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Family Business Daughters: The Ties that Bind and Divide

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Family Business Daughters: The Ties that Bind and Divide

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Table of Contents

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Angela M. Day

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the relational contradictions experienced by family business daughters, and to investigate how they responded to these tensions. For this project, I interviewed twelve second and third generation family business daughters from eleven different family businesses. I utilized research procedures similar to grounded theory to analyze my interview transcripts. I examined relational tensions at both a personal level and an organizational level involving the larger work-family system. At a personal level, the connection/separation contradiction is significant to family business daughters and to their relationships with work and family. Many family business daughters helped at the family business because it was a means of emotional connection to family members who work there. Some family business daughters went so far as sacrificing their personal goals for family business goals.

At an organizational level, one advantage of working at a family business was the flexibility it provided family business daughters to respond to family emergencies. Yet ironically, family business daughters were not granted the same accommodations for schedule demands associated with childcare. Family business daughters who were mothers often felt as if they could not be good mothers and productive workers. I explored the gendered basis of these different tensions, particularly as they arise from the

ideology of separate spheres and patriarchal assumptions concerning the public-private

divide and the assumed separation of family and work. I argue family business daughters

have inherited a phenomenal work ethic that makes them successful business women yet

they have also inherited the legacy of the founder's sexist attitudes toward motherhood

and work. These sexist attitudes live in the organizational culture, and family business

mothers adopt a separate spheres discourse in which they must choose between their

work and their family. They address these relational tensions through the strategy of

balancing family and work; however, this places family business daughters in a position

where they feel as if they have to sacrifice in both the areas. I contend the family business

should treat its members as "whole beings" by merging family into work.

Introduction: Alexandra's Story

It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out. Every day when Alexandra was a baby, her mother would tightly bundle her and take her to the family restaurant. At six Alexandra helped by wiping off tables. In Hong Kong there wasn't much for her to do. She went to school, cleaned the restaurant, and relaxed. Now, her family lives in the United States and owns a buffet style restaurant that seats more customers than her family can handle. Alexandra liked living in Hong Kong.

Pacing herself makes her feel in control. Campus is over an hour away. In the mornings she tries to leave home early to make it on time. She feels funny walking into class after it has started. She feels funny walking into class every day. After sleeping during her classes, Alexandra drives as fast as she can to the restaurant. 351 times a year she helps her mother put sushi, dumplings, General Tso's Chicken, Moo goo gai pan, egg rolls, and many other foods her dad cooked on the buffet. If she finishes early, she is allowed to take a small break before the customers come.

Pacing herself makes her feel in control. Waiting on customers without having a break makes her feel rushed. She feels rushed every day. At work she answers phones, takes orders, waitresses, helps runs deliveries, greets customers, refills customers' drinks, moderates her mom's and dad's fights, cleans off tables, vacuums the floor, tries to study, cleans the bathroom, runs the register, says hi to the delivery driver (her boyfriend), and

helps break down the buffet. A couple of months ago, she learned how to cook in the kitchen just in case any chefs are sick.

All she wants is a day off. After working 12 hours, she gets home around midnight. While her mom and dad silently watch TV, she goes in her room and does homework. Some nights she pays the bills. The money doesn't come out of her pocket. It's her parent's money. All she does is write the checks and make certain everything is paid on time. Sometimes she forgets. Like the time the cable got disconnected. "My shows. You are going to get it reconnected right?" her mom asked. Of course Alexandra made certain the cable was turned back on. Her parents don't fight while they watch shows from Hong Kong. Pacing herself makes her feel in control. She goes to sleep around one or two in the morning. She gets up and tries to get to campus before her 8:00 class starts. She feels funny walking into class every day.

It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out. Her oldest brother works fulltime at a grocery store. Her other brother, in the army, is far away. Out of all three of them, he is the best cook. He would help if he was close by. This leaves Alexandra, the youngest, to work with her parents. The restaurant is open seven days a week from 11:00 AM until 10:00 PM so Alexandra and her parents work every day. All three of them get there early to prep food, and stay after it closes to clean.

All she wants is a day off. It's not so bad. It just sucks she has to work every day. Her parents have been working this whole year nonstop, except when they closed on Thanksgiving and Christmas. She'd be happy if she could get one entire day off once a month. She'd actually get to have some fun. One day she went to an Amusement park,

but her mother called after she had been there for only one hour. "Alexandra," her mother said, "we're really busy. You might want to come in now." She lost her day off.

Alexandra got so frustrated she told her mother, "It's my day off and you always call me into work." On her next day off, no one called. When she is not at work, she worries. She carries her phone with her all the time. Why hadn't they called? Certainly something was wrong. Alexandra checked in, "Mom. Why haven't you called me today?" Her mother seemed OK. Alexandra imagined they just sucked it up. It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out.

She is jealous. Her brother who works at a grocery store gets a day off every week and a week vacation once a year. One day she asked him, "How do you get to go to New York on your vacation, and I've got to stay here and work? Why don't you stay here and work? I won't go to New York. I'll just stay here. If you need help at the restaurant just call me. Let me have this week off." She carries her phone with her all the time. That week, Alexandra wouldn't have to feel funny walking into class. She could take naps, do laundry, and write papers for school. Pacing herself makes her feel in control.

All she wants is a day off. It just never happens. Her brother gets frustrated. Customers are walking in, both of the phones are ringing, and he's got to swipe a credit card. He doesn't know what he is supposed to do first. Alexandra handles it better. Pacing herself makes her feel in control. She answers the phone, tells the walk-in customers to wait, and then she swipes the credit card so the customers can pay. She even carries the phone in her apron so she can answer it wherever she is. She carries her phone with her all the time. Her brother's restaurant skills are not as good as hers. Her parents feel better when she's there. It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out.

At fourteen, Alexandra felt a hurt so deep even now she can't describe it. Her father told her, "Your mother and I are going to get divorced when you turn eighteen because I cannot live with her." Her mother and father work so differently. Everything they fight about is the restaurant. When an order comes in, Alexandra's mom wants Alexandra's dad to stop cooking the rice for the buffet and make the food for the customer. They wouldn't have a business without any customers. Alexandra's dad wants to finish what he is doing and then make the customer's food. The customer can wait a few minutes. It takes a lot of time to stop and restart things all day. Her mom and dad argue every day. Alexandra hears them yell, "I hate you. I hate you so much."

Pacing herself makes her feel in control. When Alexandra graduates from college, she can help with the bills. Then her parents can sell the restaurant. Without the restaurant, her mom and dad won't fight as much. It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out. Her parents don't know the strain the restaurant has put on her schooling. If they did, they might not let her work so much. She reminds herself that her mom and dad are not divorced because they need each other. She tells herself, "We still are together. We work together. They are still together because they work together."

At 14, suddenly everything was on Alexandra. That year her family moved from Hong Kong to the United States. It was assumed that she would do all of the billing and translating. Her English has always been better than her brothers and her parents. When she was 15, her parents bought a house in Florida. She couldn't translate the mortgage contract to them. She would think, "My English isn't good enough. I'm so afraid that I will explain something wrong and mess up the whole thing. Like buying a whole house and paying more money than we supposed to." All she wants is a day off.

Pacing herself makes her feel in control. At school, there was a teacher Alexandra and her brothers called mom. Alexandra confided in her, "I am afraid because if I translate something wrong then I don't know what's going to happen. Like buying a house is a big thing. If they tell me something about a fixed rate, what does that mean? I don't understand. What is he talking it about?" Alexandra brought the letters and contracts to her, and the teacher they called mom translated everything. Alexandra translated to her parents the contracts that were translated to her. It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out.

All she wants is a day off. Now, when people try to contact her parents the 20-year-old tells them, "I'm the daughter. I translate everything for them. If you have any problem you have to contact me because my parents don't speak any English." In Hong Kong her mom and dad paid their own bills. Unless her parents move back to Hong Kong she will always live near them. She tells herself, "We still are together. We work together." Sometimes, Alexandra asks her brothers for help.

They tell her, "That's your job. You've been doing it since you were here."

Her boyfriend doesn't understand. He pleads with her, "Just run away."

"No," she firmly responds.

He gets angry, "well you should get paid."

"Listen," Alexandra replies, "they work because they need to pay for the house and I live in the house too. I should help. They've got to save their money now so when they are older and retire they can use that money."

Her boyfriend is confused, "I help my dad cut the grass and I get paid for that. You should get paid."

She gazes into his eyes, "Why would you get paid? You live for free. You should help your family." She explains to him, "The American way of thinking and the Chinese way of thinking is very different. You live in the house too. Why don't you help clean? When your parents do your laundry you don't pay them. Why are they paying you for cutting the grass?"

Her cousins don't understand. They plead with her, "Why don't you just move out here and go to college with us. The three of us will be together."

She responds, "I've got to help my parents."

Her older cousin challenges her, "Find another job and get paid money."

Alexandra answers back, "I live for free. They help me. They've been feeding me, giving me a house. I have a responsibility to help them. I have to do this because I want to help my parents." It's always been part of the family that everyone helps out.

Ever since Alexandra can remember, her parents have worked seven days a week. They work for her and her brothers, and have shown her that working hard in life is good. Even if she is unable to do everything she will try the best that she can.

Why Alexandra Never Has a Day Off

I have placed Alexandra's narrative first because it exemplifies the commitment and dedication that family business daughters feel for their families. While reading and re-reading Alexandra's interview transcripts, I was struck by her emotional commitment to her parents and so I have attempted to convey it through her own words. I constructed Alexandra's story from my interviews with her. In some parts of her story, I paraphrased Alexandra while other parts, such as the repeated phrases and the dialogue, are exact

citations although changed to read in third person. For example, Alexandra's actual quote is "All I want is a day off." In the narrative, I wrote, "All she wants is a day off."

Alexandra's physical presence, as well as her story, moved me. She would arrive at the interviews with wet hair and a tired voice. I always thought she must have rushed over after she had gotten out of the shower. She was only available to meet early on Friday mornings because that was the only weekday morning she did not have class. I was concerned because the interviews took longer than I anticipated, and I felt guilty for always making her late for her study group. I knew her most valuable resource was her time, and I thank her for sharing it with me. Pacing herself makes her feel in control.

All Alexandra wants is a day off; however, she is so connected to her family and the family business she cannot separate her personal goals from her parents' goals. She is in an impossible position where an emotional commitment to her family is the equivalent to a financial obligation. While on the one hand, the complexity of Alexandra's life and circumstances are unique, her story highlights many similarities among children who grow up in a family business. Family business children are often a part of a unique family culture where family commitment is gauged through family members' business contributions (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). They experience an overlap of familial and company values (García-Álvarez *et al.*, 2002; Klein *et al.*, 2005), and they see their parents in both domestic and work environments. As a result, family business children are typically knowledgeable and concerned about their family's economic status (McCann, 2007).

Many family business children were "psychologically" in the family business since they were babies, and as a result, the company is central to their relationships with family members (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). As a baby, Alexandra emotionally bonded with

her parents in the context of their family restaurant, and since childhood, she has

contributed economically to her family through her unpaid labor. Financial and emotional

commitments become intertwined, and for Alexandra, taking a day off from work would

create a distance between herself and her family.

Gender complicates family business daughters' relationships with their family

business because it often determines how family business children are regarded (Dumas,

1989a). Family business women are often treated as "helpers" (Francis, 1999) and their

contributions overlooked or treated as invisible (Gillis-Donovan & Moynihan-Bradt,

1990; Rowe & Hong, 2000). Furthermore, the founder's attitudes and values permeate

the family business culture (Denison *et al.*, 2004) and overlap with the family culture

(Aronoff, 2004). Since the founder of most family businesses are men, they may

inadvertently perpetuate a family and business culture that undermines and undervalues

their daughters (Francis, 1999). Family business daughters may confront gendered

relational tensions with family members who may also be their bosses and coworkers.

Alexandra's story represents many of the same tensions of connection/separation

that other family business daughters encounter. She tries to balance her connection to her

family business, with the distance needed to accomplish her own goals. In fact, many

family business daughters address similar relational tensions associated with being

connected and disconnected to the family business (Dumas, 1988). Baxter and

Montgomery's (1996) dialectical relationship theory is a tool that can be used to explore

family business daughters' incongruities. Under this view, "social life" is a "dynamic

knot of contradictions" where the "ceaseless interplay" of dilemmas occurs (p. 3). In

other words, we come to know who we are through our relationships and we create and

recreate ourselves through "ongoing, dynamic" relational tensions (p. 166). In Alexandra's case, she understands who she is and can recreate who she is through how connected or how separated she is from her family business.

All she wants is a day off. Alexandra is so connected to her parents' wellbeing; she feels a responsibility to help at the restaurant to provide economic security for them. Her boyfriend and cousins tried to persuade her to separate herself from the restaurant by leaving it to focus on her educational goals. To Alexandra, leaving her parents, who have worked hard every day of their lives for their children, is a form of betrayal. This tension places her in a situation where she cannot win, since she does not posses the resources to concurrently achieve her personal goals and her parent's family business goals. Her story typifies how some family business daughters equate familial bonds with family business involvement, and this complicates and heightens the connection/separation contradiction they experience with the family business.

Research Aims

The purpose of this study is to explore the relational contradictions experienced by family business daughters, and to investigate how they responded to these tensions. For this project, I interviewed twelve second and third generation family business daughters from eleven different family businesses. I examined relational tensions at both a personal level and an organizational level involving the larger work-family system. At a personal level, as illustrated with Alexandra, the connection/separation contradiction is significant to family business daughters and to their relationships with work and family. Many family business daughters helped at the family business because it was a means of

9

emotional connection to family members who work there. Some family business

daughters went so far as sacrificing their personal goals for family business goals.

At an organizational level, one advantage of working at a family business was the

flexibility it provided family business daughters to respond to family emergencies. Yet

ironically, family business daughters were not granted the same accommodations for

schedule demands associated with childcare. Family business daughters who were

mothers often felt as if they could not be good mothers and productive workers. I have

tried to explore the gendered basis of these different tensions, particularly as they arise

from the ideology of separate spheres and patriarchal assumptions concerning the public-

private divide and the assumed separation of family and work.

Rationale

Family businesses are a prominent part of the American business landscape

because of their economic contributions. Most of us have purchased items manufactured

from large family controlled businesses including Wal-Mart, Ford Motor, HJ Heinz, and

The Campbell Soup Company, and many others of us have been, or will at sometime, be

employed at a family firm. According to a study by the University of Southern Maine's

Institute for Family-Owned Business, family businesses account for 50% of U.S. gross

domestic product, generate 60% of the country's employment, produce 78% of new jobs,

and makeup 35% of the Fortune 500 companies (Perman, 2006). Family firms account

for approximately 6 million Canadian jobs (Deloitte & Touche, 1999), and are likely to

have "larger" influences internationally (Chua, Chrisman, & Steier, 2003).

The emphasis of increased female leadership in family businesses is a growing

area of interest (Dumas, 1990). Family business women's leadership style is more

relational when compared to family business men (Dumas, 1989b), and they have been shown to be more effective leaders than their brothers (Perman, 2006). According to the San Fernando Valley Business Journal (2003), 34% of family business executives claim in five to seven years, their next CEO is likely to be female. However, only 9.5% of family businesses are run by women (Mass Mutual & Raymond Institute, 2003). Small percentages such as this, suggest the projected growth rate for female leadership is actually higher than the actual number of positions that materialize (Nelton, 1998).

Since 60% of Americans are employed by family firms, family firms greatly influence the quality of life for the majority of employed Americans. In addition, the above inconsistencies associated with family business women's leadership suggest that these firms may be operating under unconscious patriarchal assumptions. According to Dumas (1989a), the family-owned business "has the potential to play a crucial role in both improving women's occupational status, as well as altering the way women are perceived and treated in our society" (p. 303). One way family firms can do this is by creating policies that enable parents to simultaneously be a good parent and a good worker (Francis, 1999). However, to successfully accomplish this, family businesses must first become aware of unconscious "biases" toward women that limit their abilities to fully contribute (Dumas, 1989a). Family business daughters and the quality of their lives is an important topic because the policies that influence them will likely influence other female employees who work at those firms. Family firms have the potential to serve as models for other organizations regarding informal and formal work life policies.

I use Baxter and Montgomery's (1996) theory of relational dialectics to investigate the "knot of contradictions" at the heart of family business daughters'

experiences. Through in-depth interviews with family business daughters, I address the following questions:

1. What are the relational tensions that family business daughters experience?

    1a. What relational tensions exist at a personal level?

    1b. What relational tensions exist at an organizational level?

2. How do family business daughters respond to perceived relational tensions?

Preview of Chapters

In Chapter One, I provide an overview of contemporary family business literature to examine the overlap of familial and organizational systems. The literature reveals that family business children are often a part of a unique family culture where family inclusion is gauged according to family members' business contributions (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). It also suggests that family business women are an undervalued resource (Dumas, 1992). Next, I explore communication centered perspectives on work-life approaches and separate spheres discourse. I end by discussing how relational dialectics can be a conceptual tool for exploring family business daughters' relational tensions.

In Chapter Two, I present the methodological approaches I used to conduct this research study. The purpose of my research was to explore the relational tensions family business daughters experienced, and how they responded to these tensions. I focus on material gathered in 18 in-depth, face to face interviews I conducted with 12 family business daughters from 11 different companies. I utilized research procedures similar to grounded theory to analyze my interview transcripts.

In Chapter Three, I examine family business daughters' personal level dialectical tensions and how they respond to them. The women I interviewed felt a strong desire to

be connected to and separated from the family business. This was illustrated in how business participation was a means of emotionally connecting with and expressing care for family members. Family business daughters often felt as if they had to choose between giving to themselves or giving to the family business.

In Chapter Four, I explore how gendered patterns play out in the family business such as expectations that daughters will contribute more than sons, but also in gendered communication styles and performances. Then I examine how the founder's values create a family business culture that provided flexible polices for family emergencies, but is less accommodating for family business daughters who are mothers. Finally, I draw on relational dialectics to investigate how family business daughters addressed tensions.

In Chapter Five, I begin by investigating the relationship between relational dialectics and Burke's concept of consubstantiality. This chapter also explores rationality/emotionality as a primary tension that family business daughters experienced. I end by illustrating how family business daughters' experiences about motherhood connect with those of nonfamily business mothers.

Chapter One: The Contradiction of Overlapping Family and Business Boundaries

I watched Abigail and Joe preserve their marriage in the clear resin of a bar top. The couple owned their new beach front restaurant, *Mermaids,* for three months and were renovating it. "We put extra large windows in the main barroom so you can see the beach from everywhere." Abigail told me. Other than the view of the beach the U-shaped bar was the focal point of the room. I watched a carpenter stirring clear goo in an industrial size bucket. Last night, Joe and Abigail decorated the hollow bar top with seashells.

"We are going to pour clear resin in it," Abigail explained, "so when it dries, it will look like it is water with sea shells in it. We wanted customers to feel like this room is part of the beach."

A carpenter slowly began to pour the resin over the shells. "Wait," Abigail yelled as she ran out of bar. "There is one more thing. I don't want to forget this."

Joe came up and put his arm around me. "When you are alone writing your dissertation, you can think how you were lucky enough to be a part of this," he said. I was caught off guard by his remark. It wasn't my restaurant. This was monumental to him. I was watching a man pour resin.

Abigail ran back in the room holding a small paper heart. "See" she showed me. "I cut this last night from one of my and Joe's s wedding programs. I want it right here in the corner so I will always have an easy time finding it."

Less than two years ago Joe and Abigail sold the first restaurant they owned as a couple. Monday through Saturday Joe worked the day shift, and Monday through Saturday Abigail worked the night shift. Abigail tried to make it work for ten years. One day she decided she was never going back to their restaurant even if meant losing Joe. They sold the restaurant, and three months ago Abigail agreed that her husband should fulfill his dream of owning a beachfront business.

In the years to come, *Mermaid* customers will come in for a drink and ask about the paper heart in the bar top. A husband and wife will share their story. Customers may ask about other memories preserved in the clear resin. The newspaper clipping of Joe receiving the blue-ribbon for a chowder cook-off, a little wooden mermaid Abigail painted, and a light fixture from their first restaurant. Symbols of their marriage surviving, of their former business accomplishments, and of their hope for the future are all permanently encased in clear liquid glue that hardened. Joe was right. As I write my dissertation I am thinking about the day I watched Abigail and Joe preserve their marriage in the clear resin of a bar top.

The family business has been described as an "American ideal" and is often imagined to provide the family who owns it with "freedom," "success," "financial security," and "respect" (Rosenblatt,de Mik, Anderson, & Johnson, 1985, p. 2). While the business ideals linked with the family business are alluring, they fail to capture the interpersonal complexity that is coupled with working with family members. Familial and organizational boundaries overlap, and family and business relationships intertwine (Jaffe, 1990). I introduce this chapter by sharing Abigail and Joe's story because it is a strong illustration of how in a family business, family and business relationships are

15

integrated. Symbols of Abigail and Joe's marriage and business are interwoven to build the foundation for their future together both as a couple and as business partners.

Understanding the implications of overlapping family and work boundaries is important for my dissertation and more generally, for family business scholarship. This highlights the importance of examining the work of work-life communication scholars who investigate separate spheres discourse. Exploring how gender functions within this framework is crucial for understanding family business daughters' relational tensions.

This dissertation attempts to explore how some family business daughters experience the overlap between family and business, and the importance of gender in this overlap. It specifically investigates the relational tensions family business daughters experience at both an internal (personal) and external (social) level, and how they respond to these tensions. In this chapter I first examine literature from family business scholarship to investigate contemporary perspectives on the overlap of family and business to better understand family business culture. Next, I investigate the literature about family business women to explore how issues of visibility show up in business and familial contexts. Then, I explore communication centered perspectives on work-life approaches and separate spheres discourse. Finally, I discuss relational dialectics as a tool that can be used to explore family business daughters' relational tensions.

Overlapping Boundaries: Contemporary Family Business Perspectives

Hollander's and Elman's article, "Family-owned business: An emerging field of inquiry," (1988) outlined the development of the "multidisciplinary" field since 1983 and illustrated how scholars changed their focus from complete separation of family and business to exploring the permeability of these boundaries. In family business research,

16

the merging of family and business variables have been explored from (a) a systemic (Davis, 1983; Davis & Stern, 1980; Hollander & Elman, 1988), (b) cultural (Poza, 2004), and (c) generational perspective (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). While some scholars argue family business members should establish distinct boundaries that separate business and family life (Cole, 2000; Flemons & Cole, 1992; Schiff Estess, 1997, 2000), most researchers contend that it is impossible for family companies to separate family and business (Olson *et al.*, 2003; Sharma & Manikutty, 2005).

Systems theory is a prominent method applied in family business scholarship (e.g., Barnes, 1988; Gillis-Donovan & Moynihan-Bradt, 1990; Winter, Fitzgerald, Heck, Haynes, & Danes, 1998; Rowe & Hong, 2000). A systems approach "emphasizes" how "a collection of parts…work together to create a functional whole" (Eisenberg, Goodall, & Trethewey, 2007, p. 101). In the context of a family business, this suggests that collectively the family and the business comprise the family firm. Family business research is heavily influenced by family systems theory approaches utilized by Minuchin (e.g., Minuchin & Nicholson, 1993) and Bowen (e.g., Bowen, 1978), and most family business system models consist of three circles representing the overlap of ownership, management, and family subsystems (Tagiuri & Davis, 1996). Current models adopt an open-systems approach by investigating the influence of the business environment on family firms (Habbershon *et al.*, 2006; Pieper & Klein, 2007).

