

Linda Murphy

To Enter or not to Enter is *not* the Question

A Qualitative Inquiry into the Career
Experiences of Next Generation Family Members



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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to enhance our understanding of the careers of next generation family members from family businesses in Ireland. The career experiences of next generation family members were explored using a grounded theory approach and the data gathered was from twelve next generation family members, mainly using qualitative, in-depth interviews. While a major focus of family business research has been on succession, and next generation family members have been recognized as a key stakeholder in the family business, a salient gap emerges in the literature regarding the role of next generation family members, beyond the succession process. While significant work has been done in the area of career intentions of potential successors, whether and how these intentions unfold, over time is unknown. The aim of this dissertation is to bridge this gap between intentions and actions. As the concept of career is perceived as a social process evolving over time, this study into the actual career behavior of next generation family members, has resulted in significant findings for the family business field in the areas of careers of next generation family members, learning as identity building in the family business context and socioemotional wealth. Firstly, it is proposed that intentions do not sufficiently predict career behavior of next generation family members. The outcome of this research signals our attention to the influence of the family business on the careers of next generation family members. In the family business context, career decisions are often based on the collective need of the family business as opposed to the individual needs of family members. Secondly, the learning opportunity the family business represents for next generation family members is acknowledged. The knowledge acquired is a source of career related human capital for next generation family members. Thirdly, commitment to socioemotional wealth (SEW) preservation is proposed as one of the drivers of career behavior of next generation family members. A model of the dimensions of SEW named FIBER is represented to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the construct. Human capital is posited as an antecedent to SEW.

Keywords: next generation family members, careers, theory of planned behavior, socioemotional wealth.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NxG	Next generation family members
SEW	Socioemotional wealth

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1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the phenomena of careers of next generation family members in Ireland. Family businesses, considered a most complex form of organisation (Birley & Muzyka, 2000) yet one of the most dominant worldwide (Astrachan & Shanker, 2003), represent up to 90 per cent of the indigenous business sector in Ireland and provide around 50 per cent of employment (Birdthistle & Fleming, 2005). Dominant in the services sector in Ireland, their social and historical importance is too recognized (Donnelly, 1964). Sustainability of such enterprises is desirable, for economic, social and historical reasons.

While recognized as a vital ingredient to the continuity of family businesses, next generation family members (hereafter NxG), beyond their role as successors, have received limited attention in the family business field. Current family business literature on NxG tends to focus on the decision and the reasons to enter the family business or not (Birley, 1991; 2002; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Davis, 1983; Handler, 1989; Longenecker & Schoen, 1991; Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, Arnaud, 2011; Stavrous & Swiercz, 1998; Zellweger, Sieger, Halter, 2010) as opposed to experiences in the family business which may influence this decision. Few studies consider career patterns of NxG, either inside or outside of the family business (Salvato, Mintichilli, Piccarretta, 2008). While the decision to join the family business for NxG is a career based decision, few studies in the family business field have perceived it in this manner.

This dissertation will focus on the phenomena of careers as experienced by next generation family members. Careers of the next generation are interpreted through a variety of theoretical lens including career theory, family business theory and social learning theory. The family business as the backdrop to these careers forms the focal element of this research. This introductory chapter will outline the background to the study, key research objectives, the main and sub research questions and the structure of the dissertation.

1.1 Background to the study

Pettigrew (2012:25) states “the legacy of the past is always shaping the emerging future.” For next NxG, the legacy of the family business shapes their emerging futures and ultimately their careers, be they inside the family business or not. However, how this legacy shapes their futures is currently unknown. The dominant or overarching research question of this dissertation is “how does family business ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?”

The ideas that fuelled this dissertation emerged from an analysis of a category of the Census of Population official statistics, which painted a picture of trends in family business in Ireland from 1926-2002 (Murphy, 2007). One of the key findings of my Masters thesis was that NxG, who may have worked in the family business either formally or informally whilst growing were destined to be categorized under one of the following four career fates, according to what the official statistics reported – 1) set up their own business 2) entered paid employment or 3) be self-employed (sole trader without employees) 4) assisting relatives. However, whilst working in the family business, NxG gained work experience and accumulated “general business human capital” (Fairlie & Robb, 2007:226) as well as “specific business human capital” (Fairlie & Robb, 2007:226). As well as gaining work experience, they were also exposed to business contacts and networks of the family business. This led the author to ponder how this experience of growing up in a family business and being part of an ownership group influences or shapes the careers of the NxG.

It has been suggested that the family business can act as a ‘handcuff’ (Gomez-Mejia, Larraza-Kintana & Makri, 2003) for NxG due to their emotional attachment to the business. It too has been stated that they are less likely to form strong career interests in comparison with their peers who do not come from a family business (Eckrich & Loughhead, 1996). However, beyond these suggestions in the family business literature, little is known about the subjective career experiences of next generation family members and how being part of a family business influences or shapes their career paths. Briscoe and Hall (2006) pertain that a sense of identity and values can guide one’s career, of which parents play a key role in. The careers literature has recognized the role of the family and parents (see chapter four, section 3 for an overview). Blustein (1997) recognizes emotional and instrumental familial support as an important antecedent of the exploration stage of careers. Schroder and Schmidt (2013) reiterated this and claim that parental encouragement of career exploration of adolescents who come from a family business background may enhance the likelihood of NxG choosing a career in the family business, for career reasons as opposed to familial obligation. The careers perspective, which is concerned with the relationship between individuals and their employing organizations, allows us to move beyond our current understanding of succession or employment in the family business as a decision made by NxG at a particular point in their lives, and to consider the procesual nature of careers.

The chosen definition of a family business for this study is “a business governed or managed by with the intention to shape and pursue the vision of the business held by a dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family or a small number of families in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations of the family/families” (Chua, Chrisman, Sharma, 1999:25) as it recognizes the role of the NxG in the sustainability of family businesses. Chua et al. (1999) view the family business as a vehicle to educate the NxG for careers that include involvement both in and outside the family business. However, career experiences of NxG both inside and outside of the family business are relatively unexplored. Recognized as a unique form of organization (Birley, 2002), the careers literature has neglected this form of organization in the study of careers (Sullivan, 1999).

While succession has dominated the family business field (Sharma, 2004), a dearth of research remains in the area of careers in family business. While family has been recognized as a powerful socializing force (Marjoribanks, 1992), the influence of this force on the careers of NxG is an untapped research area. As growing up in a family business inevitably includes the option of choosing a career in the family business (Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, Arnaud, 2011) it is astonishing that this significant research area has been overlooked. As a family business scholar, the importance of this research focus from the perspective of continuity of the family business is obvious. As the career fates of NxG can have dramatic consequences for the survival of the family business, it is imperative that the phenomena of careers be researched in this unique organizational context. Hence, my research focus is the subjective career experiences of next generation family members.

Although the field of family business is perceived to be relatively ‘new’ (Sharma, 2004), the field of career studies dates back to the early 1900s and Parson’s (1909) work on person-environment fit theories. A commonality of both fields is they span across several theoretical domains with roots in organizational, sociological, psychological and managerial traditions (Salvato, Mintichelli, Piccarretta, 2008; Sharma, 2004). A strong focus in career studies centers on the life stage of the individual (Super, 1957) under adult development theories. In family business studies, the life stage of the family too is important in relation to the business as a developmental perspective had too been adopted (Gersick, Davis, Hampton, Lansberg, 1997). Boundaries play an important role in the study of careers and family businesses as individual needs and organizational requirements are considered.

The family business is presented as overlapping systems as the family and the business interact (Lansberg, 1983), with their intersection creating a number of challenges to those involved in family business. As all NxG are part of the family system, and some the business system, they face these challenges during their lives.

Inkson, Gunz, Ganesh & Roper (2012) present the study of careers as concerned with the relationship between individual agency on one hand and institutional frameworks on the other. As career is a major life constituency

(Blustein, 1997) focusing on work roles and other life roles, a career lens facilitates the study of the relationship between individuals and organizations.

The field of family business is too concerned with the relationship between family and the business system as depicted in Taguiri and Davis's (1982) Three Circles model. Figure 1 demonstrates the commonality of both fields' as they are concerned with effectively balancing systems. For the purpose of this study, we adapt the Three Circles Model to demonstrate the shared concerns of both theoretical fields of this study (Figure 1). As ownership is an important aspect of this study, the ownership circle is included. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

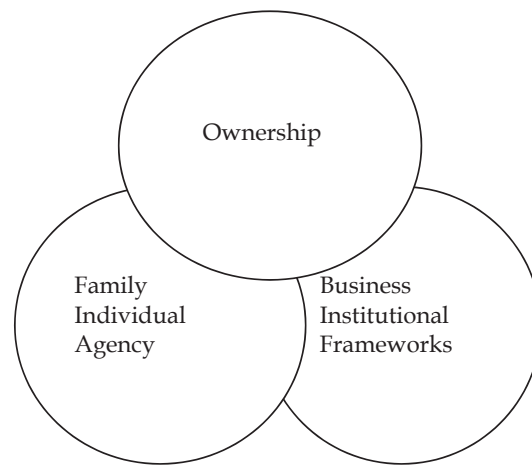


FIGURE 1 Adapted Three Circles Model to demonstrate similarities between the fields of family business studies and career studies.

As Sharma (2004) reminds us, the ultimate aim of the field of family business studies is to develop theory/ies which consider the reciprocal relationship between the family and the business. She too points to the benefits to the family business field of adapting various theoretical lens to deepen and extend our current understanding and knowledge of the family business domain. Hence, my decision to study what Sharma (2004) includes as an individual level of analysis - NxG, from a careers perspective. As an advocate of considering the reciprocal relationship between the family and the business, the author is interested in extending our understanding of the influence of the overlapping systems of family and business on NxG' careers.

1.2 Objectives & key research questions

The objective of this research is to explore and develop our understanding of the phenomena of careers of next generation family members. The author wishes to establish if and how family business ownership influences the careers of next generation family members. As previously stated, the core research question of this study is “How does family business ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?” In using the term family business ownership, I refer to the impact of being part of a business owning family.

1.2.1 The ownership perspective

Although other studies have considered the influence of family business membership on NxG (Eckrick & Loughhead, 1996), an analysis of the data in this study revealed that NxG, although not all are financial owners, exhibit stronger tendencies towards the family business which the term ‘member’ does not capture or justify. While emotional ownership (Bjornberg & Nicholson, 2012) and psychological ownership (Pierce, Kustova & Dirks, 2001; Rantanen & Jussila, 2011) have been proposed and may encapsulate the meaning of ownership for NxG, this was not a point of departure in this study as it was not strongly captured in the data but suggested.

Psychological ownership, described by Pierce et al. (2001) as a state of mind in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of it is theirs, has been proposed as one of the ways in which people use ownership to define themselves. Being psychologically tied to an object and feeling possessive of the object is the core of psychological ownership. Pierce et al. (2001) claim the target becomes part of the psychological owner’s identity. For NxG, the family business may be a target of psychological ownership due to their emotional attachment to it. Chapter six addresses the concept of psychological ownership in relation to the construct of socioemotional wealth (hereafter SEW). While this dissertation considers identity in relation to learning in the family business (see chapter five) and psychological ownership is referred to in relation to the dimensions of socioemotional wealth, which include emotional attachment and identification with the family business (see chapter six), psychological ownership was not sufficiently represented in the data to form a focal point of this study. Therefore, while our key research question includes the term ownership, ownership refers to participants being part of a business owning family. While a focus on psychological ownership is beyond the realm of this dissertation, it represents an exciting research avenue for the future which will be discussed in chapters six and seven.

1.2.2 Sub-research questions

While the findings of this study significantly advance our understanding of careers of NxG, they are not limited to career. The data reveals how being part of a business owning family has provides NxG with a unique learning opportunity and environment. A secondary focus on the learning process in the family business context led to two research questions in relation to learning; what and how do next generation family members learn in the family business? These questions are addressed in chapter five.

Participants' accounts of their career experiences directed the author to the construct of socioemotional wealth. A career lens provided considerable insight to the construct through participants subjective career experiences. Although the original "frame of interpretation" (Nordqvist et al., 2009) was to be family capital (Danes, Stafford, Haynes & Amarpurkar, 2009), initial analysis of our data indicated the construct of SEW to be more suited to the study. Using SEW as a "frame of interpretation" to understand and interpret the career experiences of NxG resulted in us theoretically contributing to the construct of socioemotional wealth (see chapter 6). The next section will outline the structure of the dissertation.

1.3 Structure

The structure of the dissertation is presented in Table 1. While this chapter introduces the focus of this dissertation and the research questions, chapter two details the theoretical basis of the study as guided by the data. Chapter three describes the philosophical positioning and the methodological choices made by the researcher during the research journey. Chapter four presents empirical evidence in relation the propositions suggested in chapter two. As chapters four, five and six are presented in article format, there may be some overlap between chapter two and the methodology sections of these chapters. Also, as versions of chapters four, five and six have been peer reviewed at international conferences, the term 'the authors' is used as opposed to 'authors'. While the author is aware of the overlap, in the interests of transparency, she feels the overlap is necessary in providing the reader with a chain of evidence, as a feature of a grounded theory study.

TABLE 1 Structure of Dissertation

No.	Chapter	Summary
1	Introduction	Overview of dissertation, research questions and structure of the dissertation.
2	Careers of next generation family members: A theoretical overview	Reviews current literature on careers in family business & provides an overview of career theory. The use of Azjen's Theory of Planned Behavior is challenged. Propositions are presented to be explored.
3	Research design	Philosophical positioning and methods used in the study are described and discussed by the researcher.
4	A qualitative inquiry into actual career experiences of next generation family members: Not so intentional after all	Article presents the findings of an empirical study into career experiences of next generation family members in relation to propositions derived in chapter three. Key findings focus on the <i>actual</i> career behavior of next generation as opposed to their intentions.
5	Learning as identity building in the family business	Article focuses on the process and content of next generation family members and discusses the relationship between learning and identity.
6	Identifying the dynamics the socioemotional wealth dimensions of family businesses: Insights from a careers perspective	Article details the study's theoretical contribution to the construct of socioemotional wealth which emerged from study of careers of next generation family members.
7	Discussion, Conclusion & Suggestions for future research	Synergies between the chapters are discussed alongside suggestions for future research.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the topic of this dissertation as well as providing an overview of the study. The overall research question and sub questions were presented. The author would now like to turn the reader's attention to the way the study was conducted and to enlighten to reader as to the methodological choices made during the research journey.

2 CAREERS OF NEXT GENERATION FAMILY MEMBERS: AN OVERVIEW

*"One must make do with the parents that fate has regaled us with."
Mead (1935)*

2.1 Introduction

In a recent review of ownership and governance in the family business literature, Goel, Mazzola, Phan, Pieper and Zachary (2012:56) explicitly state that in order to understand the family system in the context of the business system, fundamental questions such as "why do some family members enter the business and others do not?" have arisen. While this fundamental question alludes to the careers of next generation family members, it remains a relatively unexplored research area in the family business field. Despite the conclusion that growing up in an family business inevitably includes the career option of entering the family business (Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, Arnaud , 2011), a paucity of academic research exists in the area of careers of next generation family members (hereafter NxG).

While the practical implications of next generations' career decisions and experiences on the continuity and sustainability of family businesses are astounding, little is known about careers in the family business. Careers of NxG is an important research gap for family business scholars to explore as it develops our limited understanding of careers of next generation family members while extending our comprehension of succession and family member interactions with the family business. The current limited literature base on careers in the family business context, focuses primarily on career choice intentions of NxG (Carr& Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger, Sieger ,Halter, 2010; Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, Arnaud, 2011) based on the premise that intentions towards a behaviour are the best predictor of action (Ajzen, 1985,1991). However, to focus solely on intentions without investigating

whether intentions translate in to action leaves the phenomena of careers of NxG relatively understudied.

As a career is something that spans a life-time (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), the perception of the *intention* to enter the family business as a decision made by NxG at a particular point in time does not capture the essence of what career in the family business implies and entails for NxG. Additionally, while limiting the study of careers to intentions of successors in the family business literature, a fundamental premise in the field is ignored; the reciprocal influence of family and business (Sharma, 2004; Juanjuha-Jivrajs & Spence, 2009) and leads the author to reiterate the core research question of this study: how does family business ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?

As all NxG share similar socialization experiences (Hall, Carr & Sequeira, 2009, Handler, 1992), and are exposed to the overlapping systems of family and business from a young age, limiting the study of careers to successors does not assist in answering such fundamental questions as posed by Goel et al. (2012). Furthermore, Eckrich and Loughhead (1996) claim that anecdotal evidence exists which suggests that family business children, or children of business owning families experience unique career development patterns. This is echoed by Salvato, Mintichilli and Piccarretta (2008) who highlight how little is known about career patterns in family businesses. The implications of these career patterns for the family business and NxG is unknown.

In response to Eckrich and Loughhead's (1996) assertion that next generation family members have less clarity about their abilities, goals and career interests, Sharma (2004:13) stated; "although this observation reveals a difference in vocational clarity of family members, it would be interesting to understand why this lack of clarity prevails, and its implications for individual disposition and firm performance". In light of this obvious research gap and the importance of this research area to the sustainability and continuity of FBs, the author wishes to explore the phenomena of careers of next generation family members.

While the author attests that an understanding of careers of NxG is essential to the family business field, Inkson, Gunz, Ganesh and Roper (2012) pertain that the notion of career offers a vantage point from which to understand the evolving relationships between organizational structure and strategy and individual agency and behaviour. The author ascertains that the career lens may shed some light on these relationships in the family business context.

This chapter seeks to discuss the concept of careers of NxG by considering the current academic dialogue on careers in the family business. As indicated, current research relies on Azjen's Theory of Planned Behavior (hereafter TPB) to explain the career behaviour of next generation family members. While the author reviews and evaluates the application of Azjen's TPB in researching careers of NxG, she will also draw on career theory and trends in career theory to establish whether our current understanding of NxG careers can be extended by espousing a career lens. Based on a review of current works, propositions in

relation to next generation family members' careers are derived. So, prior to delving into and discussing existing research and theoretical frameworks, the author will define the concept of career for this study.

2.2 The concept of career – Definitions & metaphors

Definitional debates and theoretical classifications are necessary to identify and describe the characteristics and academic perception of career which permeates the literature. Definitions of career have proved problematic in capturing the essence of what a career is. To date, there is no agreement among career scholars as to what constitutes a career (Greenhaus, Callanan & DiRenzo, 2008). This is hardly surprising as the concept of career features across several theoretical domains with roots in organizational, sociological, psychological and managerial scholarly traditions (Salvato et al, 2008). According to Kidd (2006), writers in the area of career use the term in quite specific ways depending on their own backgrounds.

A widely used definition of career is Arnold's (1997:16); "the sequence of employed-related positions, roles, activities or experiences encountered by a person" which views career as a process as opposed to a one time decision. Arnold's definition of career also implies that career has subjective as well as objective aspects. Some aspects are objective as they can be defined and observed publicly.

Stephens (1994:430) in his work on career transitions refers to the objectiveness of careers as "the externally defined reality of the careers, the visible, observable activities behaviors or events that comprise a person's work history." However, as Kidd (2006) claims other aspects of career are subjective and are best understood in terms of the individual's experiences. Arthur, Kapova and Wilderon (2005), refer to the interdependence of subjective and objective aspects of career, which they claim need to be incorporated more in career theory to understand careers in a boundaryless world.

Arthur et al. (1989:8) define the career as "the evolving sequence of a person's work experience over time". While this definition recognizes that career is something that evolves, the author perceives the concept of career to be a multifaceted concept for NxG, as career is much more than work experience; it involves their interaction with many organizations, not solely the family business. Inkson et al. (2012:324) describe careers as "the ongoing relationships between people and their work . . . which uniquely connects individuals with organizations and other social institutions over time." This description depicts career as a relationship while also highlighting the social aspect of careers.

For the purpose of this study, career is defined using Sullivan and Baruch's (2009:1543) definition as "an individual's work related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organizations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span." This definition facilitates both

work and personal experiences which relate to career. It also recognizes how integrated a career can be for an individual, featuring external factors as well as other relevant social experiences. Moreover, Sullivan and Baruch's (2009) definition perceives career as a unique pattern spanning an individual's life span which is relevant for the contextualization of careers in the family business. The life span element of career is important for this study as the author conceives career to be multifaceted or multilayered and includes constructs such as career intentions, career choices, career development and career experiences. Additionally, Sullivan and Baruch's (2009) definition recognizes that other life experiences, besides work, too influence career.

As this study focuses on the careers of next generation family members, the author concurs with Herriot (2001) that career is a social process which emerges from the interaction between the individual and the organization. As Herriot (2001) points out, focusing on the career as a social process allows us to include feelings and emotions of the individual. It also facilitates a more holistic view of career providing the author with some flexibility to explore the concept of career in the context of the family business. The author is interested in the subjective aspect of career as experienced by next generation family members.

Due to the difficulties associated with defining a career, a number of metaphors have been used in careers literature which attempt to capture the essence of the broad concept of careers in the absence of an accepted definition. The use of the path metaphor to describe careers has been commonly used in the literature on career theory.

Morgan (1983:601) claims that metaphors are "a basic structural form of experience through which human beings engage, organize and understand their world". Schein (1978) used the metaphor of the career anchor in his studies on career. Schein (1996) defines the career anchor as the self concept of an individual which consists of self-perceived talents and abilities, basic values and an evolved sense of needs and motives as they pertain to the career. Schein's thesis on the concept of the career anchor is that most people form a strong self concept which hold their internal career together even as they experience dramatic changes in their external career.

Mainiero and Sullivan (2005) use the metaphor of the career kaleidoscope to conceptualise women's career development. Inkson (2004) developed nine key metaphors to describe the varied nature of career development. The career 'path' or 'journey' (Baruch, 2004) is one of the most common metaphors used to describe career development. Baruch (2004:59) states, "people can take the beaten path, or opt to navigate their own way in the open plains." While a definition of career has been outlined for this study, highlighting the existence of metaphors in the absence of a universally accepted definition of career among scholars reiterates the complexity of the concept of career.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of career is defined as a multifaceted, multilayered concept which includes constructs such as career intentions, career choices, career development and career experiences. Although the phenomena of interest is the subjective experience of career of next

generation family members, the author's use of the concept will refer to career as a concept inclusive of the above mentioned. As highlighted, the importance of the perception of career as something which spans the lifetime of an individual is reflected in the elements of the career concept for this study are past (career experiences), present (career development) and futuristic (intentions) in nature. These elements exhibit the temporal nature of careers, which too is relevant to this study. As the concept of career has been outlined for this study, the author will now enter the current academic conversation on careers in the family business.

2.3 Careers & the family business

Relatively little is known about careers in the family business context. While the NxG have been deemed a subject worthy of more research (Barach, Gantiskey, Carsons & Doochin, 1988; Birley, 1991,2002; Cabrera-Suarez, DeSaa-Perez, Garcia- Almeida, 2001; Chrisman, Chua & Sharma, 1998; Handler,1990, 1991, 1992; Longenecker & Schoen, 1991; Miller, Steier, LeBreton-Miller, 2003; Sharma, 2004;Stavrou, 1999), the careers of next generation family members have not. Although it has been suggested that the family business is a unique context within which career intentions are formed (Schroder et al., 2011), few studies have examined how careers are experienced in the family business by the NxG.

It has been suggested that many NxG decide whether they want to seek employment elsewhere or have a career in their family's business sometime between their eighteenth and twenty eight birthday (Birley, 1991; Davis, 1983; Handler, 1989; Longenecker & Schoen; 1991). While this decision is recognized as one that is emotionally loaded (Lansberg, 1983) and can be the start of a long term process for the NxG (Davis, 1983; Longenecker & Schoen, 1991; Trow, 1961), a significant gap emerges beyond our knowledge of career intentions of the NxG. While Handler (1992) called for a better understanding of the succession experiences of NxG, this did not extend to the phenomena of careers. In her study of succession experiences of NxG, Hander (1992:290) did conclude that those who had high career need fulfilment within the context of the family business tend to be "personally invested, enthusiastic and generally satisfied with their experience in their family firm".

Much of the research on careers in family businesses has focused on the career intentions of next generation family members based on the premise that intentions are the best predictor of action (Azjen,1991). While this focus is important in ascertaining which factors influence career intentions of NxG, a vacuum of knowledge exists as to whether these intentions translate into action or are reflected in their actual career behaviour.

Beyond the decision to enter the family business, many questions arise such as do NxG who join the family business stay there? Why do NxG return to the FB later in their careers? As career is an evolving process, the current family business literature provides a glimpse of the first stage of the process; the

intention to join the family business. However, the author pertains that in order to narrow the substantial knowledge gap of career of NxG, an understanding of their individual subjective experiences is necessary and may result in a more holistic portrayal of careers in the family business context.

In their research, Stavrou and Swiercz (1998) explore the intentions and aspirations of NxGs (students aged 18-28) who seek a leadership role in their family business. Reasons for agreeing or refusing to take over the business were identified. Reasons were classified under three dimensions - family, market and individual.

The family dimension refers to behaviour elicited primarily from family membership such as family dynamics was significant to family member's intentions *not* to join the family business. The study suggested that under market dimension, when employment in the marketplace is unfavourable or turbulent, students are more willing to consider entry to the family business. While tackling a relatively untapped area, the authors acknowledged that their research is based solely on intentions.

The importance of the personal dimension with regards to career was also highlighted, which echoes Eckrich and Loughead's (1996) claim that children of business owners appear to have less sense of their career interests, goals and talents when compared with children of non business owners. In their study of the effects of family business membership and psychological separation on the career developments of late adolescents, Eckrich and Loughead (1996) found that late adolescents with a parent working for their own family's business may have slight deficits in vocational identity when compared with those whose parents do not work for the family business. Handler (1989) also warns that if NxG become too involved in their family business before discovering their own path, they compromise their personal goals. This avenue of research is deemed worthy of more research in recognizing the influence of the family business on family members in relation to their careers. The findings of vocational identity deficit in children of business owners by Eckrich & Loughead (1996) has yet to be further explored and developed.

While Carr and Sequeira (2007) recognize the potential impact of family business background on entrepreneurial intent and ponder whether the family plays a role in the career choices of family members, their study focuses on the effect of prior family business exposure as entrepreneurial intent. Using a revised version of the TPB (Ajzen, 1988) combined with a symbolic interactionist perspective (Mead, 1934), the authors conclude that prior FB exposure serves as an important intergenerational influence on entrepreneurial intent. While the authors recognize the unique socialization experiences of NxG, they limit their findings to entrepreneurial intentions which is not reflective of the intentions of all NxGs.

However, Zellweger, Sieger and Halter (2011) in *their* study of career choice intentions of students with an FB background investigate how intentional founders differ from both intentional founders and employees. Their research angle is inclusive of other careers fates of NxG, and not just

succession. They affirm Sharma and Irving's (2005) proposal of commitment as an antecedent to the focal behaviour to pursue a career inside a family business, and conclude that high levels of internal locus of control lead to a preference of employment. While the authors investigate and extend our knowledge on differences in underlying attitudes and motivations between intentional successors, founders and employees, the findings of the study are also based on intentions as opposed to actual behaviour.

Schroder et al. (2011) investigated the determinants of career choice intentions of adolescents with an FB background from the perspective of both adolescents and their parents. They recognize that their study does not inform or extend our knowledge to *actual* career decisions and note this as a limitation. Schroder and Schmidt's (2013) study on the career development of adolescents with a family business background, from a motivational perspective, concludes that self-determined motivations such as career interests dominates NxG's decision to pursue a career in the family business. However, they also acknowledge that introjected (e.g. family obligation) and external (e.g. employment opportunities) succession motivations also exist. They claim that parents who support their offspring's career planning by encouraging them to explore a number of career options increases the chance that NxG will develop self determined motivations to join the family business.

Dawson, Sharma, Irving, Marcus and Chirico (forthcoming) recently addressed the research question 'why do family members who have joined the family enterprise remain with the firm as a career choice?'. Building on Sharma and Irving's (2005) work on commitment, the authors investigated the antecedents of later generation family members' commitment (described as second or later generation family members) who join the family business. They conclude that later-gen family members who derive their sense of self and identity from the business, and whose career interests are aligned with opportunities in the family business are likely to be affectively committed to the business. Those who are pressured into a career in the family business demonstrate normative commitment based on familial obligation.

While our understanding of the career path of succession has been extended (Sharma, Chrisman & Chua, 1996; Zellweger, Sieger & Halter, 2010) and the influence of the family on succession (Davis & Harveston, 1998) has been revealed, a significant gap remains in our understanding of careers of NxG. While the significance of succession and the career choice of the potential successor is essential to the survival of the business, investigation into the career experiences of NxG is necessary to identify the reasons why NxG do *not* enter the family business. Moreover, if the career of next generation family members is perceived as a single decision at a moment in time as opposed to a process, we neglect career patterns in the family business such as next generation family members returning to the family business at a later stage in their careers. This knowledge gap is essential to broadening our understanding of the succession process and the careers of next generation family members.

Current family business research must reach beyond the current focus of career choice intentions to explore actual careers of the NxG. If family business scholars are as committed to continuity of the family business as family business owners, insights into what a career might entail inside the family business or how the family business experiences shapes careers of NxG is essential.

As our definition of career for this study considers the life span of an individual, and views career as a process as opposed to an event, by design current studies employing the TPB do not sufficiently predict or explain career behaviour of next generation family members. This will be discussed in more detail below.

2.4 Theory of Planned Behaviour

Since its introduction by Ajzen in 1985, the theory of planned behaviour (hereafter TPB), an extension of the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) is one of the most frequently cited and influential models for the prediction of human social behaviour (Ajzen, 2011). According to Ajzen (1985), the intention to perform behaviors of different kinds can be predicted with high accuracy from attitudes towards the behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. While the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) is used to predict and explain behaviour under volitional control, the TPB extends the theory of reasoned action by attempting to predict and explain behaviour over which an individual has limited volitional control (Ajzen, 1985).

Ajzen (2011) assumes that intentions capture the motivational factors that influence a behaviour and are reflective of how hard an individual will try to perform a behaviour. Attitudes towards the behaviour, the first construct of TPB, refer to perceptions of an individual's desire to perform a behaviour. The second construct, subjective norms, refers to normative expectations of others if a behaviour is to be performed, for example family expectations. Perceived behavioural control refers to how much control the individual has over the behaviour and also includes the concept of perceived self-efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy is "concerned with judgments of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1982:22). Inherent in the theory is the assumption that the more an individual believes they can perform a behaviour, the more likely they will perform it. As intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence behaviour, the stronger the intention to engage in a behaviour, the more likely the performance of that behaviour.

TPB assumes that human social behaviour is planned as people consider the potential consequences of a behaviour (referred to as behavioural beliefs), the normative expectation of a behaviour (normative beliefs) and the factors that may facilitate or hinder performance of the behaviour (control beliefs).

Azjen (2002) considers human behaviour to be guided by the aforementioned: behavioral beliefs, normative beliefs and control beliefs which in their respective aggregates produce a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards a behaviour or a behavioural intention. Intention is assumed to be the immediate antecedent of behaviour (Azjen, 2002). An important assumption in TPB, which Azjen and Fishbein (1975: 369) explicitly refer to is whether the behaviour in question is under the volitional control of the individual; "since much of human behaviour appear to be under volitional control . . . the best single predictor of action of an individual's behaviour will be a measure of his intention to perform that behaviour." Azjen (1991:181) later reiterates this by stating "it should be clear, however, that a behavioural intention can find expression in behaviour only if the behaviour in question is under volitional control." If people perceive they have sufficient actual control over the behaviour, TPB assumes that people will carry out their intentions. He recognizes that the performance of most behaviours depend s on non-motivational factors such as time, money, skills and cooperation of others.

While there is a strong body of empirical work supporting the TPB both within the careers literature (Giles & Larmour, 2000; Giles & Rea, 1999; Krueger & Carsrud, 1993; Millar & Shevlin, 2003; Oren, Caduri & Tziner, 2013) and the family business literature (Sharma, Chrisman, Chua, 2003; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger et al., 2011, Schroder et al., 2011), Azjen (1985,2011) recognizes the theory is not without its critics or limitations. Azjen (2011) acknowledges that the intention-behaviour correlation does vary according to the temporal distance between the measurement of intentions and the observation of behaviour.

As the concept of career for this study is viewed as a social process which evolves over time and the temporal nature of career has been exhibited, the likelihood of career intentions predicting career behaviour are low due to the temporal distance between career intentions and actual career behaviour. The instability of intentions over time can reduce the predictive validity (Sheeran, Orbell, Trafimow, 1999; Conner, Sheeran, Norman & Armitage, 2000). Moreover, as the TPB realizes that actions which are controlled by intentions are not always carried out due to some intentions being abandoned or changed, the author claims TPB does not sufficiently explain or predict the career behaviour of next generation family members. This claim is justified by the lack of empirical evidence linking actual career behaviour of next generation family members to their intentions. Few studies, if any, have followed up longitudinally to determine whether the prediction of action, using the TPB results in actual behaviour. Furthermore, the TPB assumes that human behaviour is rational as it emphasizes the controlled aspects of human decision making.

The TPB (Azjen, 1985:11) refers to action as a 'sequence of acts' which is guided by an implicit or explicit act. Although career has been depicted as a 'sequence of events' by career theorists, the concept of career as depicted in this study is not a rational process, evidenced by the subjective experiences in this

study (see chapter four for empirical evidence). The career decision to enter the family business or not is emotionally loaded (Lansberg, 1983) and how emotion impacts intentions is currently unclear in the TPB. While Azjen (2011) rebuts this and claims that emotions serve as a background factor that influence behavioural, normative and control beliefs, in the family business context, in which NxG have a deep emotional attachment to the family business, the author affirms that emotion serves as more than a background factor in career decisions of NxG. This leads us to the type of behaviour in question.

Azjen and Sexton (1999) assume that the amount of information processing people engage in prior to performing a behaviour varies along a continuum, from shallow to deep depending on the behaviour. They claim that in-depth processing is reserved for important decisions whereas decisions are made routinely or daily do not require similar levels of cognitive effort. The author agrees with Azjen (2011) that attitudes, subjective norms and perceptions of control as well as intentions in relation to routine behaviours such as eating breakfast do predict and guide behaviour. Career, as a decision is both important and complex and due to the process nature of career, and the temporal distance between the intention and actual behaviour, the author perceives the TPB to be insufficient in predicting or explaining the career behaviour of NxG.

While theorists have proposed that self-efficacy plays an instrumental role in the formation of career preferences, intentions and behaviour (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994; Gartner, 1989; Krueger & Brazeal, 1994; Scherer, Brodzinski & Wiebe, 1989), Eckrick and Loughhead's (1996) proclamation that children of business owners may experience vocational identity deficit suggests that the family business may impact their self-efficacy, which affects their state of mind or intention towards a behaviour. Considering that those with a family business background have been found to have a less clear sense of their career interests in comparison with those who do not come from a family business background (Eckrick & Loughhead, 1996), the intention in relation to career for NxG may not be a salient attitude which researchers can elicit. Even if NxG express a clear attitude towards the intention to have a career in the family business, and may perceive they have control and ability to execute this decision, subjective norms, which include normative expectations of the family, may test or impede their intention. Normative expectations may include a family expectation that an individual will or will not pursue a career in the family business which affects next generation's family member's attitudes towards the intention.

The final justification in questioning the sufficiency of TPB to predict career behaviour of NxG is in relation to perceived behavioural control of next generation family members. While the TPB claims that it differs from its predecessor, the theory of reasoned action as it extends to behaviour which is not under volitional control by incorporating the construct of perceived behavioural control, the author assesses that although NxG may believe they have control over their careers, subconsciously the family business influence impacts this level of perceived behavioural control. The author claims that

careers of NxG are not under their volitional control. Due to their emotional attachment to the family business and their commitment to the family's socioemotional wealth (see chapter 6), NxG subconsciously make career decisions based on the needs of the FB and fail to take control of their career behaviour.

Based on the aforementioned reasons, the following proposition is suggested by the author:

Proposition 1: The theory of planned behaviour does not sufficiently predict or explain the career behaviour of next generation family members.

Given the author's dissatisfaction with the sufficiency of Azjen's TPB to predict or explain the careers of next generation family members, the author will now investigate and analyse career theory to evaluate if career theory provides a more suitable lens to deepen our understanding of career behaviour of NxG.

2.5 Career theory

Career theory provides an analysis of work situations and emphasizes the study of both individuals and organizations (Kidd, 2006). Both the person and the context form part of career studies. Arthur, Hall and Lawrence (1989) claim that the properties of 'emergence' and 'relativity' are also inherent in career theory. Emergence and relativity are concepts which describe time and 'social space'. The concept of emergence suggests that scholars of career should consider how work experiences change over time according to an individual's life stage or career stage. Considering the concept of 'social space' allows the career scholar to ponder the worker role within a range of non-work roles, highlighting the external and social aspects of career.

As mentioned, the concept of career features across several theoretical domains and has roots in organizational, sociological, psychological and managerial scholarly traditions (Salvato et al., 2008). Kidd (2006) pertains it useful to distinguish between career theories and career counselling theories. Career theory is concerned with how individuals experience their careers, how career decisions are made and the context or environment within which these career decisions are made. Career counselling theories focus on intervention in career development (Kidd, 2006). While career theories impact career counselling theories, the distinction made by Kidd is useful for this study as the author is concerned with how next generation family members experience their careers and how and within what context career decisions are made. Therefore, this study is not interested in career counselling theories although a future focus on intervention in career development may be both practically relevant and useful for family businesses. The next section will provide an overview of career theories in the hope of ascertaining an appropriate theoretical lens to develop our understanding of careers of next generation family members.

As career theory is concerned with how career decisions are made and experienced, career theory includes theories of career decision making and theories of adult career development. Career decision making theories focus on how individuals make decision in relation to their career whereas adult career development theories focus on career experiences throughout working life (Kidd, 2006). Career decision making theories and adult career development theories are presented and discussed in terms of their relevance for this study.

2.5.1 Career decision making theories

Career decision making theories focus on the ways individuals make career decisions. Although a complete overview of all career decision making theories is beyond the scope of this chapter, some theories will be discussed in light of how we can understand careers of NxG. Kidd (2006) refers to four sets of career decision making theories: person-environment fit theories; developmental theories; structural theories and theories which consider social influence on career decision making.

2.5.2 Person-environment fit theories

Person-environment fit theories have dominated the study of occupational choice and career decision making during the last century. Parson's (1909) was one of the earliest theorists to attempt to describe what happens when an individual chooses an occupation. Parson's theory centred around three main propositions; people are different from each other, jobs are different from each other; the study of both should facilitate a match between the individual and the job. The degree of congruence between individuals and their environments are describe as person-environment fit theories.

