

Taking over from Dad: How daughters are socialised in ‘families in business.’

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the socialisation process of female heirs' pathways to leadership in family businesses. Findings from the first part of a two stage study which considers female succession to management from the family unit's perspective are presented. An ecological model of the family socialization process which takes into account the family unit in the business is adopted. Little systematic research has been conducted which seeks to understand the contextual and individual factors that project women into positions of leadership within the family firm (Sharma, 2004:14). Findings suggest that daughters are socialised in various ways.

Introduction

Family businesses (FBs) are important to the economy of all countries. In the UK family businesses comprise up to 65% or 3 million of the total 4.6 million private sector enterprises

in the UK economy (IFB, 2008). However, family business has not been widely studied relative to other types of business and the role of women, especially the leadership development of daughters of owners, inside the family business has received little attention (Jimenez, 2009).

There is substantial research in the family business field on the professional experiences of executive women in managerial positions (Ely, 1995; Calas and Smircich, 1996; Curimbaba, 2002) and on women in these positions (see Iannarelli, 1992; Cole 1997). These studies are quite different in terms of orientation and cultural environment; the majority of these studies were conducted in the United States and Canada. Few studies have been conducted in the UK. The focus of some of these studies has been on behavioural issues rather than structural ones, for example studies about father-daughter relationships in family business are relatively few. Dumas (1992, 1989) looked at the process of how daughters fit into the family business and found that there were some problems such as role conflict where the women is torn between being ‘daddies little girl’ and a professional businesswomen. Other problems that women were found to have experienced included conflict between nonfamily member employees and also status issues in so far as they were not always considered suitable successor material. Calas and Smircich (1996) took a feminist perspective on the integration issue. Barnes (1988) found where younger sons and daughters rank in lower positions in firms due to family hierarchies, that daughters and younger sons have to deal with unusual challenges in order to fit into the family business. Titles particularly featured as quite important in positioning individuals within the hierarchy. The increase in the number of self-employed women may lead us to surmise that the number of women involved in family businesses may also be increasing. Regarding the leadership of family firms by women, Sharma (2004) states that:

No systematic research has yet been directed toward understanding the contextual and individual factors that buoy these women into leadership positions, their performance goals in terms of family and business dimensions, or the leadership and managerial styles adopted by them, pointing toward an interesting and ripe area for serious study (2004:14).

FBs are considered to be unique in the ways that they evaluate, acquire, integrate and leverage their resources (Sirmon and Hitt, 2003), largely resulting from the involvement of the family. Women are increasingly engaged in founding new businesses, they are also taking more

active roles in managing family businesses. Self-employment and Total Entrepreneurial Activity data are the most robust measures of women's enterprise activity at an international scale. The TEA (GEM, 2008) data for the UK in 2008 shows that there is a gender gap in participation rates between established business owner-managers and early-stage entrepreneurs and in the UK 'female early stage entrepreneurial activity is 49% of male activity, while established business ownership at 3.4% is just 40% that of males (8.6%)' (GEM, 2008: 17).

Statistics on self-employment in the UK show a high proportion of business ownership, around 90%, is made up of the self-employed (Causer and Park, 2009). The role women have in business and the impact they have on regional economies is of increasing interest. Statistical information on the owners of businesses is limited and most is not broken down by sex. However regular data on self-employment for both women and men is available from the UK Labour Force Survey and this is often used as a proxy for business ownership. The number of self-employed women in the UK rose from just over 1million in 2000 to 1.18 million in 2007 (Causer and Park, 2009). Despite some attention (Vera and Dean, 2005) there remains a dearth of literature on this topic as there is little that explains the variations in roles and visibility over time of women in leadership roles within family-owned businesses. There has been little research conducted in family firms regarding women in leadership roles and that which has been undertaken is patchy and not substantial (Jimenez, 2009).

The aim of this paper is to describe the first stage of a two stage study which looks at succession of women to family business leadership positions. In the first stage we sought to explore the nature of the socialisation process that daughters go through taking the view of the process from the family's perspective where the unit of study is the family. We consider the processes by which the daughters of male business owner-managers are socialised into the family business, what and how they learn about the family business and how that learning impacts upon their eventual succession or not and suggest a model for the family social process in the family business.