Family business life cycle approaches explore the impact that the intergenerational survival of the family firm has on family ownership, family management, and resource allocation (Kellermanns, 2005). First generation family businesses share the same struggles as entrepreneur businesses (Brockhaus, 1994; Dyer &

Handler, 1994; Hoy & Verser, 1994, such as the family and the business competing for financial resources (Jaffe, 1990). Typically, second and third generation businesses are economically stable; therefore, family members do not experience the economic stresses experienced by first generation family business members.

Business stage is an indicator of how much a family member is expected to participate. A business can posses characteristics that make it stay in the startup phase for more than one generation. Businesses in these phases will make different demands on a family than businesses in the mature phase (Rosenblatt *et al.,* 1985). Startup and smaller companies "have more need of family members to help out temporarily" or "to serve as back-up help" than a large business with more employees (Rosenblatt *et al.*, 1985). Family business transitions likely coincide with family transitions, for example, when the founder retires the family business goes through succession (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). Life cycle approaches illustrate how the experiences of family business members are varied, and tied to business type, business size, business age, and company profit. In my dissertation third generation family business daughters from medium sized companies that grossed over 20 million dollars yearly, had a different relationship with the business as children than second generation daughters who helped at their parent's small business.

Family Business Culture

Family business members coauthor, with other family members, a living family business culture where both the family and the business mold one another. Family business members are motivated by "being connected" to their family "financially as well as emotionally" (Kaslow, 1993 p. 4). The mutual interdependence between family and business make the family businesses unique (Lee, 2006). When family members choose a

"career" in the family business they make a commitment to be interdependent with family members for issues pertaining to family, career and finances (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). Positive and negative family relationship patterns often spill over into the family business, and fights with parents or siblings in either the family and business context are typically carried into the other context (Jaffe, 1990; McCann, 2007). One of the family business daughters I interviewed explained this when she commented that when the CEO yelled at her, it was both her boss and her father yelling at her.

Family members often have a difficult time separating business and family because the family's socialization network is usually the same as their business network (Lyman, 1988). Furthermore, there is a direct connection to family standard of living and business profit. When the business is new or not making a profit, the family must compete with the firm for economic resources (Heck *et al.*, 2006) and accept lower standards of living (Rosenblatt *et al.*, 1985).

The literature reveals that a close connection to the family business begins in childhood. Family business consultants Gersick and his colleagues (1997) contend that "conveying the psychological legacy of the firm is an important part of child rearing" for family business parents (p. 71). As a result, family business children are often put in situations where they feel emotionally and financially connected to their families (Lansberg, 1983). The business founder typically defines both the family and business culture (McCann, 2006), and uses family members, including children, as a form of inexpensive labor (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). Since, the family business's concerns are directly tied to the family and its economic wellbeing, it is common for family business children to grow up with the same economic commitments and company values as their

parents. Family business children often know more about their family's financial status than nonfamily business children (McCann, 2006).

As well as experiencing an emotional connection between money and family, family business children experience a strong social bond to the family business. Since many family business children have high levels of interaction with the family business at a young age, they often share their parents' view of the business, are committed to the family firm, and have common business expertise (García-Álvarez *et al.*, 2002; Pyromalis *et al.*, 2006). Children who only hear the negative aspects of the business can become turned off to it. However, children who see both positive and negative aspects are likely to see themselves as a part of the family firm (Gersick *et al.,* 1997).

While family business literature clearly claims that in a family business there is an undeniable overlap of family and business, some authors warn family business parents that in order to protect their children they must establish boundaries between the two. Greg McCann, the director of the Family Business Center at Stetson University, explored the intimate connection between familial identity and family business in his book *When your parents sign the paychecks: Finding career success inside or outside the family business*. According to him, "In a family business, the business often defines the family's identity" (2006, p. 4); therefore, it is important that family business children establish "an emotional self that is separate from" their "family" (p. 2). Family business children's dedication to the family firm is often dependent upon if their parents integrate or separate business and family commitment. For example, Gersick and his colleagues (1997) suggest that for some business families "the company is always central….because the

business dominates all aspects of family life" (p. 78). In this situation family acceptance is equated with business participation. They explain:

> In these cases, the surest way for a child to get attention and rewards from the parents, even at an early age, is through the business…..Staying in the business means keeping first-class status in the family; choosing another path means becoming peripheral to family interaction. The more successful you are in the company, the higher your value in your parents' eyes" p. 78.

Families who highly integrate personal and professional commitments are compared and contrasted with business families where parents "protect" their children from such concerns. Parents offer this protection by participating in their children's lives in a manner not associated with the family firm. For example, going on a family vacation that is not connected with a business trip, offers family business children a chance to develop a relationship with their parents in a non-business context. Family business children who grow up with this protection "are more likely to view working in the business as a career option, not as a criterion for membership in the family" (Gersick *et al.*, 1997, p. 78). The notion that family business parents can "protect" their children from family and business relationships becoming too integrated perpetuates the myth that there are physical, emotional, and categorical distinctions between personal and professional spheres (Kirby *et al.*, 2003).

In my research, family business daughters' perception of work and family boundaries influenced how family business daughters responded to their perceived relational tensions. Women who viewed personal and family business goals as separate felt as if they had to pick one goal over the other. Women who integrated personal and

business goals felt as if they could accomplish both. Gender was another important aspect regarding how family business daughters responded to their relational tensions.

The Unique Standpoint of Family Business Daughters

The oldest family business located in the United States is the cymbal company, Zildjian Cymbal Company that was founded in 1623 in Constantinople and arrived in the U.S. in 1929. Family business daughter Craigie is currently the company's first female CEO in 14 generations ("America's oldest family companies", 2003). Family businesses have a tradition of operating under primogeniture (Francis, 1999), and treating family business daughters as an "untapped resource" (Dumas, 1992). The literature on family business daughters reveals that their contributions are often undervalued and treated as invisible in both a familial and business context.

Colette A. Dumas is perhaps the most published author on family business daughter research (Dumas, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1992, 1998; Dumas *et al.*, 1995). Using a critical feminist approach, her work addresses the many challenges family business daughters face. She claims they are an "untapped resource within the family firm" because they often are not considered for firm positions unless there is a family or business emergency, and are typically treated as part-time help (Dumas, 1992). Family business daughters do not have formalized roles and their work responsibilities are ambiguous (Dumas, 1992). Her findings are consistent with others who suggest that most family business daughters enter the firm because of a crisis (Curimbaba, 2002) and are unlikely successors (Barnes, 1998; Francis, 1999; Haberman & Danes, 2007).

The challenges family business daughters encounter are consistent with challenges that family business women in general encounter including: (a) unpaid labor,

(b) lack of job description (Danes & Olson, 2003), and (c) difficulty balancing family and work (Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002). This scholarship underscores the importance of feminist perspectives for understanding the experience of family business daughters by suggesting, that cultural gendered stereotypes limit how family business women are treated by others and how family business women view themselves (Salganicoff, 1990). Researchers contend that the challenges family business women confront frequently result in their contributions being minimized to the point where they are invisible.

For over two decades, issues of family business women's's visibility and invisibility have been a consistent theme in family business women literature (e.g., Curimbaba, 2002; Danes & Olson, 2003; Dumas, 1988; Y. G. Lee *et al.*, 2006; Lyman, 1988; Rowe & Hong, 2000; Salganicoff, 1990). Cole (1997) defines invisibility as "a role created for a woman in which family members and others ignore the women's professional capabilities" (p. 369). As early as 1988, Lyman noted how family businesswomen make interpersonal and invisible contributions to the family business such as contributing their insight to business conversations that occur at family dinner (Lyman, 1988, p. 383). The next portion of this chapter considers how issues of invisibility have been explored from both an organizational and familial standpoint.

Problems with (In)Visibility in the Organization

The relational work that women perform while at work is often overlooked in business because it is not easily translated into organizational outcomes (Fletcher, 1999; Hochschild, 1983). Family business scholars report similar findings with family business women and therefore, explore the informal business contributions family business daughters make. Gillis-Donovan and Moynihan-Bradt (1990) argue when exploring

23

family businesses, that informal third party relationships are just as important to the business as "formal" business relationships. Often female family members without official company titles, work roles, or salaries perform jobs such as balancing the books at home and are often never given credit for their "informal" contributions (Row & Hong, 2000). The tendency for scholars and family business consultants to overlook informal business relationships risks the omission of gendered considerations important to family businesses. For example, during succession daughters typically provide more financial and emotional support for their retiring parents than sons (Cadieux, Lorrain, & Hurgron, & 2002; Chrisman, Chua, & Sharma, 1998).

Family business daughters, who work with their brothers, report having to work harder than their brothers to prove they are competent at their jobs and that they feel "less visible" than their brothers (Vera & Dean, 2005). This includes family business daughters who joined the family business after establishing themselves as successful business women in fields or organizations not affiliated with their family business. Furthermore, Curimbaba (2002) notes how family business women in leadership positions are dynamic and shift based upon family and business needs. For example, a visible leadership position for a family business daughter can be transformed to an invisible, less powerful role if a brother decides to assume a leadership role in the company. Feelings of invisibility and shifting power structures experienced by family business daughters are consequences of both social and family business norms associated with gender. For example, Salganicoff (1990) argues the unique contributions of women, including keeping peace between family members, is ignored under patriarchal business structures.

Family business scholars have addressed contradictions of invisibility found when gendered stereotypes held by nonfamily members such as other employees or clients, are juxtaposed against a particular family's unbiased norms for organizational responsibilities. For example, often husband and wife teams treat each other equitably, while clients treat the "wife" as a subordinate member of the organization (Hollander & Bukowitz, 1990). Coles (1997) contends that while some families treat all members equitably, in large family firms invisibility issues exist for nonfamily members inside and outside of the company, while in smaller companies it typically stems from professionals external to the company.

Barnes (1988) explores how an incongruence in the family and business "position" of the daughter or younger son creates an incongruence between the family and business hierarchy. For example, succession is difficult for a younger son or daughter because the company position they are succeeding to is higher than their family position. In order for succession to be successful, family members must negotiate their identities by transforming the hierarchical status of the younger son or daughter so it is consistent in both the family and the business. To increase congruence from the status conflict, the daughter or younger son must "restructure their identity for outsiders and family members by changing perceptions and behavior patterns of those associated with family and business" (p. 13). She claims daughters face more resistance than sons.

Family business women's financial contributions are often undervalued and ignored. This includes women who earn incomes from working at another job, those who work at the family business and another job, and those that work at the family firm without any pay (Rowe & Hong, 2000). Family business wives employed at the family firm earn the

lowest company salaries (Rowe & Hong, 2000), and family business women who are not

owners typically work without pay and job description (Danes & Olson, 2003). Working

without titles and salaries blurs the boundaries of family and work (Hollander &

Bukowitz, 1990; Lyman, 1988; Salganicoff, 1990), resulting in family business daughters

being treated as helpers, as opposed to business participants (Dumas, 1989b).

In addition, although family business women are better trained and educated than

their male counterparts, they are not typically viewed as a business asset and only join the

company because of either a family or business crisis (Curimbaba, 2002). Furthermore, it

is common for family business women who are permanent employees, to originally have

joined the family firm on a temporary basis, just to help out (Vera & Dean, 2005), or to

fill a position no one else wants (Salganicoff, 1990).

Problems with (In)Visibility in the Family

According to Gillis-Donovan and Moynihan-Bradt (1990), "Most commonly

women organize their lives around the needs of their families, while men organize their

lives around the demands of their work." As a result, women often "participate invisibly

in the family business" through their familial contributions including: (a) responsibility

for household chores, (b)"family respectability", (c)"emotional connectedness", and

(d)"life-cycle changes" (p. 156). Economic status influences the type of contributions

women make. Many business wives must accept lower standards of living when the

business is new (Rosenblatt *et al.,* 1985), and have a difficult time managing the family

finances because they must compete with the family firm for economic resources (Heck

et al., 2006). This can be a "burden" on lower income family business women who must

constantly negotiate limited family and business resources (Lee *et al.*, 2006). In addition,

women from lower income brackets are more likely to help manage the family firm than women who are from families in higher income brackets (Lee *et al.*, 2006), and to contribute to the "family" by working for free at the family business. Furthermore, it is typical for these family business women to use income they have earned from other jobs to help support their family and the family owned business (Rosenblatt *et al.*, 1985).

Family business women also provide intangible resources that are often overlooked or invisible. CEO spouses play important, informal, leadership roles in the family owned business by helping to develop and maintain family cultures that build "family unity" and "business continuity" (Poza & Messer, 2001). Family matriarchs also must address workplace topics of conversation that "get taken home" including "brainstorming on weekends" (Lyman, 1988). An examination of visibility issues reveals that a major source of conflict for family business women is work life tensions because their work as a house manager is undervalued. According to Vera and Dean (2005), 80% of family business women have a difficult time "balancing work and family" (p. 333). In addition, family business women who work with their husbands at a family business are responsible for more household chores than women from dual income families who are employed at a nonfamily business (Marshack, 1994, 1998).

This indicates that there is an unfair division of family and work responsibilities for family business women, particularly for those family business women are responsible for being the primary household manager, managing a family business, and working a job not affiliated with the family business (Vera & Dean, 2005). According to Marshack (1998), one reason for this unfair distribution of household, family and business responsibilities is that the work load is divided by gender. In her study of copreneurs,

couples who jointly own a business, women were the primary household managers and worked at their business with their husbands.

Children complicate a family business daughter's ability to manage work and family responsibilities, and a major concern of family business women is their ability to be a mother while a fulltime family business employee (Cole, 1997). Family business daughters work approximately 70 hours a week (Cadieux *et al.*, 2002), and working long hours can discourage her from becoming a parent (Salganicoff, 1990). Family business daughters receive a "double message" about becoming a mother from their parents (Cole, 1997). Sometimes, daughters feel as if their parents expect them to have children, but at the same time, get upset if their daughter's work performance declines after she has become a mother (Cole, 1997). Motherhood increases the chances of invisibility for family business women. Family business women with young children are less visible in the family business than family business women without children, or family business mothers with school age children (Gillis-Donovan & Moynihan-Bradt, 1990).

My review of literature reveals that family business daughters experience several incongruities associated with their family business participation. Although contemporary family business perspectives clearly advocate the overlap of family and business in the family business, it appears as if gender is used as a boundary to separate how family and business contributions are valued (Marshack, 1994). Family business daughters are undervalued in both the familial and business context, while their male counterparts' contributions are respected. This dilemma mimics patriarchal assumptions inherent in separate sphere discourses. Investigating gender in a work life context illustrates how work-family processes "rely on gender ideologies or belief configurations about who

28

ordinarily does what in our society" (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). As a result, I shift focus to communication-centered perspectives on separate spheres discourses.

Communication Centered Perspectives: Problematizing Boundaries

The gendered split between the public and private sphere links back to the industrial revolution, when men began to perform paid labor outside of the home and women continued to perform the unpaid family labor (Medved, 2007). The separation of domestic and professional spheres is the product of hegemonic patriarchal power structures that privilege men's work over women's work (Fletcher, 1999). Men's paid labor has historically been valued more than women's unpaid domestic labor which is deemed unproductive (Crittenden, 2001). Currently, organizations perpetuate the patriarchal assumptions associated with the "ideology of separate worlds," because family is supposed to remain separate from the realm of work (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). However, resources such as technology are making home boundaries much more susceptible to work (Edley, 2001). As a result, work is often taken home and expected to be performed during family time.

Communication scholars problematize the notion of separating family and business boundaries in work life research (Kirby *et al.*, 2003). They argue that researchers who adopt the "boundary metaphor" may unintentionally reinforce the assumed separation of work and personal interests which therefore, indirectly restricts our "work-family choices" and limits our options for handling work and family tensions (p. 9). Separate spheres assumptions make one feel as if it is not appropriate for work and personal concerns to exist in the same sphere. As a way of challenging traditional separate spheres thinking, communication researchers suggest that both families (Galvin,

29

2006) and work-life boundaries are defined through "discursive practices" (Kirby *et al.*, 2003). For example, Galvin (2006) suggests that contemporary families are so diverse that they no longer can be defined by categories or unitary terms. As a result, families define themselves to other family members and nonfamily members through their language and actions in the process of explaining and discussing their family relationships. Likewise, communication scholars suggest that boundaries are "a continuous process of symbolic management" and that "work and family are neither specific places nor groups of people, but social contexts" (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). As a result, they argue that instead of exploring the "content" of the spheres it is more important to investigate "the contextual shifts between the domains or the method by which individuals construct and enact meaning across them" (Kirby *et al.,* 2003).

Work-life Communication scholars problematize the boundary metaphor by producing scholarship that attempts to "reshape" the traditional gendered division of paid and nonpaid labor, redefining how it is viewed (Medved, 2007) . Medved (2007) argues that we should investigate home labor "as composed of a series of intricate, overlapping, and even contrasting discursive and material practices with concerted attention to their implicit or explicit political assumptions" (p. 240). Communication scholars attempt to do this by investigating how home labor is defined and performed in nontraditional families, such as with commuter marriages (Mason Bergen *et al.*, 2007) and how men use masculine frames for childcare (Golden, 2007). Also, studies have been done to investigate the ways parental messages on work and gender influence children's constructions of work and family (Medved *et al.*, 2006), and how technology influences work and family boundaries (Avery & Baker, 2000; Mallia & Pixy Ferris, 2000).

In addition, these boundaries have been blurred in research that examined (a) family to work spillover (Krouse & Afifi, 2007) , (b) the implementation of family policies at organizations (Kirby, 2000; Kirby & Krone, 2002), (c) emotional display and improvisation by healthcare providers at work (Morgan & Krone, 2001), (d) individuals who work from home (Shuler, 2006), how working mothers frame motherhood while at work (Jorgenson, 2000), (e) women entrepreneurs (Gill, 2006), and (f) how individuals with young children talk about work and family (Golden, 2000).

To best explore work life research from a communication perspective, communication practitioners propose the integration of both family and organizational communication approaches. In addition, they suggest that possible research models to do this are structuration, open systems, relationship dialectics, and critical or feminist approaches (Golden *et al.*, 2006). It is interesting to note that while these models overlap between the communication subdisciplines of organization and family, they are also models applied in family business research. In particular, general systems theory was first used to explore the overlap between family and business by family business practitioners (Hollander & Elman, 1988). Work life communication scholarship compliments family business scholarship, and enables me to discursively examine gendered assumptions associated with separate sphere discourses. Family business perspectives acknowledge the overlap of work and family boundaries in the family business; however, the communication perspective provides a critical lens to examine that overlap.

Problematizing Work-Life Relationships through Relational Dialectics

In the context of the family business the economic survival of the family is directly connected to the economic wellbeing of the family firm. Emotional commitments

become intertwined with providing; therefore, the health of the family business is often made first priority. My reading of the family business daughter literature made me aware of the knot of contradictions at the heart of family business daughters' experience including: work/family, self/other, and connection/separation. Obviously, these exist at varying levels of abstraction and their details are molded by different circumstances. Visibility issues are contradictory in nature because family business daughters who contribute to both family and work are undervalued. Biased family business cultures may limit the ways that family business daughters respond to their relational tensions.

The dialectical approach proposed by Baxter and Montgomery (1996) provides a useful framework to understand relational dilemmas, incongruities, and tensions (e.g., Apker *et al.*, 2005;Golish & Powell, 2003; Miller-Day, 2004; Suter *et al.*, 2006). While there are various communication perspectives on dialectics (e.g., Bochner *et al.*, 1997; Brown *et al.*, 2006; Conville, 1998; Rawlins, 1992), and a variety of dialogical communication perspectives (see Anderson *et al.*, 2004), the underpinning of relational dialectics is Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism theory (Baxter, 2006). Using Bakhtin's dialogical lens, Baxter and Montgomery contend that social life is full of opposing multiple voices (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996), and muting any part of a contradiction presents a one-sided perspective.

Relational dialectics is rooted methodologically in an interpretive and a constitutive approach. Baxter (2004b) argues that relational dialectics is a "sensitizing theory," and that it demonstrates Turner's (1986) idea of "descriptive/ sensitizing schemes;" or schemes that sensitize researchers to certain social practices. Under this framework, relational dialectics theoretically is "a set of propositional assumptions and

core concepts whose purpose is to render intelligible relational communication" (p. 17). It differs from other theoretical models "whose goal is prediction, explanation, and control" (p. 17). Theoretically, relational dialectics should be evaluated upon the following: "(a) its ability to be heuristic, enabling us to see relating in a new light; and (b) its ability to render intelligible the set of practices known as relating" (Baxter, 2004b, p. 17).

The interplay and interpenetration of multiple voices is both what gives relational dialectics a constitutive quality and at the same time is what makes it different from other dialectical constitutive models. A constitutive approach explores how communication constructs the social world; typically through interaction. In contrast to other dialectical constitutive perspectives, the emphasis relational dialectics places upon multivocality suggests that meaning is produced from the wholeness of contradiction. Baxter (2006) contends that it is the "unity or interplay of the competing voices that comprise a contradiction" (p. 136). Central to relational dialectics are four core assumptions of contradiction, change, praxis, and totality (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996).

Contradiction

Contradiction is central to dialectical theory and is defined as "the dynamic interplay between unified oppositions" that result from the interpenetration of multiple voices (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). Contradiction has three following essential conditions: (a) the unity of opposites, or the idea that "opposites must simultaneously be unified or interdependent with one another" (b) interdependent unity, or the assumption that "oppositional tendencies are unified as interdependent parts of a larger whole," and (c) "dynamic interplay or tension between the unified opposites" (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000, p. 327). The basis of unity is that a contradiction must have a "both/and quality,"

33

while mere opposites cancel one another out (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). In my family business research, I use wholeness as a dialectical framework that suggests a contradiction is incomplete if it does not have a both/and component. In other words, under a dialectical perspective family business research assumes family and business contradictions are not separate; rather, they exist as one entity.

Change

Baxter and Montgomery (1996) argued "change is inherent in contradiction because the interplay of unified oppositions results in a system that is perpetually in flux" (p. 10). Central to change is dialogical complexity: "a relational system that is characterized by a knot of contradictions that stimulate multidirectional, spiraling, qualitative and quantitative change that has meaning in its own right rather than in relation to some anticipated state" (Baxter & Montgomery, 1997, p. 160). Relational partners negotiate their relationships through change and create social systems fueled by contradiction (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). Baxter (2004a) argued tensions can never be transcended; rather they can be reframed so that they appear to take on a new form. Likewise, perspectives that assume contradictions can be "balanced" are problematic because balance represents the loss of centrifugal-centripetal movement (Baxter, 2004c).

Totality

Totality is the idea that happenings can only be fully understood in relation to other happenings (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996, 2000). It is associated with the following three issues: (a) where contradictions are located, (b) interdependences among contradictions, (c) and contextualization of contradictory interplay (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). The first characteristic, the location of contradiction, implies that

contradictions are "jointly owned" by the individuals in a relationship (Baxter &

Montgomery, 2000). This suggests that dialectical tensions do not exist between people;

rather they are a part of the relationship that people share.

