandings” (Sewell, 1992, p.19) and “rules, norms, and beliefs that describe reality” (Hoffman, 1999, p.360) which specify “behaviors, both formal and informal” (Garud, Hardy and Maguire, 2007, p.958). They are enduring and replicated over time, and thus are argued to shape - and be shaped by - the day to day actions of individual agents. They exert influence over the degree and type of agency individuals can exert.

Institutional approaches have been promoted by Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li (2010) as having the potential to provide “great insights for entrepreneurship and the broader management discipline” (p.435), especially those that “examine the macro-micro (institutional-individual mindset) link” (p.434). Despite this, David, Sine and Serra (2017) argue that institutional factors have been “neglected” (p.671) in entrepreneurial research in favour of approaches drawing on psychology or economics. By integrating an institutional perspective, this research addresses this neglect. It provides the potential to provide understanding of how, for estate owners, entrepreneurial opportunities are shaped by institutional factors such as family and class. It also has the power to explain how estate owners, as the primary actors in the entrepreneurial process “leverage and build institutions to create new organizations” (David, Sine and Serra, 2017, p.671) and how they legitimise them (Greenwood et al., 2017).

3.2.2 Institutional Logics and the Interinstitutional System of Ideal Types

Much indebted to Friedland and Alford’s (1991) plea for institutional theory to engage with sociological theory, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012)

institutional logics approach argues that society is constituted by “multiple institutional orders” (p.3). They propose a metatheoretical framework, shown in Table 3.1, of an interinstitutional system which presents multiple institutions as consisting of individual categorical elements.

Institutional effects are identifiable in the framework at multiple levels of analysis (individual (micro), organizational (meso), institutional field (macro) and societal (macro)) both within and also across institutional orders. The system identifies, on its X axis, what Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) term the institutional orders. Each of these is a “domain of institutions” (p.54) which exist within a “cornerstone” (p.55) institution. The Y axis is composed of “elemental categories” (p.55) which represent the cultural symbols and material practices specific to each institutional order.

Table 3.1: Interinstitutional System Ideal Types (from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012)

Y-Axis:	X-Axis: Institutional Orders						
Categories	Family 1	Community 2	Religion 3	State 4	Market 5	Profession 6	Corporation 7
Root Metaphor 1	Family as firm	Common boundary	Temple as bank	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as relational network	Corporation as hierarchy
Sources of Legitimacy 2	Unconditional loyalty	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Importance of faith & sacredness in economy & society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of firm
Sources of Authority 3	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values & ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors Top management
Sources of Identity 4	Family reputation	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with deities	Social & economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms 5	Membership in household	Group membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild & association	Employment in firm
Basis of Attention 6	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of Strategy 7	Increase family honor	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size & diversification of firm
Informal Control Mechanisms 8	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organization culture
Economic System 9	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

The framework is populated with Weberian ideal types. These are not empirical examples, but rather an “analytical exaggeration” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.53) of certain aspects. These are “intended to provide an abstract model that represents a combination of those attributes believed to determine the dependent variables of interest” Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012, p.74).

They later clarify that the ideal types are “meant to be an example, and not the only possible model” (Ocasio, Thornton and Lounsbury, 2017, p. 511). For example, whilst they present family, community, religion, state, market,

profession and corporation as their cornerstone institutions, Mutch (2019) (who has undertaken research on the Scottish gentry in the 18th century, specifically the Gordon of Letterfourie family) offers an alternative set of institutional orders: religion, play, knowledge, military, politics, law, family, economy and medicine. He is clear to point out that these alternative orders remain “provisional and corrigible, subject to revision through empirical application or conceptual debate” (p.211). With the framework providing the flexibility to contain different institutional orders, within this study the institutions of family, class, community, and commerce are argued of particular relevance for the study of estate owners.

The framework of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) is underpinned by four core concepts, which are detailed below. The following section then discusses how institutional approaches can provide insights into entrepreneurship and the applicability of the institutional logics approach to the study of estate owners.

Core Concept 1: The Duality of Agency and Structure

The fundamental concept underpinning the institutional logics approach is that of the duality of agency and structure. In their discussion of institutional logics, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) draw on various “orienting strategies” (p.7), notably DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) theory of structural isomorphism, Giddens (1984) theory of structuration, the institutional entrepreneur (DiMaggio, 1998) and Swidler’s (1986) cultural “toolkit”.

Isomorphic accounts provide insights into the increasing similarity of organisations over time. Despite the insights they provide, they are criticised by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) for their focus on structural issues only, and lack of cognisance of agency. Accordingly, they draw on the practice-based approach of Giddens and its recursive system of structure and agency.

Institutional theory has seen an increasing focus on “processes and practices, through which institutions are created, enacted, or altered” (Greenwood et al., 2017, p.1). Much of the so-called “new”, sociologically informed institutional theory (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991) is informed by the understanding that structure and agency are mutually constitutive (Garud, Hardy and Maguire, 2007). Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca (2009) commend the explanatory power of so-called practice theories, such as those of Giddens and Bourdieu, in articulating

the “interrelationships between individuals and their institutional environments” (p.43) through the specific processes that mediate between the individual and society (Alvesson And Sköldberg, 2018): insights which are lacking in the “old” institutional theory of Philip Selznick (Mutch, 2019).

Research in the social sciences tends to be broadly structural or agential in nature (Heugens and Lander, 2009). Structural accounts render “agency by individual actors impossible” (Garud, Hardy and Maguire, 2007, p.961) and are criticised for their absence of individual agency or free will (Le Boutillier, 2008). Conversely, agential accounts face criticism for not acknowledging the power of institutions to “influence and /or constrain individuals’ actions, wants, and purposes” (Le Boutillier, 2008).

The tension between these two approaches is addressed in both Giddens’ structuration theory and Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Giddens, extending the concepts of structure and agency first discussed in his *New Rules of Sociological Method* (1993; 1977) introduced his theory of structuration more fully in *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (1986; 1984). Bourdieu’s (1977; 1972) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* introduced many of the concepts (e.g. habitus, field, and symbolic capital) which he continued to refine for over three decades (Maggio, 2017). These types of general (Chiasson and Saunders, 2005) or meta-level (Mole and Mole, 2010) theories provide “sensitizing concepts” (Schwandt, 1998, p.222) that orient the researcher “to particular categories and views of human action and social structure” (Chiasson and Saunders, 2005, p.750).

Structuration (Giddens, 1986; 1984) identifies a dichotomy between objectivism, with its focus on the structure of social institutions, and subjectivism, in which the human agent is treated as the unit of analysis (Giddens, 1986). He considers objectivism and subjectivism not as a dualism, but as a duality of structure. He argues that a recursive social system exists, in which the acts of individuals rely on an awareness of structures, and in which structures are reinforced by individual actions: this process of structuration occurs in and through social institutions (Elliot and Lemerrt, 2014).

Structures are argued as being ‘causally efficacious’ (Benton and Craib, 2001) in that they both enable and constrain activities. Individuals are “knowledgeable agents [who] know a great deal about the conditions and consequences of what

they do in their day-to-day lives” (Giddens, 1984, p.161). They are active in constructing their own lives, but not always under conditions they choose (Cheal, 2005) due to institutional pressures brought to bear on them. Habitual practices – the activities of everyday life – are therefore “simultaneously the force of systemic structures and the individual accomplishments of agents” (Elliot and Lemert, 2014, p.375).

It is Giddens who Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) most closely align themselves with. They applaud Giddens for his concept of a recursive system of structure and agency, but argue it remains incomplete without a more fully considered notion of how agency is enacted. To compensate for this, they draw on the agential figure of the institutional entrepreneur (DiMaggio, 1998). They note that there has been considerable critique of this concept (e.g. Hardy and Maguire, 2008) in which the institutional entrepreneur exhibits unfettered agency, free from structural constraints. They argue that the interinstitutional system provides a framework through which to theorise a different type of entrepreneur: one they term the cultural entrepreneur who identifies new entrepreneurial opportunities through the cognitive combination of different institutional categories.

This ability to demonstrate agency by combining categorical elements from within and across institutional categories is argued by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) to have been inspired by the cultural toolkit concept of Swidler (1986). This provides the understanding that culture is not monolithic, but rather contains fragments that can be appropriated and recombined. Thus, they argue that that interinstitutional system provides a “nearly decomposable model of culture in which fragments or categorical elements are available and differentially accessible to individuals and organisations to apply in novel social situations in order to fit practical needs in specific local settings” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.9). A limitation they note of the toolkit concept is that it is without a “clear mechanism for motivation” (p.9), but offer a solution through how Swidler (1997) linked “the toolkit concept to cognitive and social psychology” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.10).

Core Concept 2: Institutions as Material and Symbolic

The logics approach argues that institutions consist of material and symbolic elements. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012) rather dense conceptualisation argues that the former refers to “structures and practices”

(p.10) and the latter, to “ideation and meaning” (p.10), with the two intertwined and “constitutive of one another” (p.10).

Sewell (2005), Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017) and Mutch (2019) provide clearer arguments as to the distinction and relationship between the material and symbolic. The two, argues Sewell, should be viewed not in opposition, but rather as a complementarity or reciprocal “constitution of semiotic form [i.e. language] and material embodiment” (p.51). Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017) discuss the symbolic, material and also the relational. For them, the symbolic includes “signs, identities and language”; the material comprises “the physical elements of the institutional environment, such as objects or places”: and the relational is concerned with “building interactions”. Mutch (2019) argues that the symbolic aspects of institutions are particularly transmitted through language, whilst practices have a material substance to them.

Core Concept 3: Institutions as Historically Contingent

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) argue that the most dominant logics are those of the state, professions, corporation and the market, although the balance of power can alter through history. For them, current dominance does not equate to chronology: some institutions, e.g. family, community and the state are older than those of the market, profession and corporation.

Nor do dominant logics necessarily replace less prevalent logics. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) exemplify this by arguing that some private publishing firms still demonstrate an editorial logic, despite it being less dominant across the publishing industry in general. Dominant logics can also be superseded by the embracing of older logics: for example, the banking industry has been demonstrated by Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) to have embraced an older order, that of community which has reduced the primacy of the previously dominant market logic.

Core Concept 4: Institutions at Multiple Levels of Analysis

Individual actors are “nested in higher order levels - individual, organizational, field, and societal” and institutions “operate at multiple levels of analysis” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.13).

Whilst institutions (with echoes of Scott (1982) and ultimately Mills (1940)) provide individuals with “vocabularies of motives and with a sense of self”

(Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.251), individuals can also be “artful in the mobilisation of *different* institutional logics to serve their purpose” (p.254). The interinstitutional system is argued to allow for the analysis of how institutions exist at different scales in and across institution orders, but also how different institutional categories can be recombined in acts of cultural entrepreneurship.

3.2.3 An Institutional Approach to the Study of Entrepreneurship

David, Sine and Serra (2017), much like Gartner (1988), conceptualise entrepreneurship as being concerned with the creation of new organisations and thus in an institutional context being “fundamentally about change” (p.682). However, institutional theory, drawing either explicitly or implicitly on the recursive system of structuration has identified enacting change within an institutional context as representing a paradox.

The paradox of embedded agency (Seo and Creed, 2002) is defined by Battilana and D’Aunno (2009) as the “contradiction between actors’ agency and institutional determinism” (p.32). It poses questions such as that asked by Suddaby, Viale and Gendron (2016) “if institutional norms and pressures are so cognitively overwhelming and totalizing, where do new ideas or conceptions of change come from?” (p.226).

Various approaches as to how individuals overcome this paradox have been presented. Battilana and D’Aunno (2009) propose iterative, practical-evaluative and projective forms of agency to understand how individuals can both “reproduce and challenge institutions” (p.51). Some look to individual differences, such as social skill and social position. Socially skilled individuals have a “highly developed cognitive capacity for reading people and environments, framing lines of action, and mobilizing people” (Fligstein, 2013, p.43). They also “hold world-views or cultural frames that give them a larger conception of their institutional environment” according to Suddaby, Viale and Gendron (2016, p.228), who also investigate reflexivity and embedded social position. Hardy and Maguire (2017) question the entire premise, arguing that even “central actors” (p.264) are not as embedded in a single field as previously assumed. Their position in multiple fields gives them access to “alternative practices” (p.264) through which to enact change.

The interinstitutional system provides a different approach to how individuals can enact change through entrepreneurial action. Unlike some approaches outlined above, it is less reliant on agency and/or levels of structural embeddedness, and is more concerned with cognitive ability. Cognitive approaches have been discussed in relation to the development of an entrepreneurial personality: Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) argue that cognition also effects entrepreneurial action, in other words, the process of entrepreneurship.

They argue that actors who have experience of multiple institutional settings are “less likely to take for granted the functioning of their current organization” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012, p.110). This concept draws on Baron and Ensley (2006) who argue that entrepreneurial opportunities are recognized when individuals connect the dots between seemingly unrelated events or trends and then detect patterns in these connections suggestive of new products or services in a process that integrates active or passive search, alertness, and prior knowledge.

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) define as “cultural entrepreneurs” those individuals with “vertical specialisation within and horizontal generalisation across institutional orders” (p.107), that is individuals who have experience of being embedded within multiple institutions, but also in-depth knowledge of one or more of them. Underpinning Swidler’s “toolkit” concept with concepts drawn from cognitive and social psychology, they argue that due to their knowledge of multiple institutions, and cognitive ability, certain individuals are able to blend and segregate elemental categories from across multiple institutions to identify entrepreneurial opportunities.

3.2.4 Limitations

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012) approach to institutional logics is focused on institutional change. However, institutions can also be maintained. Institutional work is defined as “the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, p.215). Greenwood et al. (2017) identify that the work of maintaining institutions, and the role of power in their perpetuation “may be one of the most important areas for further development” (p.12). For an institution to remain unchanged - that is, maintained, requires work: indeed as “much as it takes work to change” (Smets, Aristidou and Whittington, 2017,

p.371). The interinstitutional system provides a valuable framework to explain how estate owners may identify opportunities through the cognitive combining of institutional categories. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) focus on institutional change assumes that cultural entrepreneurs are purposively attempting to create institutional change. However, estate owners have been argued to intent on maintaining certain institutions, in particular the perpetuation of family ownership of estates. Perspectives on institutional maintenance provide additional insights into how estate owners can maintain institutions.

Maintenance work occurs across the symbolic and material dimensions of institutions, and particularly those associated with the upper classes and elites at large. Dacin, Munir and Tracey (2010) investigate the symbolic rituals associated with formal dining at Cambridge University. These rituals help maintain the institution of class, and of elite privilege, by endowing participants with knowledge of the types of social behaviour privileged above and beyond academic credentials within the business and social spheres of the elite class. Others have looked at the material aspects of maintenance: Columbero and Boxenbaum (2019) argue that the institution of architectural heritage is maintained through authentication work.

Not only are institutions actively maintained: potential disruptions to institutional arrangements can be repaired or stretched to restore institutional order. Micelotta and Washington (2013) argue that individuals faced by a "disruptive fracture in the institutional script" (p.1141) engage in institutional repair to reverse change, and maintain the institutional status quo. Lok and DeRond (2013), again in the elite setting of Cambridge, focus on how microprocesses are themselves maintained in the University Rowing Team. They argue that in order to repair potential breaches, institutions have a degree of plasticity: institutional scripts can be stretched to "temporarily fit" (p.205) practices at odds with the script, but in such a way that does not necessitate structural change.

This perspective on maintenance, largely lacking in the logics approach, provides additional insights into the evolution of the institutions which estate owners are embedded in. The evolution of the "gentlemanly code" to accommodate an entrepreneurial ideology demonstrated by Scott (1982) is arguably an act of institutional maintenance. This though, has been achieved through acts of

cultural entrepreneurship, in which scripts relating to the acceptability of engaging in entrepreneurship have been stretched, and categorical elements have been blended through estate owners' partial adoption of the logics of commerce. This, though, is not an act of purposive change, but is arguably a pragmatic attempt by estate owners to maintain the institution of class in the face of calls for land reform.

Attitudes towards inheritance amongst estate owners have also evolved, with some signs that primogeniture is no longer the automatic norm. Rather, estate owners have adopted a script of pragmatism, that is choosing the family member most suited to the task of maintaining the estate to again maintain the institution of class. This shift in logic from the automatic right of primogeniture to a pragmatic response can be seen, within the context of the interinstitutional framework, as an example of categorical blending. The categorical element of professional expertise is contained within the institutional order of the profession and is identified as a source of legitimacy. Therefore, the meritocratic argument of estate owners for letting the most able offspring inherit is arguably a legitimising logic of meritocracy, in which merit is analogous to professional expertise.

3.2.5 The Institution of Social Class

Estate owners are embedded within the institution of social class which has implications for subsequent entrepreneurial action. Class must therefore be considered, not as a categorical element with the institutional order of the state as Thornton, Lounsbury and Ocasio (2012) present in their framework, but as a key institutional order itself.

One considerable limitation of institutional approaches is their limited acknowledgement of social class as an institution. In the interinstitutional framework, class is not examined as a specific institution: rather it is a constitutive element of the institutional order of the state, but is not further examined. Mutch (2019), whilst finding much to praise, highlights Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) lack of focus on issues of class and historical context. Greenwood et al. (2017) acknowledge the British class system as a "complex, societal institution" (p.12). However, their comprehensive work contains only one reference to social class in its index. The lack of studies on social class within institutional literature is puzzling: attributable perhaps to the North American focus of much of its literature. However, in Britain class appears

to “manifest itself more visibly” (Dacin, Munir and Tracey, 2010, p.2010), yet this has not to date been fully represented in institutional literature.

Of the few organizational scholars who have engaged in class studies, Gray and Kish-Gephart (2013) draw together institutional theory and the sociology of class to theorise how class work perpetuates inequality through the examination of microlevel interactions which become institutionalised within organisations. As they argue “social class has received only scant consideration” (p.670) within organisational literature. They argue that class is one of a number of “societal-level institutions [which] arguably exert greater influence on social behavior compared to institutions at the meso- and micro- levels” (p.22). The social level, they note, has been little studied in an institutional work capacity, exceptions noted by them as being Hirsh and Bermiss (2009) on social rules in post-Communist transition in the Czech republic, Wijen and Ansari (2007) on the creation of the Kyoto protocol, and Dacin, Munir and Tracey’s (2010) (already discussed) study of the perpetuation of the “long-standing institution” (Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey, 2017, p.22) of class through analysis of formal dining rituals at Cambridge University.

To overcome this limited inclusion of social class within institutional theory, this research proposes an alternative set of institutional orders. As discussed, Ocasio, Thornton and Lounsbury, (2017) clarify that alternative institutional orders can be conceptualised within the interinstitutional framework. It is outwith the scope of this research to populate a framework with categorical elements of alternative institutional orders. However, to provide an institutional perspective suitable for the study of estate owners, the broad institutional orders of family, social class, community, and commerce (drawing on Thornton, Lounsbury and Ocasio’s (2012) orders of profession, market and corporation) are proposed as the key orders in which estate owners are embedded.

3.2.6 Applicability

Institutional perspectives inform this research in a number of ways. They highlight that entrepreneurship occurs within the structural context of multiple institutional settings, within which individuals cannot exert unfettered agency. Instead, their actions are restricted and guided by the institutions within which they are embedded. For estate owners, family and class are the two institutions in which they are particularly embedded, and which have historically exerted considerable influence on their engagement in entrepreneurship. The vocabulary

of motive they have employed to justify their continued ownership of their estates has suggested that they are also motivated by, and embedded within the institution of community. The partial adoption of an entrepreneurial ideology through the evolution of the gentlemanly code also suggests a partial embeddedness in the institution of commerce.

Mutch (2019) critiques institutional literature for its focus on institutional effects, which he argues is at the expense of the investigation of the projects and actions individuals engage in. It is the latter that this research engages in. Its aim is not to identify purposive acts of institutional change. Instead, it draws on institutional perspectives to inform understanding of how embeddedness in multiple institutions settings effect entrepreneurial motivations, personality and process, discussed in the following sections.

3.3 Entrepreneurial Motivations

Carsrud and Brännback (2011) argue that “entrepreneurial motivations are important explanatory mechanisms for a variety of entrepreneurial behaviors” (p.20). To understand why estate owners in the North East of Scotland identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities, therefore requires consideration of their various motivations, which are argued below as being pluralistic, institutionally embedded, and layered.

Stephan et al.’s (2015) motivational category of family and legacy, discussed in section 2.7.1 on models of motivation, is the least widespread within their taxonomy of motivation. It is though, the category with the greatest explanatory power to understand why estate owners are motivated to ensure perpetuation of their estates. The requirement for estate owners to ensure financial stability to perpetuate their estates has been previously been outlined. The desire to perpetuate family name and estate has been argued to be an example of a behavioural norm within the institution of the social class in which estate owners are embedded: therefore, family and legacy appear to be clear motivations for many estate owners to ensure financial stability of their estates.

Estate owners, however, also cite additional motivations, discussed in section 2.7.2 on vocabularies of motive, particularly their responsibility to the land and also their commitment to the local community. Therefore, when considering the motivations of estate owners to ensure financial stability of estates, extending

Stephan et al.'s (2015) category of family and legacy, a motivational category of family, land and community is proposed.

Whilst this motivational category appears to explain why estate owners are motivated to ensure financial stability of their estates, it does not adequately explain why estate owners are motivated to engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Other options are available to estate owners to ensure financial stability. Bence-Jones (1965) sets out a number of options for estates facing financial problems: "either find an income from elsewhere, or develop one's estate" (p. xv), or indeed they could "sell their land and enjoy great riches" (p.xviii). Arguably, estate owners' high endowments of social and cultural capital could facilitate employment within the establishment institutions of the city, e.g. in banking and finance or in traditionally "gentlemanly" occupations (e.g. the law, medicine, politics). Therefore, additional motivation factors that explain why estate owners engage in entrepreneurial activity require identification.

Wagstaff (2013) reports that estate owners who are resident on their estate, and actively involved in the operations of the estate, (in contrast to absentee landlords, who may or may not have alternative careers outwith the estate) have strong economic motivations, which are "often linked with increased entrepreneurship, diversified activities and more productive, high-value farming" (p.98).

Whether these resident estate owners remain on their estates through choice, and through recognition of the opportunities the estate brings, or through the lack of other options is unclear. Dawson and Henley's (2012) overlapping push and pull factors, presented in section 2.7.1 on overlapping motivations, presents differing perspectives on why estate owners may be motivated to engage in entrepreneurial activity and provides a mechanism to understand the specific motivations of individual estate owners.

Estates have been identified in chapter 2 as being unusual sites of research. They are geographically bounded, and unlike many other types of family business cannot be relocated. They can be rich in resources, such as land and buildings, but these are also restricted to the location of the estate. Therefore, it is conceivable that for some estate owners, as per the Dawson and Henley (2012)

model, identify opportunities through the exploitation of estate resources, which could be considered to be a pull, or opportunity, motivation. The limitations of them, however, could present as a push, or necessity, motivation. Similarly, for financial motivations, the requirement to improve finances could be considered a push, or necessity, motivation. Conversely, the opportunity to profit from the estate could be considered a pull, or opportunity, motivation. There is also the possibility of push and pull factors acting simultaneously across both financial and resource factors. At this stage, therefore, individual motivations can be neither considered as, nor attributable to, exclusively push or pull factors.

To aid empirical investigation of estate owners in the North East of Scotland, the Dawson and Henley (2012) model provides the flexibility to consider combinations of push and pull factors to help understand financial and resource motivations to engage in entrepreneurial activities. It will be considered as part of a pluralistic approach to motivation, in which institutionalised commitments to family, land and community may exist as underpinning motivations across estate owners as a whole to ensure financial stability. The overlapping push and pull factors of finances and resources may motivate the decisions to engage in the identification and exploitation of specific entrepreneurial opportunities by individual estate owners. Unlike the more universal underlying motivations of family, land and community, the balance of these motivations may be more specific, depending on the circumstances, and entrepreneurial personality, of the individual estate owner.

3.4 The Entrepreneurial Personality System

As Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) note, it is necessary to understand the individual as the key agent of the entrepreneurial process. Despite the presence of multiple approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual (a number of which are discussed in chapter 2) they claim there is a “surprisingly underdeveloped” (p.204) literature on the integrated entrepreneurial personality.

Their model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System, shown in Figure 3.1, integrates the approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual discussed in chapter 2.

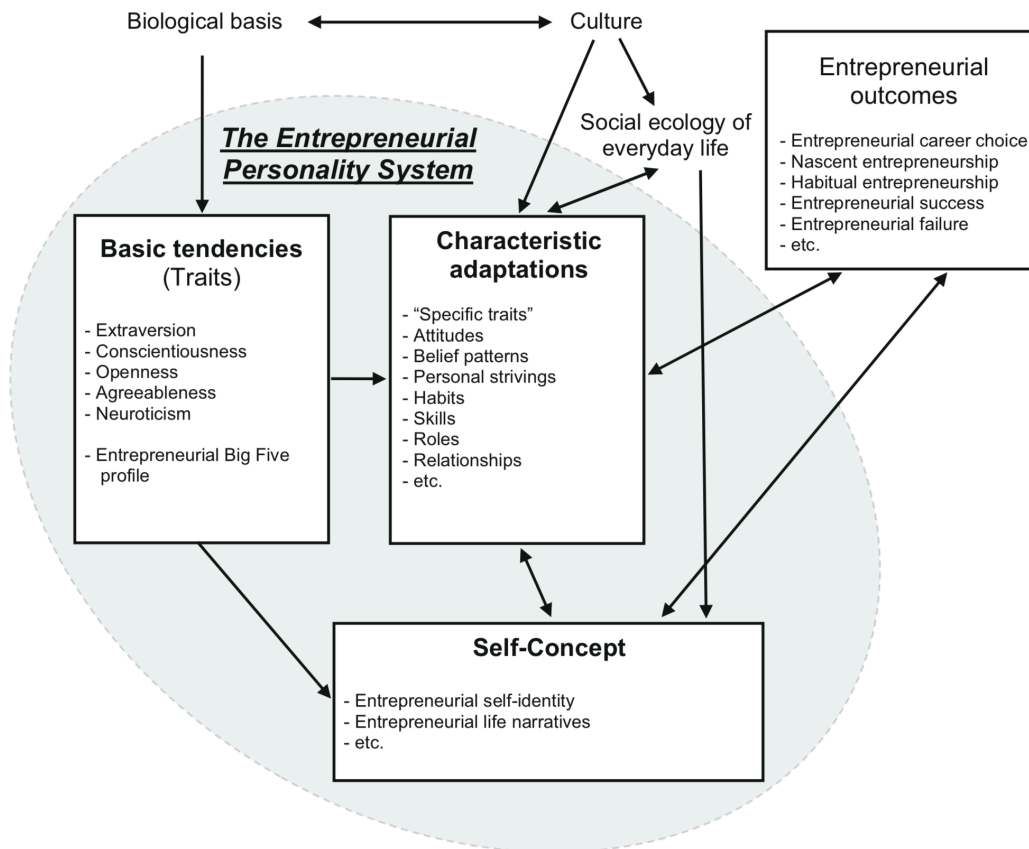


Figure 3.1: The Entrepreneurial Personality System (Obschonka and Stuetzer, 2017)

Drawing on Costa and McCrae (1992), the model distinguishes between the biological, and relatively stable big five traits, termed Basic Tendencies and what they term Characteristic Adaptations, that is those elements which are mutable through time and influence. These include entrepreneurially specific traits, “but also entrepreneurial attitudes, values, motives, cognitions, and affect” (p.208). Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) argue for the inclusion of a wide range of approaches within the category of Characteristic Adaptations on the cogent argument that these all develop from “continuous interaction with the social ecology of everyday life [...] and the wider cultural setting” (p.208).

Of the approaches to the entrepreneurial individual considered in chapter 2, the “Big 5” personality traits, are characterised as Basic Tendencies, and motivations, cognition, confidence and family attitudes discussed are considered to be Characteristic Adaptations. In the model, Biology and Culture inform Basic Tendencies and Characteristic Adaptations which in turn inform, and adaptations are informed by, Self-Concept, which contains entrepreneurial self-identity and life narratives. These combine to inform and be informed by, entrepreneurial outcomes, such as entrepreneurial habits, success and failure.

The Entrepreneurial Personality System model demonstrates that individual differences cannot be studied in isolation: it is their unique combination as both stable Basic Tendencies and also adaptable Characteristic Adaptations which ultimately influence entrepreneurial outcomes. It also demonstrates that culture, and the social ecology of everyday life, have a “gravity effect”, which filters down to ultimately influence entrepreneurial action. The salient aspect of culture is that of upper class values. It provides benefit for the empirical examination of estate owners in the North East of Scotland by demonstrating that personality is influenced by both biology and social institutions, particularly family and class.

Whilst all constituent elements cannot be examined within this research, a number of relevant elements have been identified which provide understanding of how estate owners both develop entrepreneurial personalities, and also engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. These specific elements are discussed in turn below.

3.4.1 Personality & Personal Motivations

The model allows for individual characteristics to be noted during data analysis as potential contributing factors towards the development of estate owners’ entrepreneurial personality. Awareness of personal motivations adds a further layer to the model of motivation outlined above.

3.4.2 Confidence

The characteristic of confidence has been discussed in the previous chapter to be a differentiating factor for the upper and elite classes. Therefore, confidence is considered herein as a Characteristic Adaptation. Analysis will attempt to identify specific examples of confidence in estate owners, and whether it can be identified as an explanatory factor for either the over-supply or failure of estate diversifications within the framework of the Entrepreneurial Personality System model.

3.4.3 Cognition

Estate owners and elites in general are closely associated with attendance at fee-paying schools and ancient universities (Friedman and Laurison, 2019; Thompson, 2001; Devine, 1997; Rubinstein, 1993; Scott, 1982), and therefore have the potential to have high endowments of knowledge, or to borrow from Bourdieu and class theory, cultural capital. Following Shepherd and Patzelt’s

(2018) argument, through their education level, estate owners are argued to possess the requisite cognitive skills to identify entrepreneurial opportunities.

Cognitive approaches therefore provide a link between personality and process. Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) argue that cognition exists as a Characteristic Adaptation, aiding the development of an entrepreneurial personality. Theories of cognition are also a crucial element in Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) theory of the cultural entrepreneur.

To understand how estate owners identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities, cognitive approaches to the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities therefore provide insights into the ways in which opportunities are identified, suggesting certain patterns of identification which empirical evidence may confirm or refute. Cognitive theories also provide insights into how certain estate owners may be able to engage in acts of cultural entrepreneurship through the blending and segregation of categorical elements.

3.4.4 Family Attitudes

The institution of family has been argued throughout as exerting considerable influence on the behaviours and attitudes of estate owners as a whole, specifically their attitudes towards entrepreneurship, and the non-economic rationale for the perpetuation of family ownership of estates.

Examples have also been provided in the previous chapter of members of the upper classes who, against the broad institutional pressures of class and family, have engaged in entrepreneurial activities. It is, though, unclear whether their legacy has influenced subsequent generations. Given the potential influence of family attitudes on the development of an entrepreneurial personality, and the effect on subsequent entrepreneurial action, it is necessary to incorporate family attitudes towards entrepreneurship within the examination of individual estate owners' entrepreneurial personality.

3.4.5 Cultural Values

Obschonka and Stuetzer's (2017) model demonstrates the "gravity effect" of culture. For estate owners, the institution of the upper class in which they are embedded maintains a specific culture, which appears to incorporate a continued ambivalence towards entrepreneurship.

Whilst estate owners engage in entrepreneurial action, they have not been identified in the literature as entrepreneurs: rather, their actions have been justified through vocabularies of motive. It is therefore necessary to acknowledge the potential influence of class on the development of entrepreneurial personalities in individual case study estate owners.

The incorporation of family attitudes and class culture within the Entrepreneurial Personality System Model (Obschonka and Stuetzer, 2017) adds an institutional perspective lacking in the original model, and provides awareness of the “gravity effect” of class and family in the development of an entrepreneurial identity, and the subsequent engagement in the entrepreneurial process.

3.4.6 Entrepreneurial Identity and Life Narratives

The elements discussed above are argued by Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) to influence entrepreneurial self-concept. Self-concept is developed and reinforced through self-identity and life narratives. Self-concept is not a fixed construct: it can evolve during one’s life course. Indeed, Warren (2004) argues that the development of an entrepreneurial identity is a transitioning period as part of the process of developing a professional identity.

Narratives have been argued as being one of the primary mechanisms for developing an entrepreneurial identity. Foss (2004) identifies the use of life stories as part of the formation of an entrepreneurial identity, whilst Jones, Latham and Betta (2008) demonstrate the use of narratives in general in constructing entrepreneurial identity. Down and Warren (2008) argue that narratives used to create and maintain entrepreneurial identity often rely on the use of entrepreneurial clichés. Other mechanisms for articulating entrepreneurial identity have been argued. Down and Reveley (2004) identify the use of oppositional strategies, in which younger individuals within an organisational setting define themselves as entrepreneurs in opposition to older, more managerial generations.

In addition to narratives and oppositional strategies, identity can be influenced by role importance and social commitments. Hoang and Gimeno (2010) argue that identification with an entrepreneurial role depends on the subjective importance individuals place on that role. They also argue that there may be role conflict if the entrepreneurial identity conflicts with other role identities, such as

family and professional identities. However, and more recently, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) have questioned the reliance of identity literature on role identity “while discounting key social aspects of self-concept” (p.935). They distinguish between those whose entrepreneurial identity is driven by economic self-interest and those who are motivated by other concerns, such as to benefit their community.

These perspectives on identity provide potential explanatory mechanisms. Analysis of interviews with estate owners requires cognisance of the use of life narratives, potential clichés and oppositional strategies as part of the development of an entrepreneurial self-concept. Estate owners undertake a number of roles, and therefore the notion of role conflict provides potential explanation of their reluctance or otherwise to identify as entrepreneurs. Finally, the notion of the social aspects of self-identity are of importance for estate owners. As argued in the previous section on entrepreneurial motivations, estate owners have been identified in the literature as being driven by a number of motivations beyond economic self-interest. Therefore, Fauchart and Gruber’s (2011) identification of different types of entrepreneurial identity has particular potential relevance for the development of entrepreneurial identities amongst estate owners.

3.5 Entrepreneurial Process

Wood and McKinley (2010) draw on the process of social construction to propose a model of the production of entrepreneurial opportunities. They argue that opportunities emerge through an individual’s actions, which are conditioned by institutional forces, and “framed by social processes and existing social structures” (p.66).

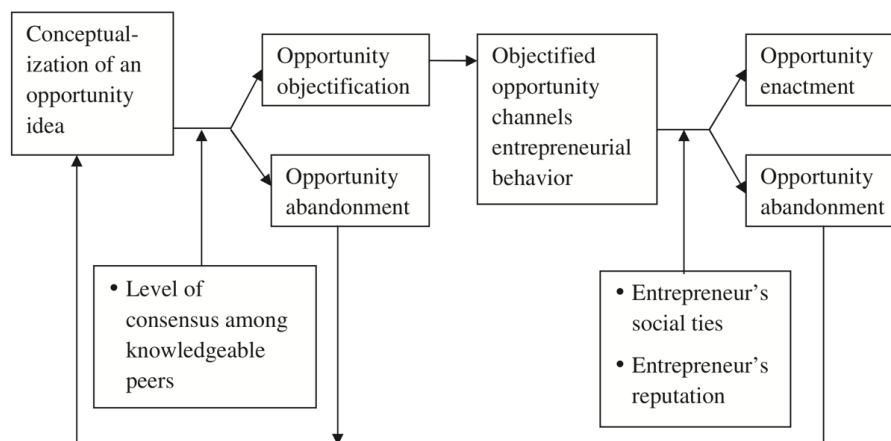


Figure 3.2: The Production of Entrepreneurial Opportunities (Wood and McKinley, 2010).

Within Wood and McKinley's (2010) model, shown in Figure 3.2, two stages of the entrepreneurial process are proposed which require the involvement of actors other than the entrepreneur themselves before the opportunity is enacted or abandoned. An early stage after an initial opportunity idea has been identified requires consensus from knowledgeable peers to provide support and validation of an opportunity that has been recognised, and a second is reliant on the entrepreneur's social ties and reputation beyond their immediate peer group to enable the enactment or abandonment of that opportunity.

