A PLACE FOR HABITUAL COMMUNAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: Toward a theory of how community-based enterprises can encourage and sustain habitual communal entrepreneurship

by

Onnolee Nordstrom

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in
Strategic Management and Organization

Faculty of Business
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

In this research I employ ethnographic procedures and a grounded theory analytic approach to address questions regarding how established community-based enterprises (CBEs) encourage and sustain *repeated* acts of entrepreneurship. Through my attention to the key characteristics of place, I develop a model that improves our understanding of community-based enterprising and habitual entrepreneurship. My findings highlight the important role of *place* by showing how within an isolated, communal, small, and secure place eight community practices become socially embedded everyday actions that promote and sustain habitual communal entrepreneurship. I identify and describe four of these everyday social practices—tinkering, considering the needs of others, provoking, and normalizing failure—as critical to sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship. I also identify and describe four of these everyday social practices—maintaining boundaries, encouraging social collisions, providing familial well-being, fulfilling a higher purpose—as place-sustaining practices that, while designed to support and maintain the community, also acted to reinforce the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that encouraged and sustained habitual communal enterprising. In doing this, my findings challenge the view that places are largely irrelevant in today's globalized connected world, instead empirically supporting the contention that place and its multidimensional components have an important influence on behaviour.

Keywords: Community-based enterprise, community, habitual entrepreneurship, place, social practices, ethnography

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Onnolee Nordstrom. The research, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, project name "Re-evaluating entrepreneurship as a collective phenomenon", No. 00043881, June 23, 2014.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

TABLE OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on how community-based enterprises (CBEs) can sustain entrepreneurship over time. The empirical setting is Hutterite colonies operated in Western Canada that serve as excellent examples of CBEs. As conceptualized by Peredo and Chrisman (2006), CBEs are "the result of a process in which *the community* acts entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure" (p. 310). Although there has been attention to CBEs in a number of different contexts, there has so far been almost no research concerning how CBEs continue entrepreneurial behavior beyond their start-up period. Ongoing entrepreneurial activity has been labeled "habitual entrepreneurship," referring to individuals or groups "who hold a minority or majority ownership stake in two or more firms, at least one of which was established or purchased" (Ucbasaran, Baldacchino, & Lockett, 2014, p. 13). Habitual entrepreneurs are those in which risk taking, proactiveness, and the development and exploitation of new products and ventures are encouraged, expected, and recurring activities. The focal empirical phenomenon of this study, then, pertains to the recurring creation of new business products and ventures within existing Hutterite communities.

The Hutterian Brethren are the largest communitarian society in the world—a group that consists of an alliance of both men and women who deliberately and voluntarily live together, holding all their property in common to meet a higher goal (Brumann, 2000). Today, there are over 40,000 Hutterites in North America, spread out across over 480 colonies (Katz and Lehr, 2012). Hutterite colonies are made up of 80-150 members (Janzen & Stanton, 2010). They are communal, meaning that they live together and share all goods in common, with individual members accruing no private property or individual wealth. This socialist communal system is based on Anabaptist Christian religious beliefs and principles.

1

Although the Hutterian Brethen have long been recognized for their agricultural dominance and farming prowess (Cobb, 2006; Young, 2003), in recent years they have also begun to capture attention for their many successful acts of entrepreneurship (Malach & Malach, 2010). Today, Hutterite colonies in North America have expanded much beyond farming as their sole means of income generation (Guenther, 2015; Janzen & Stanton, 2010). Colonies produce an assortment of uniquely Hutterite goods, selling them at local farmer's markets and operating small craft and produce stands along the highways. Many colonies have expanded into woodworking, manufacturing, trucking, welding, and custom farming (retrieved from http://www.hutterites.org/day-to-day/livelihood), and have exploited a diverse range of entrepreneurial opportunities such as biofuel, solar power, plastic recycling, arctic char fish farming, firetruck assembly, and water filtration (Nordstrom & Jennings, 2014).

The entrepreneurialism demonstrated by the Hutterites has raised questions as to how such a culturally homogenous and belief-based group, in which a socialist ideology flourishes and members accrue no personal wealth, could be continuously producing so many new ventures and products. A number of conjectures exist. One is that the Hutterites are cults that enslave their people by paying no wages and refusing educational opportunities, which allows them to out-compete others and take advantage of opportunities (Haney, 2012). Another conjecture is that the Hutterites collectively use their size and buying power to unfairly garner the resources needed to engage in entrepreneurial activity (2010, November. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/hutterite-competition-worries-man-firms-1.885702). Yet another is that the Hutterites have simply run out of the land and quota[1] needed to expand, so

---

[1] A quota is a system of dairy and egg supply management in Canada. Quotas are designed to control production quantities in order to coincide with forecasts of demand for dairy and egg products over a predetermined period and to set prices in order to keep the industry profitable.

are now being forced to diversify into other areas in order to fulfill their goal of domination (Friesen, 2016). These claims are unsubstantiated, based mainly on rhetoric, and cannot be used to generate solid conclusions about how the Hutterite colonies of Western Canada have been able to sustain repeated acts of entrepreneurship. Yet, understanding the mechanisms and dynamics that have allowed them to do so could be illuminating and prescriptive for other CBEs, organizations, and groups that need to become habitual entrepreneurs.

It was this phenomenon and query that initially piqued my interest in studying the Hutterian Brethren as the setting for my doctoral dissertation. In my previous career in the field of agronomy I had engaged with the Hutterites. While my job as an agronomist did not directly relate to entrepreneurship, almost every time I showed up at a Hutterite colony to complete my agronomic duties, various Hutterite members would excitedly show me, tell me, or have me test some new idea, and want to know if I was interested in buying one of their latest products. Thinking back on these experiences made me question why and how such innovative and entrepreneurial zeal could exist within such an isolated, homogenous, cohesive, non-competitive, and socialist place. I decided I wanted to undertake a study that would explain this positive deviance (Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2003). To this end, the overarching objective of my dissertation is to shed insight into the places in which habitual communal entrepreneurship prevails, with Hutterite colonies representing an extreme case (Stake, 1994; Yin, 2004) of this phenomenon. The more specific questions guiding my research are as follows: *What are the key characteristics of places that are recognized for their habitual communal enterprising? How do these place-based characteristics help to nurture and sustain habitual communal enterprising?*

Using qualitative data collection procedures, I studied five Hutterite colonies over the 18-month period from 2014 to 2016. My findings offer a number of theoretical and practical

contributions. First, this study supports the central claim of CBE scholars that new ideas, products, and ventures can be "the result of a process in which *the community* acts entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure" (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006, p. 310) and then extends and improves prior understanding in three ways. By studying the practices and mechanisms at work within *established* CBEs it moves beyond consideration of what leads to the emergence of CBEs and uncovers the factors that help encourage and sustain *repeated* entrepreneurial action. While extant theorizing has illuminated the factors that trigger the *emergence* of such entities (e.g., Haugh, 2007; Handy, Cnaan, Bhat, & Meijs 2011; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), empirical research has not yet been conducted on how a community-based enterprise, *once emerged*, can encourage *repeated* acts of entrepreneurship. As noted by scholars such as Fortunato and Alter (2015) and Ratten and Welpe (2011), this gap is of theoretical and practical import because established community-based enterprises will be challenged to adapt to evolving economic and cultural globalization if they do not continue to engage in entrepreneurial activity. Furthermore, by taking a place-based approach, and placing context in the foreground rather than background, it highlights the important role that the placial context in which the CBE is embedded plays in encouraging and sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship. Additionally, in exploring a case that is not impoverished or challenged by crisis, the findings extend the relevance and applicability of CBEs into broader settings.

Second, this study supports previous literature which claims that recurrent entrepreneurship is beneficial and then contributes to our understanding of habitual entrepreneurship by drawing attention to the mechanisms within the place that can promote repeated entrepreneurial action. The study is a rare account of habitual entrepreneurship being

promoted and sustained by the everyday social practices in a communal setting. Previous studies have associated habitual entrepreneurship with certain business practices within conventional settings where traditional interests are pursued; e.g., economic wealth, self-interest, and external threat-based opportunities (e.g., Brettel, Chomik, & Flatten 2015; Chandler, Keller, & Lyon, 2000; Zahra & Covin, 1995). By emphasizing the everyday social practices and sociocultural aspects of Hutterite colonies in Western Canada, my study provides an explanation of how habitual communal entrepreneurship can be influenced by the location, material form, and meaning of the places in which it is occurring. In so doing, it addresses a resonant theme within entrepreneurship research (Welter, 2011; Zahra & Wright, 2011), showing how context and embeddedness—specifically territorial or *place* embeddedness—encourages and sustains a group's habitual engagement in entrepreneurial action. Thus, this account addresses calls to provide greater consideration of the human and spatial dimensions and a more place-based explanation of entrepreneurship (Steyaert & Katz, 2004, Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014).

Third, this research supports the contention that place is a critical component of organizational life and influences the actions taken and outcomes that result (Lawrence & Dover, 2015). In contrast to today's dominant assumption that territorial communities are of decreasing relevance as today's modern world runs on different foundations, I show that there is still value in social organizations built around kin, moral unity, and rootedness. While certainly telecommunication, international travel, and the Internet have globalized and transformed our world, such changes don't mean that place no longer matters. My findings demonstrate how place plays an important role in influencing habitual entrepreneurship. Furthermore, the recurrent entrepreneurialism that I encountered within these Hutterite colonies brings the existing state of

theorizing about what type of place creates and supports habitual entrepreneurship into sharp relief. These isolated, communal, small, and secure Hutterite places possessed significantly different characteristics than those that are usually suggested to promote entrepreneurial activity (e.g., Saxenian, 1996). Contrary to extant theory, which posits that a small, isolated, culturally homogenous community is one that will *prevent* people from engaging in such activity (Marti, Courpasson, & Barbosa, 2013), my findings show how a community with these characteristics can encourage and sustain repeated acts of entrepreneurship.

Having briefly described the motivation, guiding research questions, empirical setting, and contributions of my research, the remainder of this dissertation is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, I present reviews of the literature on community-based enterprise and habitual entrepreneurship, drawing attention to the gaps that currently remain within these two bodies of literature. Following this, I introduce the literature on *place* to ground my study, suggesting that the identified gaps can be fruitfully addressed through greater consideration of place-based characteristics and mechanisms. In Chapter 3, I describe the research setting, ethnographic design, data collection methods, and approach to data analysis. In Chapter 4, I present the findings of my case study in two parts. In Part 1, I present the findings pertaining to the first guiding research question; i.e., those related to the key characteristics of places that are recognized for their habitual communal enterprising. In Part 2, I present the findings pertaining to the second guiding research question; i.e., those related to how the identified place-based characteristics help to nurture and sustain habitual communal enterprising. Chapter 5 features the emergent conceptual model that integrates the two sets of findings as well as a discussion of the study's contributions, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This chapter sets out the theoretical foundations that ground my research. Given my interest in improving understanding of how community-based enterprises (CBEs) can sustain entrepreneurial activity, three sets of relevant literature are reviewed. I start by summarizing existing research on CBEs, noting that extant work has primarily focused upon the *emergence* of such entities. While it has been suggested that CBEs, once emerged, might be challenged to remain vibrant and adapt to evolving economic and cultural globalization (e.g., Peredo, 2015) if they do not continue to engage in entrepreneurial activity (e.g., Fortunato & Alter, 2015; Ratten & Welpe, 2011), exploration of the characteristics and mechanisms that could help promote *ongoing acts* of communal enterprising have been largely overlooked.

The second component of this chapter reviews the habitual entrepreneurship literature. This literature comprises two distinct bodies of work: entrepreneurial organizations (e.g., Ireland, Hitt, & Sirmon, 2003) and entrepreneurial regions (e.g., Florida, 1995; Kenney, 2000). Within the former body of work, habitual entrepreneurship tends to be associated with high-level general business factors such as implementing individual reward systems for innovation, hiring the most innovative people, encouraging individualism, and investing heavily in research and development. Such research also tends to emphasize the pursuit of traditional interests such as economic wealth, self-interest, and external threat-based opportunities, leaving more specific cultural and social practices largely unexplored (Kreiser, Marino, Dickson, & Weaver, 2010). In the work on entrepreneurial *regions*, more attention is paid to the influence of soft sociocultural aspects of economic behavior. This sub-area of the literature suggests that cultural embeddedness—i.e., the spatially variable sets of social conventions, norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs of the region—can be an important determinant of the entrepreneurial posture

(Ireland, Hitt, & Sirmon, 2003) that underlies habitual entrepreneurship. This stream of research argues that it is impossible to explain the abundance of entrepreneurial activity within certain districts if we fail to take into account the ways in which entrepreneurial activities are locally culturally constituted and embedded within a community (Saxenian, 1994; Vestrum, 2014). However, despite widespread acceptance of this idea, the causal mechanisms and everyday practices through which spatially variable sets of socio-cultural conventions, norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs shape and condition repeated entrepreneurial activity remain under-specified (Brettel, Chomik, & Flatten, 2015; Oinas, 1997).

Thus, in order to consider the role of spatial embeddedness upon habitual communal entrepreneurship more deeply, I draw on the growing body of literature focused upon *place*. Places are conceptualized as unique geographical locations "invested with meaning, which have a material form but are also socially constructed" (Shrivastava & Kennelly, 2013, p. 2). They have also been conceptualized as a critical component of organizational life that "can have profound consequences for the actors involved, the actions they take, and the outcomes that follow" (Lawrence & Dover, 2015, p. 371). A place perspective on habitual communal entrepreneurship, in particular, facilitates consideration of how the local activities, social practices, and sociological mechanisms within an enterprising community are associated with recurrent entrepreneurial activity. In the next sections of this chapter I elaborate these three bodies of literature (CBE, habitual entrepreneurship, and place) and show how they collectively form a theoretical foundation to ground my research.

The CBE Literature

The theory behind CBE (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006) has built upon and supported the critique that the entrepreneurial process is misrepresented when positioned solely as an act of

individual economic heroism (e.g., Etkowitz, 2003; Goss 2005; Lounsbury, 1998; Ruef, 2010). The CBE literature highlights how in certain situations new ventures are "the result of a process in which *the community* acts entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure" (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006, p. 310). This perspective proposes that new venture creation emerges from the inside when community members pull together local skills and resources to create a collaborative enterprise that is jointly operated in pursuit of the common good (Peredo, 2015). Work on the topic has helped to advance the field beyond its individualistic orientation and tendency to take the idea of the entrepreneur endowed with a set of essential individual powers as the sole analytical starting point and focus of attention. As such, it supports the contention that "vesting entrepreneurial agency solely within the individual conceals much that entrepreneurship is and does" (Jennings, Greenwood, Lounsbury, & Suddaby, 2013, p. 6).

While it is only in the past decade that CBEs have been defined and identified, they are not a new phenomenon. They have been documented in numerous countries and urban and rural settings. For example, community based enterprises that have been studied in a wide range of geographical locations include: the Amish community in Pennsylvania (Kraybill & Nolt, 1995), the Ralegan Siddhi community (Hazare, 1997), jasmine growers in India (Handy et al., 2011), the Llocllapampa community enterprise in Peru (Peredo, 2003), the communal enterprises of Salinacocha in Ecuador (Peredo, 2001), wildlife sanctuaries in New Zealand (Campbell-Hunt, Freeman, & Dickson, 2010), and Sami reindeer herders in Finland (Dana & Light, 2011).

CBE theory has suggested that CBEs are more likely to emerge when the community (a) is experiencing social, cultural, and/or economic stress, (b) is moderately-sized, (c) has vast social capital and a history of collective learning and collective action experiences, and (d) shares a

sub-location and relational bonds (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Peredo, 2015). The theory suggests that the CBEs that emerge will portray a distinct set of features.[2] First, unlike traditional (purely commercial) venturing, income generation tends not to be the exclusive or primary goal of these communal enterprises (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Rather, a CBE is typically directed toward multiple goals, with profit an instrument for development in a more holistic sense, for example, for improving community wellbeing; for creating civic democracy; and for advancing health care, education, housing, and employment. Second, CBEs involve a reliance on a combination of local human, technical, and natural resources and typically draw on the ancestral knowledge and tradition, skills, and experience acquired by community members prior to the launch of a CBE. Third, CBEs are a communal cooperative endeavor constituting a participatory process (Di Domenico, 2011) with a governance model that is not only representative but also participative (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Hence, decision-making, ownership structures, and the role of employees, owners, and investors within these CBEs may deviate substantially from more traditional enterprises (Stevens, Moray, & Bruneel, 2014).

Additionally, Peredo and Chrisman (2006) theorized that embeddedness, which they define as the concrete personal relationships and networks within these communities that allow for strong relationships to develop, plays an important role within communities in which CBEs emerge. Within these types of communities there are frequent and regular transfers of goods or services from one member to another, without remuneration or any explicit agreement of a *quid*

---

[2] It is important to note that Peredo (2015) elaborated that the conditions and characteristics outlined in the original theory were "not meant to specify a form of enterprise that is precisely and sharply distinct from anything else in the real world, rather, it is simply meant to capture conceptually a phenomenon with a bundle of central characteristics (e.g., endogenous process, community agency, goal of community benefit)" (p. 265). Furthermore, Peredo suggested that the concept of CBE was intended to be inclusive in a way that allows for a family of close relations that possess many, but perhaps not quite all, of the relevant characteristics.

pro quo. Over time, embeddedness allows trust, cooperation, and a sense of collective action to develop. Importantly, Peredo and Chrisman (2006) posit that these factors become valuable resources that allow for greater risk-taking and provide the community with a particular competitive advantage (Peredo, 2001, 2003).

In the decade following the identification of the concept of CBE much has been achieved. Policy makers and scholars have emphasized how this type of endogenous entrepreneurial activity is an important tool for alleviating poverty and disadvantage (e.g., Berkes & Adhikari, 2006; Dampha & Camera, 2005; MacLean, Harvey, & Gordon, 2013) and a way to help empower women (e.g., Datta & Gailey, 2012). It is also seen as an approach for sustainable development within the base of the pyramid and a tool to preserve the environment (e.g., Dampha & Camera, 2005; Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010; Hall, Matos, Sheehan, & Silvestre, 2012; Mair & Marti, 2009; Shepherd & Patzelt, 2011). In addition, scholars have demonstrated how CBEs are an important social innovation and alternative to traditional state-led programs (e.g., Dana & Light, 2011; Moulaert, Martinelli, Swyngedouw, & Gonzalez, 2005; Ring, Peredo, & Chrisman, 2010; Smith 2012). Furthermore, scholars have cited the notion of CBE as an example of a concept that extends entrepreneurship beyond settings where individualistic thinking prevails (e.g., Dana & Dana, 2007; Peredo & MacLean, 2006; Venkataraman, Sarasvathy, Dew, & Forster, 2012). It is also seen as a form of indigenous development (e.g., Hindle & Moroz, 2010; Peredo & Anderson, 2006; Peredo & MacLean, 2013) and as a concept that has recognized the importance of social capital in development (e.g., Payne, Moore, & Griffis, 2011).

A considerable body of scholarly work has more directly engaged with the concept of CBE. One subset has worked to identify and refine the characteristics that lead to the emergence

of a CBE (e.g., Cahn, 2008; Haugh, 2007; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Orozco-Quintero & Davidson-Hunt, 2009). Another subset has worked to determine the phenomenon's boundary conditions (e.g., Campbell-Hunt et al., 2010). A final subset has used the concept of CBE to directly challenge the narrow economic and cultural assumptions of traditional entrepreneurship (e.g., Dana & Dana, 2007; Dana & Light, 2011; Smith, 2012).

In regards to determining the characteristics of a CBE, there are a number of illustrative examples. Cahn (2008) studied two CBEs in the country of Samoa in the Pacific Ocean and found support for Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) suggestion that within a CBE many community members participate, there is a multiplicity of goals, and activities are based on the skills available within the community. Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt (2009) presented a community-forestry case from Nuevo San Juan, Mexico. This case found support for Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) suggestion that (a) acute stress, (b) a broad social mission, (c) accountability of enterprise leaders to their members, and (d) a close adherence to the political goals of the community led to the emergence of a CBE.

Additionally, studies have empirically tested the bounds of the concept (e.g., Campbell-Hunt et al., 2010; Handy et al., 2011; Haugh, 2007; Manyara & Jones, 2007). An example of such empirical elaboration is Handy et al.'s (2011) study of jasmine growers in Karnataka. In contrast to Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) proposed CBE model, the jasmine growers of Karntaka showed no multiplicity of goals; rather, the sole purpose was economic survival and poverty alleviation. Further elaboration is found in Haugh's (2007) study, which highlighted the essential stages *preceding* the establishment of a new enterprise, as well as Campbell-Hunt et al.'s (2010) study, which expands the applicability of the CBE beyond impoverished contexts into a situation facing an ecological crisis. As well, Teerakul, Villano, Wood, and Mounter

(2012) addressed CBE's ability to alleviate poverty at the level of the individual household and Manyara and Jones (2007) elaborated upon the reasons that can cause a CBE to fail.

In regards to using the concept of CBE to challenge the narrow economic and cultural assumptions of traditional entrepreneurship, several empirical studies have elaborated on how communal enterprising can have a transformative impact on local life (e.g., Berkes & Davidson-Hunt 2007; Dana & Dana, 2007; Dana & Light, 2011; Ring, Peredo & Chrisman, 2010; Smith, 2012; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Tedmanson, Essers, Dey & Verduyn, 2015) and contribute to local development (Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012; Muthuri, Moon, & Idemudia, 2012; Roseland, 2000). An illustrative example is the study conducted in a Mennonite community in Paraguay, in which Dana and Dana (2007) demonstrated how the nature of collective entrepreneurship is unlike entrepreneurship in mainstream society. They depicted how the values of this religious minority (asceticism, frugality, and thrift) facilitated successful collective entrepreneurship. Another exemplar is the study of aboriginal Sami reindeer herders in Finland (Dana & Light, 2011). These Sami reindeer herders claimed that a significant causal variable behind their herding was maintenance of their traditions, rather than the maximization of financial profits. This CBE research helps to illuminate the narrow boundaries of prior thinking, highlights how community is not simply a backdrop for individual entrepreneurship, and expands entrepreneurship's end goal beyond self-interested wealth accumulation. This CBE research demonstrates how CBE can be a valuable alternative to traditional historically- and culturally-constrained approaches that all too often have been a poor fit for those they are meant to benefit (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

Although these studies have furthered our recognition and understanding of the phenomenon of CBE, questions remain. Extant studies exploring CBE have mostly focused on

identifying the concept's boundary conditions and recognizing certain characteristics that provoke a CBE's emergence. Much less is known, however, about what happens within a CBE *post* emergence. This is an important consideration because it has been suggested that an established CBE will be challenged to maintain its gains and achieve sustainability and long-term success (e.g., Peredo, 2014) if it does not continue to engage in entrepreneurial activity (e.g., Fortunato & Alter, 2015; Ratten & Welpe, 2011). Thus, an important agenda for this field is to better understand which, and how, certain characteristics affect habitual entrepreneurship. Considering this, the next section explores the scholarship on (1) entrepreneurial organizations and (2) entrepreneurial districts or regions, where consideration has been given to how organizations or groups can develop an entrepreneurial posture and encourage habitual, or repeated, acts of entrepreneurship (Ucbasaran, Alsos, Westhead, & Wright, 2008)

The Habitual Entrepreneurship Literature

The extant literature on habitual entrepreneurship suggests that in order to sustain entrepreneurial efforts again and again an *entrepreneurial posture* must be developed. An entrepreneurial posture refers to an outlook in which "new ideas and creativity are expected, risk taking is encouraged, failure is tolerated, learning is promoted, product, process and administrative innovations are championed, and continuous change is viewed as a conveyor of opportunities" (Ireland, Hitt, & Sirmon, 2003, p. 970). It has been posited that an entrepreneurial posture does not exist automatically but can be fostered or prevented (Brettel, Chomik, & Flatten 2015; Covin & Slevin, 1991). It has also been advocated that in order to survive and thrive in today's increasingly fast-paced dynamic business environments, organizations must develop an entrepreneurial posture and become habitual entrepreneurs (e.g., Hitt, 2000; Li et al., 2008; Miller, 1983; Wales, Monson, & McKelvie, 2011). Indeed, empirical studies have largely found

that entrepreneurial organizations perform better (Anderson, Covin, & Slevin, 2009; Li, Zhao, Tan, & Liu, 2008; Zahra, Jennings, & Kuratko, 1999). Prior research has clearly demonstrated the benefit of being an *entrepreneurial organization*, one that acts to "repeatedly initiate new product or service ideas...reconverting their people and assets to new uses, bringing new ideas from many sources into good currency" (Jelinek & Litterer, 1995, p. 137). It has likewise been suggested that creating a region with an entrepreneurial posture is beneficial because these regions become economic growth engines, catalysts for change and innovation, play a key role in job creation, and advance well-being in capitalist nations (Baumol, Litan, & Schramm, 2007; Fortunato & Alter, 2015).

Empirical studies have suggested a few business drivers that promote the development of an entrepreneurial posture within an organization, examples being rewards for performance (Chandler, Keller, & Lyon, 2000); the presence of a CEO who encourages more self-directive values (Berson, Oreg, & Dvir, 2007); and individualism, external orientation, decentralization, and a long- versus short-term orientation (Zahra, Hayton, & Salvato, 2004; see also Brettel, Chomik, & Flatten, 2015). Similarly, Rosa (1998) found evidence that habitually entrepreneurial organizations placed a greater focus on managerial competence and human capital resources, while Covin and Slevin (1991) identified organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture as key drivers that can strongly affect the development of an entrepreneurial posture.

These studies provide some clues regarding the top-down business practices that can encourage an entrepreneurial posture within large, economically-motivated capitalistic organizations characterized by a relatively high emphasis on materialism (e.g., productivity, efficiency, and profitability) and individualism (e.g., competitiveness) (Dyck & Schroeder, 2005). In comparison, relatively little consideration has been paid to whether, and how, ground-

level social practices might also influence the development of an entrepreneurial posture within these large economically-motivated organizations. Although a few authors have suggested the importance of sociocultural aspects of the organization (Aloulou & Fayolle, 2005; Dess & Lumpkin, 2005; Hauser, Tellis, & Griffin, 2006; Lumpkin & Dess, 1996), literature that explicitly explains the relationship is scarce (Engelen et al., 2013; Kreiser et al., 2010).

A related strand of habitual entrepreneurship research has focused at a higher level of analysis, examining the characteristics of an area, district, agglomeration, milieu, or community that tend to be associated with the development of an entrepreneurial posture. Within these settings, studies have been considering how embeddedness, the contingent nature of economic action with respect to cognition, social structure, institutions, and culture (Granovetter, 1985; Uzzi, 1996) can impact on the development of an entrepreneurial posture. Specifically, these regional studies have used Granovetter's (1985) notion of embeddedness to explore how concrete personal relations and structures (or networks) of such relations generate trust, discourage malfeasance, and subsequently influence a region's entrepreneurial posture. By shifting the focus onto how networks of interpersonal relationships influence a region's entrepreneurial posture, this research supports Granovetter's challenge to economics' undersocialized view of economic action and sociology's oversocialised view. Rather than assuming rational self-interested behaviour is minimally affected by social relations or people are simply obeying the established systems of norms and values, the regional entrepreneurship literature stresses how economic relations are entangled in a nexus of social relations. These concrete personal relationships and local social relations result in interdependencies of the economic and social spheres and can allow people and communities to build strong relationships, trust, cooperation, and collective action—factors that play a role in the innovative and

entrepreneurial actions that are promoted and sustained (Johannisson et al., 2002; Taylor, 1999).

Dominant within this body of scholarship has been the elaboration of how *structural embeddedness* can impact entrepreneurial action within a region. Scholars have applied the concept of structural embeddedness to demonstrate how the composition, structure and architecture of formal and informal relationships within a specific region play a role in promoting a regional-level entrepreneurial posture. Research has shown how being located within a network that has the institutional structures to regulate and standardize new technology and financing mechanisms, as well as access to a heterogeneous pool of competent labor, research and development, manufacturing, marketing, and distribution, encourages the development of a regional-level entrepreneurial posture (e.g., Colyvas, 2007; Florida & Kenney, 1988; Suchman, Steward, & Westfall, 2001). Additionally, these extant studies offer empirical insight into how an entrepreneurial posture can be developed if the community has members who can act as brokers and span structural holes between two or more communities (Hargadon & Sutton, 1997; Lingo & O' Mahony, 2010; Obstfeld, 2005), if a space can be created with the right density and heterogeneity of members, and if space can be created with the right frequency of network relations (e.g., Florida, 1995, 2002).

While most of the empirical research into the role of context and embeddedness has focused on social networks and institutional contexts, recent theorizing has also suggested that innovation and entrepreneurship within a region can be promoted by *spatial embeddedness* (Hindle, 2010; Welter, 2011). Several recent reviews have found that the role of the spatial context, especially at the localized level, has been much less researched (for exceptions see Anderson, 2000; Hjorth, 2004; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004), and warrants a deeper exploration (Korsgaard, Müller, & Tanvig, 2015; Lang, Fink, & Kibler, 2014; Müller, 2013; Trettin &

17

Welter, 2011; Welter, 2011). Scholars are increasingly suggesting that the spatially variable sets

of social conventions, norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs of the region can be an important

determinant of an area's entrepreneurial posture. It is proposed that it is impossible to explain the

abundance of entrepreneurial activity within certain districts if we fail to take into account the

ways in which entrepreneurial activities are locally constituted (Saxenian, 1994; Wolfe &

Gertler, 2001). However, despite widespread acceptance of this idea, the causal mechanisms and

everyday practices through which spatially variable sets of socio-cultural conventions, norms,

attitudes, values, and beliefs shape and condition entrepreneurial activity remain under-specified.

As suggested by Oinas (1997):

> We need to understand the various ways in which collective actors and various
> individuals or groups are embedded, and the ways in which embeddedness is
> related to economic outcomes. Empirical studies are needed, to open up the
> richness of "embeddedness" in comprehensive studies [and] to reveal the
> processes through which economic action and outcomes are affected by
> "embeddedness." (p. 30)

Considering this, I suggest that while structural embeddedness is surely important, a

comprehensive understanding of how to generate an entrepreneurial posture must also address

geographical and infrastructural elements as well as the meanings and experiences of the location

of habitual enterprising. In order to advance our understanding of how embeddedness can lead to

an entrepreneurial posture, I followed the suggestion of Jennings, Greenwood, Lounsbury, and

Suddaby (2013) to draw on the sociology literature to help entrepreneurship scholars address

theoretical gaps. This advice, combined with the recognition that the Hutterite colonies that I was

studying were situated within places with a geographic location, material form, and sets of

meanings and values (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Lawrence & Dover, 2015), led to my

decision to draw on theoretical concepts related to place (e.g., Tuan, 1977). I felt that a closer

examination of these places could be important and interesting and reveal the significance of the

18

mechanisms and practices of embedding and its place-based manifestations. Such an approach runs counter to the more commonly heralded opinion that the 21st century—with the net, the jet, virtual offices, increased mobility, and globalization—has allowed us to erode boundaries and transcend place (Friedman, 2007). While it is true much of the world has been *McDonaldized* (Ritzer, 2012), "it is premature to conclude that innovations in information, communication, and transportation have the capacity to neutralize place [because] everything happens somewhere, which means that all action is embedded in place and may be affected by its placement" (Sassen, 2001, p. xxii).

The Literature on Place

Research on place is based on the understanding that place is a critical component of organizational life and "can have profound consequences for the actors involved, the actions they take, and the outcomes that follow" (Lawrence & Dover, 2015, p. 371). Places are recognized as settings in which humanity directly experiences the world (Relph, 1976) and "not just a setting, backdrop, stage, or context for something else that becomes the focus of sociological attention" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 466). Place research suggests that action is highly influenced by the place in which it occurs. This area of scholarship makes place an "agentic player in the game—a force with detectable and independent effects on life" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 466).

Scholars define place as a unique location with material form and sets of meanings and values (e.g., Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Shrivastava & Kennelly, 2013) and agree that places evolve as "a result of habitation, a consequence of the ways in which people inhabit space" (Ashcroft, 2001, p. 156). By defining place in such a way, attention is placed on three features. First, a place has a distinct geographical *location* in the world situated within biophysical space. Second, a place has physicality and *materiality*: "Place is stuff. It is a compilation of things or

objects at some particular spot in the universe…. Social processes happen through the material

forms that we design, build, and use" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 465). Third, a place has *meaning*

(Cresswell, 2004; Relph, 1976; Soja, 1996), which can affect individuals' emotions and identities

and motivate human action (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Elfenbein, 2007; Tuan, 1975). Thus, place

is geographical, material, and organized around the meanings groups give it. Scholars further

suggest that the three features should remain bundled. Place will not be analytically complete if

the features become unraveled or one is forgotten. As Gieryn (2000) argued:

> A sociology informed by place will be most effective, I think, if it is neither
> reductionist nor determinist. That is the three defining features of place—location,
> material form, and meaningfulness—should remain bundled. This anti-
> reductionism precludes geographical fetishism and environmental determinism,
> just as it precludes unbridled social constructivism. (p. 467)

While Lawrence and Dover (2015) and Shrivastava and Kennelly (2013) note that place

has received little attention in the organizational literature, there is some work that lends insight.

