

**MORE THAN PUTTING ON A PERFORMANCE IN COMMERCIAL HOMES:
MERGING FAMILY PRACTICES AND CRITICAL HOSPITALITY STUDIES**

Julie Seymour

ABSTRACT

Critical hospitality studies and family studies have shown a developing theoretical convergence predicated by the 'social turn' in the study of hospitality. Recent hospitality research on 'Commercial Homes' has drawn strongly on Goffman's concept of performance to examine both guest and host behaviours. In contrast, this article introduces the family studies concept of 'displaying families'. This concept emphasises the family practices of host families as well as the commercial practices privileged in studies of hospitality. It also widens the often individualised focus on the (adult) host(s) to one that incorporates the host family. Drawing on empirical evidence it appears that, for the hosts, displaying families in Commercial Homes is a complex and, apparently paradoxical, mix of presentation and reticence - the family has to be highly visible but not publicly privileged over guests. The inclusion of the concept of display will serve to illuminate further the arenas where family, commercial and hospitality practices intersect.

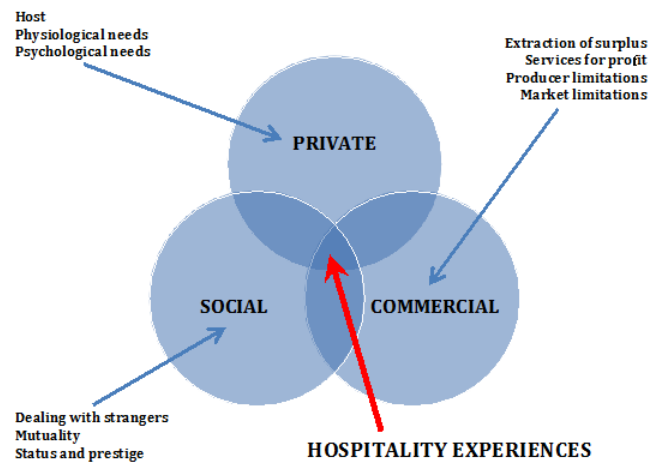
KEYWORDS

Family, Commercial Homes, performance, displaying families, theory.

Introduction

In Lashley's (2000) opening chapter for the seminal volume *In Search of Hospitality* he itemizes the three domains of hospitality; these are the social, private and commercial. In his oft-cited Venn diagram of the three domains these are presented as independent but overlapping arenas in which hospitality activities occur (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Hospitality Activities: Figure 1.1 in Lashley (2000)



The private domain is discussed in relation to the influence of the nuclear family on the hospitable activities of the individual host and the extent to which these activities can

fulfil his/her physiological and psychological needs. As a family sociologist interested in the impact on family life of owning and running a hospitality establishment or 'Commercial Home' (Lynch 2005) my focus starts within, and emerges from, this domain of the domestic setting as later articles named it (Lashley, 2015). However, rather than perceiving this area as being about familial influences on individual hosts, my research focus is on all the members of the host family and in particular the strategies and practices (Morgan 1996) they employ to fulfil the multiple and potentially competing requirements of a Commercial Home¹ (Seymour 2007, 2011a). This approach then widens the focus of the private domain from the psychological influences on the host to include the sociological by considering the actual practices through which the host family can be said to be 'doing family' (Morgan 1996). This focus on the family in the study of hospitality, leisure and tourism is supported by recent publications which advocate a whole family approach to both the holidaying family (Schanzel 2010; Carr 2011; Obrador 2012; Schanzel, Yeoman and Backer 2012) and the family that services such holidays (Getz, Carlsen and Morrison 2004; Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker 2009a; Seymour 2011b). Although Lashley's diagram is usually referred to as the domains of hospitality, it is important to think of these areas as sites of processes rather than fixed locations such as the home or the business. As will be shown in the development of this article, taking literally the title of the original diagram - "Hospitality Activities" - allows the consideration of the social, commercial and private/family practices which overlap to produce commercial hospitality experiences.

This article posits the question that if we start from the sociological viewpoint of the host family how does this affect our view of hospitality processes and what might recent conceptual developments in family studies contribute to the theoretical consideration of hospitality? It will particularly review the prevalent use of Goffman's concept of performance in recent hospitality studies on Commercial Homes and propose that, to this, could be added the new concept of family display (Finch 2007). This viewpoint fits in with the integration of social sciences in the study of hospitality and the theoretical convergences between the tourism/hospitality literature and family studies in the areas of the production of social relationships and the 'doing' of everyday life/tourism (Edensor 2007).