This model draws together the developmental and constructionist approaches to entrepreneurial opportunities identified by Korsgaard (2013) and discussed in the previous chapter. It provides an explanatory structure of entrepreneurial process which is cognisant of the institutional forces which are brought to bear on the identification and development of entrepreneurial opportunities, specifically the requirement to have peer validation (in the case of estate owners, this would be validation from other members of the upper classes) and adequate social ties and entrepreneurial reputation to be able to develop and enact entrepreneurial opportunities.

Wood and McKinley's (2010) model provides a valuable framework for the investigation of the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners in the North East of Scotland, whose embeddedness in institutions of family, class, community and commerce have been discussed in section 3.1 on institutional approaches.

Not only can class potentially effect entrepreneurial personality as previously discussed, but also as Wood and McKinley's (2010) model suggests, the identification and development of entrepreneurial opportunities. The requirement for peer validation in the opportunity development process has the potential to explain the restricted range of diversifications Scottish estates tend to engage in. Of the 20 activities Hindle et al. (2014) identify as estates engaging in, more than half engage in the same five activities (residential accommodation, sporting, forestry, agriculture and agricultural tenancy) and slightly more than a third or less engaging in the other 15 activities. Manufacturing, for example, is only engaged in by 1.1% of all estates they survey. The explanations could relate to the limitations of Hindle et al.'s (2014) survey, or to issues of scale, available finance, land and other resources, but could also arguably be attributed to the

value of conformity amongst estate owners, in which they are reluctant to engage in activities differentiated from their peers.

For example, manufacturing is identified by Hindle et al. (2014) as a particularly minority activity on Scottish estates. This could be attributed to estate owners' peer group, conditioned by the institution of social class, continuing to believe that trade-based activities are not acceptable to engage in. Therefore, they may not provide the validation required for the further development and enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities relating to manufacturing.

Valuable as the model is in providing explanation of how estates owners identify and develop entrepreneurial opportunities within an institutional context, it does not provide a full model of process. Theorisation of the process of implementation or exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities is somewhat overlooked in literature of entrepreneurial opportunities. Wood and McKinley (2010) end their model with the enactment or abandonment of the developed entrepreneurial opportunity, but do not discuss the process itself of enactment.

However, Davidsson (2015) argues that action and outcomes are overlooked, but crucial parts of the entrepreneurial process beyond the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities. McMullen and Dimov (2013) argue for entrepreneurial process to be conceptualised as a journey which only ends when an opportunity reaches profitability. They also argue that some companies may experience multiple journeys, and that the journey may never end. Implicit in the metaphor of entrepreneurship as a journey is that it encompasses more than just the identification and development of an opportunity: it requires to be both implemented through entrepreneurial action, and reach an outcome, that is realise profitability or not.

In the absence of a fully integrated model of entrepreneurial process, Wood and McKinley's (2010) model provides a valuable, socially embedded, perspective on the process of identifying and developing opportunities, suitable for the study of estate owners in the North East of Scotland. McMullen and Dimov (2013) and Davidsson (2015) provide additional insights into the nature of entrepreneurial process as a journey which encompasses action and outcomes and which only ends when profitability is reached.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has identified theories with the potential to help understand the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners in the North East of Scotland. It has considered a range of relevant explanatory theories and adopted a multiple perspective approach (Audretsch, Kuratko and Link, 2015) to guide this exploratory research.

An institutional perspective has drawn together the literatures of social class, history and family business, and provided crucial insights into the embeddedness of estate owners in multiple institutions of class, family, community and commerce. These institutional contexts have been argued to influence entrepreneurial motivation, personality and process. The relevance of each to gaining an understanding of what activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland may engage in, and how and why they may identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities has been discussed.

A pluralistic approach to motivations has been proposed, which is cognisant of the institutionalised commitments to family, land and community collectively exhibited by estate owners as motivations to ensure the perpetuation, and thus financial stability of their estates. Explanation of how individual estate owners may be motivated to engage in entrepreneurial activities, rather than ensuring financial stability through other means, has been attributed to overlapping financial and resource push and pull motivations.

Multiple approaches to the study of the entrepreneurial individual have been integrated within the Entrepreneurial Personality System Model of Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017). Potential explanatory factors for the development of an entrepreneurial personality and engagement in entrepreneurial activities by estate owners in the North East of Scotland have been identified as personal motivations, confidence, cognition, family attitudes and cultural values. The institutions of family and class have been argued as having the potential to also influence, through their “gravity effect”, the development of an entrepreneurial personality in estate owners. Self-concept has been argued as being developed and reinforced through self-identity and life narratives.

In particular, cognitive ability has been highlighted as providing an explanation of not only the development of an entrepreneurial personality, but as a mechanism through which individuals can exploit their institutional

embeddedness entrepreneurially through the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Finally, the entrepreneurial process has been argued to be a developmental, and institutionally conditioned journey through which opportunities are identified, developed, and either abandoned or enacted through entrepreneurial action and outcomes. The journey may not be linear: some companies engage in multiple journeys, which may never end.

Motivation, personality or process theories in isolation cannot provide complete explanation of how and why estate owners engage in entrepreneurial activities. However, the application of an institutional perspective to these theories, and their combined use within a multiple perspective approach guide this exploratory research into the types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

Having argued the benefits of institutionally informed multiple perspectives, the following chapter outlines the research approach, starting with the theoretical perspective of social construction, which provides additional insights into the socially constructed process of institutionalisation.

4. Research Approach

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide description of, and justification for, the research approach within this study. It articulates the theoretical perspective of the research (Crotty, 1998) and the methods employed to ensure consistency (Carter and Little, 2008), transparency and replicability (Aguinis and Solinaro, 2019).

Firstly, it discusses social constructionism as an appropriate theory of knowledge within this research setting, together with its interpretive implications. Case study approaches are then considered. The decision to present instrumental case studies of estates is argued to be an appropriate format to generate understanding of individual estate owners' attitudes towards, and engagement in, entrepreneurial diversifications. Cross-case analysis is then argued to assist the identification of patterns of behaviour and attitudes across the individual cases, highlighting similarities and differences between the individual cases.

Elite interviews, institutional texts and visual sources are identified as valuable data sources through which to understand estate owners' socially constructed view of the world. The use of a pilot interview and two phases of purposive and snowball sampling are detailed, together with reflections on the challenges of arranging and conducting elite interviews with estate owners.

Thematic analysis is identified as a flexible and philosophically "agnostic" interpretive approach through which to analyse and code this data, at the semantic level in the analysis of individual cases and at the latent level in the cross-case analysis. Finally, the writing up of individual cases and the process of cross-case analysis are detailed.

4.2 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge that provides the main theoretical perspective of the research design. One of the main underpinning concepts of social constructionism is that individual knowledge is created through social interaction with others. Crotty (1998) argues that within this perspective "all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (p.42). Burr (2015) similarly argues that within social constructionism, knowledge

is constructed through social interaction: “it is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated” (p.23).

In social constructionism, not only is knowledge constructed socially, but also the notion of the “self” is developed through interaction with others (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018). Therefore, individuals’ construction of meaning is social and conventional (Fish, 1980), rather than radical, individual and idiosyncratic.

The originators of the term social construction are Berger and Luckmann (1966). Their influences were primarily from the phenomenological tradition of Husserl and Schutz (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018) and the symbolic interaction of Mead (Burr, 2015), although also drawing on other sociological authors, such as Durkheim and Weber to integrate both macro, structural, approaches, and micro, individual, views of society.

There is a dualism in Berger and Luckmann’s (1996) approach, in which society exists as both subjective and objective: “Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product” (p.58). Alvesson And Sköldberg (2018) argue that Berger and Luckmann (1996) were interested in understanding how subjective meanings become objective “facts” in society. Whilst knowledge is subjective and created through social interaction, over time certain meanings becoming objectified and dominant. The mechanism through which this occurs, is argued by Berger and Luckmann (1996) to be that of institutionalization.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that people are born into an interpretive system of “institutions” which are the social and conventional mechanisms of understanding which precede us. Institutions, discussed in the previous chapter, are created through a process of externalisation, through which “subjective meanings [derived] from typified ways of doing things take on an external, objective character” (Downing, 2005, p.190). Through a process of institutionalization, these institutions, or typified ways of doing things, influence and direct our interpretive, meaning making, processes. Institutions, such as religion, the legal system, education, health care, family, class, community and commerce are social constructions that have become externalised and objectified and which direct how individuals understand them. In order to achieve this objectified and directive power, institutions are required to be legitimized, which is achieved through their use of language (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018).

Some strands of social constructionism are more concerned with the subjective nature of understanding, rather than the dualism of subjectivity and objectivity that is fundamental to Berger and Luckmann's (1966) perspective. Cunliffe (2008) identifies a range of social constructionist viewpoints, encompassing subjective, objective and intersubjective stances. These variations of position can be attributed to either development of the construct, or as Vera (2016) claims, a fundamental misreading of Berger and Luckman (1996) in which constructionism has become erroneously synonymous with the "subjective dimension of sociological analysis" (Vera, 1996, p.5).

4.2.1 The Applicability of a Social Constructionist Approach to the Study of Estate Owners

The overall aim of this research is to explore the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by owners of family owned estates in the North East of Scotland. Three research questions ask questions of what, how, and why. Social constructionism provides a suitable theoretical orientation to help frame the research, being a perspective that is particularly suitable for answering the questions of how and why, "primarily from the aim of understanding" (Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009, p.31). Social constructionist approaches have benefits to the study of entrepreneurship, by bringing depth to analysis, robustness to research processes and outcomes, and provide a contribution to the evolution of entrepreneurial theory (Fletcher, 2006).

Social constructionism is an orientation that also has a conceptual fit with qualitative entrepreneurial and institutional research. Having moved beyond the study of the entrepreneurial individual (Audretsch, Kuratko and Link, 2015), entrepreneurial research is attuned to social constructionism as a "complementary paradigm" to the dominant positivist approach (Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009, p.26). Following calls for entrepreneurial research that is "concerned with the investigation of social reality" (Leitch, Hill and Harrison, 2010, p.68) approaches which engage with the socially constructed nature of reality have been suggested in the study of the "contextual, enacted and holistic phenomenon" of entrepreneurship (Edwards-Schachter et al., 2015, p.27).

Social constructionist approaches are also employed in studies of entrepreneurship and institutions (Devereaux Jennings et al., 2013). Certain strands of institutional theory, particularly institutional work and institutional

logics approaches, are similarly attuned to social constructionism, being generally concerned with the “situated, socially constructed nature of agency and actors” (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2013, p.1280).

Previous chapters have highlighted class, family, community and commerce as institutions in which estate owners are embedded. Class and family are two institutions through which attitudes towards entrepreneurship may be reproduced and evolved. Therefore, a social constructionist perspective provides insights into how these institutions influence engagement with entrepreneurship by estate owners. The duality of subjectivity and objectivity inherent in Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) approach is particularly important within this study. The process of externalisation which Berger and Luckmann (1966) identify objectifies institutions, making them seem “real” and immutable constructs: therefore, to change, transform, or indeed to maintain them requires effort and acts of agency and reflexivity which have been discussed in relation to institutional logics and work approaches. Institutions, and the process of institutionalization exert considerable pressures on how and why estate owners identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. The institutional logics approach of Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012), as discussed in the previous chapter on explanatory theories, is explicit in its socially constructed nature. Therefore, the use of a socially constructionist perspective, and the use of explanatory theories which themselves draw on social constructionism is an appropriate approach to this study of estate owners in the North East of Scotland.

4.2.2 The Limitations of Social Constructionism

The unit of analysis in this research is individual estate owners in the North East of Scotland: the focus is their individual and collective engagement in entrepreneurial activity. Social constructionism is argued as not being concerned with the private sense-making activity of particular individuals (Fletcher, 2006). Burr (2015) criticises it for lacking a fully worked concept of individual psychology. A social constructionist approach would appear to invalidate some of the psychologically derived perspectives of individual differences examined in the previous chapter, arguing that core, biological, personality traits do not exist, and that personality is purely socially constructed.

This presents a potential conflict. If the unit of analysis is the individual, how can a constructionist approach be applied? Audretsch, Kuratko and Link (2015) argue that entrepreneurship has moved beyond the study of the entrepreneurial

individual. However, within this research the integration of psychological, cognitive and cultural approaches with Obschonka and Stuetzer's (2017) entrepreneurial personality system model has been argued in the previous chapter as a valuable approach to understand how entrepreneurial personality can influence subsequent entrepreneurial action.

Institutional work and institutional logics approaches, which are attuned to social constructionist approaches, are concerned with the actions of individuals *within* socially constructed institutional settings. They are therefore explicitly concerned with the actions of individuals, albeit less interested in individual and intrinsic motivations. In particular, the use of cognitive theories as an explanatory mechanism for how the cultural entrepreneur changes institutional arrangements demonstrate that the individual personality can be incorporated within a social constructionist approach.

Notwithstanding its limited concept of individual psychology, a social constructionist approach benefits this research. It helps illuminate estate owners' socially constructed and institutionally conditioned entrepreneurial attitudes, but also - by drawing on the explicitly social constructionist interinstitutional system model of institutional logics - the processes through which they engage in entrepreneurial action and the institutional effects this action produces.

Therefore, in this research setting it is appropriate to consider both the actions of individual estate owners through individual cases which generate understanding of their own interpretation of the world, but also the collective patterns of similarity and difference through cross-case analysis, through which institutional effects can be identified across the sample group of estate owners.

4.2.3 Interpretive Implications of Social Constructionism

Whilst Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) argue that social constructionism is an important and influential philosophical position, they also argue that it is "not sufficiently distinct to aid specific research work". Therefore, a specific approach to the understanding and interpretation of the cases is required.

The concept of *verstehen*, most commonly associated with the work of Weber and Dilthey (Crotty, 1998) is concerned with gaining understanding of subjectively meaningful phenomena (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). To achieve understanding of both the culture in which an individual lives (Benton and Craib, 2001) and also

their subjective experiences (Nordqvist, Hall and Melin, 2009) requires acts of interpretation, which can be achieved through a number of different interpretive approaches. Social constructionism has been aligned to a considerable number of different interpretive approaches, including postmodernism, grounded theory, critical theory, hermeneutics, ethnomethodology, Foucauldian discourse analysis and poststructuralism (Alvesson And Sköldberg, 2018; Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009)

Of these, Burr (2015) argues that social constructionism is most closely allied to Foucauldian discourse analysis. However, Gergen (2015) argues that it is not the specific methodological approaches that are employed in research that are important, but whether they are employed in a manner sympathetic to social constructionism. Following this argument, thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), whilst not commonly associated with social constructionism, provides a philosophically “agnostic” interpretive approach that has the flexibility to incorporate the multiple sources which are one of the hallmarks of the case study approach, which is considered in the following section.

Therefore, this research is underpinned by a social constructionist perspective, which is cognisant of the process of institutionalization through which subjective knowledge is objectified and exerts influence on individuals’ meaning-making processes. In particular, it is aware of the institutions of family, class, community and commerce, and the ways in which they inform estate owners’ identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. To gain understanding of how and why they engage in entrepreneurial activities, and to identify patterns of similarity and difference across estates, thematic analysis has been considered to be an appropriate interpretive approach.

4.3 Case Studies

Perrin and Ram (2004) cite a social constructionist approach to case studies in entrepreneurial research and Lindgren and Packendorf (2009) argue that social constructionist approaches are appropriate within entrepreneurial case study research. The case study is also the most used qualitative approach in family business research. The majority of family business case studies are based on the positivist tradition (De Massis and Kotlar, 2014), despite their lack of an explicit epistemological orientation (Leppäaho, Plakoyiannaki and Dimitratos, 2016). There is though a strain of constructionist and interpretive work within family business literature. This constructionist approach is valuable for creating new

ways of understanding phenomena in which a taken for granted view is dominant (Hall and Nordqvist, 2008), such as the assumption that the upper classes do not engage in entrepreneurship. It is also valuable in generating insights into specific forms of family business (Nordqvist, Hall and Melin, 2009), such as the unusual type of family business that estates comprise.

Case studies are also used in institutional research, e.g. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) discussion of the cultural entrepreneur, and Smets and Jarzabkowski's (2013) study of English and German banking lawyers. A Bourdieusian capital, assets and resources approach to class is argued by Savage (2016a) as having particular relevance and use to "those trained in qualitative methods (such as ethnography or case studies)" (p.8) and of particular use when examining "the upper and middle classes who had been the beneficiaries of economic and social change." (Savage, 2016b, p.66), such as the changing engagement in entrepreneurship amongst estate owners.

Yin's texts (1984; 1981) bring rigour and validation to the case study approach, which is a reliable and respectable procedure of social analysis (Mitchell, 2000), and which provides a reliable (Mitchell, 2000) and flexible (Barbour, 2014) format for research.

The case study is not a method; rather it is defined by its theoretical orientation (Hartley, 2004). Case studies are employed in both post-positivist and interpretive traditions (Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift, 2014). The principal proponent of the former is Yin (1981, 1984) and the latter, Stake (1995), who takes a constructivist/ constructionist (the terms are used interchangeably by him) approach.

The case study approach is appropriate for the exploration of new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate (Eisenhardt, 1989), and research that includes historical and sociological analysis (Wieviorka, 1992). It is also suited to exploring and explaining phenomena in both context (Hartley, 2004) and in depth (Flyvbjerg, 2013), in particular the ways in which individuals construct and interpret their social environment (Chell, 2000) and the impact that organizational and environmental contexts have on, or influence, social processes (Hartley, 2004).

This research is argued to be suitable for a social constructionist case study approach, drawing as it does on multiple perspectives which have themselves used a similar approach. It is concerned with a relatively new and unexplored area for research, which employs both historical and sociological analysis. It explores estate owners in context and in depth, specifically the ways in which the institutions of class, family, community, and commerce have influenced their attitudes towards entrepreneurship. The following section discusses different types of case study, and argues for the adoption of multiple, instrumental cases together with further cross-case analysis.

4.3.1 Type and Purpose of Case Studies

Stake (1995) defines intrinsic (exploratory), instrumental (to generate understanding) and collective (multiple instrumental case studies) types of case study.

The decision to choose either an individual or collective case study approach raises epistemological questions about what is worth knowing about the phenomena studied (Stake, 2006). The unit of analysis within this research is the individual estate owner: the interest is in their identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. The socially constructed institutional contexts in which estate owners are embedded have been argued to reproduce certain attitudes towards entrepreneurship. Therefore, estate owners' individual actions cannot be considered without understanding of the broader social context in which they are embedded, and of how they collectively conceptualise entrepreneurship. This requirement to study both the individual and the collective, has informed the decision to present individual, instrumental case studies, but also to engage in cross-case analysis across the collection of case studies.

Individual case studies allow for the particularization and deep understanding of phenomena being studied (Stake, 1995) by focusing on *how* and *why* questions (Nordqvist, Hall and Melin, 2009), such as those this research asks. Each individual case study allows for a focus on the specific, contextual understanding of each case, providing rich, insightful explanation of the estate owner and their individual actions and influences.

The use of multiple cases and cross-case analysis helps strengthen the precision, validity and stability of patterns identified within individual cases, making

interpretations more robust (Yin, 2004). Cross case analysis helps more fully understand the collective institutional embeddedness of estate owners in the North East of Scotland and how their knowledge and attitudes towards entrepreneurship are socially constructed. Whilst this does not allow for generalisations on a grand scale, the quintain, or target collection (Stake, 1995) of multiple cases can help explain the similarities and differences in how and why estate owners in the North East of Scotland identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

4.4 Data Sources

Multiple data sources are one of the hallmarks of case study approaches. Whilst Yin (1984; 1981) advocates both quantitative and qualitative sources to provide triangulation, Stake (1995) argues for the need to collect qualitative sources, such as interview and documentary data in order to capture the richness and complexity of cases. Three main data types are considered in the following sections: interviews, institutional texts and visual sources.

4.4.1 Elite Interviews

Dingwall (1997) argues that all interviews are a process of social construction. Semi-structured interviews with estate owners helped provide in-depth understanding of how they construct their own understanding of the world (Perren and Ram 2004) and formed the core data type in this research.

There is a lack of current research into the traditional upper classes in Britain (Scott, 2017), particularly regarding methodological issues. The position of the traditional upper classes within the elite class has been discussed in the preceding chapters, and therefore methodological guidance has been drawn primarily from the field of elite studies.

The aim of semi-structured interviews with open-ended question should be to provide data that is rich, detailed and textured (Rapley, 2001). They allow for the interviewer to pursue lines of interest that emerge through the interview process (Bryman and Bell, 2011) and also for altered structuring of questions and topic guides as themes begin to emerge from the data. They are commonly recommended when interviewing elites (Mikecz, 2012; Berry, 2002; Odendahl and Shaw, 2002; Dexter, 1970), in order to provoke wide ranging discussions that suit the educated nature of the interviewee and to capture contextual information (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002). In situations where responses to open ended

questions are extremely brief, Berry (2002) recommends the inclusion of probe notes within the questioning protocol in order to obtain pertinent data should it not be initially forthcoming from the interviewee.

4.4.2 Pilot Interview

There is “a lack of academic guidance concerning pilot work on elite members.” (Harvey, 2010). However, Zuckerman (1972) found undertaking a pilot interview useful to refine her interview guide when interviewing ultra-elite Nobel prize winners. Therefore, the decision was made to undertake a pilot interview to gain experience of interviewing and of developing an interview guide. The interviewee, Callum Burnett, included in the case studies in chapter 5, was the father of a social contact who owns Williamston, a 900-acre estate in the North East of Scotland which engages in a number of diversified activities, notably renewable energy.

A semi-structured interview guide had been prepared in advance (see Appendix A), based on the themes identified through the development of the literature review and explanatory theories chapters, with all questions cross-referenced to the individual objectives (subsequently replaced with three research questions) of the research. It included questions relating to the activities undertaken on the estate, together with questions relating to motivation, entrepreneurial attitudes and social class. Following Harvey’s (2011; 2010) guidance on including more difficult questions once a rapport had been created, the interview structure was intended to allow for the asking of sensitive questions about social class in the middle of the interview.

The interview process provided much insight into the nature and pitfalls of elite interviews. Although the interview was arranged via email for a specific date, Mr Burnett had forgotten about it. Although unwell, he insisted on conducting the interview. After gaining permission to participate and to record the interview via digital recorder, the interview initially followed the structure of the interview guide, however over the course of the interview, it became increasingly directed by Mr Burnett.

The issue of power relationships in elite interviews has been highlighted as problematic (Stephens, 2007; Smith, 2006; Welch et al., 2002; Schoenberger, 1991). It can be unusual for researchers to interview people of higher status than themselves, and it is important for the researcher to understand the power

relationship at play (Ward & Jones, 1999; Schoenberger, 1991), i.e. that one is 'researching up' (Ostrander, 1995, p.136) in terms of hierarchies (Desmond, 2004).

This imbalance of power was felt during the interview, with Mr Burnett talking uninterrupted for several minutes at a time, following a line of argument he was interested in, although not always directly relevant to the question asked. Questions regarding his class position (an un-titled member of the gentry) were answered briefly and evasively.

Odendahl and Shaw (2002) report an elite interview only lasting 20 minutes and beset by interruptions. Whilst the interview with Mr Burnett was considerably longer, at over an hour, the interview was interrupted half way through by the uninvited arrival of a local farmer, Mr Davis, who worked in partnership with the estate owner, who then joined the interview for some considerable time. Additionally, the estate owner's wife periodically joined in the conversation.

Dexter (1970) regards elite interviews as being guided by the interviewee's notions of what they believe to be relevant and Schoenberger (1991) argues that due to the power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee "there is a risk that the respondent will impose his or her own agenda on the interview, taking it in directions that are not directly relevant to the research or not worth lengthy elaboration" (p.183), as was experienced.

Rather than regarding the interruptions and the leading of the interview by Mr Burnett as distractions from the purpose of the interview, they provided valuable insights into the priorities and dynamics of power in elite interviews, and given the advice provided by the literature of elite interviewing, were not entirely unexpected.

Reflecting on the experience of the pilot interview, the interview guide was followed more loosely to allow for interviewees to lead the conversation as had happened during the pilot interview, whilst also ensuring that the main areas of research interest were covered.

The use of an interview as the only data collection method highlighted the requirement to collect additional data. As a relatively small estate, there is little documented history on Williamston. The lack of an estate website or brochure made finding certain biographical and contextual details complex, although

some historical and biographic details were eventually found through extensive searching through local newspaper articles online and genealogical websites.

The lack of institutional information was also partly mitigated by the presence of Mr Davis, whose own views, and challenging of Mr Burnett's perceptions of entrepreneurship, provided a valuable additional source of data. The decision was made as part of the sampling strategy to choose estates, as part of the evaluatory matrices discussed in section 4.5, which did have publicly available institutional texts, specifically estate websites which included some degree of biographical data, as far as was possible.

4.4.3 Institutional Texts

Whilst the interview is still the primary data collecting instrument in elite studies, it cannot always be relied up as the sole method of data collection (Dexter, 1970), unless a particularly broad set of interviews are conducted (Lilleker, 2003). Conducting a broad set of interviews was not possible though, due to the limited access available to estates (discussed in section 4.11), therefore additional data has been collected.

There is an additional rationale for the requirement to collect additional data. Family businesses can have long time lines (Sieger et al., 2011), particularly so in family owned estates. The institutional logics perspective argues the historical contingency of institutions. The estates that form the sample of this research are those that have been owned by several generations of the same family. Institutional logics has argued that some institutional are older than others, and that relative influence of multiple institutions are historically contingent too. This is a "relatively novel and unexplored" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.13) topic, however has applicability in long-lived family estates which may well have embraced different logics through their historical evolution. Therefore, this perspective demonstrates the requirement to include a degree of historical analysis within approach to research.

To contextualise the current activities of estate owners, it is necessary to understand the history of both their family and of the business of the estate. Documentary sources can aid this process of exploring historical precedence and current practices and form an important role in social research (Prior, 2003). Historical approaches are also beneficial in business and organisational research as a way to understand current activities in the context of historical exemplars

(Booth and Rowlinson, 2006; Kieser, 1994). Similarly, the literature of institutional entrepreneurship has looked to historic exemplars to understand change, which has a necessary temporal component (Suddaby and Foster, 2017; Suddaby, Foster and Mills, 2013; Mutch, 2007).

Historical documents can include estate archives, surveys, valuations and inventories (Woodforde, 1978). Other types of data were also considered, such as memoirs, ethnography, focus groups, qualitative surveys, diaries, institutional texts and visual sources. Due to issues of practicality and access (discussed in section 4.11) some were not viable.

Estates though often maintain publicly accessible websites and social media presences, together with other documents such as guidebooks and newsletters, collectively termed institutional texts (Miller, 1997) which, drawing in part on historical documents, discuss both the history of the estate and family and also the current diversified activities. These texts can provide evidence of past patterns of change (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Together with press material (newspapers, magazine articles etc.) on the selected estates and their owners, these institutional texts form the second major data source within this research.

Like interviews, documentary sources cannot be viewed as factually accurate (Gergen and Gergen, 1992) and may be biased, non-objective or incomplete (Charmaz, 2014). As a form of documentary source, institutional texts are not neutral or value free. Being aimed at specific types of readers they “actively construct the very organizations they purport to describe” (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011, p.476). They therefore act as valuable sources to demonstrate how estates socially construct their own image and history.

4.4.4 Visual Sources

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) and others argue that institutional logics have both symbolic and material instantiations. Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017) define the material as “the physical elements of the institutional environment, such as objects or places” (p.27). Estates have a specific materiality, such as the architecture, interiors and physical objects of the estate house, the family coat of arms and the varied geography of estate lands. These material instantiations of logics can be identified through visual sources.

Prosser (2013) argues for a more visual approach to research, incorporating photographs, video and online sources. Visual research is an established tradition in anthropology, sociology, psychology and educational studies, with various analytic techniques applicable, including content analysis and other less formal types of analysis of the narrative qualities of the image (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015).

This research has collated visual data from a range of sources, including institutional images (those used by the estates themselves), together with primary images taken on site and secondary sources, such as images from monographs, guidebooks and those gathered from online image searches.

4.5 First Phase Sampling

Gaining access to the upper classes and their estates, is difficult (Roberts, 2011; Reid, 1989), as is gaining access to elite groups at large (Conti and O'Neil, 2007). In order to secure access to estate owners in the North East of Scotland, various strategies were employed across two phases of sampling.

To secure access to elites, Tansey (2007) argues for a combined approach of purposive sampling (a sampling method in which the "purpose of the study and the researcher's knowledge of the population guide the process" (p.17)) and snowball / chain-referral sampling (a sampling method which is of particular use "when the population of interest is not fully visible, and where compiling a list of the population poses difficulties for the researcher." (p.18)).

Purposive sampling can involve identifying key contacts within organisations, or by utilising internal "influencers" or sponsors (Welch et al., 2002). It can also involve identifying potential respondents based on their occupational position or reputation, that is the level of influence they hold within a certain area (Tansey, 2007). More than one approach may be required: Harvey (2010) used a variety of approaches to "maximise the opportunity of gaining access" (p.8) to elite workers around Vancouver.

Whilst new and existing contacts can also be purposively developed and leveraged (Harvey, 2011; 2010), samples can be also compiled through Rich Lists, Who's Who, websites and the media, as "elite individuals and groups are popular subjects in the mass media" (Odenhal and Shaw, 2002, p.102) and therefore relatively visible.

Once initial contacts are established through purposive sampling, additional strategies are required to increase the sample, especially in cases where there is not a full, published list of the intended target (Beamer, 2002). To increase the number of respondents, Welch et al. (2002) employed both cascading and snowball strategies. The former was a formal process in which sponsors wrote a letter of support to a specific, named, subsidiary to encourage them to participate, whereas snowballing was a less formal activity in which interviewees were asked to identify a number of potential other respondents.

Elite sampling is subject to a number of potential problems. Whilst snowball sampling can increase the number and breadth of respondents, its likelihood of success is hampered if “elite subjects need to gain permission from their contacts first before they can pass on their personal details to researchers” (Harvey, 2010, p.10). Selection bias can be difficult to avoid, especially when using purposive sampling (Welch et al., 2002) and non-probability techniques in general (Tansey, 2007). This can be partially mitigated by both sampling of people outside of the focal organisation but with knowledge of it (Welch et al., 2002) and by adopting various avenues of gaining access (Harvey, 2010) to widen the range of people approached.

4.5.1 Initial Sample Frame

Following Harvey (2010), a number of routes were pursued during the first phase of sampling to identify a suitable number of estate owners to contact. Whilst some, e.g. Gibb Dyer and Wilkins (1991) argue for small numbers of cases, this research contains eight case studies, to provide sufficient breadth without “drowning” in excess data (Eisenhardt, 1989).

With no initial internal sponsors identified at the start of the research project, a pragmatic approach was required to identify potential respondents. Although no “definitive database of “estates” [...] in Scotland” (Hindle et al., 2014, p.7) exists, partial lists of National Trust, National Trust for Scotland properties, and Historic Houses Association members were available. National Trust and National Trust for Scotland properties were discounted as they are not owned, and often not lived in, by the original family. However, a list of 309 members of the Historic Houses Association properties accessible to the public was available, although a full membership list was not available.

From this list, an evaluative matrix was created of estates across Great Britain to determine whether estates engaged in broadly similar or different activities to estates in other areas. The matrix detailed how estates publicise themselves, e.g. through websites, whether they remained in family ownership, their range of diversified activities and their suitability for potential inclusion as a case study. Of the 309 estates examined, all were available to visit by the public. One hundred and eleven detailed activities beyond visits and core estate activities of farming, forestry, and the supply of residential accommodation. Of these 111, a similar range of diversified activities was noted, particularly weddings, TV filming, cultural events and festivals, the provision of tourism accommodation, and commercial lets. Less widely undertaken activities included hospitality, retail activities, and food and drink, either manufacturing and/or retail.

The process of creating the initial matrix provided insights into the limited number of estates in Great Britain engaging in diversified activities. It identified that a similar, and limited, range of activities is undertaken across most estates in family ownership. A number of exemplar estates engaging in more differentiated activities from those undertaken on other estates was also noted.

Having identified the range of activities undertaken across estates in Great Britain, a second matrix of 26 Scottish estates was created. The initial sample frame was generated from this matrix. Key criteria for potential requests for access were that estates remained in family ownership, maintained some form of institutional texts (primarily websites), and were engaging in a range of diversified and entrepreneurial activities. These were all detailed in the matrix, together with details of the owners, the location of the estate, and the size of the estate.

4.5.2 Making Contact

Following the process of constructing the two matrices, nine Scottish estates were selected for contact, fulfilling the criteria of remaining in family ownership, maintaining visible institutional presences and engaging in diversified activities. Reflecting the dominance of male ownership of estates in the North East of Scotland, only two of the estates contacted were owned by women.

Requests for access to elites are recommended as being via letter (Zuckerman, 1972), particularly on prestigious letterheaded paper (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002; Goldstein, 2002) or through targeted emails (Harvey, 2010; Lilleker, 2003).

Email approaches should demonstrate the same formality of tone as a written letter, with the accurate use of titles employed when contacting elites (Mikecz, 2012), although formal written requests are preferable when dealing with ultra-elites (Stephens, 2007).

Whichever route is taken, it is important to provide details of the access required (Goldstein, 2002), outlining the research project, why the subject has been chosen to be contacted and what sort of questions might be asked (Lilleker, 2003), albeit not bowing to pressure to submit questions in advance (Dexter, 1970).

Initial requests for access should avoid academic jargon and employ the natural language of the respondent (Beamer, 2002). The researcher's relative position will reflect the level of access and nature of responses from elites (Ward and Jones, 1999). Therefore, it is important to highlight institutional affiliations and credentials, together with the identification of 'sponsors', whose "endorsement of the project will ensure the cooperation of the rest of the group." (Welch et al., 2002, p.614).

Following this advice, and letter-writing etiquette guidance taken from Debrett's guide to etiquette, letters on University headed paper were correctly titled and addressed according to rank and title, with hand-written, black fountain pen ink envelopes, both as a courtesy and also as a demonstration of understanding the etiquette system of the upper classes. The letters introduced the research project in non-academic language and outlined the nature of access required to the estate owner.

4.5.3 Responses

Follow up phone calls and emails to clarify or arrange interviews are important parts of the process (Goldstein, 2002) which can involve detailing the length of interview requested (Harvey, 2010). Interviews can range in length, although Harvey (2010) regards one hour as the maximum likely. Aware that elites would be likely to want to know the proposed duration of the interview, the maximum duration of the proposed interview (one hour) had been outlined in the covering letter.

Seven estate owners, or their representatives, replied either by formal letter, or by telephone call or email requesting further information. Almost all estates that did

respond were keen to know which other estates had participated, although for reasons of confidentiality this could not be disclosed.

Those that did make contact provided valuable insight into their character, preoccupations and assumed balance of power between estate owner and researcher. Some estate owners subsequently declined politely for personal reasons. However, even those that did not translate into interviews provided insights into the attitudes and behaviours of some estate owners. One estate owner conducted a long telephone call in which the validity of the research was questioned, arguing that diversification and entrepreneurship on estates had already been covered in the *Country Life* magazine and that there was no requirement for further study of the issue. He also requested that the entire supervisory team “jump in a car” to come and meet him. As this was not practicable, no interview was secured with this respondent.

Another respondent, as the heir to the estate, phoned to explain that his elderly father had misunderstood the nature of the request, and whilst interested in the research project tentatively declined. Further positive communication continued once he had ascertained which school the researcher had attended, being the same school his children attended. However, the estate business remains commercially sensitive and thus no interview was able to be scheduled.

Last minute changes of plan, postponements and cancellations by elites are to be expected (Mikecz, 2012) and must be factored into the design of research trips (Harvey, 2010). One interview was arranged and cancelled at the last minute with no alternative dates suggested. Another interview was arranged with a member of the Peerage. On the interview date they participated for only a few minutes and were distracted by messages on their phone before announcing that the meeting was just to “say hello” and that the interview proper would be undertaken at another date. This was not, though, possible to rearrange.

Attempts were made to ensure balance through the inclusion of two female estate owners in the initial sample. Despite female inheritance of certain titles being possible in Scotland, and a number of female estate owners having been identified through the sampling process, it was not possible to arrange interviews with either. One did not reply, despite a number of attempts to contact her. The husband of the second replied on her behalf, but an interview directly with her could not be secured.

4.5.4 Leveraging Contacts and Snowball Sampling

As only three interviews were successfully arranged and undertaken during this first phase of sampling, it became clear that additional strategies were required. All three interviews arranged were located in the North East of Scotland, with estate owners in other areas of Scotland either not replying or declining the invitation after further information was provided. Therefore, the pragmatic decision was made to narrow the focus of the sample to estates in the local area, the North East of Scotland.

