JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY
Jönköping International Business School

Doctoral Thesis

The Coexistence of Family, Ownership, and Business

Conceptualizing Entanglement and Business Family Own*er*ing

Lisa Bäckvall

Jönköping University
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Grandmother Gerda Öberg ‘Moma’, an entrepreneur for more than 40 years of an owner-managed hair salon in Lapland, Arjeplog, said: “Lisa educate yourself… into a profession… it will generate your own money and fuel independency!.” In the early 1930s, she was schooled in women’s renewed rights and responsibilities as citizens following the women’s right to vote in 1921 by the Fogelstadgruppen (Fogelstad Citizen School for Women), founded by Elisabeth Tamm, Ada Nilsson, Kerstin Hesselgren, Honorine Hermelin, and Elin Wägner. Thanks, Fogelstadgruppen, for setting conditions within my grandmother and forming essential directions within me. Thanks, Moma, for the entertaining life experience-based stories that you shared and the money you gave to my education. However, the money was invested due to affordable Swedish student loans, yielding annual dividends.

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These historical and parallel threads – firm feminist embodied posture – and – learning enterprising – forming and reforming business education in Sweden – in history form conditional givens of my embodied habitus directing the pre-historical trajectory to common sense in renewing structures. These threads set the conditional givens for the trajectory of my embodied provocative reflection, taking ‘how is actual business done by a family’ seriously.

How much in life is set by choice of ‘free will’ and how much is set as ‘conditional givens’ in the historical structures already embodied by others fusing critical turning direction in one's trajectory…. I wish to thank many in this overall life trajectory up to this point in time.

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In the era of 'publish or perish' for promotion, Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2021) call for more researchers to try "the less trodden paths" were "over the long run, the most personal satisfaction often comes from working on the riskier, more ambitious, long-term projects – also the most important contributions to the field and to the world" (p. 3). Reading this text, I read

‘personal sacrifice.’ When I first wrote the quote in my text, I realized they had written ‘personal satisfaction.’

As this creature becomes a book, it forms a life of its own, opening up for much-appreciated space in my life. I am awaiting and anticipating the dawn of this new era in life, curious about what awaits…

Finally, what if an academic milieu delimited each researcher for five years to focus all available research time on creating *one* publication with a significant relevant contribution? What would constitute yours?

ABSTRACT

This research engages with the topic of business family ownership through an ethnographically inspired study of business governance-related activities constructed as family members' business-owning practices relationally and over time. In short, it is about what business families do when owning businesses and how this form of owning can be conceptualized.

Corporate governance dominates understandings of ownership and business where ownership is constructed in a particular manner (individualistic, passive, and public) (e.g. La Porta et al., 1999; Robé, 2011). This is also (e.g. Breton-Miller & Miller, 2009; Le Breton-Miller et al., 2011), *the* theory in use in the family business research field in terms of governance research (e.g. Aguilera & Crespi-Cladera, 2012). Governing in family businesses has also been conceptualized as overlapping spheres of family, ownership, and business/management (Gersick et al., 1997). This study embraces the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management as entanglement, which is lacking in corporate governance research in general and in family business studies in particular. By extending alternative framings on ownership and family governance (e.g., Brundin et al., 2010; Nordqvist 2016) via firstly an interpretative paradigm and secondly the practice turn, this phenomenon, business family ownership, is thirdly constructed through one of many possible practice theories – social praxeology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This theory contributes to create conditions for a renewed understanding of owning as doing within a family business, relationally and over time. Social praxeology not only directs attention to relationality but also to individual and collective embodiment, where the central concepts are capital, field, habitus, and practical sense. Bourdieu's social praxeology acknowledges a relational ontology and epistemology in his particular version of structuralism interpretivism. In this study it implies that the first and second order structuers are contructed via a reflective field reading.

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to explore and construct the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management through a social praxeology reading and conceptualizing the business family ownership, as done together and over time.

An ethnographically inspired study (through interviews, shadowing, and participation in corporate events) of business- and governance-related activities (such as company board meetings, top management meetings, and product development meetings) generates an understanding of the entanglement of family, ownership, and business/management during an ongoing change of CEO in a family business. Drawing upon a structural reading in line with Bourdieu's social praxeology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), four broad business family ownership practices are constructed: the practice of choosing the next CEO, the practice of calculating, the practice of tasting, and the practice

of joking. The first empirical chapter is a reading of capital forms and their structure and distribution within the business family (structures of the first order). In this chapter, the construct of family, along with Bourdieu's assumptions, is introduced. The second empirical chapter is a reading of both first- and second-order structures, where the family habitus concept is combined with the business dimension in the change of CEO. The third empirical chapter is dominated by the reading of the second-order structures, where the practices of counting, tasting, and joking are constructed as business family owning. These business family ownership practices form an understanding of the entangled nature of a particular family business.