By briefly reiterating the continuing growth of social theory in the study of hospitality in the past two decades and by outlining the gradual convergence of theory in family studies and tourism studies, this article will show why this disciplinary merging is a timely activity. It will then particularly focus on the use of the 'performance turn' (Haldrup and Larsen 2009) within the study of hospitality and outline some limitations of this approach for the study of Commercial Homes before turning to the new concept of 'Displaying Families' (Finch 2007) which has been receiving attention from family studies researchers. The article will define, explain and show the potential applications of this concept to studies of the family and hospitality providing an early in-depth interrogation of the application of this concept to the latter area. It will use as an example, Seymour's work on Commercial Homes (2005, 2007, 2011a, 2011b, 2015) where the family in focus is the one providing the hospitality for the guests. This empirical work

which has been published and cited in the areas of family studies and the geographies of families now provides a relevant exemplar for new interdisciplinary conceptual dialogue about family display in hospitality research.

It therefore also feeds into the area of leisure studies by applying the focus of the whole family approach (Schanzel 2010), not to the holidaying family, but to those who facilitate such recreational activities. It provides an analysis of those families who produce and service the leisure of others. By so doing, it confirms that in the provision of hospitality, the Commercial Home is, by definition, neither a site of only domestic activities for the host family, nor a wholly work environment. This research focus then provides temporal and spatial fluidity to the work-leisure binary.

The Study of Hospitality in dialogue with Social Sciences

From 1997 onwards, the new interdisciplinary area of the study of hospitality emerged from what was seen as commercial hospitality management education. A statement outlining the new academic paradigm was aired in Lashley and Morrison's (2000,) edited volume *In Search of Hospitality. Theoretical Perspectives and Debates* and included a continuing dialogue with other social sciences. The edited collection was recognised as an exploratory text, outlining early studies and understandings which would be developed in the new millennium. Within this initial volume, the application of a focus on performance was evident in the chapter by Darke and Gurney (2000) which looked at

private homes, discussed hospitality as performance and outlined the inherent tensions which could occur between non-commercial hosts and guests.

In 2002, Morrison proposed a 'Pause for Reflection' on hospitality research and its relation with social sciences. Morrison reiterated that the study of hospitality was originally seen as a professional rather than an academic subject unlike tourism. She identified a need to build 'strategic alliances within the wider social science landscape towards enhancing the power of hospitality research to contribute genuine scientific value' (168). She stressed how hospitality and social sciences could be interlinked 'with [there being] a potential unity in comprehensive theory building and knowledge creation' (168). Such linkages clearly developed and within a decade of the inaugural networking meeting of hospitality researchers in Nottingham in April 1997, Lashley, Lynch and Morrison could state in their edited volume *Hospitality: A Social Lens* (2007) that the topic was being studied not just by business and management researchers but also those using the perspectives of the social sciences resulting in a less partial view. The editors confirmed that a significant element of this more comprehensive viewpoint was the increasing recognition that the focus of study was the relationship between hosts and guests and hence hospitality should interrogate the relational (2007). They refer again to the Lashley (2000) model outlined above to discuss how the social, cultural, and private or domestic socially structure the meanings, values and emotional dimensions of the commercial through relations and service interactions. Within this volume Di Domenico and Lynch (2007) discuss the concept of performance to problematize the static nature of

the 'stage' of the Commercial Home and to emphasize the symbolism of material artefacts in such hospitality locations.

Lashley, Lynch and Morrison (2007) outline that, during the first decade of the 21st century, developments in the academic area of hospitality studies included the growth of critical hospitality studies as a distinct tranche of the research. This resulted in more links with the social sciences due to the adoption of the critical study of hospitality 'as a human phenomenon' (12) which should be viewed through 'plural social lenses' (4). They propose the adoption of critical theory as it '...questions imposed academic divisions that separate hospitality from social theory encapsulated in other disciplines' (4-5). This critical interdisciplinary approach was made manifest in the launching of the journal *Hospitality and Society* whose stated editorial aim is 'to transport intellectual projects across disciplinary boundaries' (Lynch et al, 2011, 13). It is in this spirit, that this article is presented to examine the extent to which a concept developed in family studies can be utilized in hospitality studies and contribute to the development of theoretical frameworks.

Tourism Studies and Family Studies – theoretical convergences

This article also draws on the separate area of tourism studies which Morrison (2002) says was recognized as an academic area earlier than hospitality studies. It can be argued that there has been a convergence in theory in the areas of family practices/intimate relationships and tourism studies. Both are moving from a view of the family, and

tourism and leisure, as a site of consumption to a focus on social relations forged through everyday practices. Gabb (2008) and Smart (2007), among others, outline these developments in family studies and the sociology of personal life. Edensor (2001, 2007) and Jacobsen (2010) develop similar themes in tourism with the former emphasising people as producers of tourism and the latter saying that 21st century tourism is about everyday practices, social obligations, networks at a distance and social (network) capital. Concomitantly, in leisure studies, authors such as Shaw (1997) remind us that ‘Leisure is not an isolated aspect of life but is inextricably connected with social context and daily life experiences’ (1).