The next characteristic, interdependences among contradictions, recognizes that

relational systems contain many contradictions and these contradictions "do not exist in

isolation of one another; rather, they form an interdependent knot in which one

contradiction is implicated with other contradictions in a weblike manner" (Baxter *et al.,*

2002, p. 7). Contradictions are organized hierarchically regarding their location relative

to the center of the knot and are either a primary contradiction (centrally located) or a

secondary contradiction (marginally located) (Baxter & Montgomery, 1997).

Contradictions are also internal (tensions within the relationship) or external

contradictions (environmental or external tensions) (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000).

The overlap of family, business, and society illustrates the complexities of

internal and external contradictions. Not only do family members experience internal

contradictions, they also experience external contradictions from both family norms and

social norms. For example, a younger sibling (male or female), often faces opposition

from family members when they try to attain a leadership position within the family firm

because placing them in a position of power over an older sibling at the firm would create

inconsistent family and business power structures (Barnes, 1998). In addition, as a result

of patriarchal social norms, family business women in positions of power are typically

discriminated against by nonfamily members because of their gender (Curimbaba, 2002).

According to these research findings, family business women in powerful positions at the

family firm, who are younger siblings, are likely to experience external contradictions at both a family level and at a social level.

The final characteristic of totality, contextualization of contradictory interplay, assumes that contradictions are situated in temporal, spatial, and social contexts (Baxter & Montgomery, 1997). This underscores how dialectical tensions are locally situated. As a result, to avoid generalizing the "localized particularities" of the contradiction (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000), communication scholars should ground "dialectical analyses in the social context in which they are experienced" (Baxter *et al.,* 2002, p. 20). The meanings associated with relational tensions are "etched differently" depending upon the context and type of relationship that one examines (Baxter, 2006).

Praxis

Baxter and Montgomery (1996) note that praxis is the idea that "people are at once actors and objects of their own actions" (p. 13). People actively make decisions about how they communicate with others, and these choices are "simultaneously" a "product" of their prior behaviors and experiences (Baxter *et al.*, 2002). Praxis focuses our attention onto how contradictions are responded to. Baxter and Montgomery (2000) outline two common patterns of dysfunctional praxis and six functional patterns of praxis, and suggest there are numerous localized ways to respond to contradictions.

Forms of praxis vary in their level of functionality (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). Functional patterns "all show recognition of the contradiction and involve proactive response patterns of one kind or another" (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000. p. 48). The two dysfunctional patterns of praxis are denial (pretending that there is no contradiction or ignoring one half of the dialectic) and disorientation (tensions are recognized, regarded as

36

inevitable, and considered negative) (Baxter & Montgomery, 1997). Some functional patterns of praxis include recalibration (reframing of a contradiction so that it no longer feels like polar opposites) and reaffirmation (the acceptances and celebration of all the polarities of a contradiction) (Montgomery & Baxter, 2000).

Critical Sensibility

Critical sensibility is a critique of power in relational dialects. Central to relational dialectics is unity because it implies a multivocal approach to contradiction. Since subordinate voices are often muted by dominant voices, failure to critically examine hegemonic power structures that reproduce dominant perspectives leads to monologue. Baxter contends that scholars who adopt a dialogical perspective have an "obligation to critique…dominant voices" (Baxter, 2004a, p. 123). Exploring dialectical tensions reveals why certain "ideologies" remain at the center of tensions while other ideologies remain at the margins (Baxter, 2004c). The critical aspect of relational dialectics is invaluable in the family business context because it has the potential to bring to the foreground voices and perspectives that have been marginalized by hegemonic family business cultures heavily influenced by the founder.

Work Life Communication Perspectives

Golden , Kirby, and Jorgenson (2006) argue that relational dialectics is "a potentially fruitful and underexploited perspective for spanning the divide between organization-and family-based studies of work and personal-life interrelationships" (p. 167). They note that its dialogical approach undermines the basic assumptions of the work life boundary by illustrating that work life tensions can be productive. They contend

37

this approach demonstrates how contradictions associated with home and work are integrated and exist simultaneously with partners from both spheres (Golden *et al.*, 2006).

They argue that the location of contradiction is imperative in problematizing the work life metaphor. Since separate sphere discourse focuses on the differences of the personal and professional realms, it positions each sphere as a polarized side of a work life contradiction. If work and family are always positioned in dialectical opposition, this discourse suggests that contradiction is located between the two separate spheres. Therefore, we assume that tensions are always located in the space between work and home. Since dialectical relationship theory focuses on how relational contradictions are performed, it reframes the separate sphere metaphor. Rather than having the focus be on where tensions exists (i.e. in between the spheres of work and life), the focus shifts onto how contradictions are discursively enacted. As researchers we no longer care where tensions are located, instead we explore the language and actions that reveal them.

Family business daughters' goals, resources, and priorities are etched in relational contradictions they experienced. Under a relational dialectical framework, the purpose of my research is to explore the wholeness of family business daughters' dialectical tensions. Unity is the both/and aspects of contradiction; it therefore, simultaneously accounts for the multiple voices that are present in dialectical tensions. Specifically, it is the both/and aspect of contradiction that helped me understand how our greatest strengths are simultaneously our greatest weaknesses. Furthermore, this perspective has provided the framework for me to problematize traditional power assumptions associated with separate sphere discourse and to listen to marginalized voices that live in the contradictory relationships of women and work.

38

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

In order to explore meaning from the "native's" point of view and address how family business daughters understand their own lives (Baxter & Babbie, 2004) this study employs qualitative/interpretive research methods. Several dialectical studies position themselves in the interpretative paradigm (i.e., Baxter *et al.*, 2004a; Baxter *et al.*, 2004b; Braithwaite & Baxter, 2006) and search for understanding through recognizing the meanings participants associate with particular behaviors or processes (Cresswell, 1998). Specifically, I utilize research procedures similar to grounded theory because it offers a systemic and rigorous method to inductively code qualitative data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The data coding involves a comparative methods technique where emerging themes are compared and contrasted with similar emerging themes across all interviews. Charmaz (2002) contends, "Through comparative methods, grounded theorists define the properties of categories and specify the conditions under which categories are lined to other categories" (p. 689). A core strength of grounded theory techniques is that the analytic categories are created from the data "not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses," and that these categories explain social processes (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001, 162).

While most perspectives of grounded theory are objectivist and assume there is an objective reality to explore and report (Charmaz, 2002), I adopt an approach similar to constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 1990, 2000, 2003, 2005). Charmaz suggests a

constructivist grounded theory approach presumes that "our theoretical analysis are interpretive renderings of a reality, not objective reporting of it" (Charmaz, 2005, p. 510). In addition, it privileges how "participants construct meanings and actions" and takes into account the relationship between the local and cultural context and meaning construction (Charmaz, 2002, p. 677). My approach differs from grounded theorists because my goals are not generalizablity of conclusions (Ellis, 2004), or "developing theory" (Charmaz, 1995, 34). Instead, I explore how themes discovered from the discourse of family business women reveals the relationship between their self-perceptions and their perceived social reality. This is similar to feminist scholars who explore oral narratives to discover how social context influences how individuals understand their life stories (Peterson, 1997; White, 1997). Furthermore, grounded theorists debate how much literature and theory a researcher should go into the project with. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) propose, so that the analysis is independent of other theories, the literature review be conducted after the analysis is done. In my case, my reading and analysis of the transcripts were pre-tuned by my familiarity with the concepts of relational dialects which guided my inquiry. Relational dialectics provided me with a framework to explore family business daughters' experiences; therefore, my work contributes to both research on family business daughters and research on dialectical tensions.

Recruitment of Participants

Participants were 12 family business daughters who had worked at the family firm within the past year. An exception was one family business daughter who worked with her father at his company until she was a teenager and as an adult has worked at and owned two different family businesses with her husband. The family business daughters I

interviewed were a sample of convenience, and I recruited them to participate in my study by word of mouth and by sending a recruitment letter to local family businesses. While I did receive a big response from the letters, only four out of the 12 participants were recruited in that manner. In my visits to various family firms I discovered that while the family business daughters are very eager to brag about their business accomplishments, they are hesitant to talk about their family relationships. Many of the family business daughters I visited as potential candidates in my research study were very guarded about their families and declined my request for an interview. This is consistent with the idea that the personal lives of the family members of family businesses are often made public; therefore, family members protect their company's image by not airing their family's dirty laundry (McCann, 2007). I met one of my interviewees at a professional conference; however, she is not in academia. The other seven family business daughters were referred to me by individuals who knew them.

Next, I would like to describe how I define family business and what types of companies qualified for my study. Although high profile family businesses are easy to recognize, merging a complex concept such as "family" with business complicates the chore of defining what a family business is. This may perhaps be the reason why there is no established method for defining one (Astrachan & Carey Shanker, 2003; Carey Shanker & Astrachan, 1996). Since Family Business Scholarship gained prominence in the mid1980's, researchers have changed their focus from one that advocates the complete separation of family and business to one that explores the permeability of family and business (Hollander & Elman, 1988).

As a result, most family business definitions do acknowledge the overlap of family and business components (Astrachan *et al.*, 2006; Klein *et al.*, 2005); however, to what extent and for what objective is contestable. Researchers commonly narrow their definition by categorizing family businesses in terms of family ownership, family involvement, family management, and potential for succession (Winter, Fitzgerald, Heck, Haynes, & Danes, 1998, p. 240). In addition, most definitions of family businesses explore how family interaction can have a positive or negative impact on firm performance (Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2004; Le Breton-Miller & Miller, 2006; Roessl, 2005; Sirmon, Hitt, & Hitt, 2003), and how the transmission of family values into the business can create a unique and powerful family business culture that offers a competitive advantage over nonfamily owned businesses (Denison *et al.*, 2004; Nordqvist, 2005). While it is difficult to deny the importance of the economic contributions of family businesses, this type of scholarship fails to address how the business influences the quality of life for family members. Some researchers address the impact the family firm has on the family (e.g., Gersick *et al.*, 1997); however, additional research is needed.

I adopt an approach that defines a family business through behavior, and suggests that family ownership and management should shape the business (Chua *et al.*, 1999). I contend the development of the family is just as important as the development of the business, and argue that a real definition of family business should illustrate the close connection between the family and business goals. I agree with Chua and her colleagues (2004) that a family business "is constituted for the purpose of achieving the economic and noneconomic goals of a family." As a result, in a family business, "the activity of a

business and family" must be "intimately connected in the present," and "connected over the passage of time" (Chua *et al.*, 2004).

The definition of family business I adopt offered me a great deal of freedom to explore family business daughters of various ages, company positions, and levels of ownership. In addition, it enabled me to include a wide range of business types and sizes. I did require that family members must have both substantial ownership and management of their company. This excluded all family businesses from my study that are owned but not predominantly managed by the family.

Participants

The ages of the family business daughters that I interviewed ranged from their early twenties to their late forties. Seven of the women made this job their career, two of the women got out of the family business, and three of the women were working at the business while attending college and do not intend on making a career out of the business. One of the seven women who made the family business her career is on a temporary leave of absence from the company while her children are young (at the time of the interview she had a 4-year-old and 10-month-old baby). She still attends major company meetings and puts together the company news letter from her home; however, she has decided not to work at the company fulltime until her children are older. The education level of the women ranged from some college to graduate school. In addition, ten of the women I interviewed were Caucasian and two of the women were Asian.

The types of businesses varied from "mom and pop"-size establishments to medium size companies. The smaller businesses were all first- and second- generation businesses and included nail salons, restaurants, and automobile repair companies. The

income produced by these businesses allowed some family members to live a comfortable upper middle class lifestyle, while some of the families were living pay check to pay check. In fact, months after my interviews were complete one family business daughter sold her business because she was no longer making any profit. The medium size family businesses all grossed at least 20 million dollars a year, were third generation, were either in distribution or manufacturing, and had multiple locations across the United States. Two of the companies had international locations.

Data Collection Procedures

While many communication studies investigating dialectics conducted joint interviews with couples (e.g., Cissna *et al.*, 1990; Sabourin & Stamp, 1995; Sahlstein, 2004; Stamp, 1994; Wood *et al.*, 1994), other dialectical research studies focused on single person interviews (e.g., Baxter *et al.*, 2004a; Baxter & Erbert, 1999; Baxter *et al.*, 2004b; Braithwaite & Baxter, 2006). I chose to interview family business daughters alone because I wanted to learn about their perceived familial and business relational tensions. This is opposed to a joint interview process which would enable the discovery of how relational tensions are discursively performed with an intimate partner (Sabourin & Stamp, 1995). I conducted 18 in-depth, face to face, interviews with 12 family business daughters using an open-ended, semi-structured yet focused interview guide that allowed the freedom to pursue other topics that emerged (Kvale, 1996). Using the same interview guide, I conducted one phone interview with a family business daughter I had met in person at a previous time and whose family business I had visited. However, at the time the interview was performed she was living in a different state and we were unable to arrange a convenient time to meet in person. The interviews were in-depth (see Johnson,

2002), which "fits" grounded theory methods "well" because it "provides an open-ended, in-depth exploration of an aspect of life about which the interviewee has substantial experience" (Charmaz, 2002, p. 676).

I conducted the interviews at the preferred location of the family business daughters. Half of the respondents chose to do the interview at my office on campus, while the other half wanted to meet at their place of business. I was given permission to tape-record all of the interviews, and I assured all participants of their confidentiality. The interview times varied from approximately 45 to 120 minutes in length. Furthermore, I either received a tour of or visited the company as a customer for all but three of the family businesses. During the interviews, I asked the women to share the story of their family and family business. Specifically, they were asked to describe any challenges they experience and if these were viewed as positive, negative, or both. In addition, since I was trying to explore the wholeness of relational tensions, including the various levels of feeling toward tensions (Baxter, 2004b), family business daughters were asked to describe how they felt before, after, and during the situations they described.

Originally, I had planned to interviews all participants on three separate occasions. Ongoing interviews allow researchers the ability to gain greater depth and detail of their participants' experiences (Charmaz, 2002). I developed a second and third open-ended, semi-structured interview protocol for the second and third stages of the interview process. I conducted three interviews with two different women, two interviews with two different women, and one interview with eight different women. Emerging life events proved to be one of the most challenging factors in the research process and factored into why many of the women could not schedule a follow-up interview.

The women I interviewed were constantly rescheduling or canceling our meetings. Some family business daughters had lost loved ones, found out family members they worked with were terminally ill, gotten engaged, broke bones in their bodies, or had child care issues among other things. It was during these moments that I fully realized the extent of the work life tensions that family business daughters experienced and I could literally feel this tension when I visited them. I vividly remember the smell of motor oil as I watched a husband and wife standing next to each other silently repairing car parts. Sadie owned her own garage and her only employee was her husband. For months, she kept postponing our scheduled interviews because her husband was out of state visiting his dying father. When he was at his father's deathbed, she alone ran both the business and her home. Weeks after the death of her husband's father, she invited me out to the garage so I could interview her. As I arrived, I walked up behind the two of them working next to each other. I could hear the clang of wrenches against metal car parts, and if I really concentrated I could hear the sound of my own breathing. Above the silence was a buzz of discontentment, and listening to my own breath helped me alleviate the awkward discomfort I felt. I stood there staring at their backs until someone noticed me. I did not want my presence to disrupt such an intimate moment of grieving. It was moments like this where the actual context (the family business) of the interview process reflected the relational tensions that family business daughters experienced.

Initially, for my methodological inquiry I planned on using a hybrid approach of ethnography and grounded theory techniques; however, during the analysis stage I decided to focus mainly on the interview transcripts for my dissertation data. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) argue that "ethnographers can adopt and adapt grounded theory to

increase the analytic incisiveness of their studies" (p.160). I was a participant observer at three different family businesses. A participant observer "enters a field setting with an openly acknowledged investigative purpose, but is able to study from a vantage point of one or more positions within the membership" (Lindlof 1995, p. 141). I worked and observed six different times at Abigail's restaurant, three different times at Simone's medical distribution company, and two different times at Sadie's garage. I was at each location approximately eight hours each visit and I went to two company outings with Simone's business. I was invited to the company Christmas party (where I won a digital camera) and a company wide outing to see a professional baseball game.

However, I decided not to use these observations in my dissertation because they focused on the interaction between family and nonfamily member employees. This subject matter was outside the range of my research questions. For example, an emerging theme from my field notes was inconsistencies in how family and nonfamily members were treated at the family business. At one family business, employees were encouraged to recruit people who did not work at the company because extra help was needed to assemble promotional packages. The helpers were told they would be paid $80.00 for their time and could leave after the project was completed. However, while the family members were paid and told they could go home after the completion of the project, nonfamily members were expected to work a full eight hour shift. While I do believe research topics that explore the relationships between family and nonfamily employees are valuable (e.g., Van den Berghe & Carchon, 2003), this dissertation focuses on family business daughters' perceived relational tensions within the family. Also, since I was only able to work with three of the family business daughters I cannot be certain how

consistent the emerging themes from my field notes would be with those of the other

family business daughters. Obviously, my experiences at these companies have

influenced how I analyzed the transcripts. I believe that seeing family business daughters

at work has helped me to contextualize their experiences and themes from the transcripts.

Data Analysis Procedures

The interviews were transcribed verbatim, resulting in 812 double-spaced pages

of text-based data for analysis. All of the transcripts were read in their entirety before

being analyzed with a procedure consistent with the constant comparison approach of

grounded theory (Charmaz, 1995; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Initially, interviews were repeatedly listened to and transcripts reread until reoccurring

themes, issues, and domains of meaning emerged that represented the relational tensions

family business daughters experience. At times categories were identified by different

family business daughters' use of the same word or phrase. However, other categories

developed from portions of the transcript that did not use the same words or phrases, but

rather addressed similar situations, behaviors, or feelings. After this coding of the data,

similar to Braithwaite's and Baxter's (1995) research on renewing wedding vows, the

next stage of data analysis involved the identification of "patterns" or "meaning clusters"

that would "uncover implicit dialectical themes that could seemingly organize opposed

categories" (p. 182). Finally, once these clusters were identified, I diagramed them to see

if they fit into a supra-dialectical category. Supra-dialectics are major dialectical classes

including integration-separation, stability-change, and expression-privacy (Baxter &

Erbert, 1999). Dialectical tensions specific to a particular relationship often are a

localized representation of a supra-dialectic; although this is not always the case.

48

I discovered that there were sub themes of the supra-dialectic connection and separation such as business participation and the family inclusion/exclusion and business participation as emotional connection/emotional separation. However, relational tensions are localized and often do not fit under the cookie cutter mold of a supra-dialectic (Baxter, 2004b). Gender was a major dialectical theme for family business daughters incorporating the sub theme of giving to the business/giving to their children. Finally, similar to Braithwaite's and Baxter's (1995) research, once the dialectical tensions were organized, I reread the transcripts again to looking for any information that could disconfirm my findings (see Miles & Huberman, 1994). I reread the transcripts one last time to look for similar themes in the interviews that I might have overlooked.

Memo-writing was a major part of my analysis and it "links coding to the writing of the first draft of the analysis" (Charmaz, 2002, p. 687). One of its purposes is to contextualize a code's content by identifying "its fundamental properties, looking "for its underlying assumptions," and showing "how, when and why it develops and changes" (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001, p. 167). After each interview I wrote a descriptive memo summarizing observations, initial thoughts and reactions. Part of memo-writing involves the researcher explaining the importance of a relevant theme, and also comparing it to other instances the theme has appeared in the research. This aspect of the constant comparison method "balances evidence with theoretical argument" (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001, p. 167). Passion is a theme that I explore in my dissertation, and I initially investigated it as the relational tensions of "passion need" and "passion flow." Family business culture was also a major theme that I also explored. Below is an example:

There are so many themes that lead to family business daughters participating in a Family Business Culture. They seem to be socialized at a young age that cohesion to the family means cohesion to the family business. I use cohesion to refer to emotional bonding. They bond with family members by bonding with the business. Those that don't bond with the business are perceived as outsiders of the family culture. Simone rebelled against her father and his business when he first started it up. The family was moving from the northeast coast to Florida so her father could start his first business the summer before her senior year of high school. She hated Florida, and instead of moving rented a room from one of her friends. Simone would never suggest that anyone ever do this because she feels she lost a connection that you can never get back. I believe she missed the start of the family business and the cohesion that each of her family members shared who were there at the beginning of their own family business culture. She had become an outsider to that culture. Now she is closer to her family members that work at the company. This is true for almost all of the family business daughters that I interviewed. Second and third generation business women share this culture. Joy, a third generation family business daughter shares her first memories of the family business:

> *The youngest memory I have is walking in and doing stuff for the business. Then my grandfather taking my hand and walking me around and visiting a lot of people and him telling them this is the future of their company. At that time I didn't know what he was talking about.*

My Personal Influence on the Data

Through the course of doing research for and writing my dissertation I became pregnant and had a baby. Charmaz stresses the role the researcher plays in framing their

research study. She argues, "Categories denote researchers' ways of asking and seeing as well as participants' ways of experience and telling" (Charmaz, 2002, p. 689). I cannot help but wonder if my physical appearance influenced how the women I interviewed related to me and the topics they brought up. I do know that becoming a mother greatly influenced how I related to them. I transcribed the interviews pregnant with swollen feet and an aching back; however, I did not begin my analysis until after my baby was born.

The memo-writing I did indicates how much being a mother influenced what themes I paid attention to:

This is my first time writing and listening as a mom. My first time seeing these women as other mothers, and we are all just doing our jobs to take care of our families. However, I understand more what it means to think about how their job is their family. While ironically we both think about how we can negotiate our children and our work.

It is no surprise that issues related to motherhood are a large part of my dissertation because it was the most significant aspect of my life when I analyzed the transcripts. Regardless if I became a mother or not, I still believe that motherhood would be a major theme for family business daughters. I only interviewed one of the family business mothers late in my pregnancy, and I interviewed half of the mothers before I was even pregnant. I honestly believe this life changing experience for me, influenced what I focused on in the transcripts more than it influenced what they shared about their lives.

Chapter Three: Family Business Daughters and Family Business Participation

"As long as I can remember, my father owned his own business" Abigail tells me. Her father named his small paper product business, the T. Jones Company, after himself. He sold "pretty much anything made out of paper and plastic" to other small business in the Northeast. Every day T. Jones "would call up his customers and see what they needed," and every day T. Jones delivered paper bags, paper plates, paper napkins, and plastic silverware to restaurants and stores. As a little girl, Abigail remembers her father's absence more than anything. In our first email correspondence she explained to me what growing up with a father who owned his own company was like. She wrote:

> I remember him having to go to work on Fathers Day and Mothers Day and The 4th of July, when other Dads were home having family meals or picnics. I remember him working late many nights and missing our evening family meal. I remember him working late in his office doing paper work when it was time to tuck me into bed at night. I remember wanting him to play with us, but he was stuck in his home office catching up on orders.