The paper is presented in the following way; the first section discusses socialisation in the family business and the ecological approach taken for the study. The second section outlines the nature and rationale for the methodology chosen for the study. The third section presents detailed descriptions of the women involved. The fourth discusses the nature of socialisation

and provides insights from the case studies. In the fifth section the findings are discussed. Finally, conclusions and recommendations for further research are presented.

Socialisation in the Family Business

According to Farmer (1979:7)

‘the family, as an agent of social control, teaches the child the limits of tolerated behaviour. The child absorbs the moral standards of their family, their attitudes to honesty, cupidity, violence and so on. The family in exercising its function of social control, is itself influenced by the wider society.’

Therefore whatever the nature of expectations of involvement in the family firm, it is reasonable to suggest that, compared with the population at large, the formative experiences of children who grow up in family firms may include protracted and extremely complex socialisation processes which may encompass learning about business and management and the wider society in which it exists. It is also reasonable to argue that for these children these experiences set them apart from people from non-business families in terms of the potential preparation for business careers that their environment provides. The first part of this study sought to understand the nature of how this aspect of socialisation might manifest in daughters.

Some research on socialization in family businesses, notably Dyer and Handler’s (1994) work on "career nexuses," has been undertaken. Taking the family as the unit of study and considering the family as a unique environment or ecology, an ecological approach was adopted for this first stage, namely considering the entire environment in which the socialization process takes place and the immediate close family’s key role in that. This approach has been used by social development research for a long time to focus on parent-child relationship processes within the family. This approach has not been considered in the context of the family business. Systemic views of parenting acknowledge that parenting does not occur in a vacuum (Stormshak *et al.* 2009) and that the sibling subsystems and other subsystems provide a unique and powerful influence that can promote, detract, or be independent from parents’ efforts to socialize their children (for reviews, see Brody, 1998; Volling, 2003). Considering the family business as another subsystem in this complex socialization process could, it was felt, shed some light on how the processes later influenced leadership and succession of women in the family business. The family context may include

both risk factors and strengths. Risk factors such as marital problems, depression, substance use, and experiences of discrimination undermine parenting and place children at risk for later problem behavior. Protective factors such as healthy marital relationships, low stress, and clear family values support family management skills and positive succession adjustment (Kim *et al.*, 2006). Same-sex girl dyads remain stable in their support and intimacy, whereas boy dyads decrease in intimacy and support as adolescents. The amount of time siblings spend together in constructive activities predicts self-esteem for both older and younger siblings and peer competence for younger siblings, particularly for girls (Tucker et al., 2008).

Both gender and individual socialisation processes take place in parallel to the family socialisation process. The individual socialisation process described by Schaffer and Lamm (1992) suggests that individual socialisation has 5 stages: primary, secondary, developmental and anticipatory. Primary socialization occurs when a child's learns the attitudes, values and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture – this takes place in the close family unit. Secondary socialization refers to process of learning appropriate behaviour as member of a smaller group with larger society. This typically occurs during teenage and adult activity so some secondary socialisation takes places in the close family unit and also the family business. Developmental socialisation is process of learning behaviour in a social institution like a family business. Anticipatory socialization is process of socialisation that individuals rehearse for future positions and occupations and social relationships and would encompass rehearsals for preparing to take over or become involved in the family business.

Gender socialisation, which Henslin (1999:76) contends is "an important part of socialization and is about learning of culturally defined gender roles" also needs to be considered as overlaying process of socialisation that is distinct and apart from family socialisation. Gender socialization refers to the learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls. This "learning" happens by way of many different agents of socialization. The family plays an important role in reinforcing gender roles, but so are one's friends, school, work and the mass media. Gender roles are reinforced through "countless subtle and not so subtle ways" (1999:76).

Socialisation provides the individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within their own society or in this case family. A family itself is formed through many shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages. Family socialisation

is therefore the means by which family continuity is attained. For the purposes of this study the primary, secondary, developmental, anticipatory and gender socialisation were considered and investigated in an inductive manner so as inform the development of the components of each in context of family business. We began by mapping the processes of socialisation against grouped norms, values, attitudes, and social roles in the Table 1 below. We developed these possible norms, values and attitudes into clustered concepts; community, class and identity, early operational experience, communication skills and awareness of customer relationships, risk and insecurity, financial management. Table 2 below lists the grouped constructs.