While other person-environment theories have been developed (notably Rodger's Seven Point Plan, 1952), Holland's(1997) differential list theory is the most developed as it focuses on individual differences and characteristics which distinguish individuals. Holland (1997) pertains that people seek occupations based on their interests or work preferences. Holland categorizes people and environments into six types; realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, conventional. Holland's interest types have been assessed by a number of instruments.

While person-environment fit theories have gained empirical support (Kidd, 2006), from a theoretical standpoint, they do not shed light on career decision making within the family business context as although they focus on the interests and traits of the individual and matching these up with an environment, they do not consider the process leading up to the decision nor other influences on career.

2.5.3 Developmental career theories

Developmental career theories perceive choosing a career and adapting to work as a continuous process that spans a lifetime. Key concepts such as developmental stages, career maturity and career identity are used by career developmental theorists to understand the career decision making process (Kidd, 2006).

Developmental stages refer to different stages of careers an individual experiences which are often mirrored by life stages. Career maturity is defined as the readiness to deal with the developmental tasks appropriate to one's career stage (Kidd, 2006). Career identity represents career experiences and aspirations (Fugate, Kinicki & Ashforth, 2004) and identity refers to how people define themselves in a particular work context.

Plunkett (2001) highlights the longitudinal nature of career identity as an individual makes sense of past events prior to moving forward. Fugate et al (2004:7) claim that career identities provide a compass for individuals. Meijers (1998: 200) states, "the career identity is not the sum of experiences but the assimilation of the experiences into meaningful or useful structures."

Super (1957) views career development as proceeding through five main stages: growth; exploration; establishment; maintenance and decline (see Table 2). One of Super's main contributions to career theory is the role of the self-concept in career. Super (1957) claims that an individual's vocational self-concept develops on the basis of children's observation of and identification of adults involved in work. He claims that in order to understand a person's vocational life, the full cycle must be observed as opposed to viewing career as a one off decision which occurs in adolescence (Osipow, 1983). Super (1980) identifies five life stages of careers; childhood growth, search & inquiry, establishment, continuity of maintenance and decline. Although little has been written about the first stage (Osipow, 1983), Super (1952, 1980) claims that individuals have an awareness of self from birth and the formation of one's self concept requires an individual to recognize oneself as an distinctive individual but as similar to others. Super peruses that while the child evaluates roles in the world of work from the perspective of the family, and different values about different kinds of work are communicated via the family, the reference point shifts as an individual experiences each career stage. Although late adolescence has been posed as a time of transition as children choose an occupation (Eckrich & Loughhead, 1996), occupational awareness begins at a much earlier stage. Super's analysis of the role of the self-concept in career development resulted in more attention being paid to the subjective experience of career (Kidd, 2006).

TABLE 2 Super's career stage model

Stage	Age
Childhood growth	0-14
Search & inquiry	0-25
Establishment	25-45
Continuity or maintenance	45-56
Decline or disengagement	56+

Super's developmental theory, which offers a life span approach to career, highlights the potential impact of family business on careers of next generation family members. If vocational awareness begins from birth and an individual grows up in the context of a FB, their vocational self-concept is influenced by both the family and the family business. Super (1957) proposes that an individual gradually develops a realistic self-concept which they seek to implement via an occupation. The point at which NxG achieve a realistic self-concept may be influenced and even delayed by the family business context as the option to enter the family business and pursue a career there may influence their self-concept. Although there is a more recent formulation of Super's Career Stage Model (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Myers & Jordan, 1988), this formulation incorporates the two stages of childhood growth and search & inquiry into one stage of exploration which the author feels undermines the childhood growth stage which is relevant to this study, and has been recognized as an under researched area in career theory (Osipow, 1983).

2.5.4 Structural career theories

Structural career theories are concerned with the social environments of individuals. Family background is considered to predetermine the social position of individuals which affects occupational opportunities (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Structural theorists are concerned by the socioeconomic status of occupations (Kidd, 2006). Occupational choice is viewed by structural career theorists (Roberts, 1968) as a mythical concept as individuals' opportunity for employment is linked to their social status as opposed to being an individual choice. If the lens of structural theory was used to interpret careers of next generation family members, one might assume that all next generation family members will seek careers in the FB as occupational choice is inherently linked to family background and social position. However, this is not the case as studies of succession remains one of the major challenges facing FBs.

2.5.5 Social influences on career

While social influences in career decision making have been recognized, Law (1981) attempts to reconcile psychological and sociological approaches to career by proclaiming interpersonal exchanges within the local community as the prime mediator of career development. Law (1981) outlines sources of influences within the community, including family and community groups. Law's mid-range focus pertains that an individual bases career decisions on the interactions within and between groups of which the individual is a member. Law's mid-range theory draws from social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934). Social learning theory assumes learning occurs while observing a model, therefore in terms of career an individual will be influenced by career role models. Symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1936) assumes individual identity is formed via interactions with others. Law's mid-range focus highlights social influences on career.

Lent, Brown and Hackett's (1994) Social Cognitive Career Theory (hereafter SCCT) also highlights the role of social influence on career decision making. They propose that self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations predict academic and occupational interests. While self-efficacy beliefs relates to an individual's beliefs regarding their ability to perform actions, outcome expectations refer to personal beliefs about the outcome of certain interests (Kidd, 2006). While Lent et al.'s (1994) model depicts how career interests develop over time and demonstrates the link between interests and career intentions, it does not shed light on the individual, subjective experience of this process. While it has been suggested that the causes of self-efficacy are rooted in family of origin (Hackett & Betz, 1991), the SCCT model does not differentiate between the levels of sources of self-efficacy. Theorists such as Law (1981) and Lent et al. (1994) attest the role of social influences on career decision making, while highlighting the role of family influence. Law (1981) recognizes the family as one of the communities of which an individual is a member and claims influence on career decision making is exerted through an individual's social interactions with communities. Lent et al. (1994) somewhat indirectly refer to the family influence on career decision making by considering the role of self-efficacy on career interests, which is rooted in family origin.

Developmental theories and theories which consider social influences on career decision making are most appropriate in understanding careers of NxG. Super's developmental theory, offering a life stage perspective, recognizes both the family influence and the early life stage influence on career. This is particularly relevant for NxG who grow up in a family business. Moreover, Super's views on the development of the self-concept, which begins from birth is particularly apt for next generation family members, for whom the self-concept is not only influenced by the family but by the family business. This observation will be further developed in the next section when the author consider theories of adult development. Tziner, Loberman, Dekel and Sharoni (2012), more recently explored the connection between the interpersonal

relationship between parents and their offspring and career preferences. They concluded that the choice of a future career track is not just a function of individual development but a result of a youngster's relationship with his or her family. The authors also state that parents play a major role in their offspring's career development. Law's (1981) mid-range theory may too provide a vantage point to explore the influence of the family business, as a social influence, on NxG. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter as the author interprets learning experiences of NxG using a social learning theoretical lens.

2.6 Theories of Adult Career Development

Theories of adult career development focus on career experiences throughout working life. Development is viewed as a lifelong process which is both multidirectional and multidimensional (Kidd, 2006). The author ascertains that Super's model of adult career development provides an interesting angle to investigate careers of NxG. While Super's developmental theoretical approach was referred to earlier in the chapter, this section will concentrate on Super's (1980) life-career rainbow. Super's life-career rainbow focuses on an individual's life-space and recognizes different roles an individual assumes across the life stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, decline and life stage represented by the bands in the rainbow.

Super (1980) identifies nine life roles an individual performs in their life space (child, student, leisurite, worker, spouse, homemaker and parent) in what he describes as four dominant theaters: the home, the community, the school/university and the workplace. Super's (1980:288) use of the term life space refers to career patterns as he explains "simultaneous combination of life roles constitute the life style; their sequential combination structures the life space and constitutes the life cycle. The total structure is the career pattern." Obviously Super recognizes other theaters such as the church but flags the aforementioned as dominant.

Super's life-career rainbow recognizes the many roles an individual may play in adulthood and often simultaneously. As Herr (1997) points out, Super enticed career scholars to consider other roles beside work roles in their studies of career as he recognised how the interaction of roles and contexts within an individual's life span influence careers. While Handy (1989) recommended that individuals shape work to suit their lives, Super focused on work as one role an individual plays.

Super claims that not every individual will enter each theatre in his model. Each role is typically played in one theater, realizing that some roles span more than one theater (i.e. individuals who work at home) which may cause role conflict. Breaks in the bands signify a break in the role, for example if someone is temporarily out of work. Super (1980:287) states that "the non-occupational positions occupied before the adult career begins influences both the adult

positions which may be occupied and the way in which role expectations may be met." When referring to non-occupational positions, Super is referring to schooling. However, he also ascertains that the more adequately, both in terms of perception of self and others, that an adolescent plays pre-occupational roles, (particularly those of student and part-time worker), the more likely is the possibility of success and satisfaction in occupational roles. Savickas (1997) who emphasizes that Super's life space model does not position work as the central role in an individual's life but draws attention to the importance of the work role in relation to other roles.

While it has been recognized that Super's career life rainbow portrays experiences of individuals and recognizes the impact of both personal (awareness, attitudes, interests, needs-values, achievement, biological heritage) and situational determinants (family, community, school, socioeconomic organization and commitment, historical change, social structure) on career, it does not focus on other roles besides child, student, leisurite and citizen which individuals may play in the early life stages of growth and exploration as NxG often do. Next generation family members often participate in work roles from a young age, albeit in an informal manner. In some ways their role as both student and worker begins at birth as they participate in the theater of the family business.

This study demonstrates that for NxG, the family business context presents a unique learning opportunity availed of from a young age, albeit in a somewhat subconscious way. Chapter five discusses the learning process of next generation family members in greater detail but the recognition of NxG as students from birth is a significant assertion to highlight at this point. From birth, NxG acquire tacit knowledge, embedded in their social interaction with the family business. The content and process of learning, which leads to the acquisition of such knowledge will be developed and substantiated in greater detail in chapter five. Moreover, in addition to NxG's roles in the theater of the family business, the family business can also be considered a personal and situational determinant which influences both career decisions and development.

Super (1980:294) defines personal determinants as "the genetic constitution of the individual modified by his or her experiences (the environment and its situational determinants) in the womb, the home and the community." For NxG, experiences of the home and community naturally include experiences of the family business. Situational determinants are referred to by Super (1980) as the geographic, historic, social and economic conditions in which the individual functions throughout their lives. The family business provides historic, social and economic conditions in which family members experience their life space. To demonstrate this the author has adapted Super's (1980) life-career rainbow to reflect the career of next generation family members (Figure 2). The role of student and worker are incorporated in the life stages of growth and exploration to mirror how next generation family members learn and work in the family business even during

primary socialization. The family business is included as a personal and social determinant of a family member's life space.

Kidd (2006) in her review of theories of adult career development also discusses career transitions, cycles and careers as a social process. While transition and change are inherent in careers, the author considers Super's life span approach more relevant to this study. Although Hall (2002) adopts a more psychological perspective to career development and claims that individuals have greater agency in their career decisions, and highlights the importance of learning, his depiction of career as mini lifecycles is not suited to this study. The conception of career as a social process (Herriot, 1992; Herriot, 2001; Herriot & Pemberton, 1996) signals our attention to career as a series of on-going interactions between individuals within social and organizational environments. From the perspective of NxG, this conception is important as for potential successors to the family business, these social interactions begin at a very young age as depicted in our adapted model (Figure 2).

Career theory has some introduced some interesting insights into the study of careers of next generation family members, most notably the developmental perspective which considers careers as a lifelong process. Kidd (2006) draws our attention to the historical origins of Super's work, and claims social science theories are products of their time. The author regards Super's work to be of relevance to the study of careers of NxG, as both Super's theoretical approach and later model emphasize the potential family and family business influence on NxG from a young age. Moreover, Super's focus on the development of the self-concept in terms of vocational development is astounding in terms of the implications of the family business influence on an individual's self-concept. Although Eckrich and Loughhead (1996) claim that next generation family members experience vocational identity deficit, given the family business serves both as a personal and situation determinant which affects career decisions, this is hardly surprising. Super (1980) claims that determinants affect career preferences, choices, entry and change in the one's working life.

Based on the above analysis of career theories in relation to the study of next generation family members the author proposes the following:

Proposition 2: Early exposure to the family business shapes both the self-concept and careers of next generation family members.

While the family influence on career has been recognized by both theories of career decision making and theories of adult career development, the unique family business context has not been. This chapter commenced by stating that career theory focuses on the study of individuals and organizations. Theories discussed to date have considered the individual in career decision making and development as the vocational perspective on career considers the individual as the agent (Inkson et al.,2012). However, as the family business field is concerned with the study of both the family and business systems, the next section will refer to trends in career studies which too refer to organizations.

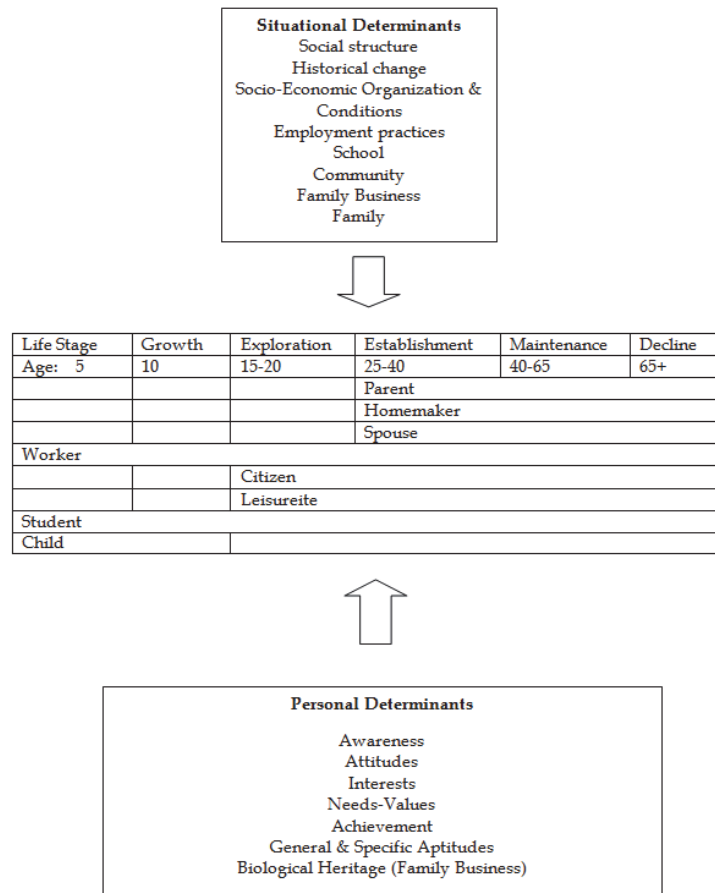


FIGURE 2 Careers of next generation family members - Adapted from Super's Life-Career Rainbow (1982)

2.7 Trends in career studies

According to Robinson and Miner (1999), career theorists have frequently focused on ordered careers within large organizations. Kidd (1998) claims that this was due to many theories of occupational choice and career development being based on bureaucratic organizations as advocated by Weber (1947) with a continuing emphasis on rational and impersonal processes. Ironically, Weber proposed the bureaucratic form as an alternative to the highly personalized nature of feudal and family type organizations, as he believed nepotism created dysfunctional organizations. Traditionally, careers were perceived to have evolved within one or two organizations and were conceptualized to advance in linear stages (Levinson, 1978; Super, 1957), typically moving up the hierarchy of an organization. Therefore, the dominant contextual factor of career studies

were large organizations. Baruch (2004) describes this traditional view of the career as a linear career path which was rigid and static. Career research has viewed careers in terms of an individual's relationship to an employing organization (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009) and studies which focused on what is considered the traditional models deemed this relationship between the individual and the organization to be a long term one.

Under the traditional model, it was desirable that an individual spent their entire career within one organization and progressed as such. Careers were studied as something that was managed by the organization as opposed to being managed by the individual. Sullivan (1990) recognizes that this traditional model which has dominated careers research has excluded some individuals (namely the self-employed and contract workers) as most organizational structures supported it and individuals progressed through these hierarchical structures. It appears the family business has also been excluded. However, due to factors such as environmental change, recessions, extended retirement age and changes in organizational employment strategies, individuals are changing their career attitudes and behaviours. Baruch (2004) asserts that the second half of the twentieth century noticed a shift from careers systems relying on a bureaucracy, in which careers were perceived as a process of hierarchical steps to a more dynamic, boundary less system. What was once perceived as a long term based career relationship between the individual and the organization has shifted to a short term based transactional relationship (Baruch, 2004).

However, ownership of careers under both the traditional and contemporary models such as the 'boundaryless career' (to be described in greater detail in the next section) belongs to the individual (Baruch, 2004). According to Hall (2004) individuals are taking more responsibility for their own career development. Baruch (2004:59) claims that from the individual perspective, traditional commitment to the organization has changed into multiple commitments which include "merely a conditional commitment to the organization." Although individuals may have less commitment to the organization, they may develop a set of multiple commitments. Arthur et al. (1995) refer to the old and the new career paradigm in their research into the 'intelligent' career and demonstrate principles behind both paradigms - the traditional and the contemporary. Physical movement is a key feature of the new paradigm as well as shared commitment of both the individual and the organization. The shift in responsibility of the career from the organization to the individual has led to the emergence of career constructs which reflect this shift. The contemporary model constructs will be described below.

2.7.1 Contemporary career models

Since the 1990s, much of the literature on career has shifted from the idea of the traditional organisational career to more individual focused careers, and constructs such as the 'protean' (Hall, 1976, 1996) and the 'boundaryless' career

(Arthur, 1994) have emerged. While environmental factors such as recessions, economic turbulence and diminishing long term employment opportunities within organizations may play a role in this, there has been a shift in the portrayal of career by individuals.

The 'Protean' career was first proposed by Hall in 1976 but did not receive much attention until twenty years later (Hall, 1996), is defined as: "The protean career is a process in which the person, not the organisation is managing. It consists of all the person's varied experience in education, training, work in several organizations, changes in occupational field, etc. . .The protean person's own personal career choices and search for self-fulfilment are the unifying or integrative elements in his or her life" (Hall, 1976:201). The Protean career is based on the metaphor of the Greek god, Proteus, who could change his shape at will. Hall (1996) described the Protean careerist as one who could repackage his/her knowledge, skills and abilities in line with the changing work environment to remain employable. Protean careerists manage their own careers and are driven by internal values such as a desire to learn (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009) and self-fulfilment (Brocklehurst, 2003).

The surge of interest in the 'boundaryless organization' resulted in the construct of the 'boundaryless career'. Arthur and Rousseau (1996) argued that careers in the twenty first century would no longer be linear, but non-linear, discontinuous and boundaryless. The 'boundaryless career' (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), refers to career opportunities that go beyond the boundary of a single employer or organisation. An individual is not dependent on a traditional organizational career arrangement or patterns. The 'boundaryless career' is defined as "one of independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organizational career arrangements" (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996:6). The boundaryless career has also been defined as "the opposite to organizational careers" (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996:4). The construct assumes physical movement but also psychological movement from one employment relationship to another. Brent, Snow and Miles (1996) equate the changing natures of careers in the twenty first century with changes in organisational structures.

Both constructs, the protean career and the boundaryless career have equally received attention (Valcour, Bailyn & Quijada, 2009) and criticism (Inkson et al., 2012) in the careers literature. Theorists have struggled to conceptually distinguish between the two constructs (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009) and Briscoe and Hall (2006) argue that the theories need to be more finely delineated. Inkson et al. (2012) signal dissatisfaction with the construct in terms of definition, empirical support, it's overemphasis on personal agency and the normalization of the boundaryless careers. They too refute the claim by Arthur and Rousseau (1996) that a career is boundaryless and view this as an undermining of boundaries, which are often useful in defining and understanding careers (Inkson et al.,2012).

In reference to the use of metaphors in career studies, Inkson et al. (2012) too ponder the use of the career path without boundaries. They call for

'boundary focused career scholarship'. Hall (2004) defines the two constructs as related but separate. A common feature of both is the independence of the individual in relation to managing their careers.

Despite the above mentioned criticism, the 'boundaryless' and the 'protean' career constructs are accepted in career studies (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). The author concurs with Inkson et al. (2012) regarding the importance of boundaries which is particularly relevant to the family business area as the field refers to overlapping systems (Lansberg, 1988). While this study does not aim to evaluate constructs in career studies, the author does want to explore where the family business, as an organisation currently sits amidst career studies.

2.8 Family business: An absent context from career studies?

As the careers literature has focused mainly on highly structured corporate organisations and the shift in responsibility of the career from the organisation to the individual and vice versa, Sullivan (1999) admits, some organisations have been neglected. How are family businesses perceived from a careers perspective? Are they viewed as organizations which follow the traditional model or more contemporary models?

Granrose and Chua (1996) exhibit parallels between the practices of Chinese family businesses and the construct of the boundaryless career. They describe the principal facets of Chinese family businesses, focusing strongly on the role of kinship networks, and relate them to the concept of the boundaryless career for expatriate Chinese family business. Similarities between the boundaryless career and career patterns in Chinese family businesses are made, namely in two main areas; networks and learning orientation.

Granrose and Chua (1996) claim that networks from a boundaryless careers perspective not only facilitate inclusion and exclusion but also facilitates access to other resources, both for the individual and the organization, as they do in Chinese family businesses. Three principles of networking for Chinese family businesses are referred to which the author ascertains the construct of the boundaryless career can learn from; obligation, rank ordering and self-definition.

Obligation refers to the principle of reciprocity in family businesses. In Chinese family businesses, reciprocal obligation is assumed between family members on the basis of shared family welfare. This principle is extended to non-family members as networks are developed. Granrose and Chua (1996) posit that those who embrace the boundaryless career may shape their careers by lifelong networks as opposed to transient networks which leads them to wonder how career decisions may be based around the obligations and debts incurred.

The second principle of networking is the rank ordering of networks. Although kinship networks are highly ranked, the ranking of the network demonstrates the level of shared trust, knowledge and resources between

networks. The ranking of networks may raise issues of inequality in network value for those who adopt the boundaryless career. The third principle of networking in Chinese family businesses plays a role in determining a person's identity or self-concept. Networks define an individual's position in relation to another's position. The authors deliberate whether the collectivist Chinese cultural view of the self, as in being in a relationship with others, may offer solace to the construct of the boundaryless career which views career as individualistic and self-oriented. The author also claims that the focus on learning and knowledge is a commonality between Chinese family businesses and the boundaryless career.

Arthur et al. (1995) refer to the 'intelligent career' which refers to the 'know why' (values, attitudes, internal needs, identity and lifestyle), the 'know how' (career competencies, skills, expertise, capabilities, tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge) and the know whom (networking, relationships and access to people). While these three 'knows' refer to choices in career, Granrose and Chua (1996) claim that the Chinese define the self in terms of the family unit and make career decisions based on what is important for the collective family unit as opposed to the individual family member and this dictates who, what and how an individual knows. In Chinese family businesses, the individual family member is not a free agent as the 'boundaryless career' construct suggests. However, Granrose and Chua (1996) believe that the 'boundaryless career' construct can learn from career patterns in Chinese FBs and vice versa.

While trends in the careers literature are based on the relationship between the individual and the organization, it has not considered the context of the family business. The relationship between the organization (the family business) and the individual (family member) is often boundaryless, but also bounded by being part of a family business ownership group.

Inkson et al. (2012) note that a fundamental question in career studies is whether careers are the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency? While it is recognized that few careers are the product of individual agency due to other forces (the economic environment, social factors etc) in the family business context, careers are a product of both due to the overlapping nature of family and business. For NxG, the author realizes that inherent tensions exist between individual career intentions and organizational development due to the early influence posed on them by the family business.

As in Chinese family businesses, empirical evidence (see chapter four) suggests that individual family members of family businesses in Ireland are not free agents. Individual family members often base career decisions on the needs of the family business as opposed to fulfilling personal career needs. Decisions are often based on the individual as part of the family unit and the family business system needs. The author suggests commitment to socioemotional wealth as one rationale as to why to next generation family members in this study base career decisions on the collective family need as opposed to the individual need. This will be substantiated further in chapter six.

Empirical evidence has suggested that individuals appreciate traditional career outcomes such as job security and upward mobility but also want non-traditional outcomes such as “protean wellbeing” (Granrose & Baccili, 2006). Individuals who experience an orderly career in a large organization under what is deemed the traditional career model are too self-directed in their career management. Family member’s careers are often managed by the organization, the family business, as opposed to being managed by the individual as the boundaryless career construct suggests.

Although next generation family members may assume ownership of their careers, being part of an ownership group is a unique context in which to form career intentions and patterns (Carr & Sequeira, 2008). For next generation family members, the divide between the individual level of analysis (the individual) and the organizational level (the FB) can be blurred. Therefore, for NxG a career can feature elements of both the old and the new career models. For those who enter the family business, they may progress hierarchically until they assume a leadership role either as successor or part of the top management team. For NxG, the family business can facilitate a boundaryless career as the family business provides them with access to networks and also provides a unique learning environment. For NxG who seek salaried employment in other organizations, access to the family network may provide unique opportunities. For the potential entrepreneurs, the family business also provides access to networks and resources. The author proposes that family members enact ‘hybrid’ careers (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009) which are characterized by both traditional and non-traditional models.

Proposition 3: Next generation family members enact hybrid careers facilitated by the family business.

This will be discussed in great detail in the next chapter in relation to the empirical evidence of this study.

2.9 Conclusion

Careers of NxG is an important research gap which needs to be addressed in the family business field. Career is a complex multi-layered concept evidenced by the lack of a universally accepted definition of the concept and the use of metaphors to capture the essence of what a career is. Careers of NxG too are complex, due to the emotionality of the family business. Current studies which focus solely on career intentions of next generation family members (Stavrou & Swiercz, 1996; Carr & Sequeira, 2008; Zellweger et al, 2010, Schroder et al, 2011) over rely on Azjen’s (1985, 1991) TPB. As career is not planned behaviour, rather an irrational evolving, somewhat emotional process embedded in social interactions (Herriot , 1992; 2001) which spans a life time, incorporating both the objective and subjective aspects of career, the TPB does not sufficiently predict or explain the career behaviour of next generation family members.

Current family business studies in relation to career do not present the subjective, individual experience of career. A review of the family business literature and insights from career theory have led the author to suggest three propositions in relation to careers of next generation family members to be explored:

Proposition 1: The theory of planned behaviour does not sufficiently predict or explain the career behaviour of next generation family members.

Proposition 2: Early exposure to the FB shapes both the self-concept and careers of next generation family members.

Proposition 3: Next generation family members enact hybrid careers facilitated by the FB

Chapter four will present empirical evidence to support these propositions. However, as the reader has been introduced in greater detail to the focus of the study and the main concepts, the next chapter will discuss how the study was conducted and the methodological choices made by the author as a researcher.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the philosophical positioning and methodology of the study. Benbasat and Weber (1996: 392) claim that “research methods shape the language we use to describe the world and language shapes how we think about the world”. As with language, researchers have a choice to make while conducting research. This chapter aims to demonstrate the research rationale of the researcher in her attempts to make sense of the phenomena of careers of next generation family members. Bansal and Corley (2012:512) state that at the beginning of the research process “qualitative researchers often do not know where they will land”. The aim of this chapter is to give an account of where the research originated and the steps taken during the journey to make sense of participants’ experiences. The remaining chapters will signal where the researcher landed.

According to Arbnor and Bjerke (1997), the researcher’s ultimate presumptions will have a bearing on how they look at ‘problems’, how they evaluate available sets of techniques, and how they look at knowledge in general. Therefore, prior to rationalizing the research journey, the author will outline for the reader, her ultimate presumptions in relation to knowledge. These presumptions are of a philosophical nature as it is the *philosophy* of the researcher which impacts how the researcher views the world and what tools she uses to make sense of that world. The aim of this section is describe and in some way to justify the philosophical and methodological foundations of the chosen research strategy. As Blaikie (2007) points out, philosophical stance and choice of methods, can impact research outcomes. Therefore, it is essential that the researcher confronts, examines and acknowledges her fundamental assumptions regarding the nature of the world we live in prior to justifying research choices.

3.2 Philosophical positioning and the research focus

This study was designed to explore the careers of next generation family members (hereafter NxG). Specifically, the study sought to develop an understanding of how family business ownership influences the careers of NxG. The research focus is inherently linked to the philosophical position of the research, which determines methodology. The philosophical stance of the researcher revolves around paradigms. Lincoln and Guba (1985:105) define a paradigm as “the basic belief system or worldview that guides that investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.”

Arbno and Bjerke (1997) describe paradigms as the bridge between philosophical presumptions and methodological approaches. Creswell (1994), in an effort to address the paradigm definition debate, suggests that paradigms in the human and social sciences help us to understand phenomena. As such, this study is appropriately situated in Guba and Lincoln’s (1994, 2005) constructivist or interpretivist paradigm. Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicate that the central purpose of a study in the constructivist paradigm is to understand where the whole is greater than the sum of the parts and where the accumulation of the parts does not entirely capture the whole. Furthermore, the constructivist paradigm incorporates a relativist ontology and realities are understandable “ in the form of multiple, intangible, mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions” (Guba & Lincoln, 1985:110). The constructivist paradigm incorporates a transactional and subjective epistemology (Guba & Lincoln 2005), and the relationship between the researcher and the participant (NxG) is of an interactive nature.

Methodologically, the constructivist position espouses a hermeneutical approach (Guba & Lincoln, 2005), believing that meaning is hidden and must be brought to the fore through deep reflection (Schwandt, 1994). This means that reality is constructed in the minds of individuals (Lincoln & Guba 1985) and the individual’s reality can only be elicited through interaction between the researcher and the participants. This process of deep reflection can be stimulated by the interactive researcher–participant dialogue. The researcher is a “passionate participant” (Guba & Lincoln 2005:196) in the process. Therefore the results of such inquiry are co-constructed understandings, which are shaped by both the researcher and participants of the study – NxG.

Although there are both objective and subjective aspects of career, the researcher agrees with Kidd (2006) who claims that career is best understood through an individual’s subjective experience. The researcher also ascertains that to deepen our understanding of the phenomena of careers of next generation family members, subjective experiences of career as opposed to observable objective aspects are a necessary focus. Moreover, the chosen definition of career for this study “ an individual’s work related and other

relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organizations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span" (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009: 1543) highlights the social aspect of career. The researcher conceives career to be a social process (Herriot, 2001) which is embedded in an individual's social interactions. Therefore, this research is more specifically situated within social constructionism (Schwandt, 1994). The researcher accepts that reality is socially constructed and that reality is open to many reconstructions and interpretations (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and views their role to interpret and present the participants views of reality. As indicated, the researcher is part of the research process (Rowland, 2005).

Research methodology is dependent on the underlying assumptions of the researcher as described above. The main research question "How does family business ownership influence careers of next generation family members?" was asked to elicit information in order to achieve the aim of the research. Such a broad focus is consistent with a qualitative mode of inquiry as it positions the researcher in a place open to the discovery of issues and concepts, which are embedded in the phenomenon that the researcher is investigating. Moreover, this research is concerned with interpreting meaning in contextual situations and the spoken word as opposed to numerical data using statistical methods. A broad research question too minimizes the possibility of restricting the study to such a narrow focus that the understanding of the relevant concepts is limited (Glaser, 1992; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

The researcher wishes to draw the reader's attention to the importance of context in interpretative qualitative studies. The context of this study is the family business background of participants and their membership of a business owning family. As Clarkson (1989:16) states "people cannot be understood outside of the context of their ongoing relationships with other people or separate from their interconnectedness with the world." Context is of extreme significance in this interpretive qualitative study as the context of the family business is the commonality between participants.

Equally, it is important to note Nordqvist, Hall and Melin's (2009) reference to the abundance of quantitative studies in the FB field. They too highlight the need for more qualitative and interpretive research "that stands on its own, is rigorous and both draws upon and generates theory." They claim that certain methodological approaches and research strategies are especially relevant to reach an in-depth understanding of the complex and tacit phenomena related to the dynamics of family businesses. The nature of the research question posed in this study required a research method that was interested in human-context interaction. Given its emphasis on understanding human social interaction, such as career experiences, grounded theory has the potential to provide insight into a complex phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser, 1992).

The requirement of the grounded theory method to consider the influence of structures and processes (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) ensures consideration is given to the contextual factors in the design, conduct and outcomes of the

study. As this study views career as a social process and the researcher is interested in how and why events play out over time, grounded theory is viewed as a suitable strategy for trying to make sense of participants' stories of their careers (Langley, 1999). Charmaz (1995) considers grounded theory to be suited to studying individual processes, interpersonal relations and the reciprocal effects between individuals and larger social processes.

This research is interpretive, placing greater emphasis on gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomena of the careers of next generation family members, positioning constructivist grounded theory as an appropriate framework.

3.3 Grounded theory – the research strategy

This research adopts a constructivist grounded theory approach to interpretive qualitative research (Charmaz, 1995; Cope, 2011; Nordqvist, Hall, Melin, 2009), focusing on critical career experiences of family members. Pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a means of bridging the gap between theory and empirical research, grounded theory is described as a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data, which is simultaneously and systemically gathered and analyzed (Strauss & Corbin, 1985).

Grounded theory explicitly involves “generating theory and doing social research as two parts of the same process” (Glaser, 1978). It provides a set of strategies for researchers who wish to conduct rigorous, qualitative research (Charmaz, 1995). Since its introduction by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the authors have diverged significantly from their original statements regarding grounded theory. An overview of the variations of grounded theory will be presented next.

3.3.1 Grounded theory – Objectivist & constructivist

The divergence from ‘original’ grounded theory led to a number of variations of grounded theory; the Glaserian approach based on the original work and the subsequent writings of Glaser; and the Straussian version based on changes Strauss made to the original version in collaboration with Juliet Corbin (Benoliel 1996; Heath & Cowley 2003; McCallin 2003; Charmaz, 2006) and the constructivist approach (Charmaz, 1995; 2006).

Charmaz (1995:677) attests that all variants of grounded theory follow the strategies of simultaneous collection of data and analysis, pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis, discovery of basic social processes within the data, inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesize these processes, sampling to refine the categories through comparative processes and the integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the studied processes. However, variants of grounded theory differ in terms of their methodological stance and are either objectivist or constructivist. Charmaz

(1995) claims that she subscribes to the interpretive view of the research process whereas Glaser and Strauss and subsequently Strauss and Corbin portray their methods as compatible with positivistic assumptions of external reality.

Comprehensive reading of grounded theory methodology provided an opportunity to identify and understand some of the differences between the three variations. The review of grounded theory literature highlighted the differences between approaches to grounded theory incorporated both methodological and method issues. The underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions of the original authors of grounded theory were found to be at the centre of the methodological issues.

One of the key differences between the variations of grounded theory are of an epistemological nature and refer to the relationship between the researcher and the research. Glaser's version of grounded theory has its ontological roots in critical realism. Critical realism assumes that an objective world exists independently of our knowledge and belief and as such the researcher is considered to be independent of the research (Annells, 1996). Strauss and Corbin's (1994) stance, which has its ontological roots in relativism, presumes that reality is interpreted. In light of this, Strauss and Corbin (1994) encourage the researcher to be involved in the method as opposed to having the role of the detached observer.

The constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz 1990, 2000b, 2003, 2006; Charmaz & Mitchell 2001) too has its ontological roots in relativism. However, the constructivist approach considers both data and analysis to be a co-creation of both researcher and participant's shared experiences (Charmaz, 1995, 2006).

Secondly, Glaser's approach to grounded theory assumes the researcher to have no 'a priori conceptions' before entering the field. Glaser defined grounded theory as a method of discovery; the categories were emergent from the data, the method relied on empiricism which was often direct and narrow and analyzed a basic social process (Charmaz 2006). Strauss (1987) redirected the method to a more verifiable position in his work with Corbin (Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998). Strauss and Corbin's approach focuses on the use of their new technical procedures rather than placing the emphasis on the comparative methods of the earlier grounded theory approaches. Glaser's version is considered a more patient, relaxed approach that waits for the theory to emerge from the data. One of Glaser's criticisms of the Straussian version is that Strauss and Corbin's procedures force data and analysis into preconceived categories (Charmaz, 2006). The purist position or Glaserian approach to grounded theory requires "the researcher to enter the research field with no preconceived problem statement, interview protocols or extensive reviewing of the literature" (Holton 2007:269). However, Strauss and Corbin (1994) advocate a limited review of the literature to be beneficial in directing data collection. Charmaz (2006) points to delaying the literature review to allow the researcher time to articulate ideas.

The researcher agrees with Cutcliffe (2000:1480) who states “no potential researcher is an empty vessel, a person with no history or background.” The researcher is also aware of her own family background and recognizes her own preconceived assumptions regarding careers of NxG. How the researcher addressed these will be discussed later in the chapter.

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3.4 Methods

According to Charmaz (1995), grounded theory methods provide systematic procedures for shaping and handling rich qualitative data. The distinguishing characteristics of grounded theory include; (i) theoretical sampling; (ii) simultaneous data collection and analysis; (iii) creation of analytic codes and categories derived from the data; (iv) memo-making; and (v) delay of the literature review. As previously stated, this study is concerned with how family business ownership influences the careers of NxG.

By family business ownership, the researcher alludes to family business background or more explicitly, individuals who grew up in a family business. In order to elicit how careers of next generation family members are influenced by the family business, the researcher is interested in how careers of next generation family members develop and evolve over time. The researcher is ultimately interested in the career behavior of next generation family members. The research followed processes described in Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (2009) and a multiple case study design was used to create propositions and constructs from case-based evidence.

Although a popular mode of enquiry, there is little agreement on what exactly constitutes a case (Merriam, 1988). According to Pettigrew (1990) the case study approach can be generally characterized as an empirical inquiry that (1) investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, when (2) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident, and in which

(3) multiple sources of evidence are used. The case study approach, as described by Pettigrew, appears to be apt for the family business context, as in the family business field boundaries between context and phenomenon are not always clear. Yin (1994:13) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon.” As Stake (1995) points out, case study research facilitates the study of actors (family members in this research), process, events holistically and longitudinally.

Although the case study is a distinctive form of empirical inquiry, many investigators nevertheless criticize the approach (Yin, 2009). Perhaps the greatest concern has been over the lack of rigor of case study research. Often, the case study investigator has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions. A second common concern about case studies is that they provide very little basis for scientific generalisation and produce theories that are narrow and idiosyncratic. Additionally, it is felt that case studies take too long and result in massive unreadable documents and overly complex theories (Eisenhardt, 1989). These criticisms will be discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

A major strength of the case study approach is that it is contextual. Also, case studies are a useful way to systematically look at a specific case, collect data, analyse and interpret findings within their context and report results. Therefore, each family member interviewed represents an individual case study or unit of analysis for this research. The comparative case study allows for cross case interpretations once within – case interpretations have been made (Eisenhardt, 1989). For the purpose of this research, the case study is a suitable method to write up the findings as each family member and their career journey is an individual case. There are twelve participants, hence twelve cases (see Appendix 1 for a sample of one of the case studies). Therefore, the case approach represents the holistic approach to method, a means through which the participants are analysed with sources of data emanating through methods described below.