Harvey (2010) argues that gaining access to elites remains dependent on serendipity, social networks and personal circumstances. Access to Gordon Castle was aided by personal contact through a university colleague. Further leveraging of social contacts also led to additional respondents. A chance encounter with a social contact, also a university governor, led to an introduction to a local, well connected, landowner, Melfort Campbell (included as a case study in Chapter 5) with whom an interview was conducted at his Altries estate. Although the Altries estate does not have an estate website as per the requirements of the evaluatory matrices, considerable biographical and historical data was readily available on Mr Campbell and the estate and therefore was considered suitable for inclusion as a case study.

Mr Campbell offered to initiate a snowball process in which he emailed a number of additional estates in the North East of Scotland requesting that they participate in the research. Two estate owners replied to this email request. Mr Bradford at Kincardine O'Neill provided considerable detail of the activities of the estate, but an interview was not secured at that time. An interview was arranged with Lord Aberdeen at the Haddo estate, but was subsequently cancelled due to a period of ill health for the researcher.

4.6 Second Phase Sampling

Following a period of absence, and with not enough interviews secured to provide sufficient breadth of data, a second phase of purposive and snowball sampling commenced. Drawing on the knowledge of colleagues, social contacts and increased awareness of estates in the North East of Scotland, a further six estates were contacted. Interviews were also arranged with the two estates who had previously responded to Melfort Campbell's email request. In addition, three interviews were conducted with Robin Maitland, a retired estate manager, who Melfort Campbell provided contact details for.

Although face to face interviews are generally best, the difficulties in arranging these is such that “scholars should be prepared for the possibility of not interviewing some elites in person.” (Harvey, 2011, p.436). Telephone interviews have to suffice if the alternative is no interview at all, and can still provide valuable data, according to Stephens (2007) who provides useful guidance on the method. Hindle et al. (2014) in their survey of the economic contribution of Scottish Estates used telephone interviews as one of their primary data collection techniques. Mr Bradford was not able to accommodate an in-person interview, and thus a telephone interview was arranged.

During these interviews, further snowball sample estates were suggested, who were subsequently contacted for interview. An interview was scheduled with Charles Gladstone, owner of the Glen Dye estate, but was subsequently cancelled due to his involvement in a festival on his Hawarden estate in North Wales.

4.7 Participant Consent and Interview Schedule

Consideration was made as to whether estates and estate owners should be anonymised. One of the features of case study research is the particular and detailed description of the research subject and setting. Due to the investigation into the specific activities of estates, even had the subjects and their estates been anonymised they would have been identifiable due to the description of the specific portfolio of activities they engaged in. Similarly, detail of succession plans would have made estate owners identifiable.

Therefore, both initial letters of contact and the interview guide highlighted the identifiable nature of the research. All interviewees bar two were sent a copy of the letter of introduction detailed in section 4.5.2. Due to the difficult nature of gaining access to elites, this letter was received by participating estate owners either as a physical copy, a direct email, or as a forwarded email. The standard letter, or alternative emails in the other two cases, highlighted that the estates had been selected as potential in-depth case studies which would require the gathering of images of the estates and interviews with the estate owner themselves. Additionally, the interview guide, shown in Appendix A, highlights the nature of the informed consent required by participants. In addition to consenting to being tape recorded, they were specifically asked by which title they wished to be referred to within the research, together with a number of identifiable questions relating to the estate and their family.

Consideration was also made of any potential reputational risk to participants. Having received the informed consent to be used as identifiable case studies, care was subsequently taken in the writing and proof reading of the case studies to ensure that estate owners' views were accurately represented, aided by the social constructionist nature of the cases which aimed to preserve their individual voices and present their interpretation of the world. In cases where particularly strong views were voiced, additional research was undertaken to ensure that these views had been voiced elsewhere and in the public domain.

Interviews were scheduled during the two phases of sampling as follows:

Table 4.1 Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SUBJECTS	ESTATE	LOCATION	DATE
<i>Callum Burnett & Mike Davis</i>	Pilot Interview, Willamston Estate	Estate House Kitchen	11 January 2016
<i>Angus Gordon Lennox</i>	Gordon Castle Estate	Gordon Castle Café	20 October 2017
<i>Melfort Campbell</i>	Altries Estate	Altries Estate Office	22 November, 2017
<i>Earl of Dalhousie</i>	Dalhousie Estates	Private Sitting Room, Brechin Castle	6 December, 2017
<i>Malcolm Nicol</i>	Ballogie Estate	Ballogie Estate Office	19 December 2017
<i>Robin Maitland, Estate Manager</i>	Various	Private House	10 May, 28 June, 7 September 2018
<i>Marquess of Aberdeen & Mark Andrews</i>	Haddo Estate	Haddo Estate Office	9 July 2019
<i>Earl of Moray</i>	Moray Estates	Tornagrain Sales Office	7 August 2019
<i>Andrew Bradford</i>	Kincardine O'Neil Estate	Telephone	9 August 2019
<i>Charles Gladstone</i>	Glen Dye		Cancelled by interviewee

4.8 Data Collection

Elite studies stress the importance of pre-interview preparation on the interview subject (Mikecz, 2012; Berry, 2002; Goldstein, 2002; Zuckerman, 1972; Dexter, 1970) to ensure that the interviewer is well-informed and to make the most of the limited time available with the interviewee.

Therefore, prior to scheduled interviews, additional desk research was undertaken. This included rereading estate, news and magazine websites to identify estate activities and any relevant news on the estate owner and their family. Burke's Peerage and Landed gentry was also consulted to ensure no errors were made in the form of address when meeting titled estate owners.

4.8.1 Interview Locations

Dexter (1970) strongly advises undertaking elite interviews in the interviewee's private office, for reasons of privacy and to avoid interruption. Mikecz (2012) though argues that the official surroundings and power imbalance lead to the "official" narrative being told, rather than more insightful narratives. Neutral, public spaces can provide a more balanced setting for an interview, although issues of privacy and noise can be an issue (Mikecz, 2012; Harvey, 2010).

The interviews for this research were undertaken in a variety of locations, although always located on the estate, with the exception of a telephone interview with Mr Bradford. Given the difficulties of gaining access to estates, specific locations for the interview were not requested by the interviewer, despite the advice of the literature of elite interviews, but rather left to the estate owner's choice, reflecting what they determined was the best location. This was mainly in estate offices, separate from the main estate house, although interviews were also undertaken in private drawing rooms, and also in an estate owned restaurant.

4.8.2 Interview Transcription

Most scholars favour recording and transcribing elite interviews, such as Harvey (2011; 2010), Aberbach and Rockman (2002), Mikecz (2002), Zuckerman (1972), Dexter (1970) and Morrissey (1970). Recordings offer the benefits of capturing accurate data (Lilleker, 2003), despite the costs and time-consuming nature of transcription.

Accordingly, interviews were recorded on digital recorder, allowing the interviewer to focus on the interview itself, whilst also taking occasional notes.

Subsequently, audio files were saved onto a secure drive, and transcribed with the aid of a playback pedal to allow for rewinding and pausing of audio when required. The transcripts were then rechecked against the recordings for errors.

4.8.3 Collating Institutional Texts and Visual Sources

Institutional texts and visual sources were collated from estate websites, newsletters, guidebooks, documentation provided by the estates (e.g. estate maps and organograms) and general online searches. Estate websites - and also other bodies representing estates - (such as Scottish Land and Estates and various rural consultancies) had been found during the literature review and sampling stages to regularly update their websites, with some publications becoming unavailable. Therefore, online sources were cached on a secure drive to facilitate later coding in case of their subsequent removal online.

4.9 Thematic Analysis

Once interviews had been transcribed and checked and institutional texts and visual sources collated, a process of analysis was undertaken. Thematic analysis has been briefly introduced as an interpretive approach which has the flexibility to incorporate multiple data sources. It is a method of analysing and interpreting data to generate a rich, detailed and complex account (Braun and Clarke, 2006) by identifying patterns and themes within it. It has been employed within case studies (Lapadat, 2010), and in family business (Gupta and Levenburg, 2010) and family estates (Woolvin, 2013).

4.9.1 Philosophical Commitments and Suitability of Thematic Analysis

Whilst not aligned to a specific philosophical standpoint, thematic analysis is a useful tool to illuminate the 'process of social construction' (Joffe, 2012) by recognising the "constitutive nature of language and discourse" (Braun and Clarke, 2018). For example, Farvid and Braun (2006) use a social constructionist approach to thematic analysis arguing that "language is productive and produces meanings, but it also gets its meanings from the social practices that it names. Thus texts are constitutive of the society in which they are produced" (p.299).

Thematic analysis can be applied to "most types of qualitative data including interviews, focus groups, qualitative surveys, story completion tasks, diaries, vignettes, and a wide range of secondary sources including printed materials, online and electronic materials, and broadcast media and film" (Braun and

Clarke, 2018). The applicability of the technique to a wide range of data (Joffe, 2012), has the benefits of allowing contextually grounded (Lapadat, 2010) insights and diverse themes (Woolvin, 2013) to be identified.

The principal benefits of thematic analysis are that: it is philosophically agnostic, i.e. it is not wedded to a specific theoretical or epistemological position; does not demand the development of new theory; and is suitable for a wide range of data. It is therefore an appropriate interpretive method for this research, being suitable for a socially constructionist perspective that seeks to gain understanding of what types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities, and which can be applied to the various data types collected.

4.9.2 The Process of Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) outline a six-phase approach to undertaking thematic analysis, detailed below.

Table 4.2: The Process of Thematic Analysis (from Braun and Clarke, 2006)

PHASE	DESCRIPTION	ACTIVITIES
<i>Phase 1</i>	Familiarising yourself with your data	1. Transcribing verbal data 2. Reading and re-reading the data
<i>Phase 2</i>	Generating initial codes	<i>Coding the data</i>
<i>Phase 3</i>	Searching for themes	1. Combining codes into themes and sub-themes 2. Create thematic map
<i>Phase 4</i>	Reviewing themes	1. Reviewing coded extracts 2. Reviewing themes across the whole data set 3. Recode as necessary
<i>Phase 5</i>	Defining and naming themes	1. Define and refine themes 2. Write detailed analysis for each theme and how it relates to the research question(s)
<i>Phase 6</i>	Producing the report	<i>Final analysis and write-up, which provides an analytic narrative that makes and argument in relation to the research question(s)</i>

4.9.3 Deductive and Inductive Approaches

Joffe (2012) argues that researchers should create a coding frame which contains both inductive codes grounded in the data but also theoretically driven codes, based on past research in the area: this process of deductive coding is also recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994).

Braun and Clarke (2016) believe though that coding should be inductive and grounded purely in the data. Lapadat (2010) argues that inductive coding avoids the premature ending of coding that can occur within deductive approaches. It is an inductive approach that this research takes in the coding of individual cases to allow patterns to emerge from within the data, rather than through preconceived theoretical notions.

A sensitivity to the literature (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and the theoretical signposting of institutional logics provides some degree of *a priori* understanding which cannot be bracketed out, and has the potential to code towards certain themes. The hermeneutic principles of questioning and interrogating the text, together with a reflexive approach, go some way towards negating this.

4.9.4 Identifying Institutional Logics

Thematic analysis is therefore a flexible, and appropriate approach to analyse interviews, institutional texts and visual sources in social constructionist research. The process of how to capture and identify logics though has rarely been explicated. Reay and Jones (2016) are a notable exception, in which they conducted private dialogues with published authors to explicate the process of identifying logics. They identify three approaches: pattern deducing, pattern matching, and pattern inducing. Of the three, that most attuned to a thematic approach is that of pattern inducing, in which a range of data sources are inductively coded and analysed in comparison to theory. The process described by Reay and Jones (2016) is implicitly an iterative one which bears similarities to thematic analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that coding can exist at the semantic or latent level. Semantic coding reflects the surface level patterns in the discourse of individual estate owners and is used to help preserve their “voice” in the presentation of individual cases. Latent coding identifies underlying “ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.13) which they argue as overlapping with constructionist discourse analysis. The cross-case

analysis within this research is at the latent level, to help identify institutional logics and effects, as per Reay and Jones' (2016) pattern inducing process.

4.9.5 The Coding Process

Whilst Braun and Clarke (2006) provide advice on the process of thematic analysis, they do not give advice on specific coding techniques or on coding for the purposes of cross-case analysis. Saldaña (2015) outlines many approaches to coding, three of which were adopted during the process of analysis and cross-case analysis, detailed below.

Table 4.3: Coding Methods (adapted from Saldaña, 2015)

FIRST CYCLE CODING METHODS	
NAME	USAGE & DESCRIPTION
Attribute Coding	Grammatical method for all data as a management technique. Contains basic descriptive information such as: the fieldwork setting; participant characteristics or demographics; data format; time frame and other variables of interest for qualitative and some applications of quantitative analysis.
In Vivo Coding	Elemental methods for interview transcripts as a method of attuning yourself to participant perspectives and actions. A code refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record, "the terms used by [participants] themselves"
SECOND CYCLE CODING METHODS	
Pattern Coding	A way of grouping summaries into a smaller number of categories, themes, or concepts. Appropriate for: condensing large amounts of data into a smaller number of analytic units and searching for rules, causes, and explanations in the data and laying the groundwork for cross-case analysis by generating common themes and directional processes.

During the process of analysing individual cases, the attribute coding method was applied as a method of data management. The analysis of interview data was undertaken at the semantic level, as per Braun and Clarke (2006), and therefore in-vivo codes were used as an appropriate technique to preserve the voice and perspective of individual estate owners.

Cross-case analysis was undertaken at the latent level, also as per Braun and Clarke (2006), during which the pattern coding technique was used to identify patterns of similarity and difference in estate owners' identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities.

The discussion of the cross-case analysis allowed for the validation and testing out of theoretical notions to corroborate themes and patterns in the data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Miles and Huberman, 1999) and also to allow for the testing and 'trying out' of theoretical notions (Nordqvist, Hall and Melin, 2009). This "dance of data and theory" (McKeever, Anderson, and Jack, 2014) allowed for the interlacing of theory and empirical material (De Massis and Kotlar, 2014).

4.10 Writing and Presenting Cases

Stake (1995) and Creswell (1998) both provide guidance to the style and format of case reports. Stake (1995) argues the focus should be on providing a vicarious experience for the reader through the use of narrative, storytelling, chronological presentation, personalistic description and an emphasis on time, place and person. Creswell (1998) provides useful advice on structure, suggesting that cases should include: vignettes to capture the reader's imagination; description; an introduction and probing of issues identified; and conclusions and reflections of the author's role in reporting the case.

In chapter 5, each case is individually presented in chronological order of interview. Each follows a similar format, with an introduction, biographical details of the estate owner and their family, followed by description and analysis of the themes identified. These are followed by a section of reflections on the interviews, followed by a conclusion. Chapter 6 presents the cross-case analysis and discussion.

4.11 Conclusion

Crotty (1998) advises that research projects should articulate their theoretical perspective. Carter and Little (2008) argue that they should demonstrate the logic of the research design, with Aguinis and Solinaro (2019) advising that to provide transparency, research projects should detail the research process, including providing details of the research methods, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis. This chapter therefore has aimed to argue the suitability and logic of the design of this research. It has justified the theoretical perspective, case

study approach, methods of data collection, sampling approach and method of analysis employed.

Social constructionism, particularly the subjective-objective dualism of Berger and Luckman (1966), has been argued as a theoretical perspective which helps illuminate how estate owners in the North East of Scotland construct their understanding of the world, and also how the socially constructed institutions of class, family and commerce have the potential to influence how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Thematic analysis has been argued to be an appropriate and integrative interpretive approach for a socially constructionist approach.

The case study approach has been identified as appropriate in studies that investigate entrepreneurship, family business, social class and institutions. The decision to present multiple, instrumental case studies has been justified through their ability to provide contextual understanding of each case, and rich detail of the estate owner and their individual actions and influences. The inclusion of cross-case analysis has been argued as providing insight into the patterns of similarity and difference in how and why estate owners as a group identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

The requirement for a case study approach to collect multiple data types, specifically elite interviews, institutional texts and visual sources has been discussed. The inclusion of a pilot interview has been detailed as providing insight into the challenges of arranging and conducting elite interviews.

Two phases of sampling have been outlined. The first included the construction of two evaluative matrices which analysed the ownership, institutional texts and diversified activities on estates across Great Britain in the first matrix to gain understanding of the range of activities and ownership mechanisms of estates in general. In the absence of a database of all estates, a partial list of members of the Historic Houses Association was used as the basis of the first matrix. The second matrix purposively identified nine Scottish estates to contact for access.

The process and challenges of gaining access to estate owners was detailed, followed by a discussion of the pragmatic rationale to narrow the focus of the research to the North East of Scotland. Social networks proved beneficial in identifying a key respondent, Melfort Campbell, who instigated a process of

snowball sampling. In the absence of an appropriate number of respondents, a second phase of purposive and snowball sampling was then outlined.

The process of data collection and transcription has then been outlined, followed by a discussion of thematic analysis. The individual case studies have been detailed as being coded using attribute and in-vivo coding, with the analysis undertaken at the semantic level to retain estate owners' individual voices and perceptions of how and why they engaged in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities. The cross-case analysis was undertaken at the latent level, using the pattern coding approach, to identify patterns of similarity and difference between the individual case studies.

Finally, drawing on advice on the writing up and presentation of case studies, the structure of Chapter 5, which presents the individual cases, and Chapter 6, the cross-case analysis and discussion, has been discussed.

5. Case Studies

5.1 Introduction to the Cases

This chapter presents the individual cases in chronological order of interview. Interviews were recorded, transcribed and rechecked for accuracy. Following the Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic coding process, interview transcripts, relevant institutional texts, and photographic sources were read and re-read in advance of coding at the semantic level, using in-vivo coding as outlined by Saldaña (2015). Photographic sources, although limited in their availability, were particularly useful to identify certain additional themes which were then corroborated against interview and institutional data. Codes were then combined and mapped into themes and sub-themes. These were then reviewed and the texts reread to identify additional codes and the final codes defined. New codes were created for each case, rather than existing codes re-used if not appropriate. Care was taken to attempt to bracket out prior influences to ensure that the codes emerged inductively from the data.

Each case follows a similar structure. Information on the estate owner, their family and the estate are presented to provide biographical and historical context, drawn from the interviews, institutional texts and genealogical sources. Following these, the themes inductively identified through the thematic analysis process are presented in individual sections. The description of each theme is illustrated with the use of in-vivo quotes and photographic images where available, and analysed.

Photographic sources, where available, are used to illustrate certain aspects of estates.

The themes identified through the thematic analysis in each case study are presented below.

Table 5.1: Individual Case Study Themes

OWNER & ESTATE	THEMES
Callum Burnett <i>Williamston Estate</i> <i>Pilot Case Study</i>	The Business of the Estate; Renewable Energy Motivations and Inspirations; Spotting Opportunities; Social Class and Family
Angus Gordon Lennox <i>Gordon Castle Estate</i>	The Business of the Estate; Diversity of Estates; Self; Family; Inheritance

Melfort Campbell <i>Altries Estate</i>	The Business of the Estate; Views on Other Estates; Challenges; Inheritance
Earl of Dalhousie <i>Dalhousie Estates</i>	Estate Activities; Community; Entrepreneurship; Challenges for Estates
Malcolm Nicol <i>Ballogie Estate</i>	Estate Activities and Organisation; Business Change; Opportunities; Regulatory Restrictions.
Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair <i>Haddo Estate</i>	The Business of the Estate; The Geography and Constraints of the Estate: Community; Inheritance.
Earl of Moray <i>Moray Estates</i>	The Estate and the Portfolio of Activities; Prior Experiences and Personal Passion; Opportunities; Economic and Non-economic Rationales; Entrepreneurship and Custodianship; Entrepreneurial Support; Family and the Future.
Andrew Bradford <i>Kincardine O'Neil Estate</i>	Estate Activities; Opportunities; The Role of Estates; Inheritance; Financial Pressures; Constraints.

Following the individual cases, reflections on the interviews are presented. The rationale for conducting interviews with a non-estate owner, experienced estate manager Robin Maitland is then outlined. Finally, the activities across all case study estates are presented and conclusions are drawn.

5.2 Callum Burnett Pilot Case Study

5.2.1 Biographical Details

This case study of Mr Burnett at the Willamston Estate, near Inch, is based on the pilot interview discussed in Chapter 4. Callum Burnett (b. 1948) is Director of Williamston Estates. He lives on the estate in Williamston House, with his wife, Roberta. They have five children: four sons and one daughter. Their third son, Jamie, currently runs the estate farm, and will inherit the estate. Williamston House, designed by Aberdeen architect Alexander Fraser, was built for Charles Fraser in 1825. Over several generations, the estate passed through the family to Mary Lydall and thence to her son, Callum Burnett. Mary Lydall married Lieutenant Commander Malcolm Burnett a member of the Kemnay branch of the Burnett family. Lieutenant Commander Burnett worked as a code breaker in Cheltenham during World War Two. They had four children, Anthea (b. 1937),

Antony (b 1939), Charles (b. 1942), and Callum (b. 1948), the case study subject. Mr Burnett was educated at Rannoch School, in Perthshire.



Figure 5.1: Williamston House.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/megalithicmatt/1052973202>

5.2.2 The Business of the Estate

Mr Burnett explained that the core business of the 900-acre estate was sheep farming, which was the “primary income” stream for the estate. Three hundred acres of the estate were devoted to forestry, together with a Christmas tree enterprise. One hundred acres of the estate were let out for organic carrot and potato farming. The rationale for not engaging in the organic farming in-hand was because, according to Mr Burnett, they were a “specialised industry” which was “outwith my expertise completely”.

Mr Burnett explained that, despite these activities, the “main focus of our attention is to get this wind farm up and running”. As he said, the plans for a proposed wind farm were “probably beyond the point of no return.” He had recently sold 100 acres of the estate to help finance the project. The project was costing £10 million, and as Mr Burnett explained, it was a considerably risky project: “We are betting the entire estate’s value on this. And borrowing 90% of the value of the wind farm against the estate. So, if it fails, the estate will probably not be viable.”

The portfolio of activities Mr Burnett engaged in is not unusual for small estates. Hindle et al. (2014) report that 64% of small estates engage in agriculture, 58% in forestry, 40% in agricultural tenancy, and 24% in renewables. However, the focus

on one specific diversification - the wind farm - is less usual: Hindle et al. (2014) report that estate owners identified on average 2.86 sectors for future diversification.

The level of risk Mr Burnett was engaging in is unusual, in that he was staking 90% of the estate's value against the proposed wind farm. A propensity for risk has been proposed as being an element of an entrepreneurial personality (e.g. McClelland's (1961) need for achievement, risk taking and locus of control). However, the level of risk required could be more indicative of the urgency to improve the finances of the estate, rather than a specific personality trait.

5.2.3 Renewable Energy Motivations and Inspirations

For Mr Burnett, the initial motivation for the wind farm was "to have another enterprise on the farm" as a profitable diversification. However, he believed that since the initial motivation, "I've become much more political". He argued that "I believe it (wind energy) should be owned by people living round it, rural people. Not by big multi-nationals and offshore corporations." He said that Aberdeenshire was "virtually the only place in which there is a large element of farmer owned wind turbines in the UK as far as I'm aware." His inspiration was from "the late Maitland Mackie (of Mackie's ice cream) who, well I spoke to him. He kind of gave me the idea in the first place."

Mr Burnett planned for the wind farm to be a mixture of private and community ownership, saying he wanted "the family to own two-thirds. And one third I'm looking to be community owned." He already had some commitment from potential investors from the local community: "we've got several people who are living close by who've agreed to buy shares in it. And the Inch Hospital, trying to build a new hospital, they've agreed to buy, put up one half of one of the turbines."

He had a long-standing interest in renewable energy of various types. As Mr Burnett explained, the estate had a long history of utilising renewable energy: "in 1937 there was a Gilkes turbine put in down on the loch to supply power to the house. And that was sold for scrap in the mid-'60s." Having realised that the infrastructure "was all intact", he explained that he had "bought a very cheap Chinese turbine, stuck it in, and yes, it's been, it's just been a hobby".

This hobby had led to his interest in electric cars, which he used on the estate. He said “you can lease an electric car for the same cost as you’re spending every month on maintenance and petrol. So, in reality, you’re paying nothing for having a brand-new car to drive around in. And people can’t see it. They’re just quite incapable of seeing it.”

Mr Burnett demonstrated a mixture of inspirations for the proposed wind farm. He believed the initial inspiration was for a profitable diversification for the estate. However, he also explained that he believed strongly in the local ownership of renewable energy, demonstrating a sense of obligation as a landowner to his local community. As Stephan, Hart and Drews (2015) argue, community is a “rarely included” element of research into entrepreneurial motivation. However, there is a documented commitment of some landowners to their local community (Wagstaff, 2013).

There can also be socioemotional wealth benefits to a commitment to community. As Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2014) argue, community commitments can help “to ensure an abundance of goodwill toward the family and its business”, and may have helped legitimise the wind power scheme, by gaining approval from the local community to ensure that they did not try to oppose it.

5.2.4 Spotting Opportunities

Mr Burnett did not identify himself as an entrepreneur: “No I wouldn’t describe myself as an entrepreneur. I would describe myself as a farmer who wants to be a wind farmer.” Mike Davis, a local farmer who frequently worked in partnership with Mr Burnett, such as a recent joint purchase of a wood chipper machine, joined the interview unexpectedly. He disagreed with Mr Burnett, saying “Oh you’re doing all right. You’re a different sort of entrepreneur. If you hadn’t done some quite entrepreneurial things then this place would’ve been bust and gone. Do you not agree?” to which Mr Burnett replied “well, yes”.

Mr Burnett’s reluctance to identify as an entrepreneur may be indicative of an inherited, class based, anti-enterprise sentiment. His actions appear to be motivated through need to improve estate finances, rather than a desire to be entrepreneurial.

The conversation then led to the spotting of various opportunities, often triggered by the availability of grants. Prompted by Mr Davis, Mr Burnett

discussed how he had sold all his cows and purchased a farm quota to exploit a specific fund available. He explained that many people were not able to see the opportunity: "You could point this out to people and they all saw the pitfalls and nobody could see the advantage of buying a farm and putting in trees, and claiming the Challenge Fund. And the grants actually paid for the farm in 5 years. You had your farm for nothing and 5 years of income. This is a farm we just sold last month."

The initial opportunity had been identified by Mr Davis, who had already taken advantage of the scheme on a smaller farm. As Mr Davis explained, he had found another farm which could be exploited in the same way, but he was not able to raise the requisite finances: "this other one came up which was too big because my bank wouldn't give me all the money I needed. So, I said to Callum, are you interested? And Callum just like that, went for it. It was great." As Mr Burnett continued, there was considerable scepticism from his peers: "talking to fellow farmers and none of them, not one of them thought it was a good idea. They all couldn't just see what's the sense about it. They just couldn't see" The difference for Mr Burnett was his experience of dealing with forestry: "most farmers don't have experience with forestry and I did. So I knew what the value of good proper standing timber was."

Grégoire and Shepherd (2012) and Grégoire, Barr and Shepherd (2010) discuss cognitive processes of structural alignment in which entrepreneurs compare new knowledge with their existing knowledge. In Mr Burnett's case, he was able to assess a new opportunity by comparing it to his existing knowledge of forestry to be able to identify an opportunity that others were not able to recognise.

The interviewees discussed the importance of speaking to other people to get inspiration for new activities. As Mr Burnett said, "It's more speaking to other people, you get ideas when you see what they're doing." In particular, agricultural advisors were useful to Mr Burnett to get reaction on his ideas. As he said, "It's not often their suggestions. It's giving their reactions to my suggestions." Inspiration also came from farming practices abroad. As Mr Burnett said, "You get ideas in America.", with Mr Davis continuing by saying "It's brilliant. Go to America, have a look round America, and then 2 or 3 years later it happens here. Or very often it does. See what they're doing."

This use of travels to America and use of consultants to help gauge the viability of potential opportunities demonstrated that for Mr Burnett, opportunities are not restricted to a single moment of insight. Rather, they are an unfolding process in which initial ideas are developed into business opportunities (Gielnik et al., 2012), which have a temporal component (McMullen and Dimov, 2013). Mr Burnett and Mr Davis highlighted that for them, ideas were not only identified through seeing what others were doing, but were also validated by the input of multiple parties, from his peers to his wider social network.

5.2.5 Social Class and Family

When asked if he felt a pressure to succeed in making the estate viable for future generations, Mr Burnett said "I feel a pressure to yes. I don't know if I'm succeeding at the moment. I'm not succeeding." He explained that "the finances and this house is in much better shape. But there are a lot less houses than there were when I inherited it."

The perpetuation of the family name and estate has been noted as a preoccupation of the upper classes (James, 2009; Scott, 1982): for Mr Burnett, there was a considerable weight of expectation for him to be able to ensure the financial survival of the estate in order to be able to do this.

Mr Burnett explained that his inheritance of the estate came as a surprise: "I never knew I was going to be an owner, own the estate. I just thought I would be running the farm. I was surprised when my parents decided to make me sole... Well, it wasn't sole, but just give me the estate, kind of intact [...] in a state that it was able to carry on without too much financial death duties and siblings sort of burden."

The estate has not always been historically inherited along the lines of male primogeniture, despite Cannadine's (1990) argument that the upper classes signalled their difference to other classes through the use of primogeniture. Mr Burnett is the youngest son, and the estate was inherited by his mother, not his father and will be inherited by his second youngest son. As Hough (2011) reports, there is a growing trend for estates to not be inherited along the lines of primogeniture. However, in the case of Williamston, there is also historical precedence for both female inheritances, and inheritance by a younger son, both Mr Burnett himself, and also the planned inheritance for his third son.

He discussed social class, and the benefits of being an estate owner: “It gives people a certain, yes, it does give recognition in certain circumstances if you do own a big house and a lot of land.” He also said “people do kind of remember you better if they connect you with the house and things like that, socially they kind of seem to remember your name better.” Being part of a network of landowners was also beneficial for Mr Burnett in terms of seeking advice if required: “that’s been helpful, knowing other, the network of other landowners [...] at least we know who they are. And we can speak to them.”

Mr Davis, though, highlighted what he believed were the negative connotations of being a landowner: “people would speak, they’d know somebody that Callum’s family would come by, ‘Oh that’s the Burnetts, oh those rich folk.’ And (Mr Davis’ wife) would quite quickly say, ‘Don’t you think that they don’t work.’ She said. ‘They have to work for their bloody money. And they’re not rich. They’ve got a big house. They’ve got a farm, they’ve got an estate. But they’re not rich folk. We know them. They’re not. So just don’t you...’” He carried on: “There’s the perception that Callum’s the laird and all the rest of it. But they forget that Callum has to bloody work. [...] And that every Burnett’s had to work most of their married life.”

Mr Davis’ comments on perceptions of estate owners were illuminating, particularly his assertion that the Burnett family have had to work hard “most of their married life”. Although Veblen (2014; 1899) and Cannadine (1990) argue that the upper classes maintained a leisured lifestyle and had no occupation, Mr Davis’ comments highlight that these are historical conceptions, not necessarily suited to the realities of being a modern-day estate owner.

5.3 Angus Gordon Lennox Case Study

5.3.1 Biographical Details

Angus Gordon Lennox (b. 1964) is married to Zara Gordon Lennox. With his first wife, Camilla Douglas Pilkington, he has three children: Iona, Emily and Geordie. His grandfather Lieutenant-General Sir George Gordon Lennox (1908-1998) re-purchased the Gordon Castle estate, located near Fochabers, from the crown, earlier generations have handed it over in lieu of death duties. Mr Gordon Lennox’s father, Major-General Bernard Charles Gordon Lennox (1932-2017) inherited the estate but lived mostly in Hampshire. Mr Gordon Lennox was educated at Harrow, before becoming a Grenadier Guard, like his father. He then

worked as an investment banker at Cazenove before purchasing the estate from his family in 2008.



Figure 5.2: Gordon Castle.

Source: gordoncastle.co.uk

5.3.2 The Business of the Estate

The Gordon Castle Estate is a small diversified estate described as a “modern sporting estate” (gordoncastle.co.uk). Once considerably larger, it is now approximately 500 acres. The main activities of the estate are fishing on the river Spey, the provision of holiday accommodation including Gordon Castle itself, hosting weddings, the eight-acre walled garden and cafe, and the Gordon Castle Highland games and Country Fair together with a small farming operation. Additionally, the Gordon Castle brand produces gin, a bath and beauty range, tweed and bone china products, inspired by the produce grown in the walled garden.



Figure 5.3: L-R Walled Garden, Café, Gordon Castle Gin.

Source: gordoncastle.co.uk

As a small estate, some of the activities on the Gordon Castle estate are relatively unusual. In particular, Hindle et al. (2014) report only 4.5% of small estates as

engaging in retail activities, whereas the Gordon Castle brand, as discussed below is the main diversification for Mr Gordon Lennox.

Mr Gordon Lennox explained the requirement to improve estate finances through these various activities: “there is definitely a need here to do something and whether that’s entrepreneurial or not but to do something to make it a different place from what it was.” The castle has undergone considerable renovations to allow it to be marketed as a luxury castle. As he said of the castle “if one’s going to be an entrepreneur, one wouldn’t necessarily start with a large, historical, leaking asset if you know what I mean.” Now though, it is starting to financially break even, but revenues from it are not sufficient to sustain the estate for future generations: “it’s only just enough, that sort of washes its face but not really anything more than that and that’s not something you want to hand over to another generation without it causing them headaches.”

He believed that the location of the estate was both beneficial yet constraining. On one hand “we’re unlucky that we’re in the middle of nowhere” which means that the estate cannot sustain as many weddings as some of his friends “who’ve got houses who do 60 to 80 to 100 [weddings per year] but they are in more populous areas.” However, he also said “we’re lucky that we’re in Speyside” due to the proximity to the whisky industry and tourism which provides “a sort of built-in audience for the castle, fishing in the summer, whisky companies and other things”.

The issue of scaling the business, particularly the Gordon Castle brand, was highlighted by Mr Gordon Lennox as a particular concern. With the awareness that the holiday accommodation and the castle were limited to how many guests they could have, he explained that he “then thought what can be scalable and what have we got and are we using the asset that we’ve got to its best effect”.

The answer, he argued, was the walled garden, which is “one of the biggest productive kitchen gardens, walled gardens in Britain” which he believed was unique: “no one else has got my garden, so everything we produce has got something from the garden in it. So, no one can reproduce it” He continued that the question was then to “try and produce something that’s scalable, so how can we do that? Well let’s produce products from that and brand them” which led to the decision to make products incorporating ingredients from and inspired by the walled garden.

The Castle Gordon brand is a separate business to the main estate business. Mr Gordon Lennox explained that “the products business and what you’re sitting in – the café and that sort of thing – pays a rent to the estate and the more successful this is, the more money the estate gets” He continued by explaining the benefits to the estate “so if you can scale that, the estate will do fantastically well just by twiddling their thumbs frankly”.

He justified the separation of the brand business from the estate business by saying “this business means that you can get away from the traditional farming, cottages, that sort of thing, and run it as a proper commercial business with outside interests with rewards for staff, with all sorts of things, without it upsetting the fabric of what’s been in my family since broadly speaking, since 1470.”

His strategy of separating the core, traditional business of the estate from the diversified activities of the Gordon Castle brand echoes Di Belmonte, Seaman and Bent (2016) who argued that some activities engaged in by estates were economically vital, but “not especially core to the family vision”. By doing so, he has managed to engage in a purposively entrepreneurial activity, without risking the dilution of the socioemotional wealth of the estate, overcoming the reluctance of family businesses to engage in risk-reducing diversification as reported by Gómez-Mejía, Makri and Larraza Kintana (2010).

The Gordon Castle brand had recently raised additional finance, which Mr Gordon Lennox explained as being driven by a number of rationales: “one reason is because it’s quite nice to have some external money. The next reason is because we’ve got some new shareholders who will act as ambassadors and sponsors and that sort of stuff, and the third reason is that we can turbo charge the business as we’ve developed it, we’ve had a lot of mistakes, we’ve learned a lot of lessons”.

5.3.3 Diversity of Estates

Mr Gordon Lennox believed that the portfolio of diversified activities on the Gordon Castle estate was innovative for estates in the North East of Scotland, claiming “we’re ahead of our time up here”. Talking of other estates, he highlighted that there was bound to be diversity of both the necessity for and effectiveness of diversification activities, saying “estates are businesses and

therefore there's bound to be some estates that are run better than others, and some that want to do different things."