Absence is a common experience for children who grow up with a family business. This is especially true for children whose parents are first generation business owners or the business founders (Gersick *et al.*, 1997). As Abigail grew older, the T. Jones Company did more than just occupy all of her father's time, it occupied Abigail's time. She described her father's business as something that "pretty much consumed all of

our (her family's) lives." Her father was the owner and only employee of his company, so he recruited his immediate family members as unpaid employees. She explained:

> He didn't have any employees so we were kind of recruited to go out on the weekends and during the summer time when we weren't in school and help him make all of his delivers…And then when we were old enough to drive, actually he got another vehicle and we went out separately on our own.

As an adolescent, Abigail resented the family business because of the demanding lifestyle it created for her family. The summer before her senior year of high school her family decided to move to a new state. She said, "I started my senior year in a completely different place. Had no friends, nobody. You know it's supposed to be like the best year of high school. It sucked." Abigail's family's decision to move made her resent the family business. However, not participating in the move would have risked disconnecting her from her immediate family. Abigail swore she would "never own my business" because she "never wanted the same stress my father had." Ironically, as an adult she opened two restaurants with her husband. When they acquired their first restaurant her new status of a business owner made her feel connected to her father. She said, "I of course had to call and tell him that I was doing something that I said I would never do and it was all his fault….So I am following in his footsteps."

Children such as Abigail who grow up with a family business participated in a unique family business "culture" where the family business is an integral part of their family (Gersick *et al.,* 1997; McCann, 2006). Abigail clearly feels connected to and separated from her father because of the family business during different stages of her life. The contradiction of connection/separation is central to the experience of family

business daughters. This chapter explores how family business daughters experienced the relational contraction of connection/separation.

I begin by describing theoretical aspects of the dialectical tension of connection/separation. Next, I explore the localized version of this tension as it shows up in the experience of family business daughters, particularly as they grapple with their overlapping roles of "good worker" and "good daughter." Next, I examine the connection/separation contradictions in light of the concept of relational currency. Finally, I draw on relational dialectics to investigate how family business daughters addressed these tensions through practices of segmentation and recalibration.

Dialectical Tensions: Connection/Separation

The dialectical tension of connection and separation, which addresses the "balance between 'me' and 'we,'" is a hallmark of family relationships (Miller Day, 2004, p. 99). It is an example of a supra-dialectic, or a major dialectical class, and the tensions specific to family business daughters are its localized representations (Baxter & Erbert, 1999). Every relational contradiction I explored in my dissertation is molded by the unique rhythms, circumstances, priorities, and values of each family business daughter. But since this connection/separation contradiction is central (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996) to the relationships of family business daughters, it can be viewed as an "anchor strand." In the context of close relationships, an anchor strand provides the common threads through which other dialectical oppositions are woven (Miller Day, 2004). In my research, I found the tensions of connection/ separation were expressed in the way that judgments about family members' "inclusion" and "exclusion" (including degrees of emotional connection/separation) were linked to their business participation.

54

Unity is a major characteristic of relational dialectics because it provides a framework to explore the wholeness of contradiction. Relational dialectics offers an alternative to perspectives that merely identify opposition in relationships and rejects connection/separation "contradiction" perspectives that assume the more dependent a person becomes on another person the less independence that person has (Baxter, 2006). Dialectical tensions exist in relationships; therefore, people do not "negotiate away" their dependence or independence (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). Baxter (2004b) argued that contradictions are authored through simultaneous unity and opposition, meaning that "discursive opposites" simultaneously "complete, enhance and enable" while at the same time they "limit or constrain" (Baxter, 2004b). This notion draws attention to the both/and characteristic of dilemma. As opposed to experiencing the connection separation contradiction as enabling or limiting, family business daughters experienced the tensions concurrently as both enabling and limiting. For example, although Abigail did not like working at her father's business, it was the only way she really got to spend time with him Working at the business was good because it connected Abigail with her father; however, she had a strong desire to separate herself from the family business because she did not like the lifestyle it created for the family. The bonds between Abigail and her family were intertwined with the demands of the business.

Business Participation and the Dynamics of Inclusion/Exclusion

Within the context of the family business, family members often equate business participation with family involvement (Jaffe, 1990). According to Gersick *et al.,* (1997) family members who are not part of the business are often made to feel as if their parents do not feel as close to them or think as highly of them as siblings who participate

55

regularly in the family firm. Family members who are involved in the family business become a part of something their parents are very passionate about and also often become passionate about the business (McCann, 2006). The family business daughters I interviewed equated familial connection with family business involvement; however, this occurred at various levels for each of them. The more they participated in the family business, the more connected they felt to their family.

Olivia was in her mid-twenties when she began working fulltime for her grandfather's shipping company. For months, her grandfather courted her to join the company after he discovered she had established a successful career in property development. The 35-year-old remembered feeling like she had an "outsider's perspective" when she first joined the firm because so many elements of the family and family business were "foreign" to her. Ten years later, Olivia is delighted when people mistake her for her grandfathers "daughter" because she is "closer to" him than her "own father." She described her father, as the "black sheep of the family" because he did not make a career out of the family business.

After a failed career in social work, 24-year-old Joy joined her family's medical distribution company two years after she graduated from college. She started off working part-time in the HR department, but was recently promoted to Human Resource Liaison and Coordinator. After showing me a business card with her new title, she commented that she "doesn't connect with the family members that don't work with us;" however, she felt very "close" to the family members she worked with. Eight years ago, Tonya began her career at her grandfather's warehouse by answering phones at the front desk. After getting her masters degree in human resources, the 35-year-old is now the HR

specialist. She said the "bond" she had with family members that worked at the company "feels different" than with those who did not work there.

Simone's father bought a medical distribution company in the mid 1970's that required the family to move from New England to Southern Florida during her senior year of high school. The culture shock she experienced as a result of moving from a "preppie" northeast area to, at that time, the rural southeast was too much. She said, "I lasted about a month and then I found some place where I could live and I begged them and pleaded and finally they gave in and I went and lived with a friend."

However, when Simone reflected back upon her decision she regretted it. She would never suggest that anyone in her position do the same thing because of how emotionally separated she felt from her family. She said, "I don't know if I'd ever suggest that of anyone." She then explained how leaving her family at that time transformed her family membership and made her an outsider. She commented, "Even if you are back, you never really belong again…because you're, I guess…I don't know. What defines you, your family…is no longer there. So it's kind of strange. I mean I was back, but I didn't really belong." Furthermore, she felt she should have given the situation more time to work out. She explained, "Maybe if I'd stuck it out. And now as an adult…I have a three month rule….everything takes three months and then it is better."

Family business children learn at a very young age that the family business is central to their relationships with family members (Gersick *et al.,* 1997). Few of the family business daughters I interviewed can remember a time when the business was not in their lives. In addition, almost all of them helped their parents with the business when they were small children. Tonya remembered she started helping at her grandfather's

57

warehouse when she was only 10 years old. She said that the company "started before I was born," explaining that "every time a grownup in our family would talk about the business it was there. It, it's kind of always been there." Joy, a third generation family business daughter described her earliest memory of the family business. She said. "The youngest memory I have is walking in and doing stuff for the business. And then my grandfather taking my hand and walking me around and visiting a lot of people, and him telling them this is the future of their company and stuff."

Renee's father was a doctor and owned several doctor's offices where she worked. The 26-year-old graduate student remembered that ever since she was "old enough to put on a straight sticker," she and her siblings spent their Saturday mornings sorting out checkup reminders that were to be mailed to patients. She said, "I remember these huge mailbags in our den….We would mail hundreds of them. Me and my sister and brother would sit there and spend hours putting these little sticky labels on the cards."

In the examples above proximity to the family and the amount of time spent with family members is an undeniable factor in determining how connected or separated to their families these family business daughters felt. Family business daughters who work at the family business have strong social networks with family members because they spend so much time together (Lyman, 1988). The family business daughters I interviewed spent time "at work" with family members they otherwise would have had less contact with. Many of the women who worked at the business while in college considered the time they spent with their family members a benefit of working with family. Tonya said one "perk" of working at a family business is that you get to "see your family more."

58

Monica worked at her parents' deli part-time and attended college fulltime. The 20-year-old considered her schedule very hectic, and missed spending time with her mother since she moved out of her parents' house two years ago. She liked working at her parents' deli because she saw her parents while she worked. She said, "I like working with my, like seeing my parents. Of course I get to see them once a week at least." She noted that she feels more connected to her father than before: "It brought us closer. Um, when I wasn't working there I'd be just up at school and not really come down as much. I wouldn't see him as much." She also explained that working at a family business allowed her to see family members who do not work at the restaurant. Her "grandparents come so I get to see them so it's good. …They normally come in a couple times a week…They just eat when I'm there so I eat with them."

Viola worked part-time at her family nail salon while she attended college fulltime and majored in sports medicine. Since she carpooled with her sisters, the hour car ride on the way to and from work provided a chance for them to catch-up. She explained, "We just talk about family related stuff. Which is good to because then you can catch-up because I am always at work 24/7." Joy also believed working fulltime at her family's medical distribution company helped her relationship with her mother. She said, "I see my mom more now. I think that brought us closer."

Overlapping Roles of "Good Worker" and "Good Daughter"

Family business daughters often expressed the idea that they felt less connected to family members who did not help at the business. Olivia noted that at holidays she talked more to the family members she worked with than the family members she did not because she "shares more with them." Simone felt that her sister who chose a career path

59

outside of the family firm did not understand how special the business was. She said, "I do have a sister….Not the least bit interested in any of it….I don't know if she really understands it….If you don't come here and you don't see what makes it work I don't know if you really get the whole the picture of it."

In addition, Simone expressed delight when her daughter Joy decided to permanently work at the company. She commented that it brought "a whole other person to the, to the group." Simone's language suggests that family members who work at the business are considered as included (part of the family business "group") while those that chose other careers are excluded (not part of the family business "group"). Simone noted that even when she first joined the company full-time she "didn't get" what was so special about it but she came to realize that the personality of each family member contributed something unique to the "group." She said, "I don't think that when I first started working, I didn't get it. That the people make it so special." For example, her cousin who has a law degree provided a legal perspective, while her brother-in-law is a "joker" and offered an element of fun. She also expressed that when her children succeed the company, the group they are a part of will have its own distinctive personality.

Some family business daughters felt that family members who did not help at business did not care about the family. Loretta and Viola were particularly outspoken on the subject of their siblings. Viola was angry at her youngest brother for never working at the family nail salon. She described him as the "other boy" who "doesn't do anything." Even though she said he was "handicapped," she felt that "he always uses that as an excuse." She explained, "I know him. He's pretty bright. It's just he's lazy." Her "lazy" brother suffers from a disease that has caused him to have webbed feet and hands. When

Viola described her brother in a context not associated with the family business she spoke positively about him. She remarked, "He's pretty brave though. He's gone through so many surgeries…When he walks in there (the hospital)…they know him." Viola's account illustrates the relational tensions she seems to experience with her brother. On the one hand, she is empathetic toward his disability and considers him brave. On the other hand, she considers him to be a family deadbeat because he is unmotivated and does not formally work at the nail salon: "If he had a motivation…If you lack motivation you don't carry on with what you want to do." She disassociated him from the "motivated" members of her family who worked at the salon. Her two oldest sisters sacrificed going to college to work with their mother fulltime, a gift she believes they gave to her. "If they didn't work fulltime here I might have to," she said, "They work because they care about the family." Viola linked the idea of "caring" to business participation; however, she seemed to minimize the informal child care contributions her brother provided for the family. Her older sisters brought their toddler age children to work every day and on occasion her brother watched them. She said, "My brother the one that stays home and is lazy. He'll watch them whenever they want to stay home."

Loretta worked at her father's restaurant and attended college fulltime. The 24-year-old participated in the business because she cared about her family. She said, "I care about it. I, I care about my dad." Like Viola, she had little respect for her "lazy" 21-year-old brother who did not work for his father and rarely had a job. While Loretta worked all day with her father, her brother "would sleep in until one or two o'clock in the afternoon and not do anything and stay on the computer all day." She resented him because he did

nothing for their father, while she worked for him fulltime and attended college. She spent so much time at the restaurant that she eventually had to take a break from college.

Loretta believed her brother was not concerned with the family finances because he asked his father for money to buy "gas and food." Finances worried Loretta "more than anything." She commented her brother "should be concerned about money but he is not." Her issues with her brother were exacerbated by the fact that although she had financial hardships while attending college, she never asked her family for money. She commented, "You know he would rely on my dad…My dad has given him thousands and thousands of dollars before… Even when…I need help I wouldn't ask for it."

Moreover, Loretta framed her willingness to help as expressing care for her father, and framed her brother's unwillingness as evidence that he did not care. In her mind, since she "cared more" about her father, she is a better worker than her brother. As a result, her dad needs and values her presence more than her brother's. She noted:

My dad, for some reason, just always relied on me because he could. My brother doesn't really care. He's pretty selfish…but my brother wouldn't do as good of a job. He wouldn't care about…what my dad was doing at the time. He wouldn't care about the business enough to do a really good job

Alexandra voiced themes strikingly similar to Loretta's. She believed her care and concern for her parents' restaurant made her a better worker than her brother. She worked with her parents 12 hours every day, while her brother helped on his day off from his job. Alexandra thought that her brother was a bad worker, and that her parents preferred her to work. She said, "His restaurant skill is not as good as me…And my parents would feel better when I'm there. They know that I'm able to handle their stuff, everything out

there." Furthermore, Alexandra felt an emotional attachment to her work because it contributed to her parents. She said, "I work because I care about what happens to my parents. I have a responsibility to help them. The business is how they pay their bills."

These family business daughters interweave notions of "good worker" and "good daughter." Since caring about the family business is directly linked to being a good worker, family business daughters expressed their care through their participation at the family firm. They equate the formation of emotional connections with the family business to the formation of emotional connections with family members who also care about the business. Family relationships were performed within the context of the family business and family membership is judged based upon these performances. Family business daughters viewed family members who did not participate in the business as less caring than those members who participate.

Business Participation as Relational Currency

Family business daughters equated family business participation with family participation, and learned at a young age their business contributions helped their families economically. Formal and informal contributions are one way family business daughters emotionally connected with family members. As a result, their family business contributions are examples of relational currencies, or "communication behaviors that carry meaning about the affection or caring dimension of human relationships" (Galvin, Bylund, & Brommel, 2008, p. 122). These exchanges are symbolic and relationships become stronger if partners agree upon the meanings of their symbolic exchanges (Stephen, 1984). Examples of relational currencies may include self-disclosure, listening, physical touch, money, food, favors, service, and time together (Galvin *et al.,* 2008). Our

family-of-origin teaches us what kinds of behaviors count as expressions of care and what behaviors do not count as such (Wilkinson, 2006). My interviews made clear that contributions to the business are regarded by both the daughters and their families as a powerful currency. Joy is a 24-year-old third generation family business daughter who worked her first fulltime position at her parents' company as an HR representative. She feels good about working at the family firm because she realized that her contributions helped both the company and the family. She said, "It helps to know my family is there with me, and that I'm helping them out. And that I'm also helping the company out so. I care about them both so it's nice to give to them both by working here."

Tonya is also a third generation family business daughter who worked in the HR department at her grandfather's warehouse. In contrast to her experience working at other organizations, she believed the new leadership program she initiated at the company contributed to her family and connected her to them emotionally. She noted, "At first, I didn't know if my grandfather understood why they were important. But, once he saw them work I could tell he was proud. I, I think it is good for my family. I, I feel closer to him. I never felt this at other places."

Monica commented that working at her parents' deli made her feel closer to her family. She said, "It makes me feel a lot more connected to them." She felt particularly close to her mother and believed that she is more like "a friend or a coworker rather than just a daughter." As a result of this emotional connection, she expressed her care by helping her mother at work. She explained, "If my mom had a bad day I'll call her, and I'll say, 'OK what can I do to help?...Should I stay later and help you out on something?' So we kind of play off each other."

In the course of my interviews I had the opportunity to see a husband and wife emotionally connect – and then and disconnect – in the context of their family business. Sadie and Sammy were the only employees at Sadie's garage, so they exclusively depended on each other at work. In a four month time period, the couple suffered two family emergencies that took both of them away from the garage at different times. Their story illustrates vividly how business participation can operate as a form of relational currency through service, and how the family business is central in negotiating the emotional connection/separation contradiction. I was particularly touched by their story because their business and marriage did not survive.

Sadie's story began on December 26th when Sammy's father was rushed to the hospital because of kidney complications. The doctor told Sammy there was not much time, so he flew to Baltimore on New Years Day to spend time his dying father. Sadie explained, "So it's pretty much, the whole month of January he was in Baltimore more than he was here. So it's been a stressful couple months. It's been just me taking care of the shop and the house."

March was also a stressful month. While carrying an alternator to her truck, Sadie tripped on a tree root, fell down and broke her ankle. Sadie described all of the limitations she experienced because of the break. She revealed, "I haven't been able to work back on my work bench…I think I can work some from just sitting in the wheelchair. You know put things in my lap. But so far I haven't been able to." She explained things in her life were "frustrating because…everything has to be put on hold….I can't even drive." Sammy is suddenly in the same position that Sadie was in. She said, "When he was in

65

Baltimore I was on my own at the shop and I was basically doing everything he's doing now that I'm laid up….Doing it all by myself…we, um, I managed to muddled through."

Like other family business daughters, her involvement in the day-to-day business operations fostered emotional connections to the family member she worked with: in this case, her husband. She said, "The situation with Sammy's dad has brought us closer. It's a hard thing to go through…I think it can be a testing time on a relationship. So in that sense, it's probably a positive thing." Furthermore, she believed that since she gave to Sammy, he was more willing to give to her. Sadie got a little choked up when she shared how his father's death and her broken leg had connected them. She revealed:

> I don't know if I had broken my leg before his father had passed away if he'd be willing to handle the fact that I need so much from him. But I think, since it happened after his father passed away, and he wasn't able to do a lot of the things that needed to be done and I did them. I think it means a lot to someone…when someone body else will step-up for them. And, so I think he probably remembers that…Even though he is a pain in the ass sometimes.

Sadie's example illustrates the way that work in a family business translates into a deeply felt connection. She clearly felt that she and her husband were emotionally closer than before they were put in positions where they were dependent upon one another. Yet while Sadie's work on Sammy's behalf was an expression of love, she also felt emotionally distant from him. She advised me, "Don't ever go into business with your husband" and went on to explain that she and Sammy were "total opposites." "We just don't agree and everything we do is a big freaking fight….When we have fun, we have fun…But sometimes he just really aggravates me." This made working together in the

66

business difficult for the couple. Sadie noted, "We don't agree at work on certain things. You know like when we moved the office…He wanted to put the big filing cabinet in this one place, and I said I don't think that is a good idea.…And that's when he told me I sounded like my father." Sadie heard this comment as an insult. At one time, she worked for her dad at his garage and eventually bought it from him. She experienced him as an overbearing boss who would "page" her "15 to 20" times when she ran errands for him.

Perhaps Sadie felt the most emotional distance from her husband because he did not care about her business as much as she did. She explained:

> I'm more driven. I would like to see the company do more. I'd like to see it grow. I want to see it make money.…He has no motivation.…He has no drive. No desire. It's just a job to him. He is a worker. He wants to put in his 8 hours and then he is done. Some people are just workers.

Sadie revealed how upset she was by what she saw as his lack of motivation: "There's time when he doesn't, you know put forth that effort that irritates me. He just doesn't care." However, Sammy is the only family member she would work with. She said, "I couldn't work with anyone else in my family even though he's not motivated. He's still the only one I'd probably want to work with. I trust him." Sadie and Sammy's emotional contributions to the garage simultaneously connected them and separated them.

A year after my last interview with Sadie I ran into Sammy at a gas station. When I asked him how Sadie was doing he said, "Well there's something I need to tell you about her. I just came from visiting her." I was stunned, thinking she was hurt and in the hospital. "It started with the business" Sammy said. He explained that the increase in gas prices caused financial difficulties for several businesses in the car industry. Things have

been slow for awhile in the garage, and there appeared to be no relief in anytime in the near future. Sammy explained, "She just doesn't want to deal with it. It is hard for her to face, so she stopped going there." A few months ago, Sadie moved to a nearby town to live closer to her mother and adult son. Sammy's voice sounded relaxed as he told his story, but I could see suffering in his eyes. Sammy told me, "First we are going to sort out the business. She wants to sell it. And then we will work on us."

It's Sammy's turn to take care of the business for Sadie. Ever since Sadie stopped going to the garage, he alone has been running it. Some days he just wants to lock the doors and leave. He confessed, "It is hard to be there every day without her." Once the garage is sold, he never wants to go back to it. Sadie left her garage and her husband. Sammy stayed to take care of the business Sadie always believed he had no motivation for. I believe Sammy stayed to take care of the garage to save his marriage.

Informal Family Business Participation

Family business daughters from small businesses, as compared to those daughters from larger companies, were more likely to help informally without receiving income for their contributions. Whereas every family business daughter I interviewed, but one, who made the family business their career was from a medium size company that grossed over 20 million dollars a year, most of those who did not make the business their career did not receive formal financial compensation. However, at one time all the informants worked fulltime or part-time at their family firm. Two of the women I interviewed said they were paid for their services; however, they later revealed that the only financial compensation they received were tips from customers. As children, family business

68

daughters were rewarded informally for helping in the form of random allowances, gifts, free room and board, and personal necessities like gas money and toiletries.

Renee learned at a young age that contributing to the family business economically contributed to the family. She takes for granted that her family members never received formal income for working at their father's doctor offices. In addition to working a fulltime job outside of the family business, Renee's mother informally worked at the offices. Renee said, "My mom always worked for my dad. Running errands for the firm on her days off. Balancing books late at night after she put her children to bed, painting and organizing the new offices." Renee suggests her mother worked for her father because he was too "cheap" to hire an office manager. Renee explained this was OK because her mother's contributions saved the business money and that really saved the family money. She said, "Everything she did that my dad didn't have to pay for someone else to do was more money that they kept. Same thing for us. If he didn't have to pay his secretaries…then it was just money that stayed in the house."

As a result, she felt perfectly happy to receive gifts for her work at the office. She commented that although her family had never been "big present people" participation in the family business was rewarded with gifts. Renee explained, "Like my birthday is not until August, but I could say 'Oh mom I like that sweater.' She would be like, 'do you want it for your birthday?' So they're kind of viewed the same way." Even as a woman in her mid-twenties, Renee's parents bought her things for working at the business instead of paying her formal wages. She noted, "I didn't get paid this summer, but when I moved my mom and I went to Target and to Wal-Mart and I got my apartment together and they paid for everything….They got me a new car. Which is huge."

Among daughters who did not make the family business their career, gift giving was the most common form of compensation. Abigail remembered that although she never "ever got any money" for helping at her father's restaurant supply company, her father bought her things for helping him. She said, "He would let us get stuff. And, whatever we wanted to get there was no stipulations. No kind of it cost this much, or a pair of boots that cost $50.00, or a skirt that cost $10.00."

While some family business daughters, such as Renee, believe that their parents' informal payments through gifts were "huge," other family business daughters decided to get jobs elsewhere so they could receive a paycheck. When Abigail was old enough to drive, she decided she "really didn't want to work with" her father "anymore," so she got a job "working for other people." In fact, all her siblings chose to get a job elsewhere "because" they "weren't getting paid."