Table 1. Aspects of Family Socialisation

Socialisation Process	Learning that takes place	Grouped norms, values, attitudes and social roles
Primary	Learning attitudes, values and actions appropriate to members of a particular family	Community Class and identity
Secondary	Learning what is appropriate behaviour as member of a the family within larger society	Early operational experience
Developmental	Learning behaviour in the family business – a social institution	Awareness of customer relationships
Anticipatory	Individuals rehearse for future positions and occupations in the family business and social relationships	Risk and insecurity Financial Management
Gender	Learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex.	Community Class and identity

Table 2. Grouped Constructs

Grouped construct	Norms, values, attitudes and social roles which could possibly be identified
Community	Ownership, integrated role in community leadership, acceptance, being ‘important,’ isolation, inclusion, exclusion, responsibility.
Class and identity	Working class, middle class, different, unusual, non-conforming, ‘not normal.’
Early operational experience	‘give it a go,’ working hard is good, working can be fun, work and life are conjoined, don’t trust outsiders, intense responsibility,
Awareness of customer relationships	Service role, ‘can do for the customer,’ importance of customer, importance of being of service, importance of customer relationships, approach to being of service, power in relationships.
Risk and insecurity	Importance of having cash, trust, security, priorities, level of risk, level of insecurity

Methodology

The unit of study for the research project is the ‘family’ unit. Given the exploratory and qualitative nature of the first stage of this study a multiple-case study methodology approach was adopted (Yin, 1989). Cases favouring a diversity of experiences were selected. All of the families involved were known to the ICFIB; they were existing or past clients with whom ICFIB has a working relationship. Each woman had two face-to-face interviews, one formal and one informal. Formal interviews of approximately one and a half hours in duration were followed up with an informal interview of about an hour or so in duration. A list of questions was used as a framework for discussion. Additional data was gathered through regular contact with each of the women. The families in the study have all agreed to participate although the names of the individuals have been changed for anonymity purposes.

The interviews were conducted at the phenomenological level of ‘lived experience’ (Thompson et al., 1989) and the broad agenda was an exploration of respondents’ memories

of; emergent awareness of identity as belonging to a ‘business family;’ early exposure to the business, through direct involvement in its operational processes; early awareness of business and management issues, through the family environment; specific and significant learning events relating to the business; awareness of their relationship with their fathers. From these questions the researchers developed a dialogue around the ‘journey of succession’ themes, namely; leaving (the family business), coming back, deciding to join the family business, the journey, i.e. the development of their leadership role within the business, difficulties of working with ‘dad,’ loss of father/daughter relationship, i.e. the relationship is subsumed and superseded by the business relationship.

Profiles

The women from the six families involved in this study came from a variety of business sector backgrounds, including engineering, distribution, leisure, food and beverage, construction, communication and education. They spanned second to fifth generation, within an age range of 36-62. In all but two families the father was still alive and in all but one those fathers still alive had no ‘official’ role in the business. The turnover for the businesses is between £2m and £45m. The businesses involved would be considered to be profitable and well managed. Table 3 below provides an overview of the composition of the cases.

Table 3. Family Case Profiles

Business sector		Firm size	
Engineering	2	>£2m turnover	3
Food and beverage	2	>£4 millions turnover	1
Building	1	>£10 million turnover	1
Fishing	1	>£25million turnover	1

Regarding their positions in the company, two women are Managing Directors; the other 4 are in senior management positions within the firms but still ‘in waiting’ for the Managing Director role.