Some estate owners, he believed, were in a secure financial position: "some of them are in a very lucky position in that they're set, they're set for life, they've never had to sell anything", continuing by highlighting their lack of requirement to engage in entrepreneurial activity "I'm sure there are some people out there who have a lovely time doing not very much. Not being very entrepreneurial. But without any particular need to do it."

He contrasted these estate owners with those who have the requirement, but lack of ability to engage in entrepreneurial activity, saying there are "probably some other people who wouldn't know where to start and things gently demise or whatever it is".

A third type of estate owner was highlighted by Mr Gordon Lennox as being those who had historically been entrepreneurial and continued to capitalise on the success of these earlier endeavours: "I think there are a lot of lucky people out there who've got huge estates who can make it work, which is [...] they've cranked the traditional handle which is: got a big house, let's have a tearoom, got some nice pictures, let's open it up, which was definitely the 60s and 70s and they would have been viewed as quite entrepreneurial at the time."

A fourth type of modern estate owner was highlighted by Mr Gordon Lennox as being those who have - like he described himself as doing - utilised their existing assets in an entrepreneurial way "there are some people who have been very entrepreneurial in deciding they want to use their asset better, whether it be with a windfarm or a distillery or a biomass something or other or such and such".

Thompson (2001) conceptualised three types of historic landowner: traditional rural estate owners, dissolute town-based landowners, and entrepreneurial landowners. Mr Gordon Lennox's own four-fold typology of wealthy, self-sustaining landowners; un-entrepreneurial owners of declining estates; historically entrepreneurial landowners; and contemporary asset maximising entrepreneurs provides valuable insight into how he himself views his estate owning peers as a diverse, rather than homogenous group.

5.3.4 *Self*

Mr Gordon Lennox's background is as an investment banker, which he attributed as giving him a certain amount of entrepreneurial experience of creating new business: "trying to create something, to make something better and busier and more profitable or whatever, is kind of what I've always done. If that's entrepreneurship, even though I worked for quite a big company, I ran a bit of it that had to go and get new business. Getting new business is entrepreneurial." In particular, he argued that it gave him specific skills that he has transferred to the business of building the Gordon Castle brand "much more importantly is my experience in doing other things enabling me to have the ability to talk to people, an ability to have contacts outside, try and work out, problem solve etc etc, it's nothing to do with the name whatsoever, it's to do with the job I used to have."

He believed that being seen as an entrepreneur was positive: "I think everyone would like to be viewed as an entrepreneur, wouldn't they?" He also believed that some people were naturally entrepreneurial, despite their circumstances "there are other people who are going to be an entrepreneur whether they've got an estate or whether they haven't". He wasn't, though, sure whether he viewed himself as an entrepreneur. He thought that others might view him as one "I suppose others would call me an entrepreneur, but I'm not sure", but then decided he had the propensity for risk he believed was essential to entrepreneurship "I suppose you've got to be a bit of a risk taker as well if you're going to be an entrepreneur and I probably am too much of a risk taker, put it all on black."

Mr Gordon Lennox's attitudes reveal a lack of class-based antipathy towards entrepreneurship. He acknowledged what he believed was a propensity towards risk in himself that extended beyond his entrepreneurial actions, which is included as a Basic Tendency in The Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System.

The model also demonstrates Basic Tendencies and Characteristic Adaptations as influencing "entrepreneurial self-concept", which can be explicated by "entrepreneurial self-identity" and "entrepreneurial life-stories" both of which Mr Gordon Lennox demonstrated. In particular, his identification of the entrepreneurial element of his previous role as an investment banker provided a life story of entrepreneurship that extended beyond his existing activities,

providing a compelling narrative of his earlier entrepreneurial experiences as being influential on his current activities.

5.3.5 Family

Throughout the interview, Mr Gordon Lennox frequently referred to family, whether his predecessors and the “600 years connection that my family’s had with it [the estate]” or his heirs. The discussion had turned to the work of the current Duke and Duchess of Northumberland at Alnwick castle. Mr Gordon Lennox said “they’re my cousins. There’s a picture here [pointing towards picture on cafe wall]...by my cousin, my grandfather’s cousin”. There were considerable references to his grandfather or older generations of predecessors, with Mr Gordon claiming “my great great great something or other put the legislation through parliament that legalized whisky”.

He explained the evolution of the family surname and the connection to the Dukes of Richmond by saying “my great great great something or other didn’t have any children [...] he was the Duke of Gordon, all the estates at that stage went to his sister’s charge who was called the Duke of Richmond, and the Duke of Richmond’s children were called Lennox, and therefore we all became Gordon Lennox.”

Mr Gordon Lennox did not grow up living in the castle, and does not live in it permanently: instead, he lives in another property on the estate. When growing up, his “children never set foot in the castle”. Despite that lack of childhood connection with the estate for his children, he explained that there was a requirement to improve the estate for his heirs to inherit and occupy in future: “everything needed a bit of a brush up as you can imagine which happens with generational change”.

He explained that the economics of sustaining the estate were difficult: “it’s hard work to make things wash their face in a place like this”. However, the only way of “making the castle a place that we could, that my children could spend some time in” was to “do it up to within an inch of its life and then rent it out by the week or the day or the month or whatever it might be, but short term lets, high end, fully staffed, fully catered”. The development of the estate remained in progress, though. As Mr Gordon Lennox explained, it was not sufficiently viable for his children to come and live on the estate at the time of interview: “it doesn’t make any money at the moment, you know they can’t just leave and come here,

if you know what I mean. When I said it doesn't make money it's sort of ok, but they couldn't live in the way that they would like to become accustomed to".

Mr Gordon Lennox therefore displayed a mixture of socioemotional wealth and economic priorities. The requirement to sustain the estate for future generations, and the awareness of the richness of the preceding family history was clearly articulated by Mr Gordon Lennox. Although this non-economic rationale appears to be the dominant concern for Mr Gordon Lennox, it was supported by an economic rationale through the licensing deal whereby the Gordon Castle brand paid royalties to the estate.

For Mr Gordon Lennox it was necessary to generate significant profits to allow his children to sustain a lifestyle beyond financial sufficiency. Whilst this may not be the leisured lifestyle that Cannadine (1990) documents in the historical upper-classes, it is clear that Mr Gordon Lennox's children expect to live a privileged lifestyle which requires considerable income to achieve.

5.3.6 Inheritance

Mr Gordon Lennox did not confirm which of his children will take over the running of the estate, explaining that he hadn't told them either: "they all have their own erm whatever the word is, assumptions as to what's going to happen, they may be right, they may be wrong". His rationale for this was explained as being due to a number of factors. He was clear that he wanted his children to develop their own lives and careers first "A, I don't really want them getting fussed about it and B, they should live their own lives to begin with and then they can come back if they so choose."

He also believed that the estate would keep him engaged for a considerable length of time: "I'm sort of here by accident I suppose, and I've invented a job for myself, and I retired from my previous job in my late 40s, and I need something to do for 20 years and so to an extent I've invented this job for me" He also said "I still think I've got 15 -20 years to do something without involving them". Therefore, he was not at that time directly involving his children in the day to day activities of the estate: "I don't want to envelop them in it yet, I keep them in touch with exactly what's going on, in fact they own it, most of it". Whilst there was a direct commitment to sustain the estate for his heirs, Mr Gordon Lennox made it clear that he was not ready or willing to make definitive decisions regarding the inheritance of the estate to a named child.

5.4 Melfort Campbell Case Study

5.4.1 Biographical Details

Melfort Campbell (b. 1956) owns the Altries estate in Maryculter, Aberdeenshire. He is married to the Hon. Lucy Nickson. They have three daughters, Iona (b. 1986), Araminta, (b. 1988), and Alice (b.1990). Mr Campbell's grandparents purchased the estate in 1951.

Mr Melfort trained as a crane operator in Australia, then started his own business in 1985 and has since established a group of specialised engineering businesses serving the marine, defence, energy and utility industries worldwide. He has sat on the board of many organisations, including as Scottish Enterprise Board Member, Chair Oil and Gas Expert Commission, Oil and Gas Technology Centre Board. He is a visiting Professor at Strathclyde University. He was awarded the OBE in 2005 for services to industry in Scotland. Her Majesty appointed Melfort as the Regimental Honorary Colonel in November 2014.

5.4.2 The Business of the Estate

Mr Campbell explained the size and activities of the estate, describing it as “just under 800 acres. So it's actually basically a fishery, with some land.” Later in the interview he detailed more fully the activities of the estate. He was in the process of having to “take virtually all the forestry down because it was all needing to come down” and replanting. The estate also has agricultural tenants, and a stables, run by his daughter.



Figure 5.4: Fishing at Altries.

Source: <https://www.fishpal.com/Scotland/Dee/AltriesAndLowerDrum/?dom=null>

The portfolio of activities Mr Melfort engaged in are unusual for a small estate. Hindle et al. (2014) do not note fishing as occurring in either very small, or small estates, which Altries would be classed as.

Two future plans for the estate were outlined. The first was building “proper stables and set her up in business and put some of the land to better use, rather than having cows trashing it.” Hindle et al. (2014) do not include equine activities as a separate diversification activity, nor are they reported as being typical estate activities by either Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006) or McKee et al., (2013).

The second was to convert the estate office building, an old primary school, “into a business centre, depending on take up”. The rationale for this diversification was due to the proximity of the estate to Aberdeen: “being 10, 12 miles to Aberdeen is what we have to look at”. The business centre plan extended beyond the provision of office space, with his plan to offer “fully serviced offices, and actually what I want to do is make it more of an entrepreneurial business centre, so get businesses in here, but keep some space that’s free for up to a year for entrepreneurial start-ups so they get free space and mentoring from the other businesses that sort of thing. That’s what I’m quietly working on whilst I finish off my business career and set up the bits that need to keep on working agriculturally.”

Business activities are included as a generic category by Hindle et al. (2014) as being engaged in by some estates. However, the provision of business centres, such as that Mr Campbell outlined plans for, have not been further detailed across the literature consulted. That Mr Campbell was aware of the geographic proximity of the estate to Aberdeen, and his connections to the dominant oil and gas industry of the local area highlight the importance of the geographical context in which entrepreneurship occurs (noted in Steyaert and Katz, 2004; Lang, Fink and Kibler, 2013; Korsgaard et al., 2015).

He was adamant that he would not engage in renewable energy projects: “I’ve said no to all options on renewables”. Whilst not directly articulated by Mr Campbell, the pilot interview with Mr Burnett had illuminated divisive views of landowners on renewables, with some willing to engage in them due to the large subsidies available and potential future income streams from the energy provided and sold to energy utilities companies, whereas others were opposed to

many such schemes, particularly wind turbines due to the aesthetic effect on the landscape.

5.4.3 Views on other Estates

Mr Campbell shared his views on other estates. He praised Formartines, “the Haddo farm shop – you have to queue up for lunch and remarkable what they have done there.” He suggested that he had previously had similar ideas for a cafe/farm shop, but not the time to implement them: “I’ve often thought from a proximity perspective, this is actually quite good...but I’ve had my own businesses to run.”

Discussing larger estate owners, he believed some were not fully committed to the business of the estate: “whatever floats their boat: right, that’s what I want to do this week, or need to do this week, so clear everything else out. Less easy to do if you’re Chief Executive of a large PLC but if you’re Chief Executive of a large estate you can do it. Whether it’s running an exhibition, or shooting, or sitting on a tractor ploughing, it’s whatever really interests them.”

Mr Campbell’s comments demonstrated that he views some estate owners, like himself, as being business-like and committed to the running of the estate, whereas others were more interested in the leisured lifestyle historically enjoyed by the upper classes.

5.4.4 Inheritance

Mr Campbell, when asked, offered his opinion on a perceived trend of estates no longer being automatically inherited by the eldest son: “it’s far more that recognition that estates cannot survive off the oldest son leaving school, going to Cirencester and coming and running the estate. The capital base and the income simply doesn’t stand up.” In relation to the choice of which child to choose to take over the estate, he believed “you’re going to have to look and say right who can actually keep it going, and of course one of the issues then is therefore you’re more likely to have a separation of titles and suchlike from the land. And you’re seeing that.” The rationale for this was due to the difficulties of making an estate economically sustainable: “Very few of them were handing over the estate in better shape than they inherited it and that’s less a fault, more an aspect of cost, taxes and suchlike.”

As the father of three girls, Mr Campbell is not able to hand the estate on to a son, saying: "I've got daughters – you can't legislate." He plans for one of his daughters to take over the estate in due course: "it would be really nice to and much of what I do is to make it possible."

Mr Campbell demonstrated a similar attitude towards that reported by Hough (2011) where almost 60% of landowners were prepared to leave their estates to a daughter, although in his situation he had no direct male heir to hand the estate to.

Mr Campbell himself is a third son and thus was not the natural choice to inherit the estate. However, his success in business had given him the resources to be able to improve the estate. As he says of his parents, "my parents have been asset rich and cash poor and hadn't had the money to run it". His brother, who is married to his wife's sister, and lives locally "was of the view that if everybody wanted him to have it, he'd try and make a go of it, but he didn't have any money."

Therefore, as Mr Campbell explained, with a financially struggling estate, "when it came to succession, my father: I think he'd pretty much made up his mind, but there was only one person... A, he knew that he hadn't invested in the place and there was a quote for a hundred grand to repair the roof of the house, that was pie in the sky for him." Mr Campbell had the resources to be able to invest in the estate, and as he explained "I bought: I didn't buy everything, but I bought most of it and paid them, well I didn't pay them, I bought them a house which I still own because I can't sell. And so, it was obvious that to stay in family hands that it needed a substantial shot of cash which I was able to do."

There is little cognisance in the literature outlined in previous chapters of younger sons inheriting estates, with an assumption that the eldest male would inherit. As Mr Campbell explained, whilst his eldest brother was offered the opportunity, he was the best placed economically to be able to revive what was a financially struggling estate. In the case of the Altries estate, therefore, whilst there is some awareness of non-economic family goals (that is, succession along traditional lines of primogeniture), the economic rationale of having the wealthiest son take over, took precedence.

5.4.5 Challenges

A number of challenges were reported by Mr Campbell for the future diversification of the estate. One was the provision of adequate internet to the proposed business centre: “They have laid the fibre optics down this road: whether they’ve put in enough capacity. It doesn’t have enough capacity for the houses that have gone up, they didn’t study the planning and what had been approved when they started doing it, so that’s the sort of challenges we’ve got.”

He believed that the land reform agenda was ill-informed, and that in a “political” and “policy setting, there’s a fundamental lack of understanding as to what has created the countryside as we know it.” He argued that some equated land ownership with excessive wealth, describing a “politics of envy where people say there’s rich people and we need to get rid of them, but if you look at my parents’ profit and loss and nothing, not the balance sheet so much, but if you looked at their profit and loss – no one described my parents as rich and wealthy and that would be the case with most places”.

Mr Campbell argued that the countryside required people like himself: “who are therefore prepared to plough extra cash into a place, like I’m doing here is absolutely fundamental to our countryside and that lack of policy recognition.” He believed that private land ownership, when managed correctly, was positive: “there are benefits of, certain benefits of the historic land ownership and management that we’ve had that are not appreciated”. He argued that a result of land reform legislation “we will lose, noticeably, tangibly lose some of the benefits in the landownership we’ve had, and that largely be around about investment and stewardship”.

He also found the increased security and legislation for agricultural tenants a frustration: “I’ve got one agricultural tenancy which is a bloody nightmare, frankly, because he’s got no...he treats my land the same as he treats his own. With absolutely no respect for it and if you go and have a look at his tenancy area and the land I look after, and they’re chalk and cheese.”

Mr Campbell’s reaction to the land reform agenda was much in line with the concerns reported by Scottish Land and Estates (2016) in reaction to the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016, where they expressed concerns on the effects of the bill on rural areas and the right of succession for tenant farmers. The latter was of

particular practical concern for Mr Campbell, with his tenant not treating the land with the same level of respect he believed he did.

5.5 Earl of Dalhousie Case Study

5.5.1 Biographical Details

James Hubert Ramsay (b. 1948) is the 17th Earl of Dalhousie. The Dalhousie estates comprise estates at Brechin Castle, Edzell and Invermark, all in Angus, totalling 55,000 acres of land. The family seat is currently Brechin Castle, although subsequent to the interview the castle was put on the market for £3 million, with Lord Dalhousie stating in the Scotsman newspaper “Brechin Castle has been the family home for many generations but the running costs are a significant overhead for the family business.” (Campsie, 2019).

Lord Dalhousie is married to Marilyn Davina Butter. They have three children: Lady Lorna Theresa Ramsay (b. 1975), Lady Alice Magdalene Ramsay (b. 1977), and the heir apparent, Simon David Ramsay, Lord Ramsay (b. 18 April 1981). Lord Dalhousie was educated at Ampleforth College, a Catholic School. Subsequently he joined the army and rose to the position of 2nd Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards. Following this, he worked in various positions in banking, before succeeding to the title of Earl of Dalhousie following his father, Simon Ramsay, the 16th Earl of Dalhousie’s death in 1999. Lord Dalhousie was appointed in 2009 as Lord Steward of Her Majesty’s Household, a position which requires him to present guests to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh during state events at Buckingham palace.



Figure 5.5: Brechin Castle.

Source: <https://visitangus.com/brechin-castle/>

5.5.2 Estate Activities

The Dalhousie estates maintain a portfolio of traditional and diversified business activities. The estate website outlines the “the traditional land uses associated with many rural estate enterprises”, notably farming, forestry, property letting [residential and holiday], shooting, fishing and deer stalking. Additionally, the estate engages in diversified activities, including the Brechin Castle Garden Centre, described as “a garden centre, restaurant and visitor attraction” and “also an associated business, Brechin Castle Livery, and allotments for the residents of Brechin.” (<http://www.dalhousieestates.co.uk/about-us/the-estate/>)



Figure 5.6: L-R Brechin Castle Garden Centre, Peggy Scott's.

Source <https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/>

Lord Dalhousie provided more information on these activities. Discussing the upland Invermark estate in particular, he described how it was unprofitable: “The main source of income is renting grouse shooting, a bit for deer stalking, a bit for fishing, and some sheep, but it costs money virtually every year. Two years ago, we made a small profit, but it’s insignificant compared to the normal losses”.

The estate also grew Christmas trees, which were subsequently outsourced, with Lord Dalhousie admitting that “we weren’t actually terribly good at it, and so our Christmas trees are now managed by a Dane, who lives locally, who is very good”. Similarly, the equestrian centre had been let out, as the estate did not have the expertise to manage it in house: “We did manage it ourselves, we never meant to manage it ourselves, but the guy who took it on was hopeless – actually very good apart from the finance side!”

As a very large estate, the activities Lord Dalhousie outlined - a mixture of traditional estate activities and historic diversifications - were much in line with those reported by Hindle et al. (2014).

A number of future diversifications in various stages of progress were detailed by Lord Dalhousie: the estate had recently purchased the Peggy Scott's coffee shop on the main A90 Aberdeen to Dundee road near Finavon. Lord Dalhousie's son was to manage the estate: "My son's in and running it. He was in the army until three years ago and was working in London, now moved up here with a wife and a new child. So he's having a bit of a change of routine."

The rationale for the purchase was explained as a way to exploit existing capabilities: "The theory is we have a big coffee shop at the garden centre which does very well and we thought it's local, we could add it on, it's an established business and we're looking at growing it. I don't think the organic growth potential's that great but we've been looking for some time to do a farm shop for instance, so that's maybe where we'll locate the farm shop and build onto that existing building."

Plans for expansion at the Brechin Castle Garden centre were also outlined by Lord Dalhousie: "We're also in the throes of planning a soft play area at the garden centre. We've looked at a number of other people's and, so that's another phase". Finally, future finances permitting, plans to expand into holiday accommodation: "Down the line, when there's money in the bank we might go into holiday chalets and that sort of thing. We've still got things to do."

Whilst the development of wild lands is reported by McMorran, Price and Warren (2008) and Visit Scotland (2019) as representing sustainable opportunities for landowners, Lord Dalhousie did not outline any such plans for the Invermark estate lands. However, in outlining plans for future diversifications at both the Peggy Scott's and Brechin Castle site, and for holiday accommodation, Lord Dalhousie reflects Hindle et al. (2014), who reported that estate owners had identified two or three potential diversifications to ensure estate sustainability.

5.5.3 Community

Lord Dalhousie explained that he viewed the estate, and Brechin Castle, as a community asset, saying that "we try to hold ourselves as open as possible". He was critical of taxation on repairs to the fabric of the building saying "they presumably want us to maintain the house, pretty well done on a shoestring, it's not tax-deductible against other profits. It's quite expensive to maintain. It's a community asset".

He explained that the castle was used for visits from various groups and the public: “everything from the Council’s friends of China, we open to the public for a month, we have school visits, this that and the other, so it’s part of the community asset if you like.” He did, though, admit that it was perhaps “maybe not used enough, but I encourage people to come.”

Lord Dalhousie, as a member of the peerage, demonstrated some aspects of *noblesse oblige*, particularly the philanthropic duty to society as reported by Lacey (1983) through his commitment to maintaining the house for the benefit of the local community. However, with the Castle subsequently on the market, it is clear that Lord Dalhousie has had to balance what he sees as a duty to the community, and implicitly part of his stock of socioemotional wealth, with an economic rationale to sustain the broader estate, and not just the family seat.

5.5.4 Challenges for Estates

Lord Dalhousie outlined a number of challenges the estate faced. He was critical of what he viewed as excessive taxation faced by estates: “we’re permanently looking for ideas – money’s always the squeeze and as an estate we turn over about £5.7 million and we collect about £1.1 million in tax”. He continued by explaining that the burden of taxation had made him cautious about the future diversifications he engaged in: “here’s this huge focus on raising money, which all governments are going through, but I get – it’s slowed us down I think”. In particular, he mentioned that when deciding whether to proceed with the proposed soft play area “we’re much more careful about it than we were.”

He was also concerned about the land reform movement, saying: “politically there is a feeling from a lot in Holyrood that large estates are unfair and want to break them up”. He conceded that he “can see there’s an argument for that” but said “if you go into community ownership, who’s going to pay for it”.

Lord Dalhousie was measured in his response to land reform, aware of what some might perceive as the unfairness of landowners such as himself owning very large areas of land. The implications of increased taxation, both generally and specific to land reform, were of clear concern to him, which had affected his attitude towards the future diversifications he had identified.

Proposed energy regulations on rental properties were also seen as challenging: “we’ve got quite a lot of cottages [...] new regulations on energy efficiency and

old cottages isn't going to work" This had a potentially damaging effect on the estate finances "if we can't rent them, there's going to be a real issue, if you've got an empty cottage, you've still got to pay rates on it, that could create a squeeze."

5.5.5 Entrepreneurship

Lord Dalhousie believed that "Scotland's got some wonderful examples of entrepreneurs, we do ourselves down" but believed that entrepreneurship was not adequately encouraged in Scotland "I'm not sure our political climate – it says it's friendly, but the temptation is to raise taxes all the time, it's the feel of the thing, it's not terribly conducive to." In this praise of Scottish entrepreneurs, Lord Dalhousie did not reflect any inculcated antipathy towards entrepreneurship, despite his position as a high-ranking member of the Peerage.

The requirement to be increasingly entrepreneurial on the estate was attributed to farming not being "very profitable, especially hill farming, it's...I guess that's why we're driven to being more entrepreneurial." He was also looking at how to be more entrepreneurial, not just through diversification, but within the farming enterprise: "we're also looking at how we can be more entrepreneurial on the farm – we've got some very good farmers, soft fruit growing and they are very entrepreneurial: they form co-operatives and they don't look very nice the polytunnels, but they're very successful"

He justified his entrepreneurial actions as being taken in order to sustain less profitable parts of the estate "I take the view that I'm trying to create money to be able to afford somewhere like Invermark which is our Highland bit".

Whilst he had demonstrated an admiration for entrepreneurship in general, Lord Dalhousie argued that he needed to engage in entrepreneurship to create new diversification opportunities, but also to improve existing activities, such as farming. Employing a vocabulary of motive (Scott, 1982), Lord Dalhousie justified his actions, arguing that entrepreneurship was engaged in as a way to sustain other, less profitable parts of the estate, particularly the traditional, and less entrepreneurial Invermark estate.

5.6 Malcolm Nicol Case Study

5.6.1 Biographical Details

The Nicol family have owned the Ballogie Estate since 1850. Malcolm Nicol and his wife brought up their family at Ballogie and live on the estate. His father was Colonel John Nicol (b.1912, d. 2008). The Ballogie estate is co-owned by Malcolm Nicol and his elder brother, Randall. The family “are dedicated to the maintenance, conservation, redevelopment, and safekeeping of the estate for future generations” (ballogie-estate.co.uk).



Figure 5.7: L-R Ballogie House, Potarch Café and Restaurant.

Sources: <https://www.ballogie-estate.co.uk/weddings/venue>;

<https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/>

5.6.2 Estate Activities and Organisation

Mr Nicol outlined the ownership of the estate. He is the managing partner, and his brother, who works in London, the senior partner. As Mr Nicol explained further, the ownership mechanism for the estate is convoluted: “the property is actually owned by my brother and myself [...] it’s a little bit more complex but in actual fact the essence is how it is.”

The estate is 2400 hectares (5930 acres) plus a further 2000 hectares (4942 acres) of hill land which the estate manages. The estate operation is divided into a number of departments: property, recreational, residential, wildlife, forestry and farming. The property department covers let agricultural leases, commercial lets including a shop and gallery, a riding school and a walled garden let to a social enterprise. The recreational department includes a number of properties available for holiday lets, including the 5-star rated Potarch Lodge and Ballogie House, which is also used as a wedding venue, together with a cafe and restaurant at Potarch. The residential department covers 45 properties available for long term let. The wildlife department covers three fishing beats, one run in partnership with the neighbouring Finzean estate and also shooting in the Forest of Birse. The forestry

department covers 1370 hectares (3385 acres) of forestry. In addition to the let agricultural tenancies, the estate includes what Mr Nicol described as a “significant” in-hand farming operation, with three full time employees. Further activities included the development of new properties on the estate for sale.

The diversified portfolio of activities undertaken on the Ballogie estate are similar to those reported by Hindle et al. (2014) as occurring on medium size estates. However, whilst Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006) report that forestry is in a post productivist state, it occupied a large proportion of estate land. This though may be due to the constraints of geography, with the land unsuited for other use.

As Mr Nicol explained, the estate management is a family business with “my brother and I and both our wives [...] talking to every member of staff.” Not only are family members involved in the business estate, there are also formal and informal partnerships with neighbouring estates, such as the fishing beat run in partnership with the Finzean estate. There is also an informal organisation of local owner-occupied estates who meet regularly and co-operate, such as the passing on of potential holiday lets if their properties are full. In particular, Ballogie co-operate with the Kincardine O’Neil estate, who Malcolm Nicol believed share the “same kind of ethos, the same kind of thinking.”

Working in partnership with neighbouring estates - as is the case with the fishing beat run in partnership with the Finzean estate - does not appear to have been considered in the literature. Similarly, the joint ownership of the estate between two brothers is not something that has been explicated in the literature, although could be encompassed within the “family ownership” structure common to 34% of Scottish estates as reported by McKee et al. (2013). That Mr Nicol explained that both he, his brother and their wives were involved in the management of the estate in some form suggests that the estate is run for, and by, the wider family, not just for his elder brother.

5.6.3 Business Change

During the interview, Mr Nicol explained that the estate had undergone considerable change, spurred by the recent re-branding of the estate which was in the process of being rolled out to estate vehicles and staff uniforms. The recent taking back in hand of the running of the Potarch self-catering accommodation (previously let as a hotel) and cafe had prompted a “shockwave that’s going through the business, shaking it up”. The restructuring and re-branding of the

estate business he explained “doesn’t sound very entrepreneurial” and included routine tidying up, such as “just sorting out the filing system seeing how much guff is in there that we don’t really need. It’s a real good, what I call floor scrubbing operation”.

Other changes had been made to the implementation of internal deadlines. As he explained, “You can try all you like to put in internal deadlines but because they’re internal and they don’t have that external pressure, they tend to get pushed out the way”, but scheduling regular meetings with his brother forced them to “have regular management meetings.”

There was evidence of institutional change on the Ballogie Estate. Mr Nicol gave the impression that he was not purposively striving for change, but rather, and in accordance with Mutch (2019) engaging in projects that in themselves force institutional change. In his case, this was caused by the necessity to develop the Potarch site due to its failure under its previous management.

5.6.4 Opportunities

As Mr Nicol explained, the estate was focusing its efforts particularly on the opportunity provided by the decision to take the running of the Potarch Hotel back in hand, due to the failure of the business under its previous leaseholders. The opportunity was not one he had actively pursued, but one that “was thrust on us to be perfectly honest”. However, he argued that it forced him to ask himself “how do we actually fit up, how do we take the opportunities and how do we deal with the changing markets?” The reaction to his questioning was the realisation, as he explained, “we’ve got a fantastic opportunity here and we’re nibbling round the edges of it.”

Ideas for other opportunities occurred frequently to Mr Nicol, but he felt restricted to how many he could implement: “I sometimes get very frustrated, I feel myself throwing ideas into the bucket all the time, quite frankly we haven’t got the resources to take them on.” However, he argued that he had pursued what he believed were the correct opportunities and taken the correct strategy which involved improving on traditional estate activities, rather than engaging in radically different enterprises “certainly I think we’ve gone very soundly about what we’ve have done and actually sort of taking the traditional framework and taking it forward.”

Mr Nicol explained that a more radical plan had been developed for the cafe site which was a “very imaginative plan for a big operation down there”, but the level of risk it would have incurred would have been too great. Instead of the £1 million investment the estate had recently made in renovating the Potarch site, this radical plan would have incurred a £10 million cost. However, as Mr Nicol explained “our advisors were saying look this is a great scheme and all the rest of it, but they couldn’t recommend it because of the very big risks we were talking about, sort of £10 million investment and for an operation of this sort and our resources that was sort of a very very high risk.”

The opportunity presented by the failure of the Potarch site was being driven by the necessity to do something with the vacated site, was and shaped by both existing skillsets and by a reluctance to engage in high-risk activity. Mr Nicol demonstrated awareness that the opportunity was a “fantastic” one. However, the reluctance of the estate advisors to approve the scheme in its most ambitious form is similar to the findings of Woolvin (2013) in relation to formal boards which argued that they could be unwilling to embrace risk.

When embracing new opportunities such as the cafe, Mr Nicol believed it was important “to work outside your comfort zone but not so far out your comfort you can’t handle it”, or as he also put it, to “stretch the parameters and actually test what are the real parameters”. Mr Nicol therefore demonstrated some potential for risk-taking (albeit moderate) as per the characteristic adaptations of Obschonka and Stuetzer’s (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System.

Having had to abandon the riskier scheme, Mr Nicol instead converted Potarch Lodge into self-catering accommodation, as the estate staff had prior experience of managing self-catering properties. Mr Nicol made a decision there were existing skillsets that could be utilised, such as customer service: “in terms of dealing with customers, we’ve been doing that for a long time”. However, “dealing with a hotel business was outside of our comfort zone by quite a bit”.

Micelotta and Washington (2013) describe efforts to engage in institutional repair to reverse change, and maintain the institutional status quo. The decision to shape the Potarch development more in line with existing skillsets could arguably be an example of institutional maintenance. When faced with the potential disruption of having to take over the management of, and high-risk,

high-cost, renovation a hotel, Mr Nicol used a vocabulary of motive (Scott, 1982) to legitimise his actions in terms of the requirement for the implemented opportunity to fit in with existing skillsets.

5.6.5 Regulatory Restrictions

Mr Nicol described being frustrated by certain regulations that restricted his ability to engage in certain activities. In particular, increased security legislation for agricultural tenants had impacted his ability to engage in some entrepreneurial ventures on tenanted land: “all the frustration frankly about agricultural tenancy is [...] everything that’s happening at the moment it’s not simplifying things, it is making it worse. Which is so irritating, but there we are.”

There were also frustrations with the proposed increased energy efficiency requirements for let properties which restricted his ability to refurbish existing estate buildings: “adapting old buildings to modern building regulations [...] means totally demolishing some of them and building again.”

He described the estate as having a “very good game larder” and his desires to “get more of it on the café menu”. However, as he believed, “if you’re talking about entrepreneurship” the increase in the scale of the venison operation faces a “barrier in terms of [hygiene] regulation”. He acknowledged that this was not necessarily a bad thing, but had resource implications: “you’ve got to take the time, you’ve got to put the resources there to see that the job’s done.”

5.7 Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair Case Study

5.7.1 Biographical Details

Alexander George Gordon (b. 1955) is the 7th Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair. He is married to Joanna Clodagh Houldsworth. They have four children. The heir apparent is his son, George Ian Alastair Gordon, Earl of Haddo (b. 1983). Their other children are Lord Sam Dudley Gordon (b. 1985), Lady Anna Katherine Gordon (b. 1988), and Lord Charles Daniel Gordon (b. 1996). The Gordon family have owned the Haddo estate since 1469. David Gordon, 4th Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair had four adopted children, who were not legally permitted to inherit his title. Therefore, the title passed to his brother, Archibald Victor Dudley Gordon, 5th Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair (1913 – 1984) who never married or had children. On his death, the title passed to the youngest brother, Alastair Ninian John Gordon, 6th Marquess of Aberdeen and

Temair (1920-2002), a botanical artist and art critic and the current Marquess' father. The family seat, Haddo House, was entrusted to the National Trust for Scotland in 1979. Lord Aberdeen was educated at the Harrow School before following a career as a property developer in London. He is a Deputy Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire.



Figure 5.8 Haddo House.

Source: <https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/haddo-house>

5.7.2 The Business of the Estate

Lord Aberdeen inherited the Haddo Estate in 1983, at which time it was according to him, “damned near bankrupt”. At that time, the estate was in trust, but now is in private ownership by Lord Aberdeen. As he explained, at that time, although “the stream had run dry” and didn’t have “any alternative sources of income being bought in”, his successful career at that time as a property developer meant that he did not need to draw income from the estate: “fortuitously, therefore I wasn’t taking anything out, so one could replenish the stocks, the cash.”

As Lord Aberdeen explained, “we needed to bolster the finances in the estate, so that’s what we went about doing” by deciding to “reposition ourselves so that we were more dependent on rental incoming from housing.” Prior to this, the focus of the estate was on agriculture, which had not seen increases in income in twenty years: “we had quite a few tenanted farms and it was an extremely good

income but it was static, agricultural rents hadn't really changed from about the mid 70s through to the mid 90s."

In 1994 Lord Aberdeen and his wife settled permanently on the estate, and built their own house there. Many of the estate's long-term rental properties had been tenanted by several generations of the same family paying low rents. However, as Lord Aberdeen explained, his permanent move to the estate coincided with many of these families vacating their houses, and the estate was able to capitalise on the oil and gas boom in nearby Aberdeen: "there was a ready supply of people looking for rented accommodation."

Lord Aberdeen had made the renovation and supply of residential property the main focus of the estate, and explained: "we have a thick end of a hundred houses now which yield a very very substantial income and massively more than tenanted farms." The renovations were funded by the sale of some tenanted farms: "we offered our tenants the opportunity to buy their farms and quite a few of them took that up which gave us some cash to enable us to carry on doing up houses." Lord Aberdeen explained that due to land reform legislation, "there was really no prospect of ever getting the land back and successive governments were increasing the demands made on the landlord without changing the rental arrangements. So that your yield was going down effectively because your costs were always going up and your income stayed static or went up by just about inflation."

The decision to sell off tenanted lands reduced the size of the estate, but as Lord Aberdeen explained: "there's a very obvious private part to the estate which is bounded by public roads. So we said for the integrity of the estate we're not going to sell anything within those boundaries and we set the boundaries. So all the farmland in amongst the private roads is in hand, so we have now what, 2500 acres of in hand." At its largest, the Haddo Estate was approximately 65,000 acres.

In addition to renovating existing estate properties, Lord Aberdeen continues to develop properties in nearby villages through associated enterprises: "either through a company that is affiliated to Haddo or a joint venture company I've got with another, an Aberdeen developer, we've developed 200 or so (houses)."