Although she was employed and going to high school, she still helped out her father whenever he needed it. This put Abigail in a position many family business women are in, one where she worked a job earning an income while she informally worked at the family firm (Rosenblatt *et al.*, 1985). Abigail commented this was true of all her siblings. "We would work and help him out if he was so busy. Like during the holiday time…I also remember having another job, but I still don't remember ever getting that pay check, or getting any money."

Family business daughters like Abigail continue to work at the family business after making other commitments, such as college or fulltime jobs, because they are emotionally connected to their families. Although Loretta went to school fulltime and had a part-time job, she saw the stress her father's restaurant caused him. She confessed that

seeing him in a situation where he had to work so hard made her feel bad for him. She felt a responsibility to work at his restaurant so he would not have as much to do. She said, "That really put a lot of stress on me….When an employee would call off sick…it would be on him…He would have to pick up the extra slack. That's what you do when you own your own business….You do work hard….I had to help him."

Although Loretta's grades began to suffer and she had little time for a social life, she never hesitated to help at the restaurant. She said, "He would wake me up at like 4:30 in the morning and…the girl who usually opened was sick. I would have to wake up early and go in and miss what I had planned, sometimes class. I'd have to work on the weekend when I'm planning on having off the weekend….it was pretty stressful."

The fact that Loretta was so willing to help her father manage his work load, even though it increased her work load illustrates that family business daughters' participation at the family business is more than just driven by considerations of economic wellbeing. Their family members' emotional needs and concerns are major factors that encourage them to participate. Parental or partner stress associated with working too much was a major theme in the interviews. Since she was a child, Monica "knew how hard" her parents worked at their deli and that their jobs were stressful. She confessed, "They are so stressed out. They don't have a life. And all they do is when they get home, go shower, eat dinner and go to bed.…It's just so much on them. They've been out there doing it for twenty something years. They get tired." Furthermore, she indicated that she hopes her help at the deli makes their lives easier. She said, "I think it helps my parents that I work there so at least we can spend time together while at work. If I didn't, I think they would be more stressed because we would never see each other."

Family business daughters suggested that one reason why they want to help their parents alleviate business-related pressure is because their parents have worked hard to provide for them. Alexandra did everything she could to help her parents because of all the sacrifices they have made for her and her brothers. She became their translator at the age of 14 when her family moved from Vietnam to the United States. As a teenager, she helped her parents negotiate the paperwork on the house they bought, and as an adult she did all of the bookkeeping for both the restaurant and their home. She sees the role she played as one that helped her parents transition to their new life in America. She said, "We change a lot. I think my parents have to get used to the situation here (in the U.S.)."

Furthermore, she believed the reason why her parents moved to a different country was to help their children. She noted, "The reason why they wanted to move here was for my brothers and my education." She felt she had a "responsibility to take care of" her "parents," including "helping them retire." She said, "they have to work seven days a week when other people get at least a day off a week…I know that they're working really for me and my brothers." Like other family business daughters, Alexandra's participation in the family business is motivated by concerns about her family's economic status as well as their emotional wellbeing.

Handling the Tensions: Segmentation and Recalibration

Family business daughters who adopted their parents' problems as their own can be seen as responding to the connection/separation dialectic through the practice of segmentation. Segmentation is focusing on one side of the contradiction dependent upon a person's perceived needs. This implies that we shift our focus to different polarities as our needs change (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). Often these women would do so much

for the family business that they were unable to accomplish their own personal goals. The daughters segmented the contradiction by focusing on themselves and distancing themselves from their parents' problems, or by focusing on their parents' problems and prioritizing family business goals over their own.

Other family business daughters responded to this tension by what Baxter & Montgomery (2000) call recalibration, or reframing the contradiction so it no longer felt like a contradiction. These women reframed the family business as a resource provider; therefore, working at the family business enabled them to simultaneously accomplish their personal goals and the goals of the family business.

Segmentation: Family Business goals vs. Personal goals

For some family business daughters the desire to emotionally and economically contribute to their family was so great that they took on their parents' business problems as their own. Renee shared that only when she realized she took on her father's problems could she have a healthy relationship with him. She explained, "I came to terms with my relationship with my dad and didn't take his problems as my problems you know. And I was like OK this who he is, it's not my fault."

Another family business daughter noted that as a teenager she helped at the family business as often as she could until, "I realized the problems associated with owning your own business were my fathers, not mine." One family business daughter I interviewed recognized this during adolescence. Although she wanted to help out at the business because "its family," she also wanted to separate herself from it. She said, "When I was little, I always wanted to go away from the company. I didn't want to be a part of the company….I didn't feel the real need to." She explained that her parents worked all the

time, and she did not want to be put in a similar situation. She noted, "I wanted a less stressful job. Like working with animals. My parents chose to own a business I did not."

Other family business daughters adopted their parents' problems as their own and tried to solve them. Loretta started working for her father's cleaning business when she was 16 years old. Her parents were recently divorced and she liked the time she spent with her father when she cleaned other people's homes with him. When she was 20 years old he opened a restaurant and she became his first waitress. She explained that she wanted to work with him because "I always felt a responsibility to, you I guess basically to help him out as much as I could." However, Loretta believed the fast paced rhythm and demands of the restaurant were much more stressful on her father than his cleaning business. She said, "I was kind of scared from you know, his, seeing how stressed out he was…He would work so hard, you know he would go home for an hour and sleep and then come back…It was just so draining for him."

Loretta felt such a strong "responsibility to help him" that she adopted his problems. She said, "I let his problems become mine." She noted that she absorbed his anxiety, "I just take on all of his stress. I double his stress. I told him that it stressed me seeing him stressed out." Furthermore, she believed that living with him and seeing the backstage aspects of owing a business exacerbated the connection she felt to his business problems. She explained, "You see behind the scenes. The money, the bills…You can't say don't get too involved because if it's your family you are working for you are going to get involved. You are going to care about the business and how it's going."

The responsibility she felt to help her father alleviate his stress caused her to prioritize his needs before her own. She believed that she participated more like an owner

than an employee. She said, "I kind of made it my business because it was my dad's restaurant." Since she "cared" about it, when she heard about any negative aspects regarding it, such as money, she would "try to think of ways to change them." As a result, Loretta became her father's go to person because he could "trust" and "depend" upon her. He requested her to work on her days off because he "needed the help," and she would cancel plans in order to work for him. She revealed, "He would, you know ask me to work an extra shift and I would skip class."

Alexandra felt a strong connection to her parents and a responsibility to take care of them by working at their family business. Like Loretta, she seemed to adopt her parents' problems as her own. She worked at her family's restaurant almost every day for 12 hours without pay because she felt she had an obligation to support her parents just as they have supported here. She explained, "When I work at the restaurant I actually don't get paid, but I live for free. They help me. I'm twenty years old now and they've been paying for my bill….I have a responsibility to help them." Furthermore, Alexandra felt responsible for helping her parents save money for their retirement. She explained, "I should help. And then, my parents once they get old they've got to save their money now so when they get retired and older they can use that money."

Working at the restaurant without receiving money did not provide Alexandra resources to pay for college. When I asked her if her parents helped pay for her tuition she responded, "Well I have scholarship and financial aid so they don't need to help me on that." However, right after I congratulated for her scholarship she confessed, "I actually lost my scholarship last fall. So the financial aid covers both tuition and books." She then explained that her demanding schedule at the restaurant did not leave her

enough time for her schoolwork. She described situations where she would come home at midnight after working at the restaurant all day long and then "fall asleep" while she was writing a paper due the next day.

Instead of attributing low grades to her demanding schedule, she referred to herself as a "procrastinator." When I asked her what advice she would give someone in a similar situation her response revealed the dilemmas she experienced between accomplishing her own goals and helping her parents accomplish their goals. She responded, "Don't think about the money so much. Yeah. If you are in school and work like me, I would, I would try to tell them not to procrastinate like me."

Both of these family business daughters emotionally connected with their parents by contributing to the business while at the same time, they experienced a strong desire to emotionally separate. They responded to this contradiction by segmentation. Segmentation refers to the idea that we privilege different oppositional sides of a contradiction depending upon current perceived needs. This implies that we shift our focus to different polarities at different times (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). I chose to provide detailed examples of both Loretta and Alexandra because each of these women addressed the tension of connection/separation by focusing on different ends of a polarity. Loretta stopped participating completely at her father's restaurant and focused on her education. For the current moment, she is focused on the separation side of the polarity. Alexandra continued to work fulltime at her parents' restaurant without any pay, and her grades continued to suffer. She is focused on the connection side of the polarity.

"I didn't want to make that same mistake," Loretta told me. "I wanted to go into nursing school and not have to deal with that major other stress in my life. So I just told

my dad, 'This is what I'm doing now. I'm trying to focus on my career. I don't want to be a part of that anymore." Her transition from participating in the business to not participating at all took several months. Initially, when she started nursing school she tried to help her father when "he absolutely needed it." However, any form of participation in the business was a great source of stress for her. In addition, she described her business participation as an obligation rather than a choice. She explained, "He said that I had the choice. You know, 'well you don't have to work.' And I knew that meant he really desperately needed my help. When I started nursing school…I was still trying to help him. It is so incredibly stressful."

Even though her participation at the business was far less frequent than before, associating herself with the business connected her with her father's problems. She explained, "It kind of stressed me out watching him and watching how stressed out he was. And I was in school at the time so it definitely wasn't good for me to have even more stress" As a result, after a few months of going back to school she said she "just stopped it" with her father. She "quit and went to work somewhere else."

As a result of Loretta focusing on the separation side of the polarity, she clearly distinguished her problems from her fathers' problems. She said, "I wish I could help him, but I need to help myself…I need to rely on myself…I feel bad, but I just can't worry about his problems right now." Furthermore, she constantly tried to become less and less involved with the business. For example, in an attempt to "distance" herself from his "problems" she made a rule that no one is allowed to discuss the business around her. She explained, "I don't want to hear about that because I have my own problems."

After Loretta quit working for her father, he sold the restaurant and started his own catering business. Apparently, he decided to start a less stressful business. I recently saw Loretta's Face Book page and she seemed enthusiastic about her graduation from nursing school and her new job as an RN at a hospital. There is a picture of her in a graduation gown standing next to her father. They both are smiling, like everyone smiles in graduation pictures, and I cannot help but wonder how their relationship has changed since the last time I interviewed her. "For the first time I feel complete," Loretta posted on her Face Book page. "I wish the same for my brother and sister."

Unlike Loretta, Alexandra prioritized her parent's goals over her goals by choosing to help her parents' business instead of spending more of her time and energy at school. She segmented this tension and focused on how her business participation emotionally connected her to her parents. She said:

Whatever I do, I try to do it for my parents. Like for schoolwork, I couldn't tell them that I have school I can't work for you guys. But I know that they really need my help. So I try to squeeze my class in the morning instead of skipping work to go to class. So my parents are definitely the most important people.

Although she picked work over school, she clearly did not want to continue in the "food" business when she graduated from college. She wanted to become an accountant and work at accounting firm. Then, she would be able to support her parents so they could sell the restaurant. She did not like her current situation, but worked because her parents needed her. She said, "I chose not to tell my parents that I don't like working and going to school…I don't want them to worry too much about my schoolwork and coming to work. They need me at the restaurant."

78

Furthermore, Alexandra is fully aware that her participation at the business interfered with her education. She commented, "I would say the restaurant is pulling me back from school work. Like, I could have taken afternoon classes but I couldn't because of the restaurant. So I can't take classes during the day." However, she believed the only way her parents could successfully support themselves was by owning the restaurant. She linked her business participation to their financial security and believed she had a duty to help them pay their bills. She said, "If my parents don't own the restaurant it would be hard for them to go find a job. Cause they're older. Chinese restaurants they don't hire older people. I have a responsibility to help at the restaurant until the house is paid off."

Alexandra handled the relational tension connection/separation with a strategy of segmentation. She privileged the connection side of the polarity, therefore took on her parents problems as if they were her own. Her participation at the family firm left her with few resources to accomplish her personal goal of going to college. Ironically, Alexandra's participation in the family business impeded her from getting her accounting degree: the thing that Alexandra believed would allow her parents to sell the restaurant.

Perhaps Loretta and Alexandra addressed the tension of connect/separation with segmentation because they did not integrate their personal goals with the family business goals. Each polarity of the contradiction separation/connection represented a different set of goals. Connection represented their parent's goals, and separation represented their goals. These family business daughters were unable to simultaneously work on accomplishing both sets of goals. Working at the business interfered with their college education, which interfered with contributing to the family and as a result, they had to pick between what they saw as committing themselves to their family, or to themselves.

79

Recalibration: Reframing the Family Business as a Personal Resource

Although her father still "frustrates" her and does not "value" what she does outside of the family business, Renee felt satisfied with their relationship. Her father had always been an "intense person," and since her childhood "this carried through in the house." She explained, "I think he puts a lot of pressure on himself, and then that puts a lot of pressure on us." Furthermore, she felt his pressure when she worked at the family business. She said, "There are definitely times working in his office I feel it…I do something wrong and he likes takes it personally." However, by accepting him, Renee learned to stay emotionally connected to him while she distanced herself from his intensity. She explained, "It's taken me years to kind of expect it….My dad, at this point he's not changing." She identified with him and felt connected to him. However, she recognized that she is her own person and has her own needs. She explained, "I've just kind of started accepting him for who he is, and I'm not going to change." When Renee talked about her relationship she addressed both her father's needs and her needs. She said, "I wish I had spent more time working for him during high school. None of us really understood what he was doing. Why was I scooping ice cream when I could be filing for him?...But I also think there's value in having your own job."

Renee has clearly connected with her father; however, she did not feel the same responsibility as other daughters to solve her father's problems. I believe this has brought Renee closer to her father because she gets along better with him. She confessed that she was the "difficult one growing up," but "at this point," she plays an "opposite role." She said she has stopped "fighting" with her father about "every little thing." Her sister did not understand how Renee worked so closely with her father. Renee noted, "The last time

I worked for my dad my sister was like you're insane…You're living at home and working for him. And I was like, yeah it will be fine. Because I've just accepted that's who he is….It's not my fault."

Tonya stated that she is much happier workings at her grandfather's company now that she realized she is not responsible for his actions. When she first started working there, she felt it was her job to "keep the peace" between her grandfather and his employees because he had a bad temper and had a tendency to "fly off the handle." However, she is much happier now that "I no longer feel like I have to undo what he does. You know. If he makes someone mad I understand I don't have to fix that."

The family business daughters above responded to the connection/separation contradiction by recalibration or reframing. Similar to Loretta and Alexandra, Monica and Viola attend college while working at their family business, but rather than viewing the family business as a source of anxiety, Monica and Viola viewed the family business as a resource they used to accomplish their goals. In doing this, these family business daughters reframed the contradiction so it no longer felt like one (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). As a result, they were able to participate in the family business and help the family while they worked on accomplishing their goals.

These family business daughters emphasized the benefits of working in the family business. They noted, for example, that it allowed them to have a flexible work schedule. A third generation family business daughter commented that working at a family firm is "a good opportunity" for college age individuals because it allows them "to do whatever else you want on top of having extra money." Monica worked at her parents' deli because

of the flexibility. She said, "This way I can pick my schedule…It's not where like I don't have any hours. It's just easier with school."

Viola felt comfortable adjusting her work schedule to accommodate other things going in her life. She believed she could do this because her coworkers are her family members and would not "permanently hold it against her". She noted how her family members did everything they could to give her time for her school work. She said, "They are very flexible….And sometimes they tell me ahead like if they don't see many appointments in the appointment book, oh just stay home you don't have to come." Viola also had a part time job at a physical therapist clinic so she could gain practical experience for the sports medicine degree she is trying to earn. Working with "strangers" is not nearly as comfortable for her as working with family members. She believed that nonfamily companies were not as accommodating with their policies. She said, "The fact that it's family owned it's kind of like I kind of can do whatever I want. I mean you don't want to say that to my sisters who work there." However, she feels "obligated" to work her assigned schedule at her other job. She said, "I was always obligated you know to work….Like I could tell my parents last minute I need off but with other places it's kind of like two weeks notice."

Like the family business daughters who adopted their parents' problems as their own, these family business daughters cared about the company and experienced workload and time pressures. Viola said, "We get very busy. We were so busy on Sunday I was with customers nonstop and was unable to take one break all day long." Working the lunch shift at her parents' deli was an incredibly stressful experience for Monica. She said, "It's a, it's a very stressful place for everybody. So it's just, it's just a very, it's very,

very busy so. It's just any place that's busy you get stressed out." However, instead of feeling responsible for alleviating their family members' problems by working at the business, their work experiences helped them to identify with their family members. Monica admits if she never worked with her parents, "I might not have grasped how busy they are and then understand where they were coming from….I can completely understand why they're so stressed out and not wanting to do anything at home."

These family business daughters wanted to help their family members, but also wanted to accomplish their own personal goals. They responded to the connection/separation contradiction by reframing the family business as personal resource so the contradiction no longer felt like one. In doing this, they integrated their personal goals and the family business goals. Their work at the family business contributed to the family, while at the same time it provided them the flexibility they needed for their demanding school schedules.

Recalibration: Career Family Business Daughters and Job Positions

It is common for family business daughters to work jobs that they have no experience or interest in just because their family needs them to (Dumas, 1992). The career family business daughters I interviewed experienced a tension between working a job that needed to get done versus building a fulfilling career for themselves. What I found particularly interesting is how these women addressed this tension by reframing the family business as a resource they used to accomplish their goals. In some cases they used their position at the company to transform an undesirable job into a career they enjoyed and in others; they created a new position for themselves, thus fulfilling their emotional needs for meaningful work.

Olivia's grandfather repeatedly asked her to join his industrial shipping company after she had a successful management career in property development. His company expanded and he wanted her to create and run a centralized buying office but she was not interested. She said, "I had no desire to come to work here. We were in heavy manufacturing. All I ever thought it was a male dominated world." She eventually accepted his offer;" however, it was "a huge adjustment" for her. She explained, "I went from knowing what I was doing and understood to a job I didn't understand." At first Olivia regretted her decision. She said, "I'm going what the hell did I get myself into…I'm dealing with hardware I don't know what it is used for….I had a lot of regret. It took a long time for me to adjust. I'm never going to understand this".

Once Olivia felt as if she no longer had to "prove herself," she redirected her attention to the parts of her job she liked and away from the parts she disliked. Networking was something she did well in her previous career, and something she knew would increase her visibility in the industry. She explained, "The association book has all companies that are just like us. So I said, 'maybe this ain't all bad.' They're all family owned. I'm starting to call people for advice.….So you get support. I've made alliances and friendships" Also, she hired employees to help her "concentrate on the important things." She now has a personal assistant to manage all of her undesirable correspondence, and she has hired another "girl" to assist her with the product aspects of her job she does not like. In three years, Olivia's new position helped increase business profits by 22 million dollars. Her department saves her company millions of dollars a year, and she enjoys her job.

Over 20 years ago, Simone's father asked her and her husband to help at his medical distribution company after his brother and co owner died. While she has a degree in marketing and had a successful career in the clothing industry, at her father's company she performed the jobs he needed someone to do. She said, "I started out in the HR because they had no department so they put me in there. Which is real interesting because I had no idea." After her work in HR, they changed her position to another job she had no experience in: "Then, at one point they realized they needed some graphic work done. So they bought a computer and all the graphic software and then they put me in charge of it… I didn't know how to use computers. I MacGyvered my way through it."

Over time she transformed her position into a marketing department with nine employees that handles their company-wide promotional items, websites, and advertising. Although Simone always wanted to have a career in the fashion industry, she is very fulfilled in her job. She said, "Before I thought it was about the product, but it's not. It's the type of work you do that makes you happy." Simone turned her company's "graphic need" into a niche that only she could fill. Since none of their current employees possessed the skills needed to help her with the services she provided the company, they had to "hire outside talent" to work with her. Recently, Simone's team created a promotional opportunity for vendors and it is anticipated to generate "a lot" of revenue for the company. Simone has used her family business as resource to transform her former positions into the type of career that she wants. In addition, she has helped her company to diversify, grow, and increase profits.

For ten years Abigail hated her job at the restaurant she and her husband owned. She was "in charge of the front of the house" and managed "the servers" and "customer

relations." She also did the book keeping and payroll. Her husband Joe "was in charge of the back of the house" where he dealt with the kitchen and ordering. Although she felt the business responsibilities were "divided up pretty evenly," she did not like her job. She explained, "I don't think I was put on this planet to be somebody's boss," but did the job because she was "good at it." Ironically, Abigail also believed she was bad at her job because she had no desire to do it: "I never really felt comfortable inside my heart that I was a good manager. Never…What would make me feel like I was an effective manage is having a desire to manage."

Furthermore, the restaurant demands took a toll on Abigail's marriage. Six days a week Joe worked the day shift and Abigail worked the night shift. For ten years she only saw her husband on Sunday when they played golf. Two years ago Abigail gave her husband an ultimatum, sell their restaurant or get a divorce. They sold their restaurant and Abigail went back to graduate school. It was always Joe's dream to own a waterfront restaurant, and now the married couple are new owners of *Mermaids*. To "avoid repeating past mistakes," she hired enough managers so she and Joe could both work the day shift and she allotted her former responsibilities to them. She created a public relations position for herself which allows her to use her recently earned Master's in P.R. She explained, "I'm going to delegate it out. I'll just do the marketing and public relations." For ten years Abigail was unhappy because she lived her life doing what she perceived others needed her to do. Now, in the move of creative reframing, she has used her business as a resource to create the lifestyle and career that she desires.

Olivia, Simone, and Abigail all illustrate that reframing relational tensions increases perceived ways of responding to them. Instead of viewing the business as

something they needed to take care of, they treated the business as resource that would take care of them. Overtime, these remarkable women transformed their business positions to desirable careers while at the same time achieving increased profits. An aspect of recalibration for family business daughters involved the integration of personal goals and family business goals. Their examples can be contrasted with Loretta and Alexandra, who responded to similar relational tensions through segmentation. Loretta and Alexandra's personal goals and family business goals were kept separate and the women felt they either had to pick between giving to their families or giving to themselves. Family business daughters who reframed their relational tensions and integrated their family business goals and personal goals are able to give to themselves, their families, and their businesses. In a sense, they are responding to the call to "problematize" separate spheres discourse that has been made by work life communication scholars (e.g. Kirby, *et al.,* 2003).

Chapter 4: Gender and Informal Family Business Policies

"It's a man's world. It took me quite a few years to get their trust and their respect. There are still today customers that walk in the door and want to talk to the man." Sadie was explaining the complex role gender has played in owning a garage. Family business women commonly confront challenges because of their gender including: (a) their contributions being under valued and minimized, (b) a lack of respect and authority, and (c) negative perceptions of their work (Curimbaba, 2002; Dumas, 1988; Dumas *et al.,* 1995; Gillis-Donovan & Moynihan-Bradt, 1990; Lee *et al.*, 2006; Vera & Dean, 2005). Working in the male dominated automotive repair service industry magnified the gender bias Sadie experienced. First-time customers assumed Sadie ran the front desk and they often preferred to speak to the "man in the back" than to her about their car problems.