A few works within the management literature call attention to how the concrete and ongoing

nature of the social relations within a place can influence habitual behaviors and actions. For

example, a handful of organizational studies have provided insight into how *the place* can

influence the decisions and management practices adopted by individuals (e.g., Whiteman &

Cooper, 2000) and organizations (e.g., Walck, 2004) operating within the place. More recently,

Lawrence and Dover (2015) found that place played a role in containing, mediating, and

complicating institutional work. As well, instead of looking at how place influences action,

Thomas and associates (Thomas, 2004; Thomas & Cross, 2007; Thomas, Gould, Gaede, & Jurin,

2011) reversed the causal arrow and explore how the organization can influence the place. These

studies propose that the level and type of place building varies depending on whether the

organization is transformational, contributive, contingent, or exploitative. These works suggest

that a business' capacity for transforming rather than exploiting places may be a function of its financial health, the owner's ideology, and their status in the community. They also suggest that different types of organizations will vary in whether they contribute to, or detract from, the social construction of place. Furthermore, Guthey and Whiteman (2009), Shrivastava and Kennelly (2013), and McKeever, Jack, and Anderson (2015) explore in varying ways how various types of organizations and individuals can effectively participate in efforts to renew, recreate, and increase the sustainability of a place.

Several streams of research into entrepreneurship acknowledge the importance of place and embeddedness. Studies conducted within rural and/or depleted areas have shown how social networks provide entrepreneurs with access to local resources, and how these social networks support entrepreneurial ventures to the benefit of the local areas (Anderson 2000; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Korsgaard, Ferguson, & Gaddefors, 2015; McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014; McKeever, Jack, & Anderson, 2015). Recent research on sustainable entrepreneurship has demonstrated that place attachment matters in explaining outcomes such as the development of sustainable ventures, and fostering urban wellbeing (e.g., Kibler, Fink, Lang, & Munoz, 2015; Cohen & Munoz, 2015). Attention to place can also be found within research exploring immigrant enclaves, i.e., groups that have "organized a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or the general population" (Portes, 1981, p. 291). Immigrant entrepreneurship in enclaves has used the concept of social capital (Bourdieu, 1979; Coleman, 1988) to demonstrate the predictive power of contextual variables and emphasize how different forms of social structures can affect economic action. For example, building on the understanding that social structures impact economic life, Portes and his colleagues (Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Jensen, 1989; Wilson & Portes, 1980) showed how an immigrant enclave provided resources for

immigrants to advance their socioeconomic position. Supporting these findings, Portes and Guarnizo (1991) studied the Dominican immigrant community in New York City and found a vibrant entrepreneurial area supported by networks of informal loan operations and ready access to a low-wage labor pool. This supports the idea that rather than being treated as a control variable, specific contexts are an important part of entrepreneurial phenomena (Zahra & Wright, 2011).

Arguably, it is Saxenian's (1994) comparative study of the divergent economic trajectories of Silicon Valley and Boston's Route 128 that is the most illuminating for understanding how place matters for habitual entrepreneurship. Saxenian's (1994) study highlights the importance of local cultural factors. She finds that in Silicon Valley, a distinctive regional Californian counter-culture characterized by a willingness to embrace risk and loyalties to transcendent technologies, created a region where many individuals and organizations engaged in habitual entrepreneurship. In contrast, the traditional conservative East Coast business culture of Route 128 sustained relatively integrated corporations, lesser interaction, and less habitual entrepreneurship. Building upon Saxenian, other scholars have demonstrated how being embedded within a specific context shapes patterns of corporate behaviour, local production and employment relations, industrial adaptation, and economic development (e.g. Amin & Thrift, 1994; Malecki, 1995; Morgan, 1997; Storper, 1995, 1997).

This establishes a foundation from which to argue that entrepreneurship is a community phenomenon that emerges as a result of the social and spatial characteristics of a place. Hidden within this literature is the idea that the geographic location, material form, and socially-constructed meaning of a place plays a role in the types of behaviours and actions that are initiated. This footing challenges the view that factors of places are largely irrelevant, instead

arguing that places can possess local characteristics that have important influences on behaviour and action (Marquis, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2011). These insights suggest that perhaps the recurring entrepreneurial activity within these Hutterite CBEs is not a property of the entrepreneur or a result of the business practices established within an organization. Instead, this perspective proposes that the features of place, where the place is located, how it is constructed, and the meaning it holds for its inhabitants plays a dynamic role in encouraging and sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship. Approaching habitual communal entrepreneurship from this novel angle raises important questions, to which the answers can offer fresh insight into the nature and practice of entrepreneurship in context. The central questions guiding my research are:

1. What are the key characteristics of places that are recognized for their habitual communal entrepreneurship?

2. How do these place-based characteristics help to nurture and sustain habitual communal entrepreneurship?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins by describing my research setting. Following this I set out my research approach, including attention to my ontological and epistemological assumptions. I then explain the research design, elaborating how access was gained and how the data were collected and analyzed. I conclude with a discussion of how to evaluate the trustworthiness of the research.

The Research Setting: The Hutterian Brethren

I conducted my main research activities in five Hutterite colonies located in Western Canada. The Hutterian Brethren represent a permutation of the 16th century Swiss Anabaptist movement that was part of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. They are religious people who believe all of life belongs under the lordship of Jesus. Hutterites share with Mennonites and Amish the Anabaptist principles of adult voluntary baptism, the independence of the Church from the authority of the State, pacifism and the refusal to use violence to protect oneself or the state, and the establishment of the church as a community that radically follows Jesus in all areas of life. Emerging as a distinct culture and religious group in the early 16th century, this Anabaptist sect endured great persecution and death at the hands of the state and church in medieval Europe. Today, a total of 480 colonies, accommodating approximately 45,000 Hutterites, are scattered throughout the plains of North America. Currently, 75 percent of these Hutterite colonies are located in Canada, with the remaining 25 percent located in the United States.

Above and beyond the beliefs they share with the Mennonites and Amish, Hutterites believe in the economic practice of sharing goods. Thus, Hutterites live together on colonies with all members collectively owning the assets of their colony. They work with and for each other, receiving no individual income. However, in lieu of wages, all necessities of life are provided. A

colony is made up of between 80 and 150 people. The typical colony is composed of about 14 families. This means every colony has to support and provide the necessities of life for a large number of people. Colonies grow crops and manage farms of between 3,000 and 12,000 acres. Hutterites also raise a large amount of livestock, producing the equivalent of up to 30 percent of a US state's or Canadian province's hogs, eggs, or turkeys (Katz & Lehr, 2012).

Today, the Hutterites are the largest communitarian society in the world (Brumann, 2000). Although the number of kibbutz members in Israel exceeds the number of Hutterite Brethren, many kibbutzim no longer lead a full communal life. While the past few centuries have seen the emergence of many religious and social communal organizations—for example, the United Society of Shakers, the Harmony Society, the Amanda colonies, and the Oneida community— history has revealed that living communally is a difficult concept to maintain. As a result, today these communal organizations either no longer exist or are no longer organized communally.

Unlike the Doukhobor and Mennonites, who were originally granted large exclusive blocks of land for community settlement, the Hutterites simply bought land on the private market and held title to the land by setting up ownership of the land through a corporation. Thus, each colony is defined as a Mutual Corporation and the colony's land and assets are held in the name of a private holding company. Each Mutual Corporation, or Colony, operates as an individual firm with its own assets, debts, and equity. Each colony has economic independence but is associated with one of the three main branches of the Hutterian Brethren for various temporal and spiritual matters. The three branches, or *leut* as the Hutterites call them—Schmideleut, Dariusleut, Lehreleut—track back to their arrival in North America and the establishment of the first three colonies.

After a Hutterite colony is established and begins to grow, assets start to be built up so that a new colony can be established. The Hutterites are constantly splitting and creating new colonies so that a colony's population can remain under 150 members. This splitting or branching process is arranged so as to achieve parity in the division of assets between the original (mother) colony and the new (daughter) colony. This includes provision of equal land, buildings, capital, machinery, and food stocks.

Each colony is governed by its members, with daily decisions made by a board of managers. General meetings, attended by all the confirmed colony members above the age of 17 who have signed the Articles of Association, are where issues are discussed and decisions made. The Articles of Association expand upon the rights and duties of the individuals in the colony, the obligation to live in accordance with their complete community-of-goods philosophy, the rejection of private property, and expulsion as a punishment. Only male members of the colony who are married or are baptized bachelors over the age of 25 have the right to vote.

Every colony has a board of managers, known as the Council of Elders or Front Bench, which assumes responsibility for managing the colony's business and assets. This board of managers usually includes the minister, second minister, financial manager, farm manager, the German teacher, and two or three older males. The Council meets every morning to determine the day's agenda and discuss issues. They decide daily matters such as which members may leave the colony for the day and where they will go, for what purposes, and with which vehicle. Decisions made by the council are final. The minister and assistant minister are elected for life unless they are punished or resign. The rest of the members are elected for two years although they usually serve much longer. All officials, except for the minister, are elected through the general meeting.

Their election system is unique and involves each male colony member writing on a slip of paper the name of the male individual who he believes is best for the position. The male member who receives the most nominations is declared elected for the position. Unless for health reasons, this member has no right to refuse the position for which he is elected. Electing the minister is seen as a combination of human choice and divine intervention. In a colony where the minister position is vacant, the process is slightly more complex as the Hutterites believe that God has a say in the matter. The process begins the same, with the members casting a vote on who should become the next minister. After this first round of voting, the names of all the candidates who receive more than five votes are recorded on a slip of paper and the bishop draws one of these names at random, with the name drawn believed to have been chosen by God (Katz & Lehr, 2012).

The sites studied. The primary sites for my fieldwork consisted of five Hutterian Brethren colonies located in Western Canada. Each site can be characterized as an established colony that was repeatedly engaging in entrepreneurial activity. Although constituted by an established CBE (the colony) with its traditional agricultural operations (e.g., grain farming, dairy, hogs, chickens), each had not only expanded into a number of new ventures but was also in the process of exploring and developing several others during the period of my fieldwork. Specifics for each colony are provided below, with further details provided in Table 1. Names and a few inconsequential details have been changed to protect anonymity and confidentiality.

Site 1: This was the oldest community in my sample. Founded prior to 1920, it was one of the first colonies established in Canada. At the time of my study, this colony has four daughter colonies and was in the process of planning for its fifth. This colony is part of the Schmideleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren and is located in a very lush farming area in Canada. This

community had started a number of new ventures during the past decade: a book store, a feed mill, a soybean roasting plant, and a genetically-superior dairy herd. During my fieldwork, members of this colony established a new venture producing and selling pheasant eggs, were working on the development of a new product to spread straw, and were in the process of evaluating a new business idea (growing and selling Chinese geese).

Site 2: This colony was established in the early 2000s and at the time of my observations had less than 90 members living within the community. This colony had not yet split. It was part of the Lehreleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren and was located in Alberta. This community had also started a number of new ventures across the past decade, the largest being an oil drum recycling operation and a recycling plant. During my time spent on this site, the community was in the process of developing a wind power generating plant.

Site 3: This colony was founded in the mid 1900's and has one daughter colony. This colony was part of the Schmideleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren, had between 130 – 140 members, and is located in Manitoba, Canada. The new ventures started by this community over the past decade include a large chicken feeder manufacturing business, hog waterers, boilers, and specialized laser cutting. During my time spent on this site, the community was in the process of developing an organic cleaning product, smokers, grills, and numerous small products for various farmers' markets.

Site 4: This colony was founded in 1965 and has two daughter colonies. This colony is part of the Dariusleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren and is located in Alberta, Canada. As it was the closest to my home, it was the community from which I have the largest number of observations. The new ventures launched within this colony during the past 10 years include: a meat shop; supplying foreign restaurants; and producing dog food, hanging baskets, and metal

furniture. During my time spent within this community, countless new craft products were in development. They were also working on a new cow-calf operation, considering the manufacture of parts for the oilfield, starting to build more furniture, expanding the range of products offered in the meat shop, and working on a new method of air filtration in their dairy barn.

Site 5: This colony was founded in the mid 40's and has three daughter colonies. This colony is part of the Schmideleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren, and has approximately 125 members. Almost a decade ago this community purchased a CNC laser cutter, which they have since used to expand into a large laser-cutting manufacturing operation. They have expanded their laser-cutting operation into metal fabrication, flat sheet laser cutting, tube laser cutting, and CNC forming. During my time spent within this community a number of new ventures were in development: stackable rocking chairs, a biofuel plant, and an expanded range of products offered through their manufacturing plant.

Research Approach and Metatheoretical Assumptions

My aim to examine the habitual entrepreneurial activity occurring within these Hutterian Brethren colonies was best served by conducting a qualitative case study, which is well-suited to exploring phenomena that require researchers to develop a complex, detailed understanding of the phenomena and of the context within which the phenomena are situated (Creswell, 2013). "Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). This type of research stresses the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being studied and enables a much deeper understanding of people in specific settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

Qualitative research incorporates a range of theoretical perspectives, ontologies, and

epistemologies, and includes many different forms of knowledge and theory building (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). As Morgan and Smircich (1980) suggest, it is important to craft research in a way that is aligned with one's broader philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (ontology) and the nature and purpose of knowledge (epistemology). Cunliffe (2011) suggested that one way of envisioning qualitative research is along a continuum of three knowledge problematics—intersubjectivism, subjectivism, and objectivism. Each has different ontological and epistemological characteristics that lead to different methodological implications. Where we locate our research along this continuum has consequences for what becomes the focus of study, what is considered data, how the data are collected and analyzed, and how the research is written up.

My research is located within the *subjectivist* problematic. Subjectivists believe humans are autonomous and give meanings to their surroundings, and that knowledge is personal and experiential. Subjectivists believe that all research accounts are also subjectively situated relative to our own and organizational members' embedded experiences, which influence our observations, interpretations, and research accounts (the double hermeneutic). Subjectivists believe that field accounts can only be partial because the researcher cannot see all the stories playing out at any one time (Boje, 1995). Consequently, the knowledge produced provides contextualized understandings; it cannot be evaluated on the criteria of objectivist research— whether it is replicable, generalizable, or predictive. However, while the subjectivist problematic subsumes social constructionist research within this problematic there are a range of ontological stances:

> Toward the right of the problematic, discourse-based researchers and symbolic interactionists see social reality as socially constructed but "objectified" (having a degree of commonality and stability) in situated routines, interactions, and linguistic practices—routines and discourses that people may resist and change.

Thus, reality consists of social facts. Toward the left, subjectivist ontologies are usually associated with interpretive approaches to social constructionism, where multiple realities are experienced, constructed, and interpreted in many ways. (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 656)

Subjectivist researchers embrace discourse-based, symbolic interactionism, ethnographic, ethnomethodological, dialogic, constructivist, hermeneutic, and phenomological approaches to research. My ontological position—my support of the belief that we cannot study the social world without being a part of it (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983)—and a research question that required gaining first-hand, personal understanding of life within a Hutterite community, supported an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic research has four key characteristics. First, this method relies substantially on participant observation, the up-close involvement of the researcher in some form of participative role in the natural, everyday setting to be studied (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Stewart, 1998). The second characteristic of ethnography is the detailed depiction and analysis of social relations and culture, making ethnography's domain *sociocultural* (Wolcott, 1994). The third characteristic of ethnography is a holistic mandate, meaning that the ethnographer's range of attention will be wide-ranging and have breadth, synthesizing disparate observations to create a holistic construct of culture or society (Becker, 1986; Johnson, 1987; Thornton, 1988). The fourth characteristic is contextualized explanation. Immersion within a particular setting leads the ethnographer to see linkages among their comprehensive data. Ethnographers explain one set of observations in terms of connections with others, and with concepts used for their fit with the context (Agar, 1986). Some ethnographic explanations are abstracted from the range of social life observed, but even these must closely shadow the specifics of the site: "Ethnographers usually prefer a model of complex, unique systems subject to situational logic, interpretation, and narration" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 43).

Thus, an ethnographic method was appropriate because field immersion was a critical

means of gaining first-hand, personal understanding of life within a Hutterite community. This type of approach allowed me to investigate a complex social environment and provided a foundation from which I was able to develop an in-depth understanding of social action and practices within Hutterite communities. Such an approach enabled me to observe and experience community life, and importantly, these Hutterite places and the social interactions and practices going on within these places firsthand:

> Ethnographers assume the task of achieving intersubjective understandings of the people participating in the settings under consideration. Ethnographic inquiry requires that researchers pursue and present the viewpoints of those with whom they have contact. Thus, ethnographers strive for intimate familiarity with the lived experiences of those they study and they attempt to convey as fully as possible the viewpoints and practices of these people to others. (Prus, 1996, p. 103)

During and after data collection I used grounded theory methods in data analysis to help me think about and conceptualize the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in order to elicit fresh understandings about patterned relationships and develop effective theory (Creswell, 2013; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Grounded theory is an analytic approach for developing theory that is grounded in data that have been systematically gathered and analyzed (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In grounded theory research, the researcher attempts to generate theory from an inductive analysis of data through the iterative processes of constant comparative analysis. Using this methodology for data analysis allows for new theory to be generated, or, if existing theories seem appropriate to the area of investigation, these theories may be elaborated. Two central features characterize grounded theory. First, this methodology is committed to discovery through on-the-ground contact with the social world and, as such, builds novel insights from the phenomenon under study. Second, grounded theory encourages researchers to use their *intellectual imagination* (Locke, 2001) to arrive at new insights, ideas, and perspectives. Rather

than depending upon existing theories, grounded theory is about developing new theories or extending existing theories from the ground up. However, this does not mean that existing theories are ignored nor disdained. Previous theories provide orienting ideas and continually revisiting extant theorizations helps sensitize the researcher to pertinent concepts while remaining open to new ideas and possibilities.

The Phases of the Approach

Congruent with ethnographic approaches, the research evolved in a series of stages (Hicks, 1984) that included: (1) gaining access; (2) collecting data and honing my data collection; and (3) intensive data analysis and writing. Each stage is elaborated below.

Phase 1: Gaining Access. In order to investigate and understand repeated acts of communal entrepreneurship, I wanted to identify exemplary settings (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Stake, 1994) where it was possible to gain an in-depth and on-the-ground understanding of places where ongoing entrepreneurship was evident (Cresswell, 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). To achieve this goal, first, I needed to gain access in way that allowed me to observe and interact with participants as they engaged in activities of everyday life, consistent with an ethnographic approach. The year prior to the start of my research, National Geographic had released a show called "Meet the Hutterites." The Hutterites were extremely unhappy with this show as they felt the colony that had been filmed had been tricked and the show had portrayed them in an untrue and unfair light. I was worried that this would make them unwilling to consider having me conduct my research inside the Hutterian Brethren community. I visited my previously established Hutterite connections from when I worked within the agricultural industry, and asked a few elders what they thought of my idea of studying Hutterite colonies engaged in entrepreneurial activity. Encouragingly, they were very supportive and offered to help me

33

succeed. They suggested I connect with a management and accounting organization that worked with almost all the Hutterite colonies in Western Canada.

I approached the professional consulting organization they suggested, explained my project, and asked them if they would assist me in identifying Hutterite communities that were being habitually entrepreneurial. "Intrinsic casework regularly begins with the cases pre-specified . . . When one designs a study in the manner advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994) nothing is more important than making a proper selection of cases" (Stake, 1984, p. 243). I wanted to study cases where the outcome of interest was transparently observable (Eisenhardt, 1989; Stake, 2005) so I asked the consulting organization to develop a list of Hutterite colonies that:

(1) Had initiated new ventures and/or products and were in the process of developing another new product and/or venture.

(2) Were located in Western Canada.

(3) Might be willing to engage in a research project that would involve an outsider visiting.

I contacted the colonies on the list, explained the purpose of my research, and asked if they would be interested in participating. Two of the colonies immediately told me that they were not interested. The other five colonies invited me to visit them on the colony to discuss my project. I visited each of these colonies and presented them with further details about my project (see Appendix A). After discussing the study, these five colonies agreed to participate. Ultimately, I think the nature of the study appealed to the Hutterites. They are proud[3] of their entrepreneurial undertakings and enjoy talking about their ideas, plans, and new ventures. They did not view me

---

[3] It is important to note that "proud" is my word, not the Hutterites. Being proud is considered to be a negative trait within the Hutterites.

questioning the nature and source of their entrepreneurial action to be in any way harmful and even saw the potential benefits they might gain from it. Indeed, when I was initially proposing my project at one colony, an elder suggested that he saw the value in my project because he didn't think they even realized why they were doing what they were doing and perhaps my study would help them learn about themselves.

Anonymity. In my ethics application I stated that I would maintain confidentiality and anonymity and previous interpretative ethnographic research supports this approach. Many of my participants stated they did not mind if I identified them within the research; however, in other cases, a preference for anonymity was voiced. In some circumstances informants told me something and then requested that it be *off the record*. I have honored these requests. Thus, throughout this research I have assigned pseudonyms to the colonies I researched and the informants who participated. Furthermore, all raw data have been kept confidential. Transcripts and notes will not be made available. All data have been stored in a locked cabinet in my office and are not accessible to others.

Phase 2: Collecting Data. After receiving ethics approval, I officially began my field research in June of 2014. I spent, on average, one to two days a week within a Hutterite colony. There was no set schedule for my visits because Hutterites are informal and tend to plan their activities day-by-day. I used three main data collection strategies: (1) observations, (2) open-ended interviews, and (3) archival data gathering.

Onnolee as Researcher. While it is normal to disclose information about those being studied, when engaging in this type of research design it is equally important to disclose information about the researcher because the researcher does not have objective distance from the subject (Creswell, 2013; Mayan, 2009; Silverman, 2006; Whiteman, 1999). This approach breaks from the Cartesian assumption that the researcher is an objective outsider looking within (Bradbury & Lichtenstein, 2000). It is important to acknowledge that when I, as the researcher, entered the field I became a part of the web of relations that compose that field (Mayan, 2009). Considering this, I provide the following description of myself.

I entered these Hutterite communities as a professional woman with a degree in agricultural science, a mother of two children, and an emerging academic. I grew up in a small rural community in a typical Canadian nuclear family with a mother, a father, and a sister. My parents did not attend church and I was not raised with any strong faith-based principles. I loved to compete and I loved to win. I loved my privacy and I was independent. While I could not have verbalized it at the start of my research, I realize now that I entered these Hutterite communities with a conventional moral point-of-view (Weber, 1958), meaning that my thinking and beliefs were underpinned by individualistic and materialistic assumptions.

Yet, as I spent more time within these Hutterite communities my previously held beliefs and assumptions shifted and changed. I noted that I began to stop worrying about myself and I began to start looking out for others. When one of my key informant's mother was sick I quickly drove out to the colony to work on the chicken butchering line that week even though I was supposed to be finishing off a conference paper. Being immersed within the Hutterite community has made me more reflective and more appreciative of the little things—spending time with family, enjoying pie with friends, or getting my hands dirty. This stems from the time immersed

within the Hutterite way of life, when I began to learn about the depth of caring and support that

exists within these communities. After being immersed within these Hutterite communities I can

understand why Kasser (2003) espoused the view that "people who are highly focused on

materialistic values often have lower personal well-being [e.g., satisfaction, happiness] and

psychological health [e.g., depression, anxiety] than those who believe that materialistic pursuits

are relatively unimportant" (p. 22). After being immersed within these Hutterite communities I

now concur with Peredo's (2015) suggestion that urging ethnic communities to modernize and

embrace globalization may inhibit the emergence and sustainability of CBE and ultimately

impede development. Being immersed within these colonies helped me to learn a new, less

conventional, more altruistic, and more communal point of view.

Data collection strategy #1: Observations. The primary source of data for this study was

approximately 18 months of participant observation. The roots of this method lie in

anthropology, and its aim is to gain in-depth emic perspectives and understandings of cultural

groups in their natural settings (Ellen, 1984; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983/1997). When

collecting my observational data I followed Jackson's advice to ethnographic researchers:

> Desist from taking notes, to listen, watch, smell, touch, dance, learn to cook, make
> mats, light a fire, farm—such practical and social skills should be as constitutive
> of our understanding as verbal statements and espoused beliefs. Knowledge
> belongs to the world of our social existence, not just to the world of Academia.
> We must come to it through participation as well as observation and not dismiss
> lived experience—the actual relationships that mediate our understanding of, and
> sustain us in, another culture. (1989, p. 9)

Taking this advice to heart, I engaged in a variety of activities. I was given tasks within

the community such as butchering chickens, gardening, canning, baking, dish washing, collecting

eggs, teaching in the school, and working in the greenhouse. I took part in meals, morning

meetings, laundry, meal preparation, financial meetings, wedding parties, prayers, and social

events. I drank hundreds of cups of coffee and ate many delicious pieces of pie. One fond memory is of rolling up my sleeves and plunging my arms almost elbow deep in to the tub of dirty dishes. My arms quickly came out when I discovered the water to be scalding hot. Laughing, one of the older ladies said to me, "Get those sissy little city arms in here, we better toughen you up!", which of course the rest of the ladies found hilarious. I learned how to can corn and how to turn rhubarb into a cleaning product. I learned what topics do not get talked about, and how much Hutterites love to tease and gossip.

Early on, the benefits of this approach were realized. I learned, for example, far more about a Hutterite field boss' lived experiences by working alongside him rather than watching *objectively* with a clipboard in hand. My agricultural education helped me gain rapport with the Hutterite men. When we checked crops I identified problem weeds and offered up my knowledge of possible solutions. Being married to an agricultural scientist kept me on top of the latest seed varieties and happenings in agriculture. I eagerly listened to what my husband and his co-workers were discussing and then headed off to the colony with the latest agricultural advice and suggestions. Having children helped me connect with the women. Following the advice of Jackson (1989), I dropped my notebook, pulled up my sleeves, and vividly experienced these communities. Participant observation was instrumental in helping me to naturally discover the dynamics within these places that generated habitual communal entrepreneurship, and the richness of the data I gathered is due to the fact that I allowed myself to be embraced by these communities. It enabled me, for example, to see how a broken barn cleaner became a new venture, how caring about one's grandmother produced a new product, and how worry about losing their way of life motivated entrepreneurship. This level of immersion yielded many surprises that were captured in reflections such as the following:

Every visit I am surprised by something but I now look forward to my visits, or my escapes from the world as I call them, I find these places are simple and refreshing, few people, if any, seemed to be putting on airs, making a show, or worrying about things that don't matter. I've noticed that I've dropped many of my excessive pleases and thank-yous, and have stopped thinking through so carefully everything I say. Surprising to me is how much people interact. You are never alone here. When Mary and John were both going to be away Cathy insisted I come stay at her house. "You can't stay in the house alone," she said, "you'll get way too lonely." I have learned how much they like to laugh and tease. It's now become a standing joke that I keep talking through grace because I always fail to notice the cue to be quiet. While we all laugh about my awkwardness I appreciate and recognize how they forgive my failures. I was surprised the other day when I was out later than expected at a different colony. I noticed I had missed a call on my cell and a moment later at the colony I was visiting the phone rang and a discussion ensued. While the conversation was taking place in Hutterisch I heard my name. After concluding the call the Hutterite I was interviewing told me they had been discussing where I would eat and how best to get me fed as I was likely to be on the road during dinner. Being looked after in such a way is unexpected and invigorating and seems to be common practice within these communities.

Observational data were recorded in field notes. These included quick jottings while in the field, notes taken during late night thoughts, and reflections on analysis (e.g., emerging themes, hunches, patterns and connections observed). Following the advice of Spradley (1980), I wrote about what I saw and heard: people, their activities, sequences of events, conversations I heard and/or participated in, the feelings people expressed, and the goals they articulated. Observational data were also captured through memory. "While memory is not always reliable, it is arguably a reality in research" (Whiteman, 1999, p. 49). In addition, some of the data were not initially captured in field notes but emerged at a later date from memory. I found that the overwhelming reality of field immersion meant that not everything could be recorded in field notes. For my own thoughts/feelings, I offer reflections that are intended to capture my ideas and emotions. I utilize this ethnographic data throughout the findings in order to capture a *thick* description of these Hutterite communities.

Field Relations. My relationships with the Hutterites evolved with time. I entered the

field as the English lady—a female outsider with agricultural knowledge—but by the time I left the field, I had developed many different kinds of field relations. In some instances, I became a friend. With others, I was an interested student who was beginning to understand the Hutterite way of life. For others I became a sounding board for ideas and a source of new information. For others I was a rare outsider who accepted and understood the Hutterites. More broadly, I remained the English lady but a non-judgmental one who had spent a lot of time trying to learn and understand the Hutterites and their ways. Generally, I attempted to maintain an egalitarian approach to research, which calls for privileging the viewpoints of the participants and a feminist ethic, which "calls for collaborative, trusting, non-oppressive relationships between researchers and those studied" (Fonow & Cook, 1991, pp. 8-9). This ethic stresses personal accountability, caring, the value of individual expressiveness, the capacity for empathy, and the sharing of emotionality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

At times my field relations were affected by my ties to the outside community. During my time spent within these communities, these Hutterites had a number of negative interactions with the outside local community. In one instance the Hutterite colony had offered to donate the profit from a grain field to help build an addition on the community hospital. The Hutterite field boss was watching the market and waiting to sell the grain for a higher price but a misunderstanding ensued that resulted in members of the local community writing a letter to the editor of the local paper, accusing the Hutterites of not fulfilling their commitment. In another instance a Hutterite field man was in the parking lot of a local business when a local farmer approached and began yelling at this Hutterite, accusing the Hutterites of running up land prices and ruining the area for young farmers. Another day one of the young Hutterite ladies returned from working the farmer's market and told me she had gotten rather angry when an *English man*

approached her and told her he had watched a show about Hutterites and she was wearing her

headscarf the wrong way. And perhaps my most unsettling episode occurred when one local

outside community member became aware that I was researching the Hutterites and took it upon

himself to *set me straight*. I picked up my home phone one evening and was told that my

research "had better *not* portray the Hutterites in a positive light because they were ruining

Western Canada."

I had to work hard to overcome my association with the *outside world* and not be seen by

the Hutterites as someone who shared these negative feelings towards them and was judging

them harshly for being different. The Hutterites are not immune to or unhurt by these harsh

outsider judgments, and because my field relations had become both personal and reciprocal

their hurt made me both sad and angry. It was impossible not to be touched by these people and

begin to feel a sense of injustice for the way they are judged. I had to work hard to remain as

unbiased and neutral as possible. It was impossible to remain aloof and detached and objective

when the Hutterite people would greet me with such enthusiasm and warmth and show such

interest in my well-being. And yet, this did not mean that I became so enmeshed in the social

fabric that I succumbed to the temptation to *go native*. Indeed, there were days when I felt totally

in communion with these people and this place. But more often, my experience was one of

liminality—a sense of being *betwixt and between* (Jackson, 1995) the Hutterite world and the

academic world. I tried to balance deep immersion in the field (subjectivity) and standing back to

reflect on my own experiences and on what I was seeing (objectivity). As Hammersley and

Atkinson (1995) stated:

> There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual
> 'distance' for it is in the space created by this distance that the analytic work of
> the ethnographer gets done. Without that distance, without such analytic space,
> the ethnography can be little more than the autobiographical account of a personal

41

conversion. This would be an interesting and valuable document, but not an ethnographic study. (p. 115)

Yet, I find this somewhat troublesome for this "assumes that there are only two dichotomous roles available to the researcher: either the researcher actively remains distant or 'goes native' (and thus compromises their research into an autobiographical story of 'conversion')" (Whiteman, 1999, p. 44). However, as Whiteman (1999) demonstrated in her study of the Cree, and as I believe I achieved in my study of the Hutterites, there is a third option: "To engage as fully as possible in order to connect on an empathic level and to avoid as much of the sociocultural distance as possible" (p. 45).

Data collection strategy #2: Interviews. I expanded upon my observation data through more formal semi-structured interviews and informal unstructured interviews. The interviews I have categorized as semi-structured were ones in which I established a specific time and used a pre-established set of questions to guide our conversation. These interviews were undertaken with: (a) a variety of Hutterite people including the minister, assistant minister, field boss, hog boss, German teacher, teacher, gardener, head cook, financial boss, dairy man, and shop foreman; (b) external Hutterite accounting consultants; and (c) external agrologists. These interviews were conducted between July 2014 and March 2016. In the early interviews I asked more general questions in order to build an understanding of the nature and characteristics of these places (refer to Appendix C for the question list I used to help guide the interviews). Later interviews allowed my data collection to become more focused and the questions I asked became more specific to the practices I was observing within these places. In later interviews I tried to utilize respondent validation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) meaning I discussed my emerging

thoughts with key informants, and listened to them agree, disagree, and often try to opposite[4] my evolving model.