This study contributes to generating conditions for understanding business family ownership as private, collective, and transgenerational in contrast to the well-entrenched corporate governance view characterized above. Hence it challenges the dominant views of ownership as property rights that emphasize separateness incorporated in the Gersick et al. (1997) model by instead conceptualizing the coexistence of family, ownership, and management/business as entanglement. Towards a distinction through the conceptualization of entanglement, the family and ownership categories are primarily constructed as a collective subjective corpus operating as structuring structures within a business family field. Business family own*er*ing is a way of governing where the body and its sense reproduce and refine the structures in a family business, forming a specific cultural business family capital. Accordingly, with family habitus, owning turns into own*er*ing. Structuring structure with the particularities of an owner family, relationally inhabited by dominated and dominating agents, forms a business family ownership as own*er*ing, characterized by inertia and relationality.

Keywords: Family Business, Entanglement, Collective Subjective Corpus, Three-Circle Model of Family Business, Social Praxeology, Practice Theory, Business Family, Business Family Ownership Practice, Business Family Owning, Governance, CEO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Figures

Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction: The Start of a Research Undertaking

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) emphasize the importance of addressing the intellectual dimensions of an academic milieu to overcome epistemic doxa (the common sense inhabited in a research field). The object of study in my research field is family business (Nordqvist & Melin, 2007). Organizing by a family has been suggested as a missing aspect in organization research (Dyer, 2003). Family in family business literature has been used as *the*[1] argument of why family business should be studied, with formulations such as "family was a component [that] shaped the business in a way that the family members of executives in non-family firms did not and could not do" (Chua et al., 1999, p. 22). Scholars in the field of family business also tend to suggest that the overarching aim of the family business research field "is to create new knowledge on one specific type of organization – the family enterprise" (Nordqvist et al., 2015 p. 1; Salvato et al., 2019). Further, contrary to the common perception (mom-and-pop shops, e.g., a small family-owned firm), family businesses, among other ownership forms, are one of the most common (Astrachan & Pieper, 2010; IFERA, 2003; La Porta et al., 1999; Nordqvist et al., 2015), and scholars argue that these businesses are essential for humans all around the world, due to the significant economic base they constitute in society. Family businesses are heterogeneous, found in various sizes, and active in different industries worldwide (European Commission, 2009; Dibrell & Memili, 2019; La Porta et al., 1999; Melin et al., 2004). One central question in the family business literature can be phrased as: What is the uniqueness of the family business as an organizational form? Gersick et al. (1997) argued that family business is an extraordinary special form of organization, where an essence brings negative and positive consequences for its characteristics.

During the initial phase of my research education, I participated in an international research project on successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practices [STEP]. It was described as "a unique, applied research study" (STEPProject, 2006a, p. 2) that took an interest in 'the new,' i.e., "how families generate new opportunities, business models, processes, products, companies, and new entrepreneurs" (STEPProject, 2006a, p. 2). The explicit aim was to help family businesses worldwide to understand the entrepreneurial requirements for long-run growth and productivity that could generate prosperity for many generations to come (STEPProject, 2006a). In this research project, entrepreneurial orientation and the resource-based view were theories in use,

[1] With the aim to conceptualize language is a central concern in this text. In this text American English is used, however, there will be exceptions to its' common rules. This means that:
italics is used to emphasize a word or formulation,
'' is used to signal that a phrase or formulation is used in an alternative way,
"" is used for quotes.

and over time, in the more local research environment, strategizing and an owner-centric culture was conceptualized (Brundin et al., 2010; Hall et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2007; Johnson et al., 2003; Nordqvist & Melin, 2010). In the STEPproject, I conducted interviews (from a standardized set of questions), transcribed these from four Swedish family businesses, and interpreted and wrote standardized case reports in collaboration with senior researchers in my local research setting (CeFEO center for family entrepreneurship and ownership)[2]. The particular corner of my research field engaged primarily in qualitative and interpretative research (e.g., Nordqvist et al., 2009); however, quantitative approaches were used in parallel constellations (e.g., Naldi et al., 2007).