Another major activity for Lord Aberdeen is Formartine's, a zero-carbon farm shop and restaurant. Lord Aberdeen explained that it had taken some time to reach profitability: "It's been a long hard struggle but it's just turned the corner, unfortunately we coincided exactly with the oil downturn, and so we have kept going, and as I say, it's been a struggle but we're really just starting to generate the necessary profits. I never looked upon it as a short term project it was a long term." However, as Mark Andrews, the Estate Manager, also present at the interview said "but you [...] have got a lot of enjoyment out of it." Lord Aberdeen agreed, saying "I love standing behind the counter and in the shop and serving people." He also highlighted the employment that Formartine's brings to the local area, saying "it employs full time equivalent I would have thought at least 30 people."

Lord Aberdeen explained that traditional estate activities had also become increasingly profitable, due partly to the demand by distillers for locally grown barley: "at the moment it just seems to be looking quite good [...] and I think an element of that is some of the distillers have tried to make sure that any malting barley they take on is from a 50 mile distance."

Forestry had also become increasingly profitable. This was attributed by Mark Andrews as partly related to having a skilled head forester: "the head forester is extremely competent [...] there are some who I'm afraid who just don't understand the work ethic that's required." Lord Aberdeen agreed, saying "It is hard physical work." Previously unsellable timber was now also valuable, due to its use in wood chip boilers. Lord Aberdeen believed that the estate were "forerunners in this area putting in wood chip boilers", with a number of them being used in their property developments, the largest one serving 22 houses.

Other energy projects discussed by Lord Aberdeen included a hydroelectric scheme which utilised existing estate assets: "we've got a hydroelectric scheme here, we use the existing water system that was already in place at the sawmill which used to run the mill". However, as Lord Aberdeen said "I think even if we had the ability to stick up 40 wind turbines we wouldn't do it, I'm very anti wind turbines." He did acknowledge their financial appeal in Highland areas though: "I have to say if I was running a Highland Estate with an incredible marginal cashflow if somebody came along and said, "here's half a million a year to put up 40 wind turbines" it would be damned difficult to say no."

Additional estate activities not discussed during the interview, but detailed on the estate website (<http://haddoestate.com>) include shooting and fishing, together with a number of commercially leased sites, detailed as including: two fabrication workshops, sand and gravel quarry with 36 acres of deposits, site for telecom mast, plant nursery, Laird's Cricket Ground, Haddo Trout Fishery, and Curling pond.



Figure 5.9: Formartine's Café.

Source: <http://www.formartines.com/gallery>

The range of estate activities are similar to those reported by Hindle et al. (2014) as occurring on medium sized estates. However, retail and food and beverage diversifications are only undertaken on 6.3% of estates in their sample, making the Formartine's development relatively unusual.

Whilst the supply of residential property is one of the most common activities on estates, that it forms a major income stream that can considerably outstrip agricultural income has not been thoroughly addressed in the literature. Whilst both agriculture and forestry have been argued by Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006) as being in a post-productivist state, Glass et al. (2013a) report farming remains a key concern on productive land. Lord Aberdeen confirmed that both farming and forestry had been increasingly profitable in recent years, particularly in forestry through the increasing demand for timber for biomass boilers that had, prior to their adoption, been of little value.

The discussion of Formartine's revealed that Lord Aberdeen planned to gain economic benefit from it in the long term when it became profitable, but also derived pleasure from working in the shop. Mutch (2019) discusses emotions as an overlooked component of institutional theory, however it is clear that owning and working in Formartine's brings Lord Aberdeen certain non-economic rewards. He talks of his "love" of working in the shop. Mutch (2019) describes the emotion of love as a "powerful motivation for commitment to the logic that

powers the institution”, demonstrating that Lord Aberdeen stands to gain both economic and socioemotional wealth benefits from the development.

5.7.3 The Geography and Constraints of the Estate

As Mr Andrews explained, the estate is designated as a designed landscape, which means that certain diversifications, such as wind turbines, even if Lord Aberdeen were keen on installing them, would not be possible. The broader geography of the estate was also discussed. Lord Aberdeen was of the opinion that “we’re notoriously un-touristy here (the local area), I don’t know what it is, I mean we’ve got so much to offer, somehow it’s totally bypassed us”. Despite what he believed were the tax benefits of turning residential properties into self-catering holiday homes, Lord Aberdeen said that there would not be the demand for them “we wouldn’t have the demand [...] There are very very few holiday cottages up here, very few”.

However, the proximity to Aberdeen was seen as beneficial by Lord Aberdeen: “if the oil business hadn’t come here I don’t think we would have been as capable as being as commercial as we are. You can go 20 minutes in a car from here and the rents per month of a house go off a cliff edge.” He continued by saying “if you’ve got a three bed house we’re £800 or so which makes it a viable proposition to do up the house, but you could go 20 minutes [North] from here and it would be £400 a month, therefore there isn’t the money to do it up, so therefore we’re just lucky to be placed 20 miles from Aberdeen to take advantage of that.”

That Haddo House was no longer owned by the family was described as having removed certain constraints on the estate. As Lord Aberdeen said “a lot of people say to us what if you still had Haddo House and you had to look after it and the National Trust weren’t doing it. And my answer to that is quite simply we would have to make it work, somehow.” However, when asked whether the estate was better off without the house, he answered by saying “Oh Lord yes [...] I think on balance it probably is, but as I said we wouldn’t be sitting there allowing the maintenance of the house to drain all our finances, we would have to make a return on the house.”

He was critical of what he saw as the National Trust for Scotland’s lack of commercial flair, having identified the wedding market as an opportunity that had not been fully capitalised on: “there’s a magnificent facility down there for

what's become so popular in weddings [...] one's seen them all spring up these wedding venues, and one of the most key things is accommodation. If you can provide accommodation particularly for the families getting married, you're on to a winner there."

Whilst Lord Aberdeen saw lost opportunities in Haddo House and was critical of the National Trust for Scotland for not exploiting the wedding market more fully, it was clear that the ownership of the house would have been seen as a financial liability. Whilst Girouard (1978) and Mandler (1997) identify the presence of a central house as being crucial to the definition of an estate, there was no sense from Lord Aberdeen that there had been a loss of socioemotional wealth by the family no longer owning the house.

5.7.4 Community

Lord Aberdeen discussed what he saw as the role of the estate. As he said, "we regard ourselves as being a business as opposed to a sort of landowner really [...] it's a serious business now as opposed to just running around in tweeds and so on, so we run a pretty serious business". This argument can be seen as an adoption of the logics of professionalism from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) Institutional System Ideal Types framework, bringing legitimacy to the business of the estate.

The beneficiaries of the business, he argued, were the local community, explaining that the estate was driven by a "community spirit, and we're providing 20 full time jobs on the estate itself and we're housing 250 people if you take the families involved, probably even more." The estate, he believed, provided a focal point for the local community: "so it is important, without wishing to sound arrogant I think that we are a focal point for the local community and it's difficult not to see how the tentacles of the estate has embraced the area".

The commercial work of the estate, specifically the building of new housing developments was for the benefit of the local community, Lord Aberdeen argued: "We also do it with the agreement of the community council. If they turn round and say, "we don't want any more housing" we would adhere to that because it's a community and that's important to us."

It was clear that Lord Aberdeen felt a sense of *noblesse oblige* to the local community, and viewed his actions as benefitting not just the estate, but the community. His claims could be interpreted as being a defence of his family's 550 year long ownership of the estate. However, these actions can also be argued to be a strategy to accumulate stocks of both socioemotional, but also economic wealth. For example, the development of existing and new housing brought profits to the estate, but also were argued to be for the benefit of the local community, thus strengthening the estate's legitimacy as providing benefit to the local area.

Lord Aberdeen also mentioned a different type of community: not the local community, but that of landowners. Demonstrating knowledge of many landowning peers, he said "we're a pretty tight knit community." This statement supports the argument made in Chapter 3 that estate owners can be conceptualised as a status group, with similar lifestyles and behaviours.

5.7.5 Inheritance

The intention is for the estate to be inherited by primogeniture. When asked if his eldest son was to inherit, Lord Aberdeen answered: "that would be the intention." However, this was not predetermined by birthright: "If my eldest son George turned round and said, he wasn't interested, I'd say "right fine, well if you're not interested then fair enough, we'll think again."" In line with the argument made by Hough (2011), Lord Aberdeen noted a trend amongst his peers for inheritance to not necessarily be determined by birth order: "I do know people that certainly the eldest son or it could be the eldest daughter have either succeeded or not succeeded." His observation of eldest sons and daughters of peers who either "have either succeeded or not succeeded" supports Hough's (2011) argument that estates should be run by the "child who is best placed to do so, regardless of age or sex".

His son, George, had already established a base on the estate, whilst maintaining a career in London: "our eldest son George does have his own house here on the Estate. He doesn't live here, he lives in London, works in London, as I did, but I think his long-term intention would be to move here." However, should his eldest son not wish to inherit, Lord Aberdeen would not consider selling the estate, saying: "Well we've been here since 1469", and that "I think that we've worked hard enough to build this up into a successful commercial enterprise that I'm not going to hand it on to somebody else."

5.8 Earl of Moray Case Study

5.8.1 Biographical Details

John Douglas Stuart, 21st Earl of Moray (born 1966) is married to Catherine, Countess of Moray. They have three children. The heir apparent is his son, James Douglas Stuart, Lord Doune. The family have owned the Moray estates since 1562, having been gifted them by Mary Queen of Scots. The family currently own approximately 6500 acres around Castle Stuart in the Highlands and a further 35,000 acres in Perthshire around Doune. The family seat is currently Darnaway Castle, near Forres in Moray. Rebuilt in 1810, the castle is noted for its 15th century Great Hall, which has the largest and oldest open timber roof in Scotland. Former seats of the Earls of Moray include Castle Stuart and Doune Park, where the 21st Earl was brought up.



Figure 5.10: Darnaway Castle.

Source: <https://www.scottish6days.com/2015/day-3-darnaway>

5.8.2 The Estate and the Portfolio of Activities

Tornagrain is a new town near Inverness Airport, which Moray Estates will spend the next 50 years developing. Currently lived in by approximately 250 residents, the town, based on the “architectural and planning traditions of Scotland and the Highlands” (tornagrain.com, 2019) will eventually comprise

5,000 homes, three primary schools, a secondary school, shops, employment space, parks and other services across 620 acres of land owned by Moray Estates.

A lifetime's work for Lord Moray, Tornagrain is not the family's first experience of town planning and developing. The 10th Earl created the Moray Estate on the west side of Edinburgh's New Town in the late 18th Century and the current Earl's father, the 20th Earl of Moray, conceived and founded the New Town of Dalgety Bay in Fife.

Tornagrain is one of a portfolio of commercial activities by the estate. They are the largest shareholder in Inverness Airport Business Park Ltd which will create 350,000m² of business, industrial and freight space around Inverness Airport. They also act as landlord and major investor in the Castle Stuart Golf Links, home of the Scottish Open. Over the next 10 - 15 years a further course, 2 hotels and 150 timeshare units will be built. Other diversified ventures comprise ownership of commercial properties such as an antiques centre, a caravan park, small office units, sand and gravel quarries, a windfarm and telecommunications infrastructure.



Figure 5.11: L-R Tornagrain, Castle Stuart Golf Links.

Sources: <http://benedante.blogspot.com/2018/11/tornagrain-new-town.html>;
<https://www.castlestuartgolf.com/green-fees>

Traditional estate activities are also maintained, such as let and in-hand farming, forestry, fishing and the supply of residential property.

The diversified portfolio of activities undertaken across the estates is in line with those identified by Hindle et al. (2014), particularly what they describe as “business” activities, which 56.3% of all large estates engage in. Bence-Jones (1965) states that the estates of members of the Peerage can encompass what he terms “town-lands”. However, that refers to ownership, rather than

development: the creation of new towns such as Tornagrain by estate owners in the 21st century does not appear to have been covered in the literature.

5.8.3 Prior Experiences and Personal Passion

Lord Moray was educated at the Loretto school in Edinburgh and read History of Art at University College London, followed by a period of time working in the city. During his time there he set up a “loose affiliation” of investors in a venture capital group which he sold in 2000. He revealed that his true passion, however, is art. He admitted that he could “easily have become an art dealer”, continuing by saying that “in another world, I might have done that”.

Cannadine (1990) identifies the upper classes as historically normally having attended public school and Oxbridge. Whilst Lord Moray was educated at private school and at an elite Russell Group University (a self-selected association of twenty-four public research universities in the United Kingdom) they are not the usual educational establishments that the literature indicates members of the Peerage and/or elite normally attend. However, the literature retains a largely English focus, and other Scottish members of the peerage and gentry have been educated at Loretto, such as James, Duke of Montrose (b. 1935). The choice of a boarding school in Edinburgh may also be indicative of the family’s historic connections to the city, though.

5.8.4 Opportunities

As Lord Moray explained, opportunities tend to be presented to the estate, or emerge through partnerships with other organisations. The initial proposal for Tornagrain was from the Highland council in 2003, which proposed to build a ‘string of pearls’ of six villages between Inverness and Nairn, three of which would have been on Moray Estates land. That approach, Lord Moray said came “completely came out of the blue, as far as we were concerned”. He said that the estate looks at “every proposal that comes along”, and through a long process of development and consultation, the proposals for one large town at Tornagrain emerged.

He gave a rationale for the decision to reshape the opportunity to one large village, saying “we decided that it was much more, for many different reasons, better to aggregate those three proposed villages into one town”. He also had decided to not take on a development partner on the grounds that “the compromises we would have to make financially and in terms of control all the

way down the line would have been such that it was unacceptable”, and so the estate had financed the entire development of the opportunity, although the actual house plots are sold to building companies for them to do the building.

The Castle Stuart golf course was the result of a direct approach: “we were approached by Mark Parsinen” (course designer). The business park, however, was “a fairly collegiate effort” which emerged from initial discussions to reroute the entrance road to the airport through estate lands, during the process of which “the idea of using that [the road] to service adjacent sites for business and industry was quite an obvious one really.”

As Dimov (2007) argues, there is a developmental nature to opportunities in which they are more than just a single moment of insight. This is born out in Lord Moray’s description of how the Tornagrain opportunity developed from an external opportunity presented to the estate for five or six small villages to the existing master plan for one large town, developed by the estate. Similarly, the Business Park opportunity is described by Lord Moray as being a developmental process, with the concept of a rerouted road to the airport evolving into a concept for a road servicing a business park. However, in both cases, there is more than just the development of an entrepreneurial idea, but also an indication of Lord Moray’s ability to identify additional commercial potential from initial proposals presented to the estate.

5.8.5 Economic and Non-Economic Rationales

Lord Moray argued that all activities undertaken on the estate must have an economic rationale. Speaking of the traditional activities of farming and forestry, he said “if it wasn’t profitable, we wouldn’t be doing it”. Forestry, due to issues of geography, abundant rainfall and proximity to sawmills and timber markets was profitable: “we still can afford a forestry squad, which I’m glad to be able to do”. He did admit though that with new regulations on energy performance “the economics aren’t that compelling” for the supply of residential property. To overcome this, the estate offered long term lets of up to 20 years on dilapidated properties which tenants could rent at low cost in return for financing the majority of the renovation work required to renovate them to current performance standards.

Commercial activities such as Tornagrain and the business park are long term investments: the latter required “an eye watering lot of money” to be invested in

it to provide the basic infrastructure before building could commence. The business park had “been very slow but it’s now suddenly, we’ve got one or two key tenants in place”.

Whilst it will take many years for Tornagrain to become profitable for the estate, which is “justified over decades” it brought other benefits for Lord Moray. As he said “perhaps not materially, but in other ways it’s very rewarding.” As he wrote in the introduction to the sales brochure for Tornagrain, “given the opportunity, who wouldn’t want to create a new, vibrant, successful community? To put their utmost effort into creating a place that provides an inspiration for others in the future?” (Tornagrain Sales Brochure, nd).

Whilst Lord Moray argues that all opportunities and activities must be profitable, it is clear that non-economic rationales also drive his decisions, i.e. that the non-economic benefits that socio-emotional wealth theory highlight are of importance. In particular, there appears to be throughout many of the activities of the estate, an implicit desire to provide a benefit to the wider community, similar to the historical commitment of estate owners to provide munificence to estate workers and the local community (Jenkins, 1983; Bush, 1984). When Lord Moray says he is “glad to be able” to maintain a forestry team, this could indicate that he feels an obligation to the local community to provide employment, and gains a reciprocal non-economic benefit from it, that is it increases his - and the estate’s - stock of socioemotional wealth.

5.8.6 Entrepreneurship and Custodianship

As the owner of a very large and very old estate, Lord Moray was aware of his responsibilities to both act as custodian, but also as an entrepreneur. He said that his role “has an element of custodianship and entrepreneurship and those sometimes are uneasy bedfellows I would say”. The entrepreneurial side looks to have “a sustainable financial future, that’s prepared to have a degree of financial risk” whereas the custodial side required preservation of historical assets “which are in the public interest to preserve”.

Although Lord Moray did fully associate with an entrepreneurial identity, due to the various roles he had to perform as an estate owner, he did demonstrate a positive association with the role of an entrepreneur, particularly the entrepreneurial tradition of his father. The 20th Earl ranched cattle south of the Kalahari Desert in what was Bechuanaland, now Botswana, before inheriting the

estate. Lord Moray said of his father, he “was very entrepreneurial and had some big successes.”

His proud mention of his father suggests the fulfilment of a family legacy, and history, of building new towns. It also indicates the perpetuation of an entrepreneurial ideology from his father to himself, but one more fully embraced than the gentlemanly code that Scott (1982) articulates. His admission though that “in another life” he might have become an art dealer demonstrates that a different entrepreneurial career might have been personally fulfilling, but one rejected in favour of taking on the custodial responsibility to sustain the estate.

Talking of other, more traditional and less entrepreneurial estates, he said “the problem with entrepreneurship with a traditional estate is the risk element and traditional estates are very risk averse, they’re really managed for longevity perhaps rather than profitability [however] I don’t think you really have that choice to be too conservative because the returns aren’t really enough in traditional farming, being a rentier as it were, to really survive. So you either have career out of the estate or you become more commercially focused within it and take more risks.”

It is the latter course he had adopted in his commercialisation of the estate. However, the risks taken by the estate were balanced. Due to its size and considerable assets, “any borrowing we have is fairly high in relation to our cashflow, but it’s not high in relation to our asset base which is quite critical.” The implicit requirement to maintain the estate for future generations means that they had learnt from lessons of the past, such as in the 1970s when “we got caught up in the economics of collapse, in 1974 when interest rates were up to 15%, and we’d just taken on a big loan, just like a lot of businesses. So that I think made us more conservative in the following decade”.

Despite the large scale and considerable investment in some of the commercial activities of the estate, Lord Moray’s approach to entrepreneurship involves moderate, rather than high, risks. Risk therefore is not so much a personality construct for Lord Moray, as measured by the big five personality factors, but arguably an inherited characteristic adaptation as per the Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System in that Lord Moray has learnt from previous experiences to moderate risk.

5.8.7 Entrepreneurial Support

The provision of small business work space and entrepreneurial support was an activity that Lord Moray highlighted. Many redundant estate buildings had been repurposed into business spaces over the past twenty years providing space for 50 to 60 small businesses. This was a relatively recent activity “what we didn’t have 20 years ago is a huge number of small businesses with small single person businesses or employing three or four people in redundant farm buildings. ...we kind of nurture them through...we’re sort of helping them through the process of growing”. He talked briefly of his team who facilitated much of the entrepreneurial activity on the estate, saying: “I’ve got a great team, a very good team, Andrew Howard, the Chief Executive and a very good gang underneath him, they do a lot of the heavy lifting in many ways.”

He was unsure whether to classify the provision of not only workspace but also business support as entrepreneurial activity though: “You could say that’s not really entrepreneurship by us but we are fostering that.” Arguably, though, this could be an example of the historic trend of indirect entrepreneurship on estates, whereby entrepreneurial acts are facilitated. However, in the case of the Moray estates, this is not arms’-length facilitation but a more direct involvement in the facilitation of entrepreneurial action.

5.8.8 Family and the Future

Despite the high visibility of the estate’s activities, the family retain a low profile. The family seat is Darnaway Castle, which is maintained not as a tourist attraction, but as a private home, with “dogs and bikes and you know Segway, so it’s really a family home.” Lord Moray argued that whilst “it’s a bit of a burden [...] it doesn’t cost a huge amount to look after” and therefore is not a large strain on the estate finances.

The estate is destined to remain in family ownership, but succession plans have not been formalised. Lord Moray, as the only son of the 20th Earl admitted to having been groomed as the heir to the estate. He had not though made plans yet to determine whether his eldest son will take over the running of the estate: “I’m just waiting to see what he wants to really, I don’t want to put any pressure on him”. He was not averse to another son taking over, but was waiting to “see where their interests take them” and crucially which son has the “desire” to take over the running of the estate. Lord Moray saw Tornagrain as his life’s work, and

had no immediate plans to step down from his day to day involvement in the development of the estate.

Whilst Lord Moray's eldest son will inherit the title of Earl of Moray, he is clear that he would like the running of the estate to be handled by whichever child is interested. Unlike himself, who was groomed as the heir from an early age, he appears to put less pressure on his children to determine at this stage who will have the responsibility of running the estate.

5.9 Andrew Bradford Case Study

5.9.1 Biographical Details

Andrew Edward Hanning Bradford (b.1955) owns the Kincardine O'Neil estate, situated between Banchory and Aboyne in Deeside. He is married to Nicola Barbara Smythe. They have three children, Edward (b. 1980), Louisa (b.1982), and Charles (b.1988). The estate was purchased by his great-grandmother in the 1880s and has historically been inherited through the female line. Mr Bradford was educated at Eton College and the University of Aberdeen. In addition to running the estate, he is a "Eucharistic Minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church in Kincardine O'Neil and Honorary Colonel of Aberdeen Universities Officer Training Corps" (kincardinecastle.com). He lives on the estate in Kincardine Castle.



Figure 5.12: Kincardine Castle.

Source: <https://www.visitabdn.com/listing/kincardine-castle>

5.9.2 Estate Activities

On the estate website, Mr Bradford has written an introduction to the portfolio of activities the 3,000-acre (approx.) estate engages in, which are: forestry, tenanted and in-hand agriculture, fishing, shooting, housing, commercial property, Kincardine Castle, property maintenance and food production. These are broadly similar to the type of activities Hindle et al. (2014) report as occurring on medium sized estates, although food and beverage activities are only undertaken on 6.3% of medium sized estates, making it relatively unusual.

As Mr Bradford explained in the interview, “I’ve been running this Estate for 40 years and when I took it over it was a basket case.” He cited the effects of the 1915 rents act which had frozen rental values on estate properties as the main cause of the estate’s problems at that time.

He described the farmland which covers half of the estate as “not particularly good farmland” with the rest of the estate “under trees”. To compensate for the lack of profitability of the farming operations, he explained some of the activities he had engaged in since taking over the estate. One activity he detailed, was the renovation of existing properties which are offered to the local community as affordable housing, claiming that “we’ve done some quite innovative programmes in partnership with Scottish Homes who were the government housing agency at the time”. Residential accommodation is provided by 81.3% of medium sized estates (Hindle et al., 2014), however, the provision of affordable housing, and partnerships with government agencies, indicates that Mr Bradford’s motivations in engaging in this activity were not just economically motivated.

Mr Bradford explained that the hospitality business was run to justify the existence of the castle: “we have this stonking great castle, Victorian castle and really all you’re trying to do is make the thing justify its existence.” He carried on by explaining that “it’s a very simple logical step of trying to make an asset earn its keep. In fact I don’t think it’s ever earned its keep, all I’m trying do is make it less of a burden.”

The historical definitions of estates of Girouard (1978) and Mandler (1997) hinge on the presence of a large house, such as Kincardine Castle. However, more recent definitions of estates, such as Woolvin (2013) and Hindle et al. (2014) are more concerned with the landholdings, rather than the house. This shift may

reflect what Mr Bradford explains as being the high costs of maintaining the house, with other estates having sold, or be in the process of selling, the main family seat, due to its lack of a compelling economic rationale. Certainly, in Mr Bradford's case, the castle appears to be an unprofitable resource, and one which he believed was a "burden" to the profitable management of the estate.

5.9.3 Opportunities

Mr Bradford explained that he was looking to build on existing activities "we do a number of things and it's all on a pretty small scale but we hope to build them." He also was looking for new opportunities: "our ears aren't closed to opportunity and I perhaps want to say, I'm sort of looking around all the time for different opportunities to diversify, but quite often we sort of stumble across things."

He then gave examples of opportunities which had emerged by accident, such as the food business which produces bakery, jams, chutneys and seasonal items. It was established in 2008 by his wife which "started slightly by accident and we've seen that they've worked and then sort of help them grow." The business is now run by his daughter Louisa, and her husband, Rupert.

The hospitality business, in which Kincardine Castle is available for hire for private guests and corporate events was also described as having started by accident: "somebody rang us up saying, could we possibly have a group of people to stay because they had committed to do so but suddenly couldn't, could you effectively help them out."

Opportunities were also noticed by looking at the activities of other estates: "one of the things we have noticed over the years [is estates] trying to provide business premises for start-up businesses." Whilst he has provided business accommodation, it has been problematic: "We've on occasions lost those businesses when they've succeeded and want to grow and we haven't been able to offer them larger premises for them to grow into [...] I regret that and my excuse is lack of capital, we literally haven't been able to pump large sums of money on building industrial units that might or might not be needed." However, he explained: "we are in a better position nowadays to sort of countenance that sort of thing so we are trying to identify land in and around the village that would be available for enterprises that could grow."

5.9.4 Role of Estates

Mr Bradford shared his views on what he believed the role of estates and estate owners was: “the whole MO of Estates which I regard, and I think it’s fairly normal to see it as a role in trying to support a local community and its economy.” He believed that there was a non-economic duty to that community “I was brought up to believe that the estate was there to support a community not to try and screw every penny out of it.” Part of that support was to help entrepreneurial businesses, if possible: “If there are opportunities to help other people get on and get started within our capacity and where appropriate we can do that.”

He did not think of his role as being that of an entrepreneur: “I’ve never thought of myself as an entrepreneur” Rather, he saw his role as making the estate sustainable: “I would suggest that all I’ve been trying to is to try and make this estate viable.”

From his own belief in the role of an estate owner, the concept of *noblesse oblige* appears to guide Mr Bradford’s action, particularly what Lacey (1983) described as the philanthropic duty to society. Mr Bradford’s unwillingness to identify as an entrepreneur may indicate a perpetuation of the code of social honour of which *noblesse oblige* is a part, and which Scott (1982) outlines.

5.9.5 Inheritance

Mr Bradford explained that his eldest son would inherit the estate. However, he pointed out that this was unusual for the Kincardine O’Neil estate: “It actually is my eldest son, there is no history in this estate of that happening, the estate belonged to my mother, her mother and her mother and so actually I’m the first male to have inherited it.” He also explained that “my mother was the second child, I’m the third, so there’s absolutely no history of primogeniture or male primogeniture.”

His eldest son had been chosen, not through tradition, but for his abilities: “he seems capable and is having a reasonable career in London in the City which might enable him to afford to take it over.”

Whilst Hough (2011) reports that estate owners are increasingly willing to hand over estates to their daughters if they are the “best placed” to do so, female inheritance has been a historic feature of the Kincardine O’Neil estate. Whilst

unusual, there are historical examples of estates being inherited along the female line (Jenkins, 1983), but few that were inherited for three subsequent generations of women. The decision for Mr Bradford's eldest son to inherit is therefore not due to family tradition, but through being, as Hough (2011) argues being "best placed to do so, regardless of age or sex".

5.9.6 Financial Pressures

Mr Bradford made frequent reference to the financial pressures he faced in sustaining the estate, both in terms of cashflow: "one's been working in extraordinary sort of negative cashflow situation for decades" and also available capital: "the thing that has constrained us entirely through my career has been the lack of available capital"

He explained the changing income streams across the estate portfolio: "in 1979 80% of the revenue of the Estate...and we're talking revenue, gross revenue rather than profit, that 80% of the revenue came from the land and you're talking, farming, forestry, shooting that sort of thing, and today it's about 20%."

Mr Bradford detailed the situation he inherited in 1979 "You've got a huge backlog of disrepair that needs to be tackled, so the lack of income and the burden of repair that was required has been an enormous drain on our available resources. We had no cash to play with and so I sold some properties to try and make capital available, to try and do up properties to try and get a cycle of improvement going and we have been improving properties ever since on that continuous basis. So that is a huge suck on capital."

He also outlined future financial pressures on the estate: "[the] challenge that I face at my stage in life is actually to be able to hand the place over in good order without completely screwing it from an inheritance tax point of view. We have a problem on that one, which is that because we have focused and I have focused to a great extent on [...] One of the biggest things we've done is try to provide affordable rented houses, a great deal of our business is deemed by HMRC as being investment activity rather than business, trading business and as a result is not eligible for business property relief".

The implications of this were explained further: "We face the very real prospect of having to sell 40% of our affordable rented housing in order to pay the inheritance tax. Which means that we will have to boot out 40% of our tenants

and burden the state with them and by my calculations it will cost the state more to rehouse them than we have paid in inheritance tax.”

Historians such as Girouard (1978), Mandler (1997), and Thompson (2001) have noted the historical financial impact of legislation and increased taxation on estates during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, there has been little consideration of the effects of these and subsequent changes to estates in the latter 20th and early 21st centuries. As Mr Bradford argues, current taxation laws place the future of the Kincardine O’Neil estate at financial risk, despite his efforts over 40 years to revive the fortunes of the estate.

5.9.7 Constraints

Additional, non-financial pressures were detailed by Mr Bradford as being challenges he faced. Discussing the poor quality of the land at Kincardine O’Neil, he explained that “many estates are severely constrained by geography [...] depending on where you are, there are limits to what you can do with land.”

The land reform movement was also highlighted as causing challenges for Mr Bradford: “the government have undermined one’s trust through their capacity to impose retrospective legislation on rental agreements [...] mainly because it seems to be driven by sort of hate rather than any logic.”

He believed that having agricultural tenants was “fundamental to an estate, that eyes and ears on the ground and useful people to have” However, the changes to agricultural tenancies had made some landowners wary of leasing farmland in his opinion: “changes to agriculture tenancies, for example I reckon scared most people off from letting land. They were meant to make it easier to let land, but as I say by undermining the confidence that the government would renege on a deal, who in their right mind would let land?”

5.10 Reflections on the Interview Process

The pilot interview with Mr Burnett had provided considerable insights into the nature of elite interviews. Reflecting on the experience, as discussed in Chapter 4, changes were made to how the interview guide was followed to allow for interviewees to lead the conversation, thus allowing them to discuss their own areas of interest and perceptions of entrepreneurship, whilst also ensuring that the main areas of interest of this research were covered.

Most estate owners were generous with their time, despite Harvey's (2010) advice that one hour would be the maximum likely to be granted in elite interviews. Lord Moray in particular spent one hour being interviewed, and then conducted an extended tour of the Tornagrain site which lasted a further hour. Only Mr Gordon Lennox was restricted in time, with the half hour interview timetabled between two other meetings.

As highlighted during the pilot interview, the imbalance of power balance in interviews had already been identified, particularly the notion that interviewers are "researching up" (Ostrander, 1995) when conducting elite interviews. This though become less apparent over the course of the interviews, perhaps reflecting a greater confidence on the part of the interviewer, gained through experience of conducting interviews. What became apparent through the interviews was the diversity of personalities amongst estate owners in the North East of Scotland, with few of them fitting into stereotyped perceptions of the upper classes. Short reflections on each interviewee in turn are now presented.

Mr Gordon Lennox gave the impression of being a man in a hurry, having come to the interview straight from a meeting and with another scheduled directly afterwards. He walked quickly, and spoke in long, fast, freewheeling sentences. His commercial background in banking was clear, and he appeared businesslike and professional.

Similarly, Mr Campbell's extensive business experience and strong opinions were apparent in the interview, during which he took great interest in the research. His proactive approach in securing additional respondents within his social network was invaluable.

Lord Dalhousie, on the other hand, conducted the interview in his private drawing room, and embodied much of the polish and manners central to Scott's (1982) gentlemanly code, again showing real interest in the research project.

Mr Nicol, with his distinctly Scottish accent, gave the impression of a hardworking, hands on landowner with great concern for both his staff (the estate has Investors in People 2000 accreditation) and the local community. Whilst not old fashioned, the diversified activities described by Mr Nicol deliberately retained a traditional approach, in keeping with the relatively modest scale of the estate.

Despite Lord Aberdeen's high rank within the peerage, there was little sense of power imbalance during the interview, being a friendly and light-hearted interviewee. The presence of Mark Andrews at the interview was suggested by Lord Aberdeen, who provided useful clarity on certain details of the estate operations. Lord Aberdeen was particularly helpful in suggesting further estates to contact as part of the second phase of snowball sampling.

Lord Moray was a swift, courteous and informal correspondent, always signing off with his first name, rather than his title. He appeared well schooled as a corporate CEO, and was very measured and thoughtful in his responses. When the interview started late, due to a mix-up over the location of the interview, Lord Moray apologised for having given incomplete directions to the sales cabin at Tornagrain. He embodied much of the "self-presentational 'polish'" (Bennett et al., 2009) and "modesty and a knowing mode of cultural consumption" (Reeves et al., 2017) of the modern elite, rather than of the traditional upper classes.

The interview with Mr Bradford was conducted via the telephone, during which he was a generous interviewee, speaking for almost an hour. The impression he gave was of a traditional landowner, much concerned with the welfare of his local community, to which he felt a duty and a right as a landowner to deliver paternalistic care to. Much of the latter half of the interview was devoted to his views on inheritance tax, speaking on the subject for several minutes at a time.

Of all the interviewees, Lord Moray and Mr Gordon Lennox were noticeable as being the estate owners who most fully embodied modern elites, whereas all others appeared to maintain some elements of historical upper class identity. Mr Bradford appearing to most fully identify with the traditional perception of an estate owner, although the interview was conducted over the telephone making visual cues, such as manner of dress and body language impossible to discern.

5.11 Additional Informant: Robin Maitland

In addition to the case study interviews, three interviews with the late Robin Maitland, an experienced estate manager for Strutt and Parker (a leading estate agent and land management company) were conducted.

Robin Maitland (1956-2019) was a partner of Strutt & Parker and was head of their land management and consultancy business in Scotland until retiring due to ill health in 2014. He had considerable experience managing estates across the North East and Highlands of Scotland. He studied economics at Exeter University, gaining further qualifications in Chartered Surveying and Law. He was a trustee of the Sandpiper Trust charity.

An introduction had been made through Melfort Campbell, who had vouched for the high level of regard Mr Maitland was held in by the landowning community. Mr Maitland had a serious, life-limiting illness which had left him wheelchair bound. The interviews were therefore arranged via email, and scheduled around his care. As an experienced and well-regarded estate manager, Mr Maitland shared his expert insights into the patterns of behaviour demonstrated by estate owners across the North East and Highlands of Scotland over the course of the three interviews. These insights are discussed in the following cross-case analysis chapter which identifies patterns of similarity and difference, and in the following section which discusses the range of activities undertaken across the case study estates.

5.12 Activities Across Estates

Scott (1982) identified a relatively narrow range of diversifications estate owners engaged in at that time, notably country parks, zoos, museums and the 'stately home' business. Hindle et al. (2014) demonstrate that in Scotland, the range of diversifications across estates has generally broadened since then. Having identified considerable differences in the personalities of the case study estate owners in the North East of Scotland, the differences between the activities they undertook were tabulated, in order to visualise the similarities and differences between estate activities, shown in the table below and to understand whether they were a broader or more restricted range than those noted by Hindle et al. (2014).

Table 5.2: Diversified activities on case study estates

	Williams ton	Gordon Castle	Altries	Dalhousie	Ballogie	Haddo	Moray	Kincardine O'Neil
Size (acres)	900	500	800	55,000	10,872	2,500	41,500	3,000
Category	Small	Small	Small	Very Large	Medium	Medium	Large	Medium
Farming (in hand and let)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Forestry (inc Christmas trees)	•		•	•	•	•	•	•
Fishing & fisheries	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Renewables	•					•		
Residential lets	•			•	•	•	•	•
Holiday accommodati on		•		•	•			•
Commercial lets			•	•	•	•	•	•
Hospitality		•						•
Retail including food production		•		•	•	•		•
Stables			•	•				
Weddings		•			•			•
Cafe / restaurant		•		•	•	•		
Property Development						•	•	

In-hand and/or tenanted farming was a core activity undertaken on all the estates. Whilst farming is a feature of all the estates, none of them can be classified as farms, rather than estates, although Mr Burnett described himself as a farmer. Mr Maitland argued that “the public perception is a much more favourable towards farms than it is towards estates”. However, he explained that a farm was a discreet “agricultural unit, it’s not sort of broken up by non-agricultural uses such as woodland or quarrying.”