I found community members amenable to being interviewed and easy to engage in discussion; however, they were very uncomfortable being recorded so most responses I captured by handwriting. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 2 hours, and an effort was made to interview informants from a variety of categories and a diverse range of positions. The interviewees ranged in age from 18 to 80 years old, both male and female. The Hutterites I interviewed were interested in my research but were also interested in me as a person, my family, my experiences, and my faith, so I largely abandoned the distancing recommended in texts such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995). I attempted to actively connect on a personal level while simultaneously pursuing my research objectives. The interviews that I have classified as informal are conversations that occurred more spontaneously. Oftentimes, in the evening, I would end up sitting around with a number of Hutterite members. I used these informal gatherings as opportunities to collect information. I would sometimes ask about one of the colonies latest ventures or products being developed and sometimes just participate in the general conversation and take notes.

Data collection strategy 3: Archival data. My third source of data was various pieces of archival data. Key books included the *Hutterite Confession of Faith*, *Hutterites in North America*, *Gender and Communal Longevity Among Hutterites*, *Hutterite Society*, and *The Hutterites in North America*. Additionally, one of the Hutterite communities provided me with various historical texts and religious scriptures, ordinances, and the ordinance letters from 1962-2009 (162 pages). Often times during discussion the informant would read a passage from one of

---

[4] "Oppositing" is a term the Hutterites used and is discussed within my findings

their historical texts, or refer me to one of the ordinances. I closely studied these texts in order to gain a greater understanding of the Hutterite culture, beliefs, and traditions. A summary of my data collection activities is provided in Table 2.

Phase 3: Intensive Data Analysis and Writing. My analytical approach was open ended and inductive (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), but driven by a broad interest in how these CBEs were promoting habitual entrepreneurship. My investigation conformed to the principles of grounded theory from cases (Dougherty, 2002; Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1984) and data analysis began as the field work began. I engaged in a three-phased approach to analyze and convey the data, with several data analysis steps making up each phase. Throughout my fieldwork, I utilized respondent validation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), discussing my thoughts with key informants, and asking if they agreed or disagreed with my emerging understanding.

Part 1. The first step in Part 1 of the data analysis revolved around analyzing the interview notes and commentaries, the observations notes, and my reflections to generate an initial understanding of the data (Wolcott, 1994). Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007) call this expanding interpretive possibilities. I began by manually coding the data, adding new codes as they emerged from multiple readings. This resulted in many codes, some descriptive and some active, such as: *communal*, *setting boundaries*, *maintaining the community*, *acting compassionately*, *being unaware*, *caring for others*, *avoiding change*, and *having fun*. To make sense of the data collected I created broad categories: what the colonies looked like, what their central characteristics were, what activities were taking place within these CBEs, instances of entrepreneurial action (e.g., idea generation, opportunity recognition, opportunity development, opportunity exploitation, opportunity exit). As the importance of the location, material form, and meaning of these colonies surfaced in the data, the main theme of place emerged. I engaged in a

data reduction exercise and from my initial codes I began to develop more specific subcategories, such as *isolated*, *communal*, *secure*, *maintaining boundaries*, and *encouraging social collisions*. I compiled the examples, quotes, and observations that I felt supported each theme to use as an intermediate basis for my data analysis.

In the second step of Part 1 I analyzed the data, trying to understand the connections. It was at this point that I recognized two important points that contributed to the choices I made in regards to the direction I would take in the next phase of my analysis. I recognized how important certain central characteristics of these Hutterite places were and how the Hutterites were working hard to ensure that they maintained and reinforced these key characteristics. Considering this, I chose to make these characteristics and practices the focus of further analysis because they emerged as consistently important themes in my findings.

Part 2. Part 2 of the analysis involved selecting and shaping the interpretation (Locke, 2001). In this phase I followed contemporary inductive, qualitative methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Maitlis, 2005; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013) and began a process of *panning in* to identify "essential features and the systematic description of interrelationships among them—in short, how things work" (Wolcott, 1994, p. 12). This is an iterative process of working the data, discarding less workable interpretations and honing those that are more plausible. It also involves considering how the interpretation fits (or does not fit) with the extant literature. A guiding question here is, "What is this a case of?" (Becker, 1986).

While my data resonated with the idea of an entrepreneurial posture, as described in the corporate habitual entrepreneurship literature, it also differed in that it was not business practices that appeared to be creating this entrepreneurial posture. Rather, my analysis of the data led me to connect the social practices within the colony to the community's entrepreneurial posture and

habitual communal enterprising. Thus, in Part 2 of the analysis, the importance of certain social practices for both reinforcing the colony's central characteristics *and* promoting and sustaining habitual communal enterprising became clearer. I developed a tentative model that showed how the characteristics of these places encouraged certain practices that promoted habitual communal entrepreneurship. Yet, in the course of trying to describe this model I realized that this was not yet adequately explaining what was happening within these CBEs. Backtracking, and in ongoing conversation with my advisors, I drew out how certain practices that were sustaining entrepreneurship resulted from various practices that were designed to maintain the place's central characteristics. I realized that my exploration of the practices as a single set failed to yield the more comprehensive explanation that I was trying to develop. Recognizing this led me to establish two themes regarding practices: (1) place-sustaining practices and (2) entrepreneurship-sustaining practices. For both sets of practices, I established a set of first-order concepts directly from the data and then aggregated these into second-order themes and aggregate dimensions. For example, for each of the place-sustaining practices, I recognized a set of first-order concepts taken directly from the data, which I then aggregated to second-order themes, such as *establishing a comfort zone* and *predicting potential problems*. I then theoretically aggregated to a dimension, such as *encouraging social collisions*. Figure 1 shows an example of the data structure for the place-sustaining practice of *providing a higher purpose* and the entrepreneurship-sustaining practice of *pervasive widespread tinkering*. Through this process I was able to clarify, hone, and refine my grounded theorizing.

   Part 3. Part 3, the final phase of this description of my analysis, deals with describing the writing of this ethnography and the rhetorical choices I have made. This is particularly important when describing the approach that I took because, as Denzin & Lincoln (1994) suggest, in an

ethnography the writing is as important as the fieldwork. Yet, as Van Maanen (2010) highlights, "When it comes to writing, the literature in organizational studies and elsewhere in the social sciences is relatively silent…for example, how ethnographers get from field notes to monographs…is rarely discussed" (p. 241). My challenge, at this stage, became how to present the data in a way that conveyed to the reader a sense of the personalized sensory experience gained from extended immersion in the field (Cunliffe, 2010; Yanow et al., 2012) while still capturing the scholarly effort that went in to analyzing the data. Successfully theorizing from my ethnographic data required that I learn the art and science of *textwork* (Van Maanen, 2011); that is, how to turn my ethnographic descriptions, narratives, or tales (Geertz, 1973; Langley, 1999; Van Maanen, 1988) into experiences accessible to readers.

My task became how to convey my experiences from being immersed in the field to someone who was not there while providing sufficient scholarly evidence for the concepts I wished to illuminate (Jarzabkowski & Bednarek, 2014). To facilitate this, in my findings, I have included small stories or vignettes (Emerson, Fretx, & Shaw, 2011; Humphreys & Watson, 2009). Based strongly on field notes, these stories are not always a straight transcription of hand-written notes. In some cases, I have slightly modified the language in order to better convey the setting and scene in which these notes refer. Within these stories I have attempted to develop characters, vividly describe the scene, and invoke emotion (e.g., DeRond, 2009; Kaplan, 2011; Michaud, 2014)—while being careful to retain the *key truths* about how things happened or worked (Humphreys & Watson, 2009). Presenting my data in this way, while remaining true to the field experience, allowed me "to convey my findings in a way that straight transcripts and unembellished excerpts could not achieve" (Jarzabkowski & Bednarek, 2014, p. 276). My goal in doing this has been to generate for readers at least a partial sense of being there.

Evaluating the Ethnography's Trustworthiness

A controversial aspect of any ethnography is, "Can it be trusted?" Below I review and apply the evaluative criteria of authenticity, plausibility, and criticality suggested by Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993) to determine if my ethnography can be deemed trustworthy.

In order to be deemed trustworthy, an ethnography must be perceived as authentic. *Authenticity* "concerns the ability of the text to convey the vitality of everyday life encountered by the researcher in the field setting" (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993, p. 599). To meet this criterion, I spent a substantial amount of time in the field. With more time in the field, the researcher can develop a deeper contextual understanding about local histories, relationships, and culture (Foster, Scudder, Colson, & Kemper, 1979), capture more complex information, self-correct for information-processing errors, and stimulate new sense making (Agar, 1986). To further meet the criterion of authenticity, I undertook participative role relationships in order to make data a joint production of the perspective of outsiders and insiders and the interaction between these perspectives. Other strategies I have incorporated include depicting the disciplined analytical procedures employed, describing myself as the researcher, and attempting to qualify personal biases (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993).

An ethnography must also be perceived as plausible in order to be deemed trustworthy. Determining the study's *plausibility* requires considering whether a reader of this research sees some convergence between the text and the reader's experience or familiarity with its content. In other words, "Is the research contributing to theory through the generation of findings that make sense to others familiar with this area of inquiry?" This is addressed by posing the question, "Does the story make sense to me as a reader…given where I am coming from?" (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993, p. 600). To answer this question in the affirmative requires the research to

48

address a common concern—to link in some way to the personal and disciplinary background and lived experience of the reader (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993). In addition, whether or not the ethnography is plausible depends on whether it makes a contribution to extant understandings. A plausible ethnographic account is simultaneously different from readers' knowledge of the subject matter yet bridges this gap by emphasizing the text's ability to convey to readers a sense of familiarity and relevance as well as distinction and innovation (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993). In short, the theory generated must be both familiar to other researchers in the field yet make a contribution to extant understandings—neither being too fantastic to believe nor too insignificant to worry about (Germann, 2006). To wrestle such rich findings into neat and tidy boxes and arrows was a difficult and constraining process. As I have tried to convey in my methods section, I engaged in an intense process of data analysis, with key insights emerging through sustained effort (Agar, 1991; Seidel, Kjolseth, & Seymour, 1988). Specifically, through the process of continual refinement and clarification, my analysis pointed to the importance of place and how a place perspective can inform understanding of habitual communal entrepreneurship.

Finally, in order to be deemed trustworthy, an ethnography must also achieve criticality, which emphasizes the text's ability to make readers to reconsider their assumptions and ideas:

> The criticality dimension of convincing…offers the greatest potential for ethnography to become provocative to its readers. By explicitly incorporating criticality into their work, researchers develop written accounts that not only convey a rich and complex understanding of the members' world, and add to existing knowledge in the field, but which also provides a cultural critique…of the assumptions underlying the prevailing theories and lines of thought in organization studies. (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993, p. 600)

Jumping the criticality bar requires an ethnography to provoke its readers and "challenge conventional thought and to reframe the way in which organizational phenomena are perceived

49

and studied" (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993, p. 600). As Weick (1999) notes, theories that matter are those that move us—that stir our emotions. As stated in the data analysis section, to convey my findings I reworked my field notes into small stories (Emerson et al., 2011; Humphreys & Watson, 2009) in spots adding additional language in order to better convey the setting and scene to which these notes refer. Within these stories I have attempted to develop characters, vividly describe the scene, and invoke emotion (e.g., De Rond, 2009; Kaplan, 2011; Michaud, 2014; Orr, 1996; Rouleau, 2005). In this dissertation I strove to develop a written account that conveys a rich and complex understanding of the Hutterite community world, adds to existing knowledge about community-based enterprises, and challenges prevailing theories and lines of thought regarding the conditions that foster habitual entrepreneurship. Presenting my data in this way, while remaining true to the field experience, allowed me to achieve criticality.

Table 1: Description of CBE sites

Colony	1	2	3	4	5
Founded	Pre 1920	2000	1950	1965	1948
Members	160-170	80-90	140-150	70-80	120-130
Number of daughter colonies	4 with 1 underway	0	1	2	3
Agricultural business ventures	12,000 acre grain farm, 600 sow farrow-to-finish operation, 14,000 layer quota, 75 dairy quota, feed mill	20,000 acre grain farm, 200 hog quota, layer and chicken quota, beef operation	10,000 acre grain farm, hog quota, layer and dairy operation	12,000 acre grain, 10,000 layer quota, 60 hog quota, 600 cow-calf operation, dairy	8,000 acres, hog operation 650 farrow to finish, 9,500 layers, dairy cows, 400 hogs, 200 geese
Newly established ventures (within last 5 years)	Geese, book store, feed mill, soybean roaster, truck parts, measurers	Recycling plant, drum and barrel cleaning	Chicken feeders, laser cutting, cabinet making	Chinese restaurant supplier, hanging baskets, greenhouse, custom meat shop	Stackable rocking chairs, metal fabrication, flat sheet laser cutting, tube laser cutting
Opportunities in development	Pheasants, straw spreader, new colony	wind power	BBQs, water filtration	Metal furniture, new dairy air filtration, new greenhouse crafts	CNC forming, custom designed parts and equipment, noodle machine

Table 1: Description of CBE sites studied

Table 2: Summary of Data Collection Activities

Data Sources	Collection	Output	1	2	3	4	5
Observations as researcher/ volunteer within colony	316 hours on colony + 14 hours in annual meetings	4 books (50 pages each)	72 hours	24 hours	80 hours	120 hours	20 hours
Informal interviews with colony members	19 interviews	30 pages	5	1	3	8	2
Semi-formal interviews with colony members	13 interviews	40 pages	3	2	4	2	2
Semi-formal interviews with external informants	5 interviews	65 transcribed pages + 10 hand written pages	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Various historical texts, religious scriptures, and the ordinance letters from 1962-2009	n/a	162 pages	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 2: Summary of Data Collection Activities

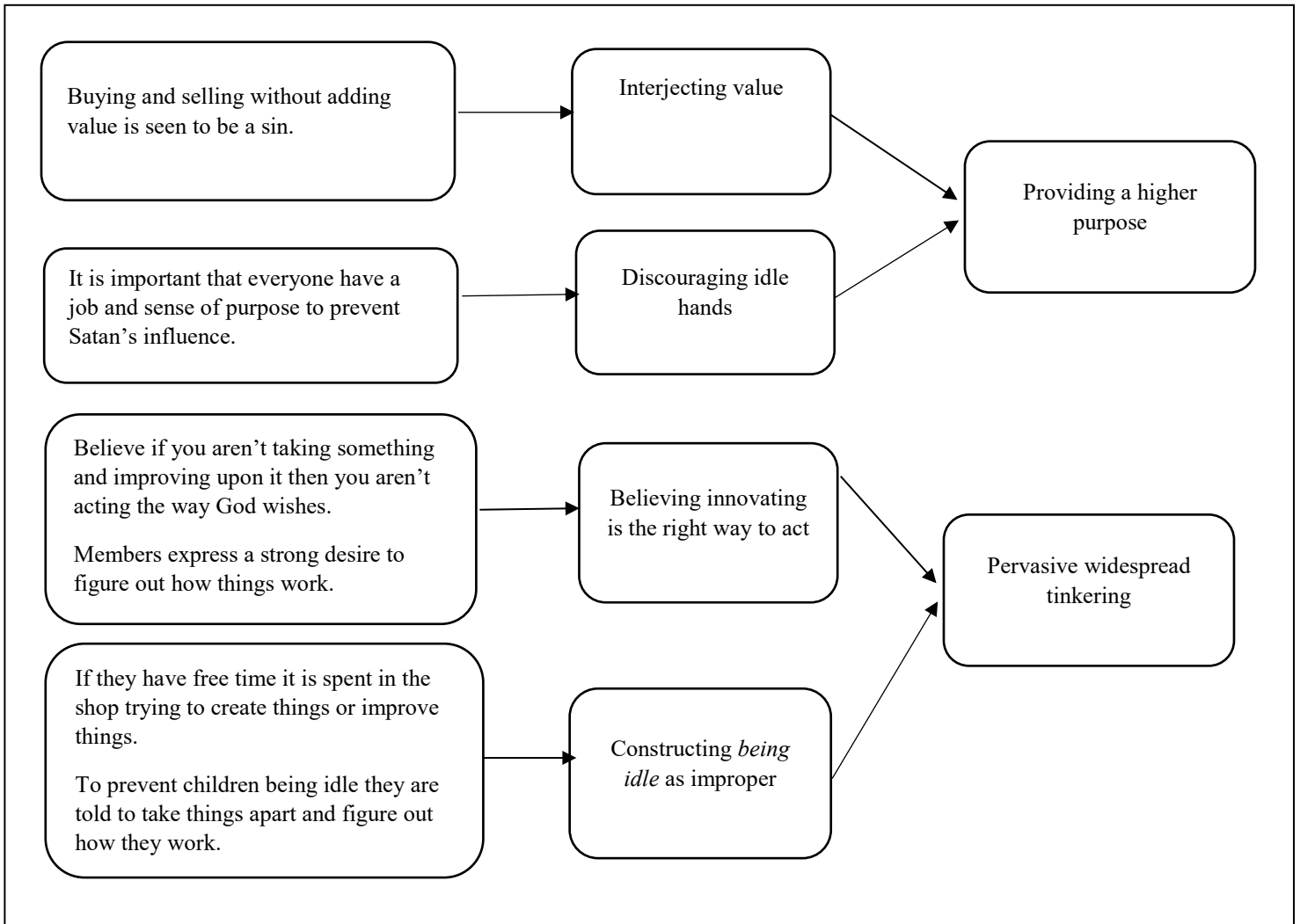**Figure 1: Data structure for the place-based practices**

Figure 1: Example data structure

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

...These steps in entrepreneurialism they are taking, this trying of new things, in many ways their place encourages it…. For 500 years they have passed down skills with regards to craftsmanship and they have built the colonies into places which are conducive to entrepreneurship. (E1)

As the above epigraph suggests, and as shown through my fieldwork, the Hutterian Brethren colonies investigated for my dissertation are *places* in which new business ideas, products, and ventures are continuously being introduced and refined within the community's existing social structure. This chapter presents the more detailed findings from my ethnographic research, organized as follows.

I start by describing the key early insights that emerged in my early fieldwork which directed my study. I then summarize the findings pertaining to the first question that guided my data analysis: What are the key characteristics of places that are recognized for their habitual communal enterprising? Here I elaborate how the Hutterite colonies that I studied are isolated, communal, small, and secure. I then summarize the findings related to the second guiding research question: How do these place-based characteristics help to nurture and sustain habitual communal enterprising? I identify and elaborate two sets of practices in this section. The first is a set of *entrepreneurship-sustaining practices,* comprised by the activities of 'pervasive tinkering', 'caring about others', 'provoking', and 'normalizing failure'. The second is a set of *place-sustaining practices,* comprised by the activities of 'maintaining boundaries', 'encouraging social collisions', 'providing familial wellbeing', and 'promoting higher purpose'. A key insight is that the latter set of practices, which are ostensibly enacted to *maintain* the community's traditions, help enable the former set of practices that are more directly associated with the recurrent introduction of *new* business ideas, products, and ventures within these CBEs. In the

Hutterite Brethren context, then, habitual communal entrepreneurship appears to be a by-product of community maintenance.

Early Insights

When I began fieldwork, I was overwhelmed. Everything seemed interesting and important. Three initial observations helped to guide my thinking and subsequently direct my study. First, I noted that the Hutterites I interviewed told me their stories from the perspective of "we." In interviews the central character was a collective actor, not an individual hero. Innovations, entrepreneurship, and success were always attributed to the colony, not to any one individual. An illustrative example comes from an interview with a Field Boss:

> *I believe that we will, we will survive. We are people of adaption from the 1500s. As long as we can work together, we will succeed. And so today we, in our own farm, you know, we diversify. We are adding value to produce that we produce. Okay? For example we're de-boning meat. We're smoking meat, we're making sausages and starting to market. I believe, and another route we're going, we're going raising poultry that's drug and hormone free. And we have niche markets. (C4I1)*

The abundance of data that used '*we*' and references to their collective approach led me to believe that an individual-level approach was inappropriate for capturing the dynamics within these Hutterite colonies.

Second, as alluded to in the description of the Hutterian Brethren in Chapter 3, the Hutterian Brethren remain committed to the Hutterian principles that were formulated in the 1500s. The Hutterites vocalized a strong desire to maintain their commitment to these principles. Even though the development of transportation, the dramatic increase in the quality of roads, rural electricity, and the development of telecommunication has exposed these colonies to the secular world on a frequent basis, I noted how dedicated these Hutterite colonies were to maintaining their Hutterite principles, values, institutions, and Old Order ways. Hutterite

informants pointed to corollaries between modern trends and individualism and they expressed

the view that modernizing and acculturating were the seeds of cultural destruction. My data

captured many of these sentiments, such as:

> *In the last 10 years we do more business with the outside world, we travel more, and this affects us. We need to isolate ourselves more if we wish to survive as Hutterites in the future. A balance needs to be kept between advancing technology and our Hutterite values. Change can be positive but the cultural impact needs to be thought through. (C5I3)*

> *We have to work hard to stay true to our beliefs. If we aren't careful we'll cease to exist. (C2I1)*

The abundance of data that referenced their desire to maintain their way of life led me to realize

that this was a key goal of these Hutterite colonies. Furthermore, in interviews it was clear that

they recognized that maintaining the stability of the colony was a social accomplishment that

needed to be supported by certain practices. The large quantity of observations and quotes that

referred to the importance of maintaining their ways led me to believe that the practices they were

employing to sustain these places were playing an important role.

Third, I noted that it did not seem to be their business practices or the pursuit of typical

interests, such as economic wealth and materialism, that were driving their habitual

entrepreneurial activity. When looking at my data, I noted that many of the emerging themes

were about the social context and characteristics of these CBEs. I recorded that these CBEs were

not just organizations where members went to work; these CBEs were where members lived,

played, grew up, got married, and raised their families. I noted how when a dinner bell rang out

across the colony registering mealtime, no one punched in or out of work. There were no absence

sheets, no vacation tracking. Work lives and family lives on the colony blended inextricably and

all action was intertwined in the collective social structure. Observations from one of my

Hutterite colony visits illustrate this:

Observation notes: *I am visiting on the colony with the Field Boss, Paul. As we chat in Paul's living room his wife enters and plops Paul's one-year-old grandson on the floor. A few minutes later Peter (the poultry boss) wanders in followed by another Hutterite man. They grab chairs and no reason is offered as to why they have walked into Paul's house. Talk turns to how 1,200 chickens were butchered today and a delivery will be made in to town tomorrow. They wonder who wants to take the trip to town. Two more of Paul's grandsons come running in and plunk down on the floor in the middle of the room. They discuss their newest chicken market—selling to a number of Chinese restaurants. (C4)*

I observed that entrepreneurial action was oftentimes not initiated at work during work time; rather, at home or during play time, which seemed to be a function of how the Hutterites inhabited their community-based places. I was not observing formal business meetings in which strategies and quarterly and annual targets were discussed. I was not observing individual members being enticed to try and innovate with the possibilities of bonuses, raises, and promotions. I was not observing actors viewing entrepreneurial opportunities as a wealth-creation activity. I was not observing leaders influencing members to manage resources strategically in order to emphasize advantage-seeking behavior. I began to think that what was important was the very fact that the observations *lacked* such data. My observations were entirely different. I had noted how ideas for new products were tossed around in the evening when sitting out on the lawn. I observed how a new product emerged because younger members were trying to look after their grandparents. In the morning meetings of the Front Bench (management team), I observed that discussions revolved around who needed to go into town that day and how to assign vehicles and rides, who was feeling ill or infirm and needed care, the weather, and the upcoming wedding. This realization led me to shift my gaze toward the social dynamics within these colonies and on how the everyday social processes and practices within these places reinforced repeated acts of entrepreneurship.

I began to sense that all of this was, somehow and importantly, connected to their entrepreneurial activity. Considering this, and after developing, exploring, and evaluating the

utility of several ways of presenting my findings, I arrived at the framework I present below.

This framework draws on my ethnographic data to generate a grounded theory of: (1) the

characteristics of places recognized for their habitual community-based enterprising, and (2) how

these characteristics encourage and promote repeated acts of communal entrepreneurship.

Place-Based Characteristics of the Hutterite Communities

        Isolation. The following observation note helps to convey the first key characteristic of

the Hutterite colonies that I studied—their isolation:

> Observation notes: *As I get ready for my first visit to this colony I admit to myself I am
> nervous. Would they really open up to an outsider and allow me access behind the scenes
> of their community? Also, I am unsure of how exactly to get to this colony. After 60
> minutes I turn off the major highway onto the secondary road that takes me north. I lose
> my cell reception. It is funny in this day and age how agitating it is to lose reception and
> be out-of-touch. I cross a river that has flooded out and the water is coming to about 2
> feet from the road. I think, if it rains much today I might not get back out without a
> canoe! A panicked thought flashes through my head that nobody really knows where I
> am. Another 40 minutes of driving and I realize I have to go to the bathroom but since
> there is nothing around I figure I'd better just pull off and find a tree.*
>   *I'm now being told by my GPS to turn at the correction line road so I do and
> instantly regret my decision to save $30 by renting the compact car as my car bottoms
> out on the big ridge of gravel that has built up along the middle of this road. I don't want
> to have to try and return the car missing parts off the bottom so I need to drive slow and
> hug the side of the road. According to my GPS I have only 13 km till I get to the colony. I
> drive the 13 km and arrive at a field of wheat....hmmm, I had wondered if that was going
> to happen. Luckily the landscape is very flat so I figure if I drive around for a bit I will
> likely be able to spot the colony, assuming I am at least within five miles of it. I turn north
> at the next range road and in the distance I see a large shop and a huge row of bins. It's
> too far off to say for certain but I suspect it is a Hutterite colony. Sure enough as I get
> closer I can tell I'm right. (C3)*

        Analyzing my discussions with Hutterite elders helped me to understand that because the

Hutterite religious-ideological framework is one which supports separation from the world,

rejection of existing churches, noncooperation with worldly authorities, rejection of civil duties,

and social isolation, the Hutterites choose to create and maintain places that are isolated.

Through further discussions with Hutterite ministers and after studying their religious texts, I

understood that because the Hutterites wish to be "people of God," they isolate their

communities. Their *Confession of Faith,* which serves as the Hutterites central resource for

theological grounding and guidance, says:

> It is clear that God does not want his people to associate with the heathen in their
> disorderly conduct, nor take part in their ceremonies, nor to go to places where
> they practice idolatry. What the heathen seek is different from what the faithful
> seek. (Reidemann,1565, p.162)

and

> We have now, through God's grace, presented the truth about those points which
> are questioned. First, God desires to have a separate people, holy, blameless,
> unblemished, and without stain or wrinkle. We see how God himself divides and
> separates the devout from the wicked, as he will also do at the end-time.
> (Riedemann, 1565, p. 229)

Further fieldwork revealed just how geographically, culturally, legally, and religiously

isolated these Hutterite colonies were. First, in terms of geographic isolation, as alluded to in the

opening observation, these Hutterite colonies are located away from major settlements and

transportation routes and accessible only by unpaved roads. Hutterite informants conveyed in

interviews that even they sometimes have trouble finding unfamiliar colonies because the actual

colony may be miles from its postal box address.

An informant explained that they consider it advantageous to maintain some distance

from urban settlements and major transportation routes so that the colony can remain socially

isolated from the secular world and its negative influences. In an interview an elder explained

that today they chose geographical and social isolation because they heed their history, which

suggests that back in the 1600s in Moravia, the Hutterites almost disappeared because they

acculturated. According to another elder, history shows that their ancestors' social involvement

and growing business and integration with the outside world nearly led to the downfall of the

Hutterites. Daily contact with "the outside world," this informant explained, brought with it

greed and the erosion of communal practices. Therefore, today's Hutterites isolate themselves in

order to prevent the outside world's ideals and privatization from making inroads into Hutterite

life. As much as possible, they deliberately refuse to participate in the affairs of the outside

world.

Second, observations and interviews captured how they culturally isolated themselves by

speaking Hutterisch, their own distinct language. Use of the Internet is banned (with some

accommodations). Additionally, having their own schools located right on the colony grounds

allows the Hutterites to isolate their children and control what they learn and the values and

norms to which they are exposed. Field observations and interviews made evident that the

Hutterites place less value on the outside world's education system. While they want their

children to have a rudimentary understanding of how things work in the outside society, they do

not believe it is important to nurture patriotism or prepare their children for professional

vocations. Nor do they want to introduce their children to controversial issues or too many forms

of creative expression. This was made clear in an interview with the Hutterite German teacher on

colony 3, when he spoke with me about why his colony has recently decided to train their own

Hutterite members to be teachers:

> We get concerned about the emphasis that "English" teachers place on issues and
> the individual and competitive attitude they instill. A number of us believe that
> "English" teachers unintentionally prepare children's minds for rebellious
> thought and behavior and they teach individualism. Their outside school system is built
> on competition and striving to be the highest achievers. This is not our way. By
> training our own Hutterite teachers we can make sure our values and beliefs are
> taught to our children. (C3I1)

Third, fieldwork captured the legal isolation of these Hutterites colonies. While they obey

the laws of their host society, they have their own internal legal system, including minister

counselling, degrees of shunning, and expulsion for those who violate norms. Fourth,

observations and interviews revealed the Hutterites' religious isolation. As mentioned when

describing the research setting, one of the main principles of the Hutterian theology, which

differentiates them from other Anabaptist groups, is the demand for total communal life, to

achieve full community of goods, and to waive any personal property in favour of community

ownership.

Communal. Sharing of all property is a key component of Hutterite life. Hutterites waive

any rights to personal property in favor of what they refer to as *community of goods*. As one

community member explained:

> *What separates Hutterites from other faiths is the community goods in which all material possessions are held in common. So I personally don't have any property. Neither does anybody else. Nobody owns nothing. So um all members of the colony are provided equally and nothing is kept for personal gain. We do not have bank accounts and, you know, (unintelligible) distributed upon need solely. Whatever you need, it's always there whether it's clothing or food or (unintelligible). Do I believe that every person in this day and age could live communally? I don't think so. But for those of us here that believe in life after death, okay we believe in resurrection and, you know, heaven or hell. This is kind of a humorous thing. We ask people, do you think that after life, if you're going to heaven, that you will have private property? (C4I1)*

The frequency with which *we* was used by participants can be seen in the quote above,

illuminating the Hutterites' communal approach as important. As one colony minister told me,

"*All of God's gifts have been given not so they be kept but so they be shared with each other*."

Through fieldwork I learned that one of the key aspects of the Hutterian ideology involves

Gelassenheit, roughly translated as "giving in" or "giving up":

> At the beginning God ordained that people should own nothing individually but should have all things in common with each other. However, by taking what they should have left, and by leaving what they should have taken, people have gained a possession of things and have become more accustomed to accumulating things and hardened in doing so. Whoever is to be renewed into the likeness of God must abandon all that leads away from God, that is grasping and collecting material possessions. (Riedemann, 1565, pp. 119-120)

> The law commands that no one should covet someone else's possessions, that is,

set his heart upon them or claim them as his own. Therefore, whoever will adhere unwaveringly to Christ and follow him must give up acquiring things and holding property. Christ himself says "None of you can become my disciple if you do not give up your possessions." (Riedemann, 1565, p. 121)

This means that in order to be Hutterite, and thus one of God's chosen people protected within the *ark of salvation* (i.e., the colony), a person must give up and surrender their individual selves to the community. Analysis of the Hutterites' *Confession of Faith* helps to understand that they believe salvation is a gift which will be bestowed upon those who are faithfully participating in community of goods. The Hutterites believe that living a Christian way of life the way God intended means applying the concept of community of goods to all things spiritual and material. Through interviews I learned that abandoning community life implies a rejection of a central tenet of the Hutterite doctrine, which is why informants suggested that individuals who have left the colony can no longer properly be called Hutterite.

Further fieldwork captured just how communal the Hutterites' approach was. Observations noted that the sharing of property lies at the center of their being and the structure, organization, and management of the colonies is designed to support this. My observations captured how these communities are designed to afford equality. Every home is laid out in a similar fashion to all other homes. The homes are clean and sparse. Coffee pots, fridges with a few items, and sometimes a burner for cooking are in the small kitchen areas of each home. Families live together in these homes but all meals are eaten together with the rest of the colony members in the communal dining hall, located in the middle of the colony. I was told that homes are laid out to allow equal access to the communal dining hall, school, and church. Each home has an entrance out the front and back. The front entrances face inwards to the central yard's lawn, which is crisscrossed by walkways. All the walkways lead occupants onto a central path, which leads to the communal dining hall. Additionally, these communities' churches, schools,

and communal laundries are located close to the communal dining hall. Additionally, every

member receives the same monthly allowance. The ladies on the colony are each provided an

allotment of cloth and material for sewing her family's clothes. What also stood out when

observing these colonies was the lack of private space. These CBEs had very few offices.

Business is conducted and discussed communally in living rooms, outside between the houses,

and in the school. There are no assistants controlling access to management. There are no private

boardrooms.