The case study method fits seamlessly with the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions discussed previously. As Charmaz (1995) postulates, in-depth qualitative interviewing suits grounded theory methods. In-depth interviewing facilitates a flexible technique, which grants the researcher control over emerging ideas and themes during the interview which can be pursued. In depth interviewing, using the Critical Incident Technique is one of the main methods of data collection in this study, in addition to written narratives provided by participants prior to the interview. The use of the Critical Incident Technique will be described in more detail below but the researcher will first describe how the participants were selected for the study.

3.4.1 Theoretical Sampling

In line with grounded theory guidelines (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Charmaz, 1995), and guidelines on building theory from case study research (Eisenhardt,

1989), sampling for this study proceeded on theoretical grounds. As the phenomena of interest is careers of next generation family members, the sample for this study was purposefully selected on the basis of family business background. All participants of the study are next generation family members who worked in the family business at some stage of their lives. While an original sample of six was selected in line with Eisenhardt (1989), who claims that with fewer than four cases it can be difficult to generate theory, this was extended to twelve to adopt a family or group level perspective as called for by Dyer (1986) and James, Jennings and Breitkieu (2012). While it may be argued that two individual family members do not represent a family perspective, the author attests that the level of analysis is not individual, but group.

The family perspective is important as it facilitates a greater understanding of the family influence on career. Also, the inclusion of a second family member enhances validity which will be discussed later in this chapter. In grounded theory studies, the representativeness of concepts as opposed to people is important (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) therefore theoretical sampling is necessary in building theory. Table 3 provides a profile of participants and their ownership status. For the purposes of this study, each participant is treated as an individual case. Cases A1-F1 are the original six participants and A2 to F2 are siblings. Table 4 profiles the family business of each participant. The six family businesses range in age and size, from first generation businesses to fifth generation businesses. A variety of industries are represented in the sample. The next section will discuss data collection and analysis which the researcher engaged in simultaneously.

3.4.2 Data collection and analysis

In-depth qualitative interviewing was the main data collection method employed by the researcher. As a means of focusing the interviews, the Critical Incident Technique was used. In addition to in depth interviews, online resources, company archives and any material which offered insight into the careers of participants was consulted.

3.4.3 Critical Incident Technique

The Critical Incident Technique as a research approach and data collection technique proved to be significantly appropriate in researching the careers of next generation family members. Critical Incident Technique (hereafter CIT) has its roots in organizational and occupational psychology. CIT consists of a set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behavior in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles (Flanagan, 1954). Flanagan (1954) highlights that the CIT is a procedure for gathering facts concerning behavior in defined situations. An incident can refer to any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act.

TABLE 3 Profile of participants

Participant A1 grew up in an established family business in Ireland in the food industry. He worked in the family business on an ad hoc basis from about the age of 12 years. He studied Fine Art in Crawford College, Cork. He worked in web design for a few years prior to setting up his own business in 2004 in the food industry. His business was acquired in 2012 by an American company but he remains at the helm of the business. He is not a financial owner of his family business.

Participant B1 worked in his family business on a part time basis during his school and college years from the age of 12 years old. After graduating with a Bachelor of Science, he worked for eight years with an Irish multinational as a Regional manager prior to returning to the family business. He has been running the family business since 2001. He owns one-third of the business in an equal partnership with his two brothers.

Participant C1 comes from a business owning family - her father was a farmer and her mother an entrepreneur. From a young age, she worked on the family farm and in her mother's B&B. Upon graduation as a Civil Engineer, she worked for an engineering company in Dublin prior to setting up her own courier business with her husband. Parallel to building up the business, participant C1 worked in IT, Hospitality and Education. She is now studying for a PhD at University College Cork whilst running her business. She is not a financial owner of the family business.

Participant D1 started his career in the family business in 1985 as a Commercial Artist. In 1997, he was promoted to National Sales Manager and moved to Dublin. In 2001, after sixteen years of working in the family business, he left the family business to work for an Irish public broadcasting company and was promoted to Commercial Director of Publishing. In 2005, he took over as Managing Director of a magazine before returning to the family business as CEO of one of their English products in February, 2008. He left the family business for the second time in January 2009 and is currently the Managing Director of a media company. He is not a financial owner of the family business.

Participant E1 worked part time in her family business from the age of 13 but formally entered the business at the age of 16. At the age of 20, she entered the business full time and was trained up by the then manager. She left the business when she was 25 years old to work in another family business in a different industry. After eighteen months, she returned to the family business and is now the designated successor. Once succession occurs she will be the sole financial owner of the family business.

Participant F1 worked in her family business on a part time basis from the age of 12. After doing six months of a Business course she decided to go travelling. On her return, she entered the family business and worked there for six years as Marketing Manager. Whilst working in the family business, she returned to study social care and did some locum work for an organization. She left the family business and now works with children with special needs. She is not a financial owner of the family business.

Participant A2 has always worked on the family farm. His earliest memory of the family business is lambing sheep when he was five years old. His is in partnership with his father and will take over the farm once his father retires and will be a financial owner, although he is currently unaware of how much of the business he will own. They supply produce to the hotel and restaurant, which is another part of the family business.

Participant B2 always wanted to work in the family business. He worked in the business informally during his teenage years but entered the business formally when he was eighteen. After sixteen years working in the business, he is now an financial equal owner alongside his two brothers. He is in charge of Sales and New Product Development.

Participant C2 worked in her family business from the age of ten. Her mother was a key entrepreneurial influence. Both of her parents introduced her to the concept of hard work.

(continues)

TABLE 3 (continues)

In 1985, she established her own law firm. She sold it in 2006 and travelled the world. She now acts as a consultant to those who are setting up their own business in the legal profession. She is not a financial owner of the family business.

Participant D2 is fifth generation of his family's business. From a young age, as the eldest son, he was predestined to enter the business. He joined the business when he left school and is entering his fortieth year in the business. After working his way up to senior management, he spent ten years as Chief Executive and is currently Chairman. He is a financial owner but his financial stake was not disclosed.

Participant E2 currently works part time in her family's business. Although her preferred career destination is in the Music industry, the business is extremely important to her. Her sister plans to take over the business. She is fully supportive of her sisters' intentions, as she cannot imagine the business being outside of the family.

Participant F2 worked part time in the family business growing up. A trained solicitor, she helps her family with the business two days a weeks. Although she doesn't envision herself playing a future role in the family business, its success and continuity are very important to her.

To be critical, an incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effect. Since its inception by Flanagan (1954), it has been widely used as a qualitative research method across a number of disciplines (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, Maglio et al., 2005). Although the CIT is a data collecting method, Flanagan (1954:335) highlighted that the technique "does not consist of a single rigid set of rules governing such data collection. Rather, it should be of as a flexible set of principles that must be modified and adapted to meet the specific situation at hand."

Chell (1998) perceives that the CIT, as developed by Flanagan as a scientific tool, is now used more widely as an investigative tool in organizational analysis within an interpretive or phenomenological paradigm. She defines CIT as a "qualitative interview procedure, which facilitates the investigation of significant occurrences (events, incidents, processes or issues) identified by the respondent, the way they are managed and the outcomes in terms of perceived effects. The objective is to gain an understanding of the incident from the perspective of the individual, taking into account "cognitive, affective and behavioral elements"(Chell, 1998:56). Kidd (2006) claims that in the study of careers, little attention has been given to the sequence of cognitions and behaviors in one role that affects the next. The researcher pertains the CIT to provide a means of overcoming this.

TABLE 4 Profile of family firms in the study

Family Business	Year Estd.	Generation	Sector	Participants	Family Employees	Family Owners
A	1948	3rd	Hospitality/Food	A1 A2	5	3
B	1974	2nd	Fabrications	B1 B2	4	3
C	1968	2nd	Hospitality	C1 C2	1	1
D	1872	5th	Media	D1 D2	3	1
E	1983	2nd	Services	E1 E2	3	2
F	1980	1st	Food	F1 F2	1	2

CIT, as a research approach and research tool focuses on human behavior and human experience. As an interview technique, it encourages participants to focus on particular incidents or events. At the heart of this study is the focus on actual career behavior of next generation family members. CIT, as both a research approach and a research tool adequately lends itself to this type of investigation. It provides a structured, yet flexible, method of asking participants to think about key or significant incidents in their career. CIT allows the researcher to get 'closer to the subject' (Bryman & Bell, 2007). CIT enables inductive theory development by adopting a grounded theory approach which is particularly suitable and significant for this study. One disadvantage of CIT is that accounts are always retrospective; however the fact that events are critical means that subjects usually have a very good recall. Moreover, unlike the unstructured interview, there is a focus which enables the researcher to probe aptly and which the interviewee can concentrate on – a 'hook' upon which they 'hang' their accounts (Chell, 1998).

CIT is context rich and is developed from the subject's perspective, hence its use within an interpretive paradigm. Incidents can be checked across multi-sites/cases and themes can emerge based on incidents. In the CIT, dialogue

occurs between the researcher and the participant. Butterfield et al. (2005) consider the criterion for accuracy of retrospective self report and highlight that both Flanagan (1954) and later Woolsey (1986), propose that if the information provided is full, clear and detailed, the information is thought to be accurate. The quality of the incidents recounted by participants is important. The researcher in this case had a number of 'checks and balances' to ensure the quality of incidents. For the purposes of this research, each participant was asked to "describe key learning points/incidents and influences in your life and career to date" (see Table 4). This was requested to be sent to the researcher prior to the interview. As the CIT, as advocated by Flanagan (1954) focused on a particular activity, the researcher felt that in order to validate the retrospective use of CIT, asking participants to focus on key points/incidents and influences in their life and career to date both focused the interview (from the perspective of the researcher and the participant) and also provided data which could be used later as a validation tool. While CIT is seen as a flexible technique, it is recommended that the technique is explained to the participant (Butterfield et al, 2005).

The CIT was explained as follows to all participants:

"Good morning/afternoon participant. First, I would like to thank you formally for agreeing to participate in this research. I am now going to spend a few minutes to discuss the interview technique I will use. The aim of my research is to investigate careers of next generation family members. The technique I will use is called the Critical Incident Technique. As the name suggests, I will ask you during the interview to describe a number of 'critical' events or incidents in your careers. By critical, I refer to incident which have had special significance during your career. They don't need to be life changing but just of some significance to you. It can be something or someone that influenced your career for example. However, first of all I'm going to ask you to provide an account or synopsise chronologically to date."

An interview prop was during the interview (see Appendix 2 for a sample of Participant B1's visual data). It showed showed an X and a Y- axis diagram (see Appendix B for a visual representation of participant B1's career). The X line stands for career and the Y-line stands for high and low points. Participants were asked to document high and low points on the diagram. This was used towards the end of the interview and allow participants the opportunity to recap on and verify their accounts of their careers and in some cases revealed new incidents. This also acted as a validation technique as participants retold their career stories according to the highs and lows they experienced.

TABLE 5 Data provided by Participant B1 prior to the interview in response to request "Describe key learning points and influences in your career and life to date."

Career choices	Learning points
<p>"Started in 4th year secondary; considered architecture and science as possible professional route."</p>	<p>"Early decision making was influenced by my peers and skill set, I would say that in my time in school there was never really any serious thinking done on a career path with any third parties. Retrospectively I think this was unfortunate.</p> <p>I certainly made decisions but the learning would be that it could have been more structured."</p>
<p>"Chose science as I had a higher affinity with the, I was the first in the family to go to university - imagine!"</p>	<p>"College period influences were then very much faculty based and again peer influenced, I researched business opportunities and academic options and those decisions were very much my own and standard life direction stuff, if you can call that standard."</p>
<p>"Did science in UCC and went on to specialize in Biochemistry. This was primarily due to the nature of employment located in the Cork area."</p>	<p>"Now I'm into the good stuff. Kerry Group was an unbelievable learning curve and I really enjoyed it. I was the floor manager of a factory for the first 3 years running a plant producing 4 tonnes of butter a day! I subsequently moved onto manage a cheese factory which we built from scratch cost ten million in 1998 to build and was churning out 500,000 in cheese, there isn't enough paper to describe how much Kerry influenced me and thought me!"</p>
<p>"In final year, UCC, I then decided I wanted to try the professional circuit as opposed to becoming a lab scientist. Why? At the time I felt like I could develop in either profession."</p>	<p>"Summary would be, multinational business acumen, finance, costing PR, HR, sales, marketing, operations management."</p>
<p>"I then was offered a few jobs one in Japan which I seriously considered (with Board Bia!). I eventually went with Kerry Foods, thought it would be a great career move considering their profile."</p>	<p>"In reality they shaped my business character."</p>
<p>"Spent six years and then moved back to our family business in 2002 as my father was finding it difficult to manage the business, been here ever since for my sins."</p>	<p>"Working for the family business though has developed me in a more rounded way, more insight into small and medium business in Ireland, more insight into business at a local level, this has influenced me significantly as well. (continues)</p>

(TABLE 5 continues)	The whole family business interaction issues, wanting to throttle a relative! Learning to be jack of all when needs be, learning to deal with family issues, succession, pension planning, retirement planning, wealth transfer."
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Twenty four in-depth interviews were conducted as the original six selected cases were interviewed twice which provided the researcher with over six hundred pages of data. Email and telephone correspondence was also used to confer with participants at different stages of the research process and to relay interpretations to participants.

3.4.4 Data Analysis

Each interview was transcribed verbatim by the researcher and the average interview time was forty five minutes. As the researcher maintained a research diary, assumptions prior to the interview were recorded. Although participants were theoretically sampled, the researcher contacted the participants via her personal network of contacts. Therefore, the researcher is aware that her preconceived assumptions needed to be noted to prior to the interview. In addition to the noting of assumptions in relation to participants prior to the meeting, the researcher recorded immediate impressions directly after the interview. Once the interview was transcribed, and based on further reflection the researcher recorded her thoughts on the interviews (see Table 6). This formed part of memo making in the study, an important feature of the grounded theory approach.

The process of analysis began simultaneously with the process of data collection evidenced by the excerpts from the researcher's research diary. This is in line with grounded theory procedures (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, Charmaz, 1995) which advocates data collection and analysis as interrelated processes. As each participant was interviewed, these interviews guided the next interview. The principle of constant comparison was also adhered to as each participant's lived experience as told by them was compared to the previous and following participants.

Once the original six participants were interviewed, based on the initial coding process, it was decided to interview an additional six participants: siblings of the original six. The inspiration to interview a sibling of the original participants arose during the interview with participant A1. As their family business has two elements to it, the restaurant and the farm, participant A1 stated "if you spoke to my brother, he would have a totally different take on this." The researcher followed participant A1's advice, which turned out to be fruitful.

TABLE 6 Assumptions prior, after and on reflection after the interview with Participant B1

Assumptions prior to the meeting	Post interview observations	Reflections post transcription
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As I knew the participant both on a formal and informal basis, I presumed he chose a career in the family business as he never discussed his other experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free flowing interview - Very honest - Good description of career (he really thought about his answers) - Family influence on educational choice evident. - Career decision to return to the family business reactive - Family contacts very important in business - Strong work ethos from his father - Various influences on his 'mindset' - Said he enjoyed the interview - felt like he was with a 'quack'! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Great grounding in the family business. - Engaged in developmental work. - Inquisitive from a young age which shaped his character. <p>Description of multinational as cocoon in comparison to the family business.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Left the cocoon - caterpillar to butterfly! - Follow up question - how did you feel when your father asked you to come back?

As these interviews were conducted, the researcher decided to interview the original six participants and their siblings for a second time to gain more insight into and to verify themes that emerged from the analysis of the data. Each case was analyzed individually several times as the coding process continued to "become intimately familiar with each case as a stand-alone entity" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 540; Stake, 2000). Case analysis required the researcher to write up detailed stories of each individual case (see Appendix 1 for an example). While these stories are merely descriptive, Pettigrew (1988) claims they are central to the generation of theoretical insights.

Cross case analysis resulted in the researcher searching for patterns. This was done in pairs as suggested by Eisenhardt (1989) and according to family group and employment status. This resulted in the emergence of categories, which will be further described below. As the CIT was used, the researcher also analyzed critical incidents both within and across cases (see Table 7 for a sample of critical incidents as described by participants). To be critical, these incidents have to be significant in the career of next generation family members. As the researcher maintained contact via email and telephone, these incidents

were verified by participants as significant during the post interview phase of the research. The table demonstrates incidents per participant relevant to their careers. The next section will detail the coding process which took place during the data collection phase and the data analysis phase.

3.4.5 The coding process

The initial coding process was intensive in nature as the researcher described exactly what was happening in the data (see Table 8 and Table 11 for a sample of the initial coding process). Memo making formed part of this process as each line of the data was analyzed. The researcher consulted the research diary during all stages but found it particularly insightful as additional memos were recorded directly after the interviews. The initial coding process resulted in the emergence of forty-three preliminary subcategories. The researcher then selectively coded the data based on the principle of constant comparative analysis (see Table 9 and Table 12 for a sample of the selective coding process). This reduced the number of concepts to twenty-seven.

As the process of constant comparison continued, and the interplay between theory and the data continued (Payne, 2006), this translated into eight themes ;intentions vs behavior, family influence on career, boundaries of family and business, helping in the family business, self concept, mindset, and FIBER¹. As Corbin & Strauss (1990) detail, concepts that are linked to the same phenomenon are grouped to form categories. Emergent themes and concepts were constantly compared with the extant literature during the data analysis stage. As Eisenhardt (1989:544) states, this involves the questioning of “what is this similar to, what does it contradict and why?”

The findings were fed back to the study’s participants to ensure soundness and validity of the researchers’ interpretations (Flick, 2007; Yin, 2009).

3.4.6 Enfolding the literature

As the focus of this study is on careers of NxG, the family business literature was first consulted to ascertain what is known about careers of next generation family members. As Suddaby (2006) highlights, grounded theory is not an excuse to ignore the literature! Although Charmaz (2006) advocates a delay of the literature review, an initial review of the limited literature was necessary to ascertain the viability of the research topic. Academic journals including the Family Business Review, Journal of Business Venturing, Journal of Family Business Strategy and Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice were reviewed. Online search engines such as Business Source Premier and ABI Global Inform were used as tools in the literature review, using the search term ‘careers and the family business’. After the viability of the research focus was ascertained, and the researcher concluded that the emerging data contradicts current studies

¹ FIBER refers to the dimensions of Socioemotional wealth as proposed by Berrone et al, 2012 which will be explained in chapter six.

on career in the family business context, she turned to the convoluted and somewhat more developed careers literature to find an explanation for the data. As evidenced in chapter two, a number of career theories were reviewed in search of a suitable theoretical lens to understand participants' accounts of their careers.

TABLE 7 Sample of Critical Incidents

PARTICIPANT	CRITICAL INCIDENT
FAMILY A	
A1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First career decision. • Web design opportunity. • Help from his grandmother. • Phone call from his current business partner with the business idea. • Realization of family business security and being lucky.
A2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working abroad in another farm. • Realization of feeling more than just an owner.
FAMILY B	
B1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Going to university. • First job after college in a multinational. • Promotion in multinational. • Father asked him to return to the family business. • Return to the family business. • Realization of how much he learned in the family business.
B2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All his career spent in the family business. • Naming of products after himself. • International exposure. • His brother returning to work in the family business. • Recession.
FAMILY C	
C1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working in the family business growing up. • Work Vs Career. • Mother telling her to stop and reflect on her life. • Buying of franchise. • Career seminar. • PhD opportunity.
C2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of working with her mother. • Decision to study law. • Setting up her own practice. • Selling practice to travel the world. • Getting involved in start-ups.
FAMILY D	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father spoke to him about role in the family business. • Key influence on his career left the family business. • Disagreement with his brother. • Left the business after sixteen years. • Being headhunted. • Returned to the family business to leave again one year later.
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apprenticeship style training - international context. • Appointed to the Board of Management. • Introduction of non-family manager. • Effect of his family business experience on his children. • Realization he never had a choice in his career. (continues)

(TABLE 7 continues)		FAMILY E	
E1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working in the family business growing up. • Leaving the family business to work elsewhere. • Father asked her to return to the family business. • Formal entry to the business as successor. 	
E2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence of her father on her career. • Working elsewhere and realization of having a 'different' attitude towards work. • Business talk at the dinner table. 	
		FAMILY F	
F1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dropped out of university. • Gap year abroad. • Unintended return to the family business. • Role as Sales & Marketing manager in the family business. • Being 'weaned' out of the family business. 	
F2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Career decision to study law. • Returning to help in the family business. • Realization of attachment to the family business. 	

The use of electronic resources introduced the researcher to career theory and academic journals such as *Career Development Quarterly* and the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. As both fields span across several theoretical domains, mainstream journals such as *Academy of Management Review*, *Organization Studies* and *Administrative Science Quarterly* were referred to. While the place of the literature review in grounded theory studies can cause consternation for researchers (Dunne, 2011), the researcher considered the process of consulting the literature almost a natural one.

In determining the focus of the research, which emerged from another study, the researcher identified careers of next generation family members as a gap to be further explored. As the focus on successors in current family business literature is evident, the decision to inquire into next generation family members who appeared to choose careers outside of the FB was an obvious step. Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012) call for the inclusion of NxG who are not involved in the succession process. An initial analysis of the original six interviews further steered the direction of the literature review. As the data collection and analysis process continued, the researcher relied on the data to focus the literature review. While seven of the categories or themes relate to the career of next generation family members, the eighth category offers theoretical insight into the construct of socioemotional wealth (Gomez-Mejia, Haynes, Nunez-Nickel, Jacobsen & Moyano-Fuentes, 2007) in FBs from a careers perspective. The main findings and contributions of the study will be further discussed in chapter six.

The next section will discuss the trustworthiness of the data and research process and will outline the efforts of the researcher to ensure reliability and validity during the study.

3.5 Trustworthiness of data

As in all research, the researcher is ultimately concerned with the trustworthiness of the data. The researcher managed the data herself, including all records of emails, telephone conversations, interviews, the transcription process, field notes, the recording of assumptions, other documentation and the research diary. A colleague and a family business scholar read the case stories of each individual and the interview data as a system of checks and balances. Overall, the design of the study including participant selection, data collection and analysis were performed in accordance with the five criteria as set out by Lincoln & Guba (1985); credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability, and authenticity.

3.5.1 Research reliability

The goal of reliability is to minimize the errors and biases (Yin, 2009). The researcher took a number of steps in order actively combat the popular attacks on the validity and reliability of case studies. Interview transcripts were presented to the interviewees for accuracy. Contact with participants was maintained throughout the process and clarity sought on interpretations when required. Given that their observations and insights help to develop an understanding of careers of all next generation family members, every effort is made to validate these findings with the interviewees so that they accurately reflect their considered views on the issues under inspection. The use of the CIT as an interview technique reduces the risk of unreliability of retrospective accounts as participants were provided with a means of focusing their accounts (Chell, 1998). As participants were asked to visually demonstrate their career experiences on a graph, focusing on high points and low points, this resulted in participants retelling their story and validating what they had confirmed during the interview. The adoption of a family or group perspective too enhanced the reliability of the data as accounts of incidents, events and experiences were often reiterated by the second family member of the group.

3.5.2 Internal Validity

Internal validity, or credibility, refers to the establishment of a phenomenon in a credible way (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In terms of internal validity, the researcher clearly argues that this study was situated in the interpretive paradigm due to its ontological, epistemological and methodological stance. In the process of collecting and analyzing data, the triangulation technique is used to enhance the credibility of the research findings. According to Cohen and Manion (1984:254), in social sciences triangulation "... attempts to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint". In qualitative research, triangulation aims to enhance the credibility and validity of the results. Altrichter et al. (1996: 117)

say that: "It [triangulation] gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation." (Altrichter et al., 1996: 117). As a group or family perspective was adopted (Dyer, 2003, Astrachan, 2010), the researcher is confident that this provided a balanced picture of the context (the family business) under which NxG' careers evolve and develop. The decision to include a second family member provided a second standpoint from which to inquire into the complex career behavior of next generation family members.

3.5.3 External Validity

External validity, or transferability, refers to examining how applicable the research findings are to another setting or group (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In this case, the application of multiple case studies offered a base for generalizing. Although the participants differed in their employment status and in the nature of their work, common themes emerged between them. This was facilitated by the commonality of the family business background of participants. The researcher achieved transferability in her research design through an in-depth description of the research process at each stage. Suddaby (2006:633) refers to this as an 'illumination of methods' in grounded theory research.

3.5.4 Objectivity

Objectivity or conformability relates to the neutrality of the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In recognizing that the researcher, due to her epistemological stance, is part of the research process, the researcher has adopted strategies to provide a balance for bias in his data analysis and interpretation. The use of both multiple case studies and multiple participants enhance the objectivity of this research. Additionally, the maintenance of the research diary clearly demonstrates the trail of evidence established by the researcher during the data collection and analysis phases of the research study. Moreover, by recognizing herself as part of the research process, the researcher was aware of neutrality at all times. While the researcher has acknowledged her own family business background, the involvement of another family business researcher in the analysis of the data was one way in which this potential bias was counteracted.

3.6 Research Considerations

Some ethical issues were prevalent which included respect for research participants, prevention of harm, assurances of confidentiality or anonymity, and maintenance of privacy. In the case of this research, participant consent was both negotiated and evolutionary, that is, consent was sought before and during the study rather than agreed as a one-off contractual event prior to commencement of the research. The participant was consulted at all times and was aware of the expectations of the researcher during the process. The

participants all wished to remain anonymous, hence the use of letters to name each participant.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter describes the research journey of the researcher. As stated in the introduction, research entails making choices. The researcher is confident that the methodological choices she made are consistent with the philosophical approach and focus of the research. As the subjective career experiences of next generation family members were evoked in participants, emotional memories (Altheide & Johnson, 1994) were brought to the fore. The use of the Critical Incident Technique assisted the researcher in delving into subconscious career behavior of next generation family members. The researcher relied on participants' accounts and the raw data to steer the direction of the study, as inherent in grounded theory methodology. While an opportunity cost arises with every decision made, which will be discussed in chapter seven, the researcher hopes she did her participants justice in her interpretation of their personal and subjective career experiences.

The next chapter presents the empirical evidence to support the propositions suggested in chapter two. As a reminder for the reader, the propositions are as follows:

Proposition 1: The theory of planned behavior does not sufficiently predict or explain the career behavior of next generation family members.

Proposition 2: Early exposure to the family business shapes both the self- concept and careers of next generation family members.

Proposition 3: Next generation family members enact hybrid careers facilitated by the family business.

Chapter five focuses on what and how next generation family members learn in the family business, while chapter six presents the findings of this study in relation to socioemotional wealth.

4 A QUALITATIVE INQUIRY INTO ACTUAL CAREER EXPERIENCES OF NEXT GENERATION FAMILY MEMBERS: NOT SO INTENTIONAL AFTER ALL

4.1 Introduction

"How would I define a career? I don't know. It's too involved, it's very hard for me to explain because it's too involved with family, this is our career path, it's my life path really is the best way to put it, you don't have a specific career that's yours is the best way to put it, it's all intertwined in family life, you know we always say we laugh, cry, everything together and we do literally because when you're in work and the pressure's on you stick together." (Participant E1)

According to Carr and Sequeira (2007:1090) "family business ownership affects future generations in many ways aside from the issues of succession." However, to date how family business ownership and being part of an ownership group affects *all* family members in relation to their careers has not received much attention in the family business domain. For those who grow up in a family business or come from a family business background, career planning inevitably includes the option of whether to join the family business (Schroder, Rodermund, & Arnaud, 2011). Current family business literature has deeply informed our understanding of the career path of succession (Handler, 1992; Sharma, 2004). However, as Eckrich and Loughhead (1996) posit considering the immense impact of the next generation's career decisions on future planning, investment and continued survival of the family business, it is surprising that so few studies to date have addressed careers of individuals with family business backgrounds.

What is more surprising is the dearth of studies which investigate the *actual* career experiences of next generation family members (hereafter NxG). Recently, in their review article of the ownership and governance family business literature, Goel, Mazzola, Phan, Pieper and Zachary (2012:56) explicitly state that in order to understand the family system in the context of the business system, fundamental questions such as "why do some family

members enter the family business and others do not?" have arisen. While this fundamental question alludes to careers of NxG, this is a relatively untapped research area in the family business field. Current studies, which focus solely on career choice intentions, by design, do not have the scope to address such fundamental questions as posited by Goel et al. (2012).

Our empirical research questions the fundamental assumptions of the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), which presumes intentions to be the best predictor of action (Ajzen, 1985, 1991). This qualitative study, building grounded theory clearly shows that this assumption inherent in the TPB can be seriously questioned when studying *actual* career behavior of NxG. By exploring the fate, actual experiences and careers of subsequent generations, and not just as successors, more can be learned about the effect of family business ownership on next generation family members in relation to their careers.

Eckrich and Loughead (1996) claim that children from business owning families seem to enter the business without considering the impact of working in the family business might have on either their career paths or sense of self. Whether this results in tensions NxG when making career decisions or during their careers is unknown. From the perspective of continuity, this research focus is vital to the field of family business. As Ward (1997) highlights, the transmission of ownership from generation to generation is often unsuccessful, therefore understanding the actual causes of an individual's motivation to take over a business or start a business or seek employment elsewhere may be insightful as to why family businesses are not transferred. Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012) recently deemed the commitment and willingness of the NxG as key to the continuity and survival of the family business, be they employees or owners.

While parallels between the career theory literature and the family business literature can be drawn, most notably the literature surrounding the family influence on children's vocational development (Savicas, 1997), to date neither literature has focused on the actual career experiences of NxG. This represents a significant empirical gap. Super (1957, 1980) claims that in order to understand careers a view of the full life cycle is necessary, and not just choices made in adolescence. Current research in the area has viewed the decision to pursue a career in the family business as a onetime decision (Carr & Sequeira, 2008; Zellweger, Sieger, & Halter, 2010; Schroder et al., 2011), but how this decision plays out or evolves over time is unknown. The significance of the actual outcome of these decisions is vital to family businesses continuity. Arthur and Rousseau (1996: 12) called for "the separate but simultaneous treatment of the person and the firm as units of analysis and the greater appreciation of person-firm interdependencies" in career research. For NxG in this study, the person and the firm (the family business) are intertwined and emotionally connected. Due to the shared history family members have with the family business, as well as their emotional attachment, it is often difficult to distinguish between the person and the organization. Moreover, as Kidd (2004)

has pointed out, theories of career development have used models that view individual characteristics and experiences as predictors and job and career attitudes as outcomes. However, as she states (2004: 442) “little attention has been given to sequences of cognitions, feelings and behaviors in one role that affect the next.” As stated, we are interested in how family business ownership affects the career experiences of NxG over the course of their lives.

This empirical study highlights a critical gap in the family business field and makes a number of contributions. Firstly, we believe this research is novel in the sense that it addresses the *actual* career experiences of NxG as opposed to their intentions. Investigating the actual career experiences of family members and their choices provides deep insight into why and how the family business becomes a career destination for some family members and why it does not for others. We challenge the fundamental assumption inherent in Azjen’s TPB as our research concludes that for NxG intentions do not sufficiently explain behavior in relation to career. For some next generation family members, career experiences may result in unintended careers, described as careers which one never expected to embark upon (Baruch, 2004), and they may end up returning to the family business as successors, regardless of their intentions. From the perspective of continuity and in the interest of extending our knowledge of the succession process, career experiences of NxG is a necessary research avenue to be explored. Individual career experiences of NxG may highlight determinants of successful succession or failed succession.

Secondly, as Salvato, Minichilli and Piccarreta (2008) assert little is known about career patterns in family businesses, for both family and non-family members. Therefore, studying career experiences in the context of family businesses broadens our understanding of careers in the family business, which is important for both current and next generations of family businesses. We also allude to the influence of the family on career aspirations and intentions of those who come from a family business background. While parental influence on career has been researched, to date it has received limited attention in the family business context where the overlap between family and business systems has been widely acknowledged (Lansberg, 1988).

Thirdly, we recognize and add a fourth career path for family members which has been absent from both the family business and careers literature to date representing the tradition of helping in the family business. Zellweger, Sieger and Halter (2010) recognize three career paths available to next generation family members: succession, self-employment or salaried employment elsewhere. Besides these career paths, empirical evidence from this study suggests that next generation family members also help out in the family business, even if they establish careers outside of the family business. All NxG in this study helped out and continue to help out in the family business. Due to this finding we add the career experience of assisting relatives² to

² The term “Assisting Relatives” is the term used in the Census of Population of Ireland to describe “any person assisting a relative in their enterprise who does not receive a fixed wage or salary.” (www.cso.ie)

Zellweger et al.'s (2010) classification of careers available to next generation family members. We believe this tradition of helping in the family business context represents an untapped resource, which is unique to family businesses.

This chapter begins with an overview of the limited family business literature on careers in family firms followed by some insights from the careers literature which family business scholars can draw on. Research methodology precedes the findings. The findings support the propositions suggested in chapter two. Discussion of the research and conclusions and suggestions for future research complete the chapter.

4.2 Careers of next generation family members – An overview

Although early on in family business research Handler (1990) flagged the experiences of NxG as vital to understanding the transmission of ownership, few studies have focused on the career experiences of NxG, besides those whose fate is succession. Family business literature to date has both informed and deepened our understanding of succession (Sharma, Chrisman, & Chua, 1996) both the process (Longenecker & Schoen, 1978; Lansberg, 1988; Handler, 1990; Cabrera-Suarez, De Saa-Perez, & Garcia-Almeida, 2001) and the family influence on succession (Davis, 1983; Davis & Harveston, 1998). Recognized as one of the paramount challenges facing family businesses (Chrisman, Chua, & Sharma, 2003), it is hardly surprising that the topic of succession has received such attention in the field.

Brockhaus (2004) divided the research on succession into four main areas: industry strategic analysis, family business analysis, selection of successor and the development of successor. While a complete review of the succession literature is beyond the scope of this article, key works in relation to NxG will be mentioned, mainly regarding the selection and development of next generation successors. In relation to attributes of successors, commitment has been proposed as a key factor in intergeneration transfer (Chrisman, Chua, & Sharma, 1998; Sharma & Irving, 2005; Dawson, Sharma, Irving, Marcus & Chirico, forthcoming). Sharma and Irving (2005) concluded that there are multiple shades of commitment, and although NxG may share the same focal behavior, different mindsets exist.

Handler and Kram (1988, p. 376) considered the readiness and ability of the successor to take over and concluded that "if an owner's decision to retire cannot be juxtaposed with an heir's appropriateness and readiness to take over, than succession will not occur under the best possible conditions." Lansberg (1988) also highlighted that NxG are heavily dependent on the founders of the business, for their leadership style and drive and technical knowhow. Handler (1990) discovered that NxG confirmed that their role in the business was shaped by the role of their predecessors. Results indicated that succession in family firms might be viewed as a process of mutual role adjustment between entrepreneur (founder) and NxG.

Handler (1992) considered the key personal relationships of NxG to be their relationship with the founder and their relationship with their siblings, which she described as being critical to the succession process. She concluded that NxG's experience of working in the family business was influenced in a positive manner when they pertained to have a good relationship with their predecessor. On the other hand, when the relationship was problematic, NxG were more likely to feel resentment, anger and lack of recognition, while involved in the family firm. Handler (1991) also concluded that when a next generation family member has siblings, certain aspects of childhood relationships may carry over into the business.

While the majority of studies have focused on the NxG as successors, due to the fact that NxG share similar socialization experiences as descendants of the founder or previous generation (Garcia-Alvarez, Lopez-Sintas, & Gonzalvo, 2002), the career experiences of *all* NxG is extremely important in understanding career choices of NxG. The fate and career experiences of those who do not enter the family business remain somewhat neglected. Some studies in the family business domain have concentrated on the career intentions of those with a family business background.

Stavrou and Swiercz (1998) explored the intentions and aspirations of NxG who seek a leadership role in their family business. Reasons for agreeing or refusing to take over the family firms were identified. These reasons were classified under family dimension, market dimension and personal dimension. The authors found that the family dimensions, which refer to behavior, elicited primarily from family membership such as family dynamics was significant and related to offspring's intentions *not* to join the family business. Findings suggested that when employment in the marketplace is unfavorable or unpredictable, students are more willing to consider working in a family business. The authors concluded that the family business is viewed as a safe haven during difficult and uncertain times.

The importance of the personal dimension with regards to career choice was highlighted echoing Eckrich and Loughhead (1996) who claim that children of business owners appear to have a less clear sense of their career interests, goals and talents than children of non-business owners. In their study of the effects of family business membership and psychological separation on the career development of late adolescents, these authors conclude that NxG experience difficulties in establishing their vocational identity (referred to by Eckrich and Loughhead as vocational identity deficit) due to the influence of their family business background on their self-efficacy or self-confidence. Handler (1989) also warns that if NxG become too involved in their family business before discovering their own path, they compromise their personal goals.

Much of the research on careers in family businesses has focused on the career intentions of NxG based on the premise that intentions are the best predictor of action (Azjen, 1985, 1991). While Carr and Sequeira (2007) recognize the potential impact of family business background and the role the

family plays in the career choices of family members, their study focuses solely on the effect of prior family business exposure on entrepreneurial intent. Using a revised version of the TPB (Ajzen, 1985) combined with a symbolic interactionist perspective, the authors conclude that prior family business exposure serves as an important intergenerational influence on entrepreneurial intent. While the authors recognize the unique socialization experiences of NxG, they limit their finding to entrepreneurial intentions, which is not reflective of careers of all NxG.

However, Zellweger, Sieger and Halter (2011), in their study of career choice intentions of students with a family business background, investigate how intentional founders differ from both intentional founders and employees. Their research angle is inclusive of all NxG. They affirm Sharma and Irving's (2005) proposal of commitment as an antecedent to the focal behavior to pursue a career inside a family business and conclude that high levels of internal locus of control (i.e. individuals with a high level of internal locus of control believe the outcome of an event to be within their control) lead to a preference of a particular type of employment. While the authors investigate and extend our knowledge on differences in underlying attitudes and motivations between intentional successors, founders and employees, the findings of the study are based on intentions as opposed to actual behavior.