As an example of this shift, in their tellingly entitled paper on ‘The Family Gaze’ Haldrup and Larsen (2003) discuss how, previously, much tourism research focused on ‘how the tourism industry employs photographic images in order to script and stage places as aesthetic scenes for the consuming “tourist gaze”’ (2003, 24). Now, they argue, tourist photography is viewed as ‘*producing* social relations rather than consuming places’. The authors state:

While Urry’s gazes are directed at extraordinary “material worlds”, the “family gaze” is concerned with the “extraordinary ordinariness” of intimate “social worlds” (24)...places become scenes for acting out and framing active and tender family life for the camera’ (25).

The production of social relations involves the actions of social actors and this shift in analysis of tourist activities led to the development of the ‘performance turn’ in tourist studies. The next section will examine this emerging analytic lens (Haldrup and Larsen 2009) and consider how it was applied to the hospitality activities of family hosts and Commercial Homes.

The ‘Performance Turn’ and its use in Hospitality Studies of the Commercial Home

Larsen (2008) and others (e.g., Haldrup and Larsen 2009) suggest that the theoretical focus in tourism research took a ‘performance turn’ from the 1990’s. In doing so it has moved on from the consuming ‘Tourist Gaze’ to the language of embodied doings, thick sociality, reflexivity and the performing family (Lofgren 1999). The ‘performance turn’ as opposed to the tourist gaze:

explicitly conceptualizes tourism as intricately tied up with everyday practices, ordinary places and significant others, such as family members and friends, but co-residing and at-a distance” (Larsen 2008, 26)

This focus on doings and their siting in ‘wider social discourse’ (Haldrup and Larsen 2009, 4) resonated with conceptual developments in family studies which focused on active embodied agents who were ‘doing’ family but operating within structural constraints and ideological constructions of the family (Morgan 1996) .

The 'performance turn' drew explicitly on the writings of Goffman (1959) and his dramaturgical approach outlined in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. In hospitality studies, it was developed by an inclusion of the role of material space/objects, actual rather than representational practices and the recognition that the research focus was the analysis of everyday behaviours as performance rather than an approach that said they were performances (Haldrup and Larsen 2009). Its use as an analytic lens for the study of families and hospitality and particularly those in Commercial Homes is outlined and critiqued through the examples below.

An early, and much cited, application of the performance turn in relation to hospitality and the host home was Darke and Gurney's (2000) study. This looked at private homes and host-guest relations and was not applied to Commercial Homes. Much of the focus of the chapter was on performance as a gendered process reflecting contemporary concerns at the time of publication. Within this chapter, the concept of performance was not problematized. It was described by drawing on Goffman's own definition of 'all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers' (Goffman 1959, 32 cited in Darke and Gurney, 2000). This construction hence turns the home, when visited, into a stage and the performances of the guest and host into exercises in impression management. Darke and Gurney show the number of ways in which this can lead to tension in the host-guest relationship. Their identification of these potential transgressions in the sharing of the private home with guests leads them to query whether the adoption of the term hospitality to describe similar activities in the commercial sector, and to deliberately evoke home, is

wise, given that it is often hard to live up to the ideal of the perfect host in the domestic sphere.

The analytic lens of performance was later turned onto Commercial Homes with a recognition that such an approach interrogated the social interaction between all the actors under consideration, not just the performance of the commercial host. Robinson and Lynch (2007, 142) emphasise that Goffman (1959) “analyses the structure of social encounters and focuses on the power play between two interacting “teams””; that is the host(s) and the guest(s). In the same volume, however, Di Domenico and Lynch (2007) criticise Goffman’s work as both failing to recognise that individuals may have more than one script and not acknowledging the performative nature of the setting. These authors remind us that Goffman’s empirical work, from which the concept of performance emerged, looked at work roles, specifically those of waiters in a small hotel in Shetland. As a result, they argue that ‘Goffman was concerned with exploring the presentation of the “self” within the constraints of occupational roles within organizations in the service sector, such as, the small hotel or the gambling casino’ (118). This emphasis on the occupational could ignore the multiple scripts which may be enacted within Commercial Homes and Di Domenico and Lynch recommend an approach which incorporated the more fluid approach of postmodernism. However, the multiple scripts they discuss are those of the host and guest perspectives in the ‘hospitality transaction’ (119). For the former, this may include the roles of host, home owner and, via identity projection through setting and artefacts, aesthete. Di Domenico and Lynch (2007) consider that the material setting of the Commercial Home has been underplayed particularly in relation to