Small. Hutterite colonies prefer to keep the number of members under 150. As one

community member explained:

> *We have learned that large colonies don't do well. There isn't enough jobs and
> responsibilities. Everyone likes to feel like they matter and have a purpose and
> that is impossible to do when you have too many people. When we keep our
> colony size under 150 there are less problems, everyone knows each other well
> and is comfortable with each other. (C2I2)*

The above quote alludes to another important characteristic that emerged in the

analysis—the small size of these CBEs. I learned that the communal approach demanded within

this group operates best, the Hutterites believe, when the colony's population does not exceed

150 people. Every time the population approaches this threshold they split off a new daughter

colony, a practice they treat as a law. The oldest site in my sample of Hutterite communities, had

branched off four times and, while I was there, was preparing for their fifth split. Interviews

helped me to understand that these Hutterite places are kept small in order to minimize hierarchy,

ensure control, and maintain close connections between colony members. Colony members

expressed the belief that relationships do not do well when the colony gets too big because it

becomes too difficult to provide jobs with enough measure of responsibility and enough

opportunity to exercise independent judgment. Informants compared the colony to a beehive and

63

expressed the belief that the colony works best when all members know their roles and carry them out to the best of their ability.

Secure. This observation note helps capture the fourth key characteristic of these Hutterite colonies—their sense of security:

> Observation notes: *Chris and I are finishing up our pie and I'm starting to think about driving home. It's 7:30 in the evening. Over the speaker system that connects all the homes I hear Martha's voice: "Isiah come home now." Chris' two sons are nowhere to be seen. Chris says: "I put my foot down last week and told the kids that everyone needed to be home by 8:00 and in bed by 8:30 now that school is starting back up so they should be running in here soon. I haven't seen them since 7:00 this morning…. They will be out running around the bushes, I imagine. Likely causing trouble (laughs). I don't know what it is about little boys that makes them so focused on trapping and hunting things. For a pacifist people we sure raise kids that like to hunt and try to kill things." (laughing again)*

The above observation note is one of many that captured the security that I observed within these colonies. The wealth of similar observations led me to assess this as another important characteristic of these Hutterite CBEs. Further fieldwork captured just how secure these places were. The children run freely from home to home. Doors are not locked and no one knocks. Parents often do not know exactly where their children are. The sense of security goes beyond physical safety. Everyone is fed and clothed and has a bed to sleep in. A book written about the Hutterites' life 65 years ago accurately describes the collective security that I observed within these places:

> Crime, either against our society or their own, is very rare. Divorce is unknown. Almost all members of the Hutterite society have extraordinary mental health and freedom from mental conflicts. Suicide has never occurred. Insanity is almost non-existent. Lonesomeness and friendlessness are practically unknown. As compared with our society, the Hutterite community is an island of certainty and security. (Eaton & Weil, 1951, p. 332)

From this one can get a sense of the security that is provided within these Hutterian Brethren colonies. I noted how children ran out the doors of their homes in the morning and were

often not seen again for hours, yet no parent worried. I was told by an informant how he never

worried about where his next meal was coming from or how it would be paid for. I was told by

another informant that he could try new things because he did not need to worry that if it failed

his family would not have a roof over their heads.

To summarize, the data to this point reveal that the focal Hutterite communities of my

study were isolated in various ways from the rest of the world, small in size, communal in

approach, and able to provide a sense of security for their members. In the following section I

describe the more specific practices within these communities that seemed to be promoting and

encouraging habitual communal entrepreneurship.

Place-Based Practices Associated with Habitual Communal Entrepreneurship

*They have a social structure that enables them to be entrepreneurial. It gives them
the desire and the ability to change things and try things. They embrace challenge
and overcome what outside the colony is seen as impossible. (E4)*

*They don't have the mainstream business characteristics that you think would
make them entrepreneurial. I don't even think they are all that good at* business. *I
cringe when I see the way money is handled on this colony. But it's not about the
money. They don't think in a regular business-minded way. (E2)*

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, and as the quotes above suggest, my data

led me to conclude that the characteristics of these places, and the desire to maintain these

characteristics, encouraged social practices that then promoted and sustained habitual communal

enterprising within these Hutterite colonies. A more fine-grained examination of the data led me

to differentiate between two types of practices: (1) entrepreneurship-sustaining practices, and (2)

community-sustaining practices. I begin by describing the activities that I coded as

entrepreneurship-sustaining practices then follow with a discussion of how the community-

sustaining practices encouraged and supported these entrepreneurship-sustaining activities.

Entrepreneurship-sustaining practices. When analyzing the data to identify the key characteristics of these CBEs that were repeatedly engaging in habitual entrepreneurship, I also identified a number of practices being driven by the isolated, communal, small, and secure characteristics of these places. I repeatedly observed within these Hutterite colonies the practices of: (1) pervasive widespread tinkering, (2) constantly considering the needs of others, (3) regular provoking (oppositing), and (4) normalizing failure. I noted that these practices were influencing the repeated recognition, development, and exploitation of opportunities and sustaining entrepreneurship. I will explain these practices, and how they promoted and sustained parts of the entrepreneurial process, in more detail. Additional supporting data are provided in Table 3.

Pervasive tinkering. First, I observed that the entrepreneurial process was often triggered when members began to tinker. As a result of these places being isolated and small there was simply less to do. As a result of these places being communal and secure they had access to tools and resources (e.g., lumber, steel). These characteristics of place encouraged pervasive and widespread tinkering within these Hutterite colonies. For example, tinkering in the shops in the evening resulted in new furniture, new parts for machinery, new latches for gates, and new ways to barbeque. Tinkering by the women resulted in new recipes and new crafts. Tinkering in the field and barns resulted in new ways to grow crops, new ways to finish hogs, and new animal shelters. Many of my notes contained observations that conveyed a passion for tinkering and innovating, such as; "I sensed the excitement about this new idea," "The boys thought it was fun to try and invent something," and "They are so passionate about trying to invent things that improve." When talking about why they had come up with their latest idea, members spoke about how everyone within the colony had an eye out for inventions and innovations:

> *Anyone can turn around and spit on the floor, what's fun, what's exciting is to turn around and try to figure out how to spit on the ceiling. (C3I6)*

66

We like to tinker around with things, take them apart and see how they can be made better. It's a fun way to pass the time. (C1I6)

I had time to spare so I started playing around with the beeswax. It was just an enjoyable way to pass the time. I'm the beekeeper as well as working in the school. I started to think about how I could turn it into chapstick, for your lips. I'd seen those chapsticks and I wanted to figure out if I could make them with our beeswax. I played around with it. Now we sell it at the farmer's markets and it's selling really well. (C3I8)

An excerpt from my observation notes captures how members were always tinkering, how this made them be always on the lookout for new opportunities, and how they were alert to ways to innovate and invent.

Observation notes: *The crops are ready to be sprayed and one of the herbicide reps has stopped in to drop off a pump that Joe needs in order to spray the canola. The rep opens the tailgate of her truck and says to Joe, "Here's the pump, will it work?" Joe answers quickly in his gruff way I've come to appreciate, "If it doesn't we'll just invent a way to make it work." And with that John and Darius jump up on the back of the truck, pull the pump out and haul it off….*

(A week later) I'm back at the colony and I see John so I ask him how the pump worked out. "It took a bit of fixing and fiddling but we got it to work. We always do," he replies. "You know I think we probably made it better than it was before, what do you think, should we start to build them and sell them? You're the one that wants to know how we come up with new stuff!" (C4)

From the data I was able to see how this practice of pervasive widespread tinkering encouraged and led to continuous opportunity recognition.

Considering the needs of others. The second practice that I commonly observed within these colonies was the practice of considering the needs of others. As a result of these places being communal and small, members knew each other well with many having familial connections. Thus the small size and communal form of these places created an environment where everyone cared about and considered the needs of other members. Many Hutterite community members spoke of how they all looked out and cared for each other. Observations

67

helped to capture how members were accessible, receptive, and responsive to one another. Within these colonies I observed that members took a genuine interest in, and showed regard for, the other members' interests, qualities, and life circumstances.

Analysis of the data revealed how this practice of considering and actively responding to the needs of others led to opportunity recognition, development, and exploitation. Further analysis exposed how increased consciousness and compassion served as a powerful motivator of entrepreneurial action by compelling individuals to try and alleviate others' problems. An illustrative example is described in one of my observation notes:

> Observation notes: *Mike and I are heading onto the manufacturing floor. As we walk in I notice a funny looking chair in the corner of the entryway. I ask Mike about it: "It's a rocking chair! One day Steve and I were chatting with my Grandma and Auntie and they were saying how much they loved their rocking chairs. All the elders do. Then they started complaining that when they leave the house they can't take their rocking chairs. We want them to be comfortable. This started us thinking we should try and build stackable rocking chairs that would be easy to transport and move around. We played around with it out in the shop and that is the result (pointing to chair). They stack great and are easy to carry so now our elders can be more comfortable. Plus now we've started selling them. Some schools approached us and asked if we'd make them some. They say the rocking chairs are great to use in the classroom, with the kids who have A.D.D."* (C5)

The new product, in this example, was not triggered by individual self-interest or a desire for individual gain; rather, it was motivated by the enactment of a genuine interest in, and regard for, someone else's well-being and life circumstances. This new product was the result of 'unplanned collisions' with the needs of the colony's elders. Within this communal place, interacting with other members, determining that their needs were not being looked after, and then wanting to do something about it drove idea generation and development.

Other observations reinforced my perception that opportunities were being recognized and developed because members cared about others; that is, they were actively noticing and

68

trying to look after others' needs. This note describes how noticing the pain of another motivated

the development of a new venture:

> Observation notes: *Ben and I are in the basement underneath the communal kitchen where the colony has built a wine-making operation. It is one of Ben's pet projects. Huge plastic barrels line the outside walls of the room, each with a different label. Ben thinks we better test the wine to see how it's coming along. Ben reaches into a box and grabs an empty whiskey bottle, brushes off the dust, and hands it to me. I decide I'll test the cherry wine.*
>
> *As we sit testing, Ben starts to talk about Mark, a community member who works in the manufacturing shop: "Mark's oldest son left the colony a year ago. I think Mike's heart almost broke in two the day his son left the colony. It crushed him to see him leave. He's trying to get him back…. As long as he doesn't fall in love with some outside girl I bet he'll return. It would be great if we could get Mike's son back. It's pretty common to leave the colony for awhile, go sow some wild oats and see the outside world, but most of them come back. I hate seeing others' hearts broken when their children leave. That's why I think expanding into custom manufacturing is a good idea for the colony. It would create more jobs and hopefully help us get Mark's son back here. He could come back to a job in custom manufacturing. It would make Mark so happy." (C4)*

Another member spoke about a little product she and some of the other ladies in the community

had developed so that the boys from the barns would not dirty their mothers' floors when they

came in for coffee:

> Observation notes*: The older ladies were complaining about how much time they spend cleaning their floors when the boys come in with their dirty boots on…. "So I made these sliders (holds up these tiny little mats, slightly bigger than a boot). Now all the ladies leave these by their door and when the boys come in to grab a coffee or use the bathroom they can just slide around. It helps because the boys don't need to take off their boots and the ladies don't need to be constantly washing their floors. We've started taking them to the farmer's markets to sell and they are very popular." (C2I3)*

These findings support the conclusion that the practice of caring for others makes others' needs

recognized, triggering the entrepreneurial process. More specifically, when members become

engrossed in, and empathize with, the lived experiences and feelings of another, it encourages

opportunity recognition, development, and exploitation. As depicted above, my observations

captured numerous examples of inventing new products because Hutterite members actively

inquired about and then wanted to attend to the others' experiences, expressions, and problems.

After inventing these products to attend to the need of another, they then, often accidentally,

recognized that this product could be developed into something that the colony could market and

sell. Moreover, because members cared about each other they also were willing to provide

resources to one another in the form of feedback, information, interpretations, and advice, even if

they personally had nothing to gain. This too helped opportunities to get developed and

exploited.

     Provoking. The third practice that I commonly observed within these colonies was the

practice of provoking, which the Hutterites called 'oppositing'. As a result of these places being

small and secure, provoking and teasing were a common practice. I observed that this provoking

encouraged opportunity development and exploitation through a myriad of micro-moments such

as this:

> Observation notes: *We are sitting out on the porch after supper. It's a beautiful summer evening. I see Steve walking across the yard and Peter yells (in Hutterisch) to him. An exchange ensues and all the other boys start laughing then get up and follow Peter to the shop. John explains to me: "Steve's wife has got on him that something in her kitchen needs fixing so now Steve is off to build something for her. The boys were teasing him about how he's going to do it. Now they are all off to the shop to see if he can do it." (C4)*

> Observation notes*: We are sitting around before supper and Mark says to Nathan that he doesn't see how selling the new organic cleaner product will work. Nathan sits up and begins passionately defending the initiative (this opportunity had recently evolved from one in which the colony was going to sell wall-mounted units that produced cleaner to producing the cleaning product in bulk). They carry on back and forth, each provoking the other. After a few minutes Mark stops and turns to me and says: "Don't worry this is what we do. I've started calling it* oppositing each other. *We say things that get the other thinking. It helps work out the problems." (C3)*

My observations captured how this practice of provoking was an accepted and daily occurrence within these CBEs. Members did not get angry or upset when others challenged them to try and do something. The observations also captured how provoking helped push ideas forward. For example:

> Observation notes*: I am walking on to the shop floor and I hear laughter and cheering. Intrigued, I ask John what is going on, and we head the direction of the laughter: "The boys in the shop love to challenge each other to try and do things. It makes it fun. In the shop they love to challenge each other to see if it can be done faster. Sometimes a little competition can be a good thing, keeps the guys on their toes. We figured out how to assemble these stove doors faster because the boys were challenging each other to see who could do it the fastest. Now we have a method that is assembling these doors in half the time." (C3I6)*

I noted how fellow colony members have a way of provoking each other that encourages innovation and opportunity development:

> Observation notes: *Mike's cell phone rings and he picks it up and listens for a moment before I hear him say, "I don't give a shit if it didn't work the first time, figure it out, you can do it. Come up with another way." (C4I7)*

Observations such as these support the conclusion that this practice of provoking or challenging—opposing—others encourages opportunity development and exploitation and drives forward the entrepreneurial process. When members become provoked they are pushed to innovate and improve. While this process often starts just simply as fun, my data analysis captured how it often unintentionally resulted in the exploitation of new products and ventures.

   Normalizing failure*.* The fourth practice that I observed within these colonies was the practice of normalizing failure. As a result of these places being communal and secure, failure was an acceptable option. Within these communities my observations captured how many ideas, new products, and new ventures failed. They failed early and failed often, yet, failed without embarrassment or worry. Failure was a normal and acceptable practice. Informants commonly and in an off-hand accepting manner made mention of failed initiatives:

71

*If I have an idea I want to play with I can do it here. If it doesn't pan out its okay.
It doesn't mean my family won't have a roof over their head or food to eat. (C1I1)*

*So many ideas don't work out, but we learn from them, get back up and keep
trying. (C1I1)*

*I bet we fail 18 out of 20 times around here. Loss is life. It's no big deal. We learn
from it and it helps us to figure out what idea will work. We can look back and
say we know that didn't work so now what else should we do? (C3I6)*

*If you tried your best and it didn't work out of course we forgive that. It's no big
deal when something doesn't work out. It just means you might need to do
something differently next time. We have lots of failures. It's not a big deal.
Around here we always try new projects…some fail, some succeed. Those coconut
bags were no good at all, what a disaster, we only grew half as many tomatoes as
we usually do. Ah well, live and learn. (C4I6)*

I observed that Colony one's first prototype for their new straw spreader product, which

they told me was "way too heavy and a complete failure," sits proudly on display outside of the

blacksmith shop. This supports the idea that within these colonies failing was normal and a

socially acceptable practice. Hutterites within these colonies could try and fail and try again with

the benefit of the knowledge they gained from their prior failure. In interviews, several members

spoke of things they had attempted when they were children, how these attempts had failed but

how the colony and supported and encouraged these failed activities. Henry, for example, said:

*When I was younger I was really interested in motors. So I took one apart to play
around with it. Then of course I couldn't figure out how to put it back together.
But that's no big deal when you live here because there is always someone
around to ask for help. One of the older guys showed me how to do it. (C3I9)*

Failing was used as a teaching practice. As Benjamin, now the head of the colony's

manufacturing facility, relays in this story:

*When I was 18 I was assigned to do electrical work. I don't know why they chose
me exactly because at the time I barely knew the difference between a switch and
a plug. So the head electrician tells me I am to add the lights to the turkey barn
and leaves me to do it. I work so hard all day stringing the wire. At the end of the
day the head electrician comes back to check what I have done. I have worked so
hard. He takes a look and says, "Great job but now you are going to have to take*

72

all the wire back out and do it over again." I had confused the 3-wire and the 2-wire! I learned not to confuse the wires and it is something I've never forgot but I also learned something else. I learned that mistakes help you learn how to improve next time. On the colony we can think for ourselves and make decisions and try new projects without being worried that a mistake means we will be fired. (C3)

Importantly, the data analysis noted how this practice of normalizing failure helped to drive the entrepreneurial process. The practice of normalizing failure within these colonies meant that when an idea failed it did not call into question the belief that they were competent innovators and entrepreneurs. Informants discussed how if they failed then it just meant they needed to adapt and evolve and engage others in order to figure out how best to move forward. For example, at colony three they initially began working on what they perceived to be an opportunity to sell water filtration units that ionized water and turned it into a cleaning product. The original idea to build and sell small filtration units to hang on the wall in barns and grocery stores could be depicted as a failure. However, as they began to develop this opportunity they found they could not successfully sell these units. They took this in stride and began to discuss how to adapt. They discussed that the market for the organic cleaning product that these units produced was large and potentially (they felt) lucrative. By the end of my research they had learned from their failed experience trying to sell the filtration units and had adapted the opportunity. They were now successfully producing the cleaner on the colony and then putting it into barrels to sell.

Another example of how the practice of normalizing failure encourages entrepreneurial learning and helps push opportunities through the development process was observed on colony one. Watching and hearing the colony members discuss the development of their latest product, the 'spread-meister', helps to depict the power that normalizing failure has to push opportunities forward. As Aaron expressed:

> *Our first attempt at building a spread-meister was a flop. It was too heavy and bulky. We knew it could work but it would need to be made lighter. We had to go back to the drawing board. We weren't done but we needed to re-think some things.*

And, another series of observation notes captured how this colony learned from this failure and adapted:

> Observation notes: *In the months leading up to the launch various community members tinkered and played, and provided ideas. Many within the community have been involved in producing it. After their first failed attempt they headed over to a neighbor a few miles down the road from them who they knew was an engineer and asked him if he would help them to re-design the spread-meister so it was lighter. He agreed and the colony took what they learned from their first failed attempt and worked with him to redesign.*

Observations such as these support the conclusion that this practice of normalizing failure encourages the entrepreneurial process. Members expressed how they were comfortable with, and even expected to fail, and how doing so was an acceptable practice. Data analysis captured how this encouraged members to try new things and suggest new ideas, and how it encouraged entrepreneurial learning, which helped opportunities get pushed forward to exploitation.

To summarize, my data revealed that within these communities widespread tinkering, considering the needs of others, provoking, and normalizing failure were pervasive and common practices that encouraged these Hutterite colonies to repeatedly engage in the entrepreneurial process. However, while interesting, stopping here would leave the habitual communal entrepreneurship occurring within these CBEs only partially explained. Thus, the remainder of this findings chapter is dedicated to discussing the *place*-sustaining practices that I observed on the colonies and how they contributed to the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices associated with habitual communal enterprising.

Place-sustaining practices. While illuminating, identifying the key characteristics of these Hutterite places (i.e., isolated, communal, small, secure), and the key practices within them

that encourage the entrepreneurial process (i.e., tinkering, caring about others, provoking, normalizing failure) did not fully explain why and how these places have evolved into ones that encourage and sustain habitual communal enterprising. I knew there was more to the story and further data analysis was needed. This further analysis uncovered how these places were engaging in another set of practices: (1) maintaining boundaries, (2) encouraging social collisions, (3) providing familial wellbeing, and (4) fulfilling a higher purpose. From the analysis it became clear that, collectively, these practices were designed to help reinforce and maintain these colonies. However, my analysis uncovered another outcome of these practices: unintentionally, they were often promoting the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices underlying the habitual communal enterprising evident within the CBEs.

Maintaining boundaries. The first place-sustaining practice identified is the exercise of *maintaining boundaries*. The data suggests that these Hutterite CBEs were working hard to maintain the isolation of these colonies. One way they are doing this is by maintaining strict boundaries between the colony and the outside world. Indeed, my reflections noted how, after my first few Hutterite colony visits, I felt like I had crossed a boundary into another world. My observations and interviews reinforced that the Hutterites are working hard to ensure this boundary is maintained. They often referred to the environment outside these colonies as 'the outside world', based on the Hutterites' beliefs and the New Testament dualism that pictures believers as separate from *the world*. They often described this outside world in ways that make it seem cold and scary, which was manifest in such incidents as the following:

> Observation notes: *Last night I stayed over at Lena and Martin's home for the first time. This week is Lena's daughter's assigned week for baking so Lena's two youngest grandkids will stay with Lena while their mom is busy baking. Peter, Lena's grandson, comes running in to the kitchen where I am sitting, sees me and screeches to a halt, his mouth dropping open. After a few seconds he heads*

straight for the pantry and shuts himself in. Lena laughs and says, "That's always what he does when someone from the outside world visits." (C1)

Yet, further analysis suggests this practice of maintaining boundaries was doing more than just helping to maintain and support their community's characteristics. Importantly, this place-based practice was helping to develop the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that promote habitual communal entrepreneurship by (1) buffering from rules, (2) promoting self-sufficiency, and (3) slowing down time. Each theme is discussed below. Further evidence is summarized in Table 4.

Buffering from rules. After spending time within these communities and talking with members I began to recognize how these communities' isolation was having a *buffering* effect. By buffering I mean the isolation of these places creates their own small world with autonomy from many of the rules of broader society and a subculture that provides immunity from many institutionalized norms, as this observation note captures.

Nathan: Head over to Mark's place. He's over there now.
Me: Okay. (I start to head across the yard to go to Mark's front door)
Nathan: Where are you going?
Me: I'm running around to Mark's front door.
Nathan: Why would you do that. Just walk in his back door.
Me: (laughing) I thought it was more appropriate to knock on his front door.
Nathan: Well that's silly. When you are going into your neighbor's house do you go all the way to the front or do you just walk in the back door?
Me: Well I probably wouldn't go to the back because I'd be on private property in their backyard. And I wouldn't just walk in, I'd ring the doorbell.
Nathan: Oh right, I always forget about the rules in the English world. Here you just walk in whichever door is closest. I'd probably get arrested if I lived off the colony. (C3)

The field and interview data suggested that this buffering helps Hutterite communities to encourage tinkering and nurture enterprising behavior. Habitual entrepreneurship was occurring because their boundaries meant colony members were unaware and/or unconcerned with many

of broader society's rules and institutional norms. Informants spoke of how community members simply did not know there were rules that could prevent things from being done. Being buffered from rules encouraged tinkering which led to habitual communal enterprising.

> *When I want to try and change something I don't have to run around getting a whole bunch of managers to approve it. That's not the way it's done here. I didn't realize this until I took this business course.* [This interview took place at a Mennonite college while this informant was working on a business course.] *Talking with other managers and CEOs in the class I couldn't believe how hard it is for them to change anything or make any decisions without a ton of meetings and approvals. It really made me appreciate what I have. (C3I2)*

> *Here, on the colony, we just don't know it can't be done! We fix things, build things, create new things, because we don't know we can't. We have a lot less rules here than in the outside world. I really think that's why we are entrepreneurial.* (C3I3)

> *Regulations don't get you anywhere but stuck. Around here we have some guidelines but we stay away from all those rules. (C2I2)*

When discussing why these Hutterite communities were engaging in entrepreneurial activities, a management and accounting consultant that has worked with the Hutterites for 20 years commented:

> *I recall just recently a guy approached the colony because he needed a moving table and he'd gotten one built that was hand-driven however what he wanted was one that was hydraulic. Everyone outside the colony said it couldn't be done, you had to do it by hand they'd told him. So he ended up taking it out to the colony.* [The Hutterites] *examined it and said, "Hmmm, leave it with us. We're not sure how to do it but we'll figure it out." Less than a month later he gets a call from them and they had done it. They had built him a hydraulic powered table. That's what they do. (E4)*

Within these Hutterite CBEs, I observed members taking apart engines, filtration units, tractors, and parts of combines without ever asking permission or receiving approval to engage in such action. Observations never captured a formal business plan being submitted or a formal meeting being called. Being unaware, or buffered, from the best practices and formal business ways of

other organizations positively influenced a passion for inventing and innovating and encouraged entrepreneurship, as stated in this interview with a former Hutterite.

> It's different off the colony, everyone has rules and schedules for when and where you do things. And <u>all</u> the rules—it's stupid! The safety rules where I work are crazy. If I need something off a top shelf I can't just quickly climb up the shelves and grab it, I need to go get a ladder and use the ladder. It's so inefficient. Also the carts with wheels, they don't let us use them like scooters. It would be so much quicker to hop on them and drive them around the shop but there are rules against that. And every bloody thing has to have a paper trail! I'm used to doing things on instinct not on paper. On the colony if we needed something improved, we just improved it. We didn't need a paper to tell us what to do and how to do it. (E3)

Promoting self-sufficiency. Furthermore, this past century has brought amazing change—the development of transportation and major highways, telecommunication, and the Internet—and these changes thrust the outside world upon the doorstop of these communities. The Hutterites I interviewed recognized that they must work harder than the previous generation to maintain their boundaries and avoid exposure to the outside world. Community members constantly commented to me their worries that the outside world's encroachment into their communities would be their downfall.

Analysis of the field and interview data suggested that within these Hutterite communities, promoting self-sufficiency was helping to encourage tinkering, provoke members to try to innovate, and nurture enterprising behavior. Habitual entrepreneurship was occurring because these colonies were striving for self-sufficiency, which they saw as one way to help maintain the characteristics of these places. Informants spoke of how members of the community provoked and encouraged colony members to try and build things they need for the colony themselves and how building something for the colony often ended up resulting in a new product or venture. Two consultants reinforced my interpretation that habitual communal enterprising was oftentimes an unintended result of their desire to maintain their boundaries by being self-

78

sufficient. As one described:

I think maybe the strongest reason for their entrepreneurship is their lifestyle and their desire to be self-sufficient. This leads to them being imaginative. They're very sometimes, very I'd say, independent, like they just, you know, they, they, do want to do things on their own, and they have their own political, social, financial and other aspects. (E5)

I observed how promoting self-sufficiency encouraged tinkering, provoked members, and drove habitual entrepreneurship. I noted that these colonies grow most of their own feed and all their own vegetables, they produce and butcher their own meat, and make their own bread, butter, honey, and cleaning products. Most clothes, furniture, and bedding are made on the colony. Building and equipping the various buildings—the dwellings, workshops, barns, kitchen, church, and dining hall—is all done by members of the colony. When something new is determined to be needed on the colony members provoked each other to figure out how to build it themselves:

We are cheap so if someone needs a new tool or something to make their job more efficient we support them buying one then bringing it back to the colony and figuring out how we build it ourselves. (C3I2)

It is important to us that we are self-sufficient. We don't want to rely on the outside world. In other words, if we can build our own kitchen materials and we can do that piping and all the other things on the colony then that's what we are going to do. We won't go outside to get the job done, we'll somehow do it ourselves. Sometimes this results in us coming up with a new product that we can sell. That's how it worked with the calf shelters. When the cow crew decided they needed calf shelters out in the pasture I told them they better figure out how to build some good ones because we didn't want to be buying them from UFA. We built them and had them out in our cow pen. The neighbors saw them and started asking us to make some for them. Now we have a side business building calf shelters. (C4I8)

Well because it's important from a cultural perspective to have things to do at home, to do it ourselves. So maybe that measure of success is more important than financial success, I guess that's the challenge for us. We go into other areas (other than agriculture) not just for financial success but to stay self-sufficient. (C1I1)

Being immersed within these communities and interviewing numerous informants revealed how

promoting self-sufficiency helps them to maintain their independence from the outside world. However, more fine-grained analysis revealed how it does more than that; encouraging self-sufficiency influenced repeated entrepreneurial activity.

Slowing down time. The third theme that emerged from the data analysis was how the boundaries of these CBEs *slowed down* time. My observations noted that within these bounded locations, away from the clocks and demands of the outside world, the temporal structure slowed. Days were not carved up and scheduled in quarter hour increments like the world I was used too. I noted that members of these colonies were free of rigid office schedules, quarterly targets, paper submission deadlines, and academic calendars. I noted that the Hutterites do not wear watches. I noted that time was discussed more broadly such as "before coffee," "after dinner," or "after milking." I noted that there was always time for coffee, snacks, meals, childcare, and elder care, and the overall feel of these communities was less frantic than within the places I was accustomed to. When inquiring as to when I should show up, I often received answers such as "Come out for butchering," "Be here by coffee time," "We'll be done by the end of the day," and "Let's meet after dishes." As time went on I began to recognize the value of this slower pace. In one personal reflection in my research journal I wrote how "I enjoyed being free from the bounds of time" and how "I looked forward to visiting the colony because time slowed and I could relax."

Data analysis connected the slower pace within these places to these CBEs' entrepreneurship-sustaining practices and subsequent habitual communal enterprising. For example, when talking about idea generation and tinkering, members commonly offered having the time as the reason behind their innovation:

> *We don't go to sporting events or the theatre. Life is not so busy or fast-paced on the colony as it is in other places. We stay away from all that stress and busyness.*

80

We keep it simple. We spend our free time trying to fix things, change things, improve things and then sometimes it ends up with us figuring out a new product to sell. (C1I2)

When we have time to spare we like to play around with things. Hutterites are always looking to make something better. It passes the time and we find it fun. (C2I2)

Inventing—it's a fun free time activity that's fun and we can do together. (C2I4)

Several members indicated how much they relished their free time because they could tinker. This time spent tinkering, carried out in their own time, in their own way, without time constraints or pressure, enabled them to be creative without watching the clock or feeling like they needed to hurry. Kevin, a Hutterite who left his colony a year ago, expressed how he missed the slow pace of colony life:

I really miss hanging out on the colony. Here everything needs to be planned, on the colony everyone just randomly plays and tinkers around. It's different here, everyone has schedules for when and where you do things. On the colony if I decided I wanted to cut a new nature trail I just went to the shop grabbed the lawnmower and headed out to cut the trail. (E1)

In addition to driving tinkering, slowing time also played a role in promoting the entrepreneurship-sustaining practice of caring about others. I observed that as the outside world listens to the radio, watches television and movies, attends sporting events, theatre, concerts, dances and parties, and is involved in a myriad of recreational activities to stay busy and fill their time, Hutterites rarely engage in any of these activities. Because these communities do not have televisions or game consoles or radios, members spend much more time together. This, fieldwork noted, helped to reinforce the communal and secure characteristics of these CBEs, yet, once again my analysis uncovered that it did more than that. It also helped give members time to listen to and consider the needs of others. I observed that younger members always had the time to visit with and inquire into the well-being of elders. Conversely, older members cared about and

included the younger generation in what they were doing. Indeed, the slower pace of life within these communities created the time and desire to develop ideas both for and with others:

> *My favourite time of the day, after supper—the golden hour. After supper is free time and we can do anything we want. We have the freedom to use the shops. We have open access to the shops and all the tools so we all head for the shops to play around. It is easy to learn to do things. It is easy to become a builder. We just pick up a tool and figure out how to use it. This way we could all learn from each other and help each other. (E1)*

> ***Encouraging social collisions****.* The second practice I identified as significant to

maintaining these places and promoting habitual communal enterprising is the exercise of

encouraging social collisions. The data suggests that these Hutterite CBEs created places with a

material form designed to maintain their communal characteristic. Social collisions were

abundant within these colonies and it was easy to see how the form of these places promoted

collisions. Walkways intersect. Dining is communal. The communal laundry room is off the side

of the dining hall. The church, school, and dining hall are located in the center of the colony. One

can get a sense of the communal layout and the social collisions it encourages from this

observation note:

> *Today I was assigned to go work, collecting eggs. Joshua was told to escort me to the other side of the colony where the egg barn is located. Isaiah heard the plan and has also decided to tag along. We head out across the central yard and run into Jonathan. Little Michael sees us from the window of his house and I see him frantically pulling on his boots then running across the yard to catch up with us. Along the path we pass Rachel headed to the kitchen to check on the baking. At the end of the path I see a group of men packing up supplies to take to the pig barn. A new barn is currently in progress and they have been working hard to get it built. En route to the pig barn we pass Joshua's dad, on his way back from the barn. It looks like morning feeding is done. Out of the corner of my eye I see a vehicle pull into the driveway. They must be headed for the meat shop. We pass the communal kitchen and Miriam yells out the kitchen window, "When you are done head for the dining room." Later, at communal lunch, I notice that everyone I start to tell that I spent the morning collecting eggs already knows this fact. (C4)*

Once again, further scrutiny of the data revealed that an unintended consequence of these rampant social collisions was the promotion of entrepreneurship-sustaining practices and habitual communal entrepreneurship. This place-based practice of encouraging social collisions promoted repeated entrepreneurship by (1) establishing a comfort zone, and (2) preventing social problems. Further evidence is summarized in Table 5.