Schroder et al. (2011) investigated the determinants of career choice intentions of adolescents with a family business background from the perspective of both adolescents and their parents. They recognize that their study does not inform or extend our knowledge to actual career decisions and note this as a study limitation.

Dawson, Sharma, Irving, Marcus and Chirico (forthcoming) recently addressed the research question 'why do family members who have joined the family enterprise remain with the firm as a career choice?'. Building on Sharma and Irving's (2005) work on commitment, the authors investigated the antecedents of later generation family members' commitment (described as second or later generation family members) who join the family business. They conclude that later-gen family members who derive their sense of self and identity from the business, and whose career interests are aligned with opportunities in the family business are likely to be affectively committed to the business. Those who are pressured into a career in the family business demonstrate normative commitment based on familial obligation. Dawson et al. do not focus on intentions but recognize commitment and the nature of commitment displayed by NxG to be relevant.

Whilst career choice intentions and aspirations of NxG have been studied (Stavrou, 1998; Stavrou & Swiercz, 1999; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger, Sieger, & Halter, 2010; Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, & Arnaud, 2011) to date the *actual* career experiences of NxG have not been explored. The question of why some NxG enter the business and why others do not remains unanswered (Goel et al., 2012). Dawson et al.'s (forthcoming) focus on the reasons NxG who choose a career in the family business remain in the family business is a

noteworthy addition to our understanding of NxG's experiences in the family business. However, in the limited current literature on careers in family business, there is an overreliance on the assumption that intentions are the best predictor of action. The majority of studies on career in family businesses are based on Azjen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger, Sieger, & Halter, 2010; Schroder, Schmitt-Rodermund, & Arnaud, 2011). However, using a grounded approach our research indicates that for NxG in this study, intentions do not sufficiently explain career behavior. This will be discussed further in the findings section preceded by a discussion of the portrayal of family businesses in the careers literature.

4.3 Careers and the family influence

While there is no agreement among career scholars as to what constitutes a career (Greenhaus, Callanan & DiRenzo, 2008) due to the complexity of the concept, Sullivan and Baruch (2009, p. 1543) define career as "an individual's work related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organizations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span." This definition facilitates both work and personal experiences, which relate to career and adopts a life span perspective. For the purpose of this study, this is the selected definition of career as it recognizes how integrated a career can be for an individual, featuring external environmental factors as well as other relevant social experiences during the course of an individual's life. Kidd (2006) points to the subjective and objective aspects of career. Objective aspects of career can be observed publicly and include a person's work history. Subjective aspects of career are best understood in terms of an individual's experiences, which is what the authors of this study are interested in.

The study of careers emphasizes the examination of both individuals and organizations (Kidd, 2006). While a review of the careers literature has deemed the family business a missing research context in the careers literature (Granrose & Chua's work being the exception), it revealed that some career constructs may be both applicable to and facilitated by the family business for next generation family members. While the careers literature has predominantly focused on ordered careers within large organizations, deemed the traditional model (Baruch, 2004), Sullivan (1999) admits that the careers literature has excluded some individuals, namely contract workers and the self-employed.

Traditionally, careers were perceived to have evolved within one or two organizations and were conceptualized to advance in linear career stages (Levinson, 1978; Super, 1957). This perception is referred to as the traditional model of careers (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). Baruch (2004) describes this traditional view of the career as a linear career path which was rigid and static.

Career research has viewed careers in terms of an individual's relationship to an employing organization (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). Under the traditional

model, it was desirable that an individual spent their entire career within one organization and progressed as such denoting a long-term relationship. Careers were studied as something that was managed by the organization as opposed to being managed by the individual. However, ownership of careers under both the traditional and contemporary models such as the 'boundaryless' (see next section for a description) career belongs to the individual (Baruch, 2004).

Since the 1990s, much of the literature on career has shifted from the idea of the traditional organizational career to more individual focused careers, and constructs such as the "protean" (Hall, 1976, 1996) or the "boundaryless" career (Arthur, 1994) have emerged. The "Protean" career is defined as: "a process in which the person, not the organisation is managing. It consists of all the person's varied experience in education, training, work in several organizations, changes in occupational field, etc. . .The protean person's own personal career choices and search for self-fulfilment are the unifying or integrative elements in his or her life"(Hall, 1976: 201). The Protean career is based on the metaphor of the Greek god, Proteus, who could change his shape at will. Hall (1996) described the Protean careerist as one who could repackage his/her knowledge, skills and abilities in line with the changing work environment to remain employable. Protean careerists manage their own careers and are driven by internal values such as a desire to learn (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009) and self fulfilment (Brocklehurst, 2003).

Although it is unclear from the careers literature and the family business literature whether careers of NxG feature characteristics of a protean or a boundaryless nature, similarities between the boundaryless career and career patterns in Chinese family businesses are made, namely in two main areas; networks and learning orientation. Granrose and Chua (1996) claim that networks from a boundaryless careers perspective not only facilitate inclusion and exclusion for family business members but also facilitate access to other resources both for the individual and the organization. They too concluded that NxG are not free agents in their career decision making as they base decisions on the collective family needs as opposed to their own individual needs.

The next section will discuss prior research on the influence of the family on career. Careers research has focused on the influence of the family on career, albeit not in the family business context. As vocational theorists have documented the influence of family on career (Obispow, 1982), family business scholars might learn from their work. Guitland (1993, p. 25) states; "It is obvious that school is not the only institution which provides to the young adult frames enabling him to structure its professional intentions for the future. The family, the whole socially controlled experiences of the individual play a role."

Among a number of factors such as school, community, and social and economic factors, Kniveton (2004) claims that students report that parents have the greatest influence on career choice. Bratcher (1982) acknowledges that most theorists who have written about career decision making, regardless of their theoretical allegiances, recognize the influence of the family, be it implicitly or explicitly. Jacobsen (1999), adopting a family systems perspective, claims that

an individual is always influencing and being influenced by the family system. Jacobson (1999) pertains that children may seek acceptance by adopting parental aspirations and living out their parents' career aspirations. She highlights that if children do not form their own set of values and sense of self, they may not fulfill their own career aspirations; "if your family's values mesh with your own you can find strength and guidance in them throughout your career, however, if these values don't mesh, you'll build a career that your parents take pride in but that leaves you frustrated and empty." Bratcher (1992) agrees that one of the most influential variables children consider when making initial career choices is the importance of family values and family tradition.

More recent work in the careers literature has demonstrated an interest in intergenerational occupational transmission (Oren, Caduri and Tziner, 2013), although not in the family business context.

Super (1957, 1982) attests that an individual's vocational self concept develops on the basis of children's observation of and identification with adults involved in work and that the full cycle of the careers must be observed as opposed to perceiving career as a one off decision occurring in adolescence. Super's (1952) five stages of careers (see Table 2) begin from birth as does the formation of one's self-concept. For NxG, their observation and identification with adults at work begins from a young age as they grow up in the family business context. This will be discussed further in the findings and discussion sections.

4.4 Methodology

As the previous chapter has described in detail the research approach and methodology of this study, this section will focus on the coding process. Interview transcripts and field notes were coded for common themes. Initial coding was first undertaken as the authors analyzed the data from the perspective of "what is happening here?" (See Table 8) for an example of the initial coding process). This was followed by selective coding (see Table 9 for an example of the selective coding process) as each case was analyzed individually and cross comparatively. Categories were then formed and as the dance between the literature and the empirical work continued, the final coding phase was one of inductive theorizing taking the form of four data-driven and theory-informed propositions. After each interview, each participant was asked to visually plot their career on a graph to indicate high and low points in their individual experiences. The high and low points correlated with critical incidents, which too validated the data. Each case was analyzed individually several times as the coding process continued to "become intimately familiar with each case as a stand-alone entity" (Eisenhardt, 1989: 540; Stake, 2000). Cross case analysis was then organized in pairs to inquire into similarities and differences as advocated by Eisenhardt (1989). The cases were grouped into families as each pair of family members has similar socialization experiences,

although in some cases their career fates were extremely different. Table 10 presents each family group, employment status and career choice. Data relating to career intentions of each participant is also presented.

In addition to the family grouping, cases were also grouped by their career choice to compare the career experiences of successors, employees and entrepreneurs. Rich information was also gathered about the history and background of the family business mainly from family business websites, media coverage and internet profiles as well as any family business documents publicly available. The findings were fed back to participants to ensure soundness and validity of our interpretations (Flick, 2007; Yin, 2009).

TABLE 8 Initial Coding Sample

Participant B1, a 37 year old successor to his family business describes his career chronologically. A statement from his interview and the initial coding of the statement are demonstrated below.	
Initial Coding	Interview Statement
First thoughts about career Career choice linked to education Career = what am I going to do with my life? Influence of career guidance teacher Rationale behind subject choice Age of decisions in relation to career Choosing subjects of interest Educational choices linked to family business Sciences as a natural choice Trying to work out why he chose what he did. Regret of not having outside work experience Did not think about career choice as he was making it, rationalizes it on reflection Steps in careers - education as starting point. University degree choice based on employment Never intended to work in the	Well I suppose in reality I certainly didn't start thinking about careers until I was in lets say, what we used to call the Inter Cert, at that stage you make your first decisions about what you're going to do with your life or you start to talk to a career guidance counselors and what not, so the decisions was, my decision was, I was taken at the age of whatever it was 15 or so 14.5, 15 what choices am I going to make for the last section of secondary school so I chose the sciences, and I chose technical drawing because I always had an inclination towards architecture, why I don't know, it was of interest to me and I always liked the sciences so they were the choices for me and what was I thinking about when I made those choices, potentially, because obviously my father was in a construction related business maybe something along engineering, architecture, something like that and sciences interested me so that's the natural choice from there. So grand I did my Physics, Chemistry, Biology, technical drawing and all the usual other rigmarole that you do in secondary school and I suppose, there was, we didn't have a gap year or a transition year so we didn't get the possibilities of getting out there and seeing what was happening which actually I do retrospectively think was a very bad thing, because it would have been a great eye opener or it would have made maybe you think a lot more of what exactly you want to work at or what you want to do or think logically about a career because when you're 15/16/17 all that worries you is passing your leaving cert and playing sport or whatever else goes on in your head, do you know what I mean [laughs] you know yourself so we didn't get that which is, it's a regret I suppose, not personally eh so then I suppose the CAO then was the next obvious step so I applied for Bolton Street, Architecture and I applied for here, and why did I pick Biochemistry? Funnily enough it was because of the Eli Lilys and the Brinnys and Ringaskiddy basically cos I said ok that's an obvious

family business. Thoughts of career are not directly linked to the family business.	angle to take on, I like Science, I haven't a big problem with Maths so it might be something that might be useful for me and I never, I never in college ever thought I'd end up or in school or in college, I never thought I'd end up the family business, it was never in my head - at all.
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TABLE 9 Selective coding sample

Selective coding	Interview Statement
Career choice linked to education Career = what am I going to do with my life?	Well I suppose in reality I certainly didn't start thinking about careers until I was in lets say, what we used to call the Inter Cert, at that stage you make your first decisions about what you're going to do with your life or you start to talk to a career guidance counselors and what not, so the decisions was, my decision was, I was taken at the age of whatever it was 15 or so 14.5, 15 what choices am I going to make for the last section of secondary school so I chose the sciences, and I chose technical drawing because I always had an inclination towards architecture, why I don't know, it was of interest to me and I always liked the sciences so they were the choices for me and what was I thinking about when I made those choices, potentially, because obviously my father was in a construction related business maybe something along engineering, architecture, something like that and sciences interested me so that's the natural choice from there. So grand I did my Physics, Chemistry, Biology, technical drawing and all the usual other rigmarole that you do in secondary school and I suppose, there was, we didn't have a gap year or a transition year so we didn't get the possibilities of getting out there and seeing what was happening which actually I do retrospectively think was a very bad thing, because it would have been a great eye opener or it would have made maybe you think a lot more of what exactly you want to work at or what you want to do or think logically about a career because when you're 15/16/17 all that worries you is passing your leaving cert and playing sport or whatever else goes on in your head, do you know what I mean [laughs] you know yourself so we didn't get that which is, it's a regret I suppose, not personally eh so then I suppose the CAO then was the next obvious step so I applied for Bolton Street, Architecture and I applied for here, and why did I pick Biochemistry? Funnily enough it was because of the Eli Lilys and the Brinnys and Ringaskiddy basically cos I said ok that's an obvious angle to take on, I like Science, I haven't a big problem with Maths so it might be something that might be useful for me and I never, I never in college ever thought I'd end up or in school or in college, I never thought I'd end up the family business, it was never in my head - at all.
Educational choices linked to family business Sciences as a natural choice	
Did not think about career choice as he was making it, rationalizes it on reflection	
Never intended to work in the family business. Thoughts of career are not directly linked to the family business.	

TABLE 10 Family group, employment status, career choice of participants

Family	Career	Intention	Years in FB	Statements regarding career choices and intentions
FAMILY A				
A1	E	N	8	"I came home from travelling and that's when I really had to make a career decision, until then I didn't really care what I did . . . when I came home a great opportunity came up to redesign the family business's website. And I went to my cousin and I said to him how do you make a website? And he told me and I went about designing the new website, which took me a long time, I got paid for it but I learned at the same time, I had a design background and web design wasn't a problem so that gave me a massive project to do and then to my complete and total amazement I landed myself a job, which is the only job I've had in my entire life that was in anyway serious, which is my only experience of a 9-5 week, of being paid a salary of whatever, and a fantastic thing for me you know and I recommend anyone in a family business to try and get work somewhere else so that sort of steered me down a certain path . . . so that was when I left and this is where I think it is really interesting coming from a family business is I had the security to be able to leave my job and I think that's something I realized at the time, you know, and as long as you commit there's no problem getting work in the family business, so then I left and started doing websites by myself."
A2	S	Y	20	"I suppose I always knew that I was a farmer and that I was going to run the farm, I am now in a partnership with my father and the intention is to see it passed on, all going well."
FAMILY B				
B1	S	Y	20	"To describe my career chronologically to date? More or less family business the whole time. I always wanted to join the family business."
B2	S	N	10	"From a career choice perspective that's kind of how it unfolded, in reality at 18 I decided I wanted to do something scientific and then by the time I'd gone through college and enjoyed my sciences and enjoyed what I was doing . . .and when I got to the other end, if I look back on it now retrospectively I should have said to myself, why am I picking this, why am I picking that, I'm picking this because I'm getting serious exposure to a serious company that makes a lot of money as opposed to developing a career . . . I suppose I had my time done with Kerry, I was beginning to get itchy feet, I was offered (continues)

(TABLE 10 continues)				a job in France and I was humming and hawing and then my father, like out of the blue, I'd come home and say every now and again and I'd say how are things and how's it going (in the business) and my father is the talkative type but then one day I couldn't shut him up and he asked me would I come back and I said look sure I'll come home and try, see what you need, see what needs to be done, I didn't think about it because at the end of the day it's a family business and my perspective was I couldn't have them up in a heap."
FAMILY C				
C1	E	N	5	"I wouldn't have thought in terms of career, it's always about finding work or securing employment that kind of thing . . . as I say my career path is very reactive, I've done a lot of things because I'm in the situation we have to turn money, we have to do this, run the restaurant, do the B&B, go off teaching.. . a lot of my career decisions have been driven by finances, like you need money . . . I never really reflected or thought about what I wanted to be."
C2	E	N	7	"My mother was a great influence on me and on my career. She purchased a Hotel when I was 10 and started many other businesses throughout her life. She inspired me to never be frightened of a challenge and also that hard work, dedication and belief in your own ability will always win out in the end. I always worked in the family business but I believe this gave me my drive to start my own business, I didn't know I wanted to start my own business but I was fortunate enough to afterwards."
FAMILY D				
D1	SE	N	17	"I got the role (in the family business) and my father basically said to me, because I didn't want to take the role, I wanted to head off to Australia as a young fellow does, and he said you should possibly take the role as there's no guarantees of anything when you come back so I begrudgingly took it as jobs were hard to come by and I started full time in the businessso I left the family business after sixteen years and there was probably a bit of 'I'll see you later' attitude, but I suppose it developed into a far more rich career than If I had stayed."
D2	S	Y	40	"I was actually told there was no need to study for my Leaving Certificate because I wasn't going to university, I was going straight into the business . . . there was actually no question of looking for what this person Alan is really interested in . . .no I didn't love it . . . I look back now and I realize I never had a choice, I actually never sat down and said what will I do? It was always predestined. And some people might say (continues)

(TABLE 10 continues)				that's very luck, I honestly don't know what I might have done if I didn't do what I was doing."
FAMILY E				
E1	S	N	14	"In school I applied for other things and I actually repeated my Leaving Certificate and I applied to study speech therapy in Cardiff and I was offered it and I don't know, it was coming to the stage where I was kind of thinking what am I going to do and I always kind of thought about the business and I thought that's what I enjoy and I enjoy the customer service end of it so I suppose it was a natural thing to come back into, but then I don't know did I make a conscious decision to do it, I think it just kind of happened and then I kind of went with it is the best way to put it. . . but I left after that and worked for another family business . . . I made up my mind quickly to come back once I was asked so literally I said right I'll go back into the business and I'd just do it and try and do it right . . . I'm here to stay, that's the plan anyway."
E2	SE	N	6 (PT)	"Career wise, no I don't see myself working there no, that's not my ambition. I'm studying Music at university, so that would be Dad's influence but I'm also part time in the business."
FAMILY F				
F1	SE	N	6	"The first time (I thought about my career) I think was when I was maybe in first year I think in school and we were asked to do work experience for just a weekend or something and I said I wanted to work with children with disabilities and I went and I actually worked down in Rosedale school, which is a school for children with special needs, so I think just for a day or something, that was really the first time and for whatever reason I didn't follow that at the time but it was never a case of ending up working for my, for the family business even though I ended up there and I could have stayed there"
F2	SE	N	2	"I always wanted to be a chef when I was younger like Dad but he persuaded me not to because it's a very tough life for a chef so I said fine and my mother always said I was argumentative so I should do law and then two other career guidance teachers told me the same so I just decided then I don't know anything else I want to do so I went down that kind of route but as soon as I got into it I knew I really didn't want to do it but I didn't know what I wanted to do so I stuck at that route but I only work three days a week at it but I'm kind of in the legal field as such."

Career: E = Entrepreneur; S=Successor; SE = Salaried employment outside of the family business.

4.5 Findings

The key empirical findings of the study are presented in relation to four propositions, which emerged, primarily from the data and a review of the careers and family business literature as outlined in chapter two.

4.5.1 For next generation family members, career intentions do not sufficiently explain actual career behavior.

Many of the studies to date in relation to the careers of NxG are based on the premise that intentions are the best predictor of action (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger et al., 2010; Schroder et al., 2011). However, the data in this study highlights that intentions do not sufficiently explain career behavior of NxG. Table ten demonstrates that participants, when making career decisions often make unintended decisions (see extracts of texts within table 10).

Of the twelve participants in the study, five participants currently pursue a career in the family business (D2, E1, A2, B1&B2). Of the five participants, A2 and B2 are the only two who, from a young age, intended and hoped to work in the family business. B2 proudly claims he never considered doing anything else:

"I could not ever see myself doing anything else. Well I could possibly do something else tomorrow but I don't think about it, I don't lie awake at night thinking how can I get out of here, where can I go?"

Although participant E1 is now the designated successor of her family business, she adamantly claims she never intended to take over the family business. She applied to university to study Speech & Language therapy. However, she decided not to take the place, which was offered, to her. She formally entered the business when she left school. However, she subsequently left the family business and worked outside of the family business and returned when her father asked her to. Participant E1 recognizes both her departure from and her return to the family business as critical incidents in her career:

"A major turning point was when I left the family business, I had three job interviews and was offered two of the jobs. I ended up working for another family business . . . I returned once I got married, but this time it was different, I was there to stay."

Participant D2, who is chairperson of his fifth generation family business somewhat bitterly states he had no choice in his career (due to the law of primogeniture) but to enter the family business:

"When I was five or six and all my friends in primary school were planning to be firemen or airplane pilots when they grew up, I used to say I was going into the family business. When I reached middle age, forty-five I looked back and I realize I never had a choice. I actually never sat down and said what will I do? It was always predestined."

Ironically, participants D2's brother, participant D1, too felt that he had no choice but to leave the family business—a critical incident in his career —after sixteen years as he felt he would not reach his full potential there as the top position would always be filled by his brother. Participant B1 left a progressing career in a multinational to return to his family business when his father asked him to and ironically attests he never intended to join the family business and adamantly states, *“it never entered my mind.”* Both participants B1 and E1 returned to the family business when their parents asked them to as the family business had reached a “crisis” point, signaling critical incidents in their careers. In B1's case, his father asked him to return as he felt the business had grown too quickly and needed his expertise. Participant B1 now runs the business with his two brothers. In participants E1's case, she was asked to return as her parents were anxious to perpetuate the family business and no other sibling had indicated intentionality to work there.

While the other participants (F1, F2, A1, C1, C2, E2, D1) did not seek a career in the family business and have sought careers elsewhere, they all worked in the family business in different capacities during their lives—formally, informally, seasonally and assisting. At different stages, participants who have careers as entrepreneurs or employees outside of the family business worked in the family business (some for extended periods of time) but subsequently left the business. Participant F2 worked in the family business growing up and currently works there in an assisting capacity two days per week. Participant A1, an entrepreneur, too worked in the family business from a young age and although now he runs his own business, he is still very involved with his family business as they are in the same industry. He admits that he was lucky to have the security to work in the family business and proudly states: *“you know as long as you commit, there's no problem getting work at home.”*

Participants C1 and C2 both worked in the family business and even when they established their own careers, both self-employed, they still helped out in the family business. Participant E2, who intends to pursue a career in the music industry, currently works part time in her family business and has done so since a young age. Participant F1, who too never intended to work in the family business, worked in a management position there for six years as a solution to what was presented as a short-term solution at the time. She admits she *“hated it.”* Her reasons for hating it were due to her placed in a role she did not want.

“I hated Sales and Marketing! Purely because I'm not the type of person to go in to a business and chat and chat and chat. I am a lot quieter so to go in and just talk and even to cold call on people would just not be me at all.”

She has since left the family business to pursue a career working with children or in her own words she was *“weaned out of the business.”*

Participant D1 did start his career in the family business although he claims he never intended to work there:

"There was a first son scenario and for better or for worse that was the case, I was the second son so I always had this idea of not going in there, I suppose I was warned off it in some ways by my father."

He worked in the family business for sixteen years prior to fleeing the flock. Participant D1 recognizes his departure from the family business as a critical incident in his career, and a decision he did not easily make. He admits it was a "wrench" between himself and his brother, participant D2. However, D1, somewhat ironically, claims he reached his full potential when he left the family business:

"So, I left. And there was probably a little bit of see ya later about it and I'll show you but I suppose it developed into a far more rich career than I would have had if I stayed. Ya, ya so it was kind of a big step for me".

While he did return to the family business in a more senior role later in his career, he left the family business for a second time one year later. He described both departures as critical incidents in his career. It appears that next generation family members make career decisions based on family needs as opposed to individual career needs which may provide rationale as to why Azjen's TBP does not sufficiently predict or explain career behavior of next generation family members. This will be discussed further in the discussion section.

4.5.2 Early childhood exposure to the family business shapes both the self-concept and the careers of next generation family members.

"I believe that having grown up in your own business or in a business owned by your own family just gives you a completely different mindset day one...from when you are born" (Participant A1)

All participants acknowledge their family business background has significantly influenced both their careers and in their own words, their mindsets. Participant A1 excitedly describes the family influence as "monumental":

"I think it's probably monumental, I don't think I'll ever appreciate how significant it is, I suppose there's a couple of elements to it, there's the fact we grew up in food and there's an education side to it too."

All participants were born into and grew up with a model of family business. Participant E1 states her earliest memories of the business are from the age of three. She fondly recalls sitting on the stairs in the family business listening to her father talk to customers. In addition to the exposure to their family business, participants also recall the discussion at home about the business. Participant E2 recalls that the business was the first topic of conversation at the dinner table and says jokingly: *"once that was out of the way normal conversation resumed."* For participants B1 and B2, it was difficult to distinguish between home and the business as B1 admittedly states:

"...you know it's a family business and at the time it was based at home, there was no disassociation between home and business, they were the same thing."

In addition to their family business backgrounds, parents influenced career choices for participants by encouraging them to enter different areas. Participant E2, who has chosen to pursue a career in music claims her father is her main inspiration. Her father had a career in music prior to setting up the family business. Participant F2 claims her mother encouraged her to study Law due to her “*argumentative nature.*”

When participants were asked to recall the first time they thought about their career, both family and the family business featured strongly in these memories (along with school, teachers and peers). By considering their career choices retrospectively, some participants feel their educational choices were also influenced by the family, and more significantly the family business. Although participant F1 always wanted to work with children with special needs, she chose business subjects in school and later applied to study Business at university. Participant B1 ascertains that in hindsight, his educational choices were related to the family business.

While the earliest memories of the business recalled in this study were from the age of three, most participants worked informally in the business from approximately the age of ten years old. All participants recall varying “jobs” they were given to do at a young age. Participants C1 and C2 recall the training provided by their mother in her hospitality business. They claim that the lesson learned working seasonally in the business remain with them. They both recall their mother’s drive and work ethic which they hope they have inherited.

All participants claim that their family business exposure has shaped their career and their “mindset” to an extent. This implies that family business experiences not only shape career experiences but also play a role in the construction of a specific mindset. Participant B1, on reflection, considers how the family business has shaped him:

“Well I think they probably developed me personally, as you know, if you’re, you’re being inquisitive about things at an early age you know, this is interesting actually, you’re taking on stuff that a normal 10 or 12 year old wouldn’t be taking on. You’re exposed to stuff beyond your young years possibly, but definitely, it definitely shaped my character no doubt, it definitely probably made me a bit technical mentally watching how things were done and maybe it developed my science part of my head.”

While both participants B1 and A1 directly highlight how they consider the family business has shaped them, other participants indirectly referred to this as they highlighted how the family business has shaped their attitude to work. Participant E2 laughingly recalls an incident in another organization she worked in, besides the family business, which highlighted her mindset which she attributes to the family business:

“When I went to work in the hotel I think they found that a bit weird, there’d be days when my manager wouldn’t be there and there might be a light bulb that needed to be changed and I’d practically electrocute myself trying to change it or you know little things like that you’d just get on with it and just do it, I think that’s kind of the mannerism I have I just get on with it and do it.”

Participant C1 too refers to her attitude towards overtime in comparison with her co-workers who refused to work Saturdays in her “first” job outside of the family business, which amazed her:

“I would never say no to overtime, I would work until eleven o’clock at night, Saturdays and all that and again that kind of work would never phase you because you were used to a seven day week so if you got Sundays off it was like a bonus!”

It is evident from the data that from when NxG are born, they are aware of the family business which shapes both their mindset and their careers. This will be deliberated further in the discussion.

4.5.3 Next generation family members enact hybrid careers facilitated by the family business.

Findings of this study indicate that NxG enact hybrid careers that include characteristics of the traditional model of careers and contemporary models of career (which include the boundaryless and the protean career constructs). For NxG who intended to pursue a career in the family business (A2, B2, D2), they tend to follow the traditional model. Participants A2, B2 and D2 formally entered the family business once they left school. Although they went in at entry level, all three progressed to assume leadership positions within the family business, denoting an upward linear career path which is characteristic of the traditional model. The traditional model assumes that an individual’s career is mainly within one or two organizations and is managed by the organization. This certainly holds truth for the intended successors in this study. Participant D2 recalls, after working his way up to senior management in his family business, being appointed to the board:

“It was a family business obviously so once you were on the board and you were a family member you had a level of management, you had a status if you like that and that essentially meant you could get involved in wherever you wanted to be involved.”

NxG who set up their own businesses, while initially may follow the traditional model, tend to pursue a more protean or boundaryless career which is facilitated by the family business. Participant A1 highlights how he was able to leave salaried employment to research his own venture, facilitated by the family business:

“...and this is where I think it is very interesting coming from a family business is I had the security to be able to leave my job to research my own venture and I think that’s something I realized at the time...”

Participant A1 was able to use the family business as a security net in fulfilling his own career needs while using the family business network to drive his business. He claims he had to incorporate the family’s values into his own operation to ensure access to the network. Participant F1, while working in the family business, too began to consider how she could fulfill her own career

aspirations and remained in the family business until such an opportunity arose. Ironically, her personal career aspirations were fulfilled by the help of a member of the family's network who advised her and assisted her in gaining employment in the area she wanted to.

Although participant D1 spent sixteen years employed in the family business, entering at entry level and working his way up, following the traditional model of career, once he left his career features characteristics of both the protean and boundaryless career. Since leaving the family business he has spent periods of his career in four other organizations and now focuses on how organizations can fulfill his career needs. He tends to change careers every five years as he values the learning experience each change brings. His family business background too facilitates his career as he has remained in the same industry and feels his experience in the family business, and the knowledge he accumulated there, has enabled the type of career he has experienced.

While career has often been viewed as a rational process (Kidd, 2004), participants of this study often made career decisions based on family business needs as opposed to their own individual career needs. Although participant B1 had a thriving career in an Irish multinational, when his father asked him to join the family business, he did not hesitate:

"...but a career that consists of all highs that's not reality, so if I was in an interview today and somebody asked me why did you leave Kerry Group to rejoin the family business I would say I made a decision to help my father and help my family and support them and make their life easier, and I learned a hell of a lot from working in a family business that I never would have learned in my, as I say my kitty gloved multinational business, so I'd suggest it stood to me and where am I next, sure that's the future... it wasn't a conscious decision that I wanted to end up in the family business but I had no problem making my decision and that was that."

While the rationale behind participant B1's decision may appear irrational, he recognizes that since he has rejoined the family business his career has gone in a direction he could never have imagined in the multinational organization which he refers to as the "cocoon". He envisages his career to be more "entrepreneurial" in the next ten years within the family business. He recognizes that this freedom would not be permitted in his previous career. Although participant B1 is now a successor in his family business, with his brother B2, he views his career as being transient. Participants C1 and C2 too enacted boundaryless careers, as they worked in several organizations prior to starting their own business.

4.5.4 Assisting Relatives as a parallel career path for next generation family members

Findings of this study too reveal an additional career path for NxG of Assisting Relatives. Assisting relatives, an employment status term in the Irish Census of Population, refer to family members who work in a family business who do not receive a fixed wage or salary. While previous research (Murphy, 2007) concluded that the category of Assisting Relatives is reflective of a traditional

model of family business in Ireland with high levels of dependency by family members which no longer exists in contemporary society, this research demonstrates that while the category of Assisting Relatives may appear to be somewhat obsolete, the tradition of helping in the family business is not. Participants of this study, who did not pursue a career in the family business, and who have established careers elsewhere, continue to help out in the family business as Assisting Relatives, in parallel with their own careers. Participant F2, a qualified solicitor currently works two days a week in her family business in a helping role:

"It's usually Tuesdays and Wednesdays when I'm down with my mother but it's more, because of the recession she has an awful lot to do but not a lot of help anymore so I always help her out with the business."

All participants recall an incident of helping out in the family business, even once their own careers were established. Participant F1 recalls employees telephoning her on Saturday morning to help out with problems and she would assist:

"You'd get a call on a Saturday morning saying someone forgot their keys, and it wouldn't necessarily be Mam and Dad at all, it would actually very rarely be Mam and Dad, it might be some other employees in the factory."

Participant A1 claims that in his family business, everyone helps out. This underlying tradition of helping in the family business also contributes to career experiences of NxG which has been relatively unexplored in the family business literature. The authors propose that the assisting relative category captures the informal role NxG play in the family business, regardless of their career fate, which has been neglected in the family business literature to date.

4.6 Discussion

According to Fishbein and Azjen (1975, p. 369), "since much of human behavior appears to be under volitional control...the best single predictor of an individual's behavior will be a measure of his intention to perform that behavior." The fundamental premise in the theory of planned behavior (TPB) is that the intention to perform a behavior can be predicted with high accuracy from attitudes towards the behavior, subjective norms and perceived behavioral control (Azjen, 1985). Attitudes towards the behavior, the first construct of TPB refers to perceptions of an individual's desire to perform a behavior. The second construct, subjective norms refer to normative expectations of others if a behavior is to be performed, for example family expectations. Perceived behavioral control refers to how much control the individual has over the behavior and also includes the concept of perceived self-efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy is "concerned with judgments of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1982:22). Inherent in the theory is the assumption that the more an

individual believes they can perform a behavior, the more likely they will perform it.

However, based on the findings of this study, the authors challenge this assumption and propose that intentions do not sufficiently predict career behavior of NxG. Coupled with the complexity of career concept and behavior, and the perception of career for this study as an evolving process over the course of an individual's life span (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), the temporal distance between the intention and the actual behavior (Ajzen, 2011) reduces the likelihood of intentions predicting action. Ajzen (2011) acknowledges that the intention-behavior correlation does vary according to the temporal distance between the measurement of intentions and the observation of behavior.

Moreover, the construct of perceived behavioral control which is a determinant of attitudes towards behavior (Ajzen, 2011) includes the concept of perceived self-efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy is concerned with "judgments of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1982, p. 122). While self-efficacy has been proposed to play a significant role in the formation of career preferences, intentions and behaviors (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994; Gartner, 1989; Krueger & Brazeal, 1994; Scherer, Brodzinski, & Wieber, 1990), we perceive that family business background and experience of NxG influences their perceived self-efficacy which in turn influences their perceived behavioral control. Ajzen (1991:181) later reiterates the significance of volitional control over behavior by stating "it should be clear, however, that a behavioral intention can find expression in behavior only if the behavior in question is under volitional control." If people perceive they have sufficient actual control over the behavior, the TPB assumes that people will carry out their intentions. As the authors posit that next generation family members do not assume control over their career behavior and propose that the career behavior of next generation family members is driven by family needs, the TPB cannot sufficiently predict or explain career behavior of next generation family members. In the family business context, as demonstrated in the statement by participant E1 in Table 4, career behavior is not planned behavior but often happens unintentionally.

This study depicts career behavior of NxG as unplanned. A dearth of empirical evidence linking actual career intentions to behavior further supports our challenge of the use of TPB in predicting career intentions for NxG. Furthermore, the TPB assumes that human behavior is rational as it emphasizes the controlled aspects of human decision-making. The TPB (Ajzen, 1985, p.11) refers to action as a 'sequence of acts', which is guided by an implicit or explicit act. Although career theorists have depicted career as a 'sequence of events', the concept of career as depicted in this study is not a rational process, evidenced by the subjective experiences in this study. The career decision to enter the family business or not is emotionally loaded (Lansberg, 1983) and how emotion impacts intentions is currently unclear in the TPB. While Ajzen (2011) rebuts this and claims that emotions serves as a background factor that influence behavioral, normative and control, in the family business context, in

which next generation family members have a deep emotional attachment to the family business, the authors affirm that emotion serves as more than a background factor in career decisions of NxG. This leads us to the type of behavior in question. Azjen & Sexton (1999) assume that the amount of information processing people engage in prior to performing a behavior varies along a continuum, from shallow to deep depending on the behavior. They claim that in-depth processing is reserved for important decisions where as decisions are made routinely or daily do not require similar levels of cognitive effort.

The authors agree with Azjen (2011) that attitudes, subjective norms and perceptions of control as well as intentions in relation to routine behaviors such as eating breakfast do predict and guide behavior. However, due to the complexity of the concept of career and family needs as a driving force behind NxG' careers, we conclude the TPB to be insufficient in predicting careers of NxG. Argyris's and Schon's (1974) theory of action perspective supports our dissatisfaction with the TPB in deepening our understanding of the career behavior of NxG. Argyris and Schon (1974, p. 6) describe a theory of action as "a theory of deliberate human behavior which is for the agent a theory of control but which, when attributed to the agent, also serves to explain or predict his behavior". While Argyris and Schon use a theory of action to both predict and explain behavior, they too are cognizant of the gap between intentions and actual behavior. Therefore, in their theory of action, they distinguish between espoused theory and theory-in use. Espoused theory, refers to an individual's intended behavior. However, an individual's theory-in-use governs his/her actions. Argyris and Schon (1974), realize that an individual's espoused theory and theory-in-use may not be compatible and an individual may not be aware of the incompatibility of the two theories. For NxG, an espoused theory of action for their career may represent their career intentions, but their theory-in-use equates to their actual behavior. A theory of action perspective may provide a more suitable theoretical lens to study the actual career behavior of NxG, which recognizes potential dissonance between intentions and actions.

From the findings of our study, it is possible to interpret that family needs drive *actual* career behavior of NxG. As the family business is an emotionally driven system, and a key aim of family businesses is the preservation of their socioemotional wealth (Gomez-Mejia et al. 2007) the authors believe that insights from the construct of SEW might explain the actual career behavior of next generation family members, in a more sufficient manner than the TPB. This assertion will be substantiated on further in chapter six.

The authors attest that family business background too shapes the development of NxG' self-concept (Super, 1952) from birth and their careers. From a vocational development perspective, this period is the first stage in the life cycle of careers (Super, 1952). Super denotes this phase as "Childhood Growth" and claims it is from birth to approximately age fourteen. However, this early developmental stage has been understudied both in the careers literature (Super, 1952) and the family business context. While vocational

development theorists claim that the formation of the self-concept at this stage is based on observation of parents' roles at work, for NxG, the formation of the self-concept involves more than observations of parents' roles. During the early developmental stage, NxG work part time in the business and have been exposed to the family business.

While Eckrich & Loughhead (1996) found that late adolescents with a parent working for their own family's business may have slight deficits in vocational identity when compared with those whose parents do not work for the family business, based on the evidence of this study on the actual career experiences of NxG, the authors propose that the influence of next generation family member's background results in a vocational identity *delay* due to the family business influence on the self-concept. As NxG experience work through the family business during the developmental stages of growth and exploration, this can complicate their decision-making regarding career or vocational interests. The family business provides employment and stability for NxG as they make vocational choices. However, evidence from this study suggests that NxG, although they may experience delay in their vocational decisions, do achieve self-fulfillment. In this study, participants unintended careers (Baruch, 2004), as for many their career destination was never intended. Out of the five participants who pursue careers in the family business as successors, only two of them intended to. While participants did not view their career outcomes as positive or negative, or claimed to be disappointed by their career experiences, they did make career decisions based on the collective family need as opposed to their own personal needs throughout their lives.