the guest's engagement with the host, the hospitality space and artefacts. They recommend that more attention is paid to the décor and the furnishings of the Commercial Home as non-verbal and symbolic parts of the performance. For Di Domenico and Lynch, 'The commercial home setting is not a static stage-set as implicit in Goffman's (1959) analysis, but an active player in the dissemination of unfolding 'scripts' (2007, 126). As a result, they suggest the Commercial Home setting is not just a prop but can be seen to perform and contribute to the transaction; in other words that it is an interactive performer itself and hence has agency. This approach fits into the material affordances approach to performance espoused by Gibson (1979 in Haldrup and Larsen 2009) which stresses that material objects have properties which influence or afford the specific embodied performance that can be enacted through them. However, Dant (1999) warns us that, while there has to be an interactive relationship between material objects and actors in order to constitute a performance, this does not necessarily afford agency to the former. While objects are drawn into relevance and constituted as meaningful by actors they do not themselves have intentions and construe meanings. Despite, this caveat, the commentary of Di Domenico and Lynch expands the range and content of performances while still employing the dramaturgical terminology of the Commercial Home as a stage. What they do not explore in their discussion of multiple scripts is that the Commercial Host and other family members will have additional family scripts - spousal, parental, and child – which will also be enacted in this location.

By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, hospitality research on Commercial Homes was often using the term performance in a rather generic manner. Hence, Lynch,

McIntosh and Tucker (2009a) use the term uncritically as part of a list of major issues in the early pages to their volume on Commercial Homes (Preface, xvii) and again in the Introduction (2009b 21). In the same edited collection, Benmore (2009, 118) echoes Darke and Gurney's (2000) dramaturgical approach to performance but adds the concept of emotional labour to the performances carried out by actors. The author showed how guests are the audience to the host's home-making performance which may include the hiding of 'bad' emotions. In the small UK hotels of Benmore's study, 'performance standards are self-imposed' and may be used to convey appropriate standards of behaviour such as no pyjamas, swearing or curlers in the dining room (122). Benmore does however, allow that some hosts may not be performing all the time.

So to conclude this section, Goffman's ideas of the frontstage-backstage performance have exhibited remarkable staying power in the literature on Commercial Homes (and hospitality generally). Host and increasingly guest performances are recognized in these settings but not the family scripts of Commercial Home proprietors or their family members. While Benmore (2009) raises the issue of the 'authentic self' of some Commercial Hosts replacing performances, this authentic self does not include the membership of the very family which often defines the nature of the Commercial Home establishment. This may suggest that the 'doing' of family in Commercial Homes happens back stage but, as I will argue below, this also happens in the public arena of the Commercial Home (and indeed I propose that it has to). This omission of the family activities of the host family seems particularly odd in light of the changing focus to everyday and relational practices and the whole family approach in the study of

hospitality which has been outlined earlier in this article. My research goes some way to redress this imbalance but I also propose that rather than looking at performance to interrogate the actions of the Commercial Home family, this can be better achieved by the use of the family studies concept of 'displaying families'. Below I will outline this emerging concept and then go on to show ways in which it can be seen to occur in Commercial Homes.

The Concept of Displaying Family

In 2007 Finch wrote an introductory article outlining the concept of 'displaying family' and encouraged family sociologists 'to refine the concept as well as to use it' (2007, 65). This has been started through an edited collection which interrogated and applied the concept (Dermott and Seymour 2011a) and the citation of Finch's article in over 275 subsequent publications at the time of writing. Displaying family as a concept builds on the earlier ideas of Morgan (1996) who proposed that, due to the diversity and fluidity of contemporary family groups, family studies should focus more on what families do rather than be concerned with their composition. He suggested that researchers should look at family practices, the 'doing' of family, to understand intimate lives. This work emerges from symbolic interaction but acknowledges the structural constraints in which actors may operate. Hence, as with the 'performance turn', there is a focus on both activities and discourses. Finch develops this work on practices and says that, due to this contemporary diversity of family members, there will be times when '*families need to be 'displayed' as well as 'done'*' (Finch 2007, 66, original emphasis) in order that a group of people may be recognized as a family. She defines 'display' as 'the process by which individuals, and

groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute “doing family things” and thereby confirm that these relationships are “family” relationships’ (op. cit.: 67). Display can be done through a variety of means including activities, material objects and namings. Relevant audiences can vary with the settings. They may be other family members, they may be the general public (Dermott and Seymour 2011b). In Commercial Homes, they are likely to be family members, other staff, and guests but may also be the State (through licensing laws). A displaying family approach then takes the Commercial Home family as the start point unlike critical hospitality studies researchers such as Benmore (2009) who start with the Commercial Home as their focus.

What is the difference between performance, performativity and display?