Table 4 – Family Business Typology (adapted from Fletcher, 2002; Litz, 1995)

		Management roles undertaken in the business by:			
Ownership of the business controlled by	1. Widely held (family and non-FBs)	1a. A business with wide ownership (family and non-family) but with one person managing	1b. A business with wide ownership but a couple manage the business	1c. A business with wide ownership but a family team manage the business	1d. A business with widely held ownership and management (PLC). Not a FB
	2. Family (siblings or family members from two generations)	2a. Business owned by a family but only one family member has a management role in the business	2b. Ownership is held between wider family but a couple from the family run/manage the business	2c. Ownership is held between family members who are also widely involved in management roles – Classic FB	2d. Family owned company with widely held management involving family and non family (professionalised business)

In terms of Fletcher's (2002) typology (Table 4), one business has wide ownership (1), but has no day-to-day family management, but has two non-exec family members. Two businesses are 2d with wide ownership (family and non-family) but with one person managing. One business is 1b has a wide ownership but a couple manages the business which was a firm that was managed by her parents. Two are type 2d, family owned companies with widely held management involving family and non family (professionalised business).

Individual profiles

Table 5 below lists the sibling profile of each case. Below details about individual family situations and composition are presented.

Angela

Angela is the youngest of four siblings; she was also the youngest of the interviewees. Angela grew up in the family as the 'baby' and was treated as such by all of her siblings and most of

Table 5. Family Profile

Actor	Number of siblings	Number of brothers	Number of sisters	Position in siblings	Age	Education
Angela	4	2	1	Youngest	20-30	University
Laura	3	2	0	Eldest	31-40	Secondary
Sylvia	5	2	2	Eldest	31-40	Secondary
Janet	3	1	1	Middle	31-40	Secondary
Christine	3	-	2	Eldest	31-40	Secondary
Pauline	3	2	-	Youngest	31-40	University

all by her eldest sister, some nine years older than Angela. Her up-bringing brought her into regular contact with the business and she was never really considered to be the ‘heir apparent’. It came as a shock to all of the family when, having left home in her early twenties, Angela returned to live at home, following a relationship breakdown and started working with her father in the business. Her elder brother was already working in the business and Angela’s relationship with her brother deteriorated as she became more involved in the day to day running of the business. This breakdown in the relationship was exacerbated with the sister-in-law, eventually culminating in almost no contact between Angela and her brother’s family. Shortly before he died, the father appointed Angela as the next managing Director, further damaging the relationship with her brother.

Laura

Laura is the eldest of three siblings, she has two brothers. Laura grew up in a very different environment from Angela, very ‘working class’, attending the local comprehensive school and growing up in her local community. From a very early age she was ‘groomed by her grandfather to take a prominent role in the business, Laura was told that family came first; outsiders were not to be trusted and this was reinforced by her father. Her grandfather and her father taught her prudence in all matters, to keep things in the family and to be strong. Laura was always destined to become the next leader of the family business and her two brothers accepted this without real question. In many ways the leadership of the family business

skipped a generation in that Laura's father was never considered up to the job by his own father.

Sylvia

Sylvia was the eldest of five siblings; she had two brothers and two sisters. Although she was aware of the family owning and running a business; she grew up not really understanding the concept of 'being in the family business'. Sylvia worked regularly in the business, particularly with her father, with whom she had a very close relationship. She entered the family business straight from school, as did two of her siblings and felt she always carried the tag of 'father's daughter' and the perceived special treatment that went with the tag. Sylvia also felt a weight of responsibility as the eldest and it was the constant pressure to perform and be a 'credit to my dad' that eventually forced Sylvia to make the decision to leave home and the business. A relationship breakdown led Sylvia to seek the support of her family, eventually succumbing and moving back home and into the family business again.

Janet

Janet is the middle child of three; her elder brother is ten years older, with a younger sister four years behind her. The gap between her brother and her sister has led to a strong relationship with her sister and although Janet has a good relationship with her brother, it is at the working level, rather than the family level. The father always considered Janet the brightest of the children and although the son was employed in the business, it was Janet who eventually became the Managing Director. The father was an authoritarian figure, strict, ethical and apparently morally strong. These were the values Janet grew up with and when, in her early twenties, she left to pursue a career in overseas aid work it came as no real surprise. Janet only came home and rejoined the family business when her father was diagnosed with a terminal illness. Since the death of her father; Janet has worked with her brother on a joint leadership basis and is taking an active part in carrying on the legacy left by her father.

Christine

Christine is the eldest of three sisters. She grew up knowing she held this position in the family and was very aware of the responsibility she felt from a young age. Out of all of the interviewees, Christine seems to have spent the most time with her father working in the business. From the time she can remember Christine was by her father's side, travelling with him, seeing him negotiate deals and make management decisions, he was her only role model.