Woolvin (2013) and Hindle et al. (2014), define estates as “landholdings with a range of interests that may include in hand farming, let farms, sporting interests, forestry, residential property, workspaces, tourism and community facilities”. All

the case study estate owners undertook additional activities beyond farming, and therefore can be considered by these definitions as estates, not farms.

Unlike estates in other areas of Scotland, such as the Highlands, estates in the North East of Scotland were characterised by Mr Maitland as consisting primarily of arable land, with some areas of less productive highlands. Particularly good areas of land including “from where we are (Deeside) further down Angus, Fife, the better land down the East Coast would be more farmed in hand”.

Whilst farming is a traditional feature of estates, Mr Maitland argued that it was not necessarily undertaken due to tradition, but could be profitable, if done well: “I wouldn’t say that farming is not profitable. The farmers farming well can produce quite significant profits.” For Lord Aberdeen and Lord Moray in particular, these activities appeared to be profitable. However, estate owners who owned less high-quality land would be more likely to let the land out, particularly in less productive areas than the North East of Scotland: “when you get more into the uplands into the Highlands and Islands it’s significantly let.”

Forestry was undertaken on almost all of the estates, excluding Gordon Castle, the smallest estate included in the quintain. Although forestry has been argued by Mather, Hill and Nijnik (2006) to be in a post productivist state, there are particular differences in the North East of Scotland. Mr Maitland explained that “a big gale” in 1952 saw Deeside lose 95% of its trees. Estates therefore had to replant whole forests, which are now reaching maturity and “owners have finally got to the stage where they can realise the forestry”, which in some cases, particularly on the Haddo and Moray estates, are currently profitable enterprises.

Hindle et al. (2014) do not specifically detail fishing as a discrete activity: fishing is included within their sports and recreation category, whilst fish farms are included as a separate category. Fishing and/or fish farms though are notable as a core activity undertaken on all estates.

The letting of property was a feature of all estates, whether as residential, holiday or commercial. Hospitality lets were provided at Gordon Castle and Kincardine O’Neil, where the castles are available for let as fully serviced accommodation. Mr Maitland believed that in research into estates “people have never really thought of the housing sector, the housing asset on an estate as being very

relevant, because they're there. But if they are there that's an important asset for the estate". From his professional experience, he stated that property had "significantly overtaken farming and forestry in terms of the importance to an estate. They are worth more and they create more revenue."

The specific local economy was a major contributing factor, according to Mr Maitland. He argued that estates in the North East of Scotland, particularly those within commuting distance of Aberdeen, had benefitted from the local oil and gas industry. He talked of "the effect of the oil on the property sector, all of a sudden you've got houses that can be let out. Well before the oil slump, we were regularly letting houses out at £2,000 a month, £2,500 a month [...] the significance of the oil sector on rented properties that's been the make or break for most (estates) in the North East.

Retail activities were undertaken on over half of the estates; however, this is an area that has not received much attention in the literature of estates. Fox (2014) has argued that class-bound prejudice against trade has been eroded, though not eradicated and on estates, Wagstaff (2013) has reported that "the old-fashioned notion that diversifying into trade is socially unacceptable was still held by some [...] landowners" (p.97). However, that over half the case study estates engaged in various forms of retail may indicate a continuing lessening of this attitude. For Angus Gordon Lennox at Gordon Castle, the retail brand forms the major part of his diversification strategy, and Lord Aberdeen at Haddo reported his love of serving customers in the Formartine's restaurant and farm shop.

Stables, weddings, renewables and property development were the four categories of activities that only a minority of estates engaged in. The rebuilding of the stables at Altries were one of the main activities that Mr Campbell reported as a major priority, whereas for Lord Dalhousie, the riding school and stables were let out, and only one of a wider range of activities undertaken.

Weddings were undertaken on the Gordon Castle, Ballogie and Kincardine O'Neil estates, and highlighted in the interviews as of particular importance for future development. However, Mr Maitland was wary of estates who focused on weddings. In Mr Maitland's opinion, successful, entrepreneurial estates were those which had "diversified profitably. There's a difference in diversifying and otherwise diversifying profitably and it's quite important to not to mix the two." He exemplified this by saying "if for example the estates who set up wedding

venues; unless you really run it completely nailed down, there's a danger that the wedding venue business will not be the golden goose".

Only Mr Burnett at Williamston and Lord Aberdeen at Haddo reported engaging in renewables, in both cases exploiting and adapting some degree of existing infrastructure. Other cases, such as Altries were specifically opposed to renewable schemes.

Whilst the Tornagrain development by Lord Aberdeen is on a much larger scale than the developments undertaken by Lord Aberdeen on the Haddo estate, the building of new property was of particular importance as a diversification strategy for both estates. In both cases, the estate owners drew on previous experiences to do so: for Lord Moray it was a family tradition of building new towns, and for Lord Aberdeen it was previous life experiences of property development in London.

The range of activities undertaken across the estates demonstrate some differences to the broader trends of estate activities and have highlighted areas that have not been fully acknowledged in the literature. In particular, the specific geography of the North East of Scotland could be attributable to the relative profitability of farming and forestry for some estate owners. Fishing and/or fish farms has been highlighted as an activity - whether commercially or for domestic use - undertaken across all the case study estates, which has not previously been considered as a separate activity. The relative importance of the provision of housing, due to the oil and gas industry centred around Aberdeen, which differentiates estates in the North East of Scotland from estates in other areas of Scotland, has also been highlighted.

It is notable that estates within the sample engaged in relatively similar types of activities to each other. The activities most differentiated from those undertaken on other estates were Mr Gordon Lennox's Gordon Castle brand, due to both the scale and structure of the business, and Lord Moray's Tornagrain and other commercial developments, due to their scale and the uniqueness of developing an entire new town.

5.13 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the eight case studies, in chronological order of date of interview. The case studies have presented biographical details, followed by the narrative and analysis of each theme identified during the thematic coding process. Informed by the theoretical perspective of social constructionism, the cases have presented estate owners' entrepreneurial activities, motivations and perspectives towards entrepreneurship, with their individual 'voice' preserved through the use of in-vivo quotes and the use of coding at the semantic level.

Following the presentation of the case studies, the interview process was reflected on. This highlighted the diversity of personalities across the case studies. It highlighted that estate owners, as elites, were generally all more generous with their time than the literature had indicated. An additional informant, Robin Maitland, was then introduced as an expert estate manager with insights into the broader patterns of behaviour demonstrated by estate owners across both the Highlands and the North East of Scotland.

Finally, the range of activities undertaken across the case studies has been presented and discussed. The specific geography of the North East of Scotland has been highlighted as affecting the profitability of farming and forestry. The importance of the provision of housing due to the oil and gas industry with Aberdeen has been noted as a peculiarity for some estates within the North East of Scotland. It has been noted that the case studies tended to engage in similar ranges of activities to each other, with differentiated activities being undertaken by Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray.

The individual case studies have provided rich detail, narrative and analysis of the individual circumstances, activities and motivations of individual estate owners. The following chapter presents the cross-case analysis, in which patterns of similarity and difference across the case studies are presented and analysed.

6.0 Cross-Case Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the cross-case analysis, with the aim of strengthening the precision, validity and stability of patterns identified (Yin, 2004). During the process of cross-case thematic analysis, pattern coding was employed to identify underlying, or latent “ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.13). This identified patterns of similarity and difference across the sample of estate owners to help understand and explain what types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

This chapter presents and analyses these patterns through two main sections. The first section considers the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners across a number of dimensions: financial necessity, awareness, opportunity identification, entrepreneurial planning, entrepreneurial action and outcomes, entrepreneurial cycles, and identity. The second considers the continued activities and aspirations of estate owners across the dimensions of continued entrepreneurial activity, commitments, and inheritance.

6.2 The Identification and Exploitation of Entrepreneurial Opportunities

6.2.1 Dimension: Financial Necessity

Estate owners demonstrated differing levels of urgency to improve the finances of their estates. Lord Aberdeen at Haddo, Mr Bradford at Kincardine O’Neil and Mr Burnett at Williamston inherited their estates with an urgent necessity to improve the estate finances. For two of these owners, Lord Aberdeen and Mr Bradford, the inheritance of their estates, and the accompanying urgent necessity to improve finances, was expected, but the inheritance for Mr Burnett was a surprise, although he was also aware of the urgent necessity to improve finances. Both Mr Gordon Lennox at Gordon Castle and Mr Campbell at Altries were aware of the urgent necessity to improve estate finances through their acquisitions of their estates from their families.

Mr Nicol, Lord Moray and Lord Dalhousie did not indicate any necessity to improve estate finances on inheritance. For Lord Dalhousie, between his inheritance in 1999 and the interview in 2017, there had though been an increasing necessity and urgency to improve the finances of the estate. Lord Moray did not indicate a necessity to improve estate finances either on

inheritance or at the date of interview. However, he did acknowledge that entrepreneurial action was required to ensure the long-term survival of the Moray estates.

Mr Maitland had highlighted that it was common for Scottish estates to need to improve their finances. Historically, he said, this had been achieved through the investment of money accrued outwith the estate: “that’s essential, that was the whole basis of Scottish Estates going right to Victorian times, it was the industrial revolution, money fortunes they were created and invested into estates up here. And that continues to be the case unless the estate has got significant assets within the estate.” He also noted that whilst the investment of capital accrued outwith estates continued to happen on Scottish estates, finances, even on estates that had received capital injections, “may have changed and been enhanced by the current generation” through entrepreneurial activities. He gave examples of estate owners improving finances by exploiting opportunities with significant income generating potential “i.e. they get planning permission for a wind farm, all of a sudden that’s a significant financial boost.”

Mr Maitland argued that estate owners were becoming increasingly entrepreneurial, whether by necessity or choice. He thought some estate owners were naturally entrepreneurial, whereas others were forced into it: “it’s down to the entrepreneurship of the owner [...] or are maybe are forced to decide what are we going to do to preserve this estate in the future because we can’t just solider on because it will crash and burn.” In the past, he believed estate owners had not necessarily been very entrepreneurial. He believed that the historical “estate owner who’s not very entrepreneurial and quite, you know, and being a bit clueless about things” did not exist anymore, although “going back a few years there were definitely estate owners who’d been to Cirencester and didn’t learn anything there”.

Newer generations of estate owners, however, were inheriting their estates with prior experience of entrepreneurship: “a number of younger estate owners have run businesses elsewhere.” He talked of an anonymous local estate owner who had extensive prior entrepreneurial experience, which he believed he brought to the estate when he inherited it: “so he was entrepreneurial and the fact that he had an estate which had been in his family for eight hundred years didn’t sort of change the fact that he was entrepreneurial”.

Entrepreneurial action has been identified as being successful in overcoming short term financial problems for some estate owners (Glass et al., 2013b). In line with Mr Maitland's observation that estate owners were becoming increasingly entrepreneurial, all the case study estate owners had engaged in, or were planning, entrepreneurial action. However, not all of them explicitly attributed their entrepreneurial actions to the requirement to improve estate finances. Neither Mr Nicol nor Lord Moray reported a historic or current urgency to engage in entrepreneurial action, but had nonetheless engaged in entrepreneurial action. Although Mr Campbell was aware of the necessity to improve finances, he had addressed this through the investment of private wealth accrued outwith the estate, yet was still planning entrepreneurial action without reporting a specific need to.

As discussed in chapter 3, Dawson and Henley (2012) identify overlapping push and pull factors in both resource and financial factors as motivations to engage in entrepreneurship. Despite the majority of estate owners facing a requirement to improve estate finances either on inheritance, acquisition, or later during their ownership of their estate, they can not necessarily be identified as being pushed into entrepreneurial action - that is, be classified as necessity entrepreneurs due to financial factors.

Block and Koellinger (2008) identify necessity entrepreneurs as those pushed into it through unemployment or lack of better work, whilst Carsrud and Brännback (2011) argue that "necessity entrepreneurs are more concerned with avoiding failure, which could mean starvation". Neither of these definitions adequately reflect the circumstances of estate owners.

For example, of those with a necessity to improve estate finances, Mr Gordon Lennox, Lord Dalhousie, Mr Campbell and Lord Aberdeen had all worked in potentially lucrative employment before inheriting or acquiring their estates. Therefore, as Bence-Jones (1965) argued, they had the potential to seek alternative employment outwith their estates. Additionally, unlike Lord Dalhousie and Lord Aberdeen who inherited their estates through the practice of primogeniture, Mr Gordon Lennox and Mr Campbell chose to acquire their estates from their families, despite being aware of the requirement to improve estate finances. Theirs were purposive choices to take over the responsibility of improving estate finances.

Estate owners are being advised by landowner groups and advisors (e.g. Scottish Land and Estates, 2017; Rural Solutions, 2017) to diversify and engage in entrepreneurial activities. The advice of these groups is driven by an implicit motivation of financial necessity. However, whilst estate owners often had a requirement to improve estate finances, they cannot be identified as necessity entrepreneurs in relation to financial factors.

Their decision to engage in entrepreneurial action could be attributed to a simultaneous pull factor in terms of finances, in that they may have been attracted by the potential rewards that entrepreneurship brings. However, Mr Burnett was the only estate owner to attribute his entrepreneurial actions directly to the attractiveness of potential financial rewards. Despite his particularly urgent requirement to improve the finances of his estate, he demonstrated having been pulled into entrepreneurship through his recognition of the financial rewards available through the exploitation of grants.

Whilst financial factors cannot be identified as specific push or pull factors for estate owners, they have valuable, yet restricted, resources that can be also considered as both push and pull factors. Estate owners' awareness of the potential of the resources of their estates to be entrepreneurially exploited is considered next.

6.2.2 Dimension: Awareness

Most estate owners demonstrated awareness of the potential of the resources of their estates to be exploited through entrepreneurial action. Some estate owners were aware of this potential upon inheritance or during the early stages of their ownership of the estate, whereas for others, this awareness occurred more gradually.

Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray (2003) equate entrepreneurial awareness with Kirzner's (1999; 1973) theory of entrepreneurial alertness. According to Kirzner, alertness is "the ability to notice without search opportunities that have been hitherto overlooked" (Kirzner, 1999, p. 148). McCaffrey (2014) argues that Kirzner's view of entrepreneurship is that "entrepreneurship consists in the perception of previously unnoticed profit opportunities [...] The entrepreneur is "alert" to these opportunities, and his alertness enables him profitably to discover them." (p.892).

However, in the case of most estate owners, their awareness was not through the identification of specific opportunities as per Kirzner, but a general awareness of the potential of estate resources to be exploited in a number of different ways. For most, this awareness equated to a pull factor of entrepreneurial motivation.

For example, Mr Campbell had previously considered various courses of action he could undertake on the Altries estate, such as creating a farm shop, again demonstrating an awareness that the resources of the estate, specifically the benefits afforded by its proximity to Aberdeen, could be exploited entrepreneurially. Similarly, Lord Aberdeen had identified in the early stage of his ownership of the Haddo estate the possibility of exploiting the estate's proximity to Aberdeen and its associated wealth due to the oil and gas boom.

Lord Moray, by considering every proposal that was made to the estate, demonstrated awareness that the estate could be exploited entrepreneurially in a number of different ways. The business park development demonstrated an awareness by Lord Moray that the proximity of the land the estate owned around the existing airport was a resource that could be exploited more entrepreneurially than the proposal put to him of simply building a new access road to the airport on it.

The estate owners above were all aware of the potential of their estates for exploitation from their inheritance of their estates, and attributed the potential to a pull factor of motivation. Mr Gordon Lennox was similarly aware of the potential for estate resources to be exploited entrepreneurially, but attributed his motivation to overlapping push and pull factors. Restrictive resources included the poor state of Gordon Castle and also the location of the estate "in the middle of nowhere" which restricted the number of weddings he could hold. The location of the estate though was also of benefit, in that he believed the estate could exploit the nearby whisky industry and associated tourism industry through a range of activities.

Other estate owners demonstrated a more incremental awareness of the potential of their estate resources for exploitation. These were again identified as pull factors. This awareness had been gained through their experiences of engaging in entrepreneurial activities. For example, Mr Burnett, having engaged in smaller scale entrepreneurial activity, such as the exploitation of grants, had developed an understanding of the potential of the estate to be exploited in a much more

ambitious way, which had culminated in his financially ambitious and risky wind farm development. Lord Dalhousie had similarly engaged in a range of entrepreneurial activities, such as the Brechin Castle garden centre and cafe. Through these activities he had increased his awareness of the potential of estate resources for future exploitation. For example, he demonstrated an awareness of the potential of the existing farming operation to be exploited more entrepreneurially than he had done previously. Mr Nicol had also engaged in a number of smaller scale entrepreneurial activities, culminating in the development of an ambitious scheme for the Potarch site. Although that ambitious plan was not realised, his engagement in the process of identification and development of it demonstrates an incrementally increased awareness of the potential of estate resources to be exploited entrepreneurially.

The Kirznerian approach to opportunities, as discussed in Chapter 2, is most closely associated with the discovery view of opportunities, in which alert entrepreneurs do not actively search for opportunities, but rather engage in passive search. However, for estate owners, awareness has been found to be a separate process, and acts as a precursor to, rather than a similar process to the identification of specific opportunities.

Arguably, this could be attributed to the unique context of estates, as argued in previous chapters. Unlike other types of family business, or businesses more generally, estates have been argued to be geographically bounded, and containing valuable, yet restricted resources. Therefore, in the context of estate owners, there appears to be an initial stage of the entrepreneurial process which consists of awareness of estate resources for entrepreneurial exploitation. In a number of cases, the identification of resources also led to the identification of specific opportunities, discussed in the following section on opportunity identification.

Whilst awareness for some estate owners was more gradual than others, the unifying factor was the predominance of estate resources to be identified as pull motivating factors to engage in entrepreneurial activities, although Mr Gordon Lennox did also identify push factors in terms of resource limitations. As discussed in the previous section, financial factors could not be identified as a unifying push or pull motivation factor to engage in entrepreneurial activity. The external advice to estate owners to engage in entrepreneurship has been previously argued to be based on a motivation of financial necessity. However,

from the evidence considered, for estate owners, there appears to be a more common pull motivation, as per the resources factor of the Dawson and Henley (2012) model of entrepreneurial motivation.

However, this motivation was not to engage in specific entrepreneurial activities, but an awareness that estate resources had the potential to be exploited entrepreneurially. There is one crucial differentiation from the Dawson and Henley (2012) model. Whereas they cite resources as an external factor, they do not provide examples, or further discussion of the nature of these resources. The empirical examples of estate owners, however, demonstrates that internal, not external, resources act as a motivating, pull, factor. Whether this is attributable to the unique type of business estates represent is questionable. It though, adds nuance to Dawson and Henley's (2012) model by identifying internal resources as a motivating factor to engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities subsequent to the initial awareness of the potential of resources for exploitation.

6.2.3 Dimension: Opportunity Identification

Following the awareness of the potential of their estates as motivating factors to engage in entrepreneurial action, estate owners identified specific opportunities. Baker and Welter (2017) argue that "patterns of entrepreneurship are extraordinarily varied across social contexts" (p.171). However, estate owners identified opportunities through one of three patterns of identification: replication, resource awareness, and presentation of opportunities.

Replication

The first trigger for identifying specific opportunities was through replication of existing practices, as discussed by Mr Burnett, Lord Dalhousie, and Mr Bradford. At Williamston, Mr Burnett believed that speaking to other estate owners and farmers was useful in seeing what they were doing, and that also visits to America were useful in identifying future trends and practices in agriculture. Lord Dalhousie had looked at other people's soft play areas when planning to create one at the Brechin Castle garden centre, and Mr Bradford admitted that he had identified the provision of business premises on estates as something "we have noticed over the years".

Mr Maitland confirmed this was common practice amongst estate owners in the North East of Scotland. This had become easier with the advent of publicly

accessible estate websites: "the owners now are seeing different, you know, they may be seeing what other estates are doing and much more openness about what estates are doing [...] lots of estates have websites because it's a really important, particularly in Scotland that estates can show that they are a purpose for good."

There is little recognition of direct replication of opportunities within the literature. The cognitive approaches, drawing on creativity literature, discussed in relation to the entrepreneurial personality and institutional logics do not consider this method of opportunity identification. For example, drawing on Baron and Ensley (2006), Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) argue that institutional entrepreneurs recombine existing knowledge and patterns. However, in the case of this pattern of identification, ideas appear to be replicated, rather than creatively recombined in new combinations.

Whilst the standard definition of creativity is ideas that are "new and useful" (Runco and Jaeger, 2012), replication of existing ideas is not a creative process. However, Davidsson (2015) argues that not all new venture ideas need to be innovative, as appears to be the case with this pattern of identification. In chapter 3, the "gravity effect" of cultural values was identified as influencing entrepreneurial personality, and also entrepreneurial process. Due to the value of conformity amongst the upper classes, estate owners may choose to replicate ideas that have received implicit peer validation, in that they have already been implemented by other members of the upper classes.

Resource Awareness

The second trigger for the identification of opportunities was through resource awareness and was highlighted by the majority of estate owners. As discussed in the previous section, estate owners demonstrated awareness of the potential of estate resources to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. To identify specific opportunities, estate owners identified either combinations of internal and external resources, or internal resources only, which acted mainly as pull factors, as per the Dawson and Henley (2012) model to engage in entrepreneurial action.

Mr Burnett and Mr Davis at Williamston had identified an opportunity by exploiting the external resource of grants. However, unlike Davidsson's (2015) argument that enablers are both singular and external, and Dawson and Henley's (2012) model which specifies resources as external, in their case the opportunity also required the presence of internal resources, specifically Mr Burnett's ability

to raise the required capital (which Mr Davis was unable to do) to purchase a nearby farm specifically to exploit a grant to plant trees on it. Lord Dalhousie similarly cited both internal and external factors in his identification of an entrepreneurial opportunity: he had identified an opportunity for the farm, as an existing internal resource to be exploited more entrepreneurially by looking to the external resource of the local area's expertise in soft fruit growing.

Both Mr Campbell at Altries and Lord Aberdeen at Haddo identified opportunities that combined both internal and external enablers, specifically the proximity of their estates to the oil and gas boom in Aberdeen. For Mr Campbell, one of his main areas for future diversification was the proposed business centre. The building was an existing internal estate resource, but the decision to turn it into a business centre was inspired by the proximity of the estate to Aberdeen, and its oil and gas industry. Similarly, Lord Aberdeen identified both internal and external resources that in combination constituted an opportunity for exploitation. In his case, it was the combination of estate buildings that were being vacated by long term tenants, his own experience of property development and the external resource of Aberdeen's oil and gas boom and demand for property in Aberdeen.

Other opportunities relied on internal resources alone. These could be either physical resources or the resources of experience and capabilities. Of the former, Mr Gordon Lennox identified a specific entrepreneurial opportunity through the exploitation of what he argued was the unique internal resource of the walled garden. Of the latter, Lord Dalhousie explained that the estate had the internal resource of running a coffee shop at the Brechin Castle garden centre, and therefore this resource - of experience - could be exploited on another site, that is the Peggy Scott's cafe which he had purchased for that specific reason. Similarly, Mr Nicol similarly identified the estate's experience in providing self-catering accommodation, to develop the amended, and implemented, scheme for the Potarch site.

Neither Lord Moray nor Mr Bradford cited specific internal or external resources as enablers for the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities, but this may be an error of omission. For example, in his development of the initial proposal for the Tornagrain develop into its final form, Lord Moray could well have been aware of specific resources of the estate that would facilitate the development: that is the ownership of a contiguous area of land that was large enough to

facilitate the development. For Mr Bradford, there was an awareness that Kincardine Castle was an unprofitable resource, and that his actions in developing the hospitality enterprise were an attempt to make it less unprofitable.

The findings add nuance to Davidsson's (2015) construct of external enablers. However, the empirical evidence presented by the case studies highlights that enablers - in terms of resources - can be both external as Davidsson (2015) proposes, but also internal. In addition, for estate owners, they are often not single circumstances as Davidsson (2015) argues. Rather, it was the combination of internal and external resources, or enablers, that enabled estate owners to identify entrepreneurial opportunities that acted as pull factors as per the Dawson and Henley (2012) model to engage in entrepreneurial action.

Presentation of Opportunities

The third trigger for identifying opportunities was through the presentation of opportunities to estate owners. On the Moray estates, Lord Moray explained that the initial opportunities for both the Tornagrain and Castle Stuart golf course developments had been presented to the estate by external parties for the estate's consideration. For Mr Bradford, two of the main diversifications on the Kincardine O'Neil estate had emerged through what he described as accidents, but subsequently developed into viable opportunities. In particular, the opportunity for the hospitality business had been offered to him by an external party who was unable to fulfil an existing booking.

This trigger for identifying entrepreneurial opportunities appears not to have been directly addressed in the literature. It could be argued to be an example of Kirzner's (1999) passive search, in which entrepreneurs do not actively search for opportunities, but recognise ones that appear, albeit with an underlying awareness of the potential of estates to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. This has some explanatory power for the example of Mr Bradford, as the presentation of the opportunity for the hospitality enterprise was accidental and not an example of actively searching for opportunities. However, it took some time for him to recognise the potential of the opportunity, having undertaken it in the first instance through social duty.

In the case of Lord Moray, the presentation of opportunities to the estate for consideration appears to have been a regular occurrence, with his recognition

that the estate looked at every proposal that was put to them. Therefore, rather than being an example of passive search, it could be argued that Lord Moray engaged in an active process of search, underpinned by his awareness of the potential of estate resources to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. This active search strategy, though, relied on the knowledge that opportunities would be presented to the estate on a regular basis.

Dew's (2009) concept of serendipity provides some additional explanatory power to this pattern of identification. He argues for search as a process of looking for some form of opportunity, leading to the discovery of something the entrepreneur was not looking for. This is true of both Mr Bradford and Lord Moray in that, whether actively or passively searching for opportunities, they had both demonstrated some awareness of the potential of their estates to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. However, the opportunity presented to them was not necessarily something they were looking for.

The three patterns demonstrate that there is considerable similarity in the methods estate owners employ to identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Each pattern has demonstrated some variance from the literature, specifically the replication of existing activities and the presentation of opportunities as means of identifying opportunities. Each pattern has also identified that estate owners themselves are involved in the identification of opportunities. Their involvement in the process of planning is discussed next.

6.2.4 Dimension: Entrepreneurial Planning

Opportunities identified by estate owners developed from their initial conception through a process of planning and action, which was detailed by some estate owners. Their involvement in the process varied. The mechanisms through which they developed their opportunities also varied, although a number relied on peer validation of various types, social networks and entrepreneurial reputation during the process of planning and action. Despite these variances, all estate owners were engaged in the outcomes of action, that is the profitability of the enterprises. They all demonstrated considerable awareness of the current financial position of the estate, and the profitability or not of their individual diversifications.

Peer Involvement

As explicated by Lord Aberdeen, and supported by the informal parts of the majority of other interviews, estate owners in the North East of Scotland know each other well, and discussed their business matters with each other. As proposed in chapter 3, in relation to the Wood and McKinley (2010) model of the Production of Entrepreneurial Opportunities, opportunity development is a socially embedded process which relies on the validation of opportunities by peers. Opportunity development also requires the presence of social networks and entrepreneurial reputation to facilitate their enactment.

At variance with Wood and McKinley's (2010) proposition, no estate owners explicitly detailed discussing the opportunities they had identified with their peers to receive validation. However, a number of them had received implicit peer approval for their opportunities, either through their replication of activities, through the passing on of opportunities from one landowning peer to another, or through partnership working.

As discussed in the previous section on the identification of opportunities, those estate owners who replicated the activities of other estate owners arguably have received implicit peer validation of the idea, without having directly discussed it. In the case of Mr Burnett's purchase of a farm to exploit grants, the initial idea came from Mr Davis, but he was unable to finance it and so passed on the opportunity to Mr Burnett. Therefore, the idea had again received implicit peer approval, without Mr Burnett having to present the opportunity to a peer for validation. Another form of validation came from the example of Mr Nicol who worked in partnership with a neighbouring estate. In that example, there is arguably joint validation of the opportunity, through the partnership arrangement.

Social Networks

Peer approval was obtained implicitly, rather than directly as proposed by Wood and McKinley (2010). The use of social networks and entrepreneurial reputation to facilitate the enactment or abandonment of opportunities were identified in a number of cases, with an additional use of wider, community networks.

For example, to facilitate the development of the Gordon Castle brand, Mr Gordon Lennox had exploited his social network to raise external finance. He talked of "the ability to talk to people, an ability to have contacts outside" as the

reason for his success in raising finance. He attributed this ability to his previous occupation in banking. Mr Burnett also drew on his social network outwith his immediate peer group of estate owners, by seeking advice on the opportunity to exploit grants from external advisors to facilitate its enactment.

In contrast, Mr Nicol's experiences demonstrated how the involvement of social networks can also lead to the abandonment of entrepreneurial opportunities as argued by Wood and McKinley (2010). His original plan for the Potarch site was abandoned due to estate advisors being wary of the elevated levels of risks associated with it. He did not detail who the advisors consisted of, but it is assumed that they would consist of either his immediate peers and/or wider social network. This has also been noted in the literature of estates, with Woolvin (2013) identifying a reluctance to embrace entrepreneurial risk taking amongst some estate boards.

Lord Moray required the engagement of the wider community, rather than just his social network, in order to facilitate the enactment of the Tornagrain development, and gain approval for the opportunity. This was achieved through holding a charrette in Inverness between 5th and 14th September 2006. A charrette is "a series of intensive interactive design workshops held over a number of days where the public, designers and consultants work together to create a detailed vision for a development" (<https://www.tornagrain.com/project/story-so-far/>) and featured 600 members of the community, statutory consultees and a globally assembled project team, led by renowned traditional town planner Andrés Duany.

This example demonstrates that for particularly ambitious schemes, such as Tornagrain, there may be a requirement for wider social involvement in the enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities, beyond the levels of peer validation and presence of social networks as proposed by Wood and McKinley (2010).

Entrepreneurial Reputation

No estate owners reported having relied on their entrepreneurial reputation to facilitate the enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities. However, Lord Moray's family history of developing new towns could demonstrate the value of family entrepreneurial legacy to facilitate the enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities. Nordqvist and Melin (2010) define entrepreneurial families as "an institution, or social structure, which can both drive and constrain

entrepreneurial activity” (p.214). Arguably, Lord Moray’s family history of entrepreneurship in relation to the building of new towns, and attendant reputation, facilitated the enactment of the Tornagrain development. Whilst Wood and McKinley (2010) identify reputation as that being gained by individual entrepreneurs during their lifetime, this suggests that individuals may be able to draw on their family entrepreneurial legacy to facilitate the enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Experience and Confidence

Of those that detailed the process of opportunity development, Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray were notable for not having received peer validation for their opportunities, and also, as identified in the previous chapter, for being the two estate owners whose activities were more differentiated than other estate owners.

Wood and McKinley (2010) note boundary conditions for their model, arguing that experienced entrepreneurs do not require peer validation for their opportunities, rather they “just knows at some point that the idea is viable and represents an opportunity” (p.77). Confidence in the viability of opportunities was demonstrated by both Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray, both of whom also had experience of entrepreneurial behaviours in their previous occupations in the city. Their experiences were not directly of being entrepreneurs, but of having engaged in entrepreneurial actions, which arguably gave them both the experience and confidence to assess the viability of their opportunities on their own, without peer validation.

Development

Beyond the phases of peer validation and the input of social networks and entrepreneurial reputation, opportunities were detailed as having gone through a developmental process, through which they often changed in scale or form from the format initially identified. Ardichvili, Cardozo and Ray (2003) identified opportunity development as a crucial part of the entrepreneurial process, arguing that “opportunities begin as simple concepts that become more elaborate as entrepreneurs develop them” (p. 109).

Mr Bradford detailed that the decision to engage in hospitality in Kincardine Castle had developed iteratively from a small-scale one-off event into a more viable, strategically important and elaborated diversification for the estate as his

awareness of its potential grew. During the process of development over the course of 34 years, Mr Bradford had considerably modernised the castle, including the installation of 12 new guest bathrooms to augment the existing two, and a fire alarm system.

Lord Moray also detailed how the business park and Tornagrain opportunities had developed, with the final implemented formats being considerably different from the proposals he had identified as potential opportunities. The business park opportunity at Inverness Airport had developed from an initial proposal for a new road to the airport to its final form of creating a business park accessed by that road. Similarly, the Tornagrain development stemmed from an initial proposal from the Highland Council for one of a number of small villages to be built on estate land. Lord Moray had then developed the opportunity considerably, making it instead one much larger and more ambitious town, as an estate owned enterprise, rather than as a partnership with the Council.

Wood and McKinley (2010) acknowledge that opportunities undergo a process of development, requiring the input of external actors. However, they do not acknowledge the amount of change that can occur through their development, whether changes in scale, scope or format. As the examples provided by Mr Bradford and Lord Moray demonstrated, the implemented format of an opportunity can be considerably different from that of the initial identified opportunity.

The dimension of entrepreneurial planning has demonstrated that for estate owners, the development of entrepreneurial opportunities can require different forms of implicit peer validation. The presence of social networks, entrepreneurial family reputation and the involvement of community have also been demonstrated as being important in the subsequent enactment or abandonment of entrepreneurial opportunities. Estate owners with previous experience of entrepreneurial behaviours, if not involvement in entrepreneurial activities, demonstrated confidence in the opportunities identified, and did not require peer validation. These findings add nuance to the model of Wood and McKinley (2010). As discussed in chapter 3, this model does not though reflect the full entrepreneurial process, which also consists of the overlooked elements of action and outcomes (Davidsson, 2015), which are considered in the following section.

6.2.5 Dimension: Entrepreneurial Action and Outcomes

All estate owners were directly involved in the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities. Some also detailed their direct involvement in the process of development, discussed above. However, their involvement in entrepreneurial action, that is the implementation of the opportunities identified was much more limited. One notable exception was Mr Nicol, who had a detailed knowledge of, and involvement in, the day to day operations of the estate. All estate owners though were involved in the outcomes of entrepreneurial actions, that is their profitability.

Involvement in Entrepreneurial Action

Mr Maitland had explained that estate managers were “basically responsible for looking after the capital assets of the estate owner. Like an accountant would look after their financial assets, a lawyer would look after the legal side, we were responsible for the practical management and that would involve maximising the income and then ensuring the income appeared.” The role also included being responsible for the physical assets of the estate “i.e. the bricks and mortar and ensuring repair and maintenance is carried out at the appropriate time. Because if you don’t do it at the appropriate time it just costs more.” Therefore, given the role of an estate manager, outlined by Mr Maitland, it can be assumed that much of the implementation of entrepreneurial opportunities was handled by estate staff, including estate managers.

All estate owners employed estate staff, of varying numbers. It was assumed that much of the implementation of entrepreneurial opportunities was undertaken by estate staff. Whilst this was not detailed by a number of estate owners, Lord Moray did acknowledge that the team headed by his Chief Executive did a lot of the “heavy lifting” in terms of implementation and support.

Mr Nicol was the only estate owner who appeared to be directly involved in the day to day implementation of entrepreneurial opportunities. This may though be attributable to the ownership mechanism of the Ballogie estate, in which Mr Nicol is the Managing Partner and his brother is the Senior Partner, and therefore more involved in the day to day activities of implementation.

Entrepreneurial action, and differing levels of involvement in the implementation of entrepreneurial opportunities has not been adequately addressed in the literature, which, as discussed, overlooks the processes of action

and outcomes. Class theory, though, provides some potential explanation of the lack of involvement by estate owners in entrepreneurial action. The historical anti-enterprise sentiment of the upper classes and the imprinting of values within families has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 and within an institutional context in chapter 3.

These chapters argued that, despite a general reluctance to engage in entrepreneurial activities, estate owners have historically been involved in some innovative and entrepreneurial activities on their estates. The most notable entrepreneurial activities have been those of planning and delegation, rather than direct action. These include the enclosure movement of the 18th century, and acts of indirect entrepreneurship, such as the facilitation of mining and mineral extraction, and investment in infrastructure projects in the 19th century and beyond. Therefore, there is a historical pattern of behaviour of estate owners identifying opportunities, but not being directly involved in their exploitation.