Doing and displaying family have the same theoretical antecedents in symbolic interaction as do performances. Finch (2007) acknowledges that the start point for all three concepts is the same; that is ‘defining the situation to have appropriate meanings’ (76). She also acknowledges that the concept of performativity, as outlined by Butler (1990), has emerged from this epistemological tradition. However, she suggests that the concepts of both performance and performativity are not adequate for understanding what is being conveyed by display and in her article, she distinguishes between performativity, performance and display (76-77).

To first briefly address performativity, Finch says that this has more to do with individual identity than with the nature of social interactions. In expanding on this difference,

Heaphy (2011) says performativity is relational, it can be applied to relationships, but it focuses on power regimes. It examines how dominant frames of meaning are reflected and constituted in embodied practice; particularly the ‘cultural constitution of gender practices’ (Smith 2010, 181). Hence performativity is a cultural process rather than a ‘volitional enactment by an agent’ (Smith 2010, 172). In contrast, display allows more for agency and change, especially change over time.

With regard to performance, Finch (2007, 76) draws on Goffman’s definition of:

‘performance’ as the process in which an individual appears before others and therefore ‘influences the definition of the situation which they will come to have’.

As a result, Finch argues that performance distinguishes between actor and audience; it is described as face-to-face interaction in which the performer remains an actor. Whereas in display, Finch suggests the identity of actors and audience are constantly shifting. The family member can be simultaneously actor and audience, both legitimating and supporting meanings as well as producing them. In addition, the family member can be an observer. Display can occur through material objects such as photographs. It does not always require face to face interaction in the way performance does. It does have to be questioned as to whether very young children (in Commercial Homes and elsewhere) are actively displaying, however it is entirely possible that they are being ‘displayed’ through opening up their family practices to public scrutiny as I will outline below. So having

distinguished between performativity, performance and display I will show how the latter is a useful transferable concept for thinking about host families in Commercial Homes.

Displaying Families in Commercial Homes - Methodology

The empirical data I will draw on to illustrate the use of the concept of displaying family in Commercial Homes come from my study of UK families in hotels, boarding houses and public houses. This study, which used in-depth qualitative interviews, was carried out in both a northern and southern seaside town in the United Kingdom in 2001. Two groups of informants were included. The first were current owners of Commercial Homes who were at present (or had very recently) combining their work and family life in one location. These interviews were carried out with at least one owner or more where this was possible. They also included children who were present and who had given their consent. This resulted in data from fifteen parents and four children across eleven establishments (seven hotels, two pubs and two boarding houses). The second group of informants consisted of parents or adults who had raised their families or grown up in Commercial Homes during the 1960's and 1970's. This resulted in a further six interviews (four hotels, one pub, one boarding house). Access was negotiated first by letter through local Hotelier Associations and later by snowballing. All the interviews except two (on the interviewees' requests) were taped and transcribed. Finally, secondary data analysis was carried out on fifty oral history interviews collected for a larger Millennium project in the same northern seaside town. These transcripts included descriptions of family life in Commercial Homes (mostly Bed and Breakfast establishments) during the early and middle years of the twentieth century². It was

recognized that these accounts, as with those of the 1960's and 1970's proprietors and children, were based on memory and family narrative, rather than current experience (Phoenix 2009). Overall, this gave a quasi-longitudinal sample of family life in UK Commercial Homes over fifty years. All interviews were analysed using thematic analysis to identify areas of similarity and difference (Mason 2002). These were situated within the contemporary historical context of changes in the UK holiday industry.

Applying Displaying Families to Commercial Homes

As outlined above, it seemed in the analysis of host-guest interactions that performance was all, whether the location was the commercial or the domestic sphere. Then, following Finch, we can now expect family displays in the non-Commercial Home or among the non-host family in public arenas. What happens when the display of family practices and the performances of commercial hospitality intersect? First it should be noted that some Commercial Home families kept their family life spatially and interactively separate from the commercial areas of their home so their displays would be more like those of guests/non-host families in that they happened only to other family members or to the general public outside their home. In these cases, children 'never' (Interview 2, female ex-boarding house owner) came into contact with guests as there were clear demarcation lines – either door boundaries or separate staircases (Interview 9, male ex-publican) – between the commercial areas and the private home.

For many families in the study, however, their family display occurred in the public areas of their hospitality establishment and I argue that such displays were influenced by their

particular status as the Commercial Home family. As a result, they became essential rather than optional, visibly and audibly explicit and showed elements which I have labelled hypervisibility and displayed reticence (Seymour, 2011b).

Commercial Home Family displays are essential and explicit

The ‘unique selling point’ of the Commercial Home in which the family live in-situ is that it is a family enterprise (Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker 2009b, 4-5). As a result, the host family needs to be visible and identifiable as the host family. They need to be seen to be exhibiting family-like activities thus family display becomes essential rather than optional due to the commercial nature of the context. In addition, it must be made absolutely explicit to ensure that it is ‘effective’; that is, that the audience appropriately constitute (read) the meanings they are intended to convey (Finch 2007, 66).