As time passed her younger sister came into the business and Christine assumed a role of authority and command, although it was never formal or agreed. Christine was certainly seen by her father as the one to 'take over' and when the company experienced really hard times, it was Christine who felt the most pressurised.

Pauline

Pauline was the eldest of the interviewees, although she was the youngest of three siblings. Pauline has two older brothers and believes she was treated as the 'baby' in the family, particularly by her father. Her two brothers joined the family business quite some time before Pauline decided to 'give it a go'. Pauline left home at the age of eighteen and in the mid sixties; this was quite a shock, particularly if leaving was not to go to University. Pauline feels that she was forced out by a combination of her over bearing father (and mother) and her two brothers who saw her as a threat to their own position. Pauline did not rejoin the family business until she was in her late thirties, being employed in a fairly lowly paid administration role. However, she worked closely with her father and shortly before he died, he confirmed Pauline as a Director of the company.

Family Socialisation

Younger (second and greater) generations growing up in the family business environment enjoy primary and secondary socialisation, not only into the family and society but also into business and the specific family enterprise. The secondary socialisation process may take a long time and be undergone within an environment where there are both powerful and explicit family expectations about future roles in the business and perhaps eventual management succession or subtle, tacit level expectations or indeed no expectations whatsoever. Our findings reveal a complex picture of expectations and messages.

Community, class and identity

Although Angela grew up in a middle-class community and went to school with the daughters and sons of professional people, she felt that her business background set her apart: *'I always felt different from friends' families who were doctors and bankers; we weren't quite as middle class as the families we hung out with'*. Angela recalled feeling different from an early age: *'it*

was like being part of a different community. The perception that we weren't quite normal – I don't know if I liked it'.

Laura grew up on the family farm, attending the local comprehensive school. Her early memories of the family business involved accompanying her grandfather on his delivery round. Laura and her siblings were brought up in a close, traditional working class family environment, where the family identity was strong, the family was all that really mattered and Laura in particular carried these lessons with her throughout her life. From a very early age the family business and the business of the family became one.

As she grew up, Laura felt that her family business background *'put her apart from my school-friends'*. Laura felt she did not have to try at school *'because there would always be a job in the family firm'*. None of the children contemplated entering higher education and all three joined the family firm on leaving school. Laura's grandfather impressed on the three grandchildren and particularly Laura the importance of the family firm, its history and its place in the lives of the family members. Laura vividly remembers quotes of his such as: *'remember, without the business we have nothing' and 'we must all make sacrifices for the good of the business'*.

Sylvia recalls being seen as *'important'* in the local community, but as she was growing up, never really comprehended why this was the case. Nevertheless, as she grew older the tag of the boss's daughter was more and more in evidence and on entering the business as an employee, this tag was ever present. One of the emerging questions and worthy of further research is. *'Am I here because I am the boss's daughter or because there really is a job to be done and I am the best qualified to do it?'*

Janet recalls having very strict parents and this is in line with a number of the interviewees. This is particularly so in the public persona of the father; who is painted as a strict authoritarian, with controlling behaviour and an overt view of what is right and wrong. However, a majority of the interviewees held the view that the public persona was not what they perceived was the real *'man inside'*. The man inside was perceived to be soft, often caring and often vulnerable and the exterior or public face was a way of self protection against being taken for a ride, hurt or damaged by being seen to be *'weak'*.

Christine also recalls having strict parents, particularly her father. The family business is prominent in the community and Christine was always aware of 'being important'. She feels that her identity is synonymous with the business and the community and although she had a community school education, she always felt '*a bit above*' the fellow pupils and thought perhaps she should have gone to a private school, given her perceived place in the community.

Pauline always felt like the 'outsider' and she was the only one of the three siblings to attend private school. In her view this was further evidence of preferential treatment by her father, (he was the one to make the decision about her education). Pauline did identify with the business from an early age and was affected by the level of envy demonstrated by people outside of the family.