Cannadine (1990) argued that the upper classes were wary of becoming involved in the workings of business in order to retain their class position, which may continue to be replicated by estate owners in the 21st century engaging in the identification of entrepreneurial opportunities, but not in entrepreneurial action, which is delegated to estate staff. Wagstaff (2013) has documented the reluctance of some Scottish estate owners to diversify into “trade” and Fox (2014) argues that prejudice against trade remains in British society.

Although the case study estate owners have been demonstrated to partially engage in the entrepreneurial process, particularly the process of identifying and developing opportunities, this continued reluctance to engage in trade may explain their lack of engagement in the implementation phase of the entrepreneurial process, that is direct involvement in entrepreneurial action. Whilst they were not involved in the action phase of the entrepreneurial process, they were, though, involved in entrepreneurial outcomes.

Involvement in Entrepreneurial Outcomes

Despite the lack of involvement in the phase of entrepreneurial action, all estate owners had knowledge of the outcomes of entrepreneurship, that is the current finances of their estate diversifications. For example, Mr Burnett outlined the ten-million-pound investment required for his wind farm development and the specific sources of the investment. Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Dalhousie talked

about specifics of taxation, and the structuring of estate businesses for tax efficiency. Mr Nicol outlined the level of investment required for the Potarch development, and Mr Campbell outlined the financial state of the estate on his purchase and issues relating to profit and loss and capital. Lord Moray also discussed the balance of loans in relation to the capital value of the estate. Lord Aberdeen quoted various financial figures and also highlighted the businesslike nature of the Haddo Estate, saying that it was “a serious business now as opposed to just running around in tweeds”.

There is a historical reluctance amongst the upper classes to discuss money, alluded to by Mitford (1959), Waugh in Mitford (1959) and The Duke of Bedford (1985). However, during the interviews, estate owners all willingly volunteered financial information, without being asked directly. The discussion of financial necessity in section 6.2.1 has argued that finances were not a push factor for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities. However, they appeared to use financial claims as a device to legitimise their engagement in entrepreneurship.

Wagstaff (2013) argues that estate owners who are resident on their estate have strong economic motivations. However, the increased use of increased economic rationale for estate owners’ identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities cannot necessarily be interpreted as a motivational factor. No estate owners demonstrated a desire to engage in entrepreneurial activity for its own sake: rather, they were motivated to engage in it by their commitments to community, land and family, as discussed in section 6.3.1. The use of a commercial logic was used by them as a legitimising claim, utilising a “vocabulary of motive”, but was not a motivational factor.

As argued in Chapter 3, estate owners have historically used language, specifically legitimising claims of stewardship (Stewart et al., 2001), as a “vocabulary of motive” (Scott, 1982). It appears from the examples of the case study estate owners, and exemplified by Lord Haddo’s insistence on the businesslike nature of the estate that a new logic is being drawn on in order to legitimise their activities. As per Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012) interinstitutional system, arguably, estate owners are drawing on the logic of commerce, particularly the legitimising claim of businesslike economic sustainability, in order to fit “practical needs”.

An increased pressure from external organisations for estate owners to engage in economically rewarding entrepreneurial activity has already been noted (e.g. Rural Solutions, 2017; Scottish Land and Estates, 2017; DC Research, 2015). Woolvin (2013) notes that estates are keen to identify themselves as businesses, both to counter negative perceptions of landowners, but also for the pragmatic reason of receiving entrepreneurial support. Therefore, the use of legitimising claims, drawing on the logics of commerce, may be a pragmatic action by estate owners to receive entrepreneurial support.

6.2.6 Dimension: Entrepreneurial Cycles

McMullen and Dimov (2013) conceptualise entrepreneurship as a journey, arguing that the end point of the journey is the opportunity reaching profitability. The outcomes of the entrepreneurial process can be equated with the profitability of an opportunity. As discussed above, estate owners appeared to re-engage in the entrepreneurial journey during this latter phase.

Their journeys, however, were not singular and linear. McMullen and Dimov (2013) argue that firms are not limited to “a single entrepreneurial journey” and that for some firms, the journey “has not yet ended and perhaps will never end.” (p.1496). All estate owners had engaged in the identification and exploitation of multiple entrepreneurial opportunities, that is, had been through multiple journeys. Nor did the journey appear to have ended for most estate owners, who had various diversified activities ongoing, and at various stages of development.

Not only had estate owners gone through multiple, overlapping, cycles of entrepreneurial action, in most cases each cycle was incrementally larger in terms of scale, with the largest scale project also the most current. These were the opportunities which estate owners were focusing their greatest attention on, notably Mr Burnett’s wind farm development at Williamston, Lord Aberdeen’s Formartine’s development, Mr Bradford’s development of the hospitality business at Kincardine Castle, Mr Nicol’s development of the Potarch site, Lord Moray’s Tornagrain project and Mr Gordon Lennox’s Gordon Castle brand. Mr Campbell had not undergone a full cycle of planning and action, although the diversifications planned - the development of new stables and a business centre - were of relatively large scale. Lord Dalhousie had a larger number of projects ongoing, at various stages of planning, but none of any particularly large scale.

There was not always a relationship between financial necessity and the timing of the cycles of planning and action. Mr Burnett and Mr Gordon Lennox had engaged in immediate action upon inheritance or purchase of their estates, with Mr Burnett's initial actions of lesser scale than Mr Gordon Lennox's. Lord Aberdeen and Mr Bradford, despite inheriting an urgent requirement to improve finances, had not engaged in immediate action, with Lord Aberdeen citing his private income from his job as a property developer as a reason why he did not engage in immediate action, and Mr Bradford citing a chronic lack of available capital. Lord Dalhousie had a growing requirement to improve finances, which he had responded to by engaging in the planning and action of a range of smaller scale diversifications and re-exploitation of existing activities, rather than focusing on one large project. Mr Campbell had addressed the urgency to improve finances by injecting private capital, and therefore had not begun to engage in action, and was still in the planning stage.

Why some estate owners engaged in a period of inactivity, despite a requirement to improve finances, and why some estate owners started their entrepreneurial journeys with the identification and exploitation of larger scale opportunities than others cannot be satisfactorily theorised. This empirical observation could be attributable to the contextualised nature of opportunities, in that individual circumstances, such as personality and resource restrictions differ from estate to estate. The differences between the personalities of the estate owners have been reflected on in the previous chapter and the following section will consider estate owner's entrepreneurial identities.

All estates continued to add to their portfolio of activities. No estate owners mentioned earlier diversifications having been stopped, although some had changed from being managed in-hand to being managed externally and vice versa, particularly in the case of Lord Dalhousie, who was aware of the lack of expertise within the estate to manage some diversifications successfully. Therefore, although most estates had identified larger scale projects to focus on, these were managed alongside existing activities.

It is important to note that estate resources are limited: whilst all estate owners continued to add to their portfolio of activities, there is a limit to how many more they can engage in. As estates are geographically bounded, estate owners cannot continue to add diversified activities indefinitely without running out of resources such as land and capital. It may be the case that some estate owners,

particularly those who have still have a necessity to improve estate finances may need to either abandon some less profitable enterprises, to free resources for the exploitation of more profitable ones. As Hansson et al. (2013) outline, in relation to farm pluriactivity, income can also be sought outwith the farm. For estate owners looking to reach financial sustainability, there may be also be a requirement to exploit opportunities outwith the estate, or in cases where this is not achievable, to sell the estate either wholly, or in parts, such as the example of Lord Dalhousie and the potential sale of Brechin Castle.

6.2.7 Dimension: Identity

Implicit in the process-based approach to entrepreneurship is the understanding that entrepreneurship is engaged in by entrepreneurs. Whilst all the case study estates had engaged in parts of the entrepreneurial process, and remained on an entrepreneurial journey, none of the estate owners fully identified themselves as entrepreneurs. Elements of entrepreneurial personality were, though, identified in some cases.

Some identified with traditional roles, such as farmers or traditional estate owners. For example, Mr Burnett did not classify himself as an entrepreneur, despite Mr Davis' highlighting of various entrepreneurial acts he had engaged in in order to sustain the estate. Although he acknowledged his entrepreneurial activities, he identified with being neither an estate owner nor entrepreneur, but as a farmer, who wanted to become a wind farmer. Lord Dalhousie did not explicitly identify himself as an entrepreneur, despite praising other entrepreneurs. Mr Bradford was clear in his self-identification as an estate owner, rather than as an entrepreneur.

Others identified as businessmen. Mr Campbell did not term himself an entrepreneur, although drew on his considerable experiences of starting and running businesses. Similarly, Lord Aberdeen did not highlight himself or his diversifications as being entrepreneurial, but highlighted that he viewed the estate as a serious business, and was keen to counter stereotyped perceptions of estate owners like himself "running around in tweeds and so on".

Only two estate owners identified themselves, partially, as entrepreneurs. Mr Gordon Lennox was not sure whether he was an entrepreneur or not, although believed that being an entrepreneur was positive. He highlighted entrepreneurial actions he had engaged in during his corporate career, and also entrepreneurial

aspects to his personality, particularly his attitude towards risk, demonstrating a partial identification with an entrepreneurial identity. Lord Moray identified himself as both an entrepreneur and as a custodian, roles which he believed were in tension with each other.

To attempt to explain this reluctance for estate owners to identify fully as entrepreneurs, despite their engagement in entrepreneurial activities, the various elements of the entrepreneurial individual, discussed in Chapter 3, sections 3.3.1-3.3.5 in relation to the Entrepreneurial Personality System will now be considered.

Personality Traits

As highlighted in Chapter 3, testing of the “Big 5” character traits was outwith the scope of this research. However, some individual traits and characteristic adaptations were identifiable through the narratives provided by estate owners.

Positive attitudes towards risk have been associated with entrepreneurs (e.g. in McClelland, 1961) and risk taking is included in the construct of Entrepreneurial Orientation (Bolton and Lane, 2011). If viewed as a trait (Zhao, Seibert and Lumpkin, 2010) it would be included in the Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of the Entrepreneurial Personality System as a Basic Tendency, and remain biologically stable. However, if viewed as a motivation (Shane, Locke and Collins, 2003), it would be included as a Characteristic Adaptation, mutable over time. This is how Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) themselves categorise risk-taking.

From the narratives provided, only Mr Gordon Lennox reported a natural inclination towards risk, indicating that he himself believed it to be a stable trait within himself, that is a Basic Tendency. He highlighted this by saying “I suppose you’ve got to be a bit of a risk taker as well if you’re going to be an entrepreneur and I probably am too much of a risk taker, put it all on black.”

For all others, risk was either a necessity or had been moderated. For example, Mr Burnett, despite not demonstrating risk as a Basic Tendency, had been forced to take considerable financial risk in his proposed wind farm to the extent that if it did not succeed, the estate would fail.

Examples of those who had moderated risk included Lord Moray who took practical steps to mitigate the risks he undertook, such as working in partnership with other entities. He did though associate the entrepreneurial side of his role as being “prepared to have a degree of financial risk”. Mr Nicol highlighted that the original proposal for the Potarch site was deemed to be too much of a financial risk for the estate to bear. He also said he thought it was important “to work outside your comfort zone but not so far out your comfort you can’t handle it”, again demonstrating a moderate approach to risk taking.

Mr Gordon Lennox, despite a natural inclination towards risk, had also mitigated both its financial risk, but also socioemotional wealth risk. By making the Gordon Castle brand a separate entity which paid royalties to the estate, he had moderated the risk of the Gordon Castle brand “upsetting the fabric of what’s been in my family since broadly speaking, since 1470”.

As these examples show, attitudes towards risk were not only changeable, and thus mainly demonstrated as Characteristic Adaptations, but also were not necessarily reported as positive motivations to engage in entrepreneurial action, in that in most cases, risks had been through necessity, or had been moderated.

Personal Motivations

Shane, Locke and Collins (2003) identify achievement (nAch), risk taking propensity, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, self-efficacy, goal setting, independence, drive and egoistic passion as personal motivations to engage in entrepreneurial activity. Risk taking, also considered as a personality trait, has been discussed above.

Limited personal motivations were apparent in the interviews. In particular, Lord Moray demonstrated a need for control in adapting the Tornagrain development proposal to be one that was estate-owned and controlled.

Passion was identifiable in both Lord Aberdeen and Lord Moray, who were explicit about their enjoyment of the role as estate owner though, with Lord Aberdeen referring to his love of working in Formartine’s, whilst Lord Moray indicated that personal reward was part of his motivation for engaging in the Tornagrain development and that it would remain his life’s work, which could be an example of goal setting.

Mr Gordon Lennox articulated that he had created a role for himself to keep him in employment for the foreseeable future, which could also be interpreted as an example of goal setting.

Whilst some limited personal motivational factors are identified above, the primary motivational factors identifiable were those relating to resource awareness, discussed in previous sections, and also relating to broader institutional commitments, discussed in section 6.3, next.

Confidence

Friedman and Laurison (2019) identify confidence as a suite of activities and behaviours that the elite class engage to “fit in” with their peers. All the estate owners demonstrated elevated levels of general personal confidence, exemplified by and discussed in relation to the balance of power between interviewer and interviewee in Chapter 4.

However, despite the presence of confidence as part of their upper class, or elite, identity in general, estate owners did not demonstrate specific confidence in their own entrepreneurial activities. Arguably, Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray demonstrated some confidence in their entrepreneurial activities, in that - as previously argued - they did not require peer validation of their entrepreneurial opportunities. However, despite the argument made by Koellinger, Minniti and Schade (2007), their elevated levels of confidence did not appear to lead to either over-supply or failure of entrepreneurial activity.

Cognition

All eight estate owners had approximately ten years or more experience in running their estates. They were all well-educated, mainly at elite private schools (Mr Nicol and Mr Campbell did not confirm their education) and most of them had previous experience of working outwith the estate before taking it over.

Shepherd and Patzelt (2018) argue that opportunity recognition ability is improved by education level, life experience and prior knowledge. All the case study estate owners demonstrated elevated levels of these, either individually, or in combination. It would be reasonable to argue, therefore, that all the estate owners had the cognitive ability to identify entrepreneurial opportunities, which can be classified as characteristic adaptations in the Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) model of The Entrepreneurial Personality System.

Whilst they all demonstrated the cognitive ability to identify entrepreneurial opportunities, as discussed in the conclusion to Chapter 5, all the estates tended to engage in similar types of diversification, with the exceptions of Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray. Given their cognitive ability, why most estate owners tended to engage in similar activities, yet two of them were able to identify and exploit differentiated opportunities, may be a function of the limitations of the geography and resources available to estate owners, but may also be attributed to additional factors of attitudes and values.

Family Attitudes

Narratives of family history were shared by three estate owners. Whilst there was a recognition of the requirement to maintain family ownership of the estate (discussed in section 6.3.2 on commitments), only Mr Campbell, Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray directly discussed the business actions of their parents or earlier generations of the family.

Mr Campbell contrasted his business-like investment in the Altries estate against the un-entrepreneurial nature of his parents when he said “my parents have been asset rich and cash poor and hadn’t had the money to run it”. He said of his father “he knew that he hadn’t invested in the place and there was a quote for a hundred grand to repair the roof of the house, that was pie in the sky for him”, demonstrating that he believed his father did not have access to the ability to raise money, through entrepreneurial activity or other types of activity, such as making a personal capital investment.

Mr Campbell appears to have overcome the lack of entrepreneurial orientation he highlights in his parents to have forged his own successful business career. Due to the un-implemented nature of his entrepreneurial plans for the Altries estate, it is unclear as to whether he had managed to engage in entrepreneurial action as well as planning, despite the lack of a positive association with entrepreneurship within his family. He did though demonstrate a positive association with entrepreneurship in his desire to develop a business centre which would offer entrepreneurial support and mentoring.

In contrast, both Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray highlighted the direct and indirect entrepreneurial legacy of their families. Mr Gordon Lennox was keen to highlight the social connections, but also legacy of the Gordon Lennox family,

who had been associated with the estate since 1470. The ability of estate owners to facilitate indirect entrepreneurship has been discussed in Chapter 2. Mr Gordon Lennox provided a family example of this, when he proudly claimed “my great great great something or other put the legislation through parliament that legalized whisky”. Lord Moray also demonstrated pride in his family’s entrepreneurial history. In his case it was his father’s direct entrepreneurial action, saying that he “was very entrepreneurial and had some big successes.”

It is notable that Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray were the two estate owners whose entrepreneurial actions were not only the most differentiated from other estate owners, but also who highlighted the prior entrepreneurial successes of their family. This appears to give support to the argument made by Nordqvist and Melin (2010) and Aldrich and Cliff (2003) that the institution of the family can influence attitudes towards entrepreneurship.

Not only has a positive family association with entrepreneurship appear to have shaped the attitudes of Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Morays’ towards entrepreneurship, it may also have shaped the type of entrepreneurial opportunities they identified. Opportunity identification has been noted as occurring through three mechanisms: replication, resource awareness and presentation of opportunities. Both estate owners can be seen to be replicating previous family actions, albeit in different formats. For example, Mr Gordon Lennox highlighted the actions of one of his relatives in legalising the whisky industry. Whilst Mr Gordon Lennox does not produce whisky on the estate, one of the main Gordon Castle brand products is a gin. For Lord Moray there is a clearer link: his family has a tradition of building new towns, or large areas within towns, and at Tornagrain he has replicated this activity.

Upper Class Values

Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) demonstrate the “gravity effect” of culture on the entrepreneurial personality, and it is arguable that there may be a class component of culture which effects not only the type of entrepreneurial opportunity identified by estate owners, but also their entrepreneurial identity.

Mr Maitland had argued that the class-based antipathy towards entrepreneurship as discussed in Chapter 2, had become diminished amongst estate owners: “yeah I would say it’s completely gone. Maybe it’s at the complete top end of Estates belonging to Dukes and Earls, they still have a different view

[...] but in the real world it's virtually gone". He also noted that potential heirs were increasingly gaining business experience outwith the estate before they inherited, including gaining entrepreneurial experience "what's changed is that the older son, they've all gone and got jobs in London, settled into careers, so they're creating their own enterprises."

Estate owners were increasingly willing to engage in entrepreneurial activities, and demonstrated positive associations with entrepreneurship, such as Lord Dalhousie's praise of entrepreneurs in Scotland. However, despite the reduced class-based antipathy towards entrepreneurship, they were still reluctant to identify as entrepreneurs, which may be rooted in the values of social class.

This role conflict argued by Hoang and Gimeno (2010) can be identified in a number of the case study estate owners. Mr Burnett defined himself as a farmer who wanted to be a wind farmer, despite owning an estate, rather than a farm. Mr Bradford identified himself purely as an estate owner, and was reluctant to identify himself or his actions as entrepreneurial. Mr Campbell and Lord Aberdeen more closely aligned themselves with the identity of businessmen, rather than as entrepreneurs, whilst Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray partially identified as entrepreneurs. In both cases, though, their identification was qualified. Mr Gordon Lennox stated that "I suppose others would call me an entrepreneur, but I'm not sure", and Lord Aberdeen highlighted the tension between the entrepreneurial and custodial parts of his role. The mechanisms through which they embraced an entrepreneurial identity are discussed next.

Self-Concept

Obschonka and Stuetzer (2017) propose self-concept as a category which contains both entrepreneurial self-identity and entrepreneurial life-narratives as elements which effect entrepreneurial personality and propensity. They argue that self-concept "involves the individual subjective biography and is deeply rooted in early socialization experiences" (p.7) and develops from the basic tendencies and characteristic adaptations.

Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray were the two estate owners who most fully identified as entrepreneurs. From the analysis above of the individual elements of the personality system model, Mr Gordon Lennox reported an element of risk-taking as a basic tendency, whilst both he and Lord Moray demonstrated some characteristic adaptations that incorporated a moderate approach to risk. They

both demonstrated some elements of personal motivation: for Mr Gordon Lennox there was an aspect of goal setting in him creating a job for himself for the future. For Lord Moray, there was an element of control, passion for his job, and goal setting in that he determined that Tornagrain will remain his life's work. They both demonstrated the greatest level of confidence in their entrepreneurial activities, and did not require peer validation of the opportunities they had identified. They were both well-schooled at elite schools, albeit with Mr Gordon Lennox's being more traditional institutions. They could both be argued to also demonstrate similar cognitive potential to identify entrepreneurial opportunities and to be well endowed with social and cultural capital.

Not only had they identified entrepreneurial exemplars and positive associations with entrepreneurship in their family histories, unlike other estate owners they also used entrepreneurial life and family narratives to form partial entrepreneurial identities. Mr Gordon Lennox drew on his earlier life experiences to explain his background in banking and the entrepreneurial actions he took during that time. In Lord Moray's case, he drew on his earlier experiences of having built a coalition of investors in the city. Without suggesting a causal relationship, it is notable that they also engaged in the most differentiated activities, and also, as discussed in the following section 6.3.1 on continued entrepreneurial activity, also had the longest time lines in relation to the expected outcomes of their entrepreneurial action and length of their expected entrepreneurial journey.

A Logics Approach to Entrepreneurial Identity

Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) concept of the cultural entrepreneur is one who is able to blend and segregate institutional categories in their entrepreneurial actions. The use of different institutional logics has been discussed in section 6.2.5, in which estate owners had drawn on the logics of commerce to legitimise their activities. The interinstitutional framework also provides an institutional perspective to understand how Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray not only engaged in entrepreneurial activities, but also how they drew on multiple institutions to develop their entrepreneurial personalities.

Some estate owners identified themselves with a single, traditional identity, such as Mr Bradford who identified himself as a traditional estate owner, and Mr Burnett who identified himself as a farmer. In the examples of Mr Campbell,

Lord Aberdeen, Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray, these estate owners appear to have developed a self-concept of themselves beyond the traditional identities associated with land ownership, as either businessmen and/or entrepreneurs. This could be either as a dominant identity, or as one of a number of identities they hold in balance, as per Lord Moray's tension between being an entrepreneur and also a custodian.

The use of life and family narratives has been identified as a differentiating factor for both Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray in the formation of their partial entrepreneurial identity. They appear to be a mechanism through which they have partially overcome the paradox of embedded agency (Seo and Creed, 2002) to demonstrate aspects of an entrepreneurial personality and also engage in differentiated types of entrepreneurial activity.

Both Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray appear to demonstrate the cognitive ability to "hold world-views or cultural frames that give them a larger conception of their institutional environment" (Suddaby, Viale and Gendron, 2016, p.228). From an institutional logics perspective, their cognitive ability and experience of multiple institutional settings has allowed them to not take for granted the "functioning of their current organization" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p.110).

Estate owners in general have been argued to draw on the logics of commerce to legitimise their entrepreneurial activities. Arguably, Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray, through their previous experiences as an investment banker and investor respectively had considerable knowledge and experience of the institution of commerce. This could provide them with "vertical specialisation" (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury. 2012, p.107), which together with their cognitive ability has allowed them to not only engage in acts of cultural entrepreneurship, but also to develop an entrepreneurial personality, despite a continued ambivalence amongst estate owners to identify as entrepreneurs. By also drawing on the logics of family - an institution in which estate owners have been historically embedded - and specifically family histories of involvement in entrepreneurial facilitation or action they have managed to provide further legitimacy to their actions and their identities.

6.3 Continued Activities and Aspirations

6.3.1 Dimension: Continued Entrepreneurial Activity

The urgency to improve estate finances on inheritance and/or acquisition of estates has been discussed in section 6.2.1. All estate owners had engaged in various cycles of entrepreneurial planning, and all bar Mr Campbell had engaged in entrepreneurial action.

Whilst entrepreneurial activity has been reported by Glass et al. (2013b) as having been successful for estate owners to overcome financial problems, at least in the short term, it was unclear as to whether entrepreneurial action had helped estate owners improve estate finances to a level at which they believed no further action was required. Most estate owners though, had plans to continue engaging in entrepreneurial activities, with the exception of Lord Aberdeen and Mr Nicol, although this may have been an error of omission. Of those continuing to engage in entrepreneurial activities, some estates demonstrated short term financial requirements, whereas others operated on longer time lines. Barriers to continued and future exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities were also identified.

Estates with Short Term Requirements

Of the three estate owners with short term financial requirements, there were differences between their individual circumstances. Mr Burnett, currently aged approximately 71 has been involved in the running of the Williamston estate since leaving school over fifty years ago. Mr Bradford, currently aged approximately 64, has owned the Kincardine O'Neil estate for forty years, and Lord Dalhousie, currently aged approximately 71, has owned the Dalhousie Estates for twenty years. Of the three, Mr Burnett did not expect to inherit the estate, whereas for the other two owners it was a planned succession. Mr Burnett and Mr Bradford did not have careers outwith their estates, whereas Lord Dalhousie had a career in banking in London before inheriting the estate.

The sizes of the estates varied: Williamston is a small estate, Kincardine O'Neil is a medium sized estate, and the Dalhousie Estates are categorised as very large. Age of ownership varied between the three: Williamston has been in family ownership for almost 200 years, Kincardine O'Neil for almost 120 years and Dalhousie Estates for almost 250 years.

Williamston and Kincardine O'Neil have been inherited along the female line of the family at least once, whereas the Dalhousie estate, the only one of the three owned by a member of the Peerage, has been inherited along lines of primogeniture. Two of the estate owners, Mr Bradford and Lord Dalhousie reported the family seats, Kincardine Castle and Brechin Castle respectively, as being drains on financial resources.

Despite the variations in circumstances detailed above, the one similarity between all three estates was that a successor had been identified: in the case of Williamston, Mr Burnett's second youngest son, and for Mr Bradford and Lord Dalhousie, their eldest sons will inherit.

Their future plans varied: Mr Burnett was focused on one, large scale and risky diversification, being the wind farm development. Mr Bradford was focused mainly on the hospitality business, although remained open to other opportunities, and had identified the provision of business accommodation as one possible other diversification. Lord Dalhousie had identified a number of potential, lower return diversifications which were in various stages of planning and action. In all cases, they had a short-term requirement to improve estate finances, which they hoped to address at least partially, through these entrepreneurial activities.

All three demonstrated a reluctance to embrace an entrepreneurial identity as discussed in the previous section. Mr Burnett, although agreeing he had engaged in entrepreneurial action, referred to himself as a farmer. Lord Dalhousie, whilst demonstrating admiration for entrepreneurs in general, and acknowledging the requirement to engage in entrepreneurial action, did not identify himself as an entrepreneur. Instead, he gave the impression of being the embodiment of the polish and manners central to Scott's (1982) gentlemanly code. Mr Bradford openly rejected an entrepreneurial identity, instead aligning himself with the traditional perception of an estate owner whose actions were for the benefit of the local community.

Estates with Longer Time Lines

Of the estates operating on longer time lines, differences were also noted. Mr Campbell, currently aged approximately 63, acquired the Altries estate from his family approximately ten years ago. Mr Gordon Lennox, currently aged approximately 55, acquired a full interest in the Gordon Castle estate eleven

years ago. Lord Moray, currently aged approximately 53, inherited the Moray Estates and title of the Earl of Moray along the lines of primogeniture on his father's death in 2011, eight years before the date of interview. All three had considerable commercial experience before inheriting or acquiring their estates: Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray in investment banking, and Mr Campbell as a businessman.

The size of the estates varied. Altries and Gordon Castle are both small estates, whereas the Moray estates are classified as large. Age of ownership varied: Altries has been owned by the Campbell family for 68 years. The Gordon Castle estate has been in the Gordon Lennox family ownership periodically for over 500 years. The Moray Estates have been owned by the family for over 450 years. Altries and Gordon Castle were acquired from the family by Mr Campbell and Mr Gordon Lennox respectively.

The Moray Estates were inherited along lines of primogeniture by Lord Moray. Neither Mr Campbell nor Lord Moray reported the family seats as being drains on estate resources, whereas Mr Gordon Lennox identified Gordon Castle as remaining what he believed to be a relatively unprofitable asset.

In contrast to the estate owners who had short term requirements and who had all identified specific heirs, in the case of the estate owners with longer time lines, none of them had identified a specific heir to inherit their estates.

Mr Campbell was in the process of planning but had not engaged in entrepreneurial action. Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray had engaged in large scale diversifications on their estates, notably the walled garden, cafe and Gordon Castle brand at the Gordon Castle estate, and the Airport business park, Castle Stuart Golf Links and Tornagrain development at the Moray Estates.

All estate owners were focused on a small range of future diversifications. For Mr Campbell this was the redevelopment of the stables and the business centre plan. Mr Gordon Lennox was in the process of attempting to scale the Gordon Castle brand. Lord Moray was mainly focused on the continued Tornagrain development, although also involved in the future development at the Castle Stuart Golf Links and remaining open to additional proposals made to the estate. In all cases, there was not an immediate requirement for these to be profitable. Whilst Mr Campbell did not outline a specific time line, Mr Gordon Lennox

outlined a twenty-year period in which he would be directly involved in the business of the estate, during which he hoped profitability would improve. For Lord Moray, the Tornagrain development would take considerable time to become profitable for the estate, being “justified over decades”.

Unlike the estate owners who had short term requirements and who did not embrace identities beyond traditional roles of farmers and estate owners, all three estate owners who operated on longer time lines had embraced business or entrepreneurial identities. Mr Campbell identified as a businessman, and Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray, as discussed previously, had demonstrated certain logics of cultural entrepreneurship in both their entrepreneurial actions and in their entrepreneurial identity through the adoption of life and family narratives.

Barriers to Exploitation

Mr Maitland had highlighted the land reform movement as a particular challenge for estate owners, and being one of a number of reasons why some had sold their estates: “so land owners are definitely wary and concerned about it. Some more than others, you know, if you think of for example where somebody has sold up, there was a [...] certain, I mean there was more to why they sold up than just land reform but it definitely was a factor.” None of the estate owners cited a desire to sell their estates, but land reform and other legislation was cited by a number of them as a barrier to exploiting entrepreneurial opportunities.

Of the estates whose requirement to improve estate finances was urgent, Lord Dalhousie and Mr Bradford highlighted the financial challenges of implementing increased energy requirements for rental properties, which were hard to achieve in older properties and making them less profitable income streams. Additionally, Mr Bradford had noted increased security for tenant farmers was a potential barrier to letting out farmland.

Mr Burnett and Mr Bradford reported lack of access to capital as a barrier to implementing entrepreneurial opportunities. Mr Burnett had been forced to sell some land in order to partially finance his £10 million wind farm scheme, and Mr Bradford admitted it had been a problem during his entire time as the owner of the Kincardine O’Neil estate. Lord Dalhousie also reported being unable to implement certain opportunities until there was “money in the bank”, indicating difficulty in raising capital.

Of the estates whose activities operated on a longer time line, none cited increased energy requirements as a potential barrier. Lord Moray did acknowledge that “the economics aren’t that compelling” for the supply of residential property, although this had been overcome through offering properties in need of renovation at low rents for tenants to finance the majority of the required work. Mr Campbell had been critical of increased security for tenant farmers as a barrier to entrepreneurial action: this issue had also been raised by Mr Nicol.

No specific barriers to raising finance had been identified by the three estate owners. Mr Campbell was able to make a considerable personal investment in the estate, Mr Gordon Lennox had successfully exploited his social network to raise additional finance to fund the scaling of the Gordon Castle brand, and Lord Moray explained that although considerable amounts of money had been borrowed to fund activities, they were relatively low in relation to the overall value of the estate.

Explanatory Factors

Considerable differences in the individual circumstances of estate owners with both short term requirements and longer time lines have been highlighted. A number of similarities can be noted, however. Firstly, the estate owners with short term requirements were those who did not embrace entrepreneurial or business identities, whereas those who had longer time lines were those who had embraced business or entrepreneurial identities as discussed in the previous section.

Secondly, estate owners with short term requirements tended to be older estate owners (average age 69), with longer tenures than estate owners (average length of tenure, 37 years) and with specific heirs nominated. Estate owners with longer time lines were younger (average age 57), with shorter tenures (average length of tenure, 10 years) and no specific heirs nominated.

Thirdly, estate owners with short term requirements reported difficulties in accessing capital to fund their entrepreneurial activities, whereas those with longer time lines reported no specific problems in raising capital to fund their future entrepreneurial actions.

A number of factors may explain these patterns. The lack of either a business or entrepreneurial identity in those with short term requirements, particularly the lack of life or family histories of entrepreneurial activity which contribute towards the development of an entrepreneurial personality and subsequent entrepreneurial activities, may have limited the type, and particularly the expected time to achieve profitability, of the diversifications these estate owners were able to engage in.

In contrast, those estate owners whose activities had longer time lines had embraced business or, partially, entrepreneurial identities. Contributing to the development of their entrepreneurial personalities, they all had more experience of being embedded within the institution of commerce. Their embeddedness in multiple institutions, and vertical specialism within the institution of commerce arguably has allowed them to draw on commercial logics to engage in activities which, the case of Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray were more differentiated, and which operated on a longer time line.

In those estate owners who had specific heirs nominated, it may be that as they are coming to the end of their tenures, they may be facing imminent inheritance tax issues. This could have contributed to their requirement to engage in immediate action to address specific and pressing financial concerns to be able to hand over their estates to their named heirs. For example, Mr Bradford articulated specific concerns regarding taxation when his son takes over, and it may be that the potential sale of Brechin Castle, together with the urgency to engage in entrepreneurial action, may be due to imminent taxation issues, although this was not directly articulated by Lord Dalhousie.

In contrast, those estate owners whose activities had a longer time line did not have specific heirs nominated. They were also on average younger and with shorter tenures. Therefore, it may be that they do not face pressing issues of inheritance and taxation, and do not have to rely on the income from diversified activities for their personal financial stability. This lack of imminent financial pressures may enable them to be able to engage in entrepreneurial activities that do not require to reach profitability until the end of their expected tenures, by which time a specific heir may be chosen to inherit.

Finally, the lack of access to capital may also impact on the scale of activities they engage in, although this is less clear, as Mr Burnett, despite pressing financial

requirements was able to raise £10 million for his wind farm development from which it was assumed he required to make a return on a shorter time scale than some other estate owners. This had, though, been achieved through the sale of one tenth of the estate lands and by a variety of other means.

The ability for the estate owners whose activities operated on longer time lines to raise finance to fund their diversifications may be attributable to their own wealth, and, in the case of Lord Moray, the high value of the overall estate. However, there may also been an institutional aspect to their ability to raise finance. Flilgstein (2013) argues that socially skilled individuals have a “highly developed cognitive capacity for reading people and environments, framing lines of action, and mobilizing people” (p.43). Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray have been argued to possess the cognitive ability and experience to draw on multiple institutional logics. Their social skills, developed through their experience of commerce, may also have contributed to their ability to raise finance, as has already been argued to be the case with Mr Gordon Lennox who was able to exploit his social network to raise finance to scale the Gordon Castle brand.

6.3.2 Dimension: Commitments

Estate owners demonstrated a range of commitments: to community, their land and their families. These were argued in chapter three to be motivations in general for estate owners to improve estate finances, but not necessarily the motivations to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Community was the most explicitly cited commitment by estate owners, whilst commitment to the land was only articulated by one estate owner. Commitment to family was a more implicit commitment.

Community

Most estate owners demonstrated a commitment to their local communities in some form. This was articulated in terms of both directly supporting their communities, but also as a motivation to ensure continued family ownership of estates.

Mr Maitland argued that a commitment to community was common amongst estate owners, saying “the important thing to the estate owner about owning an estate is that it’s an important part of the community and maintaining rural employment, keeping the local shops and whatever, the local Post Office going.”

He saw this as particularly prevalent in the North East of Scotland, because “a lot of estate owners are on the estates here and they see themselves as, yeah they definitely see themselves as part of the community and they need to, from the land reform point of view, they need to be able to show the good that they’re doing, that they’re a purpose for good rather than the purpose for evil, evil land owners.”

Lacey (1983) describes the upper classes as historically having been guided by a sense of *noblesse oblige*, that is a philanthropic duty to not only serve, but also rule society. For estate owners, therefore there was a historic commitment to, but also belief in the right to serve, but also rule, local communities, by providing paternalistic care to the local area and community (Pryor, 2010). Scottish estate owners continue to provide a “pivotal role” in providing housing and employment for the estate community (McKee et al., 2013). However, whilst some estate owners are motivated by genuine community commitments, others have been highlighted as “acting without consideration of the needs of the community when taking decisions relating to land holdings” (Glenn et al., 2019, p.22).

As the analysis of entrepreneurial action and outcomes in section 6.3.5 has highlighted, an increasing economic rationale has been noted amongst estate owners. This was identified not as an intrinsic motivation to engage in entrepreneurial activity, but a legitimising device. As Mr Maitland argues, a commitment to community can also be seen as a legitimising device in order for estate owners to justify their continued ownership of land in the face of the land reform movement.