Establishing a comfort zone. Field work suggested that the frequent social collisions that occurred within these colonies helped to establish a comfort zone, a space in which members felt comfortable and at ease around one another. Fieldwork noted that because everyone interacts so frequently they can forgo excessive and (in their opinion) unnecessary displays of manners and processes. Observations noted that the Hutterites rarely say please and thank-you to each other. They don't knock when they enter homes. They don't ask permission. They say what needs to be said in an abrupt and forthright manner. Analyzing the data from conversations with numerous Hutterite informants helped to further support my belief that this practice of frequently 'colliding' established a comfort zone. Tom expressed it in this way:

> *We just know each other so well. We've grown up together, gone to school together, played together, prayed together. We don't need all those manners and words. We are so comfortable with each other we can just forget all that. (C3I9)*

From fieldwork it was evident that they did not worry about what others thought of them. This was captured in an interview with a Hutterite who had left his colony a year ago and was now working for an organization in Calgary:

> *One of my least favorite things outside of the colony is the manners. I don't just mean eating with proper manners I mean all the effort it takes to speak to people with proper manners. It just seems so inefficient and time consuming. On the colony we just said what we meant and didn't worry about it. You didn't have to worry about being polite and hurting other people's feelings because we all knew each other so well and trusted each other. We are much freer on the colony; out here you need to say and do the right thing. (E3)*

83

Observation notes captured how frequently colliding helps everyone within the colony come to know each other well and feel comfortable enough to risk being vulnerable. The data analysis helped to connect this comfort zone, and the fact that this allowed CBE members to put little thought into how they are perceived, to the provoking and oppositing practices that encouraged habitual communal enterprising. How this works can be understood through a series of observation notes from the Wharton colony. Across the course of my time spent at colony four I came to know David, a young Hutterite who worked in the fields and enjoyed spending his spare time building things. In the evenings he and a number of other members would head out to the shop to play around and tinker. He had gotten really good at building coffee tables and end tables for community member's homes. He would build these coffee tables and then get them sent in to the city to be powder-coated. Mike, a fellow community member said one day:

> David, your tables were driving me crazy rattling around in the back of the truck
> as I drove to the city. Why don't you figure out how to powder-coat them here?
> Come on now surely that's easy. Quit driving me crazy making me haul your
> tables around! (C4)

A few observation notes later captured that David was now powder-coating his tables. David explained how after the other boys started bugging him and "provoking him" about his tables rattling around in their trucks he started thinking he could do the powder-coating and turn his pastime into a business:

> I got the support to purchase a powder-coat oven. Once I figured it out it was
> great and now I even have outsiders placing orders for them. With the powder-
> coat oven I'm thinking about the other things we can expand into and sell. We
> have already been thinking about making lawn furniture. (C4)

The primary behavior here, the teasing and provoking, was initiated because everyone collided so often and this made them comfortable enough with each other to interact in these forthright, provoking, and even rude ways. Through these teasing interactions, generating new ideas and

producing new products becomes a playful activity, but it also helped to push opportunities

forward through to exploitation. Without these provoking interactions I believe that many ideas

and much of the tinkering that was taking place within these colonies would have remained

simply ideas and never have been exploited and developed into new products that became

marketed and sold by these Hutterite colonies. Being immersed within these communities and

interviewing numerous informants revealed how the frequency of social collisions created a

comfort zone within these CBEs. Once again, more fine-grained analysis revealed how it does

more than that; the data suggested that another result of this comfort zone is to create a place

where the entrepreneurial process is provoked.

Predicting potential problems. Field work also suggested that the frequent social

collisions that occurred within these colonies helped these CBEs to envisage problems.

Observations captured how the constraints that are a part of the Hutterian institutional order were

at times difficult, especially for younger colony members. Indeed, for free-spirited youngsters

the excess of orthodoxy can be hard. In a number of memos, I noted how many younger

Hutterites were internalizing outside expectations and were aware of the abundance of

opportunities available to them outside of the Hutterite community. Many young Hutterites

commented how these opportunities seemed alluring and attractive. When analyzing the data,

what emerged was how the frequent social collisions and high levels of interaction occurring

within these CBEs made everyone aware of these potential problems. Furthermore, their

commitment to maintaining these colonies as isolated, communal, small, and secure places made

everyone want to figure out ways to circumvent these potential problems. While agreement that

their leaders were aware of the younger generations feelings and problems did vary within the

data, the fact that oftentimes the younger generation commented that the elders were "out of

touch" did not surprise me. I felt these were indicative of the comments and tensions you would see in any place. I also suspect some of the expressed tensions and injustice described to me by younger Hutterites may have stemmed from them viewing me as their opportunity to vent. For example, I heard from some of the younger generation that they felt unheard and unappreciated by the elders. One, for example, said:

> [The elders] *have no idea what we are dealing with. They are so out of touch and stuck in the past. They want to keep everything the same. (C3I2)*

But further analysis and consideration of the data led me to conclude that these comments were misguided and that in actuality, because of the abundant social collisions, the elders and the broader community were quite aware of any tensions simmering within the colony. Interviews captured how concerned the elders were with ensuring that these tensions were handled and how their caring about these simmering tensions encouraged habitual communal enterprising:

> *We care about our young people and we care about trying to make them successful in this communal life. We need to inspire them and they need to want to be here. We don't want them to hate being here. That means we need to have options for them…so they can look around and say there are opportunities for them to feel fulfilled within the community. (C4I1)*

Informants emphasized the importance of new ventures when they discussed needing to prevent younger members from feeling unfulfilled by the Hutterite lifestyle:

> *If a young guy looks around the colony and realizes he is going to spend the next 10 years sweeping the shop floor because all the other jobs are already occupied, of course he's going to think the colony isn't the best place for him. Of course he's going to feel like he should head out into the world to see what he can find. We need to provide jobs for all these guys. But not just any jobs, we need to have new things for them to do so they feel like they matter and have a sense of purpose here. (C2I2)*

The colonies I spent time with were all well aware that when Hutterites do leave the Hutterite community they generally do well. Their strong work ethic and variety of practical

skills helps them to fit easily into industrial situations and makes them valuable employees. Ben

spoke of how his colony has tried to address the challenges and problems they saw arising by

engaging in new ventures and products:

> *The oil companies love to steal our Hutterite boys away. We are told that*
> *Hutterites don't even need a resume, they just show up, say they are Hutterite,*
> *and they've got a job. If they don't feel connected to the colony it's easy to leave*
> *so we need to work hard to make sure they want to be here, we need to have jobs*
> *and opportunities for everyone so they feel fulfilled and have a sense of purpose*
> *within our community. Providing jobs and opportunities drives us to start up new*
> *businesses and expand into different areas. (C2I1)*

Several other Hutterites reported how their colonies were engaging in new products and

ventures because they cared that everyone be kept busy and made to feel like they mattered:

> *We used to need lots of people to be involved in farming, but today 2-3 guys can*
> *do what used to take 15. Hutterites love to work. It's not our way to fire people or*
> *lay people off. Everyone needs a job on the colony. This means we need to find*
> *new ways to create jobs for those other 12 guys. A Hutterite without a position*
> *will be unhappy because they feel like they have no sense of purpose. We value*
> *hard work so the colony needs to provide that if we want to survive. Sometimes*
> *innovation replaces what we used to need a person for so then we have to turn*
> *around and create new jobs to keep everyone satisfied. (C1I2)*

The data also revealed how some entrepreneurial activities were being promoted because all

these frequent collisions helped less agriculturally-inclined Hutterites get noticed. The leaders,

elders, and indeed all the community, cared that fellow members had jobs that they felt good

about and provided a sense of purpose. In interviews it was noted that not all members are

interested in or skilled with agriculture but that the colony considered their needs and wanted to

provide job opportunities that could fulfill the passions of these Hutterite members. Jonathan, the

manufacturing boss, when discussing Tim, one of the younger members who I had spent a lot of

time with, commented:

> *We could see that agriculture wasn't Tim's passion. He wasn't suited for the field.*
> *But we noticed that he was really good with computers. He has a real knack for*

that kind of stuff. So, we put him to work setting up the computers for the manufacturing floor and now here we are. We could see that he was struggling and needed the inspiration to live in this community. Now look at our shop. We have completed a 95,000 square foot expansion and Tim was a big part of us being able to successfully do that. (C3I6)

Similarly, Bill, an elder in the colony five community mentioned:

We got in to this new C&C laser cutting business because it was a way to get Michael to come back. He'd left the colony last year for the oil patch. He came back for a visit and expressed interest in returning but he's really not an ag guy. He wanted the colony to get into welding. He thought he could start some new businesses that would be good for the community. And we agreed. We wanted him back and we wanted him to be able to do something he loved and was good at. (C5I1)

These findings support the idea that the frequent collisions and interactions occurring within these CBEs made them more aware of and attuned to potential problems and unrest within the community. But, once again, more fine-grained analysis revealed how it does more than that; the data suggests that being aware of potential problems stimulated caring that the needs of others were not being met, which then promoted the development of new products and ventures.

Providing familial wellbeing. The third significant dimension that emerged from the analysis was how these isolated, small, communal, and secure places were *providing familial wellbeing*. The data suggests that members felt living in this particular environment added to their wellbeing in various ways. Members commented that they "felt good" and were "living a good life," which is consistent with scholarly conceptualizations of wellbeing. Indeed, from fieldwork emerged many different comments and observations about various ways that these isolated, communal, small, secure places were adding to their wellbeing. For example, my observations and interviews reinforced that Hutterite members felt good because the colonies were "arks." By living on these "arks" and surrendering to God, the Hutterites believed that their colonies provided wellbeing and sanctuary that would provide protection and redemption and

carry them to eternal life. Interviews and discussions with Hutterite ministers provided data to

support how these Hutterite colonies were designed to provide sanctuary, for example:

> *We strive to provide a place where we can do as God commands. We wish to gather with him and do our utmost to keep those who are gathered so they do not become scattered or torn apart by wolves. He commits to those who love him and commands us to preserve in gathering. Those in this place who believe will participate in his nature. (C1I3)*

Additionally, fieldwork uncovered how living on the colony contributed to wellbeing

because Hutterite members knew that the colony would provide birth to death care for all its

members:

> *Our biggest strength is that we've got a system for elderly care. Everyone will be taken care of for as long as they need. (C4I1)*

> *I stopped in to visit an old non-Hutterite friend who is now in the old-folks home. I hated that place. We have set up our colony so that every Hutterite is cared for from birth to death. We don't put our old folks in homes. If they need care we care for them here until they die. That makes me feel really good. Knowing me and everyone in my family will receive the care they need and never have to be put in a home. It's such a good feeling to know everyone here will be supported and cared for and have good welfare. (C4I6)*

Further analysis suggested that providing wellbeing was helping to reinforce and

maintain these communities, but again it was also doing more than just that. From the data I

induced that providing wellbeing helped encourage the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices and

associated habitual communal entrepreneurship occurring within these places by (1) preventing

worry, and (2) finding the fun. Each theme is discussed below. Further evidence is summarized

in Table 6.

> *Preventing worry*. What emerged as noteworthy within the data was the abundance of

comments pertaining to the many things Hutterite members did *not* worry about:

> Observation notes**:** *I brought my 9-year old son, Ty, with me to the colony today. As soon as we arrive a few boys run past us and Ty falls in line with them and is off to spend his day playing on the colony. This leaves Frank and I on our own,*

89

which Frank is happy about because he wants to show me some historical documents and letters he has. We become engrossed in our project and an hour passes before we hear the back door open and Ty, Isiah and three other little boys come running in and excitedly announce they have just built what they feel is the perfect trap out by the duck pen. According to Isiah the colony has been having trouble with a skunk sneaking in to the pen and stealing the duck eggs so the boys have taken it upon themselves to help the community out by catching this skunk. With that announced the boys run off. Frank and I return to our work then decide to head to the communal kitchen to see what's happening there. Another hour passes and I haven't seen or heard from Ty. My worried mother instinct begins to build and I tell Frank I think I'll go look for him. Frank says, "this is the colony, someone will have an eye on them, that's the way it's done here, there's no need to worry." I, however, am unconvinced so I take a walk to see what's going on. I round the corner of the houses and run into the boys. I'm told that their first idea, had been to head out to the horse pen because one of the boys thought they should try and see if they could jump on the back of a horse when it wandered past, but Peter, one of the colony adults, had seen what they were up to and put a stop to that, rather reckless, idea. No worries that plan didn't work out because their new plan was to figure out a way to catch that pesky blackbird that keeps trying to steal everyone's hat as they walk along the path to the manufacturing shop. Michael, one of the colony elders, had walked up as the boys were telling me this plan, told them the plan sounded great, and why don't they catch up with Frank in the woodwork shop so they can dig around for supplies. (C4)

Members commented to me how they never worry where their next meal is coming from or how they will put food on the table for their family. Parents commented, and as you see from the opening observation I found, that you didn't need to worry where your children were and if they were safe. Spending time within these colonies I observed how the children were often left unsupervised and unorganized. In notes captured when talking with Hutterite members, I noted many instances of them reflecting fondly on what a safe and worry-free place a colony was to grow up in:

Growing up my friends and I lived a Tom Sawyer-esque lifestyle. When not at school we lived in the woods. We had our own little kingdom down there. We built forts, tree-houses, lookouts, dug tunnels, diked off the creek and much more. (E3)

Well, I don't like to say ideal, but I do think it's nearly an ideal place for letting kids be kids. When school gets out and if they are done or don't have any little

90

jobs that need to be completed they are free to play, unsupervised. They make
clubhouses, build forts, make up games. (C3I1)

Further sentiments that reflected the wellbeing these colonies provide were captured in these

comments from two former Hutterites, both now living off the colony:

What I think I miss most about living on the colony is how free from worry it was.
And of course I miss the food. The food was the best. Out here I've had to learn to
cook for myself and manage so many things I never had to do when I was living
on the colony. Life is really just so much easier when you live there. (E3)

You know when I really missed the colony I think the most? When my dad got sick
and I needed to care for him. Trying to care for a sick parent is so much harder
out here. There is really no support system and there is so much more to worry
about and handle on your own off the colony. I've never more wished I was back
then when I was struggling to care for my dad, and work, and look after my kids.
The Hutterites have such a great system that takes away so much pressure and
worry. (E6)

Data analysis suggested that preventing worry was promoting habitual communal

enterprising. In interviews members commonly mentioned how they could take risks and try

things because they weren't hampered by all the worries that plagued potential entrepreneurs in

the outside world. Members made comments such as:

We have less worry around here. That means in this type of place we can take
risks that the average individual can't. (C4I2)

When you live in a place like this it's not difficult to be innovative. We pool
resources so we can take risks. We have several million dollars in resources so
risking a $100,000 doesn't mean that the children will have to go without clothes.
(C1I1)

Data exploration connected preventing worry, tinkering, and normalizing failure. First,

discussions with various Hutterites captured how living in a secure communal place prevented

worry which led to widespread tinkering:

In the evening if I want to pop over to the shop and tinker with something, I can
do that. I don't need to worry about who will look after my kids. I can take the
kids with me and they can play around while I work, or I can just leave them to

play and I know that they are looked after. (C3I2)

Instead of having dinner and then spending the evening worrying about how behind they were, how they were going to make their mortgage payment or why their son wasn't doing better in school, within these communities' evenings were spent out in the shops playing and discovering and creating. Jokes circulate throughout the community and there are frequent celebrations (birthday cakes, harvest parties, knitting parties, games, skits, singing, visitors, and many informal get-togethers). During my time spent within these Hutterite communities I also came to understand how being free from many worries and jobs that the average individual living in the outside world is encumbered with encouraged habitual enterprising.

Furthermore, from the observations and analysis what also emerged as noteworthy was how in this place when worry was prevented, failure was acceptable. Interviewees described the colony context as one which encourages children to create and innovate and explore, and not to worry if some of their ideas are failures:

> *...that entrepreneurial spirit is instilled in our kids from a young age. Our youngsters have the freedom to explore and try things. Our kids aren't as controlled as your kids. They don't get shuffled to activities. It doesn't always end well (laughing), like last week when they almost burned the colony down trying to install a fireplace in their tree fort! It's a good thing Alice saw the smoke and got the fire put out before it really got going. Bah...kids will be kids, they mess around, they experiment, it's okay. (C4I4)*

> *Sure we warn the kids 'don't go there' and of course we want to keep them safe but we also let them play. If there is always an adult around telling them what to do it puts a damper on things. Our children have the space to solve problems and make mistakes. It's what kids should be allowed to do. (C3I1)*

Additionally, I observed that it wasn't just the children that were willing to risk failing. The willingness to risk failing was pervasive across these CBEs. The data clearly connected this to the habitual communal enterprising occurring across these Hutterite colonies. In interviews

92

comments such as these were noted:

> *If I try something and it doesn't work out I don't need to worry that my family won't be fed or have a roof over our heads. We live in a community that has the resources and a system that can support members trying things and failing. (C1I1)*

> *It's probably just a bit easier here to try things because of our system. Our system takes away our need to worry about so many things so that we can be more creative and take more risks. (C5I2)*

> *It's different on a Hutterite colony. We can play around with ideas. There is so much equipment available and it's easy to scrounge up scrap supplies. It doesn't matter if it doesn't work out. It doesn't mean I won't be able to feed my family or keep a roof over their heads. (C4I3)*

These findings support the idea that creating a worry free place makes members more willing to take risks, which then promoted tinkering and normalized failure ultimately contributing to the development of new products and ventures.

Making it fun. The second way that preventing worry was helping to nurture habitual community-based enterprising was by making it fun. Rather than being motivated to engage in entrepreneurship because one was worried about survival or worried about putting food on the table and a roof over their head or worried about "keeping up with the Jones" and attaining that vacation home and fancy car, within these colonies habitual communal enterprising was simply a fun pastime. Further insights came from the observations that noted how happy members were when they were working together to create something. Fieldwork captured numerous instances of tinkering followed by the subsequent development of new products and ventures that resulted because within these places such action was fun and enjoyable:

> Observation notes: *I walk in to Mary's house and she has three other ladies over and they are knitting. Laughing Alice says, 'Show it to her, see if she can figure out what it is!' The ladies giggle and Mary passes me some knitting. I look at it and it appears to be a mitten but the thumb and the fingers have a bottom that makes the mitten look a bit like a cup. I put it on and inspect it and I admit I am a bit mystified. The ladies are on the edge of their chairs awaiting my answer.*

93

Finally, I say "is it for holding your mug?' Mary claps with excitement and the ladies laugh. "You got it," she exclaims, "It's a great way to keep your hand warm while you are drinking and not have to worry about dropping your drink. Now we think we are going to make some to sell at the farmer's market. (C4)

When talking about idea generation and innovation, members commonly offered fun rather than pressure or reward as their primary motivation. Some added the camaraderie of entrepreneurship, reflecting upon how tinkering was a fun social activity:

It's a fun free time activity that's fun and we can do together. (C1I1)

I don't think any of our new ventures have ever started with a business plan or any kind of formal process. (Laughing) I think most of our ideas start with a group of us drinking beer and eating pizza and then starting to brainstorm and play around. (C5I2)

After sitting around many a living room with numerous different Hutterites, I noted that my observations were peppered with scribbles about how the Hutterites made thinking about and puzzling over new ideas an activity that was fun rather than an activity that was pushed forward because of pressure. A series of my observation notes from Wharton colony help capture how ideas are generated and opportunities developed because members find doing so fun. Wharton colony had a successful dairy operation. However, their barn was quite old and not energy efficient. When I first arrived they were trying to figure out how to minimize the energy consumption in the barn. Paul said;

I'm just not sure about this new fad of natural venting. Do we need to spend all that extra money? We're just not convinced we need it. We don't think all this fancy new tech stuff is the answer for us. We are going to play with some other ideas and see what we can figure out. It's sort of fun for us to see what we can come up with. (C4)

I observed over the next few months how they began to puzzle and play with ways they might use to improve their barn. Watching them passionately discuss new ideas made me realize how much they were enjoying this challenge. One day, Mike and Dan began enthusiastically telling

me how after "playing around" they had a "breakthrough" and came up with a new idea for the dairy barn:

> *So we were all hanging around the other night and one of the boys said what about using curtains? We laughed but then we started thinking about it. So we are going to put in some curtains. We can always go back and put vents in later if we need to but for now we'll see if this works. We've been told that theoretically it won't work but we don't believe it, we think we've solved that problem. (C4)*

Over the course of the next year I watched them have fun overcoming the various challenges that arose as they developed their new dairy barn system. There weren't hard deadlines attached to when the project needed to be done and they didn't worry about what would happen if the project failed. If it didn't work out, they told me, they simply would figure out something else. Across the other communities there were similar examples of how the entrepreneurial process was engaged in because it was fun, rather than because it was necessary.

Fulfilling a higher purpose. The fourth significant place-sustaining practice that emerged from the analysis was how these places were *fulfilling a higher purpose*. My time in the field illuminated how a deep religious fervor motivates the Hutterites to build and maintain their communities in the way they interpret the Scripture and the Apostles' creed suggested was righteous, proper, and aligned with God. My observations noted that religion was a very important and cohesive force within these Hutterite colonies. As stated by an external informant who has spent the last 30 years working as an accountant for the Hutterites:

> *They wish to obey the Holy Scriptures word for word and to adopt completely the model of the First Church. The worship of God is the central mission of a Hutterite life; in every act one should ask what God desires. According to their belief this world is for preparing for entering the eternal life in the world to come. (E6)*

The higher purpose for living on the colony was expressed in interviews and conveyed in numerous passages in the *Hutterite Confession of Faith*, for example:

We confess that the Father has entrusted judgement to the Son. His coming will be terrifying; with flaming fire he will take vengeance on everything ungodly and on all human wrongdoing. He will reward with honor and praise and with an unperishable nature those who seek eternal life, by patiently continuing to do good. He whom the Father has given the power to judge says, "I will judge no one, but the word that I have spoken will judge you on the day of reckoning. This word will justify no one except the one who has surrendered to it wholeheartedly, and who in this life has allowed the word to be a judge and guide. Whoever has not heeded the word will, however, be condemned. So we see clearly enough that each will be judged and sentenced, the devout to life and the godless to death. (Riedemann, 1565, pp. 72-73)

Further analysis suggested that while providing this higher purpose was helping to reinforce and maintain these communities it was doing more than just that. Important for this study was how providing a higher purpose was encouraging habitual communal entrepreneurship by (1) interjecting value, and (2) discouraging arbitrage. Each theme is discussed below. Further evidence is summarized in Table 7.

Interjecting value. Many of my observations noted the Hutterites' constant desire to improve things, to make things better, ad to add value. In early data analysis I connected this simply to the way they liked to tinker and because they had the time and space to engage in such activity. But one day when sitting visiting with the Assistant Minister at colony one, he said to me:

> *You know what drives us to do new things? Part of it is our faith and our beliefs. There is a section in here—Buying and Selling, I'll read it to you: We allow none of our members to be traders or merchants, since this is a sinful business. Therefore, we allow no one to buy in order to resell, as merchants and tradesman do. But when we buy what is necessary for the needs of our house or craft, and then use the materials and sell what is made—that is in order and is no sin. What is wrong, however, is to buy an article and sell it for profit in the same condition as one has bought it. You see…in order to stay true to our faith we need to be entrepreneurial. (C1I1)*

When I inquired about specifics regarding what he was referring to, James directed me to a section in the *Confessions of Faith*. This book, written in 1537, is based on Scripture and serves

96

as the Hutterites' official statement of their beliefs. It has 90 sections with the last third (29 sections) dedicated to practical concerns of community living, such as warfare, taxation, making swords, and trade. When I read the section titled "Buying and Selling," I noted that it clearly supported interjecting value, innovation, and entrepreneurial activity. Intrigued by this, I looked back over my data and found numerous references to this practice, which suddenly made more sense, such as:

> *If someone comes up with an idea it needs to be more than just about the bottom line. Just looking at the bottom line isn't what we are about and isn't who I ever want to see us become. I want to see it justified as something that's more than economic. I don't want to see us slip in to a capitalistic system, I worry about that. I think it is NOT okay unless it is adding value. (C3I1)*

> *I will clearly say I am against exploitation. If it's not adding value I won't support continuing with it. Also, it's simply no fun, if you aren't adding value it isn't any fun. (C1I2)*

I began to connect the Hutterites' adherence to this rule to their habitual communal enterprising. The Hutterites were tinkering not just because they liked to do it, but also because they needed to in order to adhere to their religious principles and live the life that they believed God sees as the right way to live. This supported the idea that CBE is driven by more than just the desire to generate economic profit. For the Hutterites, creating new products was aimed at achieving spiritual ends, ultimately salvation.

Discouraging idle hands. The second theme that emerged from the data was how their abhorrence of idle hands contributed to their habitual entrepreneurial activities. The field work noted how hard work is seen as a form of discipline and is a core component of Hutterite life. For the Hutterites, work is a central purpose in life that aligns them with God. Instead of playing with toys, children are encouraged to help with work. Work habits, work ethics, and diligence are taught to the children from an early age. In contrast to the more conventional point-of-view, which

97

assumes that work is conducted to enhance productivity and profit-maximization, I observed that

work on the Hutterite colonies supported their theological doctrine and fostered community.

Observation notes captured numerous short comments, such as "*Satan works when man*

doesn't," "*If we don't work Satan will,*" "*Trouble starts and Satan is found where there are idle*

hands," and "*The devil is found in idle hands.*"

Observations captured the great importance and pleasure that Hutterites derive from

working:

> Observation note: *We make it to the egg barn where Josie and Mary were already hard at work, sorting and packaging the eggs. They laugh when I arrive with my "posse." Josie said the boys could help if they behaved which lit their little faces up with excitement. They eye up the job and after a bit of discussion I watch them create a little assembly line—Joshua will take the egg off the conveyor belt and place it in the carton, Jonathan will shut the carton, pick it up, and pass it to Isaiah who will carry it three steps over and pass it to Michael who will set the cartoon in the box. I noticed that this seemed to work well as everyone in the posse now had a job and purpose and was contributing. After an hour we were done and getting ready to head to the communal dining room for lunch. As I stood in the doorway thinking, I felt someone squeeze my hand. I looked down to see little Michael standing beside me, his smile lighting up his face. I kneeled down so I could hear him and he said in an excited voice, "I helped." His joy at having helped was so strong and passionate and I was taken aback at the importance this had for him. (C4)*

In interviews several informants reported how technological advancement is problematic

because it has reduced the need for labor:

> *A Hutterite without a position will be unhappy because they feel like they have no sense of purpose. We value hard work so the colony needs to provide that if we want to survive. Sometimes innovation replaces what we used to need a person for so then we have to turn around and create new jobs. Trouble starts and Satan is found where there are idle hands.*

This suggests that the way the Hutterite's analyze an opportunity is not strictly economic.

One colony's financial boss said to me, "We consider new ventures first because it provides a

way to keep our members busy and happy, then if it is financially beneficial, all the better." From

a rational perspective, the reduced need for manual labor is an effective profitability-increasing mechanism. Within the Hutterite community, however, increased efficiency and reduced manual labor is actually spiritually problematic when it eliminates the jobs that used to keep them busy, provide a sense of purpose, and ensure that members were not left idle. In many discussions and in interviews, the need to provide jobs and ensure that no hands were idle was voiced and proposed as a reason for their habitual entrepreneurship. Believing that being idle was improper made Hutterite members care about ensuring that all members had jobs that kept them busy. This caring about others led to these colonies supporting and encouraging new ventures to be started on the colony. Furthermore, the desire to not be idle led members to tinker in their spare time. They expressed how it was important to keep their hands busy.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I summarize my findings within the emergent conceptual model presented in Figure 2. As depicted in the model, my research shows that key characteristics of place play a role in promoting and sustaining recurrent communal enterprising. The leftmost box in the figure, labelled place-based characteristics, shows the dimensions of place—isolated, communal, small, and secure—that my fieldwork uncovered to be associated with habitual communal entrepreneurship. These features are important because they encourage two sets of social practices associated with the recurrent development of new business ideas, products, and ventures. The first set is summarized within the box labelled entrepreneurship-sustaining practices. These practices consist of: *tinkering,* or attempting to repair or improve something; *considering the needs of others*, or looking out for and caring about fellow members; *provoking*, or teasing and "oppositing" each other; and, *normalizing failure*, or accepting failure as okay. The second set is summarized within the box labelled place-sustaining practices. These practices

consist of: *maintaining boundaries,* or staying separate from the 'outside world'*; encouraging social collisions*, or providing a community layout that promotes everyday interaction*; providing familial wellbeing,* or providing care and necessities from birth to death; and, *fulfilling a higher purpose*, or living a life that is righteous, proper, and aligned with God. Although designed with the intention of supporting and maintaining the core place-based characteristics, my fieldwork uncovered how these mechanisms also reinforced the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that encouraged and sustained the recurrent development of new business ideas, products, and ventures.

Also captured within the model are two feedback loops. The feedback loop from habitual communal enterprising back to place reflects the finding that habitual communal enterprising is helping to maintain and reinforce these CBEs and their place-based characteristics. The dashed boxes and feedback at the bottom of the figure reveal further insights gleaned after critically reflecting upon queries and comments I received during peer debriefing (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Upon reflection, and after revisiting the data, I determined that the community's underlying beliefs and values were influencing all parts of the model.