Prior to enrolling for this Ph.D. education, I held a bachelor's and Master of Science degree in Business Administration and Economics (with a focus on practical enterprising) from Jönköping International Business School [JIBS]. My education and practical entrepreneurship experiences qualified me for the Ph.D. program and participation in the STEPproject. Further, I was teaching, parallel to my participation in the STEPproject and initiating what became the focus of this Ph.D. project[3]. During the initial period of my research education, I also took several Ph.D. courses[4]. This involved collaborating with colleagues from both a quantitative and qualitative research tradition. Enrolled as a Ph.D. student, I continued working on a case report (the Palmén family business) within the STEPproject, which later transformed into the empirical study of this doctoral thesis. This company was of particular interest as they were in the process of explicitly enhancing their quest to become more of, as they phrased it, a family business and less of a traditional company. In 2007–2009, Henrik Palmén, an owner and CEO, was coming close to retirement, and he had managed family business with his brother Hardy Palmén throughout his work life. Henrik had been the CEO since he took over after his father. This family has been active in the industry since the early eighteenth century. Let's turn to how the CEO phrased it:

> I believe that our family has a feeling of responsibility and reverence for what previous generations have created. It is a privilege to continue with what our father handed us and to know that he did the same after his father and so on… It creates a feeling of belonging to a community that brings a larger meaning and purpose to life. Work – with both happiness and worries – generates a deeper meaning. I believe that family business is a

[2] As part of this global research project and its comprehensive theoretical framework I produced an empirical case report (Palmén INC, 2011, (confidential, i.e., the company name is a pseudonym)) constituting 70 pages with empirical-oriented questions regarding, for instance: family members' involvement in business, history of business and family, strategy, family governing, financial performance indicators, industry, market, innovation, leadership, and culture. My role was to conduct interviews with family members in several family businesses. This report was identified as best practice as one of four empirical case reports among 86 reports.

[3] I was teaching Corporate Entrepreneurship and Strategic Renewal, Entrepreneurship and Business Planning, Entrepreneurial Growth, New Venture and Business Renewal, and Innovation Management.

[4] The following Ph.D. courses were completed during the initial period: The Fundamentals and Cornerstones in Product Innovation Management and Innovation Engineering Literature and Research, Thesis Analysis, Philosophy of Science, Qualitative methods, Creativity, Culture and Leadership, Classics in Business Studies.

> lifestyle that evokes a larger commitment, so strong that it can even compensate for lack of education or experience. The Palmén family believes in the family business, so we are not letting go of control over the business. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that it is commitment that is essential and not necessarily blood ties. Through decentralization (clarification: Coworkers are allowed to make decisions within their area of expertise to a larger extent than other businesses with similar work conditions) and autonomy (Swedish: självständighet), we believe that the spirit of the family business can spread beyond the boundaries of the family within the business. At this stage, family business becomes an outstanding alternative as a business form.

During the interviews, the family business was often referred to as *it*, rather than *the* particular family business. From the CEO quote, it appears that this 'it' is something that is part of their history, future, and the *very purpose of life*. It is not an object that can be switched on and off in their life, as in locking the door when leaving the factory when the workday is over. Neither is this type of organization something that is transferred between different owners – it is a shared concern embracing beyond common entities both within (hierarchical levels) and between the spheres of business, family, and ownership. For these family members, selling the business was nonnegotiable, 'it' should *remain in their family*. Another example of how 'it' is talked about is present in the following quote, but this time on how he talks about culture and ownership:

> The culture resides in your head, our spines, our emotions, and our hearts. It is within humans where culture resides. […]. With our owner structure, where the family will always be involved, there you have a guarantee that the family will carry (the culture) and it will live on.

This practitioner talks about culture in relation to something that is embodied and humans, and family with regard to ownership. They all seem interlinked, from his point of view, over time. With my background in the far northern part of Sweden, where things were done rather than talked about, I began to shift attention from family business as something that individuals had to something individuals did together. He continues:

> -For instance, if an external CEO became CEO after me, this person would probably set up goals of making the business as profitable as possible to increase the company's value, in other words, maximize the company's selling price. Nevertheless, this is not our goal. We will never sell the business.
> [Observation: He said this by leaning towards me (almost provoking the boundary of my private sphere for professional communication) and looking firmly into my eyes.]
> -We have created a foundation and secured the dependency between the family and the foundation for future generations. We have, in a sense, thrown away the key!

> [Observation: He enforced this proclamation with a firm gesture constituting a determinant movement of his arm and hand.]
> -Our mission is to increase the market shares of our different products, which is done by producing products that the customers buy. By achieving this, we are creating a stronger company. Our ownership is a custodianship[5]; a governing transferred between generations.