While career is often presented as a rational, planned process (Kidd, 2004), retrospective accounts of NxG in this study establishes career as a somewhat irrational and evolving process which is prone to situational factors. Both traditional and contemporary models of career assume the individual possesses ownership of their career (Baruch, 2004) and careers have been deemed to be a product of both individual agency on one hand and institutional frameworks on the other hand (Inkson et al., 2012). For participants of this study, the family business is both a situational and personal determinant of career decisions. However, for some participants of this study, by fulfilling the needs of the family business prior to fulfilling their own, they delay the fulfillment of their own career aspirations and allow themselves to be managed by the family business. This is reminiscent of Granrose and Chua's (1996) comparison between Chinese family business patterns and the boundaryless career. While the boundaryless career places the individual at the helm of their career, family members of Chinese family businesses make decisions based on the needs of the collective family unit. While the authors are not disregarding cultural influences on vocational identity (Shin and Kelly, 2013), the familial influence appears to be of relevance to both NxG in China and in Ireland. Our findings suggest that Irish NxG make career decisions based on being part of a collective unit also. Family business membership supersedes individual needs for next generation family members and shapes their careers.

While family members make career decisions based on the needs of the family, the family business context enables and facilitates NxG to embrace the constructs of both the boundaryless (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) and the protean career (Hall, 1996). By providing access to networks and resources and a knowledge base, NxG are not bounded by the family business but enact hybrid careers, which feature characteristics of both the traditional and contemporary models of career. This is supported by empirical evidence in this study that successors who intended to pursue a career in the family business began at entry level and worked their way to the top of the family business, featuring the traditional model. Those who establish careers as entrepreneurs or employees often work in the family business while seeking opportunities elsewhere. For those who did not pursue careers in the family business, they availed of the financial and career security offered by the family business as they sought career clarity.

While the authors recognize that NxG who pursue careers in other organizations besides the family business may experience the traditional model of career, the current economic climate may be one of the reasons employees in our sample do not experience the traditional career model.

This study unveils the somewhat neglected tradition of helping in the family business context. The authors introduce the career of 'Assisting Relatives' which NxG pursue in parallel with their established careers. Our research demonstrates that even when NxG leave the family business, they remain involved in an assisting capacity. By helping out in the family business, they remain involved in both the family and business system and may influence the strategic direction of the family business. Recent research has suggested that the family business context represents an interesting context to study the phenomenon of exit from entrepreneurship as important questions arise as to whether subsequent generations are "lost to entrepreneurship or [do] they reengage once parents have exited" (Wright in Craig & Salvato, 2012, p. 112). However, our research questions whether next generation family members disengage from the family business once they flee the flock. The tradition of helping in the family business by NxG is unique to family businesses and represents a distinctive resource for family businesses, particularly in the current economic climate, which may aid continuity.

4.7 Conclusions

Carr and Sequeira (2007) claim that family business ownership affects next generation family members in a number of ways besides the issues of succession. This qualitative study into the actual critical career experiences of NxG demonstrates that family business ownership not only shapes but drives the *actual* career behavior of NxG. The authors question the fundamental assumption of the Theory of Planned Behavior in predicting career behavior in the family business context, which current studies rely on. In the family

business context, career behavior is not a planned, rational process and NxG base career decisions on the collective family needs as opposed to their own personal needs. Argyris and Schon's (1978) distinction between an espoused theory of action and a theory-in-use of action considers the incompatibility of intentions and actual behavior. As it is the actual behavior of NxG which governs their career, going forward a theory of action perspective may be beneficial in the study of careers of NxG.

For NxG, career decisions, which affect the family business, are often made unintentionally demonstrating that much of human behavior, even regarding complex career decisions is not planned. While the influence of family on career has been noted in vocational and career studies, this influence is unique for NxG. From birth they experience and are exposed to the family business, which impacts and plays a role in the development of their self-concept. NxG careers feature elements of both traditional and contemporary models of careers which leads the authors to conclude that NxG enact hybrid careers. This study reveals the parallel career path of "Assisting Relative" which next generations pursue, even once they leave the family business.

4.8 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

While this study focuses on actual behavior in relation to next generation family members' careers, which is novel in the family business field, it is not without its limitations. The study is grounded in a small sample group, and all NxG are located in Ireland. Future studies should consider recent emigration trends on careers of NxG. Additionally, one must consider that this study is based on retrospective accounts of NxG of their careers to date. However, the use of the Critical Incident Technique as an interviewing technique has focused the interviews, and the decision to interview a second family member and to feed back the findings to the study participants enhances validity (Flick, 2007 ;Yin, 2009).

The authors appeal to more researchers to follow our lead and investigate actual behavior in family businesses, using SEW as a lens, with a view to further inquiring into the applicability of Azjen's theory of planned behavior, in the family business domain and beyond. While the focus of our research on actual behavior has methodologically impacted our study, the value of the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan 1954) as an interview method, with the aim of building theory, has proven to be particularly insightful. As actual behavior is not easily studied via quantitative measures, the CIT provided a means for participants to make sense of their careers. By focusing on what they rendered to be significant events, next generation family members' narrated how being part of a family business has influenced their careers. The study of actual behavior requires practice- close research (Lambrechts, Bouwen, Grieten, Huybrechts, & Schein, 2011).

Finally, this study demonstrates the importance of considering the family group in family business research as called for by Dyer (2003), Astrachan (2010) and James, Jennings and Breitkieu (2012). Sharma, Chrisman and Gersick (2012) too appeal for a greater appreciation of family members and the family system in order to strengthen the field, which we hope this study on careers of NxG has contributed to.

5 THE LEARNING PROCESS OF NXG

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the content and process of next generation family members' learning in the family business. While the family business has been identified as a unique context within which learning occurs (Fairlie & Robb, 2007) and provides an opportunity for next generation family members to acquire career related human capital (Laband & Lentz, 1990), a significant gap emerges in relation to the content and process of learning in the family business by next generation family members. This study addresses two research questions regarding learning in the family business - *what* and *how* do next generation family members learn in the family business?

Described as a vehicle to educate the NxG for careers that include and exclude involvement in the family business (Chua, Chrisman & Sharma, 1999), the nature of learning in the family business context represents a salient gap in the current family business literature. Although entrepreneurial learning has been recently investigated in the family business context (Hamilton, 2011), questions of *what* and *how* NxG learn in the family business context remain unanswered. While knowledge has been deemed an enabler of continuity and sustainability of family businesses (Chirico, 2008; Zahra, 2012), how this knowledge is accumulated and the significance of this knowledge for NxG is unascertained. Additionally, whether this learning or accumulation of knowledge translates to career related human capital for next generation family members as suggested by Chua et al. (1999) is unknown. The signaling of the attention of the NxG to their learning experiences and opportunities in the family business may provide the NxG with a stronger rationale to become involved in the family business.

This interpretative grounded theory study uses organizational learning theory, with a focus on Wenger's theory of social learning, to explore the content (what) and the process (how) of learning for NxG in the family business. While some attention has been paid to learning in the family business, the majority of studies have considered organizational learning (Birdthistle &

Fleming, 2005; Zahra, 2012) as opposed to individual learning within an organizational context. Hamilton's (2011) more recent study considers entrepreneurial learning in the family business and denotes the family business as a community of practice, which this study supports. This research focus makes a number of contributions to the family business field.

Firstly, we demonstrate that NxG learn via social participation in the overlapping communities of practice of the family and the business. We codify what NxG learn in the family business while also revealing that learning for next generation family members is almost a natural process embedded in their membership of the family business. The practical implications of our research for NxG and for the family business are also detailed.

This chapter is structured as follows; an overview of the literature on learning in the family business is presented, followed by a review of relevant concepts from organizational learning theory. The main theoretical lens, Wenger's theory of social learning is discussed. As chapter three has presented the methodological approach of this study, our methods section will describe the coding process in relation to learning. This is preceded by our findings, analysis and discussion. Suggestions for future research and practical implications of our research conclude the paper.

5.2 Learning in the family business - an overview

Learning in the family business has received sparse attention in the family business field. While knowledge has been recognized as an enabler of continuity for family businesses (Chirico, 2008; Zahra, 2012), and tacit knowledge in particular has been identified as a strategic resource for family businesses (Cabrera-Suarez, DeeSaa-Perez, Garcia-Almeida, 2001), how knowledge is accumulated in the family business context via learning has received minimal attention.

While Chrisman, Chua and Sharma (1998) highlight the importance of social interactions between generations while the NxG are growing up in light of the succession process, how NxG learn through these social interactions remains unknown. While this may signal the relational importance of social interactions between family members, this is not extrapolated in the current literature.

Studies on learning in the family business are few. Birdthistle and Fleming's (2005) work on the family business as a learning organization recognizes the informal or apprenticeship style training which occurs in small family businesses. This is echoed by Fairlie and Robb (2007) who highlight the opportunity NxG avail of growing up in a family business, due to the informal learning or apprenticeship style training which occurs, which they link to small business outcomes. Individuals who come from a family business background acquire human capital about running a business in comparison with those who do not come from a family business background.

Lentz and Laband (1990:567) refer to this informal type of learning as in house or 'pre-market' experience, which individuals who come from a family business background are exposed to prior to commencing formal or 'market' experience. This 'pre-market' experience begins during the socialization process and for individuals who grow up in a family business, this type of experience can be gained from a very young age. Family members acquire human capital or it is transferred to them via learning in the family business. Laband and Lentz (1983) argue that this unique family capital can only be realized by next generation family member who remain in the family business. As Lane and Lubatkin (1998) highlight close involvement of individuals (in this context family members) in the organization (the family business) can produce high levels of firm specific tacit knowledge (or as Laband & Lentz refer to enterprise specific skills) which can be transferred to the NxG through exposure to the family business system and experience. Tacit knowledge is defined as knowledge which cannot be easily articulated and consists of personal beliefs, values and perspectives that individuals take for granted (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). However, how firm specific tacit knowledge can be transferred has not been investigated.

As Sirmon and Hitt (2003) point out, family members simultaneously participate in and experience both family and business relationships. The complexity of overlapping systems and duality of relationships creates a unique context for human capital. As family members experience 'similar' socialization process (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and are exposed to family and business issues from a young age, family members acquire a resource, specific to the context of growing up in a family business, in the form of family human capital. Human capital consists of the skills and knowledge that individuals acquire to enhance their potential productivity and success in the workplace (Becker, 1964). Ng and Feldman (2010) refer to an individual's human capital as their education and work experience. While human capital is an important aspect of family capital (Danes, Stafford, Haynes, Amarapurkar, 2007), the author views human capital as one of the outcomes of learning by NxG in the family business context. For the purposes of this study, the authors are more interested in *what* and *how* NxG learn while growing up in a family business as opposed to the perception of human capital as a by-product of growing up (Laband & Lentz, 1990).

Zahra's (2012) study on organizational learning in the family firm investigates the influence (both positive and negative) of family ownership on organizational learning. Zahra (2012) who denotes organizational learning as a precursor to entrepreneurship concludes that family ownership is positively related to entrepreneurship. However, this study considers learning as the process through which organizations gain knowledge as opposed to individual learning. While Zahra (2012) realizes the experiential nature of organizational learning, it is confined to the family firm level as opposed to the individual level of learning.

Hamilton (2011:9) recently explored entrepreneurial learning in the family business context, defined as “the acquisition and development of the propensity, skills and abilities to found, to join or to grow a venture”. Hamilton’s research contributes to how entrepreneurial learning in the context of the family business may be understood as socially situated and embedded in the practices of family business. She conceives the family and business as overlapping communities of practice and suggests that an understanding of family business participation over time may expand our understanding of succession. While learning of next generation family members in the family business context has been linked to small business outcomes (Fairlie & Robb, 2007) and to occupational following (Laband & Lentz, 1990), the authors are more interested in what and how next generation family members learn?

The dearth of research into learning in the family business context is startling. As Zahra (2012) and Chirico (2008) have highlighted, learning in the family business is crucial to gain the knowledge needed to build and upgrade family firms. Not only is this research area relevant for continuity and succession, it is also a necessary research area for the development of next generation family members. While Hamilton (2011) investigates entrepreneurial learning, this study is not limited to entrepreneurial learning. Hence, the authors turn to the organizational learning literature to inquire more deeply into individual learning in the family business. For the purpose of this research learning is perceived as a social process which occurs through our daily interactions with our world (Wenger, 1997). The next section will provide an overview of organizational learning theory followed by a focus on Wenger’s theory of social learning.

5.3 Organizational learning theory

According to Kim (2003), theories of individual learning are crucial to our understanding of organizational learning. However, within the organizational learning field, scholars grapple with the relationship and interaction between individual learning and organizational learning. As Cook and Yanow (1993) point out, theories of organizational learning have mainly steered in one of two directions; learning by individuals in organizational contexts or individual learning as a model for understanding organizational learning. Both approaches rely on individual learning as a means of understanding an organization level phenomena. Argyris and Schon (1978) claim that organizations learn through the experience and action of individuals.

Kim (1993) states that learning encompasses two meanings; the acquisition of know-how (described as the ability to produce some action) and the acquisition of know-why (described as the ability to articulate a conceptual understanding of an experience). Kim (1993) refers to the know-how and the know-why of learning as operational and conceptual learning.

Kolb (1984) defines learning as “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience.” The learning occurs in a cycle of experience where information is gathered, followed by reflection, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (Kolb, 1984). Kolb’s view of learning as experiential is relevant to this study, as next generation family members learn via experience in the family business.

According to Argyris and Schon (1978), the schema of organizational learning includes informational content, a learning product, a learning process and a learner. They too highlight that learning may be attributed to an agent inside or outside of the organization. This is important for our research as our sample for this study consists of internal agents (NxG working in the family business) and external agents (NxG working outside of the family business). Argyris (1993) conceives learning to be an action concept and claims individuals take action when they detect and correct error. He claims we know what we know when we can produce what we know.

Argyris and Schon’s (1978) depiction of learning as single and double loop learning is important for organizational learning. Single loop learning is described as instrumental learning which changes strategies of action or underlying assumptions within organizations. Single loop learning does not result in a change in the values and norms within an organization. Double loop learning is referred to by Argyris and Schon (1978:21) as “learning that results in a change in the values of theory-in-use, as well as in its strategies and assumptions.” While our focus is on the situated learning of family members of this study, insights from organizational learning theory are essential to our understanding of how next generation family members learn within the context of their organization, which is the family business.

Schein (1983) claims that any form of organizational learning will require the evolution of what he refers to as ‘shared mental models’. Schein pertains that these shared mental models must cut across subcultures which develop in organizations. Schein also highlights the importance of dialogue in organizational learning.

Although we have previously alluded to knowledge, the authors focus is on learning in the family business context. The relationship between knowledge and learning is best denoted in Cook and Yanow’s (1993:13) words; “learning is related to knowing; in one sense, it is the act of acquiring knowledge.” While the authors claims our focus is on learning by individuals in organizational contexts, we realize that the learning process is not confined to an individual acquisition process and acknowledge the importance of interaction and participation in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills as suggested by Van Looy, Leliaert, DeWeerd, Corthouts and Broeckmans, (2000).

While the author’s contend with the perception of learning as both action (Argyris & Schon, 1996) and as experiential (Kolb, 1984), we also agree that learning is situated in social practice and is a process involving experience that by its very nature involves interaction with others (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Learning is too a social act. Therefore in trying to deepen our understanding of

how NxG learn in the family business, we turn to Wenger's theory of social learning.

5.4 Theory of social learning

According to Elkjaer (1999), interest in the view of learning as situated in social practice developed in opposition to the psychological and cognitive view of learning as something that occurs within formal or institutional settings. The perception of learning as situated learning processes lends itself to the social constructionist view of learning. Orr (1999) views work practices as social constructions, constructed through individual's narrations of 'learning-in - working'. This view of learning is in line with the philosophical underpinnings of this study.

Wenger's (1997:8) conceptualizes learning as social participation; "in our experience, learning is an integral part of our everyday lives, it is part of our participation in our communities and organizations." Although a social process, individual learning is characterized by the outcomes that are focused primarily on changes in individuals. Our interest centers around how NxG's learn through their participation in the family business and what are the outcomes for them. There are four key components of Wenger's (1997) theory of social learning; meaning (learning as experience), practice (learning as doing), community (learning as belonging) and identity (learning as becoming). Elkjaer (1999) highlights that the components of Wenger's theory are defined in relation to actional contexts and not solely in relation to the mind. Wenger's theory of social learning encapsulates some of Kolb's (1984), Argyris and Schon's (1996) and Schein's (1983) perceptions of learning as experiential, learning as action and shared mental models. However, for this study, the central tenet of Wenger's theory of social learning is the conceptualization of learning as social participation.

When Wenger (1998) refers to participation, he refers to active participation in the practices of social communities. Wenger terms these social communities in which learning occurs through social participation, communities of practice. Communities of practice are defined as "groups of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise" (Wenger 2000: 139). According to Wenger (2000), communities of practice define competence by three elements. First, members are bound together by their collective understanding of what their community is about and hold each other accountable. To be competent, members of communities of practice understand the community well enough to be able to contribute to it. Secondly, communities of practice are built by members through a process of mutual engagement, therefore members of a community interact with each other establishing norms. Thirdly, communities of practice have produced a shared repertoire of communal resources such as language, routines and stories (Wenger, 2000:229). Wenger (2000) states that communities of practice grow out

of “a convergent interplay of competence and experience that involves mutual engagement. . . As a consequence, they remain important social units of learning even in the context of much larger systems.” A key facet of Wenger’s theory of social learning is that learning is not an individual process but occurs through our interactions with others. The generation of learning through interactions between members of communities of practice is how the community learns.

Lave and Wenger (1991) developed the concept of legitimate peripheral participation (hereafter LPP), where learning is conceived as a social act, embedded in practice. The concept was derived from studies of learning in apprenticeship situations. The concept of LPP does not differentiate between participation in practice and participation in learning but views them as one. The concept of LPP is relevant to our study due to the apprenticeship style training which can occur in family businesses (Birdthistle and Fleming, 2005).

The overlapping systems of family and business fulfill all three of Wenger’s elements of competence. For NxG, the family business represents a community of practice and the family and business systems can be described as overlapping communities of practice (Hamilton, 2011). As Gherardi (2000:214) infers, the conceptualization of learning through participation in a practice enables one to focus on the idea that in everyday practice, learning takes place in the “flow of experience”, whether we are aware of it or not. NxG, as members of both the family and the business system experience the family business from a young age and gain experience through participation in the family business. This experience is enhanced by participation in the family due to the overlapping nature of the communities of practice. Wenger’s theory of social learning perceives the learning process to involve learning an identity, learning a profession or skill and a sense of belonging. Our findings and discussion section will discuss this in greater detail. The next section will detail our methodology, focusing on the analysis of the data in relation to learning.

5.5 Methodology

As chapter three had detailed the methods used for this study, this section of the chapter will discuss the coding process and present some examples. Initial coding was first undertaken as the authors analyzed the data from the perspective of what is happening here in relation to the learning of NxG? (See Table 11 for an example of the initial coding process). The initial coding process revealed the extensiveness of knowledge acquired in the family business by participants. Participants also referred to the value of their work experience. One of the key revelations of the initial coding phase, was the naturalness of learning of participants. The initial coding process was followed by selective coding (see Table 12 for an example of the selective coding process) as each case was analyzed individually and cross comparatively. The selective coding

process signaled the authors' attention to the process of learning. This will be discussed in greater detail in the findings section.

5.6 Findings

The findings of this study are presented in relation to the research questions of what and how do NxG learn in the family business context. The first finding relates to the content of learning. Findings relates to the process of learning by NxG in the family business. Our third finding on identity demonstrates who the learning process may include learning an identity for NxG.

5.6.1 What do next generation family members learn in family businesses?

For NxG of this study, the family business context represents both a unique and significant learning opportunity. All participants recall memories of the family business from a young age - be it sitting on the accountant's knee at home (participant B1) or lambing sheep at the age of five (participant A2). When participants were asked described their careers to date, the family business featured heavily in their memories.

Key incidents recalled in relation to learning in the family business include tasks carried out at young age, developing the business and taking on responsibility. From the data we codify four types of skills which participants attribute to their experiences in the family business. These include technical skills, people skills, business development and managerial skills and work ethos. Although work ethos could be considered a value, participants refer to it as a skill they have "in their back pocket" (participant B1). While participants continued to build on these skills in their careers, they attribute these skills and attitudes to work to their family business background. The data demonstrates that the content of learning is related to the roles NxG assume in the family business, be it on a formal or informal basis.

TABLE 11 Initial coding sample of the learning of NxG

Participant A1, an entrepreneur who comes from a fifth generation family business describes learning in the family business. A statement from his interview and the initial coding of the statement are demonstrated below.	
Initial Coding	Interview Statement
<p>Authority in the family business</p> <p>Broad knowledge of the business</p> <p>Knew every corner</p> <p>Responsibility if something happened</p> <p>Covered for his parents if they were out</p> <p>Attitude towards being a boss</p> <p>Managing a business</p> <p>Attitude towards staff</p> <p>Attitude towards management and religion</p> <p>Aptitude</p> <p>Work experience in the family business useful in job interviews</p> <p>Informal work experience</p> <p>Work experience similar to home = I grew up there</p> <p>Learning by osmosis</p> <p>Formal education Vs informal education</p> <p>Skills learned in the family business include people skills, life skills</p> <p>Natural skills</p>	<p>I would have never ever felt in the family business at any stage that I had any more authority than anybody else, ya know, lots of things I could do that other people didn't know, cos I had a very broad knowledge of the whole thing, do you know what I mean, every corner and all the rest of it, so you know when I was working and taking orders and something happened with the heating system I knew I had to deal with it and stuff like that but that's different, do ya know what I mean and you know I would have been given responsibilities in the sense that phones at night would have been given to me if Mam and Dad were out or you know that sort of stuff, but that was just what Mam and dad did it wasn't, I think its much more fundamental, I don't think in our lives ya know that there, I still sort of don't really consider myself a boss like ya know what I mean, I obviously have a business and I have staff and all the rest of it but do ya know what I mean, there's not and I do understand that say in the family business where you have 100 staff or whatever it is or ya know what I mean there's wages and there's responsibilities and there's ways of managing people and all that stuff and I actually find it fascinating to learn the psychology of managing people and stuff like that but at the same time you know I would I think its one of the Quaker things is that everyone is equal and I think it's a really important part of the business and everyone's opinion is respected you know what I mean in a sense, there's a very even kind of, obviously some people are clever and some people are cleverer at certain things, you know what I mean like, I certainly don't believe, I think aptitude is a really interesting thing actually, basically, I've come across it a few times in my life, one is the fact that I can't learn a language for love nor money and other people seem to pick up a language in about 5 minutes . .</p> <p>Oh I would have, I would have, definitely yes, and you know, absolutely cos it was the only work experience I had, so like you know and I was always a problem filling out a form cos you know what I mean, it was like what's your experience and I well I sort of just grew up there [laughs] you know, education by osmosis . . Ya, people skills is the obvious really straight one and it was kind of in a way you know, me nor any of my family really have, cos we're not guys who went to college, a few of them have gone to college and stuff like that, have a straight forward skill, like I'm not an accountant, I'm not a, I suppose an art student, what do they say their skills are, you know like I studied whatever, its probably much more comparable, you know life skills, management skills, like, and a lot of skills around probably working with people, probably natural . .</p>

TABLE 12 Selective coding sample of the learning of NxG

Participant A1 describes learning in the family business. A statement from his interview and the initial coding of the statement are demonstrated below.	
Initial Coding	Interview Statement
<p>Broad knowledge of the business</p> <p>Work experience Management experience</p> <p>Work experience in the family business useful in job interviews Informal work experience Work experience similar to home = I grew up there Process of learning: Learning by osmosis</p> <p>Content of learning :Skills learned in the family business include people skills, life skills</p> <p>Learning as natural</p>	<p>I would have never ever felt in the family business at any stage that I had any more authority than anybody else, ya know, lots of things I could do that other people didn't know, cos I had a very broad knowledge of the whole thing, do you know what I mean, every corner and all the rest of it, so you know when I was working and taking orders and something happened with the heating system I knew I had to deal with it and stuff like that but that's different, do ya know what I mean and you know I would have been given responsibilities in the sense that phones at night would have been given to me if Mam and Dad were out or you know that sort of stuff, but that was just what Mam and dad did it wasn't, I think its much more fundamental, I don't think in our lives ya know that there, I still sort of don't really consider myself a boss like ya know what I mean, I obviously have a business and I have staff and all the rest of it but do ya know what I mean, there's not and I do understand that say in the family business where you have 100 staff or whatever it is or ya know what I mean there's wages and there's responsibilities and there's ways of managing people and all that stuff and I actually find it fascinating to learn the psychology of managing people and stuff like that but at the same time you know I would I think its one of the Quaker things is that everyone is equal and I think it's a really important part of the business and everyone's opinion is respected you know what I mean in a sense, there's a very even kind of, obviously some people are clever and some people are cleverer at certain things, you know what I mean like, I certainly don't believe, I think aptitude is a really interesting thing actually, basically, I've come across it a few times in my life, one is the fact that I can't learn a language for love nor money and other people seem to pick up a language in about 5 minutes . .</p> <p>Oh I would have, I would have, definitely yes, and you know, absolutely cos it was the only work experience I had, so like you know and I was always a problem filling out a form cos you know what I mean, it was like what's your experience and I well I sort of just grew up there [laughs] you know, education by osmosis . . Ya, people skills is the obvious really straight one and it was kind of in a way you know, me nor any of my family really have, cos we're not guys who went to college, a few of them have gone to college and stuff like that, have a straight forward skill, like I'm not an accountant, I'm not a, I suppose an art student, what do they say their skills are, you know like I studied whatever, its probably much more comparable, you know life skills, management skills, like, and a lot of skills around probably working with people, probably natural . .</p>

5.6.2 Technical skills

All participants recall learning operational skills in the family business. For participants F1 and F2 of the same family group, this involved working on the factory floor in their family's food business. Participant F1 recalls learning, what she refers to as a 'silly' skill, but through the eyes of a child an intriguing skill;

"It was just a silly skill it was on the factory floor and there was a vegetable preparation area which I always wanted to go into because you didn't have to mess with sauces or that kind of thing so I went into the vegetable preparation area and there was two women who were there for years and they were just like lightning, chopping up the vegetables and they'd show you little tricks and just cutting it up so fast, it was amazing, things like it just sounds silly but you know those kind of things."

For participants B1 and B2, the technical work they encountered included welding and potato picking. Participant B2 recalls some of the tasks he carried out in the family business from a young age;

"It was physical labour, or technical or you know skilled labour, like learning how to, we did welding and all this kind of stuff, so I'd know how to do almost everything, if it had to be done and there was no one else there to do it I could do it. . . .so I would have acquired a lot of technical skills."

Participant B2 too recalls the array of technical skills he acquired growing up in the family business. He feels his experience gained growing up in the family business is an advantage in his current role. He claims, in a positive tone, that he has a good sense of how his family business has made money over the years:

"I learned an awful lot in the first few years, I did absolutely everything possible from driving forklifts and loading trucks and driving trucks and, even sales on the phone, bits of accounting here and there. Whatever I could do, I did absolutely everything from a young age so there isn't much I don't know now about the business at this stage."

Participants C1 and C2 worked in their mother's guest house from a young age. Participant C1 recalls a critical incident, which involved learning to carry plates and how excited she was when she could carry six at a time. She asserts herself and her sister did 'everything' in the family business and it was part of their summer holidays and weekends.

"We cleared off the tables, reset, off up the house, made all the beds, did the hoovering and cleaned down the stairs, and then we prepared lunches, waitressing, reception, everything so that was a really good learning experience."

Participant C2 too recalls the technical skills she learned under her mother's influence and insists it was a great 'grounding' for her own career. Participants E1 and E2 shared their experiences of the tasks they carried out from a young age in the family business, a dry cleaning service. Participant E1 recalls cleaning

the counter at the age of thirteen. Participant E2's memories conjure up images of folding towels at the age of four in their family's laundry business;

"I used to go in with Mam into the laundry, there was a crèche nearby, that's why she used to bring me but of course I was there when she was closing up or doing tickets and marking off things. I suppose I was shown to do towels because I'd be bored."

When participant A1 was asked to recall the first task he ever carried out in the family business, he exclaimed;

"There was never a first task, you know what I mean, you grew up in the business, sure when you were seven years old you were sitting on someone's knee in the reception, there was never, there was never a first task, it didn't work like that, you know what I mean like, you know you were helping Dad with the sheep or helping in the kitchen of the restaurant."

This highlights how natural it was for next generation family members to participate in the family business and not just a significant event in their lives. Participant A2 has more specific memories of lambing sheep for the first time with his father as his real interest lies in the farming side of the family business.

While all participants recall learning in the family business, for participants D1 and D2, their learning experiences in the family business were somewhat more formal than other participants. Although participant D1 fondly recalls going into the family business on a Saturday morning with his father, and participant D2 recalls from the age of five telling his friends in school he was going to work in the family business when he grew up, they don't portray the same sense of learning by doing in the family business:

"From an early age I used to go in there sometimes on a Saturday with my father for some reason or another he might have to go in there and I was always interested in the print process more than anything else you know, I loved the smell of it."

Participant D2 refers to how much he learned when he formally entered the family business at the age of eighteen as designated heir. Participant D1 too describes how much he learned in his formal position. However, their learning appears to have been more formal in comparison with other participants. This may be related to the size of the business. However, both participants did refer to the conversations about the family business they were part of. This will be discussed in greater detail in the discussion section.

5.6.3 People Skills

People skills is another theme which emerged from participants experiences of learning in the family business context. Whether it was greeting customers or meeting with overseas suppliers, all participants acknowledge the role the family business played in their learning to deal with people. Participant E2 recognizes that her experience in the family business has enabled her to engage

with customers and contacts, both in the family business and in her own career, more easily:

"I suppose it has made me a lot chattier, because I was always around people chatting away and I suppose watching Barbara and Dad do it from a very young age, I think the learning to be able to just be really talkative toward people. I really try to engage customers when they come in instead of just going through the motions and saying here's your clothes, I try and talk about things like the weather or something in the news and I think that has helped me with networking, getting to know people in the music circuit because I can chat to them about anything, shows or things that you like and then you can keep a conversation and I think that's the biggest thing, I suppose the family business has helped to build my confidence."

Participant A1 claims that people skills is the most obvious skill he acquired while growing up in the family business as he was around people in the restaurant:

"People skills is the obvious one, me nor any of my family are not guys who went to college, a few of them have gone to college, I don't have a straight forward skill, like I'm not an accountant, I suppose I'm an art student, it's probably much more comparable, you know life skills, management skills and a lot of skills around probably working with people, probably natural."

Participant F1, who considers herself to be shy, claims the family business has enhanced her people skills. When she worked as Sales and Marketing in her family business, an area she *hated*, her confidence grew:

"When I went and actually admitted I needed to do it [take on the role of Sales & Marketing manage], it was great, it definitely helped my confidence, it helped me just I think talking to older people as well, do you know which I was never really used to, and when you're having people coming in and out just having a bit of chat with people. Things like that definitely helped my confidence."

Participant B2 too highlights how he developed his people skills in the family business, and from a relatively young age:

"That would stick out in the memory, I suppose dealing with overseas customers and having overseas people calling to the house at that stage, like general people skills."

5.6.4 Business development & managerial skills

As almost all participants experienced the family business from a very young age, some were involved in the development of the business and acquired general business management and development skills. On reflection, participant B1 surprisingly recognizes that he was involved in developing the business and was probably exposed to certain experiences that those who do not come from a business owning family were not:

"I would have been involved in everything at the start, you know, like when you think about it now there was kind of development work involved, you know how do we make this? How do we do that? And being there from the start and actually being involved in the process and you know and like anything in the business outside of driving trucks, I've done."

All participants have experienced firsthand the different stages the business has gone through. Since his teenage years, participant B2 has introduced products to the business which he feels has contributed to the development of the business as he proudly states:

"During my late teens I brought in a couple of new product ranges, that I don't think my father would have even been aware of really unless I was there doing the bit of research, he was just carrying on and doing the business so I think from that perspective from developing the business, I think that I was very important."

Some participants recall taking on managerial roles informally while their parents went on holidays or more formally when they were appointed manager. A significant learning incident in participant E1's account is her memory of the first time she managed the business when her parents went on holidays and the feelings of relief when they returned! Although participant F1 was formally appointed Sales & Marketing manager in her family business, she too recalls taking on roles of responsibility when her parents went on holidays.

5.6.5 Work Ethos

All participants feel they have inherited a strong work ethic as a result of their early exposure to the family business. Participant F1 states that she would work "any hours" as she was accustomed to working long hours in the family business. When participant B1 was asked to consider what he has learned from his family business, he proudly stated:

"Without a shadow of doubt in the world I have work ethos in my back pocket, I could have worked twelve hours a day, it would not have bothered me in the slightest because that's my father's strength, he can work and work and work, so I have a strong work ethic, and when you're in a field at eight o'clock in the morning at the age of twelve picking potatoes, and you know I never had a problem with hard work."

Participant C1 too identifies work ethic as something she has acquired from observing her mother working in the bed and breakfast and from meeting the expectations of her role in the family business:

"I'd say definitely working in the family business, in that whole environment, that gave me like work ethos, and a sense of hard work."

Participant E2 points out that her sense of work ethic did not become evident until she worked outside of the family business:

"I've been told I have a strong work ethic as well, I'm not afraid of hard work at all. I think it's because in the family business I could just be told to do anything and I would do it, then when I went to the hotel I think they found that a bit weird, like there'd be days when my manager wouldn't be there and there might be a light bulb needs to be changed and I'd nearly practically electrocute myself trying to change it or you know little things like that you'd just get on with it and just do it, I think that's kind of the mannerism I have I just get on with it and do it."

When participant E1 worked outside of the family business, her work ethic was also recognized, both in terms the number of hours worked and the speed she worked at. She feels this is almost a habit from her family business experience. Participant A2 is accustomed to working long hours in the family business also:

"I suppose I'm a workaholic. I'd probably be working, what time is it now, it's seven o' clock, I left the house, it's a twelve hour day today, it would always be a ten or twelve hour day , it might be longer and I suppose weekends I'd work two/three hours each day, Saturday and Sunday."

Our findings suggest that NxG realize the acquisition of human capital in the family business context when they work elsewhere or upon deep reflection. This will be developed further in the discussion section.

5.6.6 How do next generation family members learn in a family business?

The process of learning in the family business context is a key finding of this study. All NxG, on reflection, recognize the skills they have acquired which they attribute to their family business experience. However, few participants recall *how* they learned them. Participant F2 realizes that she knows many aspects of the family business but is unaware of how she knows what she knows:

"I just know certain things. I wouldn't be able to point back where I learned half the things or where it came from but exactly I know it's from working, not even working but just half the time sitting around the table at home."

This lack of awareness or sense of sub consciousness was accentuated by the method employed in the study - the Critical Incident Technique. As participants were asked to recall learning experiences and to focus on key learning incidents, most participants struggled to recall specific incidents. When participant A1 was asked to recall when he learned a first task in the business he was amused as he claims there was never a first task, you just did it, without realizing. He refers to learning in the family business as learning "by osmosis";

"It was the only work experience I had, so you know and I was always a problem filling out a form because the question of what's your experience and I well I sort of just grew up there [laughs] you know, education by osmosis . . ."

Learning for next generation family members in the family business appears to be a natural process for next generation family members, of which they are not strongly aware of. This was strongly reflected in the data. Both participants C1 and C2 recall dealing with suppliers and upon reflection realize they just knew what to do, and cannot remember being shown how:

"They'd all come in to deliver and to be paid and you'd have to check off the list, and check they were there, so you were learning about stock control, quality control and all that, and you didn't realize it, you know."

C1 (in the quote above) refers to the passive learning which occurred, and recalls all she learned, almost naturally without realizing it. All participants recognize how much they know, but have difficulty recognizing how they know what they know. Participant A1 describes the learning process as 'natural'. NxG learn by doing in the family business context, without exhibiting an awareness of it. They learn by doing and by participating in the family business.

Kolb (1984) describes the process of learning as a cycle of experience. He claims that individuals gather information, reflect on the information, experience a phase of abstract conceptualization, followed by active experimentation. For NxG the gathering of information occurs in their social interactions with the family business. Participants recall the discussions and conversations they participated in as a family, in relation to the family business. NxG reflect on the information gathered while participating in and experiencing the family business. The phase of abstract conceptualization is when NxG make sense of their learning or as Kim (1993) terms it; the acquisition of know-why. NxG in this study claim they don't know how they know what they know. The phase of experimentation is when NxG can produce what they know demonstrating that they know what they know (Argryis, 1993). The nature of learning of NxG in this study is fundamentally a social and natural process.

Based on the data the authors outlined five key ways in which NxG learn in the family business which include; learning as apprenticeship; learning as conversation, learning as natural, learning by doing and learning by experience (see Table 13 for examples of process learning of next generation family members). These processes of learning are reflective of the conceptualization of learning in the organizational learning literature. This will be discussed in greater detail in the analysis and discussion section. These are not exclusive ways of learning for next generation family members as some participants referred to more than one way of learning in the family business but merely the authors' interpretation of the learning process as described by next generation family members in this study. Participants recalled these ways of learning upon deep reflection as even in retrospect, they are unaware of the process of learning in the family business. This will be discussed in more detail in the discussion section.