Figure 2: Model of how place influences habitual communal entrepreneurship within an established CBE
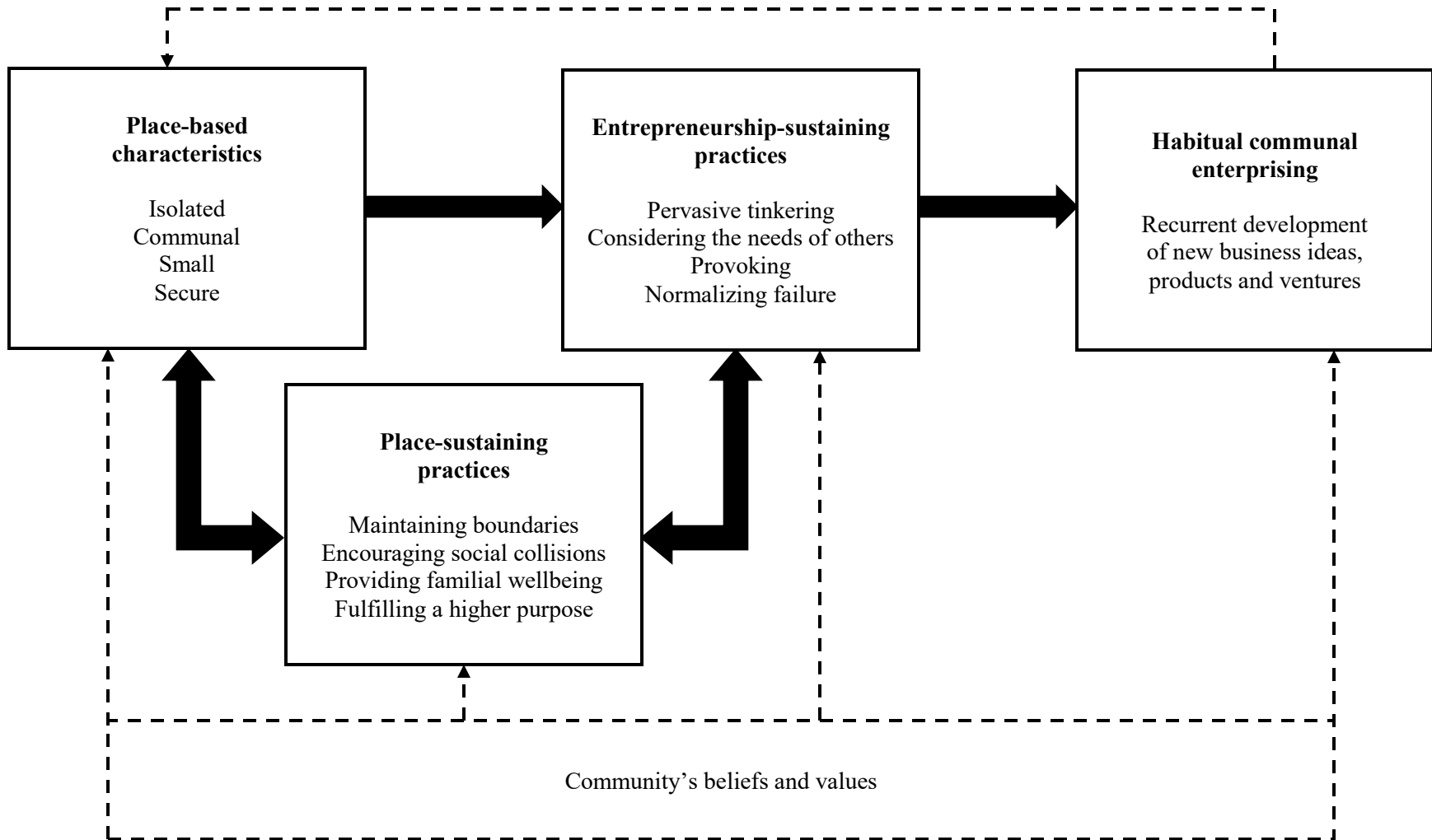

Figure 2: Model of how place influences habitual communal entrepreneurship within an established CBE

Table 3: Entrepreneurship-Sustaining Practices: Additional Supporting Data

Theme	Illustrative Data
Pervasive tinkering	When I walk on to the shop floor I like to think can I make it faster today? And then I'll time how long it takes me to get through the process. Then I'll think it over and try to do it again, changing something and seeing if I get faster. More efficient. It is just a little game I play with myself. (C3I6)
	We've always been people who like everything to be clean. I wonder if this desire to be clean drives our entrepreneurship. We like to try and make everything the cleanest and the best it can be. It makes us always have an eye out for a way to improve. We start to tinker around and try to make the process cleaner, better, more efficient. (E5)
	You have been spending your time with the men. Come see us, we are entrepreneurial too. Come spend some time with the ladies and we'll show you all the new things we are working on. We are always playing around with new crafts and figuring out new things to sell at the farmer's markets. (C3)
	It's fun to take something apart and try to figure out how it works. (C2I1)
	Being able to explore, to tinker, that's a powerful tool our community has. Big corporations are all so structured that you don't have that ability to explore. (C1I6)
Caring about the needs of others	We care, caring, its God's will and it drives what we do. Sure I'm not going to say that they aren't some of us who are self-centered but I think most of us are driven by our caring instinct. (C3I3)
	A new sewing machine was developed when members realized that some of the elders who loved to sew could no longer do so because their hands had gotten arthritis. A machine was developed that made it possible for them to sew. What started as a product developed simply to help the elders is now produced and sold to others. (C3)
	Part of the reason we have started into quails is because we saw that some of the youngsters didn't have jobs and they were getting into trouble. We wanted them to feel like they were contributing and feel good about themselves so now we have quails. (C1)
	Sometimes we start new side projects just to help out those who need it. One of the ladies here had some problems with her nerves. I don't know what it is but some of the jobs around here aren't good for her. She does really well knitting so she knits blankets for the farmer's market. (C5)
Provoking	I don't give a shit if it didn't work out the first time. Try something else. You can figure it out. (C6I1)
	As soon as one guy does something all the other guys try to improve it. We like to tease each other and have this little challenges to see who can figure out the easiest or best way. (C6I2)
	They just like to say the opposite of what I expect sometimes, just to get me going and make things interesting. It gets you all fired up when someone does that. It makes you think and it makes you want to figure out a better way to make it work. (C4I3)
Normalizing failure	You will fail. You just will. By the time you accomplish something you will have failed 19 out of 20 times. (C3I6)
	We're a family. We bounce things off each other...and I don't think anyone worries what the other thinks. We're not going to be judged badly if something we tried failed. And so we can bounce that off of each other with no judgment. And that's often how we problem-solve, we talk it through and find a solution. (C3I6)
	When I fail the people I have around me help me to not fail next time. (C3I1)
	If you failed at something because you just didn't want to do the job, well we don't like that, that will not be looked at as the proper way to behave, but if you tried your hardest and something went wrong of course we forgive that. (C2I1)
	You can't begrudge each other. For our community to work we need to cheer each other on. Someone might have tried something and it didn't work out for a reason they couldn't control. Maybe the market collapsed, maybe the market wasn't ready, maybe there was an outside reason. Whatever it was, it's okay, we support it, no one gets banished for trying. (C4I2)
	It's just fun to try and fix things and improve things. (C1I2)

Table 3: Additional data for entrepreneurship-sustaining practices

Table 4: Maintaining Boundaries: Additional Supporting Data

Theme	Illustrative Data
Buffering from rules	Being able to explore, that's a powerful tool our community has. Big corporations are all so structured that you don't have that ability to explore. (C1I6)
	Off the colony less is possible. Legally it can't be done or the company doesn't allow it. (C1I6)
	Around here we are always asking, "Is there a better way?" and then making improvements and changing things. We couldn't do that off the colony. There are too many rules and processes. (C3I2)
Promoting self-sufficiency	We don't want to go off the colony if we don't have to. We want to figure out how to make it ourselves. (C1I7)
	If we see something we need we instantly start thinking how we can make it ourselves. Of course these days we can't do that with everything. The combines are way too complex for us to be able to build them. But the boys are sure good about figuring out how to fix them. Even the John Deere guys call us here on the colony when they are stuck and can't figure something out because most times we'll have done it. (C4I1)
	Our goal is to be self-sufficient. We want to be able to do it on the colony. Sure we buy things these days. We head to Wal-Mart, we go to the dentist, but we are always looking for how can we do it on the colony? What businesses fit our lifestyle? What will help us maintain self-sufficiency? (C1I1)
	If we want to maintain our ways we need to think of new things we can do on the colony. We don't want to work in the city. We want to stay separate. It's important to us as Hutterite people. (C2I1)
Slowing down time	Look at that light fixture. That was the result of me and the boys having the time to play around and welding some scrap metal. It wasn't meant to be a light fixture but we started playing around in the shop and that was the result. We've had lots of people come in to the office and ask if we can make them one like it. (C5I3)
	I think one of the big differences on the colony as compared to the way we live is they have more time. (E1)
	Personal reflection: Everything seems to move at a less frantic pace here. I enjoy being here because it is so much more relaxed.

Table 4: Additional data for maintaining boundaries theme

Table 5: Encouraging Collisions: Additional Supporting Data

Theme	Illustrative Data
Establishing a comfort zone	You can say what you mean around here because we don't need to be so polite and think about what we say around here. You won't get fired for suggesting something. That makes it easier to come up with ideas. (C4I1)
	When you grow up with the people you work with you get to know each other really well. You know who's good at what. You know who to go to for help when you are trying to figure something out. (C1I2)
Predicting potential problems	Around here we have the resources to allow guys to try things. Around here young guys can pursue different ideas. It's important that we have areas for them, areas where they feel meaningful. (C1I1)
	What you see in our community isn't everyone all the same. We are individuals. And I believe if you can support everyone as an individual they are a better part of the community. They immerse in the community if they feel they have a calling and if they are supported they will flourish and support back. (E4)
	Lots of times I think new ideas get developed because one guy loves to do something and he thinks hey, if I can turn this into a business I can do what I love. If it fits within our community we support that. (C1I6)
	Some of these young guys are all full of piss and vinegar and want to try new things. We try and allow for that. (C2I2)

Table 5: Additional data for encouraging collisions theme

Table 6: Providing Familial Wellbeing: Additional Supporting Data

Theme	Illustrative Data
Preventing worry	You know when you wake up in the middle of the night worried with that hurt, that feeling of worry. I don't like that feeling. And lucky for me I don't get that feeling very often. I don't wake up in the middle of the night wondering what's going to happen in ten years, or how my children will be provided for. I know that we have set up businesses and a way of life that will provide for my children. (C3I2)
	Observation notes: I sensed the feeling of satisfaction and contentment that Ben derived from working to build products and a way of life his grandkids would benefit from. In my interactions with Ben I've come to realize he's not one to show or express big displays of feeling, indeed most Hutterites (especially the males) aren't. But Ben's feeling of contentment glimmered through during this interaction and when he told me: "The thing about living here, on the colony, is that I am building for my grandkids. My little 5-year old grandson walks in here to see me and starts seeing what I'm doing, he starts doing little things, learning little things, that's how it should be." (C1I1)
	We Hutterites really emphasize taking care of our family. So you're born in a commune. And so let's say I grow old and somebody from the community there, mostly would be my siblings, would be exempt from work and would take care of me until my dying days. (C2I2*)*
	Colonies never go bankrupt because the other colonies will band together and bail that colony out. Well, I guess I shouldn't say never because there was one colony one time that went under but this was because the elders decided all the colonies needed a wakeup call. But except for this the colonies have a really good support system, we've got each other's backs. Because of this we can take risks and try different things. (C4I5)
	I think the Hutterite system provides a safety net that helps us feel like we can take some risks. (C2I2)
	My kids head out the door in the morning and lots of times I don't see them again until bed time. (C4I3)
Making it fun	I don't think I can say what exactly drives us to do new things. I do know it's different than on the outside world. I think it's just who we are. Most of the time I don't think we even mean to be entrepreneurial. We start playing around with something and we realize we could turn it into something. (C1I4)
	Observation notes: Debbie and I are headed across the yard on our way to clip tomato plants in the greenhouse. As we round the corner of the barn we come across three little boys - Josh, Luke, and Jonathan sitting down in the shade of the barn. Debbie takes one look at them and says affectionately; "What are you little troublemakers up to? Need something to do? See that pile of barrels over there? Why don't you figure out the best and quickest way to get them all stacked in to a neat pile. Yes, that's what you can play at for the afternoon. Off you go!"
	It's just fun to try and fix things and improve things. (C3I2)

Table 6: Additional data for providing familial wellbeing theme

Table 7: Fulfilling a Higher Purpose: Additional Supporting Data

Theme	Illustrative Data
Interjecting value	It's wrong to just take from someone, our code is you must add value. Or else you are just stealing. It's a code of practice that underlies what we do. You need to be able to look in the mirror in the morning and look at yourself and feel good about looking yourself in the eye. If you can't do that you have nothing. (C4I5)
	We are always looking to make things better. First off, we are cheap, we hate to have to buy things. We think Wal-Mart is expensive! So the first thing we do is we figure if we can make it ourselves and next we figure out if we can make it better and maybe turn it into a product we sell." Another Hutterite nods in agreement and says: "We'll buy one of something, bring it back to the colony, take it apart and figure out how it can be improved." (C3I2)
	Observation notes: It is -20 with a cold wind so I chose to wear my winter mukluks today. When I walk in to Dorothy's house she and Mary notice my boots. "Let me see those," says Dorothy. I hand a boot over and Dorothy inspects it. "I could make these, she says, "Actually, I think I could make them better. I'd give them better grip on the bottom and add more stuffing to the toe…yup, these look like good boots but you should have got us to make them for you. We could have made them better." (C5I2)
	We won't just do anything. If it's just about the bottomline they we are just 'stealing from orphans.' It's not fair to just trade something simply for profit. I think about that. Some will do it anyways, and I don't know I worry that we might be slipping, sliding down into the beginnings of a capitalistic system but that's not who we are. I think no it's not o.k. if it doesn't add value. Also what's the fun in it. Adding value that's the fun. No value, no fun. (C3I3)
Discouraging idle hands	Idle hands are the devil's friend. We need to ensure that our people have jobs and things to do to stay busy, so their hands aren't idle. That's why we support new ventures and ideas. It keeps us busy. (C4I3)
	We don't fire people and we can't have people without jobs so we need to come up with new ways to keep everyone busy. (C1I2)

Table 7: Additional data for fulfilling a higher purpose theme

CHAPTER 5: CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE WORK

Overview

My research focus in this dissertation has been to address questions regarding how established CBEs encourage and sustain *repeated* acts of entrepreneurship. Using qualitative procedures and a grounded theory analytic approach I investigated the ongoing creation of new business ideas, products and ventures within an established CBE. By paying attention to the multidimensional characteristics of *place,* unique geographically defined locations with material form and sets of meanings and values (e.g., Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Shrivastava & Kennelly, 2013), I contribute to the existing theory about community-based enterprising and habitual entrepreneurship by improving our understanding of how habitual communal entrepreneurship can become a placially-embedded phenomenon. My research highlights the important role of the characteristics of *place* by showing how within isolated, communal, small, and secure places ongoing entrepreneurship becomes a socially embedded community phenomenon which provides ongoing social and economic value. In addition, by showing the role of everyday social practices this study highlights how it is not just business practices and drivers that encourage and sustain recurrent entrepreneurship. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the theoretical contributions and implications of this research by highlighting how my findings extend the CBE literature, the habitual entrepreneurship literature, and the literature on place. Following this, I address the limitations of the current study and avenues for future inquiry, before presenting my conclusions.

Contributions and Implications

    CBE literature. Most fundamentally, my research provides additional support for the central claim of community entrepreneurship scholars, which is that new ideas, products, and

ventures can be "the result of a process in which *the community* acts entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure" (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006, p. 310). As such, my study joins other, such as Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007, Cahn, 2008, Campbell-Hunt et al., 2010, Dana & Dana, 2007, Dana & Light, 2011, Handy et al., 2011, Haugh, 2007, Peredo, 2001 in demonstrating how entrepreneurship can be a socially distributed process and how new products and ventures can emerge when community members collaborate in pursuit of the common good (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Peredo, 2015). As such, this research supports to the contention that bestowing entrepreneurial agency solely within the individual does not capture all that entrepreneurship is and does (Jennings, Greenwood, Lounsbury, & Suddaby, 2013).

Additionally, I find empirical support for the argument that community-based enterprising usually involves consideration of a multiplicity of goals thus reinforcing other empirical works which have demonstrated how economic transactions are interwoven with social relations and influenced by social and kinship obligations within a CBE (e.g., Cahn, 2008; Dana & Light, 2011; Peredo, 2001). My study reaffirms the argument that entrepreneurial opportunities are not always objectively identified (e.g., Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007) and my findings showed that the venturing engaged in by the Hutterites included an element of profit making, but was more aimed at profit as a means of community development and empowerment rather than as a means of accumulation or individual enrichment (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Specifically, within these Hutterite CBEs, my observations and interviews suggested that economic development was less important than maintaining their way of life and their sense of community. Fieldwork also revealed that the Hutterites entrepreneurial actions were motivated by their desire to create and maintain places which afforded spiritual fulfillment and psychological satisfaction, to ensure

their spiritual survival through calling and membership, to provide opportunities for authentic religious expression, to sustain their culture and identity, and to address group-specific needs. Finding this supports the suggestion that in CBEs, unlike in purely commercial venturing, individual income generation tends not to be the exclusive or primary goal (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). This reinforces prior CBE work, such as Dana & Light's (2011) study of Finnish reindeer herders, which found that the desired outcome of enterprising was not necessarily the maximization of financial profit (see also Cahn, 2008 and Manyara and Jones, 2007 for similar arguments).

While my study supports previous research findings on CBEs it also offers three key contributions to this literature. The first stems from the fact that my research was conducted within *established* CBEs that had been operating successfully for a number of years and had, and were continuing to, engage in entrepreneurial action. This provided the opportunity to go beyond previous research regarding the initial emergence of a CBE—the emphasis of much extant work—to repeated acts of communal entrepreneurship. A handful of other studies have explored established CBEs (e.g., Datta & Gailey, 2012; Handy et al., 2011), but such studies have remained mainly backward looking, and focused on uncovering the critical determinants that led to the CBE's initial development. As noted by Peredo (2015), prior work has not fully considered the ways in which these CBEs can maintain their gains and continue to thrive once established. Thus, my research moves our understanding forward by suggesting that one way for these CBEs to face up to the challenge of developing and maintaining the gains that the initial CBE delivered is through supporting and sustaining repeated acts of communal entrepreneurship. This has important normative implications because established CBEs, looking to adapt to

evolving economic and cultural globalization, should be encouraging repeated entrepreneurial activity (e.g., Fortunato and Alter, 2015; Ratten and Welpe, 2015).

The second key contribution to the CBE literature stems from the place-based lens adopted in my research, which calls attention to the roles of location, material form, and meaning (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Shrivastava & Kennelly, 2013) in encouraging and sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship. Specifically, my study showed the influence of location by revealing how *being isolated* can support entrepreneurship-sustaining practices such as tinkering, provoking, and normalizing failure. Exposing how a desire to remain isolated leads these communities to maintain strong boundaries further supported the argument that location plays a key role as strong boundaries were revealed to buffer and slow time, reinforcing the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that encourage and sustain the recurrent development of new business ideas, products, and ventures. This is interesting because it contradicts much of the prior work on entrepreneurial regions and districts, which suggests that being centrally located with access to venture capitalists, law firms, and universities and knowledge (Colyvas, 2007; Florida & Kenney, 1988; Suchman, Steward, & Westfall, 2001) is what will encourage and promote repeated entrepreneurial action.

My research also unearthed how a *small communal material form* allows members to get to know each other well, which can lead to entrepreneurship-sustaining practices such as provoking and considering the needs of others. In addition, my fieldwork revealed that this small communal form creates a place where social collisions are abundant. This encourages practices such as establishing a comfort zone and predicting problems, which further reinforces the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that encourage and sustain the ongoing development of new business ideas, products, and ventures. This is informative because research that has given

consideration to place has tended to focus on the socialized aspect of place at the expense of the material elements (as emphasized, for example, by Johnstone and Lionais 2004; Lang, Fink, and Kibler 2014; McKeever, Jack, and Anderson 2015).

My findings also reveal how the *meanings* and values intertwined in a place can make ongoing entrepreneurship a values-driven endeavor and communal phenomenon. The physical spaces in which these Hutterite communities constructed a material form, I argue, are *places* because they are also infused with socially constructed meaning (Johnstone & Lionnais, 2004; Tuan, 1977). However, little work has examined how the meaning associated with a place might influence behavior and action. This lack of attention to meaning is partly attributable to the nature of academic inquiry, which has tended to focus on more readily observable and measurable behaviors rather than something elusive and idiosyncratic (i.e., meaning). This Hutterite case takes on the challenge of identifying how the meaning of a community serves as a crucial mechanism driving new product and venture creation. This study improves our understanding by demonstrating how living and working within a place with secure and religious meaning can create a climate that channels behavior, promotes the circulation of information, encourages long-term investments of time and energy, and supports exchange relations governed by norms of reciprocity, trust, and mutual obligation (Coleman 1988).

Ever since the field of entrepreneurship became established as a management phenomenon, scholars have attempted to understand how and why entrepreneurs decide to pursue the process of entrepreneurship and varying motivational and behavior frameworks have been thoroughly investigated. As discussed previously, by highlighting how external situational issues, such as economic necessity, serve to "push" entrepreneurship (Shane, Locke, & Collins, 2003) the CBE literature has helped move the field beyond traits (e.g. gender, race, age) and

behavioral factors (e.g., commitment, perseverance, need for achievement, locus of control, tolerance for ambiguity, risk propensity) as the sole explanation for entrepreneurial activities or behaviors. This study further elaborates upon this contention by highlighting how the meaning encapsulated within a place can support or "push" entrepreneurial action. For example, the religious meaning that was attributed to these Hutterite colonies encouraged values such as disallowing arbitrage and discouraging idle hands which pushed forward entrepreneurial action. This is illuminating because it emphasizes the moral character of their economic transactions and shows how their entrepreneurial actions are pushed forward by the meaning housed within these places. As Shrivastava & Kennelly (2013) recently argued, "place has most often been used in management theory in a way that roots it firmly within the material world, with a socially constructed dimension that is less often explicit" (p.5). By making more explicit the role that the socially constructed meaning of the community plays in habitual communal entrepreneurship, this study extends what we already know by uncovering how the meaning of a place can "push" communal entrepreneurial action.

The third key contribution to the CBE literature is developed from the recognition that these Hutterite CBEs are economically prosperous and not operating in the midst of a crisis. While the Hutterite colonies I studied paralleled many of the conditions outlined by Peredo and Chrisman (2006) this notable distinction challenges prior theoretical and empirical work, which has found that acute crisis within the community is a condition that leads to the emergence of communal entrepreneurship (e.g. Cahn, 2007; Campbell-Hunt et al., 2010; Peredo, 2001). While Campbell- Hunt et al (2010) also studied the emergence of a CBE within a relatively prosperous context, there was still a crisis which triggered the communal entrepreneurship, in their case an ecological one. However, in my study there was no apparent crisis driving entrepreneurial

behaviour; rather, I observed that entrepreneurial action was seemingly an unintended result of practices developed from their desire to sustain a way of life and remain aligned with community principles. Thus, this study responds empirically to Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) challenge by exploring the applicability of the CBE model in a relatively well-off community, where factors other than stress are motivating factors. By applying a place perspective, I was able to uncover how communal entrepreneurship can become a socially-constituted community phenomenon encouraged by characteristics of place rather than crisis. Uncovering how entrepreneurship-sustaining practices can sometimes be an unplanned result of a community being embedded within a specific type of place makes the ubiquity and everydayness of entrepreneurship within certain places more apparent. In identifying the way children play, members interact, and members look out for each other's needs within a place, I move beyond a relatively narrow view of the entrepreneur as exceptional – a special person with a special competency – and instead argue that in certain places entrepreneurship is a type of action that can occur at nearly anytime, by nearly anyone. This study demonstrates how through the everyday actions that are engaged in as part of everyday life in these isolated, communal, small, secure places, habitual communal entrepreneurship becomes an everyday action.

Habitual entrepreneurship literature. By demonstrating how recurring risk taking, proactiveness, and the development and exploitation of new products and ventures is generating economic returns and supporting these communities, my research corroborates the contention that acting repeatedly entrepreneurial is beneficial (Anderson, Covin, and Slevin 2009; Li, Zhao, Tan, & Liu, 2008). Yet, this study does more than corroborate what we already know about habitual entrepreneurship. It also makes a two-fold contribution that improves our current appreciation of habitual entrepreneurship within group settings. First, this study illustrates that

112

habitual entrepreneurship creates value beyond financial gain. While creating entrepreneurial organizations and regions is most commonly positioned as a way to catalyze economic growth and wealth creation, as Fortunato and Alter recently suggested, "there is a need to explore what entrepreneurship can really do for communities beyond the traditional focus on economic growth; from enriching the local lifestyle to building self-sufficiency; from attracting new markets to rediscovering traditional work" (2011, p. 448). This study has highlighted how financial prosperity was a byproduct of passionately working on an entirely different objective, often a community-level cause or calling (Porras, Emery, & Thompson, 2007). This research identified a number of additional outcomes that can result from a community engaging in habitual entrepreneurship, such as creating jobs, preventing acculturation, building self-sufficiency, creating wellbeing, and adapting to evolving globalization.

Second, this study improves upon our existing understanding of habitual entrepreneurship by taking into account the ways in which entrepreneurial activities become a locally constituted everyday social practice supported and encouraged by the norms, values and beliefs established within the place. In so doing this study starts to fill the gap in our understanding created from neglecting to explicitly consider the importance of spatially variable sets of social conventions, norms, attitudes, values and beliefs. It provides a rare account of how habitual entrepreneurship can be promoted and sustained by the everyday social practices that occur within a small isolated setting not characterized by a relatively high emphasis on materialism (e.g., productivity, efficiency and profitability) and individualism (e.g., competitiveness) (Dyck & Schroeder, 2005)

This research is not intended to challenge the fact that economic incentives and business practices are often effective in encouraging entrepreneurial action. Indeed, prior work has adequately demonstrated that business drivers such as rewards for performance (Chandler,

Keller, & Lyon, 2000), a CEO who encourages more self-directive values (Berson, Oreg, &

Dvir, 2007), and individualism, external orientation, and decentralization (Brettel, Chomik, &

Flatten 2015; Zahra, Hayton, & Salvato, 2004) can play a key role in encouraging habitual

entrepreneurship. What this study does to improve our current understanding is move the

conversation beyond conventional business settings and high level business practices by

uncovering how, in this case, the characteristics of a place can encourage various social practices

that sustain recurrent entrepreneurship. For example, within these places it was revealed how the

social practice of widespread tinkering was pervasive and resulted in new furniture, new recipes

and new crafts, new parts for machinery, new latches for gates, and new ways to barbeque. As

well, this study uncovered how the social practice of considering and actively responding to the

needs of others compelled members to try and alleviate others' problems which led to repeated

opportunity recognition, development, and exploitation. Furthermore, this study discovered how

the social practice of provoking, challenging, or "oppositing" others pushes member to innovate

and improve, which encourages opportunity development and exploitation and drives forward

the entrepreneurial process. Likewise, the data shows how the practice of enabling at times even

celebrating failure made failure a normal and socially acceptable practice which also helped to

encourage and sustain habitual communal entrepreneurship. Identifying this combination of

practices addresses calls to provide a more placially-embedded explanation of entrepreneurship

(Steyaert & Katz, 2004, McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014) and contributes to understanding

how habitual entrepreneurship is influenced by ground-level social practices.

  Place literature. My research has supported the contention that place is a critical

component of organizational life and "can have profound consequences for the actors involved,

the actions they take, and the outcomes that follow" (Lawrence & Dover, 2015, p. 371). This

paper has pushed forward the argument for greater attention to place by demonstrating how important the components of place can be in encouraging and sustaining habitual entrepreneurship. In contrast to other scholars which have concluded that changes to our world, the rise of the internet, innovation, and transportation have made proximity and physical contact unnecessary, this research contends that places can have local characteristics which have important influences on behavior (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010; Marquis & Battilana, 2009). This study supports place scholars which contend that places are not simply sites of production and consumption, but locations of socialization, cultural acquisition, and meaningful social life (e.g., Johnstone and Lionnais, 2004) and concurs that places are a complex system of social relations, material objects, culture, and meaning (e.g., Hudson & Hudson, 2001). Yet, once again this study does more than just corroborate what has already been said about place. It also makes a contribution by challenging the current notion of the type of place that will encourage repeated acts of entrepreneurship.

The recurrent entrepreneurialism that I encountered within these Hutterite colonies brings the current state of theorizing about what characteristics of place creates and supports habitual entrepreneurship into sharp relief. The Hutterite context in which I found repeated entrepreneurial action was one in which community members interact frequently, dress the same, attend school together, attend church together, and dine together. These CBEs constrain the pursuit of individual freedoms, employ strong forms of social control to enforce conformity, erect sharp cultural boundaries between members and non-members, remain committed to their four-hundred-year old institutions, and are isolated. In these communities, members accrue no personal wealth and a strong socialist ideology flourishes.

Extant work could lead one to conclude that a this small, isolated, culturally homogenous community is one that will *prevent* people from developing entrepreneurial efforts (Marti et al, 2013). But, by employing ideas from scholarship about place this study develops our understanding of the type of place that can encourage entrepreneurial action by showing how being embedded within an isolated, communal, small, secure place can encourage and sustain repeated acts of communal entrepreneurship. Counter to previous studies, these Hutterite colonies challenge the belief that "gemeinschaft" communities (Toennies, 1957), which do not exist on the basis of exchange of useful functions and products, but rather by their shared beliefs and common understandings, will discourage entrepreneurial action. While prior work suggests an incompatibility between maintaining a community with internal harmony, trust, and "gemeinschaft" relationships and the encouragement of creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurial action, finding an abundance of entrepreneurial action within these isolated, communal, belief-based, small gemeinschaft communities challenges this notion. This study argues against the assumption that innovation and entrepreneurship is best promoted within competitive environments when two or more parties are pursuing a goal that cannot be attained by all. These Hutterite communities raise the possibility that certain places can be constructed where people will push themselves to innovate without the possibility of 'winning' or the threat of 'losing', which implies that not all entrepreneurship is motivated by competitive frameworks. Indeed, throughout my time spent within these Hutterian communities I observed countless large and small accomplishments emerge simply out of an individual's desire to tinker, to improve, to assist those they cared about, without any thought of beating others. Such playfulness, such striving, such caring, was not competitive or self-interested.

Limitations

Choosing to address the research questions that I did with an ethnographic study comes with the usual limitations of qualitative research. Although my research design facilitates in-depth analysis of community practices within CBEs, it is not possible to know how broadly generalizable my findings will be. Favouring depth of understanding over breadth means I cannot claim that I have provided a comprehensive list of all of the mechanisms and social practices that impact habitual communal enterprising. However, I am able to provide a thorough explanation of practices associated with ongoing community entrepreneurship in my setting, and I believe that these dynamics and factors will likely be important in other established CBEs where habitual communal enterprising is encouraged and sustained over time. Further research in other settings will be needed to determine to what extent and under what conditions this applies.

Thus, an important issue that emerges from my analysis is whether my findings can be generalized to other organizations and groups. While the cases studied are indeed "special cases" (Yin, 2004) or "extreme cases" (Eisenhardt, 1989), it is reasonable to assume that my model could be applicable as explained below. Consistent with ethnographic research methodology, my suggestions about the potential generalizability of the findings should not be viewed as definitive prescriptions, but rather as starting points for reflection and dialogue about ways to create and sustain organizations, communities, and groups that are conducive to encouraging and sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship.

First, I suggest that my findings could be informative to mainstream business organizations looking to sustain entrepreneurship. The example of ongoing entrepreneurship by Hutterites gives mainstream organizations a reason to pause and challenge a number of the current "best practices" being employed to promote entrepreneurship. For example, most

organizations attempt to empower innovation and entrepreneurship by hiring entrepreneurial individuals to bring fresh ideas and energy into their organizations, assuming that the best entrepreneurs are rare heroes with exceptional gifts. The Hutterite case shows that this might not be the best approach because everyone within a group or organization can be capable of novel thinking and problem solving, given the right type of place. Indeed, entrepreneurial individuals tend to burn bright for a while but then fizzle out, so relying on a few exceptional people for your ideas and habitual entrepreneurship is a short-term move that underestimates everyone else (Grant, 2016).

The Hutterite case also shows us there is value in interaction and a strong organizational culture. Organizations tend to assume that strong cultures and conformity make groups so homogeneous that members will avoid appropriate consideration of diverse views, reduce risk-taking, and become reactive rather than proactive. However, the Hutterite case suggests that is not necessarily so. The Hutterites are a tightly-connected cohesive group, but they do not dismiss divergent opinions or fall victim to groupthink. Instead, theses cohesive Hutterite CBEs with their strong culture, communicate well and are secure enough to feel comfortable challenging one another. The Hutterites show us that while cohesion and dissent sound contradictory, they need not be either/or constructs. The Hutterites have built places that combine cohesion and dissent in order to generate novel ideas and keep a strong culture from becoming one which avoids change and prevents expression. These Hutterite CBEs make dissent, or provoking, a common practice. By doing this they create an environment underpinned by homogenous values where members can openly express critical opinions and are encouraged to do so.

Today's organizations tend to build a hierarchy and enforce certain ways, times, and areas for interaction. Managers within most organizations have administrative assistants that are

tasked with acting as gatekeepers. Ideas are discussed at specific times and presented according to specific frameworks. The recurrent entrepreneurialism found within the Hutterites should give mainstream organizations reason to pause and reconsider these practices. While these colonies did have some degree of hierarchy, everyone communicated on a first-name basis, and did not feel it necessary to 'mind their manners'. There were no private offices, or administrative assistants to act as gatekeepers and prevent access to others in the colony. Members walked in and out of all the departments, buildings, and each other's homes. Meetings were often spontaneous and business was conducted in a living room or on the middle of the shop floor.

Furthermore, the Hutterite case puts forth a simple yet powerful message: organizations need to appreciate the value of caring about others. Caring, the Hutterites demonstrate, results in entrepreneurial action thus organizations need to find ways to embrace caring and humanity. Increasingly it seems that organizations in their search for efficiency and cost-savings are doing the opposite. Direct interaction and communication with others within the organization is being overshadowed by new technology that can save time, accommodate virtual meetings and increase efficiency and effectiveness. But can technology replicate face-to-face interaction? In today's organizations, how many employees have the time to get to know and care about one another?

The findings from this study should also be enlightening to other intentional communities and co-operative organizations looking for ways to survive and thrive. Across the past few decades there has been a resurgence of interest in more cooperative arrangements. According to a recent University of Wisconsin study (Deller, Hoyt, Hueth, & Sundaram-Stukel, 2009), nearly 30,000 cooperatives are currently in operation within the United States and many more are being established. The cooperatives already in operation own over $3 trillion in assets, and generate

119

over $500 billion in revenue annually. These cooperatives employ over 2 million people and pay an estimated $75 billion annually in wages. Recently, a number of new co-operative organizations have been established in the United States. For example, Clean and Green Laundry, a new Industrial laundry, has launched under a co-operative model. In Cincinnati, seven cooperative ventures ranging from a food hub to a railway manufacturer to a jewelry manufacturer have recently launched as part of a Cincinnati Union Co-op initiative. In 2012, the Steelworkers partnered with the Mondragon corporation and have been working on outlining a strategy for adapting the Mondragon model in the United States. I believe the findings from this Hutterite case study could be informative to those searching for ways to make these co-operative business models productive. This move toward a more co-operative business landscape is challenging, and establishing businesses that will survive and thrive long-term will require learning how to successfully build places that can support this form of enterprise. It requires learning how to successfully adopt a unique structure that runs against the grain of what people are familiar with within capitalist countries. The Hutterites provide insight into what it takes to successfully thrive as a socialist organization within a capitalist society.

Future work

I believe there are a number of important directions that future work could take. I will start by discussing two extensions that relate directly to my Hutterite case study and the data collected. Following this I will provide three additional suggestions for future work that could help further extend and develop the conclusions I have drawn in this study.

Given that my fieldwork identified several familial themes, one potential extension is to look at the Hutterite colony as a multi-family, multi-generational *"super"* family business and explore what they have to offer to the field of family business. When I explored the work that

has been done in family business I noted that despite assertions that family business scholarship is distinctive because of its attentiveness to the reciprocal influence of family and business (Astrachan, 2003; Pieper & Klein, 2007; Rogoff & Heck, 2003; Sharma, Chrisman, & Gersick, 2012; Sharma, Melin, & Nordqvist, 2014), research on how family affects business is considerably more voluminous than that on how business affects family (Nordstrom & Jennings, 2016). Clear evidence of this asymmetry can be found in Yu, Lumpkin, Sorenson, and Brigham's (2012) analysis, which revealed very few outcomes in the family sphere. Yet, numerous scholars have suggested that outcomes within the enterprising family are critical dependent variables that need to be considered in future research (Danes, 2014; Jennings, Breitkreuz, & James, 2013, 2014; Litz, Pearson, & Litchfield, 2012; Sharma et al., 2014; Yu et al., 2012). This is an area where I believe the Hutterite case can make a contribution. Thus, I am currently using my data to pursue the question, how can business ownership contribute positively to non-economic indicators of wellbeing for enterprising families? (Nordstrom & Jennings, 2016).