Early operational experience

From an early age most of the interviewees were involved in the business in the performance of low-level operational tasks. Angela recalls, '*I've been stuffing envelopes since I was a small child*'. She regularly worked in the firm when out of school and during the holidays, performing a wide variety of manual and clerical tasks, including posting ledgers and other simple accounting and recording tasks. This practice continued throughout the children's formal education, and they continued to do office work during the university vacations. Sometimes, 'work' was integrated with other learning benefits; Angela vividly remembers learning to drive while delivering parts during the evenings while at school.

Although there were never any explicit views expressed about Laura joining the family business, her education about the business started almost as soon as she could walk. Laura tells of her experiences throughout her formative years, working closely with her grandfather. Starting from the age of three, she recalls her early education about cash-flow, profit margins, buying prices, customer care, lorry maintenance and any other aspect of the business her grandfather felt that he could teach her. From the age of five Laura worked in the business on a Saturday, as did her brother and sister. Laura fondly recounts the story of being a three-year-old and out on the round with her grandfather. It was so cold that '*Pappy gave me a hot water bottle to cuddle. On one occasion the radiator on the lorry became frozen up and the hot water in the bottle was used to unfreeze the radiator*'. She vividly remembers her

grandfather apologising for taking the bottle, saying '*whatever happens the business must go on*'.

Communication skills and awareness of customer relationships

Communication is integral to the lived experience and in every case there were strong feelings and emotional recollections about how families and fathers communicated. Christine and her sisters were taught to answer the phone properly, to speak to customers with respect and to hold their own if a customer was '*trying to pull the wool*'. Laura was also taught 'not to trust outsiders' and, although the firm has employed non-family members over the years, when the company went through a really bad time in the mid-nineties all of the employees who were not family members were made redundant.

Most were acutely aware of their responsibilities with regard to their role in the life of the business, particularly those in the public domain. Pauline, whose family business was a private school, said '*we were ambassadors, we carried the flag*'. If other parents could see what a good job our parents were doing with us, what a good school it would be for their own children to attend: '*we were the marketing thrust of the business.*' Pauline stated that when she left home at the age of eighteen she thought leaving home would mean leaving the business behind, but every conversation with her father ended up about the business and '*when are you coming back*'? It was all about customers, customers, customers, without whom there would be no business.

Risk and insecurity

In 1980, when Angela was eight years old, the firm passed through its first major cash flow crisis. This had a major impact on both Angela and the family. '*When I was eight, we nearly went under – fear was dominant in the family*'. The tentative and conditional nature of the security of the home was deeply impressed upon Angela: '*I learned the level of insecurity in starting a business, the risk – the amount you could lose*'. Recognising the stress that her parents were under, and wanting to minimise any additional burden that she might impose, her response was to be as self-sufficient as possible, renaming her bedroom her 'flat' and maintaining her own supplies of food and drink.

'*Not on our shift*' is a phrase used by Laura to describe the intensity of responsibility felt by the fourth generation children. In all of the preceding generations' management terms there

have been times when the survival of the company was in doubt. Each generation was told about those times, particularly around the dinner table. Consequently each succeeding generation has felt the weight of responsibility to ensure the firm survives to pass to the next generation, hence the phrase *'not on our shift'*. In the academic world, Pauline's father conceived of the school as a service to the community and their inner security seems to have derived from their strong Christian beliefs in serving and helping others. Perhaps because it was not seen as a business first and foremost, the school always struggled to meet its cash flow needs, particularly when parents had difficulty in meeting the term fees; Pauline recalls her mother more than once saying to a worried parent: *'pay when you can, my dear'*. This led to a level of insecurity for the children as the issues were openly discussed around the dinner table, sometime with the father attempting reassurance by saying: *'it will be alright, God will provide'*.

Christine has always been made aware of the risk involved in running a business. Her parent's house has always been used as security for borrowing and her father talked about *'the bank owning the roof over our head'*.

Financial Management

Although the experiences of financial crisis had profound effects, Angela feels that her early involvement with the business had many positive effects: *'I just grew up with a living, working notion of money and what to do with it and what not to do with it'*. At an early age, Angela and her siblings were introduced to formal financial planning and expected to apply it to their personal expenses: *'we had a budget when I was 11 or 12 – we had to spreadsheet our expenses. Bottom line was our life'*.