It remains unclear, however, whether the commitment to community demonstrated by estate owners was a motivating factor, a legitimising device, or both. For example, Mr Burnett demonstrated community commitments through the wind farm scheme which was for, and partially owned by, the local community. However, community support was also required to gain permission for the wind farm, and therefore his commitment to community may also have been a legitimising device.

There was some evidence of a genuine commitment to community amongst estate owners, however. Whilst Mr Nicol did not refer to his community commitments during the formal parts of the interview, he demonstrated a clear

commitment to the estate staff, highlighted by the estate's Investor in People accreditation, and the Ballogie website has a section detailing the estate's work in supporting the local community (<https://www.ballogie-estate.co.uk/ballogie-estate/community-support>).

Lord Dalhousie was explicit regarding his commitment to maintaining Brechin Castle in particular as a community asset, despite the cost of maintaining it. Similarly, Lord Aberdeen and Mr Bradford were explicit regarding what they regarded as the function of their estates in providing a pivotal role in supporting their communities through the provision of housing and jobs, and in the case of Haddo in providing a "focal point" for the local community.

Land

Mr Campbell was the only landowner to articulate a specific commitment to their land. Stewart et al. (2001) argued that estate owners had used rhetorics of stewardship to identify themselves as "keepers of land". Mr Campbell demonstrated such rhetorics, employing them as a vocabulary of motive to justify private ownership of land, when he argued that private ownership and investment in the land "is absolutely fundamental to our countryside". He claimed that land reform would risk losing "benefits in the landownership we've had, and that largely be around about investment and stewardship"

It is notable that Mr Campbell was the only estate owner to directly employ the rhetorics of stewardship and commitment to his land. However, Wagstaff (2015) reports that estate owners, particularly those which have remained in family ownership for a number of generations demonstrate intrinsic motivations such as a sense of duty, but also a commitment to place. It is arguable that other estate owners might share similar commitments to Mr Campbell: however, in the context of the interviews, these commitments were not shared.

Family

Some estate owners directly articulated a pressure to be able to hand over their estates to the next generation in a good financial state. Those that did not report this pressure still expected their estates to remain in family ownership. Whilst the commitment to family is arguably a motivation to ensure financial stability of estates, it was not explicitly cited as a motivational factor.

A minority of estate owners directly reported a pressure to ensure financial stability of their estates for the next generation. With his frequent references to the long history, and social connections of the Gordon Lennox family, Mr Gordon Lennox indicated a sense of obligation to maintain a family legacy. More explicitly, he reported his actions as being to improve the estate to make it somewhere his children would like to spend time on, which required it to be more profitable than it currently was. Mr Bradford also articulated a pressure “to be able to hand the place over in good order” to his son, and Mr Burnett also indicated a pressure to maintain his estate for his family.

Even those who did not report a pressure to maintain their estates for their family did plan for the estate to be handed over to their heirs. For example, the website for the Ballogie estate states that the Nicol family “are dedicated to the maintenance, conservation, redevelopment, and safekeeping of the estate for future generations”. Similarly, Lord Haddo confirmed that the estate would remain in family ownership. Mr Campbell and Lord Moray both demonstrated an assumption that their estates would remain in family ownership, through their discussion of inheritance, whereas Lord Dalhousie already had plans in place for his son to inherit.

Although all estate owners planned for their family to inherit their estates, the commitment to family was not strongly articulated by all estate owners as a motivational factor. This may be attributable to the deeply embedded nature of the desire for perpetuation amongst the upper classes. That is, it is such a cultural norm for estate owners that they did not feel the need to directly articulate it. Given the pressures of the land reform movement and increased criticism of the inequity of private landownership, estate owners may also be reluctant to promote their desire for family perpetuation as a motivational factor.

Layered Motivations

Previous sections have considered push and pull factors of motivation, and have highlighted resources as both a factor for estate owners to demonstrate awareness of the potential of their estates for entrepreneurial exploitation, but also as a specific, pull motivational factor to engage in entrepreneurial activities. The adoption of the logic of commerce has also previously been argued to not be an intrinsic motivational factor, but rather a legitimising device.

Chapter 3 presented a pluralistic approach to motivation, which considered estate owners' both push and pull factors to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Commitments to community, land, and family were considered as underpinning motivations to ensure financial stability to be able to perpetuate family ownership of estates.

The findings presented above, however, suggest a more nuanced approach to motivations is required. They suggest that commitment to community is an explicitly cited motivation for estate owners, and employed for a variety of reasons, whereas commitment to family is an implicit, yet fundamental, motivation to ensure perpetuation of family ownership. Commitment to the land appears to be a less commonly cited motivational factor, although this may be attributable to oversight.

The commitment to community arguably is employed for a number of reasons. It could be employed through continuation of the concept of *noblesse oblige* amongst estate owners. It could, though, be argued that articulating a commitment to community is also a pragmatic response to the pressures of the land reform movement. By both demonstrating a motivation to community, and the use of legitimising claims of commerce, estate owners could be highlighting what they believe are the perceived benefits of continued private ownership in contrast to community ownership, which may be seen as being less entrepreneurial. There may also be a socioemotional wealth aspect to their commitment: Debicki et al.'s (2016) scale of socioemotional wealth importance (SEWi) includes the dimension of Family Prominence, that is how the family, through their business activities, are perceived by the community. Therefore, the motivational factor of community, coupled with the legitimising claim of commercial logics may be an attempt to increase stocks of socioemotional wealth for estate owners.

Land reform was not cited as a direct influence on the decision to not engage in specific entrepreneurial activities. However, it may influence the degree to which a commitment to family is articulated. This commitment to family was less explicitly cited by landowners, perhaps as a pragmatic response to the land reform movement. Despite it appearing to remain of continued primacy for estate owners, none of whom were prepared to sell their estates, they may be reluctant to cite it as a fundamental motivational factor, due to the negative connotations of private landownership highlighted by the land reform movement.

Therefore, motivations appear to exist as both explicit commitments to community, but also as implicit commitments to family. The importance of continued family ownership is also considered in the following section on inheritance.

6.3.3 Dimension: Inheritance

Despite an assumption of their estates remaining in family ownership, there was not an automatic assumption of male primogeniture in most cases, even in the cases where that would be likely, or was planned.

Mr Maitland shared his understanding of how primogeniture had changed on estates. Rather than the eldest son having traditionally expected to inherit the estate without having demonstrated the competence to do so, he said “it’s important that the first son, second son, third son make their own way, don’t sit back expecting to inherit the estate, that’s certainly not showing the attitude you’d want in terms of who would inherit your estate.”

In a number of the case studies, not only was primogeniture not assumed, but inheritance had also historically not been along the lines of male primogeniture. For example, Williamston was inherited by Mr Burnett’s mother, and Mr Burnett himself was not the eldest son. His second youngest son will inherit the estate. Neither Mr Gordon Lennox nor Mr Campbell are eldest sons, but were able to acquire their estates from their families due to their ability to make investments in their estates. The Kincardine O’Neil estate has historically been inherited along the female line, although will now be inherited by Mr Bradford’s eldest son. At Ballogie, the estate has been inherited by both Mr Nicol and his brother: this type of dual inheritance is unusual and may have implications for the future inheritance of the estate.

Notably, the estates of the three members of the Peerage, that is Lords Aberdeen, Dalhousie and Moray have been historically inherited mainly along lines of primogeniture. Whilst Lord Moray was open to a different son inheriting, it was assumed that his eldest son would be the heir, should he be inclined. Mr Campbell had argued that there was an increasing separation of title and ownership of estates owned by peers, although this was not the case with the Haddo, Dalhousie and Moray estates.

What is noticeable is that, even in the cases where estates are planned to be inherited along lines of primogeniture there was no longer an assumed right and/or duty for the eldest son to inherit. Mr Gordon Lennox had not chosen an heir. He wished for his children to live their own lives outwith the estate and return to it in future should they choose: there was no expectation for them to return or for a specific child to inherit. For Lord Aberdeen, should his eldest son not wish to inherit, it would not be forced on him, although he was keen that the estate remained in family ownership. Similarly, Lord Moray did not want to pressure his eldest son into inheriting the estate: instead, he was waiting to see if his son had the interest and desire to inherit.

Mr Bradford justified his eldest son inheriting through a rhetoric of meritocracy. He said that “he seems capable and is having a reasonable career in London in the City which might enable him to afford to take it over.” This indicates that he believed his son to be capable of running the estate, rather than inheriting through an assumed right. The poor financial state of the estate had been indicated a number of times by Mr Bradford, and there was also an expectation that his son would be able to make a personal investment in the estate.

Cannadine (1990) argued that the upper classes historically set themselves apart from other classes by, amongst other behaviours, the practice of male primogeniture. However, as Hough (2011) reports, there has been considerable change in behaviours amongst estate owners, arguing that estates should be inherited by the “child who is best placed to do so, regardless of age or sex” (Hough, 2011). The case study estates have demonstrated that not only is male primogeniture not an expectation for estate owners, estates have not necessarily been inherited historically along lines of primogeniture. Those owned by members of the Peerage have though been broadly inherited along lines of primogeniture however, presumably in the interests of not separating inherited title and estate ownership.

The cases have also highlighted an increased use of a meritocratic and interest-based approach to inheritance. As Mr Maitland noted, potential heirs were required to demonstrate their ability to financially maintain the estate, which had been directly articulated by Mr Bradford. Additionally, potential heirs are now chosen only if they demonstrated interest in inheriting, as discussed by Mr Gordon Lennox, Lord Aberdeen and Lord Moray.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the cross-case analysis, highlighting patterns of similarity and difference between the case study estate owners. It has drawn on the various perspectives presented in chapter 3 to guide the identification of what types of activities estate owners engage in, and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

Section 6.2 on the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities has analysed these patterns across the dimensions of financial necessity, awareness, opportunity identification, entrepreneurial planning, entrepreneurial action and outcomes, entrepreneurial cycles, and identity.

It has identified that whilst estate owners have requirements to improve estate finances, financial requirements do not act as push factors of motivation, i.e. estate owners cannot be identified as necessity entrepreneurs due to financial reasons. It has demonstrated that for estate owners, the entrepreneurial process starts not with the identification of specific entrepreneurial opportunities, but with an awareness of the potential of estate resources to be exploited for entrepreneurial gain. Estate owners have then been shown to employ three different ways of identifying opportunities: replication, resource awareness, and presentation of opportunities. Resources were identified as a specific motivational pull factor for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Opportunities were identified as undergoing a process of, often considerable, development often requiring implicit peer validation, social networks and/or entrepreneurial family reputation to facilitate their enactment or abandonment. The entrepreneurial process has also been demonstrated to encompass both entrepreneurial action and outcomes. Estate owners are not generally involved in the action, or implementation of entrepreneurial opportunities, which has been attributed to the potential legacy of the class-based reluctance to engage in trade. They do, though, have a direct involvement in the outcomes of entrepreneurship, that is the profitability of the estate. Their involvement in this phase has been legitimised through the adoption of logics of commerce.

Not only do estate owners have varying levels of involvement in the entrepreneurial journey of individual diversifications, they engage in multiple, overlapping journeys. In most cases, their entrepreneurial journeys showed no sign of ending.

Whilst all estate owners engaged in entrepreneurial activities, they remain reluctant to identify as entrepreneurs. Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray were the exceptions, who had partially embraced an entrepreneurial identity. Basic Tendencies and Characteristic Adaptations of personality traits, personal motivations, confidence and cognition were identified in both estate owners. The most noticeable similarity between them, however, was the presence of positive family associations with entrepreneurship and their use of family narratives, and also their considerable experience of the institution of commerce and their use of life-narratives to both legitimise their entrepreneurial activities, and to underpin their partial entrepreneurial personalities. Whilst a causal connection was not suggested, both estate owners had also been identified as engaging in the most differentiated activities.

Section 6.3 has considered the continued activities and aspirations of estate owners across the dimensions of continued entrepreneurial activity, commitments and inheritance.

It has identified that of the estate owners who had continued entrepreneurial activities planned, some had short term financial requirements, whereas others operated on longer time lines. The former group included those who retained traditional identities of farmers and estate owners, whereas the latter comprised those who had embraced business or partial entrepreneurial identities. Other differences were highlighted. The former group were generally older, with longer tenures and with specific heirs nominated. The latter were generally younger, with shorter tenures and no specific heirs nominated. Explanations for the differences were attributed to identity, institutional embeddedness, financial pressures of inheritance, and access to finance. Motivations to ensure financial stability of estates to ensure family perpetuation have been presented as consisting of both an explicit commitment to community, employed for a variety of reasons, and also a fundamental, though less explicitly articulated commitment to family. The commitment to family was also discussed in relation to inheritance, in which an increasingly meritocratic and interest-based approach to inheritance to ensure the continued financial maintenance of estates was noted.

7.0 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

To draw conclusions from this examination of entrepreneurial activity by estate owners in the North East of Scotland, it is appropriate to reiterate the overall aim and research question, as presented in the introductory chapter. The overall aim of the research was to: *explore the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by owners of family owned estates in the North East of Scotland*. Three specific research questions were raised to address gaps in knowledge relating to entrepreneurial activity on Scottish estates:

RQ1: What types of activities do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in?

RQ2: How do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities?

RQ3: Why do estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities?

This chapter will consider how the overall aim has been addressed and the research questions answered through the research process.

7.2 Research Findings

7.2.1 Overview of the Findings

The individual case studies have provided evidence of what types of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engaged in. These have demonstrated differences to the activities undertaken across Scotland as a whole, specifically the prevalence of retail activities, and the entrepreneurial opportunities presented for property lettings due to the oil and gas industry centred around Aberdeen. Estate owners in the North East of Scotland tended to engage in core and entrepreneurial, diversified activities. These activities were broadly similar across the case study estates. Two estate owners also engaged in the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities which were differentiated from those undertaken on other estates.

Institutional perspectives, and institutionally informed perspectives on entrepreneurial motivation, process and personality have provided insights into how and why estate owners in the North East of Scotland identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. In particular, estate owners demonstrated

engagement in parts of the entrepreneurial process, yet most remained reluctant to embrace an entrepreneurial identity. Commitments to community and family were employed as underpinning motivations to ensure the financial stability of estates. Awareness of estate resources acted as a motivational factor for estate owners to engage in specific entrepreneurial action.

7.2.2 Core and Diversified Activities

Almost all estate owners engaged in core activities of farming, forestry, and fishing and fish farms which did not represent entrepreneurial opportunities. They also engaged in diversified activities which were viewed as entrepreneurial opportunities.

The provision of property, although identified by Hindle et al. (2014) as a core activity, was an opportunity for entrepreneurial exploitation for the majority of estate owners, due to the oil and gas industry centred around Aberdeen. Retail activities including food preparation were unusually prevalent in estates in the North East of Scotland, even on smaller estates, and were viewed by estate owners as another opportunity for entrepreneurial exploitation. Whilst often practiced as core activities, farming and forestry were also identified as being opportunities for entrepreneurial diversification.

Despite the variations in size, age of ownership and rank of the owners, most estates engaged in similar types of activities. However, two estates also engaged in activities differentiated from those of other estates, being Mr Gordon Lennox's development of the walled garden and Gordon Castle brand on the Gordon Castle estate's and Lord Moray's large scale commercial and property developments, particularly the building of a new town at Tornagrain on the Moray estates.

7.2.3 Process, Personality and Motivation

Process

For estate owners, the entrepreneurial process (shown below) started not with the identification of specific entrepreneurial opportunities, but with the awareness of the potential of their estates for entrepreneurial exploitation. Three different triggers allowed for the subsequent identification of entrepreneurial opportunities: replication, resource awareness, and the presentation of opportunities.

short term requirements identified with the traditional identity of an estate owner or farmer.

Those whose current entrepreneurial activities were based on longer time lines were those who had partially embraced entrepreneurial or business identities. The mechanisms for forming their entrepreneurial personality, and also for legitimising their entrepreneurial activities, were the use of both life and family narratives.

Those estate owners who embraced a partial entrepreneurial identity were those whose activities were more differentiated than those undertaken on other estates.

Motivation

Estate owners in the North East of Scotland demonstrated multiple, layered motivations. Commitment to community was explicitly articulated, and commitment to family an implicit motivational factor for estate owners to ensure the financial stability and perpetuation of family ownership of their estates. Community motivations were attributable to either perpetuation of the upper class sense of *noblesse oblige*, pragmatism in the face of the land reform movement, or as a strategy to increase stocks of socioemotional wealth.

With alternatives available to them including seeking remuneration outwith their estates, or selling them outright or partially, these motivational factors did not explain estate owners' decisions to identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Despite all estates having faced requirements to improve estate finances, financial factors were not identified as push, or necessity, factors. Awareness of estate resources, however, acted as pull motivations for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

7.2.4 Additional Factors

Contextual Factors

Contextual factors were also identified as influencing how and why estate owners identified and exploited entrepreneurial opportunities. Estate owners' age, length of tenure, succession plans and access to capital, were different between those whose continued activities had short term requirements and those whose actions operated on longer time lines. Estate owners whose activities had short term requirements were generally older (average age, 69), had a longer length of tenure (average length of tenure, 37 years), had specific succession

plans in place and had challenges in accessing capital. Estate owners whose activities operated on longer time lines were younger (average age, 57 years), with shorter length of tenure (average, 10 years), had not identified specific heirs, and did not have, or had overcome, challenges in accessing capital.

Inheritance

Male primogeniture in relation to the inheritance of estates historically occurred less frequently on estates in the North East of Scotland than assumed in the literature. There was a tendency for estate owners to identify the child best suited and most interested in taking on the running of the estate, rather than inheritance based on primogeniture.

7.3 Contribution to Knowledge

7.3.1 Overview

This research identified a gap in existing knowledge regarding what type of activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engaged in, and how and why they identified and exploited entrepreneurial opportunities.

The findings have contributed to partially filling the existing gap in knowledge, whilst also highlighting further gaps and areas for future research. This research has provided balance to existing literature on Scottish estates, which has mainly been focused on Highland and upland estates. It has provided understanding of the types of core and diversified activities estates in the North East of Scotland engage in, and how they vary from Scottish estates in general.

It makes contributions to theory and understanding, policy and practice, and also makes methodological contributions to elite studies. Contributions to theory and understanding are made in the areas of entrepreneurial process, personality, and motivations. Contributions to policy and practice include recommendations for enterprise and / or landowner support organisations to promote the identification of estate resources as entrepreneurial opportunities, the value of adopting entrepreneurial identities, the use of exemplar case studies, and the promotion of social networks outwith the landowning community. Policy makers are recommended to be aware of the impact of policy and land reform legislation on the ability of landowners to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Finally, it has provided a contribution to, and recommendations on the process of contacting and interviewing elites. It has detailed the process and value of

conducting pilot studies with elites, a pragmatic process of sampling elites, and the presentation of both individual case studies of elites and cross-case analysis.

7.3.2 Contributions to Theory and Understanding

Entrepreneurial Process

Literature of entrepreneurial process has overlooked the elements of action and outcomes (Davidsson, 2015). This research has not only included these elements within its investigation of entrepreneurial process, but has also identified that the entrepreneurial process for estate owners starts not with the identification of specific opportunities, but with an awareness of the potential of estate resources for entrepreneurial exploitation. This awareness acted as the initial stage of the entrepreneurial process. It did not involve the identification of specific opportunities, as per Kirzner's (1999; 1973) theory of alertness, but rather a general awareness that the limited, albeit potentially valuable, resources of estates could be exploited for entrepreneurial gain in various formats.

It has contributed to the understanding of opportunity identification and development as a socially constructed phase of the entrepreneurial process. It adds nuance to the model of Wood and McKinley (2010) by demonstrating that peer validation can be implicit, through the replication of opportunities, the passing on of opportunities from one estate owner to another, and through working in partnership with other estate owners. It also demonstrates that not only do social networks facilitate the abandonment or enactment of entrepreneurial opportunities, but also that community support and family entrepreneurial reputation can contribute to enactment.

Estate owners directly engaged in the identification and development of entrepreneurial opportunities. However, this process was not conducted by one individual: they relied on input from peers and/or social networks or broader social groups to validate and enact or abandon opportunities. Estate owners demonstrated specific interest and involvement in the outcomes of entrepreneurial activity, but generally remained distanced from the action of implementation.

The entrepreneurial process for estate owners involved multiple, overlapping cycles of planning and action, due to their engagement in multiple diversified activities which were at various stages of planning and action. Most estates continued to engage in entrepreneurial activities, and, in confirmation of

McMullen and Dimov's (2013) argument, for some the entrepreneurial journey "has not yet ended and perhaps will never end" (p.1496).

The identification of the varying levels of involvement of estate owners throughout the process also contributes to understanding of the entrepreneurial attitudes of the upper classes. It has provided evidence that the gentlemanly code of behaviour (Scott, 1982), specifically attitudes towards entrepreneurship, has continued to evolve amongst the upper classes since Scott's investigation ended in the early 1980s. This has been demonstrated by their direct involvement in the identification and development of entrepreneurial opportunities, but also their involvement in entrepreneurial outcomes. However, the lack of involvement in entrepreneurial action suggests that some traces of an anti-trade sentiment do exist.

Estate owners have demonstrated aspects of cultural entrepreneurship (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012), that is the blending of logics from different institutions. To mitigate the historical reluctance of the upper classes to discuss money, estate owners have legitimised their involvement in the outcomes of entrepreneurship by drawing on the logics of commerce to justify themselves as serious businessmen.

Personality

A contribution has been made to the study of the entrepreneurial personality. Employing Obschonka and Stuetzer's (2017) model of the entrepreneurial system as an analytic framework, estate owners have been identified as employing not only life narratives but also family narratives to form partial entrepreneurial identities as part of their entrepreneurial personality. Therefore, in the case of estate owners, family histories of entrepreneurial activities and narratives drawn from these activities can aid the development of an entrepreneurial personality through the partial embracing of an entrepreneurial identity.

Motivation

A contribution has been made regarding entrepreneurial motivation amongst estate owners. Firstly, it has demonstrated that estate owners, despite having requirements to improve estate finances were not necessity entrepreneurs, pushed into entrepreneurial action through financial necessity. Rather, their awareness and identification of estate resources acted as pull motivational factors for them to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Secondly, it has also demonstrated that motivations can be both explicit and implicit: whilst community commitments are most frequently articulated by estate owners, commitment to family perpetuity has been argued to be an underpinning, though not explicitly articulated, motivation. Thirdly, it has demonstrated that estate owners who engaged in entrepreneurial activity did not, in general, draw on the rhetorics of stewardship to justify their activities.

Therefore, it has contributed to understanding that motivations can be plural, and layered. Push and pull factors have been demonstrated as being applicable in explaining entrepreneurial motivation in combination, rather than as an alternative to, motivational factors of community and family. In the example of estate owners, commitments to community and family existed as underpinning motivations to improve estate finances, whilst pull resource factors acted as motivational factors to engage in entrepreneurial activities, rather than other activities, such as raising finance, seeking employment elsewhere, or selling all or part of the estate.

7.3.3 Contribution to Policy and Practice

This research provides a contribution to estate owners seeking to retain family ownership and sustain their estates, to support organisations, and to policy. Of specific relevance to policy and practice is the finding that whilst commitments to community and family act as underpinning motivations to ensure financial stability, it is the awareness of the value of estate resources to be exploited entrepreneurially that act as pull motivations for estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Therefore, it can be recommended that enterprise and/or landowner support organisations, such as Scottish Land and Estates, adopt a new approach to the encouragement of entrepreneurial activities amongst estate owners. Tailored workshops facilitated by academics, landowner support organisations and/or enterprise agencies could be beneficial in aiding estate owners and relevant stakeholders to identify differentiated entrepreneurial opportunities. Rather than highlighting the financial necessity of estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activity, these workshops may be more successful in stimulating entrepreneurial activity by encouraging estate owners to identify combinations of estate resources as opportunities, and pull motivations, for entrepreneurial, and financial, gain.

In conjunction with this, it is recommended that estate owners be encouraged to reflect on the various identities they develop. As has been demonstrated in the findings of this research, estate owners whose activities were the most differentiated and which operated on longer time-lines, were those who embraced an entrepreneurial identity in conjunction with other identities, such as that of custodian. Identifying past family and personal examples of entrepreneurial activity or facilitation could help estate owners legitimise their adoption of an entrepreneurial identity.

Case studies, such as those of Lord Moray and Mr Gordon Lennox, could also be beneficial for demonstrating how members of old and historically notable families have drawn on their, and their family's, past experiences of entrepreneurial activities to support and explain their own ambitious entrepreneurial endeavours. These are particularly appropriate case studies, as they demonstrate that an entrepreneurial identity can be maintained alongside a custodial one, and that entrepreneurial activities can be engaged in, not just to satisfy short term financial requirements, but in order to secure long term financial stability on estates both small, and very large.

Estate owners in the North East of Scotland have been shown to be well networked with each other, forming a community of landowners. Utilising the example of a successful estate owner as a case study to demonstrate the value of adopting an entrepreneurial identity could be helpful in reducing the continued class-based ambivalence towards entrepreneurship that appears to remain amongst some estate owners. Highlighting the success of estate owners such as Lord Moray and Mr Gordon Lennox, who have engaged in differentiated activities, to networked communities of estate owners within and outwith the North East of Scotland may reduce the likelihood of opportunities not receiving the validation required from peer groups to facilitate their further development. Additionally, promoting the value of developing social, and business, networks beyond those comprising fellow landowners may be valuable in providing estate owners with alternative perspectives on entrepreneurship and support for the validation and development of the differentiated entrepreneurial opportunities they may identify.

Additionally, policy makers should be cognisant of the impact of policy and land reform legislation on the ability of landowners to engage in entrepreneurial

activities. For example, increased energy regulations for rental properties was seen as a barrier for estate owners to renovate some estate properties. Special dispensation or assistance in achieving these revised standards could help stimulate entrepreneurial activity.

7.3.4 Methodological Contributions to Elite Studies

The research has provided considerable insights into the challenges of sampling, gaining access, arranging, and conducting interviews with estate owners. These insights provide contributions to the literature of elite studies.

Harvey (2010) argues there is “a lack of academic guidance concerning pilot work on elite members” (p.20). The empirical evidence presented by the pilot study confirms guidance presented in the existing literature regarding specific challenges of conducting elite interviews. Reflections on the pilot study also provide a contribution to elite studies by demonstrating the value of, and guidance for, conducting a pilot interview with an elite. Benefits include gaining first-hand experience of the challenges of conducting elite interviews, such as the interviewee forgetting about the interview, interruptions to the interview and the imbalance of power inherent in elite interviews. They are also valuable to help refine interview guides and for identifying additional data sources required.

A contribution has also been made to the process of sampling elites. A pragmatic, multi-stage process of sampling was conducted, which, together with reflections on the process, provide valuable guidance for future research on elites. The use of two evaluative matrices in particular gave insights into the broader activities of estate owners across both Great Britain at large, and Scotland in particular. These insights into the ownership, range of activities and potential for access to estate owners and gave focus to the subsequent process of purposive and snowball sampling.

Two phases of purposive and snowball sampling were then subsequently employed to gain access to estate owners. Reflections on this process have highlighted that leveraging social contacts can be beneficial in arranging access to elites, and that access to estate owners can be more successful if the sample is restricted to the local area, in the case of this research, the North East of Scotland.

The methodological choice of presenting both individual case studies and also cross-case analysis, underpinned by a social constructionist perspective, is

uncommon in elite studies. However, individual case studies have provided insights into individual estate owners and their own understanding of the world, lacking in some anonymised and/or quantitative studies of elites, and estate owners in particular, whilst the cross-case analysis has allowed for the application of multiple theoretical perspectives. It has therefore contributed by suggesting an approach which provides both specific, rich detail, but also identification of broader patterns.

7.4 Reflections

7.4.1 Methodological Appropriateness

The research approach, as outlined in Chapter 4 has proved appropriate in addressing the overall aim and answering the three research questions. The use of two levels of thematic analysis, at the semantic and latent level, has been successful in both presenting individual estate owners' understanding of and attitudes towards entrepreneurship in the individual case studies and to identify broader patterns of similarity and difference in the cross-case analysis.

The limited acknowledgement of individual psychology within social constructionist perspectives was noted in Chapter 4 as a potential limitation of the research approach. However, the analysis of entrepreneurial personality of estate owners has highlighted that individual differences of psychology in relation to basic tendencies did not appear to contribute to the development of an entrepreneurial personality. Socially constructed elements, particularly in relation to the development of life and family narratives were highlighted as the differentiating factors between those who maintained the identity of a traditional estate owner or farmer, and those who partially embraced an entrepreneurial or business identity

A social constructionist approach has also been appropriate in identifying the socially constructed nature of opportunity development, particularly the involvement of peer validation and the importance of social networks in the subsequent implementation or abandonment of entrepreneurial opportunities.

7.4.2 Limitations

Whilst the research has been successful in addressing the aim and answering the research questions posed, it faces limitations. The focus on the North East of Scotland, and the restricted number of case studies limit the ability to generalise from the findings. However, the research, which was intended to be exploratory,

has highlighted certain patterns of similarity and difference which may help inform research into estates in other locations.

One major limitation was the wariness of estate owners to discuss certain topics. Interviewees tended to be cautious in their replies, with certain themes, such as social class and class attitudes and the importance of family perpetuity being implicitly, rather than explicitly discussed by the majority of interviewees. Whilst interviewees appeared to be candid in their replies, there were a number of instances where vague generalisations were made, that did not always appear to be entirely accurate. The use of semantic coding and the social constructionist underpinning ensured that, estate owners' particular understanding of the world was preserved, including these generalisations: it was outwith the scope and theoretical underpinning of the research to verify the truthfulness of each claim made.

A further limitation was that of access, discussed in relation to the methodological contribution to elite studies. Whilst interviews were generally longer than anticipated, access was generally limited: repeat visits, or chances to tour estates in person were not offered, excepting the tour of the Tornagrain development by Lord Moray. Certain high-profile estates had been identified which would have made ideal case studies. However, in a number of these cases, either no reply was received, or suitable terms of access could not be arranged. Reflecting the limited numbers of female owned estates in the North East of Scotland, only two female estate owners were identified during the sampling process. Despite repeated attempts to gain access, one did not reply, and access to the second was not secured.

An additional limitation related to participant inclusion. The initial sample derived from the evaluative matrices which identified estates that engaged in some level of diversified – and potentially entrepreneurial - activities, and further purposive and snowball sampling identified estates that appeared to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Estates which did not engage in diversified or entrepreneurial activities did not form part of the sample, and therefore the findings cannot be generalised to the estate owning population in the North East of Scotland at large.

7.4.3 Areas for Future Research

This research has made a contribution to the study of estates, and in particular provided knowledge of what activities estate owners in the North East of Scotland engage in and how and why they identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. In doing so, it has identified additional areas for enquiry.

Replicative Studies

There is considerable scope for further studies in areas of Scotland that have received little attention to date, to examine the types of activities, and how and why estate owners identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

Comparative Studies

Approaches comparing the identification and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities by estate owners in different areas of Scotland would provide further insights into patterns of similarity and difference. These would provide further evidence as to whether geographic and social contexts shape both the types of activities estate owners engage in, and also their entrepreneurial process

Process and Personality

This research has highlighted that the relationship between personality and entrepreneurial process remains unclear. Literature tends to assume that entrepreneurship is engaged in by entrepreneurs, and studies of the integrated entrepreneurial personality are rare. However, a reluctance to identify with an entrepreneurial personality, despite the engagement in the entrepreneurial process, has been noted amongst estate owners.

Those who embraced a partial entrepreneurial identity are also those whose time lines were longer, and whose activities were more differentiated than estate owners who identified with the traditional images of estate owner and farmer, and whose activities were to satisfy short term requirements. However, a causal connection between the two could not be established. There is therefore scope for further research to investigate whether the development of an entrepreneurial personality influences entrepreneurial process, both within estate owners, and other individuals who engage in entrepreneurial activities.

7.5 Concluding Comments

Estate owners engage in entrepreneurial activities, but, revealingly, do not necessarily identify as entrepreneurs. Through examination of literature and the first hand evidence provided by the case studies, this research has generated significant insights into, and understanding of, the engagement of estate owners in the North East of Scotland in entrepreneurial activities. This research has demonstrated that it is not financial necessity, but rather it is the awareness of the value of estate resources, that motivates estate owners to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Despite engaging in the entrepreneurial process, this research has found that most estate owners remain reluctant to identify as entrepreneurs, preferring instead to retain traditional identities of estate owners or farmers.

The findings suggest three main actions estate owners may find beneficial to take to maintain the long-term financial stability of their estates for future generations. Firstly, estate owners may find it advantageous to develop an entrepreneurial identity, in addition to their traditional identities of farmer, estate owner, or custodian, by drawing on their personal and family histories. Secondly, they could identify differentiated entrepreneurial opportunities that exploit the unique resources of their estates. Thirdly, adopting a longer-term vision may prove successful in establishing entrepreneurship as an activity that can help financially sustain estates across decades, rather than as immediate response to short-term problems.

Mr Gordon Lennox and Lord Moray have been identified as both unusual, and valuable, case studies. Their ability to identify and exploit differentiated entrepreneurial opportunities and to partially embrace an entrepreneurial identity could be promoted as exemplars to the estate owning community. For them, a long history of family ownership has not resulted in an ambivalent attitude towards entrepreneurship. Instead, it has served as a rich source of entrepreneurial opportunity and identity.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

I Introductions

II Background to the research

Seeking informed consent: aims, objectives, voluntary nature, limits of confidentiality

Scope of the interview

Confirm name and titles they have, and which would they like to use in the research?

III Contextual background - Confirm facts and figures

Family background

Size of the estate

Other information taken from secondary sources

IV Main Interview

Q1 I would like to understand the range of activities you undertake on the estate.

Could you tell me about the range of things you do to maintain the estate?

Prompt: e.g. Farming, Forestry

(relates to literature theme of estate management)

Q2 What sort of activities do you undertake that are accessible to the general public?

Prompt: e.g. Tourism

Prompt: can you tell me a bit more about them?

(relates to literature theme of entrepreneurship)

Q3 What estate activities are you and your family are directly involved in?

Prompt: e.g. Running the tea room / meeting visitors

(relates to literature theme of amateurism)

Q4 What other activities or enterprises are you also involved in?

Prompt: e.g. investments in businesses, company directorships, facilitating other enterprises

(relates to literature theme of indirect entrepreneurship)

Q5 Your family has historically been involved in the commissioning of artworks, new buildings etc. Are there any cultural activities that you have been involved in during your time running the estate?

Prompt: e.g. patronage of artists, cultural festivals etc

NOTE: Q1-5 relate to Research Objective 1

Q6 What have been your motivations for becoming, or continuing to be involved in all these activities you have described?

Prompt: e.g. to maintain/improve the estate, personal interest

(Relates to Research Objectives 2)

Q7 Of these activities, are there any that you believe are particularly exciting, innovative or unusual?

Prompt: do you think they are creative, innovative or entrepreneurial?

Prompt: why do you think that?

(Relates to Research Objectives 1)

Q8 What do you understand by the term entrepreneur? Do you think you are one?

Prompt: define entrepreneur

(Relates to Research Objectives 1&2)

Q9 What impact has the estate – the land, the buildings and your own family background – had on the activities you undertake?

(relates to Research Objectives 2&3)

Q10 Are there any particular places, either on the estate or in other locations that you find particularly inspiring when coming up with new ideas for the estate?

(relates to Research Objectives 3)

Q11 How do you see running at estate like this?

Q11.5 Do you plan for your relatives to take over?

(relates to Research Objectives 2&4)

Q12 Academic literature on ownership of large estates has shifted from talking about the owners as being upper-class or aristocrats to talking about an elite class. Could you describe to me how you view the ownership of estates like yours in terms of class? Do you think that it is useful to define yourself by your background and social class?

(relates to literature theme of class)

Q13 What sort of role have your peers and family have had in the activities that you undertake on the estate?

(relates to literature theme of networks)

Q14 What other places do you visit or live in when you are not on the estate?

Prompt: has visiting them impacted on the way you run the estate?

(relates to literature theme of cross-fertilization)

Q15 Can you describe to me the diversity or range of people that are involved in and work and live on the estate?

Prompt: what sort of contact do you have with them?

(relates to literature theme of diversity)

V Ending interview

Thank you and reminder of the process to come – transcriptions etc.