Another insight that emerged from this study that I would like to more fully develop in future work pertains to the dashed boxes and arrows at the bottom of the model, which reflects my finding that community values and spirituality were influencing entrepreneurship. Although early work suggested that religious values play a role in shaping economic activities (e.g., Smith, 1776; Weber, 1904), the majority of the research has centered on secular considerations with very little contemporary entrepreneurship research considering the role that faith and spiritual beliefs play in entrepreneurial activity. Recently scholars have called for research that develops a better understanding of the influence of values, religiosity, and spirituality (e.g., Balog, Baker & Walker, 2014). A number of scholars have suggested that there is a need to better understand the relative importance of religious and spiritual values at different levels of analysis and then to

121

relate such values to entrepreneurial activities (e.g., Morris and Schindehutte 2005). Looking at current entrepreneurship theories, one sees that they have largely omitted powerful social and cultural forces, such as religious beliefs. Undoubtedly, this is at least partly due to the fact that the relationship between religion and entrepreneurial behavior is complex and difficult to empirically research (De Noble, Galbraith, Singh, & Stiles 2007).

My qualitative fieldwork identified the Hutterite colony as a place where religion, work, and daily life intersect (for example I observed open prayer and worship during work in these colonies). As a result of this, I believe my qualitative study can provide insight into how certain community values and religious beliefs can impact the recognition of opportunities, creation of new products and ventures, and day-to-day operations within an organization (i.e., the characteristics of the entrepreneurial process). I believe I could reanalyze the data from this study and delve, more specifically, into the link between religious and spiritual values and levels of entrepreneurial orientation; i.e., innovativeness, proactiveness, risk taking, competitive aggressiveness, and autonomy (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Additionally, the findings from this study can illuminate potential new entrepreneurial performance measures. I discussed in the contributions how this study corroborates the CBE literature by showing how individual income generation tends not to be the primary outcome being sought by a CBE (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). Then I went on to suggest that the habitual communal entrepreneurship I observed was also being motivated by their desire to create and maintain places that afforded spiritual fulfillment and psychological satisfaction, to ensure their spiritual survival through calling and membership, to provide opportunities for authentic religious expression, and to sustain their culture and identity. While I offered this as a contribution to our understanding of what motivates habitual entrepreneurship, I also believe that spiritual fulfillment and psychological satisfaction,

spiritual survival through calling and membership, opportunities for authentic religious expression, and sustaining culture and identity could be positioned as performance measures. The entrepreneurship literature has not developed many performance outcomes, other than financial success, even though it has been suggested that studies should also consider using measures of success with spiritual and religious relevance (Cornwall and Naughton 2003). Even the work that has explored workplace spirituality falls back on financial measures and has been focused on demonstrating how workplaces that are spiritually supportive perform financially better (e.g., Garcia-Zamor, 2003; Fry, 2003; Giacalone and Jurkiewicz 2004). Because I observed that these Hutterite CBEs define success in terms of spiritual and religious outcomes, I believe this Hutterite case study holds the ability to answer a number of important questions and reveal further insights into how entrepreneurs are working to achieve, and derive benefit from, non-financial outcomes.

Second, the findings I have presented and discussed would be augmented by conducting similar studies in other CBEs, as well as in places with different characteristics and organizing dynamics. As a follow-up to this study it would be illuminating to look at places other than Hutterite colonies that are, or are trying to, encourage and sustain habitual entrepreneurship. It would be most illuminating to conduct a comparative study of places with different levels of isolation, communalism, size, and types of meaning. This would be beneficial in helping to further elaborate and extend the theory proposed in this thesis. For example, it would be interesting to compare the Hutterites to a small, regional entrepreneurial community and investigate questions such as: Which characteristics do these places share with the Hutterites? What characteristics are different? How are the characteristics of these places contributing to, or detracting from, habitual entrepreneurship? A comparative study would help to determine

whether all of the characteristics identified are required or whether, for example, a place that is isolated, small, and holds meaning for its inhabitants but is not communal could potentially produce the same habitual communal enterprising outcome that was observed within these Hutterite colonies.

Furthermore, it would be helpful to determine what level of isolation, communalism, size, and types of meaning are required to encourage habitual entrepreneurship. For example, I have recently become involved in a project exploring an entrepreneurial community group that has been described as "America's most undervalued entrepreneurial hub" and a new emerging "Silicon prairie" (Kaplan, 2015). Interestingly, this group is located within a fairly small, relatively isolated town. While this group is not as extreme an example as the Hutterites they are attempting to build a place with characteristics similar to those of the Hutterite colonies. This group is embracing a practice they call "loving your community and giving before you get". This group has established a co-working space where entrepreneurs share a location and resources and discuss ideas. I'm told how people here can do things quickly because the community has trust, and has established a place with less formal rules and processes. Similar to the Hutterites, there appears to be security and support network within this community that is enabling risk taking. Meeting spaces are provided for free by supportive coffee shops and restaurants. Logos and marketing support is provided for free by local graphic designers. While not as extreme, the entrepreneurial place that I see emerging appears to have many of the same characteristics that were identified as important characteristics of the Hutterite CBEs: This entrepreneurial group is operating in a place that is relatively isolated, relatively small, has some communal aspects, and the community has a value and belief structure that provides meaning.

Future research could also explore gender-related issues. Within the Hutterian Brethren only the males vote and are allowed hold the "front bench" positions. Men and women eat on separate sides of the dining hall and sit on opposite sides of the church. The Hutterite setting is clearly a patriarchal one and this raises a number of questions. It would be interesting to study enterprising communities where females are in leadership positions or where there is more equality. It would be interesting if future work tried to link gender to some of the emergent themes outlined in this thesis. For example: Does the physical separation of community members by gender help in creating a greater sense of security that enables same-sex members to engage in more provoking and not be worried about failing? Is this especially so for the women?

Conclusion

This dissertation supports and broadens understanding of the factors that facilitate habitual entrepreneurship within established CBEs. My findings challenge the view that places are largely irrelevant in today's connected, 'flat' world (Friedman, 2007), instead empirically supporting the contention that places can possess local characteristics that have important influences on behaviour (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010; Marquis & Battilana, 2009). Specifically, my emergent model depicts how isolated, communal, small, and secure places can promote everyday practices that sustain ongoing entrepreneurship. I identified the following four practices - tinkering, considering the needs of others, provoking, and, normalizing failure – as everyday social practices that were critical to sustaining habitual communal entrepreneurship. I also found that maintaining boundaries, encouraging social collisions, providing familial wellbeing, and fulfilling a higher purpose were important in maintaining a way of life, traditions, and values that this community held as central. Most importantly, based on my fieldwork I was able to develop a model showing how these practices designed to support and maintain the

community, also acted to reinforce the entrepreneurship-sustaining practices that encouraged and sustained habitual communal enterprising. This somewhat paradoxical notion of habitual communal enterprising as a byproduct of community maintenance is intriguing and requires further investigation. In contrast to the entrepreneurship-as-emancipation standpoint (Rindova et al., 2009) that views entrepreneurship as an activity enabling individuals to secure *freedom from* existing social constraints, my findings suggest that habitual communal enterprising can be an activity that provides the freedom to *maintain* such restrictions. It is my hope that future research can further investigate these important concepts.

REFERENCES

Agar, M. (1986). *Speaking of ethnography* (Vol. 2). Sage. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Aloulou, W., & A. Fayolle. (2005). A conceptual approach of entrepreneurial orientation within small business context. *Journal of Enterprising Culture 13*(1), 24–45.

Amin, A., Thrift, N.J. (1994). Living in the global. In: *Institutions and Regional Development in Europe.* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Anderson, B. S., J. G. Covin, & D. P. Slevin. (2009). Understanding the relationship between entrepreneurial orientation and strategic learning capability: An empirical investigation. *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal 3*, 218–240

Anderson, A. R., Drakopoulou Dodd, S., & Jack, S. L. (2012). Entrepreneurship as connecting: some implications for theorizing and practice. *Management Decision*, *50*(5), 958-971.

Ashcroft, B. (2001). *Post-colonial transformation*. New York: Routledge.

Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of management review*, *14*(1), 20-39.

Astrachan, J. (2003). Commentary on the special issue: The emergence of a field. *Journal of Business Venturing, 18*(5), 567-572.

Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1994). *Ethnography and participant observation. In Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Ed. N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 248-260.

Bacharach, S. B. (1989). Organizational theories: Some criteria for evaluation. *Academy of management review*, *14*(4), 496-515.

Balog, Baker & Walker. (2014) Religiosity and spirituality in entrepreneurship: a review and research agenda. *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion, 11*(2), 159-186.

Baron, R. A., & Ensley, M. D. (2006). Opportunity recognition as the detection of meaningful patterns: Evidence from comparisons of novice and experienced entrepreneurs. *Management science*, *52*(9), 1331-1344.

Barrett, G. (2015). Deconstructing community, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 55(2),182–204.

Becker, H. S. (1986). *Doing things together*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Berkes, F., & Adhikari, T. (2006). Development and conservation: indigenous businesses and the UNDP Equator Initiative. *International journal of entrepreneurship and small business*, *3*(6), 671-690.

Berkes, F., & Davidson-Hunt, I. (2007). Communities and social enterprises in the age of globalization. *Journal of Enterprising Communities 1*, 209–221.

Berson, Y., Oreg, S., & Dvir, T. (2008). CEO values, organizational culture and firm outcomes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *29*(5), 615-633.

Boje, D.M. (1995). Stories of the storytelling organization: A postmodern analysis of Disney as "Tamara-Land". *Academy of management journal, 38*(4), 997-1035.

Bradbury, H., & Lichtenstein, B. M. B. (2000). Relationality in organizational research: Exploring the space between. *Organization Science*, *11*(5), 551-564.

Bradley S.W., McMullen J.S., Artz, K, & Simiyu E.M. (2012). Capital is not enough: Innovation in developing economies. *Journal of Management Studies* 49: 684–717.

Brettel, M., Chomik, C., & Flatten, T. (2015). How organizational culture influences innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking: Fostering entrepreneurial orientation in SMEs. *Journal of Small Business Management, 53*(4), 868-885.

Brockhaus. (1980). Risk taking propensity of entrepreneurs. *Academy of management journal, 23*(3), 509–520.

Brumann, C. (2000). The Perils of the Dominance of One: Charismatic Leadership and Branch Structures in Utopian Communes. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 56*(4), 425-451.

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Social Paradigms and Organization Analysis*. Heinemann, London.

Cahn, M. (2008). Indigenous entrepreneurship, culture and micro-enterprise in the Pacific Islands: case studies from Samoa. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development, 20*(January), 1-18.

Campbell-Hunt, D. M., Freeman, C. and Dickinson, K. J. M. (2010). Community-based entrepreneurship and wildlife sanctuaries: case studies from New Zealand. *International Journal of Innovation and Regional Development, 2*, 4-21.

Carsrud, A., & Brännback, M. (2011). Entrepreneurial motivations: what do we still need to know?. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *49*(1), 9-26.

Chandler, G. N., Keller, C., & Lyon, D. W. (2000). Unraveling the determinants and consequences of an innovation-supportive organizational culture. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, *25*(1), 59-79.

Cobb, K. (2006). Color them plain but successful. *Fedgazette*, (Jan), 11-13.

Coleman, James S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology* 94, 95-121.

Colyvas, J. A. (2007). From divergent meanings to common practices: the early institutionalization of technology transfer in the life sciences at Stanford University. *Research Policy, 36*(4), 456-476

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (Vol. 3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Covin, J. G., & Slevin, D. P. (2002). The entrepreneurial imperatives of strategic leadership. *Strategic entrepreneurship: Creating a new mindset*, 309-327.

Cunliffe, A. (2011). Taking risks and daring to be different: The journey of growing. *Research Alive: Exploring Generative Moments in Doing Qualitative Research*, (27), 150.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2010). Crafting qualitative research: Morgan and Smircich 30 years on. *Organizational Research Methods*.

Curran, J., R. Blackburn, & Woods, A. (1991). Profiles of the Small Enterprise in the Service Sector. Kingston: Kingston University, ESRC Centre for Research on Small Service Sector Enterprise.

Dampha, A. and Camera, K. (2005). Empowering communities through forestry: Community based enterprise development in the Gambia. Working Paper No. 8. *Rome, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)*.

Dana L-P and Light I. (2011). Two forms of community entrepreneurship in Finland: Are there differences between Finnish and Sami reindeer husbandry entrepreneurs? *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development 23*, 331–352.

Dana, L-P and Dana, T. (2007). Collective entrepreneurship in a Mennonite community in Paraguay. *Latin American Business Review 8*(4), 82-96.

Danes, S.M. (2014). The future of family business research through the family scientist's lens. In L. Melin, M. Nordqvist & P. Sharma (Eds.), *Sage handbook of family business* (pp. 611-619). London: Sage.

Daskalaki M, Hjorth D., and J. Mair. (2015). Are entrepreneurship, communities, and social transformation related? *Journal of Management Inquiry 24*(4), 419-423.

Datta, P. B., & Gailey, R. (2012). Empowering women through social entrepreneurship: Case study of a women's cooperative in India. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *36*(3), 569-587.

Deller, Hoyt, Hueth, & Sundaram-Stukel. (2009). Research on the economic impact of cooperatives. *University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives*, *231*, 232-233.

De Noble, Galbraith, Singh, & Stiles. (2007). Market justice, religious orientation, and entrepreneurial attitudes: an empirical study. *Journal of enterprising communities: people and places in the global economy, 1* (2), 121–134.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, S. Y. (2011). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In K. D. N. a. Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

De Rond, M. (2009) *The last amateurs: To hell and back with the Cambridge boat race crew*. London: Icon Books.

Dess, G., & G. Lumpkin (2005). The role of entrepreneurial orientation in stimulating effective corporate entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Executive 19*(1), 147–156.

Dew, N., Read, S., Sarasvathy, S., & Wiltbank, R. (2009). Effectual versus predictive logics in entrepreneurial decision-making: Difference between experts and novices. *Journal of Business Venturing 24*, 287-309.

Di Domenico, M. (2011). Learning from and through collaborations. In M. di Domenico, S. Vangen, N. Winchester, D. K. Boojihawon & J. Mourdant (Eds.), *Organizational collaboration: Themes and issues*. London, UK: Routledge.

Di Domenico, M., Haugh, H., & Tracey, P. (2010). Social bricolage: Theorizing social value creation in social enterprises. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice 34*, 681–703.

Dougherty, D. (2002). Grounded theory research methods. *The Blackwell companion to organizations*. Oxford. 849-866.

Dyck, I. (2005). Feminist geography, the 'everyday', and local–global relations: hidden spaces of place-making. *The Canadian Geographer 49* (3), 233–243

Dyck, B., & Schroeder, D. (2005). Management, theology and moral points of view: Towards an alternative to the conventional materialist-individualist ideal-type of management. *Journal of Management Studies, 42* (4), 705-735

Eisenhardt, K. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review*, 532-550.

Elfenbein, H. A. (2007). Emotion in organizations: A review and theoretical integration. *Academy of Management Annals, 1*, 315–386.

Ellen, R. F. (1984). *Ethnographic research. A guide to general conduct*. New York: Academic Press.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (1996). *Composing ethnography: Alternative forms of qualitative writing (Eds)*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I. & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Engelen, A., T. Flatten, J. Thalmann, & M. Brettel. (2013). The effect of organizational culture on entrepreneurial orientation: A comparison between Germany and Thailand. *Journal of Small Business Management 52(4), 732-752.*

Etzkowitz, H. (2003). Research groups as 'quasi-firms': the invention of the entrepreneurial university. *Research policy, 32*(1), 109-121.

Fagerberg, J., Mowery, D., & Verspagen, B. (2009). *Innovation, Path Dependency, and Policy*. New York: Oxford.

Fiet, J., Norton, W., & Clouse, V. (2013) Search and discovery by repeatedly successful entrepreneurs. *International Small Business Journal, 31*(8), 890-913.

Florida, R. (1995). Toward the learning region. *Futures, 27*(5), 527-536.

Florida, R. (2002). The Economic Geography of Talent. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 92*(4), 743-755.

Florida, R., & Kenney, M. (1988). Venture capital, high technology, and regional development. *Regional Studies, 22*(1), 33-48.

Fonow, M.M., & Cook, J.A. (Eds). (1991). *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research*. Indiana University Press.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, 361-376.

Fortunato, M. W., & Alter, T. (2015). Community entrepreneurship development: an introduction. *Community Development*, *46*(5), 444-455.

Friedman, T. L. (2007) *The World is Flat 3.0: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Fritsch, M., & Franke, G. (2004). Innovation, regional knowledge, spillovers and R&D cooperation. *Research Policy, 33*(2), 245-255.

Gaglio, & Katz. (2001). The psychological basis of opportunity identification: entrepreneurial alertness. *Small business economics, 16* (2), 95–111.

Garcia-Zamor. (2003). Workplace spirituality and organizational performance. *Public administration review, 63* (3), 355–363

Geertz, C. (2002[1973]). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology* 36(6), 213-231.

Gephart, R. (1999). Paradigms and research methods. In *Research methods forum* 4(1), 11.

Gertler, M.S. (2004). *Manufacturing Culture: The Institutional Geography of Industrial Practice*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Giacalone & Jurkiewicz. (2003). Toward a science of workplace spirituality. In R. A. Giacalone, & C. L. Jurkiewics (Eds.), *The handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance*. New York. M.E. Sharpe, 3-28.

Gieryn, T. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology, 26*, 463-496.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Golden-Biddle, K., & Locke, K. (1993). Appealing work. An investigation of how ethnographic texts convince. *Organization Science, 4*(4), 595-616.

Golden-Biddle, K., & Locke, K. (2007). *Composing qualitative research*: Sage. Thousand Oaks, California (2nd Ed).

Goss, D. (2005). Entrepreneurship and 'the social': towards a deference-emotion theory. *Human Relations, 58*(5), 617-636.

Granovetter, Mark. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology 91*, 481-510.

Grant, A. (2016). How to build a culture of originality. *Harvard business review*, *94*(3), 18.

Green, K.M., Covin, J.G., & Slevin, D.P. (2008). Exploring the relationship between strategic reactiveness and entrepreneurial orientation: The role of structure-style fit. *Journal of Business Venturing, 23*, 356–383.

Greenwood, R., Díaz, A. M., Li, S. X., & Lorente, J. C. (2010). The multiplicity of institutional logics and the heterogeneity of organizational responses. *Organization Science*, *21*(2), 521-539.

Gruber, M., MacMillan, I.C., & Thompson, J.D. (2008) Look before you leap: Market opportunity identification in emerging technology firms. *Management Science 51*, 1652-1665.

Gruber, M., MacMillan, I.C., & Thompson, J.D. (2012) From minds to markets: How human capital endowments shape market opportunity identification of technology start-ups. *Journal of Management, 38*, 1421-1449.

Guthey, G. T., & Whiteman, G. (2009). Social and ecological transitions: Winemaking in California. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, *11*(3), 37.

Hitt, M. A. (2000). The New Frontier: Transformation of Management for the New Millennium. *Organizational Dynamics 28*, 7–17.

Hitt, M. A., & Reed, T. S. (2000). Entrepreneurship in the new competitive landscape. *Entrepreneurship as strategy*, 23-48.

Hall, J., Matos, S., Sheehan, L., & Silvestre, B. (2012). Entrepreneurship and innovation at the base of the pyramid: a recipe for inclusive growth or social exclusion? *Journal of Management Studies*, *49*(4), 785-812.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1997). *Ethnography. Principles in practice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Handy, F., Cnaan, R. A., Bhat, G., & Meijs, L. C. (2011). Jasmine growers of coastal Karnataka: Grassroots sustainable community-based enterprise in India. *Entrepreneurship & regional development*, *23*(5-6), 405-417.

Haney, S. (2012). Quit with the Hutterite bashing. www.realagriculture.com. May 2, 2012.

Haugh, H. (2007). Community-Led Social Venture Creation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 31*(2), 161-182.

Hauser, J., G. J. Tellis, & Griffin, A. (2006). Research on innovation: A review and agenda for marketing science. *Marketing Science 25*(6), 687–717.

Hayward, M. L., Shepherd, D. A., & Griffin, D. (2006). A hubris theory of entrepreneurship. *Management Science*, *52*(2), 160-172.

Hazare, A. (1997). *Ralegan Siddhi: A veritable transformation*. (Translated by B. S. Pendse.) Ralegan Siddhi: Ralegan Siddhi Pariwar Publications.

Hicks, D. (1984). Time-tabling. In R. F. Ellen (Ed.), *Ethnographic research: A guide to general conduct*. London: Academic Press.

Hindle, K., & Moroz, P. (2010). Indigenous entrepreneurship as a research field: developing a definitional framework from the emerging canon. *International entrepreneurship and management journal*, *6*(4), 357-385.

Hitt, M.A. (2000). The new frontier: Transformation of management for the new millennium. *Organizational Dynamics*, *28*, 7–17.

Holloway, L., Hubbard, P. (2001). *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life*. Prentice Hall, Harlow

Hornsby, J.S., Kuratko, D.F. & Zahra, S.A. (2002). Middle managers' perception of the internal environment for corporate entrepreneurship: assessing a measurement scale. *Journal of Business Venturing, 17*, 253-73.

Hostetler, J. A. (1997). *Hutterite society*. JHU Press.

Hudson & Hudson. (2001). *Producing places*. New York: Guilford Press.

Humphreys, M. and Watson, T. J. (2009). Ethnographic practices: From 'writing-up ethnographic research' to 'writing ethnography'. In S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels, and F. Kamsteeg (eds) *Organizational Ethnography Studying the Complexities of Everyday Organizational Life*, 40–55. London: Sage.

Ireland, R.D., Hitt, M.A., & Sirmon, D.G. (2003). A model of strategic entrepreneurship: The construct and its dimensions. *Journal of management 29*(6), 963-989.

Jackson, J. (1989). "Deja Entendu": The liminal qualities of anthropological fieldnotes. In J. Van Maanen (Ed.), *Representation in Ethnography*, 36-78. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

James, A. (2005). Demystifying the role of culture in innovative regional economies. *Regional Studies 39* (9), 1197–1216.

Janzen, R., & Stanton, M. (2010). *The Hutterites in North America*. JHU Press. Baltimore.

Jarzabkowski, P., Bednarek, R., & Lê, J. K. (2014). Producing persuasive findings: Demystifying ethnographic textwork in strategy and organization research. *Strategic Organization*, *12*(4), 274-287.

Jelinek, M. & Litterer, J. (1995). Toward entrepreneurial organizations: Meeting ambiguity with engagement. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 19*(3), 137–169.

Jennings, J.E., Breitkreuz, R., & James, A. (2013). When family members are also business owners: Is entrepreneurship good for families? *Family Relations, 62*(3), 472-489.

Jennings, J.E., Breitkreuz, R., & James, A. (2014). Theories from family science: A review and roadmap for family business research. In L. Melin, M. Nordqvist & P. Sharma (Eds.), *Sage handbook of family business* (pp. 25-46). London: Sage.

Jennings, P. D., Greenwood, R., Lounsbury, M., & Suddaby, R. (2013). Institutions, entrepreneurs, and communities: A special issue of entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing, Special Issue*, 1 - 9.

Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative science quarterly*, *24*(4), 602-611.

Johannisson, B. (1990). Community entrepreneurship-cases and conceptualization. Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, 2(1), 71-88.

Johannisson, B., & Nilsson, A. (1989). Community entrepreneurs: networking for local development. *Entrepreneurship & regional development*, *1*(1), 3-19.

Johannisson, B., Ramirez-Pasillas, M., & Karlsson, G. (2002). The institutional embeddedness of local inter-firm networks: A leverage for business creation. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development, 14*, 297–315.

Johnson, A. (1987). The death of ethnography: Has anthropology betrayed its mission? *The Sciences 27*(2), 24–31.

Johnstone, H., & Lionais, D. (2004). Depleted communities and community business entrepreneurship: revaluing space through place. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *16*(3), 217-233.

Jones, C., & Spicer, A. (2005). The sublime object of entrepreneurship. *Organization*, *12*(2), 223-246.

Kaplan, S. (2011). Strategy and PowerPoint: An inquiry into the epistemic culture and machinery of strategy making. *Organization Science 22*(2), 320–46.

Kaplan, D. (2015). Inside Fargo, America's most undervalued tech hub. December 18, 2015. http://fortune.com/2015/12/18/fargo-tech-community/

Kasser, T. (2003). *The High Price of Materialism*. Cambridge, Mass.: A Bradford Book, MIT Press.

Kasser, T. and Ryan, R.M. (2001). 'Be careful what you wish for: Optimal functioning and the relative attainment of intrinsic and extrinsic goals.' In P. Schmuck and K.M. Sheldon (Eds.) *Life goals and Well-Being: Towards a Positive Psychology of Human Striving*. Goettingen, Germany: Hogrefe & Huber, 116-131.

Katz, Y., & Lehr, J. (2012). *Inside the Ark: The Hutterites in Canada and the United States*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center Press, University of Regina.

Kenney, M. (2000). *Understanding Silicon Valley: the anatomy of an entrepreneurial region*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.

Klepper, S. (2007). Disagreements, spinoffs, and the evolution of Detroit as the capital of the U.S. automobile industry. *Management Science, 53*(4), 616-631.

Klepper, S. (2007). Disagreements, spinoffs, and the evolution of Detroit as the capital of the U.S. automobile industry. *Management Science, 53*(4), 616-631.

Kolvereid, L. (1992). Growth aspirations among Norwegian entrepreneurs. *Journal of business venturing*, *7*(3), 209-222.

Kraybill, D. B., & Nolt, S. M. (1995). Amish Enterprise: From Plows to Profits. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kreiser, P. M., L. D. Marino, P. Dickson, and K. M. Weaver (2010). Cultural Influences on Entrepreneurial Orientation: The Impact of National Culture on Risk Taking and Proactiveness in SMEs. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice 34*(5), 959–983.

Lang, R., Fink, M., & Kibler, E. (2014). Understanding place-based entrepreneurship in rural Central Europe: A comparative institutional analysis. *International Small Business Journal*, *32*(2), 204-227.

Langley, A. (1999). Strategies for theorizing from process data. *Academy of Management Review 24*(4), 691–710.

Lawrence, T., & Dover, G. (2015). Place and institutional work: Creating housing for the hard-to-house. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 60*(3), 371-410.

Li, Y., Zhao, Y., Tan, J., & Liu, Y. (2008). Moderating Effects of Entrepreneurial Orientation on Market Orientation-Performance Linkage: Evidence from Chinese Small Firms. *Journal of Small Business Management 46*(1), 113–133.

Litz, R.A., Pearson, A.W., & Litchfield, S. (2012). Charting the future of family business research: Perspectives from the field. *Family Business Review, 25*(1), 16-32.

Locke, K. (2011). Narratives of quality in qualitative research: Putting them in context. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *84*(4), 656-660.

Lumpkin, G.T., & Dess, G. (1996). Clarifying the entrepreneurial orientation construct and linking it to performance. *Academy of Management Review, 21*(1), 135-172

Lounsbury, M. (1998). Collective entrepreneurship: the mobilization of college and university recycling coordinators. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 11*(1), 50-69

Lounsbury, M. & Glynn, M. (2001) Cultural entrepreneurship: Stories, Legitimacy, and the acquisition of resources. *Strategic Management Journal, 22*, 545-564.

Lumpkin, G., and G. Dess (1996). Clarifying the Entrepreneurial Orientation Construct and Linking It to Performance. *Academy of Management Review 21*(1), 135–172.

MacLean, M., Harvey, C., & Gordon, J. (2013). Social innovation, social entrepreneurship and the practice of contemporary entrepreneurial philanthropy. *International Small Business Journal*, *31*(*7)*, 747-763.

Mair, J., & Marti, I. (2009). Entrepreneurship in and around institutional voids: A case study from Bangladesh. *Journal of business venturing*, *24*(5), 419-435.

Maitlis, S. (2005). The social processes of organizational sensemaking.*Academy of Management Journal*, *48*(1), 21-49.

Malach, R. L., & Malach, S. (2010). Hutterite Brethren: old world values and new age technologies. In *Entrepreneurship and Religion*, edited by Dana, L-P. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK. 202-211.

Malecki, E.J., 1995. Culture as a mediator of global and local forces. In: Van der Knaap, B., Le Heron, R. (Eds.), *Human Resources and Industrial Spaces: A Perspective on Globalization and Localization*. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester, 105–128.

Manyara, G., & Jones, E. (2007). Community-based tourism enterprises development in Kenya: An exploration of their potential as avenues of poverty reduction. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *15*(6), 628-644.

Marquis, C., & Battilana, J. (2009). Acting globally but thinking locally? The enduring influence of local communities on organizations. *Research in organizational behavior*, *29*, 283-302.

Marquis, C., & Lounsbury, M. (2007). Vive la résistance: Competing logics and the consolidation of US community banking. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(4), 799-820.

Marquis, C., Lounsbury, M., & Greenwood, R. (2011). Introduction: Community as an institutional order and a type of organizing. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations, 33*, ix-xxvii.

Marti, I., Courpasson, D., & Barbosa, S. D. (2013). "Living in the fishbowl". Generating an entrepreneurial culture in a local community in Argentina. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *28*(1), 10-29.

Mayan, M. (2009). *Essentials of Qualitative Inquiry*. Routledge, London and New York.

McCann, B. T., & Folta, T. B. (2008). Location matters: where we have been and where we might go in agglomeration research. *Journal Of Management, 34*(3), 532-565.

McGrath, R. G., & MacMillan, I. C. (2000). *The entrepreneurial mindset: Strategies for continuously creating opportunity in an age of uncertainty* (Vol. 284). Harvard Business Press. Harvard.

McKeever, E., Anderson, A., & Jack, S. (2014). Entrepreneurship and mutuality: social capital in processes and practices. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *26*(5-6), 453-477.

McKeever, E., Jack, S., & Anderson, A. (2015). Embedded entrepreneurship in the creative re-construction of place. *Journal of Business Venturing, 30*(1), 50-65.

Meehan, A. J., & Ponder, M. C. (2002). Race and place: The ecology of racial profiling African American motorists. *Justice Quarterly*, *19*(3), 399-430.

Michaud, V. (2014). Mediating the paradoxes of organizational governance through numbers. *Organization Studies 35*(1), 75–101.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. Sage, California.

Miller, D. (1983). The correlates of entrepreneurship in three types of firms. *Management science*, *29*(7), 770-791.

Mitchell, K. J., & Johnson, M. K. (2000). Source monitoring: Attributing mental experiences. In Tulving, E., & Craik, F. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 179-195.

Morgan, K. (1997). The learning region: institutions, innovation and regional renewal. *Regional Studies 31*, 491–504.

Morgan, G., & Smircich, L. (1980). The case for qualitative research. *Academy of management review*, *5*(4), 491-500.

Morris & Schindehutte. (2005). Entrepreneurial values and the ethnic enterprise: an examination of six subcultures. *Journal of small business management, 43* (4), 453–479

Mosey, S., & Wright, M. (2007). From human capital to social capital: A longitudinal study of technology-based academic entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship theory and practice*, *31*(6), 909-935.

Mottiar, Z., & Ingle, S. (2007). Broadening the Entrepreneurial Perspective: Intrepreneurship in an Irish Furniture Region. *International Small Business Journal, 25*(6), 667-680.

Moulaert F., Martinelli F., Swyngedouw E., & Gonzalez, S. (2005). Towards alternative model(s) of local innovation. *Urban Studies 42*: 1969–1990.

Muthuri J.N., Moon, J., & Idemudia, U. (2012). Corporate innovation and sustainable community development in developing countries. *Business and Society 51*, 355–381

Nordqvist, M., Hall, A., & Melin, L. (2009). Qualitative research on family businesses: The relevance and usefulness of the interpretive approach. *Journal of Management and Organization*, *15*(3), 294.

Nordstrom, O., & Jennings, J. E. (2014). How family interaction patterns influence entrepreneurial processes: Insights from the Hutterites. *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, *34*(12), 1.

Nordstrom, O., & Jennings, J. (2016). Family Business Practices that Foster Familial Wellbeing: Insights from an Ethnographic Study. *Invited paper and presentation at Theories of Family Enterprise Conference, Edmonton, AB*.

Oinas, P., 1997. On the socio-spatial embeddedness of business firms. *Erdkunde 51*, 23–32.

Orozco-Quintero, A. & Davidson-Hunt, I. (2009). 'Community-based enterprises and the commons: The case of San Juan Nuevo Parangaricutiro, Mexico'. *International Journal of the Commons, 4,* 8-35.