"I recently had an older gentleman who came in with a starter that he had at another shop, but he was still having problems," Sadie cracked a mischievous grin. Her husband Sammy, who worked with her, took care of this customer first. She continued:

> Sammy did what he thought he needed to do and when the man put it back on the
> tractor he still had a problem. He came in again with the starter, and I told him
> 'OK, let's talk about what your problem is." Then he said, "well don't we need
> him?' And, and I said, 'No we don't need him. Let's talk about it.' And we ended

up solving his problem. When he came back he brought me these two poems that

he had written, autographed and framed. I hung them in my office.

Sadie did not get frustrated with this customer, rather she was understanding. She

explained, "He didn't mean to be offensive. He is just an old cowboy. Runs a horse

farm." She pointed to her autographed cowboy poems hanging up in the customer service

area of her garage, "He's just a cool old guy. You meet some interesting people."

This chapter explores issues of gender related to family business daughters.

According to family business scholars family business women are an undervalued

resource at the family firm (Dumas, 1992), and family business women who are not

owners typically work without pay and job description (Danes & Olson, 2003). Even if

family members treat family business daughters equitably, there are no guarantees others

will. Sometimes nonfamily members such as other employees or clients discriminate

against family business daughters. For example, often husband and wife teams treat each

other equitably, while clients treat the "wife" as a subordinate member of the

organization (Hollander & Bukowitz, 1990). Coles (1997) contends that in large family

businesses nonfamily members inside and outside of the company may be biased against

family business daughters, while in smaller companies it typically stems from

professionals external to the company.

I addressed gender in my interviews with family business daughters by asking,

"Does gender influence your experiences?" Some of the family business daughters in

their early twenties seemed indifferent about the topic. One replied, "I do office work.

Maybe if I was a firefighter or something." All of the other women I interviewed, except

for Candace a stay-at-home mother, brought the issue up before I did. Often, the women

talked about gender when they described recent challenges. After I had turned the tape recorder off, a few women asked if other family business daughters I interviewed had similar experiences. One woman inquired, "Is it just me? Am I just crazy?"

I begin by describing the theoretical aspects of power and relational dialectics. Next, I explore how gendered patterns play out in the family business such as expectations that daughters will contribute more than sons, but also in gendered communication styles and performances. Then I examine how the founder's values create a family business culture that provided flexible polices for family emergencies, but is less accommodating for family business daughters who are mothers. Finally, I draw on relational dialectics to investigate how family business daughters addressed tensions with the strategy of balance.

Critical Sensibility and Gender Assumptions/Bias in Family Businesses

Critical sensibility is a critique of power in relational dialects. Central to relational dialectics is unity because it implies a multivocal approach to contradiction. Since subordinate voices are often muted by dominant voices, failure to critically examine hegemonic power structures that reproduce dominant perspectives leads to monologue. Baxter contends that scholars who adopt a dialogical perspective have an "obligation to critique…dominant voices" (Baxter, 2004a, p. 123). Exploring dialectical tensions reveals why certain "ideologies" remain at the center of tensions while other ideologies remain at the margins (Baxter, 2004c). The critical aspect of relational dialectics is invaluable in the family business context because it has the potential to bring to the foreground voices and perspectives that have been marginalized by hegemonic family business cultures heavily influenced by the founder.

90

Family businesses have been said to have a long-established history of reproducing business cultures that favor men and are unconsciously biased against women (Francis, 1999). Family business daughters confront issues of unpaid labor, as well as their contributions being minimized (Danes & Olson, 2003; Lyman, 1988) and childcare dilemmas (Cole, 1997). Furthermore, family business scholars contend that family business women are "socialized" into accepting invisible and limiting roles (Salaganicoff, 1990; Curimbaba, 2002). Their implication that women are part of their own dominance mirrors critical organizational perspectives that demand that research question societal assumptions that reinforce "dominate-subordinate relationships" (Bullis & Rohrbauck Stout, 2000, p. 73). Like Fine & Buzzanell (2000), I consider gendered social assumptions to be reflected in "everyday practices," and thus in this chapter I explore the tensions family business daughters experienced both internally and externally. Internal contradictions include relationship-level tensions whereas external contradictions are comprised of tensions arising in the social and cultural environment. Furthermore, there is an interdependent relationship between them (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996).

Previous work life research has called attention to discrepancies between the ways individuals manage work and personal interrelationships compared to social expectations of how this should be done (Golden, *et al.,* 2006). The interdependence between internal and external contradictions concerning gender in a family business context is complex because family business daughters experience personal level tensions that are compared against both familial and social norms. Family business women who are mothers often work with their parents and siblings who judge them as a worker and a mother (Cole, 1997). Gendered patterns play out in both obvious ways such as in the expectations that

daughters will contribute more of their labor than sons, but also more subtly, in gendered communication styles and performances

Gendered Assumptions and Sexism in the Family Business

Like other organizations, family businesses reflect and reproduce patriarchy by valuing masculine traits such as aggressiveness over feminine traits such as emotionality (Mumby & Putnam, 1992). Gendered realities are "sustained" and "transformed" through "interaction" among organizational members and businesses "guides" interaction by rewarding certain behaviors over others (Ashcraft, 2004). Family business daughters' opinions about how their gender is perceived in their industry and company are an integral aspect of understanding external level tensions. Particularly for family business daughters who made the family business a career it was crucial to negotiate how they performed their gender based upon their own and others' perceptions of them as female workers. Some of the family business daughters I interviewed worked in very male dominated industries and their female presence was very conspicuous.

Olivia worked at her grandfather's industrial shipping business and described herself as a "female in a male dominated industry." At the first industry convention she was shocked to discover how few female colleagues she had. She said, "I show up, and it's like a big joke. I'm like the only female pretty much, besides one other girl named Anna that works in this industry. Everyone knows me. I don't wear a name badge anymore." For the "the first few years," she was "freaking out" until she developed confidence in her expertise. Tonya worked at her grandfather's warehouse and chose to work in the HR office because, "Clients don't expect to work with a woman, and the guys on the floor don't find it odd that I work in the main office."

Sadie explained that in the automotive service industry, "women are not very normal." As a result, "when you meet them, you kind of hook up together." Since Sadie owns her own garage and does manual labor, she is even a minority among the other female participants in her industry. She explained, "Usually it's a husband wife team and usually the wife is in the office. And the wife doesn't really get her hands dirty like I do. It's the opposite with us." Furthermore, Sadie dealt with customer bias daily in her garage. Although her customers at the garage are not "intentionally" offensive, at times they were. She explained:

> When they really have an attitude and I think they're not going to talk to me, I'll send him (her husband). And I'll say, 'This guy wants to talk to a man. He doesn't want to talk to me.' And, sometimes after my husband talks to them he'll tell them, 'you need to talk to her.'…If they really offend me I'll say, 'why don't you come back later.'"

Abigail felt that she was undervalued in the restaurant business by her male associates. She said, "I think that people do look at me from a gender perspective. Like 'Oh she's just a girl. How is she going to be running this multimillion dollar business?'" Since only "older" men made her feel this way she attributes their bias to generational differences. She explained, "A lot of them are older. And they're like from the old school. You know that's how they think about gender. I probably wouldn't say that the younger guys are like that." She commented that "young sales men" treat her like "the owner of the business;" however, older men "view" her as if "she's just a girl." As a result, Abigail felt as if she must prove she is worthy to be the owner of her restaurant. She noted, "I have to prove myself. I have to work extra hard to show I can do this. Even

though I've proven myself before, on a daily basis I have to accomplish something to prove that I am worthy of this position."

Family business daughters in both male dominated and female inclusive industries clearly claimed they were expected to perform a different role than men in the industry. Olivia knew that she was treated differently than men in her industry. She said, "I don't know how to explain it. There is a difference. It's a different way they talk to me in their tone of their voice." At work she is "tough" because she "has to be" being "in a male world." She explained that the men she works with operate under a "good old boy network" and do business in informal situations such as going to "nudie bars." She has made her mark by being competitive and tough. She explained:

> The hardest part of doing this job is that you are always perceived as, like oh god she's a tough little bitch don't mess with her. But they respect me….But it's kind of that double edged sword that I've lived with that it took me a longtime to accept….In my job I'm one way. And then when I'm home I'm another.

Furthermore, she believed that her grandfather expected her to be the "bitch" so her uncles could be social. She noted, "I think my grandfather wanted me to come because I was tough and I could be like what they call the bitch….so my uncles won't offend the guy network." Another family business daughter also claimed at times she has to act tough when dealing with people in the business. She said, "I have to put a tough exterior when dealing with vendors or I know they will try to cheat me. My husband buys them a drink and tells a joke to get a good price." Although she does it to "make the deal" the "bitch role" is not something she feels comfortable doing.

While family business daughters had to be "tough" business women, they also had to play the role of a "softener." Simone believed that people perceived her better if she was caring. She commented "it's not just a negative" and that "the female always has to do it" because "the female is softer." She commented:

There is a female thing that kind of softens things. Vendors are attracted to it…. and that's what I hope I bring. Things can get really, really, tough and it's really intense. And, it's moving so fast, and if I can just bring that, that tends to make it more comfortable. I think if people are comfortable maybe, then they react better.

Third generation family business daughter Tonya provided an example of how care giving was an unwritten expectation in the industry she worked at. She told the story of how a "nurturing" sales woman at their company had been replaced by a "harsh" woman. The harsh woman was having a hard time establishing contacts. Tonya explained, "She literally asked us 'why do people hate me so much?' At first she was so hard. So everyone said 'you're not understanding.' Well I think she realized so she started to take that role like a caregiver." Like Simone Tonya felt, "it isn't necessarily a bad thing."

Family business daughters explained that they were critiqued if they were perceived as too harsh. This was particularly true if they were giving feedback. Abigail blamed herself for being "misinterpreted" while giving feedback, and created the personal goals "to communicate appreciation" and "to not be impatient" with others. She worked hard at not offending others with her "harsh" style. She explained, "I don't mean to be harsh. I don't mean to be cruel. But sometimes I say things and people are like, 'well you don't have to say it like that.' I think that they think I said it like they are stupid." She blamed herself for the "miscommunication," and believed that she was

95

responsible for changing her actions. She said, "I try to be aware of how it comes across. Very important to not be misunderstood, and it's, it's totally me that has to work on this. It's not them…I try to make sure that I'm communicating effectively and not hurting anybody with my impatience."

Other family business daughters also believed they were criticized for being too aggressive when they delivered feedback; however, they attributed the negative perceptions to the fact that their position at work was higher than their position at home. At work, Sadie felt as if her husband took her feedback as "harsh" because he had a difficult time accepting his wife was in a position of power over him. She said, "We are husband and wife, but when we're at work it's a business and you know you don't necessarily always have time to be as gentle as a wife should possible be. I am the boss. You know so. It's the way it is." However, at home their "position" was "more equal," and Sammy responded more favorably when she disagreed with him. Sadie also believed that because Sammy is a man, his feelings got hurt easier. She noted, "I think when you have a husband and a wife that work together, just the wife is the stronger of the two. Stronger personality, stronger motivation, stronger all the way around. But I think that, um, men tend to get their feelings hurt even though their not supposed to." She tried to resolve the situation by making her husband tougher. She said, "I finally told him when I'm at work I'm working. I'm sorry if I hurt your feelings, but you need to get on with it."

Simone believed that it was better for her husband to have "confrontations" with their employees than her because "they take it easier from him." When she had to confront her employees about not filling an order form out correctly she felt they "labeled" her "a corporate bitch." She explained, "You just can feel it. You can just tell.

96

There is a difference…I have a feeling that, imagine you are out walking and people are like 'move away.'" After her confrontation, she felt as if her employees avoided her. She explained, "No one would come near me. They went to everybody else for an answer, and they need to come to me but it's almost like they're afraid. And I, I feel really bad."

Family business women who did not make the family business their career were expected to work at the family business, while their brothers were not. Gender inequity is illustrated by who participated and who did not participate in the family business. In my research male siblings did not participate at the small sized family businesses; however, it was typical for them to hold positions of power in the medium sized companies that grossed over 20 million dollars a year. In the introduction of my dissertation, I introduced Alexandra who worked almost every day at her family's restaurant while going to school fulltime. Alexandra's case shows the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and business size.

Ethnicity is a major factor in how Alexandra identified with her parents and the family business. As noted earlier, Alexandra believes "The American way of thinking and the Chinese way of thinking is very different." It is likely that she is operating under a Confucian Value System, typical in Asian family businesses, where children respect and serve their parents (Yan & Sorenson, 2006). It is an unspoken expectation that all family members, including children, are responsible for the business and should prioritize it (Song, 1996). Alexandra is the only female child in her family and the only sibling who worked permanently with her parents, while her two older brothers had fulltime employment outside of the family business. Moreover, only one of them helped at the restaurant on his day off from his other job. Her other brother, who is in the army, lives too far away from the restaurant to help. In an American business context, Alexandra's

status as a female may be even lower than if she were in an Asian society and her brothers' needs more prioritized. According to Cho (1998) under a Confucian value system "women's status" is higher in societies where "the domestic realm itself becomes a locus of social, economic, and political power" (p. 188). Therefore, Alexandra reacted to the relational tensions she experienced from being part of a family business very differently than her male siblings.

In fact, Alexandra's brother who helped at the restaurant on his day off of work from his other job, is the only male sibling who works regularly at a small sized family business. As noted in the previous chapter, family business daughters often referred to their brothers as lazy because they did not offer their services at the family firm. There was one instance in my research where a family business brother opened up the same type of business as his parent, as opposed to working with his parent. Instead of working at his mother's nail salon like all of his sisters, Viola's oldest brother opened his own nail salon located only "10 miles from" their salon. Viola described this as "normal"; however, I wondered if he did not become a co owner with his mother like his sisters did because staying that connected to his mother was not "manly."

Brothers from small family businesses expressed a strong desire to not work at the family business. Monica's brother has worked since has been 16 years old; however, he has never worked at his parent's deli. She explained, "He, he never wanted to work there. Like it is a family joke that he doesn't want to work there." She said that she "can't picture him working there at all." She then explained that he does not do any type of work associated with the business. She noted that "He'll come in and he'll get food. And I'm like, 'Mike, how about you learn how to write a ticket up like for your own food.

98

And you can turn it in yourself so I don't have to do it.' And he goes, 'no, no.'" However, he has had other restaurant jobs where he was a busboy. When I asked Monica if gender played a role regarding their decisions to work and to not work with their parents she noted that all her immediate female family members work there, but she had never thought about "why" that was the case. She answered, "I mean since there are three girls in the family, and we are the only ones that work plus my dad. I mean. It's the same for all us. Except it's basically all girls that work at the restaurant not my brother."

However, other family business daughters openly indicated that gender played a role in determining why their brothers did not help in the same manner they did. While Renee and her sister worked in their father's doctor office after they graduated from college, Renee believed that her father had different expectations for her younger brother. She explained that her father would never let her brother work at the office because "I think he kind of wants him to kind of like go and do something with himself." She said:

> You know he (my dad) said to me at one point, 'men are supposed to make more money than women. I said, 'you can't say things like today.' And he's like, 'I may not agree with it but it still comes down to the fact that Todd is a man and he needs to have a real job where you and your sister might not need a serious job.'

The above example is consistent with the literature on family business women that indicated their contributions are often undervalued (Dumas, 1992). By not allowing his son to help at his doctor offices, Renee's father devalued the contributions Renee, her sister, and her mother make to the family business. Renee even commented, "I don't think my dad values everything my mother does." It is important to note, that as I discussed in my third chapter, most family business daughters from small family

99

businesses informally help and do not receive money for their services. This gendered

distinction between paid and unpaid labor is similar to separate sphere discourse that

associates men with the professional sphere and paid labor and women in the domestic

sphere and unpaid labor. Since, men's paid labor has historically been valued more than

women's unpaid domestic labor which is deemed unproductive (Crittenden, 2001); this

family business gendered division of informal and formal labor perpetuates patriarchal

power structures. This places family business women from small family businesses at a

disadvantaged position and makes their contributions to the family business invisible.

Founder Values: Passion, Gender and Organizational Norms

The way gender is valued in the family business culture is a significant part of

family business daughters' external level tensions. The Founder plays a dominant role in

the family business and their "values" and "motivation are powerful cultural drivers,"

that are passed down to succeeding generations (Denison *et al.*, 2004). Founder values

"permeate the family and the business" and promote an organizational culture that

emphasizes hard work (Aronoff, 2004) and the development of collective trust (Hoffman

et al., 2006). These values create expected norms of behavior at the family firm, and

family members may be fearful of deviating from them (Carney, 2005). Family business

daughters' adoption of the founder's values is represented by the "passion" they have for

their family businesses. Passion is a positive and negative resource for family business

daughters because the women may have unconsciously adopted both the founder's

motivation and the founder' sexist work attitudes. As a result, family business daughters

were successful in their careers with the family firm and participated in inflexible policies

regarding motherhood.

In 1776 philosopher George Campbell argued that we derive our "spirit and energy" from passion; therefore, it "animates" us or moves us to action (Campbell, 2000, p. 572). He believed passion was a motivating force for individuals and in order to persuade someone, you first had to move their passion. In contemporary times, we tend to link passion with organizational success and assume that those who have a passion for their career are highly committed and enjoy what they do. In fact, there are numerous self-help books that teach people to learn to love their jobs and their lives by discovering their passion (e.g., Anderson, 2004; Cassidy, 2000; Kang & Albion, 2005)

Family business daughters consistently revealed that they were "passionate" about the family business. They equate passion with having a strong connection to the founder and working hard. Olivia noted, "I'm successful because I have a passion for it. It's not about the money. My grandfather did everything from the ground up. That's something I always admired. That he went to work every day." She goes onto explain that she learned how to perform passion from her grandfather: "That is where I got a lot of my traits from. Just work. Don't worry about your problems. Make a living and deal with it when you get home. I was pretty programmed it didn't bother me to ever work. I didn't care if I worked seven days straight." They are inspired by the founder's dedication and their participation at the family firm links them to the founder. A family business daughter said, "I am passionate about what I do because I can feel my dad worked so hard to build this company up." Passion was also talked about in terms of "motivation" and "drive." One woman commented, "I am motivated and driven to make it a success. I think I get that from my grandfather."

Passion is also something daughters expected other family members who worked at the business to find. One family business daughter whose brother recently started working at the family business commented that at first he just "didn't get it." However, things got better when, "it kicked into him that if he's going to this, you're going to have to have a passion for it." Another woman remembers her father asking her about her passion, and confessed that she now asks her children the same thing. She said, "He would say, 'where's your passion?' And I'd get really upset. I'm like 'what is this?' Now I understand because I find myself saying the same things to my kids. 'What are you passionate about?' And it's true. That he was true." In fact, passion was described as a necessary element of happiness and success at the family firm. One family business daughter advised other family business daughters "Don't go into it (the business) for the money. The money will be short lived. You really need to have a passion for it."

Family business daughters are passionate because their participation in the family business emotionally bonds them to their families. An emerging family business research perspective views aspects of family business culture as intangible resources that provide family firms' competitive advantages over non-family firms (Dyer, 2003). These intangible and ideological resources are referred to as "familiness" (Habberson &Williams, 1999), of which, I would argue, "passion" is a form.

Passion: A Family Business Resource

Organizational culture is an important concept for exploring ideological aspects of the family firm (Dyer, 1986, 1988; Heck, 2004). It includes the actions, practices, stories, and artifacts that characterize a particular organization (Eisenberg, *et. al.,* 2007). The culture's symbolic expressions help to create an organizational reality and establish

appropriate norms of behavior for organizational members (Eisenberg, Murphy, & Andrews, 1998). The same is true for family culture (Galvin, et *al.,* 2008), and at a family business the family culture and the business culture overlap (Koiranen, 2003). According to Heck (2004), "Family culture is not distinct from and likely underlies the family business culture" (p. 384).

The Resource Based View (RBV) is a leading family business perspective (Chrisman *et al.*, 2005) that explores how familial goals and familial relationships produce a unique "family effect" that influences firm performance (Dyer, 2003, 2006). The RBV approach suggests that valuable, rare, and non-substitutable resources can lead to a sustainable competitive advantage and superior performance (Barney, 1991). Family firm scholarship uses this perspective to examine how family attributes, including family values, are intangible family business resources (Habbershon, 2006; Sirmon, *et. al,* 2003). Scholars have explored both the economic and non-economic goals of family business and suggest the non-economic goals of family business owners differ from those in nonfamily firms (Chrisman, Chua, & Sharma, 2005). While the bottom line is likely to be the priority of nonfamily businesses, sustainability is often the number one goal of family firms because family business owners feel a responsibility to provide a legacy for future generations of family members (Zahra *et al.*, 2004). Habberson and Williams (1999) coined the phrase "familiness" to describe these intangible resources and defined it "as the unique bundle of resources a particular firm has because of the systems interaction between the family, its individual members, and the business" (p. 11l).

Research attributed familiness as having a positive influence on family business performance in the areas of customer relations, operational efficiency (Tokarcyzk *et al.*, 2007), entrepreneurial risk taking (Zahra, 2005), and innovation (Craig & Moores, 2005). However, Hoffman, Hoelscher, and Sorenson (2006) argue the established familial norms associated with familiness can have negative consequences. Since family members are fearful of others discovering that they have broken a code of conduct, family norms "provide for social control in family businesses" (p. 138). Passion is a form of familiness because it is a product of family business cultures, and family business daughters use it as a resource that inspires them to work hard. It is also a form of "social control" for family business daughters who are fearful of breaking family business norms. This may prevent family business daughters from questioning sexist policies established by the founder.

Since the founder of most family businesses are men, they may inadvertently perpetuate a family and business culture that undermines and undervalues their daughters (Francis, 1999). Family business daughters directly stated that their fathers or grandfathers were sexist. One family business daughter commented, "My dad was sexist and controlling. He acted like a marine." Simone had a difficult time working with her father who "had a view that was much more male." She explained, "My mom was always a stay at home mom because of my dad's generation. I mean you are a housewife. You were just at work to fill time." Simone dismisses her father's attitudes and values as simply generational, but his sexist attitudes may have permeated into the family business culture with real consequences for the women who work at his company.

Some family business daughters experienced discrimination that could be the result of a gender biased family business culture. A third generation family daughter

noted, "The men in the family move up faster than the women. No one likes to point it out, but it is true." Tonya works in the HR department at her grandfather's warehouse and is uncertain if she were his daughter if he would have let her work at his company. She explained, "I doubt if I'd be a part of the business if I was his daughter (instead of granddaughter). He only had two sons, and he didn't have a very favorable opinion of women in the family working for him."

Family business daughters also reported that other female family members were undervalued. Sexist attitudes are also reflected in how founders treated their wives. Renee admitted that her father "never valued" her "mom's job." She explained, "She put in a full day's work. And he put in a full day's work. But his work was always more important because he made more money." She commented that when her father had time off "he expected to be undisturbed." However, her mother's time was "never off" because "when she wasn't at school or taking care of us he expected her to work with him." Next, I examine the ways in which the founder's gender biased values are evident in the family business's informal work policies.