These empirical experiences triggered a search for alternative thinking tools, where I found Bourdieu, who emphasized the reflexivity of common sense inhabited in a research field, for instance, its definitions, key constructs and categories, and assumptions (cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 235). Parallel to conducting the initial interviews in the empirical study, I participated in research seminars on corporate governance within family-owned businesses. In these family business conversations, a common way to define a family business, according to La Porta et al. (1999), is in terms of ownership (50% of shares) and degree of control (20% of votes). As a consequence, this forms a doxa, for instance Aguilera and Crespi-Cladera (2012), direct research towards strong or weak family control, reproducing the assumption that shareholding and control are of central research interests; i.e., the individualistic corporate law perspective on who controls the business forms a core concern[6]. The debate has been dominated by studies of "relationships between family ownership/control/management and firm performance, with particular concern for financial relations" (Mazzi, 2011, p. 166). Here the family becomes a dependent variable, and as a consequence, its central function in the empirical phenomenon of family business is bypassed. The quote highlights, instead, a practitioner's view of 'the doing of doing business,' and it provided a research trigger or situation calling for new understandings of noneconomic actions or precapitalists, e.g., Bourdieu (2005). The company in my study had undergone changes in ownership form and legal structure, where a period of being listed on the Swedish stock exchange was followed by a return to private ownership

[5] Förvaltande in Swedish

[6] According to Steier et al. (2015), early theorizing of governance in family firms rested upon the view of the corporation as a 'nexus of contracts' between principals and their agent managers with the focus on aligning their economic interests. That research stream has been dominated by separating ownership from management, following the influential reasoning of Jensen and Meckling with the theory of the firm. "At the core of agency theory's governance model lie four assumptions: 1 Opportunism is an ever-present threat because executives (like all agents) are opportunistic by nature; they will act in their own self-interest in the absence of restraints, even if their actions diminish shareholders' wealth. 2 Executives' opportunistic tendencies are driven solely by their single-minded desire to maximize a single utility (generally a trade-off between money and leisure) because they are rationally economic (as opposed to also being social). As such, this model simplifies organized social life to being nothing more than a series of contracts between individuals. 3 Publicly traded corporations are characterized by information asymmetry that arises because principals are both separated from day-to-day control and are rationally bounded; that is, the firm's governing board has limited ability for distinguishing a priori between best behavior and self-serving behavior. 4 Agency theory presumes, albeit implicitly, that its behavioral views about opportunism and enforced compliance are not nationally bounded, but instead represent a supranational lens for evaluating all corporate governance issues (Lubatkin et al., 2005, pp. 869–870)." Incorporated in this theoretical body is a version of rational (bounded) and economic individual men in contracting situations and, as a consequence, excluding social, alternative views of individuals and organized aspects of life".

(a legal structure through a foundation). Let us return to how the CEO, Henrik Palmén, expresses ownership in the following way[7]:

> [Observation: his fist hits the table – bang! – as he leans forward and says:]
> - Ownership in our family business is a philosophical question, and we are not owners in the traditional sense.

How is this CEO and owner describing ownership in the context of a family business? Without moving along too quickly, a first answer could be that it is simply something else; it is different; it is an 'other' in relation to the so-called 'traditional.' For several decades, the CEO of the Palmén family business was simultaneously more involved in efforts to improve the conditions of corporate businesses, especially regarding entrepreneurial businesses (family businesses) in Sweden. The aim of the ongoing research project (STEPproject) was a close collaboration between family business researchers and family businesses, for instance, through workshops, resulting in modifying family governing mechanisms (succession, family council, owner council, family culture, family leadership). According to Czarniawska and Sevón (2003), the Nordic organization theory has been oriented towards the practice of organizing. The start of this study resides in this Scandinavian tradition of a collaborative research agenda between practitioners and researchers. The practical problem of the Palmén family business, improving the position of family businesses in general, was in broad alignment with the practical problem of the family business research field. The pursuit of advancing family business research has materialized in a number of publications (Nordqvist & Melin, 2007). The research project (STEP) I was involved in took an active role in what could be characterized as processes of professionalization within the involved family businesses. Instead, according to Bourdieu, researchers are the ones who 'construe the world as a spectacle' to be interpreted rather than a practical problem to solve (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 39). A central question here is: Who (researchers and/or practitioners) defines the problem and who selects which problems to solve, and by which means, given the uneven distribution of education capital (symbolic capital)? As Bourdieu (1990b) writes:

> epistemic doxa: thinkers leave [*sic*, read: 'live'] in a state of unthought (impensé, doxa) the presuppositions of their thought, that is, the social conditions of possibility of the scholastic point of view and the unconscious dispositions, productive of unconscious theses, which are acquired through an academic or scholastic experiences, often inscribed in prolongation of an originary (bourgeois) experience of distance from the world and from the urgency of necessity (p. 381).