Payne, G. T., Moore, C. B., Griffis, S. E., & Autry, C. W. (2011). Multilevel challenges and opportunities in social capital research. *Journal of Management*, *37*(2), 491-520.

Pe-er, A., & Keil, T. (2013). Are all startups affected similarly by clusters? Agglomeration, competition, firm heterogeneity, and survival. *Journal of Business Venturing, 28*, 354-372.

Peredo, A. M. (2001) 'Communal Enterprises, Sustainable Development and The Alleviation of Poverty in Rural Andean Communities', Faculty of Management. Calgary, University of Calgary.

Peredo, A. M. (2003). Emerging strategies against poverty: The road less traveled', *Journal of Management Inquiry, 12*, 155-66.

Peredo, A. M. (2015). Poverty, reciprocity and community-based entrepreneurship. In T. Baker & F. Welter (Eds) *The Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship*. Routledge, 263-280.

Peredo, A. M., & Anderson, R. B. (2006). Indigenous entrepreneurship research: Themes and variations. In CS Galbraith & CH Stiles (Eds.) Developmental Entrepreneurship: Adversity, Risk and Isolation. Elsevier, Oxford, UK. 253-273.

Peredo, A., & Chrisman, J. (2006). Toward a theory of community based enterprise. *Academy of Management Review, 31*(2), 309-328.

Peredo, A. M., & McLean, M. (2006). Social entrepreneurship: A critical review of the concept. *Journal of world business*, *41*(1), 56-65.

Peredo, A.M., & McLean, M. (2013). Indigenous development and the cultural captivity of *entrepreneurship. Business & Society, 52*(4), 592-620.

Pieper, T.M., & Klein, S.B. (2007). The bullseye: A systems approach to modeling family firms. *Family Business Review, 20*(4), 301-319.

Polanyi, K. (1957). *The Great Transformation:(the Political and Economic Origin of Our Time)*. Beacon Press. Boston, MA.

Porras, Emery, & Thompson. (2007). *Success built to last: Creating a life that matters*. Pearson Education.

Portes, A. (1981). Modes of Structural Incorporation and Present Theories of Labor Immigrations. In *Global Trends in Migration*, edited by M.M. Kritz, C.B. Keely, and S.M. Tomasi. Staten Island, NY: CMS Press, 279-97.

Portes, A. & Bach, R.L. (1985). *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, A. & Jensen, L. (1987). What's an ethnic enclave? The case for conceptual clarity. *American Sociological Review 52*, 768-71.

Prus, R. (1996). *Symbolic interaction and ethnographic research. Intersubjectivity and the study of human lived experience*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Ratten, V. & Welpe, I. (2011). 'Community-based, social and societal entrepreneurship', *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, 23*(5-6), 283-286.

Relph, E. (1976). Place and placelessness *Research in Planning and Design* (Vol. 1). London: Pion.

Rindova, V., Barry, D., & Ketchen, D. J. (2009). Entrepreneuring as emancipation. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(3), 477-491.

Ring JK, Peredo A.M., & Chrisman J.J. (2010). Business networks and economic development in rural communities in the United States. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice 34*: 171–195

Ritzer, G. (2012). *The McDonaldization of Society 20th Anniversary*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Rogoff, E.G., & Heck, R. (2003). Evolving research in entrepreneurship and family business: recognizing family as the oxygen that feeds the fire of entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing, 18*(5), 559-566.

Rosa, P. and D. Hamilton (1994). Gender and ownership in UK small firms. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice 18*, 11–27.

Rosa, P. and M. Scott (1999). The prevalence of multiple owners and directors in the same sector: Implications for our understanding of start-up and growth. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development 11*, 21–37.

Roseland M. 2000. Sustainable community development: Integrating environmental, economic, and social objectives. *Progress in Planning 54*. 2.: 73–132.

Ruef, M. (2010). *The entrepreneurial group: Social identities, relations, and collective action*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

Rutherford, M.W. & Holt, D.T. (2007). Corporate entrepreneurship: An empirical look at the innovativeness dimension and its antecedents. Journal of Organizational Change Management, 20, 429– 446.

Sampson, R. J. (2012). *Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect*. University of Chicago Press.

Sassen, S. (2001). Cities in the global economy. *Handbook of urban studies*, 256-272.

Saxenian, A. (1996). *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shane, Locke, & Collins. (2003). Entrepreneurial motivation. *Human resource management review, 13* (2), 257–279.

Sharma, P., Chrisman, J.J., & Gersick, K.E. (2012). 25 years of family business review: Reflections on the past and perspectives for the future. *Family Business Review, 25*(1), 5-15.

Sharma, P., Melin, L., & Nordqvist, M. (2014). Introduction: Scope, evolution, and future of family business studies. In L. Melin, M. Nordqvist & P. Sharma (Eds.), *Sage handbook of family business*. London: Sage.

Shepherd, D. A., & Patzelt, H. (2011). The new field of sustainable entrepreneurship: studying entrepreneurial action linking "what is to be sustained" with "what is to be developed". *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *35*(1), 137-163.

Shepherd, D. A., Patzelt, H., & Haynie, J. M. (2010). Entrepreneurial spirals: Deviation-amplifying loops of an entrepreneurial mindset and organizational culture. *Entrepreneurship theory and practice*, *34*(1), 59-82.

Shrivastava, P., & Kennelly, J. J. (2013). Sustainability and place-based enterprise. *Organization & Environment*, 1086026612475068.

Sieger, P., Zellweger, T., Nason, R. S., & Clinton, E. (2011). Portfolio entrepreneurship in family firms: a resource-based perspective. *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal*, *5*(4), 327-351.

Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data* (Vol. Third Edition). London: Sage Publications Inc

Smith, A. (1937). *The wealth of nations [1776]* (p. 421). na.

Smith R. 2012. Developing and animating enterprising individuals and communities. *Journal of Enterprising Communities* 6: 57–83.

Soja, E.W. (1996). Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places. Cambridge, MA. Blackwell

Somerville P and G. McElwee. 2011. Situating community enterprise: A theoretical exploration. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 23: 317–330.

Spradley, J. (1980). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.

Spreitzer, G. & Sonenshein, S. 2003. Positive deviance and extraordinary organizing. In K. Cameron, J. Dutton, and R. Quinn (Eds.), Positive organizational scholarship: 207-224. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Steyaert, C., & Katz, J. (2004). Reclaiming the space of entrepreneurship in society: geographical, discursive and social dimensions. *Entrepreneurship & regional development*, *16*(3), 179-196.

Stake, R. E. (1994). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin & YS Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 236-247.

Stake, R. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications Ltd.

Stevens R, Moray N and Bruneel J. 2014. The social and economic mission of social enterprises: Dimensions, measurement, validation, and relation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 39. 5.: 1051–1082

Stewart, A. (1998). *The ethnographer's method* (Vol. 46). Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Storper, M., 1995. The resurgence of regional economies, ten years later: the region as a nexus of untraded interdependencies. European Urban and Regional Studies 2, 191–222.

Storper, M., 1997. The Regional World: Territorial Development in a Global Economy. Guilford Press, London.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. 1998. Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Suchman, M. C., Steward, D. J., & Westfall, C. A. (2001). The legal environment of entrepreneurship: observations on the legitimation of venture finance in Silicon Valley. In C. Schoonhoven & E. Romanelli (Eds.), *The Entrepreneurship Dynamic: Origins of Entrepreneurship and the Evolution of Industries* (pp. 349-382). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Taylor, M. 1999. The small firm as a temporary coalition. Entrepreneurship and Regional Development, 11: 1–19.

Tedmanson, D. Essers, C., Dey, P., and K. Verduyn. 2015. An Uncommon Wealth… Transforming the Commons with Purpose, for People and Not for Profit! *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 24. 4., 439–444.

Thomas, D. F., & Cross, J. E. (2007). Organizations as place builders. *Journal of Behavioral and Applied Management, 9*(1), 33-61.

Thomas, D. F., Jurin, R. R., Gould, J. M., & Gaede, D. B. (2011). Transformational place building: A mixed method exploration of small businesses. *Journal of Enterprising Communities, 5*, 286-299.

Thornton, R. (1988). The rhetoric of ethnographic holism. *Cultural anthropology, 3*(3) 285–303.

Tita, G. E., Cohen, J., & Engberg, J. (2005). An ecological study of the location of gang "set space". *Social problems*, *52*(2), 272-299.

Toennies, Ferdinand. [1887](1957). *Community and Society*. Translated by Charles P. Loomis. New York: Harper.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1975). Place: An experiential perspective. *Geographical Review, 65*: 151–165

Ucbasaran, D., Baldacchino, L., & Lockett, A. (2014). Recent developments in the study of habitual entrepreneurship and a look to the future. *The Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship*, 131.

Ucbasaran, D., Wright, M., Westhead, P., & Busenitz, L. W. (2003). The impact of entrepreneurial experience on opportunity identification and exploitation: Habitual and novice entrepreneurs. *Advances in entrepreneurship, firm emergence and growth*, *6*, 231-263.

Ucbasaran, D., Westhead, P., & Wright, M. (2008). *Habitual entrepreneurs*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Uzzi, B. (1996). The sources and consequences of embeddedness for the economic performance of organizations: The network effect. *American sociological review*, 674-698.

Van Maanen, J. V. (1988). Tales of the Field. *On writing ethnography. University of Chicago*.

Van Maanen, J. (2010). A Song for My Supper: More Tales of the Field. *Organizational Research Methods 13*(2): 240–55.

Van Maanen, J. (2011). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. University of Chicago Press.

Venkataraman, S., Sarasvathy, S. D., Dew, N., & Forster, W. R. (2012). Reflections on the 2010 AMR decade award: Whither the promise? Moving forward with entrepreneurship as a science of the artificial. *Academy of Management Review*, *37*(1), 21-33.

Vestrum, I. (2014). The embedding process of community ventures: creating a music festival in a rural community. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, 26*(7-8), 619-644.

Wales, W., Monsen, E. and McKelvie, A. (2011), The Organizational Pervasiveness of Entrepreneurial Orientation. Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 35, 895–923.

Walck, C. (2004). Healing the divided mind: Land as an integrating concept for organizations and the natural environment. Organization & Environment, 17, 170-194.

Wang, C. (2008). "Entrepreneurial Orientation, Learning Orientation, and Firm Performance," Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice 32(4), 635–657.

Weber, M. (1958[1904]). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (transl. T Parsons). NY: Scribner's.

Westhead, P., Ucbasaran, D., Wright, M., & Binks, M. (2004). Policy toward novice, serial, and portfolio entrepreneurs. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, *22*(6), 779-798.

Welter, F. (2011). Contextualizing entrepreneurship—conceptual challenges and ways forward. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *35*(1), 165-184.

Werner, O. (1999) Hutterite beginnings: Communitarian experiments during reformation. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Westhead, P., & Wright, M. (1998). Novice, portfolio, and serial founders: are they different?. *Journal of business venturing*, *13*(3), 173-204.

Westhead, P., & Wright, M. (1999). Contributions of novice, portfolio and serial founders located in rural and urban areas. *Regional studies*, *33*(2), 157.

Westhead, P., Ucbasaran, D., Wright. M., & Binks, M. (2004). Policy toward novice, serial and portfolio entrepreneurs. *Environment and Planning: Government and Policy 22*, 779–798

Whiteman, G. (1999). Managing Outside: An ethnographic study of the Cree tallyman of Eastern James Bay. Ottawa. National Library of Canada

Whiteman, G., & Cooper, W. H. (2000). Ecological embeddedness. *Academy of Management Journal*, *43*(6), 1265-1282.

Whittington, K., Owen-Smith, J., & Powell, W. W. (2009). Networks, Propinquity, and Innovation in Knowledge-intensive Industries. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 54*(1), 90-122.

Wiklund, J. (1999). "The Sustainability of the Entrepreneurial Orientation-Performance Relationship," Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice 24(1), 39–50.

Wilson, K.L. & A. Portes. 1980. "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami." The American Journal of Sociology 86:295-319.

Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: description, analysis, and interpretation*: Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Wolcott, H. F. 1995. Making a study 'more' ethnographic. In Van Maanen, J. (Ed.), Representation in Ethnography: 86-111. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Wolfe, D.A., Gertler, M.S. (2001). Innovation and social learning: an introduction. In: Gertler, M.S., Wolfe, D.A. (Eds.), *Innovation and Social Learning: Institutional Adaptation in an Era of Technological Change*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, pp. 1–24

148

Yanow, D., Ybema, S. B. and van Hulst, M. (2012) "Practising Organizational Ethnography," in G. Symon and C. Cassell (eds) Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges, pp. 351–72. London: Sage

Yin, R. (2004). *The case study anthology*. Sage. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Yin, R. (2011). *Applications of case study research*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Young, S. (2003). Old world values: Modern-day success. *Argus Leader*, 16 (November).

Yu, A., Lumpkin, G.T., Sorenson, R., & Brigham, K. (2012). The landscape of family business outcomes: A summary and numerical taxonomy of dependent variables. *Family Business Review, 25*(1), 33-57.

Zahra, S. A. (1993). A conceptual model of entrepreneurship as firm behavior: A critique and extension. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice,17*(4), 5-22.

Zahra, S. A., & Covin, J. G. (1995). Contextual influences on the corporate entrepreneurship-performance relationship: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of business venturing*, *10*(1), 43-58.

Zahra, S. A., Hayton, J. C., & Salvato, C. (2004). Entrepreneurship in family vs. Non-Family firms: A Resource-Based analysis of the effect of organizational culture. *Entrepreneurship theory and Practice*, *28*(4), 363-381.

Zahra, S.A., Jennings, D.F. and Kuratko, D.F. (1999a), "The antecedents and consequences of firm-level entrepreneurship: the state of the field", Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice, Vol. 24 No. 2, pp. 45-66.

Zahra, S., & Wright, M. (2011). Entrepreneurship's Next Act. *Academy of Management Perspectives, November*, 67-82.

Appendix A: A Historical Review of the Hutterian Brethren

Steele (1981) suggests that researchers interested in place need to begin by understanding more about the emplaced people and how they came to be there. Fine suggested "that too often the sociological stance has been to examine interaction and places as untethered from local traditions and treat culture as autonomous from action and choice" (2010, p. 355). With this in mind this section provides a review of the Hutterite's history.

Based off historical texts the Hutterite[5] story begins in 1529 when a small group of men and women are said to have met in the upper regions of the Tyrol valley (Werner, 1999). Presiding over this gathering was a hat-maker by the name of Jakob Hutter[6]. After preaching from the New Testament, Hutter committed a perilous act that Hutterite history books now mark as birth of the Hutterite movement: he baptized ten adults. Over the course of the next four years, this new movement, which deviated from Catholic beliefs by accepting adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism, separating Church and State, declaring the Holy Scripture the source of redemption, promoting pacifism and keeping away from hate and war, and demanding total social equality gained popularity and momentum. The initial rise of this Anabaptist movement has been attributed to an increasing disillusionment with the Catholic Church. In the rural villages the priests were badly educated and unable to provide teaching and spiritual guidance. Furthermore, the Anabaptist commitment to pacifism and refusal to go to war gained favor among the peasants who were growing tired of the conflicts over land and patronage.

Though at this time this Anabaptist-Hutterite movement had no formal structure the authorities perceived it as a threat and began to arrest, imprison, and even burn at the stake

---

[5] The word Hutterite is not used for the beginnings in Tyrol, instead they are referred to as Anabaptists. It was in Moravia that the group came to be referred to as Hutterite.

[6] Jakob Hutter's last name is unknown. He is referred to as Hutter because he was a hatmaker and the word for hatmaker was 'hutter.'

Hutterian-Anabaptists. Yet even in the face of arrest and imprisonment the disillusioned continued to join and form Anabaptist groups. The authorities, in turn, increasingly perceived them as potential rebels deeming swift action to continue them necessary. In 1527, Archduke Ferdinand I issued a mandate: "All and every baptizer and baptized man and woman of an understanding age should be deprived of their life by fire, sword, or other equivalent means" (p. 5). For Anabaptists, life following their faith in the Tyrol was increasingly dangerous and they were forced to separate into small groups and hide in the forest to hear the gospel preached.

Jakob Hutter, the original leader, was declared a wanted man. King Ferdinand placed 40 Guilders, a year's wages at that time, price on his head in an attempt to capture him. On November 29, 1535, authorities captured him and his wife Kathrina. Even after being tortured, he refused to give up any names of his fellow members of the Brethren, nor would he reveal any information about his mission. King Ferdinand decided to make an example of Hutter, so he was repeatedly whipped and placed on the rack. On February 25, 1536, King Ferdinand ordered Jakob Hutter's death He was held in freezing water and then placed in a hot room. Brandy was then poured on his wounds and then he was publicly burned to death. His wife Katrina, who escaped, was recaptured, and executed two years later.

A group of Hutterites decided to flee in search of a safer more accepting place to live. This Hutterite group made their way to Moravia where they were met with interest and more acceptance. The Moravian lords offered these new Anabaptists settler's religious freedom and space on their estates, in return for them working their land and cultivating their fields. The Hutterites quickly proved themselves to be valuable workers who contributed to the economic wellbeing of the landlords. Those now in Moravia sent word was sent back to Anabaptists still in Tyrol that freedom from persecution and a better life was possible in Moravia. Here in Moravia

the Hutterites were first able to truly practice and realize their way of life. Over the next few years persecuted Anabaptists from all over Europe came to Moravia and the Hutterite population grew, soon reaching 20-25,000 members. 57 communities were established on 25 estates with an average of 400 people per colony, but some colonies reached populations as high as 3,000. Here, the Hutterites established thriving artisanal centers and flourished and prospered as they filled niche markets, producing textiles, ceramics, glass, knives, pottery, and metal items, which became highly sought after by the nobility.

During this period the Hutterites established and consolidated their social and religious foundations, many of which can be found in today's Hutterite communities. It was determined that every member should have an assigned task and each community would be led by a "Servant of the Word" who was responsible for the spiritual wellbeing and care of the community. A "Servant of Daily Affairs," subservient to the Servant of the Word, was in charge of the output and intake of all the daily affairs and maintained the community's finances. A field manager position was created and the person assigned this role was responsible for all aspects of the fieldwork. The food steward (male and female) held the position of caretaker and their tasks included care of the sick and elderly as well as supplying the food and drinks. There was also a female steward who held a pivotal role overseeing the weaving, spinning, and production of clothing as well as positions such as gardener, waiter, food supplier, housekeeper, cook, and laundry maid were established. Also during this time many of the Hutterite's spiritual foundations were laid, underpinnings, which continue to provide the structures necessary for communal life in the 21st century. During this period Hutterites added new confessional writings and rewrote older ones. Church rituals and specific dates in the church year were established. Pentecost, Easter, and Christmas were legitimated as holy days. It was during this period that the

Hutterites established their own forms of social control and judiciary system and shunning and expulsion became the main instruments for discipline.

Archival evidence and the stories told by Hutterite elders suggest that the economic success of these Hutterite communities was not without problems. These Hutterite communities were very visible and located in the middle of Moravian life. The success of the Hutterites was very visible and this brought them in to conflict with their neighbors. As time went on the Hutterites were increasingly seen as damaging to the broader Moravian people as Moravians began to express displeasure with the Hutterite community's wealth, size, financial resources, and productivity. Many felt that the Hutterites were outbidding local competitors and negatively impacting the local economy and they were accused of spreading out over the country and damaging to the Moravian economy and the Moravian people's livelihood.

By the end of the 16th century, the climate in Moravia was becoming very difficult for the Hutterites. Numerous complaints led to Moravia decreeing that the Hutterites were not to be allowed to establish any new communities. The Hapsburg government introduced measures to bring back Catholicism and positioned as many Catholics as possible in positions of power believing that a territory could be ruled efficiently only if all its subjects were of the same religious persuasion. Many of the noble families that had initially welcomed the Hutterites, converted to Catholicism. Additionally, in the face of these increasing external pressures the Hutterites were dealing with internal struggles. Their position within the center of the broader society and the desire for money became a corrosive element that fostered self-interest and the common good was evidently no longer the desired goal of many community members. Hutterite artisans were known to put their earnings into their own pockets rather than into the common treasury and some of the craftsmen developed rather cunning ways to increase profits. Some

worked secretly at night then sold their goods and pocketed the profits. The association with the world undermined the communal spirit especially when it concerned economic contracts and administrative involvement with estate owners. Hutterites also assumed positions of responsibility as administrators and managers. This social involvement and growing business and integration with the outside world further diminished the Hutterites communal practices. Daily contact with the world and their profitable businesses furthered Hutterites desire for extravagance and pomp and by the late 16th century Hutterite community members were dressing in worldly fashion. It was evident that the outside world's ideals and privatization had made inroads into Hutterite life.

The "Golden Period" was brought to an end by the Turkish War. During the war, armies from both sides would come to the bruderhöfe (colony) in search for food and shelter. The Turks killed and captured many Hutterites and frequently raided the colonies. For 13 years the colonies were raided and Hutterites were killed. They took refuge in passages and caves, many of which were dug by hand. When this war ended the Hutterites tried to rebuild what they had lost but they had just rebuilt when the Thirty Years War started. This fight was between the Catholic and Protestant states, and within a few months the Catholic army had destroyed 12 colonies and plundered 17 others. This drastically changed the fortunes of the Hutterites in Moravia. The colonies faced persecution and Hutterites were tortured, colonies plundered by marauding armies, and men women and children carried off into slavery. In 1622, orders came down that all Anabaptists in Moravia were to be expelled. All of their dwellings were locked up and they were forced to leave empty handed. The only condition under which they could stay was if they accepted Catholicism. At the time there was 30,000 Hutterites living in Moravia; 10,000 of them

obeyed the order and left, and the remaining 20,000 chose to remain in Moravia and accept Catholicism.

The 10,000 that fled tried to find new settlement opportunities in Upper Hungary (Slovakia). Those that escaped to Slovakia were faced with poverty and life was extremely difficult as their colonies were constantly plundered. Not only the soldiers but also the surrounding people and noble men started robbing the communities. In 1685, after constant torturing and robbing, the Hutterites gave up community of goods. They still had church services, but community of goods was abandoned. In 1688, all Hutterites babies had to be baptized by the Catholic church, although they were later re-baptized when they became adults. The Catholic decided to steal all the Hutterite sermons, history and doctrinal books and everyone was forced to attend Catholic services.

By 1763, in the face of poverty, persecution, and loss of zeal many Hutterites converted to Catholicism and the Hutterites numbers dwindled down to a small handful. In a mandate of 1763, Maria Theresa ordered that Anabaptists were no longer to be tolerated and the community was presented with an alternative: accept Catholicism within six weeks or leave the country. By this time there were only about 60 Hutterite people left. These remaining Hutterites crossed the Carpathian mountains into Russia where they found refuge on the estate of Duke Peter Rumjanzew-Sadunaiksy. Here the Hutterites found tolerance and accommodation until the Duke's death in 1802. With the death of the count and on the advice of a government representative,e the Hutterites decided to move to Radichev; 44 families moved with a population of 200. They began to raise livestock, spinning, shoemaking, tanning, blacksmithing, silk and the Hutterite brotherhood began to flourish once again. However, since much of the 2,000 acres they controlled could not be cultivated there was not enough to support the growing

population. As time went by the older Brethren who had lived through the persecution and suffering died. The younger generation with not enough work to keep busy did not show the same discipline. Community of goods was abandoned and the Hutterites were once again on the brink of spiritual and economic ruin. In 1842, in a state of utter poverty the Hutterites moved in with the Mennonites and adopted their way of life. With the help of the Mennonites, the Hutterite community grew and prospered. By 1868, there were five Hutterite villages within the Mennonite community. Among the Mennonites, community property was reintroduced.

However, the Russian government's threat to remove the Hutterites military exemption and the fear of the planned 'Russification' convinced the 1,250 Hutterites that emigration should be seriously considered. Several options were considered including Australia, Turkestan, and South and North America. Eventually North America won out as the favored destination. In 1874, the first Hutterites emigrated to North America and established the first Hutterite colony of Bon Homme in South Dakota. It was during this emigration that the Hutterites broke into the three groups that we still see today. Altogether approximately 450 Hutterite adults and children travelled to North America. The early years in North America (1874-1914) were difficult. These Hutterite communities experienced crop failures, fires, grasshoppers, blizzards, and floods. However, despite the hardships the colonies prospered and grew. The Hutterites proved themselves to be good farmers and hard workers and by the end of the century they had established productive flourmills and were engaged in spinning, carpentry, and blacksmithing. New colonies branched off and by 1917, 19 Hutterite colonies had been established in the United States. However, the Hutterites once again found themselves in conflict with the political and social structures in their new home. Again and again they were compelled to defend their lifestyle. During the First World War, as pacifists and conscientious objectors, they did not have

to serve on the front lines but they were required to provide alternative national service in secondary capacities. This did not sit well with the local people, many of who had family fighting on the front lines. Acts of violence were directed at the Hutterite settlements, their property was seized, and market access was denied. A number of Hutterites refused to serve in their assigned secondary capacities and they were imprisoned and subject to torture. Four young Hutterites were imprisoned in Alcatraz where they endured harsh conditions and abuse. Two of them became so ill that they died. The Hutterite colonies increasingly found themselves the subject of mistreatment as patriotic American citizens took it upon themselves to deprive the Hutterites of their property. The money from the sale of Hutterite land and goods was steered towards supporting the war effort.

The Hutterites began to consider their options, one of which was immigrating to Canada. Enquiries revealed that the Canadian government was keen to accept the Hutterites, who they believed could help develop the country's agricultural industries. The Canadian government was keenly interested in the agricultural potential of the Hutterites and offered their communities religious freedom and military exemption and paved the way for Hutterite immigration. Fifteen colonies took advantage of the offer and moved to Canada in 1918 with six settling in Manitoba and nine in Alberta. Once again the Hutterites proved to be tenacious and successful and soon became well known across the western prairies for their agricultural skill and prowess. However, history once again repeated itself and this success brought increasing social intolerance. Farmers began to complain that they could not compete against the Hutterites. Some Alberta farmers began to call for the Hutterites land to be confiscated and there was a renewed effort to see the Hutterites absorbed into mainstream Canadian society. The government of Alberta responded to this pressure by introducing the "Land Sales Prohibition Act". This act prohibited the sale of land

to "enemy aliens—Hutterites". In 1947 this act was rescinded and replaced by the Communal Property Act. This act was even more restrictive as it prevented all Hutterite expansion. It also stated that no new colonies could be built within 40 miles of an existing colony and no colony could own more than 6,400 acres of land. According to the communal property act existing colonies were prohibited from establishing new colonies closer than 64 km from other Hutterite colonies. During the 1960s and 1970s, attitudes altered. The bill of rights, established by the Diefenbaker government, made people more aware of the civil liberties and rights of minorities. In 1972, the government appointed a select committee to review the Hutterite acts. In 1973, this committee found that the communal property act violated the Human Rights Act and it was repealed. Within five months 44,475 acres of land were bought by Hutterites and seven new colonies established. By 1980 the total population of the Hutterites exceeded 24,326 and by 1996 the number was around 37,000. Today, the Hutterite population is around 40,000 and the number of Hutterite communities exceeds 450. Many Hutterites call this their second "golden period."

Appendix B: Recruitment and consent forms

Recruitment Form: Re-evaluating Entrepreneurship as a Collective Phenomenon: Insights from the Hutterites

Dear:

I am writing to ask whether your community would be willing to allow me to conduct a series of interviews and observations so I can research the entrepreneurial activity taking place within your community. I am working on this research to complete my PhD degree in the Business faculty at the University of Alberta.

Entrepreneurship has been portrayed as an individual activity. In contrast, overlooked have been the tales of entrepreneurship as a process involving people, not just as individuals, but also collectively as members of a group, community, or family. Your colony drew my interest because you contradict this individual image of entrepreneurship. Your communal organization, lack of personal property, boundaries to outsiders, dislike of individualism, and focus on the common good are all dimensions generally associated with a lack of innovativeness. This would lead one to predict that your community would exhibit limited creativity, innovation, or entrepreneurship. Yet, your community is very entrepreneurial. I would like to explore why and try to understand the processes that are enabling and supporting this entrepreneurial behavior.

If your colony agreed to participate I would make arrangements to visit your community. My visits would be scheduled at your convenience. During my visits I would like to observe and participate in colony activities as you saw fit and speak with colony members about the ideas and how they are developing. Your participation is voluntary. If you consented to have your community involved, your anonymity will be maintained and you would be free to withdraw at any time and free to request I remove any data specific to your colony within 30 days of collection. I can use a pseudonym to represent your community and the members. I will keep the data I collect locked in a secure place for a minimum of five years following completion of this research activity. I do not foresee any harm resulting from this activity. Instead, people often find the opportunity to reflect on their experiences to be beneficial. I will share with you the notes I write so we can work collaboratively on clarifying themes or insights I develop in my analysis.

If you have any further questions about this research, please feel free to contact me at 780-266-0605, or my thesis advisors, Dr. Jennifer Jennings at (780) 492-3325, or Dr. Trish Reay at (780) 492-4246. Please complete the attached consent form to indicate your decision. Thank you for considering this request. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Yours sincerely,

Onnolee Nordstrom

Informed Consent Form: Re-evaluating Entrepreneurship as a Collective Phenomenon: Insights from the Hutterites

Dear:

I am PhD student at the University of Alberta, Canada. For my thesis research I am interested in exploring innovation and entrepreneurship that is occurring in community settings. I would like to conduct an interview to use as research data for my dissertation on collective entrepreneurial activity.

The purpose of this study is to explore entrepreneurial activity that is undertaken within a group. The Hutterites drew my interest because they contradict the more mainstream image of entrepreneurship. Hutterite communities operate in remote locations, have boundaries to outsiders, dislike individualism, and have a curious mix of altruistic and profit motives – dimensions generally associated with a lack of innovativeness. This would lead one to predict such communities would exhibit limited creativity, innovation, or entrepreneurship, yet your community appears to be undertaking many entrepreneurial activities. I would like to understand the processes that are enabling and supporting this entrepreneurial behavior.

If you were interested in participating, the interview would be scheduled at your convenience. I have a few questions that we can use to guide our conversation but I like the interviews to be informal conversations. A few sample interview questions are: Can you tell me about a new idea you have been involved in? How did this idea get started? How does the decision to pursue a new idea get made?

Your participation is voluntary. If you consent to be involved in this interview activity, your anonymity will be maintained. You would be free to withdraw at any time during the interview. You are also free to withdraw your participation up to 30 days after the interview and any data collected from you would be withdrawn from my study. If you agreed, a tape recorder might be used to record our interview and I will transcribe the tapes. I will use a pseudonym to represent you in all work that is written about the interview and I will keep your interview tape and the transcripts locked in a secure place for a minimum of five years following completion of this research activity. I do not foresee any harm resulting from this activity. Instead, people often find the opportunity to reflect on their experiences to be beneficial. I would share with you the notes I write to clarify themes or insights I develop in my analysis of the interview.

If you have any further questions about this interview, please feel free to contact me at 780-266-0605, or my thesis advisors, Dr. Jennifer Jennings at (780) 492-3325, or Dr. Trish Reay at (780) 492-4246. Please complete the attached consent form to indicate your decision. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Yours sincerely,

Onnolee Nordstrom

Informed Consent

Project Title: Collective Entrepreneurship

Investigator: Onnolee Nordstrom

_____   **Yes**, I agree to participate in the interview activity.

I give my consent to be interviewed for this research course assignment. I understand that the information I provide will be kept anonymous by not referring to me by my name or location, but by using a pseudonym. If I wish to see any speaking notes written from the findings of this study, I am free to contact Onnolee Nordstrom at any time and copies will be provided.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, to refuse to answer specific questions, and/or to withdraw my participation at any time. I understand that participation in any aspects of the study is voluntary and that Onnolee will follow up with me after the interview to review and discuss her ideas and findings.

I understand that there will be no risks involved in this study. I may, in fact, benefit from reflecting upon my experience. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Name of participant (Please print)   _____

Signature of participant   _____

Date   _____

Appendix C: General Question Sheet to Guide Interviews

- ➢ Can you tell me a bit about your background?

- ➢ Can you walk me through a typical day? What do you do? How many hours do you work?

1. Can you describe some entrepreneurial initiatives colonies have involved themselves in that you worked with?

2. Can you tell me about any entrepreneurial initiatives that have failed? What happens if they fail?

3. How do decisions to pursue a new business get made?

4. When are ideas discussed? Where are they discussed? Who discusses these new ideas?

5. Have you experienced conflict between introducing a new idea and balancing the colony's traditions?

6. What are the colony's biggest challenges?

7. How has technological (i.e., mechanization) and regulatory changes (production and marketing boards) changed the way you operate?

8. How has the community changed over your life?

9. Looking at the future for life in the colony, what do you think will change, and what do you think will stay the same?

10. How does your community set goals?

11. How often do you leave the colony? What for?

12. Can you tell me about the Hutterites' beliefs?

13. What triggered the idea for _____

14. Can you walk me through the process of creating _____

15. Was the decision to start _____ primarily yours? Did the colony members take a vote? How do the elders get involved?