The making of money, the use of money and its part in providing the security that the family needs has always been a part of Janet's education. 'Cash-flow is king' is written large in her mind and from her early days the financial management of the company was explained and given its due reverence. The finances of the business were always a topic around the dinner table and prudence in such things as cars, holidays, clothes and possessions was encouraged. Janet and her siblings did not get paid for their work on a Saturday, as this was seen as their contribution to the common good, and of course, they all had ponies to ride at the farm. The family members are paid a 'fair' wage, but certainly the salaries do not necessarily reflect current reality in the market place. However *'you get other rewards for working for the family*

business' and for the family these include both the tangible and intangible benefits provided by the farm.

Pauline was not given any financial support when she left home at the age of eighteen. This action on her part was seen by her family as a rebellion and so was not to be encouraged. Pauline was forced to fend for herself and quickly learned the value of money and how to survive.

Summary

In the process of this investigation it became apparent that the anticipatory process of socialisation holds the most relevance for succession into the family business. In exploring the various journeys which women had travelled both personally and within the family and business context it is clear that the anticipation of what social role, norms, values and attitudes they have can change depending on their lived experiences within the family business unit. The findings are summarised against the socialisation processes explored in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Summary of findings

Learning that takes place	Grouped norms, values, attitudes and social roles
Primary Learning attitudes, values and actions appropriate to members of a particular family	Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance in local community • Leadership role in local community • Intense responsibility to lead • Inclusion – role • History wins out – maintain the historic position Class and identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are different • Not quite middle class • Working class • Family is all that matters • Family business and business of family are one • Don't trust outsiders • Insecurity about fit within class system – 'not normal' • Feelings of elitism – being better than others
Secondary Learning what is appropriate behaviour as member of a the family within larger society	Early operational experience <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work is life • 'give it a go' • working hard is good • work and life are conjoined • don't trust outsiders

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intense responsibility • business comes first • fear of failure of business
Developmental Learning behaviour in the family business – a social institution	<p>Awareness of customer relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • customer is King • you must always serve • ‘can do for the customer’ • being of service is valuable • relationships with customers are valuable • serious approach to being of service • customer has power in all relationships
Anticipatory Individuals rehearse for future positions and occupations in the family business and social relationships	<p>Risk and insecurity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family comes first • Work hard to survive • Stick together • Business gets priority over family – if business survives so will family • Fear of failure • Insecurity about future sometimes • Sacrifices are made for the business • Making a contribution means you are not a drain on the family <p>Financial Management</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bottom line is our life • Importance of having cash, • Business has longevity if it taken seriously • Business has preference over family because it pays the bills, • Need to be one step ahead of those who will try to ‘con’ you.
Gender Learning of behaviour and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rebellion – leaving the family and not following the expected path, marriage, children work in the family is considered rebellious • Brightness – intelligence – viewed as non-gender specific • Girls and boys both work in the family business – doesn’t matter what age or gender you are, there are contributions you can make • Being the bosses daughter

Discussion

The findings from this first stage of the study are illuminating and as one would expect inspire more questions than provide answers. Taking an ecological view and considering the entire environment in which the socialization process takes place as well as the immediate close

family's key role in that socialization process has led us to a new appreciation of the complexity of the daughters' socialization in the family business.

We have identified that primary learning about attitudes, values and actions appropriate to members of the family business can be grouped around the notions of community and class identity. Community and class are linked inextricably and in a way that gives a nod to the importance of history and the valuable contributions of ancestors. An interesting paradox emerged between the expressed values that were learned about being an inclusive 'community leader' and 'being special' and 'not trusting others.' This paradox merits further investigation. What happens if the community does not accept the notion of 'preferential status' of the family business within it? What is the impact on daughters where there is a less exalted status? What is the impact of families? How can daughters learn to reconcile this contradiction of being 'special' yet 'not to trust others.' How is the issue of trust resolved? Does it have an impact on the development of sound relationships between daughters and others both in the family and external to it?