Informal Gender Bias: Pro-Family Policies and Anti-Mommy Polices

Family business daughters' goals, resources, and priorities are etched in relational contradictions they experienced. Perhaps this was best represented in how family business daughters felt they could respond at work to personal issues. Informal family business policies are very pro-family during times of family emergencies, and allowed family business daughters to adjust their work schedules to respond to their families' needs. However, informal family business policies were also very anti-mommy, and did not allow family business daughters to adjust their schedules for their children's needs.

The family business is a factor in how family business daughters choose to respond to relational tensions. Many of the women I interviewed shared stories of how they handled loss, coping, and heartbreak. The first thing I noticed when I walked in Olivia's office was a picture of her in a wedding dress dancing with her grandfather. Four months before our interview the 35-year-old women married a man she had met who worked with her at her grandfather's industrial shipping company. Olivia revealed, "My family business has been a critical factor in my life. I met two husbands there. One died." She then shared the experience of her first husband's death. Her story is a poignant illustration of the flexibility that some family business daughters have when responding to family emergencies.

When Olivia's grandfather found out she was dating Peter, one of his company's engineer's he joked, "'one of you has to leave because I can't have you two getting married.'" They did get married and had a son together. "The story gets even better," Olivia told me. "He was killed by a head on collision. It was ironic the person who killed him was one of our customers."

When Olivia shared her story, she pointed out every decision her husband made that he could have changed to avoid the accident. She said, "This is how fate driven we are. My uncle has a convertible and was moving so he wanted to use my husband's truck. Well we have a fleet of company vehicles from A to Z in size. So they swap cars." I was afraid to blink as she continued to explain the importance of choice and fate:

It was Sunday evening and dinner was ready. Peter said, 'Oh I forgot to get the baby's milk.' I said, 'Oh don't go to the store. It can wait.' He said, 'No I'm going to go.' I wouldn't let him take the convertible. I said, 'You have to take my SUV.'

106

He said, 'I'm going to take your uncle's convertible because it's a nice night.' And that was it. He got hit. He died on the scene.

After her husband's sudden death, Olivia chose not "to work for awhile." She explained, "I had a baby that's three years old. Doesn't understand where every day his daddy is. Wants to know if I get into a car if I'm going to die. I didn't know what I wanted. Was I happy working? I was tired. So, I went to counseling a lot."

Olivia described her husband's death as a "turning point" and believed that it was fate that she chose to work at her grandfather's business:

I feel like everything happened to me the way it was supposed to. No other company would have tolerated me being out. They would not have let me off three months, six months. I don't know when I really came back to work…I can't even tell you because it's kind of like a blackout now.

One advantage of working at a family firm for family business daughters is the flexibility they had to respond to family emergencies. Olivia stood me up for our first interview because she unexpectedly took three weeks off to spend time with her grandfather who had recently been diagnosed with cancer. The news was devastating to her: "When my grandfather was diagnosed March 13th with cancer, my birthday was the 14th, his was the 15th. It was two most horrible days of our lives. You're told you've got pancreatic cancer, you've got three to six months."

Other family business daughters had similar experiences. Simone shared how after her father's stroke she visited him every morning in the hospital and went to work late for months. She felt this flexibility was an advantage of working at a family firm. She noted, "That's where I have an advantage. I wouldn't have liked working at some other

107

place…Everybody worked around it. I'd be a little late to work every day and I left on time every day…You've got to do those obligations. I had an advantage where I could." Informal pro-family policies prioritize family relationships and emotional connection with family members over business profit. Family business daughters had the job flexibility to respond to family crisis the way they wanted, with no threat of losing their jobs. Simone's father was home from the hospital "less than a month" when he passed away. She described her daily visitations with him as "a good thing" because she was there for him when he needed her. She has no regrets and if another family emergency arises she would respond similarly: "I'll do it. I don't care what it is."

While Sadie felt there were disadvantages to owning your own business, she also felt it provided her with a degree of flexibility for accomplishing everyday errands and coping with family emergencies that other jobs would not. She commented, "I like being my own boss…if I need to go to the doctor I don't have to ask somebody's permission." Being a business owner also enabled her to put her family's needs before her business's needs. She said, "If I have a family emergency, like when my husband's dad was not well. When he was sick he visited him. It's hard, but I'll manage so he can go." Unlike public companies that are motivated by profit, family businesses are responsive to the needs of the family (Chua *et al.*, 1999). Informal pro-family policies prioritize family relationships over the bottom line, and family business daughters have no qualms about losing profit when it is what is best for the family. Sadie felt no remorse for deciding to close her garage to spend time with her dying father-in-law. She explained:

> I don't regret making that decision to shut down early. No matter how much
> money we lost it's still more important. At least we had that choice to make. A lot

of people don't have that choice. Some companies aren't that understanding. I

mean maybe you couldn't have taken that time off.

In the above examples, the family business prioritized family well being over

profit (Aronoff, 2004); therefore, family business daughters were encouraged to put the

needs of their families before the needs of the business. This ties into an aspect of

familiness that suggests one resource of family firms is how the founder uses their

business to improve the quality of life for his or her family (Anderson *et al.*, 2002). Since

family members are employed at the family firm, some founders create organizational

cultures that enact "social concerns" such as developing "humanistic" human resource

policies; including avoiding layoffs and offering flexible schedules (Schein, 1983). The

informal pro-family policies can be seen as a form of organizational praxis that

challenges the assumption that "family" is supposed to remain separate from the realm of

"work" (Kirby *et al.*, 2003). The flexibility these organizations provide family business

daughters during times of family crisis offer a model for other organizations that claim to

prioritize employee well being.

On the other hand, family members who were co-workers were not as understanding

about childcare needs as they were about family emergencies, As a result, these mothers

felt torn between giving to their families or giving to their family businesses. In this

sense, the relational tensions family business daughters' experienced regarding

motherhood reflect the separate spheres ideologies that privilege the division of domestic

and business concerns similarly experienced by other working mothers. Although

Olivia's family business was very supportive of her taking an unlimited amount of time

off after her husband's death, she had a very difficult time adjusting her schedule when

she became a parent. Work took priority over her childcare responsibilities from the time she was in the hospital giving birth to her son. She shared, "I woke up at one in the morning before my son was delivered, and while I was in the hospital bed I was doing memos to my vendors because I had the epidural in me. So I'm doing orders and I realize there is something wrong with me." Her reaction to childbirth is consistent with research that indicates organizations view maternity leave as an inconvenience rather than as an important family event (Peterson & Albrecht, 1999). Perhaps Olivia experienced this because she associates being a mother with being a less productive employee. Although she believes she has the skills to be the next company CEO, she also thinks she cannot do a good job at it while she has a young child. She explained, "I'd be OK to be in charge, but right now, I still want to kind of be a mom. I want to leave on time. I don't want all of the added responsibilities."

Similar to nonfamily business working mothers, Simone also felt like she was less productive at work when she became a mother. She said that after her children were born, "That is definite. I was not as productive." She explained that when her children were young she felt torn between working and spending time with them:

> When the kids came around they became more of a focus than other things. I worked an actual eight hour shift. I used to work more. Did I like it? No. Because I really love it. Do I think I got everything done within that 8 hours? No. I had to do that because that was more important for my family side.

Interestingly, Simone adopted a separate spheres discourse to discuss childcare responsibilities, but did not do this in discussing her father's stroke. Although she worked less than an eight hour shift, she thought it was an advantage that for over a month every

day she could visit him in the hospital. However, she did not feel adjusting her work schedule to fit her children's schedules was an option. She explained, "I would get up at like 4:30 in the morning to get everybody ready so I could in the car, so I could be here by 8:00. I didn't want to be late."

Olivia and Simone's concerns echo those of other family business women who fear they cannot be a mother while a fulltime family business employee (Cole, 1997). Mothers are less visible in the family business than family business women without children (Gillis-Donovan & Moynihan-Bradt, 1990). Furthermore, family business daughters receive a "double message" about becoming a mother from their parents. Sometimes, daughters feel as if their parents expect them to have children, but at the same time, get upset if their daughter's work performance declines after she has become a mother (Cole, 1997). It is disheartening to think the same family members these women work with who are so flexible for family emergencies are so unaccommodating for parenting responsibilities. This is particularly odd considering how involved family business children are in the firm including providing unpaid labor.

In organizations gender has consistently been a dividing force between familial and business responsibilities (Acker, 1990), and "anti-mommy" tensions are yet one more example. Research indicates that in family businesses family members use gender as a dividing line to determine responsibilities at both work and home. Coperneur couples typically divide family and business responsibilities along gender lines so that wives are the primary household managers and work at the business with their husbands (Marshack, 1994). With married couples who both work fulltime at a family firm the women is most often responsible for the household chores, and with married couples in

which both partners work fulltime at nonfamily firms, husbands are more likely to help with chores (Marshack, 1998).

Perhaps family businesses are less flexible with mothering than with family emergencies because motherhood is a feminine marker for family business daughters. Trethewey's (1999) research on women's bodies and organizational cultures reveals that women try to control the appearance of their bodies so that they fit the patriarchal ideals associated with a professional body. A professional body is a fit body and women must work at hiding feminine excesses coupled with sexuality, fertility, and emotionality that "points to the female body's otherness" (p. 423). Since the "female body has a tendency to overflow," women work at hiding the "excesses" associated with fertility such as menstruation, lactation or pregnancy (Trethewey, 2000). I argue, in the context of the family business, motherhood becomes a gendered excess women cannot control. Since family business daughters' coworkers are their children's grandparents, aunts, and uncles, they constantly wear the mark of motherhood (Coles, 1997). Like other working mothers, family business daughters do not have the option to make their mothering status invisible during work place interaction. According to Jorgenson (2000), women engineers who perceived their industry to be intolerant of working mothers, avoided using language that would draw attention to their status as a mother. For example, when a female engineer was unable to work at a particular time because she had to pick her child up from daycare she told her colleagues that she had to leave for "business."

While the family business daughters I interviewed were unable to hide the excess of motherhood from family members, they consciously tried to control other female markers such as their emotions. All but one of the career family business daughters I

interviewed believed that their coworkers perceived females as "too emotional." One family business daughter noted that the male family members she worked with thought she was unable to make decisions because she was too emotionally attached to the issues. She said, "My brother, my two uncles, my grandfather they say, oh, you're female. You're more sensitive to this issue." Another family business daughter revealed that she worked hard at not being too emotional in her discussions with male coworkers. She said, "He is very analytical, you know just give me the facts. I'm always like, la-de-la-de-da, emotion gets in there and all that other stuff, and you know he just wants the facts." As a result, they avoided showing their emotions at work. One woman said, "You have to stay in control of your emotions. That's one thing for a female." Another family business daughter claims her grandfather taught her to behave "professionally": "Women are too emotional. And I'm too much like a man from my grandfather, learning from him. Whatever happened at home I don't think about it."

According to Bordo (1995) whenever gender boundaries become blurred, people reinforce patriarchal gendered lines by adopting extreme gendered positions. In the case of family businesses, it appears that the more threatening the presence of gender was to the founder's culture, the less accommodating the business was to mothers. The most obvious example of this is Candace, who is taking a break from formally working at her family firm until her children old enough to go to college. The third generation family business daughter explained that since she has "been married" and had "kids" she "just kind of stays connected but" she's "not working there." Candace stays connected by attending important meetings and putting together the monthly company news letter. I believed Candace when she said, "I decided to stay home because that is what I always

113

wanted to do." She is grateful for the family business because without it she might not be in an economic position to stay home: "I just thank God that my situation was stable enough that I could do that thanks to my dad and grandfather." However, I also believed Candace when she seemed torn between wanting to work at the company or stay home fulltime with her children. She said, "Some days I wish I was back in the office. It's a lot of work at home. But you wish you were home when you are having problems there."

Perhaps Candace's decision to be a stay at home mother was influenced by family business norms. She said that her father "wants me to be at home with my family and my children so he's just grateful that I can be." She feels "guilty" about not formally participating at the business, but has described her decision to stay home as her "role." She is in a situation where working at the business as a mother would be breaking a family business norm. She said, "Knowing that I have the support of my dad and my brothers makes it easier because I feel bad leaving them with everything to do when I'm capable of helping. They just know I'm at home. Their wives are at home so. It's just my role." While Candace is the only family business daughter I interviewed who decided to take a break from her job, she still experienced similar relational tensions associated with anti-mommy policies as other mothers. She also feels torn between giving to the business or giving to her children.

Another area of critique with inflexible family business policies is to consider whose needs are being taken care of, and if anyone is being put in a compromising situation. Sadie worked with her father at his garage after she divorced her first husband. She liked the work, but as a single mother, found it difficult to schedule needed appointments for her children. Her boss, who was the grandfather of her children,

expected her to work a very rigid schedule. She explained that she could not leave the shop without him contacting her several times: "It was his way of controlling me, make me feel guilty when I wasn't there. He would call me, 'when are you coming back? And how long is this going to take?'" She resented her father and felt stressed out over trying to "juggle" work and mothering. She explained she "always felt guilty leaving the shop or the office to go take care of my kids." Sadie felt "that was pretty crappy of" her father "to try to make" her "feel guilty for being involved in" her "kids' lives." Eventually, Sadie married Sammy and bought the garage from her father. Soon after she bought it, her father had a heart attack and wanted Sadie to be his primary caretaker. Ironically, the one person who made Sadie feel guilty for leaving work to take care of her children wanted Sadie to prioritize his caretaking needs over her new business. She did take care of him, but regretted her decision. She noted:

> During the time that my dad was ill I wasn't paying attention to my business and I should have been. I would probably do that different. That caused a hit to my business you know, finically and structurally…At that time he required more of my time and more of my attention. He took a lot of what I should have used to develop the business. I still had children at home at that point to so it was even worse. But yeah, there's always things you'll change, but hindsight's 20/20.

Sadie's situation is notable because of the way that her father used her as both a personal and a business resource at the expense of her own familial and business well being. Future research is needed regarding how gender neutral informal pro-family polices really are, or if they result in family business women prioritizing the male patriarch's needs over her own. While Sadie was the only women I interviewed who

claimed she regretted giving to the founder over giving to her business, other family business daughters may have similar stories to share. Ironically, these organizations provide women with flexible informal options for responding to family emergencies, yet also perpetuate patriarchal assumptions by restricting their work-family options with regard to routine family commitments.

Handling the Anti-Mommy Tension: Balance and Compromise

Family business daughters who are mothers addressed tensions associated with giving to their family or giving to their business with the strategy of balance. From a relational dialectical perspective, balance uses compromise to respond to all polarities of a contradiction (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). All of the mothers I interviewed tried to give to both their businesses and to their children. Even Candace, the stay at home mother, gave to their family business by attending important business meetings and being in charge of the company monthly news letter.

Family business daughters indirectly attributed the difficult time they had balancing work and family to their passion for the company and their identification with the founder's culture. They felt pressured to put in extra hours and stay until the job was finished, and this interfered with their parenting. Olivia stated, "My grandfather taught me to stay until the job was finished. He was always the last person out of here…Balance. My son is only going to be a child for so long." Other family business daughters expressed how having children interfered with their ability to work. Simone said, "I never separated work and family. My dad called it our family farm. You work until everything is done. Having kids made things different." Sadie commented, "My dad

116

always owned his businesses and he worked all the time. Your business is only as successful as what you put into it. When you have little kids its hard to give it your all."

Family business daughters learn from the founder that "face time" is equated with being a good worker. The family business daughters I interviewed who made the family business a career worked approximately 60 hours five to six days a week. On average, family business daughters work approximately 70 hours a week (Cadieux *et al.*, 2002), and working these long hours often discouraged them from becoming a parent (Salganicoff, 1990). The pressure to put in long hours at the office is not restricted to the family firm. Organizations in general have been critiqued for their inflexible polices associated with valuing face time over efficiency (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005). However, in the context of the family business not putting in enough hours is equivalent to breaking a cultural norm established by the founder. Olivia stated, "I stopped feeling guilty and thinking that I had to be the last person out of here. That was something my grandfather always taught me, be the last person out." Simone's father had higher expectations for her than other employees. She noted, "My dad was so always so tough…They are tougher on you than they are on anybody. I knew he wanted me to stay until the job was done."

Furthermore, working long hours is associated with helping the family. One woman said, "You feel guilty when you go to a restricted schedule. You feel like because you are family you should be here all the time to help." Another mother noted, "You don't want to feel like you are not staying to help the family, but I also told my son I'd be home by, you know 5:15. For him, that's very important." Finally, a family business daughter commented, "I feel bad leaving them with everything to do when I'm capable of helping." The notion that face time at the business is equated with helping the family,

places family business daughters with children in the difficult position of having to choose between giving their time to their extended families or to their immediate families. Since the informal contributions of family business women are often deemed invisible in the family business (Rowe & Hong, 2000) they may feel more valued by working longer because that is a visible business contribution.

Family business daughters were also pressured from nonfamily employees to work long hours. Family business children often felt as if they had to prove to nonfamily members that they were not handed their positions (Vera & Dean, 2005). One family business daughter said, "You have to earn respect and it's a little bit tougher because they figure you were given everything". A third generation family business daughter said, "Even if it was given to you in the beginning you know you have to earn that job." Some family business daughters indicated that nonfamily business members were highly critical of their "mistakes," and they felt as if their actions were scrutinized more closely than other employees. In this sense, their actions were being controlled by the surveillance of nonfamily members.

In organizations, surveillance is "constant supervision" (Eisenberg, *et al.,* 2007). This type of power is not imposed from a sovereign source or from bureaucratic structures; rather it exists in discourse which "articulates meanings, values, and modes of being" (Trethewey, 2000, p. 111). Businesses have used technology as a form of surveillance to keep track of employees actions (e.g., Adler & Tompkins, 1997), and team based groups have shown signs of surveillance by monitoring one another's behaviors (e.g., Barker & Tompkins, 1994). Some of the women I interviewed reported that employees at the family firm watch them to make certain their participation is

consistent with the values and work ethic established by the founder. These family business daughters perceived that they were constantly supervised by their coworkers. One daughter said, "If you made a mistake it was made known to everybody….you're under a microscope… I mean not a minute late. You can't leave a minute early. You have to be right because people notice and they're going to say something."

Considering they felt pressured from both family members and nonfamily members to work long hours, it is no coincidence that the mothers I interviewed stopped giving as much of their time to the family firm when they no longer felt as if they had to prove themselves to others. Olivia shared, "It made it easier to stop doing that, stop working really late when I no longer had anything to prove." Simone commented, "At first things were so hard because I was judged so hard. I had to prove myself. You know, I don't feel that anymore." Sadie noted, "At first I felt that I had something to show. I'm glad I still don't."

Family business daughters addressed the tensions between giving to their family and giving to their business with the strategy of balance. From a relational dialectical perspective, balance uses compromise to respond to all polarities of a contradiction (Baxter & Montgomery, 2000). Several of the family business daughters referred to this as "a juggling act." Furthermore, sacrifice and compromise was involved because the women never felt satisfied with their contributions to both areas. Olivia claimed that she prioritized work until she made a commitment to "balance" her life. She explained, "I started to make a balance when I made the commitment." She made the commitment to balance her life after her first husband's sudden death. She regrets that she was at a charity event for the family firm the weekend that he was killed. She said, "That's

something that always stands in my mind that I was there on Saturday versus being with my family." She realized, she was not "going to sacrifice not being home at night."

Although she decided to leave work no later than 6:00 at night, she took business calls at home until her son voiced his opinion: "My son told me, 'Mommy I'm so sick. Every time I come home the phone is ringing. Everybody wants to talk to my mommy. Well I want to talk to my mommy. I haven't seen my mommy all day. And I'm tired of you running the business.'" Since her son's discussion with her she makes a sales manager take the calls and she does not "answer her phone after a certain time." She feels "more in control" and as if has created more of a routine for her son. However, the more time Olivia spends with her child, the greater her work demands appear to be. She explained, "I was trying to do things as I could with my son, but then the demands here (at work) become greater…So, I'm rationalizing. It's a sacrifice both ways."

Simone also discussed the professional and personal sacrifices that are associated with balancing these tensions. Like Olivia, compromise is involved because she never felt as if she fully gave to both areas. Once her children were born she "sacrificed" the amount of "focus" and "time" she could give to her job yet she also believed that she sacrificed for her family. She tried to find a "balance" by doing "OK" in each area. She explained "there are some sacrifices for the kids," such as not being able to get "involved really" with her children's activities or school events. She said, "You sacrifice a little on one side and you sacrifice a little on other side and you try to kind find a balance until you're doing OK and you feel like you're doing OK in both." Simone also indicated that you "never" really "feel" as if things are "balanced."

120

As illustrated from the quotes above, family business daughters draw a sharp distinction between work and family responsibilities regarding motherhood. In their attempts to balance these tensions, they felt as if they had to make sacrifices with both their family and work. The "anti-mommy" organizational culture as experienced by family business daughters is indicative of patriarchal assumptions embodied in the ideology of separate spheres. Communication scholars such as Kirby *et al.,* (2003) have argued that the taken-for-granted notion of work and home as separate domains bounded in space and time constrains individuals to separate their work and personal interests. Thus, it indirectly restricts "work-family choices" and limits potential options for handling work and family tensions (Kirby *et al.,* 2003, p. 9). The tensions experienced by family business daughters who are mothers reflect larger social tensions that arise from separate spheres discourse.

Passion, inherited from the founder's culture, is both positive and negative for family business daughters. They have inherited a phenomenal work ethic that makes them successful business women yet they have also inherited the legacy of the founder's sexist attitudes toward motherhood and work. These sexist attitudes live in the organizational culture, and family business mothers adopt a separate spheres discourse in which they must choose between their work and their family. Family business daughters address the relational tensions associated with anti-mommy policies through the strategy of balancing. However, this places family business daughters in a position where they feel as if they have to sacrifice in both the areas of work and family.

Passion entails family business daughters having a strong identification with the founder and his values. Those who do not adopt these values feel as if they are a bad

121

worker and a bad family member. As a result, family business mothers adopt anti-mommy polices that are against their best interests. In this sense, passion operates as a form of concertive control. "Workers achieve concertive control by reaching a negotiated consensus on how to shape their behavior according to a core set of vales, such as the values found in a corporate vision statement" (Barker, 1993, p. 411 as cited in Eisenberg, Goodall and Trethewey, 2007, p. 177). This type of control is based upon identification with the organization (Deetz, 1995) because members who identify with it and accept the consequences of "organizational decision premises" make good choices (Trethewey, 2000). In the context of the family business, this form of control perpetuates the gendered assumptions of separate spheres ideologies and makes family business women feel as if they must sacrifice aspects of both their work and home. In my previous chapter, family business daughters reframed relational tensions and increased their perceived ways of responding to them. Instead of viewing the business as something they needed to take care of, they treated the business as resource that would take care of them. Perhaps, as a response to the relational tensions experienced with anti-mommy polices family business daughters can again reframe the family business as personal resource. In doing so, they would increase the multivocality of the tension and their perceived possible ways of responding to it.