However, at the same time that the host family is highly visible it must be clearly shown that they are not privileged over guests. Displaying family therefore becomes a complex and, apparently paradoxical, mix of presentation and reticence - the family has to be hypervisible while also, on certain occasions, exhibiting ‘displayed reticence’. In effect, the family that live in a Commercial Home have to display themselves as a particular type of family (Morgan 2011), the Commercial Home Family, as well as showing their family relationships. This process is discussed in depth in a chapter entitled “Family Hold Back” in Seymour (2011b) but the key points will be outlined here.

Commercial Home Families display Hypervisibility

In a family hospitality enterprise, family members are expected to be present (or at least visible) and such Commercial Family Displays can be particularly enacted during times which can equate to Finch's 'periods of intensity' when family display is most required (2007). In Commercial Homes, this can include arrival and checking-in times, mealtimes and departures. Interviewees spoke of family members (including pets) forming a welcoming committee for guests either at registration when coaches arrived or when public houses opened:

As people come in, you know my mum... the landlady welcoming them in type of thing

(Interview 1, adult son of ex-publican)

Mealtimes were times of hypervisibility for the Commercial Home family. Finch reminds us that all families display in public restaurants but this is especially so for the host family as they form part of the servicescape (Hall 2009; Carmichael and McClinchey 2009; Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker 2009c). At mealtimes, the Commercial Home families in the study who ate in the dining room were opening up their behaviour to public scrutiny (Carmichael and McClinchey 2009) showing they were capable of acting like a family in a public setting. This family however must also act as role models to convey the appropriate behaviour (Hall 2009, 69) and attire (Benmore 2009, 122) required by guests in this particular establishment. To convey this, the family display

must be successful as judged by the audience and, for Commercial Home families with young children, this could not always be guaranteed. Hence as one ex-hotelier describes:

For many years we had a table in the dining room with the guests. That began to fail after maybe a year or two, because, you know, you've got no privacy, your children wanted to have a tantrum, they'd have to do it in public.

(Interview 7, female ex-hotel owner)

Commercial Home families in this setting are carrying out a complex set of practices and displays. They are attempting the basic family practice of nourishing and feeding their children; that is, they are 'doing' feeding and here family members form the audience (and participants) to these parenting activities. They are at the same time providing a family display of a family who can appropriately eat with others in a public dining room; here the family, guests and staff form the audience as they do for all the other families who are dining. In addition though, and uniquely for the family who lives in the hospitality establishment, they must display the Commercial Home Family who set the 'tone' for dining and establish a family ambience which focuses on the display of positive emotions and the suppression of negative ones in order to display 'a (Commercial Home) Family which works' (Finch 2007, 73).

In other, less intensive times and settings, family displays could also be achieved through the use of the presence of family pets, photographs and family members acting as staff to create the 'home from home' atmosphere so central to the Commercial Home (Lynch and

MacWhannell (2000). The dictates of the business however meant that there had to be boundaries as to how far public rooms in the Commercial Home reflected family life. In one case, a hotelier had to remind his son not to leave coats, pushchairs and bags in the guest lounge:

We did use the visitors' lounge but we had people who used to complain about us using *their* lounge.

(Interview 10, male hotel owner)

Simultaneously then while being readily visible, the Commercial Home Family must be seen to have no preferential access to resources and spaces that the guests have paid for; thus they must publically carry out displayed reticence.

Commercial Home Families exhibit Displayed Reticence

In Commercial Homes, reticence by the host family is absolutely necessary and needs to be clearly shown and recognised by the guests. Hence the Commercial Home family will need to be involved in 'displayed reticence' to counterpoint their hypervisibility as family members. Both guests and staff must be made aware that, while present, family members are not privileged over paying customers in the receipt of resources or services.

Interviewees described occasions when they, or other family members, were physically visible but not involved in the guests' activities:

She [daughter] sat there quite contentedly really all afternoon, watching everybody else.

(Interview 7, female ex-hotel owner)

Dining rooms were again key locations of display. Displayed reticence could be made explicit during mealtimes through being seated at the 'worst' tables (near the kitchen or toilets), being served last or not having the choicest foods.

Poor souls. They [the children of the hotel owner] used to get plonked on table while we were serving meals and, I [was] just saying to somebody this morning, in hindsight, we should have fed them first and then we wouldn't have had them saying 'I'm hungry Mummy, I want something to eat' and my Dad'd be saying 'Oh for goodness sake, shut up till we're finished serving the visitors', you know. ... They were sat at the table waiting as soon as we got the pudding out then we served them with their dinner and they could get on with theirs 'cos we had a great big serving table so they used to sit at the back of the serving table. You just had to fit it in and work around things.