TABLE 13 The process of learning

Family	Career	Year in FB	Statements re: learning	Categorizations
FAMILY A				
A1	E	8	It's just always been there, it's just like saying can you remember your earliest memory of being at home, there's no kind of like I know, I only remember things when I got into trouble and stuff [laughs] there's like, you know work or any of that sort of stuff, it wasn't work like, you know just one day you know you actually got paid a wage and you got a uniform, something like that I suppose maybe you know what I mean like, the first summer aged 14 or something like that I would have gotten a uniform and a dickey bow or something like that you know what I mean which meant that you were working properly you know what I mean but I do think the fundamental thing though is there is a difference between coming from a business, from a home where people have their own businesses, I mean there is a massive difference, on lots of levels, on the people whose emphasis is massively on education."	Learning as doing Learning as becoming Learning as a natural process/ learning as belonging
A2	S	20	"I just know things, I don't remember learning them . . I suppose it's kind of just do it, don't complain about it, just do it, to go out and work hard and just do it, get it done."	Learning as a natural process/ Learning as belonging
FAMILY B				
B1	S	10	"I would have been involved in everything at the start, you know, like when you think about it now there was kind of development work involved, you know how do we make this? How do we do that? And being there from the start and actually being involved in the process and you know and like anything in the business outside of driving trucks, I've done."	Learning by doing Learning as participation Learning as a natural process
B2	S	20	Ya our focus well from my point of view I'd have a fantastic knowledge of where we made money, where the	Learning by doing (continues)

(TABLE 13 continues)			products came from, what the products are used for, so I've been able to pick different bits and pieces over the last few years, when we saw the downturn coming I brought two new product lines on board, two completely different products to what we've ever done before and they're going really well for us so in that sense I don't think I'd have been able to do that if I had gone to college or if I had done a course, we could have been looking at a wall and going what can we do now but with the experience that I had I was able to do that."	Learning participation as Learning experience as
FAMILY C				
C1	E	5	"So then that really would have been where I'd say I gained a lot of skills and again at the time I wouldn't have recognized but you know you were dealing with customers in a waitressing situation and sometimes they might be upset or angry, you know they mightn't have got what they wanted, so you had to kind of smooth out the rough edges and that type of thing, so that was really good.."	Learning as a natural Process/ learning as belonging Learning by doing
C2	E	7	"We learned so much from Mam, and we just did it you know, we had no idea the grounding it was giving us, I attribute a lot to that experience now, looking back."	Learning by doing Learning as participation
FAMILY D				
D1	SE	17	"I don't think I appreciated how much I learned until I left, I had picked up an awful lot, unknown to myself really."	Learning as a natural process
D2	S	40	"My apprenticeship was all planned, I had input into where I wanted to go but it was all mapped out for me, I learned a lot from the business which stood to me when I worked abroad as part of my training."	Learning by apprenticeship (by doing)
FAMILY E				
E1	S	14	". . . I would have gone in under Yvonne and she would have taught me probably an awful lot more about the managerial end of it and about I suppose the whole aspect of the dry	Learning by apprenticeship (by doing) (continues)

(TABLE 13 continues)			cleaning and pressing and I would have kind of, really it was kind of like an apprenticeship under her is the best way to put it because she knew everything. . . .”	
E2	SE	6 (PT)	“Definitely at dinner time, we used to sit down and have dinner and Dad would be asking how were the figures or was everything ok today, any complaints? You know that kind of way and then it kind of moved on. That was at the start of dinner and then it moved on again.”	Learning as conversation / dialogue
FAMILY F				
F1	SE	6	“I’d work any hours, it doesn’t make any odds to me. It doesn’t make any odds at all, obviously it would drive you nuts when you get a call at 6 or 7 o’clock in the morning but now even if it was a case of having to work during the summer now still it wouldn’t bother me, I am used to hard work as I just did it . . . I know a lot about the business from being involved and even from just being at home.”	Learning by doing Learning as a natural process / learning as belonging
F2	SE	2	“ the earliest memory I have is being in clean up which nobody ever wanted to do but my father used to send us in there because he didn’t want people thinking he was picking favorites . . . I’d just know certain things. I wouldn’t be able to point back where I learned half the stuff or where it came from but exactly I know it’s from working, not even working but just half the time sitting around the table at home.”	Learning by doing Learning as a natural process / learning as belonging Learning as participation
E= Entrepreneur, S= Successor, SE= Salaried employee outside of the family business				

5.6.7 Learning and identity

All participants discussed how their family business learning experiences has shaped their identity. Participants discussed this with reference to their experiences inside and outside of the family business. Participant B1, in a passionate tone describes how he thinks his family business background, and particularly his learning in the family business has shaped his character and identity:

"Well I think it [the family business] probably developed me personally, as you know, if you're being inquisitive about things at an early age you know, you're taking on stuff, this is interesting actually, you're taking on stuff that you a normal 10 or 12 year old wouldn't be taking on . . . ya, you're exposed to stuff beyond your young years possibly, but definitely, it definitely shaped my character no doubt, it definitely probably made me a bit technical mentally watching how things were done and maybe it developed the science part of my head."

B1 links his mindset to what he learned in the family business through practice and in hindsight he is now more aware of how the family business and his participation in the family business has shaped his identity. Participant A1 refers to the different mindset he has as a result of growing up in a family business, which he compares to those who do not come from a family business background;

"I do think the fundamental thing though is there is a difference between coming from a business, from a home where people have their own businesses, I mean there is a massive difference, on lots of levels, but I do think and I believe it very strongly, is I believe that having grown up in your own business or in a business owned by your own family just gives you a completely different mindset day one. . ."

Participant B2, somewhat embarrassingly yet proudly, admits how he has named some of the products lines he has introduced after himself as he identifies with them:

"All of the products I've brought in, I've named them. So because my name is B2, I've started everything with B which is something silly but I know it's there."

As the family business has played such a significant part in participants' lives and from a very early age, what and how they have learned is part of their socialization experience and is linked to who they are. As they have learned, almost naturally, different aspects of the business and have developed certain skills, their experiences in and exposure to the family business has played a role in shaping who they are. All participants realize that they are almost unaware of how they know what they know, but they do feel their knowledge and skills which they have acquired from the business has shaped their mindsets and identities. The next section will discuss the findings of this study.

5.7 Analysis & Discussion

This study sought to discover *what* and *how* do NxG learn? Our findings demonstrate that learning for NxG is a natural process as they learn by participating in the family business. By using the organizational learning literature as a lens to analyse learning in the family business, we have gained a deeper understanding of the learning processes of NxG.

The outcome of learning experiences of next generation family members of this study are codified as; technical skills, people skills, business

development and managerial skills and work ethos. As Kim (1993) signals, the meanings of learning include know how (operational learning) and know why (conceptual learning). Our codification of the learning experiences of NxG can be denoted as operational and conceptual learning. Operational learning is the ability to produce some action. As NxG learned the technical skills of the family business, they were able to clear tables, work on the factory floor, get involved in the day to day labour and actively participate in the family business. Similarly, as NxG developed their people skills in the family business, they were able to serve customers, deal with suppliers and develop their own personal networks. Technical skills and people skills are akin to operational learning and the acquisition of these skills enable the NxG to take action and participate in the family business

Conceptual learning is described by Kim (1993) as the ability to articulate a conceptual understanding of an experience. By discussing their business development skills and their work ethos which NxG of this study attribute to their time spent in the family business, NxG are, on reflection aware of the conceptual knowledge they acquired in the family business. As they make sense of their experiences by both narrating and reflecting on them, they realize the 'know why' they have acquired in the family business. Conceptual learning, as described by participants, includes developing the business, being involved in the strategic direction of the business and learning the work ethos required to drive a business. Argyris (1993) refers to this as when you know what you know.

Our findings of what NxG learn in the family business supports Laband and Lentz's (1990) notion of premarket experience and general business experience (family specific capital) while reinforcing Fairlie & Robb's depiction of the family business as a unique learning context. Although NxG attribute these skills to their participation through practice in their family business, the findings of this study suggest that conceptual learning by next generation family members, depicted as an outcome of learning in this study, is realized when next generation family members work elsewhere or participate in another community of practice. This finding challenges Lentz and Laband's (1990) assertion that the value of family specific capital can only be realized by those who remain in the family business. NxG realize the value of their family specific capital even if they choose a career outside of the family business. In fact, this study reveals that awareness of human capital acquired in the family business context is heightened when NxG participate in other communities of practice.

This study determines that the process of learning in the family business context is both action and practice based (Argyris and Schon, 1978). This is evident from our classification of the learning process (Table 13). All components of Wenger's theory of social learning are inherent in the classification; learning as doing, learning as experience, learning as belonging and learning as becoming. The process of NxG learning appears to be natural as they belong to the family business. The active nature of learning as participation

and by doing is reflected in the data. For NxG, they learn through practice by participating in the overlapping communities of the family and the business. Therefore, their learning takes place in the same context in which it is applied and is situated (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Brown and DuGuid (1991:41) refer to this as “learning-in-working” which captures the essence of learning for NxG. Earlier learning experiences of NxG, as narrated in this study, are reflective of apprenticeship style training.

Learning from experience or experiential learning is another way in which NxG learn. As referred to earlier, Kolb (1984)’s cycle of experience includes four main stages; the gathering of information, reflection, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. NxG gather information in the family business as they participate socially and practically in the family business. The importance of the role of dialogue in the learning process has been highlighted by Schein (1983), and NxG gather information from conversations in both the family and the family business. Bouwen and Hosking (2000) too refer to learning as conversation, which suggests a dialogue between more than one party. Upon deep reflection and by discussing their experiences, NxG become aware of the process of their learning. Learning as experience is too inherent in Wenger’s view as he pertains it is through experience we give meaning to our learning.

Once the information has been gathered, NxG reflect on the experience phase. The next phase of abstract conceptualization is the stage in which NxG make sense of what they have learned. As Gherardi (2000:214) states “the conclusion is that in general we do not have focal awareness of the instruments over which we have gained mastery”. The authors interpret that NxG too suffer a lack of awareness of what and how they learn in the family business. The final phase in Kolb’s (1984) cycle of experience is of active experimentation, where NxG practice their new learning. This study revealed that it is during the active experimentation phase, in another context, that NxG realize how much they learned in the family business.

Participation through practice in the family business is natural for NxG as is their learning, as they are members of their family business from birth and norms and routines are well established. As they interact with the family business on a daily basis, learning in this context is habitual and part of daily life. These social interactions are inherent in the process of learning interpreted by the authors as learning by conversation. Our interpretation of what and how next generation family members learn suggests that the knowledge acquired by next generation family members, through the process of learning, can be described as tacit knowledge. As defined earlier, tacit knowledge is knowledge which cannot be easily articulated and consists of personal beliefs, values and perspectives that individuals take for granted (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Synonyms used to describe tacit knowledge include ‘subjective knowledge’ (Popper, 1972); intuitive knowledge, non-verbalized or non-verbalizable knowledge (Hedlund, 1994) and know-how (Corsini, 1987). Tacit knowledge is often viewed as a capability (Ambrosini, 1995) or a form of competence (Badarco, 1991) , which requires the active participation of the knower in the

knowing process (Spender, 1995). However, to date the family business literature has viewed tacit knowledge as a strategic resource for the family business (Cabrera-Suarez et al., 2001) as opposed to considering tacit knowledge as a capability or competence of the NxG. While Lee, Lim and Lim (2003) have recognized the advantage of the idiosyncratic knowledge of the successor in the succession process, the family business field has remained relatively silent on the importance or implications of this knowledge for NxG who are not involved in the succession process. We pertain this to be a substantial gap to be further exploited which we will discuss in suggestions for future research.

Wenger (1998) posits that participation in communities of practice shapes not only what we do, but also who we are. He perceives the process of learning to involve learning an identity and describes learning as a vehicle for the development and transformation of identity. Learning as becoming is the act of identifying. Our study demonstrates that NxG do learn an identity in the family business as their learning experiences shape who they are and their mindsets. According to Gecas (1982) identity refers to various meanings attached to oneself both by self and others. While recognizing that the effect of each of these two factors will differ between individuals over time, Albert (1977) considers individual identity to depend upon one's personal identity and the identity that is shaped from one's relationships with others. This perspective is particularly apt for NxG as their participation in the family business is based on kinship relations.

Kenny, Whittle & Willmott (2011) claim that the concept of identity helps us, as individuals, to appreciate how our ways of making sense of ourselves and others are influenced by social processes. Wenger (1997:145) warns of the dangers of perceiving identity as individual and claims the concept of identity "serves as a pivot between the social and the individual. . . it is the social, cultural and the historical with a human face." The concept of identity is presented in this study as a social phenomenon. Lave and Wenger (1999:53) claim "learning implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations. To ignore this aspect of learning is to overlook the fact that learning involves the construction of identities." Lave and Wenger (1991:115) argue that learning and a sense of identity are inseparable and are "aspects of the same phenomenon."

In addition to answering our research questions, our interpretation of NxG's experiences of learning depict learning as becoming (Wenger 1998). All participants of the study recognize how their participation in the family business has shaped their identity. Identity is "*a layering of events of participation and reification by which our experience and its social interpretation inform each other*" (Wenger, 1998:151). The construction of identities in the family business context is a complex process as NxG become who they are by learning by doing and by interpreting these experiences. Although the focus of this study is not on identity construction of NxG, for some next generation family members they did not appreciate or realize or make sense of their family business learning

experiences (meaning, practice, identity and community) until they participated in another community of practice. Upon reflection, next generation family members became aware of the link between their learning experiences and their identities.

The method employed in this study, the Critical Incident Technique, endorsed our findings in relation to how NxG learn in the family business. As the researchers probed participants to recall significant learning events in the family business, the struggle to recall specific incidents highlighted how natural an environment the family business is for NxG to learn in. The method, unintentionally, remedied our analysis of learning as natural in the family business.

5.8 Conclusion, Limitations, Implications & Suggestions for future research

The study concludes that learning in the family business is both a social (Wenger, 1998) and natural process, achieved by participation in the every day practices and social interactions of both the family and the business system. As the family and business systems are perceived as overlapping communities of practices, next generation family members can learn via participation and experience in both communities of practice. The family business context represents a unique learning opportunity for NxG, which at times is not realized until they engage with other communities of practice. NxG experience operational and conceptual learning in the family business. Their personal experiences of the family business are inherently linked to their identity. Identity, in this study, is conceptualized as a social phenomena and is linked to learning. For NxG, the concept of identity is a lived experience and is social, cultural and historical as advocated by Wenger (1998). Learning in the family business context impacts the construction of identity for NxG.

Practical implications of our study relate to the development of NxG. As learning is deemed in this study as an almost natural process, NxG are unaware as to the depth and breadth of their knowledge in relation to their family business. This may embody a barrier to entry for the next generation to the career path of succession due to the dearth of focal awareness of what they know. Additionally, this knowledge should be harnessed and denoted as career related human capital for NxG as they embark on careers either inside or outside of the family business. The heightening of this awareness would result in the recognition of the family business as a vehicle for development of NxG careers as proposed by Chua et al. (1999).

Adopting a learning lens to make sense of NxG experiences in the family business offers any researcher a plethora of topics as points of departure. The construction of identities of next generation family members deems further research. The process of identity construction has been recognized both in the identity literature (Ibarra, 2005) and the family business literature as ripe area

for development. Exploration of how next generation family members construe their identities is beyond the realms of this paper but represents a future research opportunity. Further investigation into learning in the family business is required. While the perception of the family business as a community of practice sheds new light on what and how next generation family members learn by participating in this community of practice, an exploration of participation and modes of belonging may shed some new light on current family business research topics such as succession and continuity (Hamilton, 2011).

Organizations learn through the experience and actions of others (Argyris and Schon, 1978). While the focus of this study is on the learning of NxG, it would be interesting to focus on organizational learning. As participants of this study are both internal and external actors (some have careers in the family business, while others participate peripherally), whether organizational learning, through individuals, results in single or double loop learning during times of change (e.g succession) in family business would make an interesting research avenue to travel down.

Practical implications of our study relate to the development of NxG. As all next generation family members acquire tacit knowledge by participating in the family business, including those not involved in the succession process, how this knowledge impacts their career development is significant. Practitioners need to heighten the awareness of the unique learning opportunity which the family business represents for the next generation.

6 IDENTIFYING THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIOEMOTIONAL WEALTH: INSIGHTS FROM A CAREERS PERSPECTIVE

6.1 Introduction

The pursuit of non financial goals by family business owners is one of the fundamental premises in family business research (Chua, Chrisman, & Sharma, 1999; Zellweger & Astrachan, 2008). Socioemotional wealth (hereafter SEW), defined as “the non financial aspects of the firm that meets the family’s affective needs such as identity, the ability to exercise family influence and the perpetuation of the family dynasty” (Gomez-Mejia, Haynes, Nunez-Nickel, Jacobson & Moyano-Fuentes, 2007:106) has recently been proposed as a potential dominant paradigm in the family business field (Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012). The aim of this chapter is to enrich our current understanding of the formation, dynamics and implications of socioemotional wealth in family businesses using an interpretive qualitative approach (Cope, 2010; Hall & Nordqvist, 2008; Nordqvist, Hall, & Melin, 2009) which focuses on critical career experiences of next generation family members (hereafter NxG).

According to the SEW construct, as well as being motivated by non financial goals, family business owners enjoy non financial benefits which are derived from their ownership status (Zellweger & Dehlen, 2011). To date the literature on the SEW of organizational ownership has focused on the non economic utility which family members derive from corporate control (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2007). While both relevant and essential to the development of the construct of SEW, these studies do not inform the fundamental assumptions of the construct nor its formation. As Zellweger and Dehlen (2011) point out the SEW literature must reach beyond its current status (see overview of SEW literature below) and explain the varying sources and degrees of SEW. This article aims to address this gap and endeavors to advance our understanding of the SEW construct.

The definition of a family business for this study is “a business governed or managed with the intention to shape and pursue the vision of the business held by a dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family or a small number of families in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations of the family/families” (Chua, Chrisman, & Sharma, 1999, p.25). This chosen definition recognizes the potential impact of the NxG on family business continuity. Chua et al. (1999) view the family business as a vehicle to educate the NxG for careers that include involvement both in and outside the family business. The involvement of the NxG in the family business is a career decision for the individual. However, career experiences of NxG are relatively unexplored. The research question of how family business ownership affects the career experiences of NxG resulted in some interesting insights into the construct of SEW from a careers agenda. All twelve family members in the study, regardless of their career fate, worked at some stage in the family business, be it in an informal or casual capacity or in a more formal manner. As family members share similar socialization experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), they too referred to the emotional attachment they have to the business and their sense of identification with the business, even if they chose an alternative career path. This study proposes that the SEW construct extends beyond family ‘principals’ and is relevant for all family members. NxG, including those who do not choose a career in the family business, too enjoy the non financial benefits derived from the family business, regardless of their ownership status.

Exploring the SEW construct through a careers lens also allows us to broaden our understanding of the formation of SEW, an avenue of research called for by Berrone et al. (2012). This study contributes to our understanding of both the formation and implications of SEW which is relevant for all family members. The careers perspective angle has also enabled us to incorporate both individual and group levels of analysis. Sharma (2004) recognizes the importance of family members both as an internal stakeholder and as an individual level of analysis in family business research. Although this study explores the individual subjective career experiences of family members, the individual family member is characterized as a member of the family as an ownership group as implored by Astrachan (2010). This family group perspective was facilitated by interviewing two family members of the same family business. As Distelberg and Sorenson (2009) have highlighted, although family members are individuals, the individual level is not independent of the group and the group is not independent of the family business system. Therefore, by qualitatively inquiring into the career experiences of two family members of the same family business system, a group perspective is adopted. In addition to the interviews, public information about the family businesses was consulted to broaden our understanding of the family businesses of the study. Adopting a group perspective responds to appeals by James, Jennings and Breitkieuz (2012) and Dyer (2003) to incorporate more family studies in family business research. Echoing Zahra and Sharma (2004:58), if the focus of

family business research is on the “reciprocal influence of family and business”, it is essential that family business research includes more family studies as opposed to over-relying on business perspectives (James et al., 2012). The career lens has facilitated the investigation of a family specific construct from a non business perspective.

Our research also addresses a request for more qualitative inquiry in the construct of SEW. Berrone et al. (2012, p. 11) stated that qualitative approaches, the case study strategy in particular, may be more apt “for gaining a more profound understanding of certain situations involving the SEW arguments.” As Hall and Nordqvist (2008) have argued interpretive qualitative research is particularly apt when the aim of the research is the generation of new or extended conceptual understanding. Although Handler (1989) points to an abundance of case study research in the family business field, Nordqvist, Hall and Melin (2009) have appealed for more qualitative and interpretive research in the field which can stand on its own, is rigorous and can generate theory. Sharma (2004) also made a request for “deeper insights” in advancing the field. Our aim is to theoretically advance the construct of SEW.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first section reviews the limited literature base on socioemotional wealth. As this construct is relatively ‘new’, few studies have addressed the construct and to our knowledge, no research to date has qualitatively investigated SEW. The theoretical overview is followed by a description of the research approach and methods used. Key findings in relation to the dynamics, formation and implications of socioemotional wealth are then presented followed by an analysis and interpretation of these results. The discussion section builds on the findings and analysis by presenting a dynamic model of the dimensions of SEW. Implications, limitations and suggestions for future research conclude the chapter.

6.2 Literature Review

As outlined in the introduction, SEW has recently been proposed as the potential dominant paradigm in the family business field due to its uniqueness to family businesses (Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012). Rooted in behavioral agency theory, the SEW model assumes that family principals want to protect their SEW, even if it results in financial loss as they enjoy non financial utility as owners of a family business. According to Gomez-Mejia et al. (2007), the goal of family businesses and their owners is to protect their SEW, even at the risk of financial loss. The SEW model proposes that family businesses are typically motivated by and committed to the protection of their SEW, and this is a non financial goal of family owners (Berrone et al., 2012). SEW has been postulated as a primary reference point for strategic decision making in family businesses and one that is not driven by economic logic (Zelleweger & Dehlen, 2011).

Recently, in the family business field, the concept of SEW has gathered momentum with Berrone et al. (2012) introducing the dimensions of SEW, labeled FIBER in a move to conceptually advance the SEW model. The SEW construct is an all encompassing approach that builds on former family business studies and has been described as “homegrown” (Berrone et al., 2012: 2). It has shed light on how family businesses differ from non family businesses, in relation to the decision making process in family firms.

The concept of SEW was first introduced to the family business field in 2007 when Gomez-Mejia et al. found that family principals tend to engage in risky economic behavior in order to preserve their SEW. This was evidenced in their study of family owned olive oil mills in the south of Spain who preferred to remain independent as opposed to becoming a member of a cooperative, with significant benefits for the business in order to retain control of the firm and to protect their SEW. Berrone, Cruz, Gomez-Mejia and Larraza-Kintana (2010) demonstrated that as the pursuit and preservation of socioemotional wealth is a priority for family businesses, having a family CEO does not significantly improve the family firm’s advantage regarding environmental performance. This suggests that controlling families may monitor the decisions of CEOs to guarantee the preservation and protection of SEW.

Stockmans, Lybaert and Voordeckers (2010) investigated the preservation of SEW as a motive for earnings management in private family firms by considering the generational stage, the management team and the CEO position. According to Stockmans et al. (2010) when private family firms perform poorly on the financial front, they will engage in upward earnings management to avoid protective measures taken by nonfamily stakeholders.

Zellweger and Dehlen (2011) propose that SEW is reflected in the perceived value of the ownership stake by family owners and accounts for bias as owners seek compensation for the loss of SEW. Cruz, Justo and DeCastro (2012), integrating SEW and family embeddedness perspectives, analyzed the effect of family employment on the performance of micro and small enterprises. They concluded that when micro and small enterprises employ family members, the benefits derived from socioemotional endowment are enhanced and the opportunity costs associated with employing family members are reduced.

More recent studies have investigated the link between SEW and proactive shareholder engagement. Cennamo, Berrone, Cruz and Gomez-Mejia (2012) argue that family businesses are more prone to adopting proactive shareholder engagement (hereafter PSE) activities as by doing so, they enhance their SEW. However, Kellermanns, Eddleston, and Zellweger (2012) highlight the dark side of SEW and warn that SEW can also be viewed as a driver of self serving behavior which may lead or explain why some family firms place family needs above stakeholder needs. For some family members, the dimensions of SEW may be seen as an emotional burden. Kellermanns et al. (2012) conclude that the dimensions of SEW can be positively and negatively valenced. Deephouse and Jaskiewicz (2013), in their study of reputations of

family firms pertain that heightened identification with the family business may motivate family members to pursue a favorable reputation as it enhances their SEW.

DeTienne and Chirico (2013), in their study of exit strategies in family firms, considered the role of SEW as a driver of the threshold of performance. They conclude that increased levels of SEW affects exit decisions within family businesses. DeTienne and Chirico allude to the negative or dark side of SEW and suggest that a family's SEW can cause owners to feel locked in to the business. Their findings are important for this study as we consider whether increased levels of SEW impact career fates of NxG.

The impact of a family or non family CEO on SEW has also been considered in the literature. Sanjay, Voordeckers, Van Gils and Van de Heuvel (2012), examine the relationship between the family CEO's empathy level and the salience of SEW in a family business in the presence of outside directors. They contend that higher the level of empathy of the family CEO results in a higher emphasis or importance placed on family oriented goals and values and SEW. Naldi, Cennamo, Corbetta and Gomez-Mejia (2013) question whether choices aimed at preserving SEW represent an asset or a liability in family businesses. They attest that having a family member as CEO allows the family to manage the business in a particular way to preserve SEW. Naldi et al. (2013) claim that a contingency approach, which identifies environmental conditions under which SEW-based choices, may enhance or hinder performance.

LeBreton-Miller and Miller (2013) argue that the nature of family participation in the business at the different stages of its evolutionary life cycle impacts the SEW of family members. They propose that the dimensions of SEW as proposed by Berrone et al. (2012) can shape the opportunities and challenges facing a board. Their conclusions are relevant to our study which features both founder family firms and cousin consortium.

The SEW model is still in its infancy (Gomez-Mejia, Berrone, Cruz & DeCastro, 2011). However, as a construct SEW is all encompassing and acts as an umbrella construct for other family business constructs including familiness (Habbershon & Williams, 1999) and family capital (Danes, Stafford, Haynes, & Amarapurkar, 2009). This is evidenced by the dimensions of SEW recently introduced by Berrone et al. (2012) labeled FIBER. The first dimension family influence and control refers to the control and influence held by family owners. The second dimension relates to family member's identification with the firm. The identity of a family business owner is closely intertwined with the business. Binding social ties, the third dimension of SEW refers to the family businesses social relationships and its social capital. The fourth dimension, emotional attachment adheres to the role of emotions in family businesses. The final dimension of FIBER is the renewal of family bonds through dynastic succession and refers to the intention of the family to transfer the business to the next generation. The findings and discussion explain these dimensions in greater detail and in the context of the cases researched.

However, as SEW refers to the non financial benefits associated with being a family business owner, by qualitatively exploring the career experiences of NxG, a non performance aspect, and using SEW as a “frame of interpretation” (Nordqvist et al., 2009:299) some interesting findings have arisen in relation to the dynamics, formation, and implications of SEW.

6.3 Research Methodology

As chapter three has outlined the research approach and methodological choices of this study, this section will outline why the authors consider this approach to be insightful into the construct of SEW. As this is the first study to qualitatively investigate the construct of SEW, an understudied phenomenon (Berrone et al., 2012), a grounded theory approach is apt (Charmaz, 2006). Berrone et al. (2012) argue that case studies, although not a measurement technique, may be informative and may shed some light on the different dimensions of SEW and how they interact in the decision making process. Furthermore, as case studies may demand theoretical or purposeful sampling (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin 2009), they may be appropriate in understanding and extending relationships between constructs.

The study of SEW using a careers perspective has a number of advantages. As the concept of career is procesual in nature (Herriot, 2001) and evolves over a life time, some interesting insights into the dynamics of SEW over time have arisen. Secondly, as the construct of SEW is relatively new, and the dimensions are somewhat intangible, discussing next generation family members’ careers has illuminated what the dimensions signify for participants of this study. This will be discussed in greater detail in the findings section.

6.4 Findings

Our findings relate to the main contribution of our research to the dialogue on SEW, namely relating to the dynamics, formation and implications of the construct. Each section, which discusses the findings is followed by an analysis and interpretation of the findings.

6.4.1 Family business membership as a precondition to commitment to SEW

By relaying critical incidents in their careers, NxG demonstrated their commitment to the preservation of SEW, regardless of their career fates. The experiences of participants indicate that despite their career choice or ownership status, protecting the family’s SEW remains a goal for them, even if they choose a career outside of the family business. Although only five participants (B1, B2, E1, D2, A2) in the sample pursued a career in the family business and are financial owners, all participants are motivated and committed

to the protection of their SEW. The data illustrates that it is difficult for participants to verbalize the source of this commitment as in the words of participant A1:

"It [the business] has always been there, it's like asking me to remember my earliest memory of being at home."

For participants, the source of their commitment to the family business stems from their own involvement with the family business as financial owners (B1, B2, E1, D2, A2). For others, it stems solely from their experiences of growing up in and participating in the family business and working there part time or informally (A1, C1, C2, D1, E2, F1, F2). In addition to their experiences of working and growing up in the family business, all participants referred to the hard work of their parents they observed which also fuels their commitment to the protection of the family's SEW. Participant F2, a qualified solicitor who currently works two days a week in her family business in an assisting capacity emotionally describes the importance of the family business to her:

"The family business is very important to me. I would be as devastated as them (the family) if anything happened to the business, because they have worked so hard. I'm not doing it for the money by any means so in that sense it wouldn't affect me at all, but because I've seen them work so hard for so many years it would just be terrible".

All participants referred to the shared history they have with the business both as family members and family owners which seems to have a particular bearing on their attachment to the business. Participant E2, who works part time in the family business and whose career lies in the music industry claims she would be really upset if anything happened to the business and describes the business as a "family heirloom". Participant F1, reflecting on a critical incident in her career, when she left the family business having as Sales and Marketing manager for six years to pursue a career in education, describes how she still arranges the family business's products while shopping in stores to protect the family business's image.

Participants A1, B1 and B2 highlight how difficult it is for them to recall memories of their families, without some aspect of the business emerging in those memories. Participant D2, whose family business is in its fifth generation claims the desire to protect the business is "almost in your genes." All participants remain committed to the protection of the family's SEW, even those who no longer work in the business. Moreover, all participants are committed to the continuity and success of the business demonstrated by the words of participant E2: "I would die if anything happened to it (the family business)". As family members, all participants have a vested interest in the family business which is non financial in nature. This interest is deeply rooted in their socialization processes which includes exposure to both the family and business systems.

6.4.2 Family business membership as a precondition to commitment to SEW: Analysis & interpretation

The non financial aspects of family ownership that result from family ties in the organization have been addressed in the family business literature (see Schulze, Lubatkin, & Dino, 2003; Stafford & Tews, 2009; Taguiri & Davis, 1992), now coined socioemotional wealth (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2007). To date the SEW model has stipulated that family owners are motivated by and committed to the preservation of their SEW (Berrone et al., 2012) referring to the non financial aspects of family ownership. However, it is clear from the empirical evidence in this study that the goal of protecting SEW is not confined or limited to family members involved in the business as inferred by the model to date. The scope of the SEW model is more extensive than originally indicated.

For the family members in this study, all of who cannot be described as family principals, the business has become “an integral and inescapable part of their lives” (Berrone et al, 2012, p.3). Even those who are not involved nor have a financial stake in the business, are committed to the preservation of the family’s socioemotional wealth. The source of this commitment is tied to the deep emotional attachment to the family business expressed by participants. Berrone et al (2012, p.87) captures the essence of SEW for family members when he states that “the value of socioemotional wealth to the family is more intrinsic, it’s preservation becomes an end in itself and it is anchored at a deep psychological level among family owners whose identity is inextricably tied to the organization.”

The data illustrates that family business ownership is not a prerequisite to family members goal of the protection of SEW. Participants’ descriptions of their commitment to SEW illustrate that the construct of SEW can be described as a family construct. It appears to be dynamic and evolves and changes in intensity over time. Participant B1 describes how at a younger age, he never considered the family business to be important, yet he changed his career path later on in his life when the family business needed him:

“I worked there because I had to . . . I never ever thought I’d end up working here. . . but then one day I couldn’t shut him up and he asked me would I come back and I said look sure I’ll come home and try, see what you need, see what needs to be done”.

When the first author asked participant B1 if he answered yes immediately to his father’s question, he said yes, he did not even think about it because the family business needed him. Participant F2 recalls hating having to work in the family business when she was younger as her father insisted she and her sister do the ‘worst’ jobs, in an effort to ensure non family employees did not consider them to be shown preferential treatment as family members. However, in hindsight, she now views this positively as she claims she’ll do any job now.

The nature of family participation in the business at different stages of its evolutionary cycle, as suggested by Le-Breton Miller and Miller (2013) does

impact the degrees of SEW of family members. For example, in our sample of family firms in which the family founder remains involved (family businesses B, E and F), family members possess high levels of SEW. Family members of cousin consortium in our sample (family business D) demonstrate varying levels of SEW in comparison with the family businesses in earlier stages of their life cycle.

6.4.3 The dynamics of SEW - Emotional attachment as the foundation and the role of human capital in the formation

SEW as a construct is multidimensional. Berrone et al. (2012) claim there are five main dimensions to SEW, which are derived from previous research in the family business field, denoted FIBER. These dimensions include family influence and control, family member's identification with the firm, binding social ties, emotional attachment and renewal of family bonds through dynastic succession. From the current SEW literature, it is unclear as to whether some of the dimensions of SEW are more intense or significant than others. The data illustrates that the dimensions are connected and interdependent in the construct of SEW. The experiences of participants also illustrate that the intensity of the dimensions change and evolve over time as family members experience the family business in different ways (see Table 14).

All participants described an awareness of the business from a very young age. For participant E1, a critical incident in her career is her earliest memory of the family business when she was three years old:

"My earliest memory of the business is when I was in the Old Square and I was sitting on the stairs listening to Dad talking to customers, doing the whole sales talk, he used to tell me to sit on the third step from the top. I was allowed to listen so that's what I did."

As family members, all participants agree they are *emotionally attached* to the business and some even pondered how they could not be. Participant D1 describes his sense of emotional attachment as a "*yearning*" for the business. For participant B1, his emotional attachment to the business is akin to his emotional attachment to his family. For some participants, the intensity of their emotional attachment appears to deepen over time as they identified themselves more with the business. Participant B2 entered his family business formally after school. As he gained more responsibility, he felt he became part of the business which heightened his sense of emotional attachment:

"When I left school and started in the business, I did everything, then I took over more of the marketing and then I really got into it, I developed products that I felt were almost a part of me . . . yes I do identify myself with the business but that took a number of years for me to realize."

Participants described how their sense of identification with the family business deepened as they became more emotionally attached, via their exposure to the business. This exposure took a number of forms. Some participants referred to

what they learned about the business around the table at home in an informal setting whilst other participants referred to the skills and knowledge they acquired whilst working in the business, from a young age. As they learned more about the business and gained some responsibility in the business – even on a part time basis, their sense of identification with business was strengthened. Participant E2 positively highlights how she felt when a customer informed her that someone had recommended her [the business]:

“. . . people are coming in and saying a person recommended me , it's nice to hear people are recommending you.”