Chapter Five: Theoretical Implications and Conclusion

"A family business is a very difficult thing to undertake and your relationships have to be different. You have to either have a very strong and loving relationship or you have to be willing to have that distance," Sadie told me as she adjusted the ice she had on her broken leg that was propped up on pillow. It looked as if the swelling was going down. When I first arrived for our interview her little toes were so swollen they looked like Vienna sausages crammed in a can. Now, they just looked swollen. "I can't seem to make the swelling go away," she said. I heard panting from their black lab Stormy who was sitting on a pillow under the desk. "She comes to work with me every day," Sadie said and laughed, "My customers come to see the dog more than me."

I felt for Sadie because no matter how much effort she put into her business things just did not seem to work. Sadie and her husband Sammy were the only employees at her garage, and the back to back family emergencies they dealt with took a toll on their relationship. During the course of my interviews Sammy lost his father, Sadie broke her ankle, Stormy passed away, and business dramatically declined. Sadie's quote that I used to introduce this chapter with exemplifies the emotional connection/separation contradiction that the family business daughters I interviewed experience. As explored in chapter three, Sadie believed dealing with these incidents as a couple brought her and Sammy closer, while at the same time it emotionally distanced them. About a year and a

half after my last interview with her she ended up selling her business and separating from her husband. Sadie can't seem to make the swelling go away.

People actively make decisions about how they respond to relational tensions, and their decisions frame how they understand their situations. Baxter and Montgomery (1996) note that "people are at once actors and objects of their own actions" (p. 13); suggesting our response to contradiction builds our social realties. The way family business daughters framed their reality determined their perceived available options for handling work and family tensions (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). Family business daughters who integrated their personal goals and family business goals had different options available to respond to tensions than the daughters who separated goals.

This chapter addresses various aspects of responding to relational tensions and begins by investigating the relationship between relational dialectics and Burke's concept of consubstantiality. Next, I examine rationality/emotionality as a primary tension that family business daughters experienced. Then, I illustrate how family business daughters' experiences about motherhood interweave with other women. Finally, I share my own motherhood story and end with the lessons I learned.

Theoretical Underpinnings: Unity and Consubstantiality

In relational dialectics, unity draws attention to the both/and characteristic of tensions suggesting that we simultaneously experience both polarities of a contradiction. This differs from perspectives that recognize dialectical tensions as the mere "co-presence" of opposition (Baxter, 2004b). In the context of the family business, this was represented in the complexities associated with how family business daughters were both connected and separated from the family business. The both/and approach to

124

contradiction is similar to rhetorician Kenneth Burke's (1969) concept of consubstantiality. Burke's work explored how we use symbols to co create meaning through our similarities and differences. He defines consubstantiality as, "A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B (Burke, 1969, p. 20). Consubstantiality can contribute to how we explore the unity characteristic of the connection/separation contradiction.

Identification is an essential component of consubstantiality. According to Burke, identification occurs when we share similar substances with others such as: experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and values (Borcher, 2002; Burke, 1969). For family business daughters, identification is created in the sharing of their unique family business culture and is one reason why they feel connected to the family business. The properties of identification are "ambiguous," and at times we are consubstantial. Burke (1969) explained that our identification with another can make us "'substantially one' with that person," while at the same time we remain "unique and individual." As a result, we can be "both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another" (Burke, 1969, p. 21). Family business daughters strongly identified with the family business; therefore, were "substantially one" with it, or connected with it. At the same time they realized they were "unique and individual," or separate from it.

In my dissertation consubstantiality was best represented by the family business daughters who identified with their father's problems, while recognized his problems were not their own problems. In chapter three I explored how Renee's father was an "intense" person, and his intensity has always "carried through in the house" and at his office. Renee learned to stay emotionally connected to her father while distancing herself

125

from his intensity. The following comment exemplifies the way in which she identifies with her father, yet recognizes her own individuality: "My dad, at this point he's not changing. I've just kind of started accepting him for who he is. I'm not going to change."

Identification played an enormous role in the connection/separation dialectic. Some family business daughters had such strong feelings toward their business they described it as being "alive." Simone "merged" family and work because her father always considered the business as a part of their family. She said, "Like in a storm I worry about my family but I worry about work…It's its own being….The business is part of the family." Tonya also related to the family business as a person: "To me the business isn't just a business, it's kind of lived." Joy could feel the presence of the business permanently with her: "Its just kind of part of your home…It doesn't ever leave."

Under the framework of consubstantiality differences are not framed as conflicting, rather similarity and difference function holistically. This complements relational dialectics' both/and characteristic that provides "an alternative vocabulary" for "sense-making of differences" (Baxter, 2004b, p. 13). My analysis was heavily influenced by consubstantiality. I believe the family business daughters who used recalibration to respond to relational tensions were consubstantial with the family business because they identified with it, yet felt unique from it. As a result, they benefited from integrating their personal goals with the family business. For example, in chapter three the family business daughters who reframed the family business as a personal resource were able to contribute to the family, while at the same time had the flexibility they needed for their demanding school schedules. These women were able to simultaneously give to themselves, their family business, and their family. Their

126

examples can be contrasted with the women who responded to relational tensions through segmentation. These women saw their goals as separate from the family business; therefore, had to pick between giving to their families or giving to themselves.

A connection between consubstantiality and relational dialectics is aesthetic love. According to Baxter (2004a) relational parties experience aesthetic love when they "respond to one another as whole beings, not fragments of being" (Baxter, 2004b, p. 12). This happens infrequently in every day life because we typically only acknowledge partial aspects of people, such as treating a server only as a server (Baxter, 2004a). Since consubstantiality holistically illuminates differences and similarities between parties, exploring identification offers a framework to view family business daughters as "whole beings." The anti-mommy policies explored in chapter four "fragment" family business daughters because they treat mothers and employees as separate; therefore, the women felt torn between giving to their children and to the businesses.

However, daughters identified themselves as both an employee and a family member with informal policies that were pro-family family. Caring for family members was integrated into their jobs; therefore, they were treated as a "whole being." The relational tensions family business daughters experienced regarding motherhood reflect the separate spheres ideologies that privilege the division of domestic and business concerns. Ironically, many of the tensions that family business daughters experienced stem from rationality/emotionality discourses inherent in the separate sphere metaphor.

Rationality/Emotionality as a Primary Tension

The underlying assumption of bureaucratic rationality is that the organization is grounded exclusively in rules and rationality; rationality is construed as the opposite of

emotionality (Putnam & Mumby, 2000). Putnam and Mumby (1993) suggest, "Rationality is typically seen as objective, orderly and mental while emotionality reflects the subjective, chaotic, and bodily drives" (p. 40). Furthermore, "bureaucratic rationality also constructs a particular gender relationship, one that favors patriarchal forms and produces organizational power along gender lines" (Putnam and Mumby, 1993 p. 41). One characteristic of rationality is that in organizations emotion is considered feminine and a negative quality, and reason is considered masculine and a positive quality (Putnam & Mumby, 2000). In the context of the family business, this tension is complex because emotional connection and business participation are clearly intertwined.

Many of the key tensions that family business daughters experienced appear to be a secondary theme of tensions associated with the more central theme of rationality/emotionality. Primary contradictions are centrally located dialectical tensions; while secondary contradictions are their sub themes and are marginally located (Baxter & Montgomery, 1997). In my research, rationality/emotionality was a primary contradiction while secondary themes were (a) expectations about job positions and (b) family business daughters' gendered communication styles and performances.

Many of the women I interviewed were put into "chaotic" work situations, the opposite of bureaucratic rationality. This is illustrated in chapter three, by the career family business daughters who experienced a tension between working a job that needed to get done at the business versus building a fulfilling career for themselves. It is common for family business daughters to hold positions they are not qualified to do just because their family needs someone to fill them (Dumas, 1992). Olivia gave up a successful career in property development to work at her grandfather's industrial shipping

warehouse and "went from knowing what I was doing and understood to a job I didn't understand." Simone had a similar experience, "I started out in the HR because they had no department so they put me in there…I had no idea."

The demands associated with their positions were recognized as a strength and a weakness. One family business daughter said, "It's always different. It's never boring. It's really exciting." Another family business daughter commented, "Challenges mean that something that needs fixed is getting fixed. If things are too easy, mistakes are getting overlooked." Over time, these remarkable women transformed their business positions to desirable careers while at the same time achieving increased business profits. They benefited from integrating their personal goals with family business goals.

Another secondary tension of rationality/emotionality were contradictions associated with family business daughters' gendered communication styles and performances explored in chapter four. The family business daughters who did not make the business their careers, did not seem to experience this tension as much as those women whose careers were centered in the business. However, career family business daughters were aware of how their gender should be performed. Olivia perceived that others in the family business expected her to be a "tough little bitch," so she would be respected in her industry. However, other family business daughters felt as if they had to perform the role of the "softener" to make situations more "comfortable." Although certain feminine qualities were perceived favorably by some women, in my analysis I address how all of the career business women felt as if at times they had to control their emotional displays. One woman said, "You have to stay in control of your emotions. That's one thing for a female."

129

Some of the career family business daughters seemed to implicitly adopt a bureaucratic discourse that devalues emotion while other times they framed their feminine qualities as an organizational resource. For example, a family business daughter described her own feminine qualities as a weakness: "I'm extremely emotional in nature… if I'm upset about something…I'm not sure, maybe I just didn't handle that correctly. I'll always ask him (her husband) to see how he handled it." However, later in the interview the same women commented on how her emotion is intuitive and that her rational husband lacks this. She said, "I think he's (her husband) too easy about stuff. I'll start getting upset, and that starts him. He starts seeing that side where he would have maybe backed off. And it's not a good thing. Sometimes you've got to be aggressive."

Other times, the family business daughters would put down the feminine qualities of their female coworkers: "I prefer dealing with all the men. Which is kind of discriminatory in itself, but, men…come to work they leave their problems at home. Women are too emotional." However, this statement sharply contrasts with a statement she made later in her interview where she gave an example of her male coworkers bringing their problems to work. She said, "Because women are more nurturing than guys all of the guys here gravitate to me to deal with their issues. From their family problems they want to talk to me, to this problem. And I'm like. I'm drained. Mentally drained from everybody's issues." In other instances, she clearly views her gender as a strength: "guys want to sugarcoat things…but I'm trying to tell you, from a female's perspective this is what is going on here…This is the reality of it"

Relational dialectics offers a framework that enables me to see these social actions from a holistic perspective. When examining the secondary themes of

130

rationality/emotionality, it is the both/and aspect of contradiction that helped me to understand that family business daughters treat their gender as one of their greatest strengths and one of their greatest weaknesses. The relational tensions family business daughters experienced are not only grounded in the assumed contradiction between rationality and emotionality, but they also reflect the separate sphere ideologies that emphasize the division of domestic from business concerns.

The Common Threads of Motherhood

Sharing my research about family business mothers with other women is like extending an invitation to hear their stories. On a recent job interview, after my research presentation one of the female faculty members said, "I completely understand those women." She then shared the story of how she did not see her mother the night she died. She sounded a little choked up as she explained that for over a month her family drove 4 hours every Friday to spend the weekend with her mother who was very ill. These trips were very demanding because she had two small children, and it was her first year as a new faculty member at the University I was interviewing at. During the middle of the week, she received a phone call late at night letting her know that she should say her goodbyes. Her mother didn't have much time. She was torn. Could her goodbyes wait just a few days? It was her first year. Would it ruin her reputation if she just left? Was she even allowed to leave?

Organizations are a part of the relational tensions we all experience. I don't think it is a coincidence that so many family business daughters I interviewed shared stories of how they handled loss, coping, and heartbreak. Women in general can identify with the tensions family business daughters experienced because they mirror separate spheres

131

discourse that family should remain separate from work (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). My story interweaves with the women I interviewed. During the course of working on my dissertation I unexpectedly got pregnant and became a mother.

Working at home with an infant was a difficult experience. I would lock myself in my bedroom while my husband and new baby stayed in the living room. I could hear my baby crying for me while I wrote. Although I had only been a mom for a few months, I identified so much with the family business daughters' challenges associated with balancing motherhood and their careers. I end my dissertation without offering suggestions or solutions; rather, I extend an invitation to others to share their stories and experiences. My personal reflections about being a new mom are part of the analysis notes I wrote. Next, I share a memo I wrote after reading Candace's interview. Candace took a break from working at her family business to become a stay at home mother. When I interviewed Candace I was six months pregnant with my first child and I couldn't relate to her. After being a mother for three months I saw her as a new person.

Sharing My Story

When she smiles at me I know I am doing the right thing. I wake up each morning with doubt. Doubt that I am supposed to be doing something else with my job, my new baby, and my marriage. We are surrounded by great pretenders. Those who think they have the best advice to give. Those who tell you "Don't bundle your baby too tightly." Those that say, "You don't have enough layers on your baby." I hated every pretender that told me to get my dissertation done before she was born. "You won't have any time to finish it after she is here," they said. They made me feel as if after my baby was born, I wouldn't be the same person capable of doing the same things I did before.

I remember holding her in my arms when she was six days old. Nursing was an overwhelming experience. I didn't have time to do anything else—not even shower. In a few weeks I was supposed to go to a national conference, start teaching, work on my dissertation, and send out job application packets. It was too much. The nurses from the hospital wanted me to keep track of everything. They gave me a chart so I could count every time she pooped and peed. They gave me a chart so I could time how long she nursed off each of breast. According the charts, she wasn't pooping enough!! My only goal for the day was to nurse my new baby, and I wasn't doing that right.

While I held my tiny daughter in my arms, I began sobbing. I was so scared I would never be able to take care of her. How could I? I felt like I couldn't even feed her. I cried for being unproductive. I cried for being weak. I cried for being a bad mom. My little baby looked at my face and her lower lip started to tremble. She began crying just as hard and as loud as I was. When she cried with me I realized how much of her life is determined by my mood. Not what I do in the world, but rather how I feel about the world. I wanted her to feel calm and excited about everything new she would experience. I understood that I would have to do the same. I was calm and excited about the world. I would do this as Anna's mom, and I would share the world with my Anna. For a couple of minutes, the world did seem new.

My story interweaves with the stories of the family business daughters I interviewed. I learned from them that even at family businesses external tensions linked with separate spheres discourse can make women feel as if they cannot be productive at work and be a good mother at the same time. These women taught me that I don't necessarily have to choose between accomplishing organizational goals and

133

accomplishing my personal goals. Some of the family business daughters I interviewed responded to the connection/separation contradiction by reframing the family business as personal resource. They benefited from integrating their personal goals with the family business goals. Their work at the family business contributed to the family, while it enabled them to accomplish their own goals. These women were able to give to themselves, their families, and also the business.

The lesson this new mom learned was to always view the organization as my personal resource, as opposed to viewing myself as a resource for the organization. I view this is as a subtle form of resistance for women. The way we frame organizations determines our perceived available options for handling work and family tensions (Kirby *et al.,* 2003). Reframing the organization as a personal resource expands the imagined options we have for responding to work life tensions. It isn't necessarily what I do in the world, but rather how I feel about the world.

On the other hand, there are several things that we can learn from how family business daughters handle tensions. The women had more perceived choices for handling their tensions when there was an integration of work and family goals as opposed to when work and family were kept separate. When professional and personal goals were separated family business daughters were limited to either picking one side of a tension over the other, or to compromising in each sphere. Gender is a dividing line for work and family spheres, and patriarchal forms of power are produced "along gender lines" (Putnman & Mumby, 1993, p. 41). This was most overtly seen with pro-family policies and anti-mommy policies. I found it peculiar that all of the career family business

134

daughters were partial owners in their company; however, not one of the mothers questioned anti-mommy policies.

As illustrated with family businesses, the integration of work and family can be positive; however, at the same time it can be negative. In the context of the family business, family should be prioritized in the organization before the organization is imposed on the family. Pro-family policies are an example of how prioritizing the family in the organization can foster a positive working environment. In this example, the distribution of power is more equitable than when work is imposed on the family (such as issues of invisibility associated with informally helping from home). However, in order for family businesses to subvert patriarchal power structures, organizational displays of family must be femininely marked (such as with family business mothers).

Furthermore, while I do advocate an integration of family into the organization, I am not suggesting an absolute incorporation of the two. Rather, I view this integration as being consubstantial, in that individuals identify with the organization and its goals, while at the same time see themselves and their goals as unique. Even when the family has been integrated into the family business femininity has not. This is consistent with research on the visibility of family business women, and in my analysis with anti-mommy policies. It is imperative that feminine markers such as pregnancy and/or motherhood be integrated into the organization (Trethewey, 1999). The family business should treat its members as "whole beings" by merging work and family. I argue the integration of family and work can create an equitable work environment if (a) family is integrated into work before work is imposed on the family, (b) if feminine markers are integrated into the workplace, and (c) if this integration is framed as consubstantial.

135

Since 60% of Americans are employed by family firms, family firms greatly influence the quality of life for the majority of employed Americans (Perman, 2006). Businesses should by create policies that enable parents to simultaneously be a good parent and a good worker (Francis, 1999). However, to successfully accomplish this, family businesses must first become aware of unconscious "biases" toward women that limit their abilities to fully contribute (Dumas, 1989). The policies that influence family business daughters will likely influence other female employees who work at their firm. Family firms have the potential to serve as models for other organizations regarding informal and formal work life policies that treat employees as "whole beings" as opposed to "fragmented beings."

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Script

Interview Session One
Ice Breakers
1. How long have you been working at the company?

2. What is your job title?

3. Describe your job?

4. What other family members work in the company?

5. How closely do you work with them?

Family and Company History

6. How long has the company been in your family?

7. Tell me the story of how your father became affiliated with this company?

8. What role does your father play at the company now (if any)?

9. Does your family currently own the company (if not who)?

10. Who is currently in charge at the company?

11. How did things change for you and your family after your father obtained ownership of the company?

12. Did your parents groom any family members to work at the family business? If so who was groomed and describe why you feel they were groomed?

13. What will happen to your family and company when you retire? Will any family members work there? Will you still participate there?

14. Tell me what it was like for you when you first started working with your father.

Job Position

15. Tell me the story of how you obtained your job position.

16. Describe your training (informal or formal) before you started working at this company? Did it prepare you for this job?

17. Were you employed before you started working at the company? Has your employment at this company been continuous, or did you leave for a while and come back?

18. Describe the factors or sources you believe have been supportive of you obtaining this position.

19. Describe discouragement or barriers you face or faced.

20. What specific advice would you give to a woman in a similar position as you?

21. Would you rather be doing something else?

22. Describe difficulties you have in this position? Provide an example of one.

Work-Life Issues

23. What are the perceived sacrifices you made or make (in the family and with the company)?

24. What are your responsibilities (with the family and with company)?

25. Tell me a time you felt you did a good job at the company.

26. Tell me a time you did not feel proud of your work

27. Who are the important people to you in your family? Who are the important people to you in your family business?

28. How does your family life influence your work?

29. How does your work influence your family life?

30. Who do you spend the most time with?

31. Do you or did you have a mentor? Please describe the relationship and impact? Why is this person a mentor for you

32. How do you balance job related duties and home related duties?

Interview Session Two and Three

Isolate Situation (actions/feelings/emotion)

interview three will be the same questions but based on a positive experience

1. What was the most challenging experience you faced this week at your job?

2. Describe the steps that led up to it, the interaction, and what occurred afterward.

3. Why would you define this as a challenging experience?

4. Describe the emotions you experienced before, during and after this interaction.

5. Describe how they influenced the interaction and your decision making.

6. How does the way you feel influence how you feel about yourself and your job?

7. How frequently does this occur? If has occurred more than once, describe how you normally react to it. If it has not occurred more than one time, ask them to describe a challenging situation they frequently face a work. Then, begin the interview over.

8. Is there an expected way you are supposed to react to this situation? If so, tell me a story that illustrates the expected way you are supposed to react to the situation.

9. Who expects you to react this way?

10. Describe what would happen if you did not react in this manner.

11. Do you have to hide or conceal your emotional responses or how you would like to react to this situation? Tell me story about a time you had to do this.

Who You Talk With (Social Norms)

12. Can you share your feelings about this with anyone? If not, who do you share this with (co-workers, family members)?

13. Who would be someone you cannot share your feelings about this experience with and describe what would happen if you shared this with them.

14. Do you feel comfortable talking about this issue in any manner you want?

15. Do others talk about similar issues? Who does? Describe a time when others have discussed similar things.

16. What are the consequences of addressing these issues by expressing your concerns?

17. Do others influence the way you feel and handle these situations? Describe this.

Space (Social Norms)

18. What role does space play in your situation/experience? Describe an example of this.

19. Are their certain places you prefer to express your feelings about the situation over others? Pleases describe an example of this.

Alternative Reactions

20. Do wish you acted in a different manner? Describe why? If so, describe what you would do differently.

21. Describe any regrets you may have about the situation.

22. Describe any aspects you feel positive about regarding the situation.

23. Describe how you will handle this situation the next time you get in it.

24. Describe why this should or should not be part of your job.

25. Describe any other factors you think are important.

Norm Influences

26. Describe the factors that influence your decisions making in situations such as the one you mention above.

27. Describe where emotion fits in with these decision making factors.

28. Is anyone formally or informally evaluating you on how you handle the situation? Describe these evaluations?

29. Does this influence your handling of the situation? If so, describe how.

30. Do you have any perceived conflicting priorities? If so describe them.

31. Describe your alternative options for handling the situation.

32. What would have to change in order for you to handle the situation the way you would like to? Do you have control to change these things or this situation to make it better for you (formally and informally)? Explain.

33. Do you feel as if you will ever change these things? Describe this.

34. Who has the greatest influence in why you make these decisions?

35. Is this the best course of action for you? Describe why.

Appendix B

Table 1 Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Ethnicity	Level of Involvement	Type of Business	Business Size	Age of Current Business
Simone	48	College Degree	Caucasian	Career 60+ weekly	Medical Distribution	Medium	32 years
Joy	24	College Degree	Caucasian	Career 60+ hours weekly	Medical Distribution	Medium	32 years
Abigail	38	Master's Degree	Caucasian	Career 60+ hours weekly	Restaurant	Small	Less than one year
Sadie	44	College - 2 years	Caucasian	Career 60+ hours weekly	Garage	Small	25 years
Olivia	35	College Degree	Caucasian	Career 60+ hours weekly	Industrial Shipping	Medium	48 years
Tonya	35	Master's Degree	Caucasian	Career 60+ hours weekly	Warehouse	Medium	45 years
Candace	34	College Degree	Caucasian	Stay-at-home-mom	Industrial Heavy Rigging	Medium	54 years
Monica	20	College Degree (in progress)	Caucasian	Part-time employee 25-30 hours weekly	Restaurant	Small	47 years
Loretta	24	College Degree (in progress)	Caucasian	Fulltime employee 40+ hours weekly	Restaurant	Small	8 years
Viola	20	College Degree (in progress)	Asian	Part-time employee 25-30 hours weekly	Nail Salon	Small	10 years
Alexandra	20	College Degree (in progress)	Asian	Fulltime employee 60+ hours weekly	Restaurant	Small	2 years
Renee	26	Ph.D. (in progress)	Caucasian	Fulltime on some breaks from school	Doctor Office	Small	____

About the Author

Angela M. Day graduated from the University of South Florida for both her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in speech communication. Her interests are in pedagogy, gender, work life studies, and organizational communication. Her greatest achievements are her 2 year old daughter Anna and her loving marriage to her husband Todd Miller.