(Interview 12, female hotel owner)

Both children and parents in the study were aware of such requirements regarding 'Family Hold Back' (and that these displays may not be carried out by non-Commercial Home families) but recognized them as a necessary family practice in such an establishment:

I suppose sometimes I felt that the best things, whatever they were, the best cuts of meat for example, would go to the guests and, talking to other children, their parents would always try and get the best for the family. It's such a small quantity in terms of the whole, we managed without.

(Interview 4, adult son of ex-hotel owner)

If I'm talking to a guest he [son] can't come and interrupt and if I'm talking to him a guest can interrupt. He's had to learn, you know, that the work has to come first.

(Interview 6, female hotel owner)

There was also a recognition that while this specific form of family display was required when the hospitality establishment was open, children and families shared in the economic benefits that such behaviour brought about. In addition, when hotels, pubs and boarding houses were closed, not only were such family displays unnecessary but the children and families enjoyed additional spaces and facilities not readily available in a private home, such as a choice of multiple bedrooms and bathrooms and commercial equipment:

Bar, drinks all the time. We've got a coke machine.

(Interview 17, son of hotel owner)

Commercial Family Displays beyond the Commercial Home

As discussed earlier in this article, the atypicality of the Commercial Home as a location which is both home and work serves to contest the often held assumption that domestic and paid employment are spatially separate and that leisure and work occur in discrete places. In most families, family practices and family displays take place outside the home as well as inside (Morgan 2011, Seymour 2007, Dermott and Seymour 2011a). For families in Commercial Homes, the family displays related to their business can also take place away from the hospitality building. This could be when the children of the family are presented as representing or advertising the Commercial Home. One interviewee spoke of helping the guests with organised treasure hunts outside the hotel (which he was not allowed to win despite 'inside' knowledge) and being entered into fancy dress competitions during the annual town carnival as a representative from the family hotel rather than as an individual (Interview 4, adult son of ex-hotel owner). This was presented as an enjoyable activity unlike the next account when a woman who grew up in a Commercial Home responded to a radio programme featuring the research on which this article is based with less favourable memories. She talked about the continual hard work involved in living in the family hotel at a young age but for her the worst part was being made by her mother to wear:

ridiculous local costume to stand in the street on view to all and sundry including my peers

(Radio 4, 2009).

As these two accounts show, the audience for a Commercial Family Display outside the home includes current guests, members of the public (including peers) and potential guests. The latter audience is also reached by the use of Commercial Family Displays in advertising especially through websites for family-run hotels³ (Seymour and Green 2009). Perhaps surprisingly, this rarely involves pictures of the family but the family is 'displayed' through accompanying personalised text in which the information and metaphorical imagery presented is focused on interpersonal relations. People's forenames are almost always used. Usually the length of time they have run the hotel is listed, especially if this involves passing the business on from one generation to the current one. This suggests both family tradition and expertise in providing hospitality but also business acumen for maintaining a working business over this length of time. Guests are promised attention from the family members even in fairly large establishments and the importance of 'personal touches' are stressed as the examples below illustrate:

The Hotel is owned and has been personally run by three generations of the Newton family since 1946 when Raymond and Brenda Newton... There is always a member of the family available to ensure your stay is comfortable and enjoyable.

(Saxonville hotel, no date)

The hotel is family run and independently owned by the Bannister family... Inspired by the hospitality of the Bannister family, the staff at the hotel work tirelessly...At the heart of everything we do are family values. Mr and Mrs

Bannister can be seen out and about the hotel and estate every day and their son Tom, who is the hotel's managing director, is often seen serving guests their last drinks in the evening and breakfast in the morning.

(The Coniston Hotel, no date)

Once again, the difference of family display from performance is emphasised in these extracts since they can be seen as a form of Commercial Home Family display through the media which does not require the face-to-face interaction of performance. Throughout this section, these empirical examples of family display by the members of a Commercial Home have illustrated both the operation of this new concept and the distinctiveness of the Commercial Home Family display that is required by families who live in such hospitality establishments.