TABLE 14 Dimensions of SEW vocalised by participants

P	SEW Dimensions	Data
FAMILY A		
A1	F:	<i>“I am still asked, I can't pinpoint specific incidents where I am asked but I know we all get together and things just get answered.”</i>
A2	F:	<i>“ I would have a lot of influence in terms of decision making and where the farm is going, new ideas, yes, I do.”</i>
A1	I:	<i>“Yes, I do identify myself with the family business, and it has helped me a lot”</i>
A2	I:	<i>“It's my livelihood, it's my life, yes I do see it as part of me.”</i>
A1	B:	<i>“It was great being able to use the family name on our products, and use all our contacts, it really helped in the beginning.”</i>
A2	B:	<i>“We have a lot of contacts in a lot of different fields, as a farmer I don't need to use too many of them but in the hotel side of the business, it's very important”.</i>
A1	E:	<i>“I suppose I never thought about it like that, but yes I suppose I am, I feel it has really set me off on the right foot in life.”</i>
A2	E:	<i>“I would describe myself as being emotionally attached to the business, too attached some might say.”</i>
A1	R:	<i>“We're just a family of people who don't even probably understand working for other people, so yes I think we will always work together.”</i>
A2	R:	<i>“Well, I'm the successor to the farm and both businesses rely on each other so yes, I do want it to survive and be passed down.”</i>
FAMILY B		
B1	F1	<i>“Since I've returned to the business absolutely, I did discuss things with my</i>

		<i>father before I came back but that was more giving advice."</i>
B2	F:	<i>"I suppose every big decision I was definitely involved in, even as a teenager thinking of and bringing in new product lines."</i>
B1	I:	<i>"Now I identify myself with the family business and it has our name, but I didn't always."</i>
B2	I:	<i>"I've always felt the business has been part of me and vice versa."</i>
B1	B:	<i>"I would have used contacts of my father prior to returning to the business, he has a lot of contact he has built up over the years."</i>
B2	B:	<i>"Yes well we still have customers and suppliers who will only deal with us because they're used to dealing with us and they know that we're reliable and customer service is big, my father's name is still very important in the business."</i>
B1	E:	<i>"If I wasn't emotionally attached, I don't think I would have left my other job as the drop of a hat to return."</i>
B2	E:	<i>"I would be attached, I'm definitely involved . . .but again from the emotional attachment point of view, all of the products I've brought in I've named them. So because my name is X, I've started everything with the first letter of my name, which is something silly but I know it's there."(continues)</i>
B1	R:	<i>"It's myself and my two brothers at the moment and we are going well, even though this is a challenging time. They taught me a lot when I returned and now that we've all found our place we work away. We have our family meetings and we are all heading in the same direction."</i>
B2	R:	<i>"Well now it's just survival, the next two years probably is going to be survival, it's going to be the hardest ever, so if we make it through the next six months, the next two years, I think we can go booming again, you know we have a lot of plans in the pipeline, we have our heads screwed on I (continues) think and of course we would like to pass it on."</i>
FAMILY C		
C1	F:	<i>"Do you know we were involved in a lot, when I look back and think about it, we really were."</i>
C2	F:	<i>"Mam included us in a lot of decisions about the business, menus, opening hours, everything really."</i>
C1	I:	<i>"I do identify myself with the business and running my own business I see how our family business has made me who I am."</i>
C2	I:	<i>"It definitely has had a bearing on who I am. . . absolutely."</i>
C1	B:	<i>"My husband too is from a family business and between both families we have a lot of contacts, for years now."</i>
C2	B:	<i>"We had a lot of contacts through Mam and Dad, through his farm. (continues)"</i>

C1	(TABLE 14 continues) B:	<i>"I have very fond memories of us working together, and it really has made me who I am."</i>
C2	E:	<i>"I am emotionally attached to what it has taught me and grateful."</i>
C1	R:	<i>"My sister's family are running it now and we do hope it will continue as we all worked so hard at it."</i>
C2	R:	<i>"As we all contributed it would be nice to see it survive."</i>
FAMILY D		
D1	F:	<i>"There was a certain amount I was involved in, which we would discuss and I would be asked my opinion about, I was the creative one so that was the area I was most influential I think."</i>
D2	F:	<i>"Well in my role as Chairman I did exert influence but even before I got to that level, I was able to influence the business in other ways. I was the first family member to introduce a non family managing director which totally changed the direction of the business."</i>
D1	I:	<i>"Well having the family name and being in the same industry does and they are always in the background you know, in what, in the media business and I was always kind of rubbing shoulders with them at some stages or another, so yes I do identify myself with them."</i>
D2	I:	<i>"When it comes to identity, I do identify myself with the business and I see the benefits, getting involved in family business center, I wouldn't have been able to do that if it wasn't for my involvement in a family business obviously and all the lecturing and the phone call from the guy in a wealth management company just now and writing a book, I wouldn't have been able to do any of that if I didn't have the family business as the foundation."</i>
D1	B:	<i>"Up here it was great, I mean the family as a group always had a great name in Dublin, especially in my father's day, but there was always a kind of a family business idea about the family business and a very warm kind of reception from the ad agencies about the family, our contacts got me in the door certainly but once you got in the door you had to do the job as well so I certainly used it. . . . But because I've stayed in the industry the name and reputation is definitely an advantage."</i>
D2	B	<i>"Because we've been in the business for so long, we have a lot of connections, both in Ireland and outside. That was how I was able to go abroad for my apprenticeship."</i>
D1	E:	<i>". . . but I suppose they mightn't have had the same yearning as I have about the place, I mean my brother and myself have joked before saying I have more of yearning for the place than he has, and I know what he means because I'm just into newspapers, I love it and he is as well but he's always had to be."</i>
D2	E:	<i>"As a business I am emotionally attached to it, not as much as you might think but I am emotionally attached to it, much more emotionally attached to what the business has brought me if I'm to be honest, much more attached to my involvement in the community, I mean I don't think I'd have been (continues)"</i>

(TABLE 14 continues)		<i>half involved in any of the stuff that I've been involved in if I wasn't X from X".</i>
D1	R:	<i>"So I suppose what's happened in TCH as well since this year and with the managing director leaving and the whole newspaper industry in flux, I'm always looking out to them, I'm always looking at how they're getting on, I'm always watching what they're doing, even talking to them sometimes, where we'd meet ever so often, but I think that it's a terrible shame, I think they could have done an awful lot more with the bloody thing and I'm sitting here watching it and I really want to see it succeed"</i>
D2	R:	<i>"It's not that I have discouraged my children but I recently said to my eldest son that I want you to come in first of all on your terms and I want you to come in when you're ready and I want the company to turn around and say we want him, you know. So, yes I would like to see them involved, but because they want to and not the way it was for me."</i>
FAMILY E		
E1	F:	<i>"I would have gotten involved on a part time basis and full time for summer and I would have had my first kind of managerial I would say run of things when I was about 18 . . . and I can remember Mum and Dad going on holidays and just kind of being told, look you have to run it and whatever so I did. After that I became more involved and I suppose I did start to get involved a bit more."</i>
E2	F:	<i>"My influence involves modern ideas like ringing into radio stations or Facebook or you know trying to encourage Dad to do things and talk to my sister about it because he is not up to date with technology, he just doesn't know, he's more used to putting ads in the newspapers but now it's more about getting online. Ya, I've given as many ideas as I have you know, if I think of anything you know I say it but then apart from that it's between himself and my sister."</i>
E1	I:	<i>"I do see it as part of myself, it's funny because even my husband is sometimes called by our surname!"</i>
E2	I:	<i>"Everybody would associate me with Dad and my sister, as in you're the other daughter or the youngest in the dry cleaners , so yes it would be part of my family."</i>
E1	B:	<i>"That would happen a lot and that's where I would be known as my father's daughter, and the contacts he has when I am going in somewhere selling, absolutely and to be fair when the recession hit we were dealing maybe with five hotels at that stage and now we're dealing with eleven, so literally we went out and we had to sell so I did a lot of that, as in the cold calling but because of Dad's reputation and because of how he deals with things and literally the fact that we could say look we have reference and ring the other hotels and it just led to us getting there, the contracts and it was easier for me to get in the door is the best way to put it, whereas if I didn't have that, that background in a sense of I don't know whether I would have got the contracts so easily. . ."</i>
E2	B:	<i>"I have used some of our family contacts for other jobs and stuff. My father is very well known in the area." . . . (continues)</i>

E1	(TABLE 14 continues) E:	<i>"I've always thought about the business and I enjoy it, and when it came to coming back, my husband was fully supportive, he knew I had it in me and he knew how I felt about the business"</i>
E2	E:	<i>"Oh definitely I think if it closed down tomorrow I'd probably cry. It's kind of like a family heirloom at this point, even in someone else's hands it would be strange, it would take getting used to."</i>
E1	R:	<i>"This is it for me, I'm here for good to carry it on."</i>
E2	R:	<i>"I'd love to see it, I know my sister hopes to take it over and talks about it and talks to Mam and Dad and I'd love to see it go to her and go on."</i>
FAMILY F		
F1	F:	<i>"I suppose when I spent the six years in a management role I really (continues) had some control over different aspects but we were always asked growing up too."</i>
F2	F:	<i>"We're all really fussy eaters in our house, they do soups and salads, they used to make cakes and when they did them he'd always bring them home and get us to try them and see if we liked them or not, he would bring home soups too and we'd all give our opinion on the taste so we did influence what products were sold"</i>
F1	I:	<i>"I do and I'm proud of the business and I do tell everyone when we launch a new product and to watch out for our salads and soups."</i>
F2	I:	<i>"I've been around it for so long I just know everything about it and it's just kind of part of me."</i>
F1	B:	<i>"I know one or two truck drivers that just made it easier to go in and sell to, I know one of them was made manager in Super Valu, and another friend of my Dad, I suppose I don't even think of him as a contact because he was a friend of my dad growing up and he was the manager of the Super Valu in Bearna and it just made it so much easier to go in"</i>
F2	B:	<i>"Because I moved to Dublin, I don't use our contacts that much but I do share my social contacts with the family business, recently I sent a friend who's in marketing to help Mam and Dad. But we have a lot of contacts where the business is."</i>
F1	E:	<i>"I am emotionally attached to the business and it was difficult to leave but the way I did it, over a long period of time, made it easier for everyone."</i>
F2	E:	<i>"People are always going to have comments but if somebody makes a comment that I don't particularly like, if they say oh you're doing that wrong then like defensive and I'll say no we're not doing it wrong even if we are, you know that kind of way."</i>
F1	R:	<i>"Yes, we would like it to continue but it is very tough at the moment."</i>
F2	R:	<i>"The industry is cutthroat and its very hard on my parents but we would like to see it survive. None of us is involved full time at the moment so we'll see."</i>

The association of their family name with the business also fuelled participants' sense of *identification with the business*.

Participant B1 claims his early exposure to the business has developed him:

"I think it [the business] probably developed me personally, if you're being inquisitive about things from an early age and you're taking on work that a normal ten or twelve year old wouldn't be taking on, you're exposed to work beyond your young years possibly but definitely it shaped my character, no doubt, it made me a bit technical mentally and maybe it developed the science part of my brain."

The data also illustrates that all participants protect the image and reputation of the family business, even those who have 'left' the business. Participants described that as their sense of identification with the business grew stronger, they felt they did have some *influence when it came to strategic decision making*. For participant B2, being involved in decision making was very important to him from a young age:

"I thought I was very involved, I was always asked my opinion anyway which I suppose is important but I was always involved in decision making which was important to me."

Participants expressed how they exerted influence both formally and informally. Participant D2 describes how his appointment to the board (described a critical incident in his career as it signaled a shift to senior management) signified direct influence on the family business. For other participants their source of influence and control was less formal and stemmed from being a family member and being part of the family system. As participants became more involved in the family business, they were exposed to the *family business's social relationships*. Although some participants recall meeting suppliers and customers at a young age, they did not appreciate this form of social capital until they worked in the business or later in their careers. For others, the value of social relationships became clear when they set upon their own entrepreneurial endeavors. This was certainly the case for participant A1 as he positively remembers a critical incident in his career when he started his own business;

"I suppose another interesting thing about the family business is when I rang someone aged 26 or 27 and said look I'm A1 from business A and I'm thinking of starting a business doing prepared meals, you suddenly had all the kudos, you know it's brilliant for that."

The dimensions described above add value for family members, to their sense of self and they clearly enjoy the non financial benefits associated with being a family business member. As a result, all participants claim they are committed to the continuity of the family business which leads to the final dimension of the *renewal of family bonds* through dynastic succession. Participant E2, who is not a financial owner of the family business describes how important the continuity and the success of the business is to her:

"I'd love to see it succeed in the family, I know my sister [participant E1] is planning on taking it over and talks about it Mam and Dad and I'd love to see it go to her and go on. . . in somebody else's hands it would be strange, it would take getting used to."

The data reinforces the dimensions of SEW as proposed and described by Berrone et al. (2012). Based on the evidence in the study, we propose emotional attachment to the family business as the foundation of SEW. For participants, the emotional attachment to the business is the starting point as this emotional bond begins to form during their early years and is almost part of their socialization into both the family and the business.

The findings of this study also reveal that it is through the early exposure of NxG to the family business that commitment to SEW festers and develops. Family involvement in the family business enables NxG to receive informal, on the job training. The data in this study illustrates that although participants became involved in their family business at a young age, some from the age of ten years old, they became aware of the family business at a much earlier stage. All participants could clearly remember (in some cases rather negatively) tasks they were allocated in the family business at a young age, be it folding towels in the laundry (participant E1) or cleaning out fridges (F1). Some of these tasks were relayed as critical incidents in their careers as they represent the first job or task they carried out in the family business. For many participants, it proved difficult to distinguish home memories from business memories as family and business life appeared to deeply intertwined. Participant B1 recalls, in a neutral tone, when the family business was based at home, in the early days:

"You know it's a family business and at the time it was based at home, there was no disassociation between home and business, they were the same thing."

Participant E2 claims, in an emotional tone, that she cannot imagine her family without the business:

"I suppose it's always been in the family, even I can't imagine our family without it you know, because we've all been involved I so I suppose it brings us together a little bit more because we're working together as well as being just a family."

The non financial aspects of family ownership were also experienced by participants from a young age. Participant B2 highlights how he always knew there was more to their family business than just making money:

"I suppose from his [participant's father] point of view money didn't come into it, he was driven, really driven, he was very goal orientated and he really wanted to succeed above everything else, I think money was only secondary for him."

Some critical incidents recalled by participants referred to meeting with suppliers and customers, at a young age. It is via the accumulations of skills

and knowledge that family members became more attached to the business. Participant F1 claims that this was not apparent to her at the time as she did not value the human capital learned from her early exposure to the business. However, the value of this human capital, specific to the family context, was realized at a later stage in her development. While describing a critical incident in her career (when she commenced her first job in education after leaving the family business), F1 recalls when she realized the value of her experience in the family business in relation to her work ethic. She remembers how her colleagues in her current job were amused at her returning to work in the family business in the summer one year as opposed to taking one month's holiday:

"If I had to work during the summer now still it wouldn't bother me, the girls used to laugh at me here last year they were going I can't believe you're going back to work but I was just used to it and that was that. That is when I realized how much I learned in the family business when it came to hard work."

Human capital acquired whilst growing up in a family business can be described as a vehicle for the development of next generation family members' commitment to the protection of their SEW as well as being significant in the formation of SEW.

6.4.4 The dynamics of SEW - Emotional attachment as the foundation and the role of human capital in the formation: Analysis & Interpretation

The data indicates that a strong basis or foundation of SEW for participants is their emotional attachment to the family business. Berrone et al. (2012) highlight the dearth of research concerning the formation of SEW. Evidence in this study suggests that the formation of SEW for family members begins at a young age. Although a number of studies in the family business domain have focused on human capital, mainly as a form of family capital (Danes, Stafford, Haynes, & Amarapurkar, 2009), the literature on SEW to date has not included human capital in the construct. The data indicates that human capital which according to Becker (1964) consists of the skills and knowledge that individuals acquire to enhance their potential productivity and success in the workplace, is a means for next generation family members to learn more about the family business.

Human capital can take the form of formal or informal learning (Fairlie & Robb, 2007; Dawson, 2012). As Sirmon and Hitt (2003) point out, NxG simultaneously participate in and experience both family and business relationships. The complexity of overlapping systems and duality of relationships creates a unique context for the development of human capital, which is evident in the data as participants referred to the intermingling of home and business work and life. How human capital is acquired by NxG is described in chapter four.

Empirical evidence in this study suggests that human capital, specific to the family business context (family specific human capital) is significant in the formation and development of SEW, as it is through the early exposure to and

working in the family business which ignites the feelings of emotional attachment and sense of responsibility to the business. Le Breton-Miller and Millers (2013) argument that depending on the evolutionary stage of the family business, levels of family member interaction impacts degrees of SEW. This may explain the deep emotional attachment felt by family members of this study, as four in the sample are founder family firms. Therefore, family centric behavior is typical of this stage (Le Breton-Miller and Miller, 2013) and emotional attachment is usually strong.

At the heart of family business studies lies the assumption that families are emotional (Donnelly, 1986; Tagiuri & Davis, 1996; Johannisson & Huse, 2000; Gomez-Mejia et al., 2001, Kellermans & Eddleston, 2004; Treviño-Rodriguez & Bontis, 2010) with Berrone et al. (2012:12) recently highlighting that “current family business literature is unable to explain how feelings and emotions affect the formation of SEW and how they affect the functioning of the family and the firm.” Recent studies have investigated the emotional value of owning a firm (see Zelleweger & Astrachan, 2008; Astrachan & Jaskiewicz, 2008) to account for how owners value their non financial stake in the family business. Sharma (2004) refers to the emotional capital of the family business which she posits may aid the continuity of both the family and the business in turbulent times. Kellermans and Eddleston (2004) highlight the more negative aspect of emotions such as increased role conflict. More recently, Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012, p. 8) refer to the concept of emotional ownership; “a sense of ownership that was a matter of sentiment” of next generation family members.

Parallels can be drawn between the concept of emotional ownership and psychological ownership (Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2001) in relation to SEW which we will substantiate in the discussion section. Bjornberg and Nicholson (2012) discovered that a financial ownership stake is neither a necessary or a sufficient condition for emotional ownership (hereafter EO). Similarly in this study we found that a financial ownership stake is not a necessary condition for next generation family members to protect their SEW. However, the data illustrates that emotional attachment to the business appears to be almost unavoidable for participants. The emotional attachment to the family business expressed by participants of this study fuels their commitment to the family business and to the protection of the family’s SEW. Moreover, the emotional attachment described by NxG, acquired via their exposure to the family business and the acquisition of family specific human capital, appears to be a focal point of SEW, from which all other dimensions stem. If the dimensions of SEW are represented as cyclical and interrelated, then emotional attachment is indeed the starting point and family specific human capital is an antecedent. We propose a dynamic model of FIBER which depicts the relationship between the dimensions of SEW as cyclical and interrelated and family specific human capital as an antecedent (see Figure 3).

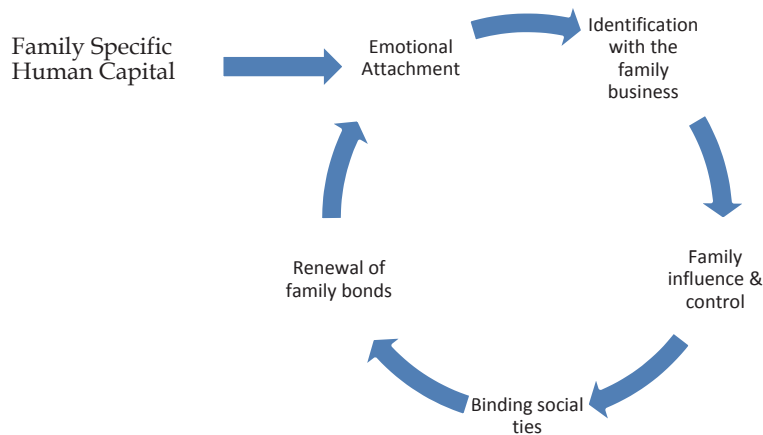


FIGURE 3 FIBER model

Based on participants' descriptions of their different levels of connectivity with and attachment to the business and dependent on the stage of their careers, the dimensions of SEW varied in intensity. For example, participant D1 claims that although the thought of a career in the family business was not inviting as an adolescent, as he worked more in the industry, and realized the importance of the family business, his perception of the family business changed:

"When my father discussed the option of joining the business I was not too keen, I wanted to play rugby but when I did join and got involved, I grew to love it and really wanted the business to succeed. I realize how important it is for my own children also."

When participant D1 left the family business after sixteen years, he closely followed the progress of the family business and as he was still in the same industry, he recommended them to clients. He claims this is due to his emotional attachment to the business and the fact he had worked there for so long, and felt he had contributed to the success of the business. He wishes to see it continue:

"It (the family business) was always there in the background, I was always keeping an eye to see how it was doing, I had spent a long time there and brought a lot to the business, so I am still interested in it."

The dimension of emotional attachment appears to be fundamental to all family members in the study. Next generation family members become acquainted with the family business at a very young age, and for many it becomes a part of their everyday life. This was the case for participant E2 who helped out in the family business after she attended pre-school every day. Berrone et al. (2012) acknowledge that in organizations where family relationships dominate, there is a longer history of shared experiences which shapes current relationships. For

next generation family members' their shared history with the family business signals their emotional attachment.

As participants sense of *emotional attachment* deepened, via their increasing levels of exposure to the family business, their *sense of identification* with the family business was strengthened. Next generation family members identify more strongly with the business as their emotional attachment intensifies over time. While Berrone et al (2012) claim the identity of the family business's owner is inextricably linked to the organization, our data suggest that the identity of next generation family members' is also linked to the family business. This is once again due to the shared history and experiences next generation family members have with the family business, from a young age. This strong sense of identification in turn heightened their emotional attachment while also increasing their *influence on the family business* (some informally while other participants influenced the business in positions of power).

As next generation family members feelings towards the family business intensify (both positively and negatively), they wish to exert more influence. Our data signals that next generation family members do exert influence over strategic decisions. This is certainly the case for all participants, even those who no longer work in the family business, but contribute ideas. As they exert influence, next generation family members feel like owners, which enhances their dedication to the continuity of the family business. As commitment to the *renewal of family bonds* increases, so does the likelihood of succession. The relationship between the dimensions will be discussed in greater detail in the discussion section.

6.4.5 Implications of SEW preservation on next generation family members' careers

While all participants in the study are committed to protecting their SEW, regardless of their career, this common goal is not without implications. SEW is a construct which not only frames decision making in family businesses, it too frames the career decisions of family members. For participants B1 and F1, this is certainly the case in relation to their careers.

Participant B1, recalling a critical incident in his career amazingly tells how he returned to his family business when asked to by his father despite enjoying a budding career as regional manager in a multinational company as:

"At the end of the day it's a family business and my perspective was I cannot not help them".

He clearly based his decision on the needs of the family as opposed to his own needs. For some participants, their commitment to the family business has potentially shaded their own career aspirations. This is certainly true for participant F1, who traces her first memory of thinking about career back to her first year of secondary school;

"The first time I think I thought about career was when I was in the first year of secondary school and we were asked to do work experience just for a weekend and I said I wanted to work with children with disabilities. I went and I worked down in Rosedale school, which is a school down the road for children with special needs just for a day or something and for whatever reason I didn't follow that at the time but it was never a case of working for my, for the family business, even though I ended up there and could very easily have stayed there but it just wasn't for me."

Remembering a critical incident in her career, she negatively tells how she returned from travelling and was asked to work as relief staff in the family business as a staff member had left. She agreed on the condition that it was just for six months. This resulted in participant F1 working in her family business for six years as Sales & Marketing manager despite her original intention of staying there for in a short term capacity. The data illustrates that financial ownership status is not a precondition of SEW and the goal of family members to protect the family business's SEW can impact decision making of family members in relation to their careers. Ironically, participant F1 now works in a school for children with autism although she spent six years full time in the family business as Sales and Marketing manager which she claims she 'hated', as it was not what she considered a natural role for her.

Participant D2 highlights how SEW has implications for all family members, regardless of whether they work in the family business. For his family, being a member of the family means protecting the family name and reputation always:

"Cork is very small, and you have to be careful, you have to watch your manners, you can't lose your temper behind the wheel of your car, someone will spot you and say I saw you ranting and raving, it has happened, not necessarily to me, you know even blowing your horn at someone, that has happened to some members of my family and it has rebounded on them. And to be fair, it's just kind of ingrained, we're very well behaved and it's for a good reason you know."

As a fifth generation family member, participant D1 claims protecting the family name and reputation is almost genetic;

"It's almost in your genes, I'm the fifth generation you know and it's just, it's just part of, I suppose you could say it's one of the good things actually because we do, I mean all my brothers and sisters and all my cousins, we all have I think very good manners and all that sort of stuff and generally don't misbehave."

6.4.6 Implications of SEW for family members: Interpretation & analysis

Whilst SEW has been described as a reference point for decision making in family businesses (Zellweger & Dehlen, 2012), SEW is also a reference point for career decision making for NxG who cannot be described as family principals or owners but are part of the family membership group. Our empirical evidence indicates that the protection of SEW has implications for family members which extend beyond the financial performance of family businesses.

Research has alluded that the high emotional attachment may be a sort of "family handcuff" for family members (Gomez-Mejia, Larraza-Kintana, &

Makri, 2003) and may impede them from leaving and achieving their own career aspirations. However, the data in this study suggest that although the family business may indeed be a sort of “family handcuff” in terms of career aspirations, it is commitment to the preservation of SEW which impedes NxG from leaving. Kellermanns et al. (2012) recently highlighted the dimensions of SEW can be positively or negatively valenced as some family members may perceive the dimensions of SEW as an emotional burden. This study supports this view as for some NxG in the study, at certain critical incidents in their career experiences, the dimensions of SEW were negatively valenced and the dimensions of SEW were seen as an emotional burden which hindered their own career development. There is a risk that due to their commitment to SEW, next generation family members do not fulfill their own personal career aspirations which will be discussed in the discussion section.

De Tienne and Chirico (2013) in their study on exit strategies of family businesses found that SEW may impede owners from exiting the family business, causing them to feel locked in. Our study suggests that NxG can too feel locked into the family business which may impact their careers.

Berrone et al. (2012) ponder whether the family image becomes increasingly important as a family business moves through generations. This appears to be the case for the participants in the study who come from multi-generation family businesses (A1, A2, D1, D2), who are very aware of the reputation and image of their family businesses, which are relatively well known.

6.5 Discussion

Although in its infancy, the SEW construct is an exciting development in family business research as it encapsulates prior family business studies (Berrone et al., 2012). Our research demonstrates that the scope of the SEW construct, first introduced by Gomez-Mejia et al. (2007) is more extensive than anticipated. The goal of protecting SEW is not confined solely to family owners or principals business as inferred by the model to date. The value of SEW is more intrinsic as suggested by Berrone et al. (2012), but continues to be of value for all family members, regardless of their career fate. The extendibility of the construct signifies the potential of the SEW as an anchor concept in the family business field (Berrone et al. 2012).

One potential explanation of the extensiveness of the SEW construct may reside with the concepts of emotional ownership (hereafter EO) and psychological ownership (hereafter PO). Emotional ownership is defined as a “sense of ownership that is a matter of sentiment” (Bjornberg & Nicholson, 2012, p.8) and is composed of attachment and social identity. Next generation family members in our study do convey a sense of ownership that appears to be based on sentiment but has strong implications for their lives and careers. While the concept of EO illustrates how a non financial owner can feel like an

owner, the authors pertain the concept of PO to be more theoretically developed to explain NxG commitment to SEW preservation.

In particular, the concept of psychological ownership may support our model of FIBER as the routes to psychological ownership correlate with the dimensions of SEW. As Berrone et al. (2012) claim, the concept of SEW is anchored at a deep psychological level in family members. Psychological ownership, described by Pierce, Kostova and Dirks (2001), as a state of mind in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of it is theirs, has been proposed as one of the ways in which people use ownership to define themselves. Being psychologically tied to an object and feeling possessive of the object is the core of psychological ownership. Pierce et al. (2001) claim the target becomes part of the psychological owner's identity.

Using the three routes to psychological ownership as developed by Pierce et al. (2001), we suggest areas where there is overlap between psychological ownership and SEW. The first route to psychological ownership is the ability to control the target. According to Pierce et al (2001), the more an individual feels they can control the target of ownership, feelings of psychological ownership intensify. As NxG in this study exert influence over the family business, both formally and informally, they fulfill one of the routes to psychological ownership. Family influence is also one of dimensions of SEW, referring to the ways in which NxG exert influence and have control over the family business. The second route to psychological ownership is intimate knowledge of the target of ownership. Pierce et al. (2001) assert that the deeper the level of knowledge an individual possesses in relation to the target of ownership, the stronger the relationship between the individual and the target. As we have alluded to the family specific human capital NxG acquire growing up in the family business, and the shared history between NxG and the family business, the second route to psychological ownership is fulfilled. Investing oneself in the target is the third route to psychological ownership as proposed by Pierce et al. (2001). NxG have invested heavily in the family business, and continue to do, even those who seek a career outside of the family business. Some NxG change career paths to support the family business. This leads us to conclude that for NxG, the family business may be a target of psychological ownership due to their emotional attachment to it. As psychological owners, NxG's commitment to SEW is rationalized. Psychological owners too enjoy the non-financial benefits of being part of an ownership group as described by participants in this study. Although the focus of this study is not on psychological ownership, feelings of ownership were inferred by participants which cannot be described as financial.

This supports Huybrechts, Voordeckers and Lybaert's (2013) assertion that psychological ownership is an important, yet overlooked aspect of ownership. The routes to psychological ownership also serve as an explanation as to how the dimensions of SEW intensify over time. As feelings of psychological ownership intensify, so does commitment to the preservation of SEW. While our research suggests a link between the dimensions of SEW and psychological

ownership, the relationship between SEW and psychological ownership is a future research avenue to be explored.

This chapter deepens our understanding of the dynamics of the dimensions of SEW, denoted FIBER (Berrone et al., 2012). We propose a dynamic model of FIBER (Figure 3) which views family specific human capital as an antecedent and emotional attachment as the foundation of SEW. As we represent the dimensions of SEW as cyclical and interrelated, this demonstrates the dynamic nature of the dimensions. The dimensions of SEW, as vocalized by participants, develop and change over time. Super (1952, 1980) claims that individuals have an awareness of self from birth and the formation of one's self concept requires an individual to recognize oneself as an distinctive individual but as similar to others. Super posits that while the child evaluates roles in the world of work from the perspective of the family, and different values about different kinds of work are communicated via the family, the reference point shifts as an individual experiences each career stage. For NxG, the family business is often a constant presence even as they experience different career stages. Therefore, due to the shared history and awareness of the family business from birth, as well as being emotionally attached to the family business, NxG also identify themselves with the business.

Although our research illustrates that all family members identify themselves with the business, their sense of identity goes beyond the family name being used by the family business. The family business is viewed by participants as an extension of the family (Berrone et al., 2012). Although studies have considered how the unique identity of family businesses due to the intermeshing of the family with the firm (Dyer & Whetten, 2006) affects the family business's reputation and external image (Carrigan & Buckley, 2008; Teal, Upton, & Seaman, 2003; Westhead, Cowling, & Howorth, 2001), the data in this study suggests that participants' sense of identification with the family business is an important dimension of SEW. This is in support of Deephouse and Jaskiewicz (2013) recent assumption in their study of reputations of family firms that heightened identification with the family business motivates family members to pursue a positive reputation as it enhances their SEW. As NxG exert influence over the business, the reputation becomes more important, as does the goal of continuity and sustainability.

Exploring the construct of SEW through a career lens has yielded some interesting insights into the construct of SEW. NxG of this study delay and even neglect the fulfillment of their own career aspirations to preserve SEW. Kellermann et al. (2012) claim that SEW can be positively or negatively valenced depending on whether family members view SEW as an emotional burden. If SEW preservation impedes the NxG from leaving the family business to fulfill career goals, does this signal that NxG ultimately sacrifice personal goals to do what is best for the family business? Eckrick & Loughhead (1996) conclude that children of business owners have a less clear sense of career interests in comparison with children of non business owners. Does commitment to SEW preservation shade career aspirations of NxG? While the

ways in which SEW are positively or negatively valenced requires further investigation, our research recognizes the presence of an inherent tension in family business studies between doing what is good for the family and doing what is good for the individual. This will be discussed more in our suggestions for future research.

6.6 Limitations & Suggestions for future research

Methodologically, this research is not without its limitations. Our data is based around self-reports, which can be biased. However, Chell (1998) has pointed out that by focusing on critical incidents, as this study did, participants are more likely to have "good recall". Also, having adopted a group perspective by interviewing two family members of the same family, the authors hopes that this assists in limiting some of the bias associated with self-report and also acts as a means of validating the data. The data is based on NxG in Irish family businesses, all of who have remained in Ireland and therefore are close to their family and their family business which could also be viewed as a limitation.

This is an opportune time to research the construct of SEW which is at a development stage. While recognizing the groundbreaking research which has been conducted in the field to date, an array of research topics surrounding the construct of SEW awaits any researcher in the field. As Berrone et al. (2012) point out there are no measurements attached to the dimensions of FIBER. Therefore attempting to measure the dimensions of SEW appears to be the next logical research step. However, prior to the measurement of FIBER, it is imperative that more theoretical and conceptual progress is made in relation to the dimensions of emotional attachment and identity with the family business. Research into the relationship between the dimensions of SEW and psychological ownership may theoretically advance the construct further. As family specific human capital is depicted in this study as an antecedent of SEW, investigating the process (both formal and informal) of acquiring family specific human capital in the family business context, may illuminate the dimensions of SEW.

While our study concludes that family business membership is a precondition to commitment to socioemotional wealth, the exploration of the construct in non family employees may offer deeper insights into the current academic conversation on SEW. While this study extends the scope of the construct to family members, if and to what extent non family employees demonstrate commitment to SEW would be an interesting research question. In this respect, a recent paper by Huybrechts, Voordeckers, and Lybaert (2013) suggests that a non-family CEO can become protective of the family's SEW as well. Our study highlights the need for practitioners to not only be aware of the non financial goals of family businesses, but to be conscious of the commitment of all NxG to the family business. NxGs' commitment to SEW may be a resource to be harvested in these difficult economic times.

Finally, our research suggests that for NxG, commitment to SEW may impede or delay their achievement of career goals. Future research should investigate the this almost "existential" tension between doing good for the family (business) and the realization of NxG' own career aspirations.

The next chapter will discuss the main findings of the dissertation, summarizing the key findings of each chapter.

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to remind the reader and discuss the key findings this study which investigated the phenomena of careers of next generation family members. While the overarching research question of the study is 'how does family ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?', the interpretations reflected in the findings of this study are not limited to career. Insights into the learning process of next generation family members and the dynamics of socioemotional wealth in family businesses have too emerged from this interpretive, qualitative study.

7.2 Discussion

This section will discuss the key findings of the study in relation to careers, next generation family members, learning and socioemotional wealth.

7.2.1 Careers as a process Vs intended behaviour

One of the key findings of this study relates to the nature of career and career behavior of NxG. To date, in the family business literature, the careers of NxG have been depicted as a one-time decision made in adolescence (Birley, 1991; Davis, 1983; Handler, 1989; Longenecker & Schoen, 1991). Although this decision has been recognized as the start of a long term process for the NxG (Davis, 1983; Longenecker & Schoen, 1991, Trow, 1961), how this process evolves is relatively unknown. Moreover, current research which focuses on the careers of NxG (Stavrou & Swiercz, 1998; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Zellweger, Sieger & Halter, 2010, Schroder, Schmidt-Rodermund, & Arnaud, 2011) tend to concentrate on career intentions of NxG as opposed to their actual career behavior to explicate career decisions of NxG. This reliance on Azjen's (1985;

1991) Theory of Planned Behavior infers careers to be a rational, planned sequence of events as opposed to an evolving process, which develops over an individual's life span (Super, 1957, 1980). The findings of this study clearly support the latter view of career. Careers of NxG, based on the findings of this study, cannot be described as rational behavior and intentions do not sufficiently predict or explain their career behavior.

This led the author to question the fundamental assumption of Azjen (1985, 1991) who asserts that a measure of an individual's intention to perform a behavior is the best predictor of action of an individual's behavior in relation to career behavior. While chapter two of this dissertation discusses and ascertains the author's dissatisfaction with the use of Azjen's TPB in explaining the career behavior of next generation family members in detail, the author wishes to clearly conclude that as career is a complex process (both in terms of decision making and actual behavior), for NxG, the family business context within which career decisions are made, may often result in what may be interpreted as irrational decisions. The findings of this study illustrate that career decisions of next generation family members are often based on the collective needs of the family business as opposed to individual needs. This leads to the next key finding of the dissertation, which relates to the family influence of careers of next generation family members.

7.2.2 Family influence on careers of next generation family members

While the family influence on careers has been well documented in the careers literature (Bratcher, 1982; Duffy & Dik, 2009; Guitland, 1993; Jacobsen, 1999; Kniveton, 2004; Obispow, 1983; Super, 1957; 1980), and has been referred to in the family business literature (Eckrick & Loughhead, 1996), the key finding of this dissertation is in relation to the extent of the influence family business holds on the careers of NxG. Adapting Super's (1980) life-career rainbow, the author proposes the family business as both a situational and personal determinant of career (see Figure 2) for NxG which spans their lifetime. For NxG, this signifies that the family business forms part of their attitudes, awareness, needs, history and social structure (Super, 1980). The influence of the family business on careers NxG begins from birth.

The adapted version of Super's (1980) model also indicates the of NxG as both student and worker begin from a young age as they participate in the family business. All research participants in this study acknowledge and highlight their early exposure to the family business. As the conceptualisation of career as a social process (Herriot, 1992; Herriot, 2001; Herriot & Pemberton, 1996) draws our attention to career as a series of ongoing interactions between individuals within and between social and organizational environments, Super's adapted model (Figure 2) signals our attention towards the varying roles individuals adopt during these interactions. NxG adapt the role of worker and student (in addition to other roles such as child) in the family business context from a young age. This is evidenced by the early work experiences in

the family business narrated by NxG of this study. The findings of this study support the impact of both personal and situational determinants on career as advocated by Super's (1980) model and the author adapts and extends his model to include the family business in these determinants (see Figure 2). Moreover, this study interprets early exposure to and the influence of the family business shapes the vocational self concept and careers of NxG.

Although the family influence has been highlighted in the family business literature in terms of intergenerational influence (Mead, 1934), and socialisation experiences of NxG (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), the influence of the family business on careers of the next generation has only been referred to in terms of career choice (Eckrick & Loughead, 1996; Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Schroder et al, 2011, Schroder & Rodermund, 2013), but not beyond this one-time career decision. This may appear to be somewhat ironic as while a developmental perspective (Gersick et al, 1997) on the family business has been endorsed and recognises the developmental stages of both the family and the family business, this has not extended to individuals in the family business or their careers.

This research demonstrates that as the family business is developing, the family business influence on NxG continues as their careers evolves, even if a career is chosen outside of the family business. While this finding is not substantiated in current family business literature, the author offers insights into why this influence manifests and continues. As next generation family members develop their careers, their family business background is inherent in their career. While Eckrick & Loughead (1996) claim that next generation family members appear to have a less clear sense of their self in relation to career and experience what they term vocational identity deficit, the findings of this study demonstrate that NxG experience a delay in vocational identity formation due to the family influence on the self concept and their sense of self.

As the family business background features heavily in their socialisation experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and is a situational determinant of career, the author assumes the social constructivist view of the self in line with the philosophical underpinning of this study, as being anchored in a social context within which individual derive a sense of self from their subjective experiences (Cushman, 1990; DeCraemer, 1983; Gergen, 1990; Markus & Kitayana, 1991). Given the immense influence of the family business, described as 'monumental' by participants, the vocational identity delay experienced by next generation family members NxG is anticipated.

However, the subjective experiences of NxG of this study demonstrate that their family business background does not result in vocational identity deficit. Although their career aspirations may be delayed, career decisions can be driven by the needs of the family business as opposed to personal needs. However, NxG of this study appear to be satisfied with their careers. Despite this, it appears tensions exist between the decision to enter or remain in the family business or to pursue individual career goals, for those who are not successors. For NxG of this study, the family business facilitates the enactment of 'hybrid' careers. This will be discussed further in the next section.

7.2.3 Beyond boundaries: The family business as facilitator of hybrid careers

While recent interest in career intentions of the next generation is evident (Carr & Sequeira, 2007; Schroder et al., 2011; Zellweger et al., 2010; Schroder & Rodermund, 2013) in the family business field, the focus of recent works is limited to the implications of career choice of NxG for entrepreneurship and continuity of the family business. Little is known about career patterns in the family business (Salvato et al., 2008), and how careers are experienced by individuals in the family business, either as successors (beside Handler's work in 1992), family or non family employees.

Insights from careers theory have provided relevant theoretical lens to understand and interpret the subjective career experiences of NxG of this study.

While the careers literature to date has predominantly focused on ordered careers within large organisations (Baruch, 2004), career scholars recognise that some individuals have been excluded from career studies, mainly the self employed and contract workers (Sullivan, 1999). The author deems the family business a missing context in career studies. While the traditional model of careers considered an individual's careers to evolve within one or two organisations and to be a linear and rational process (Sullivan & Baurch, 2009), more contemporary models of career such as the boundaryless (Arthur, 1994) or the protean (Hall, 1976; 1996) are considered more individual focused careers, managed by the individual as opposed to the organisation. As family businesses are heterogeneous in nature, it is not surprising that the subjective career experiences of next generation family members of this study feature characteristics of both the traditional and contemporary models of career. This leads the author to conclude that NxG enact hybrid careers.

For some NxG (most notably the successors), their careers evolve in one or two organisations, dominantly the family business. For others, they enact boundaryless careers, which evolve across several organisations, including the family business. A key finding of this study is that for NxG, the family business facilitates the enactment of hybrid careers. This is evidenced by the career experiences of NxG who remain in the family business while pursuing other goals, such as researching their own venture or returning to study to embark on a new career path. Inkson et al. (2012) recently criticised the construct of the boundaryless career, arguing that boundaries define constructs and made a call for boundary focused career scholarship. While the family business field too refers to boundaries and overlapping systems (Lansberg, 1983), for NxG, the family business provides a vehicle to reach beyond the boundaries to certain careers.

While the focus to date in the family business literature has been on the decision to enter the family business or not, findings of this study reveal this decision or question cannot be described as closed for NxG. Moreover, while studies in the family business area have focused on the decision or intention to enter the family business or not, the tradition of helping in the family business

as demonstrated by participants in this study, aid NxG to overcome boundaries associated with their career choice which studies to date have deemed as being inside or outside of the family business. This will be developed in greater detail in the next section.

7.2.4 Assisting Relatives: A parallel career path?

This study reveals the relatively unexplored tradition of helping in the family business. The findings of this study demonstrate that next generation family members continue to assist or help out in the family business regardless of their career choice. While all next generation family members of this study worked in the family business at some stage of their lives, five have chosen a career inside of the family business. However, all next generation family members continue to help out informally or unofficially.

This tradition of helping represents a resource unique to family businesses. The author contends that next generation family members who choose a career outside of the family business pursue, almost naturally, a parallel career path as an assisting relative. While one may argue that 'helping out' cannot be deemed a parallel career path, the areas in which participants help out in are in ways strategic. As they demonstrate commitment to the sustainability of the family business, some of the participants play an active role in trying to secure this sustainability, even if they have a career elsewhere.