We know that secondary learning takes place and that daughters learn about what is appropriate behavior as a member of the family within the larger society from their early operational experience within the family business. These early operational experiences while varied share some similarities and a common theme that life and work and family business are intimately integrated and connected. This seems to exist to the extent that one aspect cannot be considered or defined without reference to the other. Again there are contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities inherent in this learning which prompt questions for further research. Are these women aware of these inherent incongruence's? Do they seek to manage, reconcile or overcome them? If so, how do they seek to do this? What is the impact of this learning on the way they behave as a leader in the family business? When do they become aware of the incongruence's? Do other members of the family interpret them?

Evidence of developmental learning and the behaviour of the family as a social institution was found. The primary manifestation of this was in terms of 'awareness of customer relationships.' This awareness implied that in some cases daughters were required to subjugate their own needs for those of the customer. Subjugation of the entire 'needs' of the

family to meet those of the customer is evident in some cases. This particular aspect of socialization does not seem unique to daughters.

Anticipatory socialisation involves the process by which individuals rehearse for future positions and occupations in the family business and in social relationships. The two key themes which were outcomes of this process are risk and insecurity and financial management. The nature of leadership within the family business is such that there is an overwhelming emphasis on the ability of a possible leader to understand of risk, to ensure the security of the business and on the ability to manage its finances. Rehearsal of future positions involves the inculcating and testing of the ability to exhibit these qualities. A daughter's inability to exhibit such qualities might not be initially apparent. We surmise that 'leaving and coming back' phenomenon that we observed might be enacted in order for daughters to show that they have inculcated these qualities because it may difficult for fathers to observe them until this distancing has occurred.

Learning about the behaviour and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex seems to focus around three main themes; rebellion, intelligence, and being the bosses daughter. Some of the women in the study did rebel and leave the family while others did not. Perhaps the rebellion is more of a psychological distancing than a physical one. This notion needs further investigation to determine whether or not 'rebellion' is conceived to be a 'male' or 'female' attribute. It may be that the nature of this 'rebellion' has male and female characteristics.

Intelligence was almost uniformly related to the practical and common sense business aspects of intelligence rather than pure intellect. Further investigation of the notion of intelligence is necessary to determine if this is notion is gender-laden in any way. Our proposition is that it is but again this needs further investigation.

Being the bosses daughter is clearly a gender-laden concept. The concept is not new and has been considered in other studies. Our interest in the concept in this point is to discover how it essence is conveyed within the family and how it effects, or not, the transition of the daughter to a leadership position. At what point does the daughter become aware of this notion? How does she learn to embrace or counter it? What are the positive aspects and manifestations of it? What are the challenges?

Overall, the findings prompt more questions than they answer at this point and as this is the first stage of the study that is to be expected. We feel at this stage that there are many aspects of socialisation that could be illuminated through this study and which may ultimately lead to being able to suggest and inform parents about how they might go about socialising the next generation of their family business. We also hope that the study will shed light on ways in which practitioners might usefully assist family businesses which experience the succession to leadership of female family members.

Conclusions

In every case the early socialisation experiences were different. However, all families have a strong set of articulated values, attitudes and beliefs. You cannot escape the influence of the family. Our sense is that socialisation processes are most intense in the development and anticipatory stages where individuals rehearse for future positions and occupations in the family business and social relationships. In these stages socialisation is intense, in that there are high expectations that daughters will execute the values, beliefs and norms in the way that the family anticipates. It is not just the father who anticipates this but everyone in the family, siblings included. Those who choose to act differently are considered rebellious, even though their behaviour, e.g. leaving home, may not be considered rebellious in other family contexts. Daughters are treated, and are expected to behave like others in the family. Gendered socialisation does not seem to have a family face. Girls seem to be expected to work just like boys. It is too early to state definitely that there was little differentiation of social position of women in the family businesses. It is also too early to state that they were socialised in the same way as their other siblings; expected to work and given tasks, given same messages about customers, provided with same training for looking after finances.

What can we draw from this exploratory stage of the study about cross-gender succession? In anticipating the second part of the study where we will look at succession ‘in the round’ (from all family perspectives) it is clear that socialisation processes have a major impact on the path to leadership and succession for all family business members. We anticipate that we may need to explore in greater depth than previously planned the socialisation experienced by siblings, fathers, mothers and extended family members in order to gain a clearer picture of the complex socialisation processes involved.

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