Conclusion

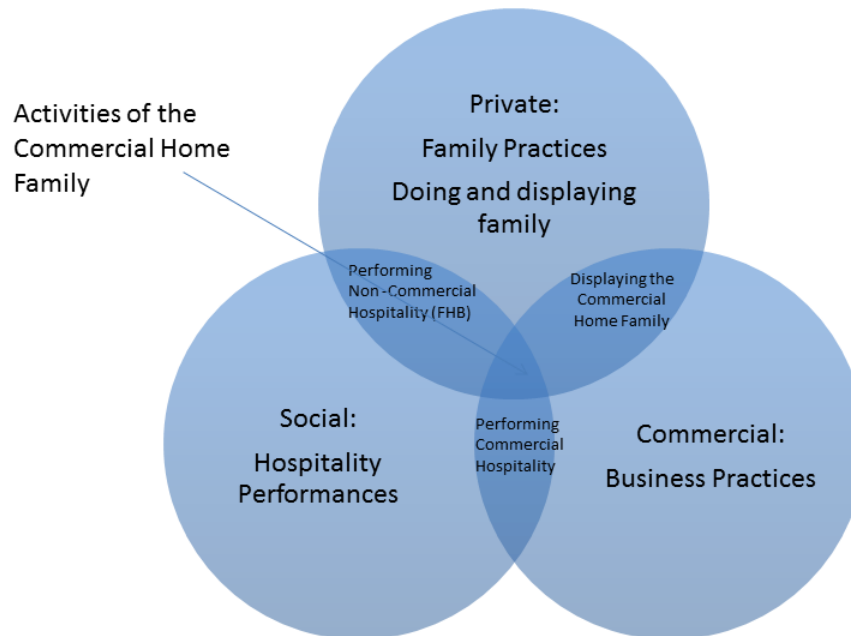
I have shown how the specific demands on a family living in a hospitality establishment come together in a display of the Commercial Home Family through a set of dedicated activities which are essential and explicit such as hypervisibility, reticence and normative standard setting. By suggesting there are specific forms of family display which the Commercial Home family have to carry out in the public areas of their establishments, I have drawn attention to the family activities which take place alongside business/commercial practices in hotels, pubs and boarding houses and extended the range of potential audiences for such displays. Using empirical examples, I have shown

that, for some individuals, the positive focus put by Finch on family display as illustrating a 'family which works' needs to be contested. The misbehaviour of children, the awareness that for others the family would be prioritised or the embarrassment of publically advertising the business suggests that the negative aspects of (Commercial Home) family display would be a fruitful further area of research.

With regard to the study of hospitality, by taking as the start point the Commercial Home family, rather than the host or the location I have widened the form and range of interactions which can be seen to be carried out in such establishments. The multiple scripts of Commercial Home families mean they are (often simultaneously) displaying family, performing hospitality, and carrying out business practices. This then develops the study of hospitality beyond the use of performance to engage with the additional concept of displaying family. While this article has focused on the families which service leisure and hospitality, the concept is equally applicable to the new whole family approach to the study of hospitality and can be used to further interrogate the everyday production of families that occurs while they are at leisure. Morgan (2011) argues that the concept of family display needs to be interrogated to establish how it can be used to display a particular type of family rather than just a family that works. This article shows the activities through which Commercial Home Families as a type of family can be successfully displayed as such. At this stage, Lashley's Venn diagram of the three domains of hospitality can be revisited to illustrate the multiple activities of the Commercial Home family. As initially outlined, if this diagram is conceived as showing activities, or practices, rather than locations then the convergence of display, performance

and commercial practices can be revisualised (Figure 2). In the new three-way diagram, the Private circle illustrates the activities of family practices, that is the doing and displaying of family which occurs in Commercial Home and non-host families alike. The Commercial circle contains the business practices carried out by staff in hospitality establishments whether family-run or otherwise. Finally the Social circle encapsulates the performances of hospitality which take place in domestic and commercial settings. The intersections of the pairs of circles highlight family practices of hospitality (Family Hold Back), the display of the Commercial Home family and commercial hospitality: the first two of these areas are worthy of further research in their own right utilising the new displaying families concept. The central overlap of the three-way Venn diagram, the activities of the Commercial Home family, has formed the focus of this article which emphasises the families which service the holidays of other families. This topic should continue to be a key element of the emerging whole family approach to the study of hospitality. Continuing dialogue regarding the use of family practices and the additional conceptual material of displaying families developed in family studies should result in researchers from that discipline and those from the study of leisure and hospitality engaging in a fruitful collaboration.

Figure 2: Activities of the Commercial Home Family



NOTES

1. While some of the hotels, pubs and boarding houses may be bigger than Lynch's (2005) consideration of homes where the hospitality revenue is secondary, these establishments have in common the fact that they are places where the home element is significant. Drawing on di Domenico and Lynch (2007), these establishments can be labelled Commercial Homes since they are places where the home space has a dual purpose, it is not only domestic but also commercial. Focusing on these establishments provides an investigative lens to study hospitality which occurs alongside the 'doing' of family.
2. The interviews were funded by the Millennium Commission as part of the Looking Back, Looking Forward project carried out by the North Yorkshire Museums Department. I am grateful to the project's organiser, Karen Snowden, the interviewers and particularly the interviewees who allowed secondary analysis.
3. This element of the research on 'Selling the Family? Imagery and Reality in Family-Owned Hospitality Establishments' was funded by the University of Hull, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Strategic Research Support Fund.

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