This too sheds light on the enactment of hybrid careers, as even those whose careers feature characteristics of contemporary models of careers may simultaneously embark on a parallel career path in this informal manner in the family business. The implications of the tradition of helping in the family business context are significant for both the continuity of the family business and the development of careers of next generation family members.

7.2.5 'Learning by osmosis'

As previously stated in this discussion, the conceptualisation of careers for this study embraces a life span or space perspective (Super, 1980). While former discussion in this chapter refer to the early exposure of next generation family members to the family business, the author wishes to point to the role of the student referred to in Super's (1980) adapted rainbow model. The findings of this study indicate that one of the roles assumed by the next generation in the family business from a young age is that of student. NxG embark on a process of learning in the family business from birth. While the family business has been identified as a unique context within which learning occurs (Fairlie & Robb, 2007, Laband & Lentz, 1990), a gap emerges in relation to *what* and *how* NxG learn in the family business context. By investigating the subjective career experiences of NxG, the findings of this dissertation establish that learning occurs through next generations interaction and participation in the family business and is of a tacit nature.

Wenger's (1997) theory of social learning was used to interpret and explore how and what NxG learn. We codify what NxG learn (chapter five) and identify how they learn (Table 13). The processes of learning of NxG are identified. While our findings support Hamilton's (2011) perception of the family and the business as overlapping communities of practice, our focus is not limited to entrepreneurial learning. Moreover, we incorporate Wenger's (1997) view of learning as becoming and propose learning as a means of identity building in the family business for next generation family members. While the author has alluded to identity in relation to the development of the self-concept, the identity of the NxG is further constructed through participation in the family business. This research recognises the family business as a community of practice (Wenger, 1997) and reveals what participation in the family business signifies for next generation family members in career terms.

7.2.6 Socioemotional wealth – A careers perspective

While the focus of this dissertation is the phenomena of careers, the construct of socioemotional wealth (hereafter SEW) is used as a "frame of interpretation" (Nordqvist et al, 2009) to reveal some interesting insights into the construct of SEW. Although recently defined as the major new potential paradigm (Berrone, Cruz, Gomez-Mejia, 2012) in the family business as it differentiates family business by addressing core issues which are non financial in nature, our understanding of the construct is relatively limited (see theoretical overview of SEW in chapter six).

The findings of this study enrich our understanding of the dynamics, formation and implications of SEW in family businesses using an interpretive qualitative approach (Cope, 2010; Hall & Nordqvist, 2008; Nordqvist, Hall & Melin, 2009). My research supports the view of SEW as being well equipped to explain the distinctiveness of family businesses (Berrone et al, 2012). Moreover, my interpretation of participants' critical accounts of their career experiences demonstrate that SEW as a reference point for decision making is extendable to family members. In fact, as NxG too want to protect their SEW, the family often acts as a reference point in their career decisions making and the author proposes SEW drives behaviour of next generation family members.

While the dimensions of SEW, FIBER have been proposed, their formation or relationship between the dimensions has not been elaborated on. The empirical stories in this study indicate that SEW has implications for NxG which extend beyond the financial performance of the business. High emotional attachment has been alluded to as a 'family handcuff' (Gomez-Mejia et al, 2003) for family members. This study supports this view as for NxG in this study, at certain critical points in their careers, their commitment to the family business acts as a deterrent to the fulfilment of their own personal career aspirations. Our study echoes Kellermanns et al. (2012) who attest the dimensions of SEW can be positively or negatively valenced.

One missing link from the current academic dialogue on SEW, is the concept of psychological ownership. While the routes to psychological ownership (Pierce et al, 2001) are described in chapter six and there is overlap between the concept and SEW dimensions, the author suggests there is a relationship between PO and SEW. The author pertains that this relational link may provide a theoretical rationale as to why all NxG in this study are committed to SEW. However, as previously stated, our data did not support this and the inclusion of psychological ownership is beyond the scope of this study. However, some suggestion for future research to probe in to this relationship further will be discussed in the next chapter.

The next section will discuss synergies and connections between the three main phenomena of the research; careers, learning and identity and socioemotional wealth.

7.3 Synergies – Careers as a process

While the phenomena of interest of this study is careers of next generation family members, a grounded theory approach has resulted in some interesting insights on learning and identity building in the family business and the construct of socioemotional wealth. While these insights emerged from the study, there is a distinctive connection between the three phenomena. Figure 4 visually demonstrates this link which is the procesual nature of the three concepts. Careers, learning and SEW all develop and evolve over time which is evident from NxG accounts of career. The key findings discussed in the earlier part of this chapter were uncovered by exploring the subjective career experiences of NxG. As career has been described as a major life constituency (Blustein, 1997), NxG while discussing their careers also detailed their other roles besides work related roles. For many, these roles are played out in the family business and have changed over time.

However, one of the overall findings which connects the three phenomena is the conceptualisation of careers as a process (Herriot, 2001, Kidd, 2004) for NxG (Figure 4). The conceptualisation of careers as a process is significant for this study as it highlights that as career is something that spans a life time and is evolving, it is constantly changing. This can also be said for learning, identity and SEW. All of the constructs in this study are dynamic and evolve and change over time. Moreover, work is also a sense of identity for individuals, which for NxG was fuelled by their commitment to SEW and what they learned and experienced in the family business.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the key findings of this dissertation. While this study offered new insights into three main areas; careers of NxG, learning in the family business and socioemotional wealth, the three areas are connected by their evolving nature. The following and final chapter will discuss the theoretical and practical contributions of this research, while critically reflecting on the way in which the study was carried out.

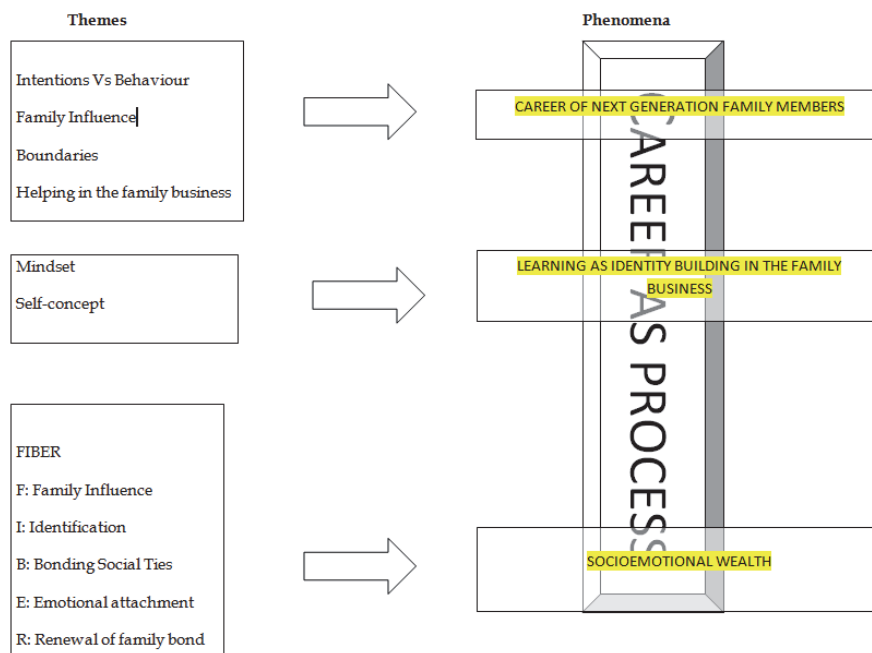


FIGURE 4 Careers of next generation family members as process

8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter summarised and discussed the key findings of this dissertation, the focus of this chapter will consider the contribution of this research. This research has revolved around the question of how family business ownership influences the careers of NxG? Insights from career theory, referred to throughout this study as the career perspective, has enhanced our understanding of the career experience of NxG. This final chapter will discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of my research followed by contribution to practice and education. Limitations and suggestions for future research will conclude this dissertation.

8.2 Contribution to theory

While the key findings have been summarised in this chapter, the author will now highlight the main theoretical contributions of this study. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that this is the first study to qualitatively investigate the *actual* career behavior of NxG. While Handler (1992) shed light on the experiences of a subset of NxG, successors, this study is consists of a sample of both successors and non successors. The focus on *actual* career behaviour as opposed to intentions challenges Azjen's (1985, 1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour and seeks other explanations to explicate the career behaviour of next generation family members. A key theoretical contribution is the dissatisfaction with the TPB in predicting actual career behaviour of next generation family members. This study is not challenging the TPB but wishes to highlight that in deepening our understanding of careers of NxG, a focus on how careers are experienced by NxG in the family business cannot be achieved by examining intentions only.

One potential theoretical lens to explain the career behaviour of NxG, as presented in this study, is the construct of SEW. As the first qualitative inquiry into SEW, this study positions the construct of SEW as more extensive in nature than currently presented in the literature. Commitment to SEW preservation drives the career behaviour of NxG, as they often base career decisions on the needs of the family as opposed to their own personal needs. A key theoretical contribution of the study's insight into SEW is the representation of the dimensions of SEW as dynamic, cyclical and interrelated (Figure 3). Including the acquisition of family specific human capital as an antecedent to SEW is a significant theoretical contribution to the construct as although social capital is represented in the FIBER model, human capital is not. As the family business field seeks to distinguish itself and strives to find a dominant paradigm (Berrone et al., 2012), tacit knowledge in the family business is a key distinctive feature which must be incorporated in developing constructs. Highlighting the relationship between SEW and PO by connecting the FIBER dimensions and routes to PO also contributes to our current understanding of SEW and offers a novel insight into how extensive SEW may be as a paradigm in the field of family business research.

The conceptualisation of careers of NxG as a social process (Herriot, 2003) as opposed to a decision to enter the family business or not offers new theoretical insights into the role of NxG in the family business. Conceptualising careers of next generation family members as a social process deepens our current understanding of the interaction of family members with the family business. As this study demonstrates, NxG play an important role in the family business, beyond their potential role as successors. Understanding careers of NxG as a process demonstrates the continuous involvement of NxG in the family business which is currently overlooked in the field.

The introduction of a fourth, unrecognised career path of NxG and the unveiling of the tradition of helping in the family business is an important contribution. As a resource unique to family businesses and currently unrecognised in the literature, this contribution represents an exciting opportunity for family business survival and continuity.

This study is the first to investigate career patterns in the family business. Theoretical constructs such as the 'boundaryless' career provide an interesting realm within which to study how NxG embark on their careers, while balancing their involvement in the family business. The depiction of NxG careers as hybrid careers illuminates the supports the family business can offer NxG, such as social, human and financial as they seek a career path. While this support too may be perceived as a burden (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2007), the author perceives this burden to result in vocational identity delay as opposed to vocational identity deficit (Eckrich & Loughhead, 1996), as NxG of this study appear to be satisfied with their careers at this point in time. They realise the opportunities offered by the family business, such as employment, while they find their path. The extent of the family influence on career of NxG has been demonstrated by this study.

The illustration of family businesses as communities of practices (Wenger, 1997) presents learning in the family business as a natural phenomenon. As Super's adapted career rainbow (Figure 2) demonstrates, next generation family members assume the role of student in the overlapping communities of family and business from a young age. The relationship between learning and identity for next generation family members is significant and as the construction of NxG identities is an under researched area in the family business field. An appreciation of the family business as a learning opportunity for next generation family members is presented.

8.3 Contribution to method

Taking the view of career as a process and something which emerges from the interaction between the individual and the organization over time, (Herriot, 2001; Inkson, Gunz, Ganesh & Roper, 2012), process research clearly fits the research question. The conceptualisation of career as a process is linked to the selected definition of career for this study as "an individual's work related and other relevant experiences both inside and outside of organisations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span." Therefore, career is conceived as a dynamic, unfolding and evolving process. Process research, defined as "a sequence of individual and collective events, actions, and activities unfolding over time in a context" (Pettigrew, 1997:338), explicitly recognizes the role that context plays in academic research. As the goal of process research is to understand how things evolve over time and why they evolve in this way (Langley, 1999:692), this study contributes to process research. Interpretations of participants' accounts of their careers shed light on how careers of next generation family members evolve over time.

The methodological choices made during this study both assisted and supported the theoretical contributions. The requirement of the grounded theory method to consider the influence of structures and processes (Strauss & Corbin 1998) ensures consideration is given to the contextual factors in the design, conduct and outcomes of the study. In particular as Charmaz (1995) signals, grounded theory is suited to studying individual processes, interpersonal relations and the reciprocal effects between individuals and larger social processes. This proved to be the case in studying and interpreting the effects between next generation family members and the overlapping systems of the family and the business. Adapting a grounded theory approach steered the focus of the study into areas the author would not have anticipated in the family business field.

The use of the Critical Incident Technique as a method to studying *actual* career behaviour is also an important contribution. Although originally designed to study observable human behaviour (Flanagan, 1954), it proved to be a useful tool in inquiring into subjective career experiences. The technique is also relevant in highlighting actual behaviour of next generation family

members, which for them can be interpreted as natural. While the focus of our research on actual behavior has methodologically impacted our study, the value of the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan 1954) as an interview method, with the aim of building theory, has proven to be particularly insightful. As actual behavior is not easily studied via quantitative measures, the Critical Incident Technique provided a means for participants to make sense of their careers. By focusing on what they rendered to be significant events, next generation family members narrated how being part of a family business has influenced their careers. The study of actual behavior requires practice – close research (Lambrechts, Bouwen, Grieten, Hybrechts, Schein, 2011), which the CIT facilitated.

8.4 Contribution to practice

For any next generation family member, the findings of this dissertation offer comfort. While the option to enter the family business is presented as an obvious one, the decision is not an easy one. The conceptualisation of careers of next generation family members as a process has significant practical implications for both next generation family members and for family businesses. The illustration of careers as a process leaves the family business door open for next generation family members throughout their lives. This research highlights that the evolving nature of careers and life experiences makes career paths difficult to predict

However, practitioners advising to family businesses should be aware of evolving nature of careers and the extent of family influence on career decision making of next generation family members. This is suggested, not with a view to exploiting the influence, but to advising family businesses to be aware of it. This may modify the family expectation which impacts career decisions of next generation family members. By highlighting the extent of the influence, NxG may find a way to balance family expectations and personal career goals.

With regards to communication between current owning generations and next generation family members in Ireland on the topic of succession, the authors feels it necessary to share one experience participant D2 told when the research findings were fed back. As participant D2 had no choice but to enter the family business due to the law of primogeniture, he was adamant that his own children would not be subject to the same influence. Therefore, he decided not to discuss the family business as a career with his children. When one of his sons graduated from university, participant D2 brought him out for lunch. The topic of the future arose. His son asked him why he never discussed the family business with him. When participant D2 explained his reasons, his son was extremely emotional. To his dismay, participant D2 discovered that his son presumed he did not think he was capable of working in the family business. Participant D2 discussed how difficult it is to balance the needs of the next generation and the needs of the business, based on current generations'

experiences. Advisors and practitioners who consult with family businesses should highlight the importance of clear communication surrounding the criteria for entry of the next generation.

Next generation family members acquire career related human capital by participating in the family business. Findings of this study demonstrate that NxG are unaware of the learning opportunity presented by the family business. For their personal and professional development, this should be both highlighted and nurtured as it may encourage next generation family members to participate more in the family business, as well as being cognisant of the experiences they are acquiring. As this learning may also shape their identity, it is pertinent that family businesses are aware of this. As they are acquiring career related human capital, which they may not be aware of until they leave the family business, by heightening awareness of this, NxG may be encouraged to avail of the opportunities presented by the family business and use them to advance their careers. An awareness of the types of learning they encounter and their role in organizational learning may enhance affective commitment levels of NxG.

Family businesses should be aware that a decision not to enter the family business by next generation family members does not signify a departure of a successor but represents a unique resource. Next generation family members who leave the family business continue to be committed to SEW and often pursue a parallel career path as assisting relative. This tradition of helping signifies a unique resource for family businesses, particularly in times of recession and may enhance continuity and sustainability of family businesses.

8.5 Contribution to education

From an educational perspective, our study offers some advice for those developing courses in the areas of entrepreneurship and/or family business management. Theories of adult development, such as Super's approach (1957, 1980) offer insight into the role the family business plays in shaping both the learning and identity of next generation family members. This learning opportunity, unique to those who come from a family business background must be nurtured both in terms of continuity of the family business and entrepreneurial activities. For those developing programmes in entrepreneurship, a key challenge for NxG is how to make their tacit knowledge more explicit? Experiential learning methods may encourage those who come from a family business background to be more aware of the skills and knowledge they acquire, naturally, in this context.

Family business programmes at undergraduate level should include a focus on professional and personal development of the next generation as this may assist NxG in aligning their career interests with the goals of the family business. Workshops on career development may assist in the balancing of family needs and personal interests of NxG.

Executive education level family business programmes should involve a broad family group to include family members not currently 'officially' involved in the family business. As this study shows, family members who may not be successors or active owners often play 'hidden' or informal roles such as helping.

From a policy perspective, the role of NxG is crucial to the survival of family businesses. Similar to economies worldwide, family businesses are dominant in Ireland. Investment into education programmes aimed at NxG may enhance continuity of family businesses. Also, as potential incubators of entrepreneurial behaviour (Fairlie and Robb, 2007), investment into training programmes in family businesses at government level may be rewarding.

8.7 Limitations of the study

While the theoretical contribution and practical implications of this study have been detailed within individual chapters and summarised in this chapter the author would like to draw the reader's attention to the limitations of this study. Firstly, this research is limited to the study of careers of NxG in Ireland only. While the focus of the study is not country specific and the author is certain the study is replicable in other countries, cultural impact on the findings is a possibility.

A second consideration and potential limitation is that all NxG in this study currently reside in Ireland. Therefore the impact of emigration has not been considered, which may influence commitment levels to SEW.

Thirdly, while the focus is on actual career behaviour, an ideal way to study this research topic would be to conduct a quantitative study of intentions of next generation family members and to qualitatively address these intentions longitudinally. However, given the life span nature of career, this certainly is ideal but a possibility. While this study highlights a gap between intentions and actions, as the career accounts are retrospective, this could be due to memory bias of participants.

As the learning chapter focuses on individual learning of NxG, while recognising organizational learning and individual learning are interrelated, a missed opportunity may reside in family business learning. What and how do family businesses learn from the interactions of their members?

The author's family business background may too be a limiting factor. As the author spent a number of years managing her own family business and has since embarked on a different career path, this influenced area of research. However, the author endeavoured to counteract this by noting preconceived assumptions prior to each interview. The philosophical underpinning of this study and the choice of method support the involvement of the researcher as participant. The involvement of another family business scholar too counteracted this.

8.8 Suggestions for future research

While suggestions for future research are inherent in each individual chapter, to conclude this dissertation the author would like to summarise key suggestions for future research. The author appeals to more researchers to follow our lead and investigate *actual* behavior in family businesses. While the focus of our research on actual behavior has methodologically impacted our study, the value of the Critical Incident Technique (Flanagan 1954) as an interview method, with the aim of building theory, has proven to be particularly insightful. As actual behavior is not easily studied via quantitative measures, the CIT provided a means for participants to make sense of their careers. The CIT facilitated this and the author appeals that other researchers consider it as a method in future research which studies *actual* behavior.

How little we know about career patterns in family businesses is highlighted by this study. Further studies into career patterns of both family non family employees would be particularly useful to the family business field, even to be compared with career patterns of successors. Investigation of constructs such as SEW and PO in the non family employee context may too offer unique insights and may assist in positioning SEW as a family business unique construct (Berrone et al., 2012).

The extent of the family influence on the careers and lives of NxG is a key finding of this study. Currently, our limited knowledge of this influence does not inform as to whether this is perceived as a burden by NxG. The commitment of NxG may impede them from fulfilling their own personal career aspirations as they make career decisions based on the needs of the family business. This must result in tension for NxG as they try to balance their own personal needs and the family business needs. In this study, NxG appeared to fulfill their own personal career needs eventually, but the family business certainly acted as a deterrent. Future research should investigate this more deeply which will add to the theoretical development of the construct of SEW and our understanding of careers of NxG and the challenges they face.

The tradition of helping in the family business context represents a significant distinctive resource for family businesses. Further cross cultural research focusing on helping in the family business context may contribute to the current family business literature focusing on distinctiveness of family businesses. Schein's (2010) work on helping may provide theoretical insights into the process of helping.

An investigation into the relationship between psychological ownership and socioemotional wealth is a logical research direction for the family business field. As the current understanding of SEW as the non financial benefits of ownership, the extension of the scope of the FIBER model to all next generation family members, suggests that psychological ownership may drive next generation family members' commitment to SEW. The authors *suggests* that PO may be an antecedent to SEW, however, this is not grounded in this study.

The career lens offers any family business scholar an array of topics to choose from. However, the author would like to encourage career scholars to embrace the family business context in career studies. Currently the family business context appears to be absent from career studies, but as chapter two demonstrates, significant common features between the fields suggests further parallels in research may be beneficial for both fields.

Our findings on learning in the family business highlight the relevance of the organizational learning literature to the family business field. How family businesses learn through the interaction of their members and whether this results in single or double loop learning is an interesting research questions.

One final suggestion for research, which the author hopes to embark on post dissertation, is a metaphorical analysis of the data. As the careers literature is rich in studies on metaphors (Inkson, 2004), the author would like to analyze metaphors specific to careers in the family business.

8.8 Critical reflection

As a qualitative researcher interested in interpreting people's accounts of their lives and experiences to deepen our understanding of phenomena, while research is about making choices, philosophically and epistemologically, I had no choice in how I positioned this study. The research question of "how does family business ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?" lends itself to interpretive research. As careers are life constituencies (Blustein, 1997), and highly contextual, reality is socially constructed by individuals. The findings of this study are co-creations of the researcher and participants.

Although I felt I had no choice philosophically, methodologically I had many. Why choose a grounded theory strategy? As I read widely around qualitative research, and the different methods of collecting, analyzing and presenting data, it became evident that rigorous data collection and analysis is a key criteria in effective qualitative research (Tracy, 2010). While some versions of grounded theory are rigid, Charmaz (1996)'s constructivist grounded theory granted the balance of rigidity and flexibility that a researcher needs to demonstrate rigor and transparency during data collection and analysis. Based on the principles of theoretical sampling and constant comparative analysis, grounded theory offers any researcher a clear set of guidelines in conducting qualitative research and in building theory.

While in depth interviewing is a common technique in qualitative research, I was keen to find a method which would provide me with the depth and richness of material that would enhance our understanding of careers. As participants reflect retrospectively on their careers, which span a life time, the critical incident technique proved a valid means of focusing the interviews. Also, as the technique is clearly explained to participants, it put them at ease. They were informed that critical just needs to be significant for them. In

hindsight, the use of the CIT influenced the findings and direction of this study. The use of props during the interviews also assisted in both focusing participants on the accounts of their careers they provided. While visual representation of data is worthwhile, the graphs plotted by participants mapped high and low points of their careers. Although they are visual representations, their aim was to provide participants with a means of retelling their career stories and a validation means for the researcher.

The principle of constant comparative analysis in grounded theory ensures the dynamic nature of the method. Once interviews were transcribed, memo making formed part of the analysis. Each interview informed the next. In fact, the admission by one participant to varying experiences of siblings in their family business resulted in the decision to interview a second family member. While this adds a 'group' perspective, it may be argued that two individuals of a family are not a group. However, as it is more than one, it is not individual either. As research in the family business area is appealing for more than viewpoint in research, the inclusion of a second family member meets a need in the field. It also served as a validation technique. While I recognize more family members could have been interviewed, the data collected was sufficient. Also, there has to be a start, middle and an end to this process!

So, what theory have I produced? While the family business strives toward a theory of the family firm, I believe I have contributed to a potential dominant paradigm in the field – socioemotional wealth. As a theory is a way of looking at something, my findings in the area of SEW offer new and fresh insights as the first qualitative study in SEW. While I have not proposed a theory of career of NxG, I have deepened our understanding of how careers are experienced in the family business.

As this process, which is not perfect comes to an end, I ask myself two questions. Firstly, what would I do differently? If I had my time back I would have entered the field earlier. While an initial literature review is essential in signaling a gap or an area of interest, a preliminary visit to the field is also essential. While some researchers may fear entering the field too early, going into the field is a great way to focus a study. It took me a long time to contemplate using grounded theory based on conversations with colleagues, but in hindsight, having an open mind to different research strategies and methods is important. I will share this thought with other researchers starting out. I would also have started to write sooner! Secondly, am I happy? As research is an imperfect process and of course I am aware of the flaws, I am satisfied with this work. This journey has challenged me and I have learned a great deal – both personally and professionally. I believe I tried to be both rigorous and relevant during this process. As Tracy (2010) states, every craft has its set of best practice guidelines. I have tried to adhere to these. Forgive the imperfections!

8.9 Conclusion

This dissertation sought to answer the research question “how does family business ownership influence the careers of next generation family members?” The answer to this question is significant. More importantly, the family business continues to influence and shape their careers as they evolve over time. NxG accounts’ of their careers in this study describe their careers to date. What these careers unfold to be over the course of their lives is yet to be discovered. The author aspires to re-interview participants in the future to explore the next chapter in their careers. The author too hopes this dissertation has provided some inspiring ideas for the family business field going forward, as the dialogue surrounding a family business unique construct such as socioemotional wealth gathers momentum and evolves.

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APPENDIX 1

CASE PARTICIPANT B1

“. . . but a career that just goes along the top or just goes like that, that's not reality, so I could say to myself, like if I was in an interview today and somebody was asking me why did you leave Kerry to do this and I said look I made a decision to help my father and help my family and support them and make their life easier and my god I learned a hell of a lot from working in a family business that I never would have learned in my, as I say my kitty gloved multinational business.”

Participant B1 currently runs his family business in partnership with his two brothers. The following case details his story as to how he arrived at his current career destination.

B1 first began to think about his career when he was in the third year of secondary school and he had to make some educational choices.

“I certainly didn't start thinking about careers until I was in lets say, what we used to call the Inter Cert, at that stage you make your first decisions about what you're going to do with your life or you start to talk to a career guidance counsellor and what not, so the decision was, my decision was, I was taking at the age of whatever it was fifteen or so, fourteen and a half, what choices am I going to make for the last section of secondary school so I chose the sciences.”

As he liked the sciences, he felt this was a natural choice for him. He also chose Technical Drawing as he was drawn to Architecture. Looking back retrospectively, B1 wonders if he chose those subjects because his father was in a construction related business;

“. . . and what was I thinking when I made those choices? Potentially, because obviously my father was in a construction related business maybe something along engineering, architecture, something like that and sciences interested me so that's the natural choice from there.”

The next step for participant B1 was his choice for third level. He applied to study Architecture and Biochemistry and ended up studying Biochemistry. At the time he was making his educational decision, he recalls a number of pharmaceutical companies in the area were hiring Science graduates which reinforced his decision to choose Biochemistry. Upon graduation, after a number of interviews with different companies he was offered a job with Kerry Group as a production manager. B1's main reason to choose to work in Kerry Group at the time was that Kerry Group was a popular company to work for.

“and I chose Kerry because they were like, you know the bee’s knees and everybody wanted to work for them and they were whatever so I said listen I’ll do this for as long as I can . . .”

Prior to joining Kerry Group, he had only ever worked in the family business.

“Besides the obligatory one, so ya I had no exposure at all to the outside world . . .”

Participant B1 describes his time in Kerry Group as an *“unbelievable learning curve.”* He learned the general operation of a large multinational. He worked as production manager for two years before being promoted to run one of the factories. At the time, Kerry Group was also building a new plant so Keith was also involved in that. B1 refers to the support available to him as an employee with Kerry Group.

“. . . when you’re working in a multinational you have a lot of support, and that’s the one thing I would miss from working in a multinational, the structures are fantastic like, now you get things done for you and you learn when you leave that kind of environment that you have to do everything for yourself but you get things done for ya and you learn, I supposed you pick up and everybody’s bouncing off each other and there’s a lot of good ideas and whatever. . .”

After five years working in Kerry Group, B1 was beginning to get *“itchy feet”*. He was offered jobs in London and France and was deciding which path to pursue when his father asked him to return to the family business.

“I was humming and hawing as to what I was going to do and then my father, like out of the blue, I’d come home and say every now and again and I’d say how are things and how’s its going and then like my father isn’t the talkey type but then one day he went, I couldn’t shut him up . . . and then he asked me would I come back and I said sure look I’ll come home and try, see what you need, what needs to be done. . .”

He said yes immediately when his father asked him to return to the business.

“I didn’t think about it because listen at the end of the day it’s a family business and my perspective was I can’t have them up in a heap, I know that I’ll get a job tomorrow, that was my thinking at the time.”

B1 recalls an incident, about a year before his father asked him to return to the family business which may have ignited his father’s request:

“I remember maybe about a year before I came home, just because at this stage now I had done an accountancy course or a finance course up in the IMI in

Dublin, so I'd know a balance sheet, profit and loss and all of that, so I said give me a look at that there, so I was reading it and telling them this and that and they were like, that may have started the whole ball rolling actually, oh we need to bring this fellow back, I didn't do it because I wanted to, I was just saying if you did a bit of this and a bit of that and what are you doing about this."

He claims the family business had outgrown its capacity and his father was not equipped to deal with the stage the business had grown to.

". . . and my father was getting a bit over the top hectic, he wasn't able for, he wasn't able for running the business basically and he had no classical training."

In 2002, B1 returned to the family business and to what he described as "an agricultural set up." On his return to the family business, he set up management systems and implemented HR policies and used some of the knowledge he had acquired whilst working in Kerry Group. However, he also learned about things which he had not experienced working in a multinational.

". . . when I came home first I learned a lot more, a lot of ancillary stuff that I wouldn't have been seeing inside in the cocoon that you have in a group environment, I mean like managing my parent's own wealth, managing their pension situation . . ."

Whilst implementing some changes, B1 admitted to "ruffling a few feathers" during the process. However, when he returned to the family business, the Celtic Tiger was just around the corner. Business was booming so he recognises it was a lot easier to implement changes.

"Ya, but in reality things were good so its easier when things are good. . ."

B1 has been running the family business for ten years. His two brothers both work in the business, one in Sales and the other in Logistics. His father works there on a part-time basis. When he returned to the family business and he began to take over HR issues, his father relaxed a bit.

". . . but like my father was happy enough then to relax after a while, now he's not the relaxing type but when I mean, he wasn't in work all the time and he didn't really care too much about the accounting side of it or worry about that or making sure we made money and all this kind of stuff so he was more, he liked to be involved in the hands on day to day stuff. . ."

His father is now sixty three years old but B1 feels that although he works less in the business now, he will never retire.

“. . . so over the years, over the period, now he's a kind of a part timer, he wont' retire because he's him but he's a part timer, he comes in in the mornings for a couple of hours, heads off, does his own thing, he's got his own, like when I started he hadn't got, his life was his business, how he's sixty three which is a different mindset as well but he didn't have a clue, he had no past times, he had no interests, he didn't want to go on holidays, all he wanted was to get up, work and go to bed."

As the construction industry in Ireland has declined significantly, PVC Fabrications had endured some challenging times. In the height of the boom in Ireland, PVC Fabrications employed eighteen to twenty permanent employees and some part timers. That figure had now dwindled to ten employees. The focus at present is on trying to boost business again.

"Oh we've gone down like, the business is inextricably linked with the construction industry and what's happened has happened and like we would have had five years of fire fighting just to keep abreast of it and then you have two or three years of recession fighting which god knows you're kind of trying to grab what you can grab and the reality hits at the end of a certain period of time that look there's no point in being a busy fool so we're now in the business of trying to make money again you know, that's just the way the business is, that's the way it happens in a recession so consolidation you know and rationalisation and all those lovely words."

Keith recognises that when he was making career decisions, he didn't really question his motives or intentions;

"If I look back on it retrospectively I should have said to myself why am I picking this? I'm picking this because I'm getting exposure to a serious company, to a serious professional company that makes a lot of money as opposed to developing a career."

Ironically, although Keith grew up and comes from a family business background, when he thought about his career, he never intended on working in the family business.

"I never in college, ever thought I'd end up or in school or in college, I never thought I'd end up in the family business, it was never in my head at all."

Growing up in the family business

Family business B was established in 1974 by B1's father, John. B1 was two years old when his father registered the business. He began to work in the family business from the age of ten years old; however his earliest memories are when he was about seven years old.

“ . . I actually remember in primary school being a dogsbody in the real business on Saturday mornings, get this, get that, move this, move that, so that's the first memory, seven or eight like.”

He worked every weekend;

“From the age of I'd say ten, twelve maybe I would have been working every weekend in my father's business because obviously that's 25/26 years ago, it would have been a start up business in those days, he would have done an awful lot of the work himself and the weekends would have been, you know stuff he couldn't get done during the week.”

As the business was in the start up phase, he recalls the developmental aspect to the business as well as the hard work involved;

“I would have been involved in everything at the start, you know like when you think about it now there was kind of development work involved, you know how do we make this? How do we do that? And being there from the start and actually being involved in the process and you know and like anything in the business outside of driving trucks, I've done.”

In the early days, the business was located at home and B1 recalls suppliers calling to the house;

“Oh I would have interacted with the accountant, would have called to the house in those days obviously he would have only been tapping me on the head or the sale guys would have been in the house, you know it's a family business so and at that time it was based at home, there was no disassociation between home and business, they were the same thing.”

B1 claims he wouldn't have been that aware of the business as a young boy. His father had a sideline of growing potatoes for chip shops in the early days of the business which B1 helped out with.

“Not aware at all, no idea, no like I wouldn't have known, I wouldn't have known why I was picking potatoes or sorting potatoes on a Saturday, I didn't realise it was money like, you know you're ten or twelve, probably, kids are probably more savvy now than when I was, well I wasn't savvy anyway, so I was happy to do it, it was great fun. . .”

When he was older, B1 worked in the family business during summers in school, college and weekends. He describes his experience of working in the family business as a kind of *carrot* which he would have used in interviews but only the technical side of the business, not the general business experience he acquired;

"I would have mentioned that, I would have of course mentioned that I had worked summers, I would have absolutely used that as a kind of a carrot, no I didn't go gallivanting around the world every summer, bumming off my parents, I worked, that would have been the extent of it, I wouldn't have been saying I learned anything about accounting or I learned anything about running a business because it wouldn't have been true to be brutally honest."

B1 claims that his two brothers did not have the same experience as he did growing up in the family business.

"As opposed to gallivanting but all I did was I did the J1 once in college, I know I'm flipping all over the place now but I did the other summers I had to stay at home, he needed me cos as I said it was more start-up or you know early stages of the business he turned it into so there would have been a fair amount of horsing for want of a better terminology, but it was great grounding and it stood to me obviously long term because my other two brothers who are younger than me never did any of that. . . . well they worked but they wouldn't have, like I would have been involved in everything at the start."

B1's mother used to also work in the business in a secretarial role. She retired three years ago. His mother's retirement was a significant event for Keith as he feels now it's time for his father to retire also.

Support of family members

While B1 was working in Kerry Group, he recalls talking to his mother about work and telling the family about how work at Kerry Group was going. When he returned to the business as General Manager, his family proved to be a valuable resource and source of support.

"In my career, where family members, well without a doubt obviously when I came back cold turkey to the business, I didn't have a clue about anything, all I could do was put anything, when I say anything, I mean administration wise or you know suppliers or the nuances of competitors and SWOT and PEST and all this kind of stuff, so I wouldn't have known any of that so definitely in the first twelve or eighteen months I would have gotten a lot of information about those kind of things from my immediate family who were working in the business."

He also realises how valuable his father's network of contacts were. One of his father's strengths is building business relationships.

"That actually, I'd say sixty percent or more of the contacts would have been there before I came back, so John my father would have been very strong on all that kind of stuff. . . . oh absolutely, most definitely I used them for insight into the general business environment, what's going on with other people, oh ya, they would have been very useful, ya."

His father had good contacts in the industry and his name and reputation also proved to be valuable for Keith;

“ . . . he would have had plenty of contacts, now a lot of those would have wittled out and a lot of them would still be there or they would have turned over you know, people wise, but he would have had good contacts in the industry.”

He feels the family business has personally developed him;

“Well I think they probably developed me personally, as you know, if you’re, you’re being inquisitive about things at an early age you know, you’re taking on stuff, this is interesting actually, you’re taking on stuff that a normal ten or twelve year old wouldn’t be taking on. Ya you’re exposed to stuff beyond your young years possibly, but definitely, it definitely shaped my character no doubt, it definitely probably made me a bit technical mentally watching how things were done and maybe it developed my science part of my head but yeah I would definitely agree with that.”

He also thinks the family business has groomed him to work very hard;

“there is no doubt, without a shadow of doubt in the world that I have work ethos in my back pocket, I could have worked twelve hours a day, it wouldn’t have bothered me in the slightest cos that’s my father’s strength, he can work and he can work so I had the work ethic and like when you’re in a field at eight o’clock in the morning at the age of twelve picking spuds or if, and you know I never had a problem with hard work . . .”

The future

Family business B has undergone enormous change since its establishment in 1984. Operating in a global marketplace due to the recession has been a key development for the organisation in terms of keeping it alive. B1 describes the future of PVC Fabrications as being more entrepreneurial;

“But I think career development, it will probably be more entrepreneurial I’d say over the next ten or fifteen years, in reality it will probably be what else can we do, thinking completely outside the box, we don’t have to do what we’re doing all the time, lets see. . . .”

Although he is the designated successor, he worries about the future.

“I’m running the show ya, but I don’t, I personally long term, I’d be worried about it, I worry more than I probably need to about how it will all pan out because I don’t know when and if my father is not there how the dynamic will change, it will change. . .”

He is hoping for a fundamental shift in the way the family business operates;

"Ya, a fundamental shift, I'd be hoping that it would become a bit more, a bit more open because John is, John is kind of you know these early stages start up entrepreneurs, he's kinda black and white, do it this way and that's it. . ."

B1 describes his brothers as being open minded with regards to discussing family business issues and the succession process. He did a course at university on family dynamics and his brothers were open to discuss the issues which arose. However, his father does not have the same interest:

". . he has no interest like, but anyway, he has no problems with us running the business but he has an issue with him leaving it cos he thinks it won't survive if he's not there, but it will be interesting what happens, it's my career when we say it is my career, what will happen in that phase. . ."

Keith admits that he has been thinking recently about what stage he is at and what he is doing career wise.

"and I suppose of late, not necessarily because of the recession but of late I've thought to myself where am I now, what am I going to do with myself now, but personally right now I'm staying where I am because I have to in the short term to get us through what we have to get through but it will be interesting to see in two or three years time when everything is kind of, when all the dust has finally settled and the reality hits, whether or what we'll do."

APPENDIX 2