[7] In translating the quote from Swedish to English, I have made slight changes from spoken formulations in Swedish to English written formulations to enhance the readability of the text. This is also done based on experience from receiving comments from the brother, Hardy, on text written about their family business in English.

Bourdieu directs our reflexive attention to research practice itself, where he demands objectivation of the epistemological conditions of research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.236), because "a scientific practice that fails to question itself does not, properly speaking, know what it does". Bourdieu advocates research reflexivity, since scientific fields generate collective questions or common research topics. In the following sections of this introductory chapter, I will describe how family business and ownership have been addressed in the existing literature. The purpose here is to highlight a few aspects of the doxa with a particular bearing on the project at hand.

1.2 Beyond the Three Structures Active in the Family Business Research Field

Dawson and Mussolino (2014) literature review of family business research identifies three constructs central to the uniqueness of family business. Drawing upon Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1975), these could be seen as constituting structuring research agendas in the family business research field. These are, firstly, *familiness*, and secondly, the *essence approach* of family business, and thirdly *socioemotional wealth (SEW)*. For the first construct of *familiness*, Habbershon (2004) defines family business grounded broadly in strategy research as a bundle of resources termed *familiness*. The second approach, the *essence approach* of the family business, is a theoretical definition based on behavior (Chua et al., 1999), with the overall aim of distinguishing the family business, both theoretically and operationally, from the nonfamily firm. Further, in the essence approach, family businesses were defined as family business if they expressed that they owned or governed, i.e., *behaved* to serve a purpose. This implied, for instance, that a family business had a "purpose to shape and pursue the vision of one or a few families that control the dominant coalition[8] in the firm" (Chua et al., 1999, p. 24). Here the vision is defined as a better future for the family, "with the business operated as a vehicle to help achieve that desired future state" (Chua et al., 1999, p. 24). The familiness and the essence approach ground reasoning in strategic management with the resource-based view (RBV) paired with the system view (Frank et al., 2010; Habbershon, 2004). Barney and Ouchi (1986) argued for the applicability of agency theory (separation of management and ownership) to strategic management. RBV resides in Barney's (1991, p. 101) classification of firms' resources into three categories: "physical capital resources (Williamson, 1975), human capital resources (Becker, 1964), and organizational capital resources, (Tomer, 1987)." In the context of family business, capital has been conceptualized (Arregle et al., 2007; Habbershon et al., 2003; Pearson et al., 2008) and operationalized as different resources to test the family's influence on various organizational phenomena, often regarding performance (see Minichilli et al., 2010). The third construct is *SEW* in the

[8] Chua et al. (1999, p. 24) refer to, Cyert and March, and, Hambrick and Mason's, concept of a dominant coalition, which constitutes the powerful actors in an organization who control the overall organizational agenda.

family business research field, which has been suggested as a potential dominant paradigm to explain the behavior of family-controlled firms (Berrone et al., 2012). Further, Gomez-Mejia et al. (2007, p. 160) have been successful in advancing the conceptualization of SEW as "nonfinancial aspects of the firm that meet the family's affective needs." Berrone et al. (2012, p. 258) have explained family influences with FIBER constituting: "***F**amily control and influence, **I**dentification of family members with the firm, **B**inding social ties, **E**motional attachment, and **R**enewal of family bonds to the firm through dynastic succession*". These factors are argued to reside in intentionality and aim to generate knowledge with cause-and-effect relations between family and firm. Further, in contrast to the *essence approach*, this reasoning suggests that it is these factors that are said to explain key organizational choices of family firms, such as management processes, strategic direction, governance structures, stakeholder relations, and business venturing (Gómez-Mejía et al., 2011).

Avoiding intellectual bias is the most central concern in Bourdieu's epistemic reflexivity. An intellectual approach driven by theory and distance from its thought objects endangers the possibility of capturing practice "because it can lead us to miss the differentia specifica of the logic of practice" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 39) entirely. Given the earlier quotes from the CEO of the Palmén family business, how could this translate into a research practice and this empirical situation at hand? I suggest that the body of a reflexive researcher needs to stay open with its senses, curious, and see beyond the spoken or obvious, for instance, take the empirical activities seriously in their context. Reflexivity entails systematically exploring "the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought" (Bourdieu, 1982a, p. 10 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 40). The reflexive stance makes it possible to challenge the doxa upon a research object, thereby also possibly aiming at a move from family business as a predefined object delimited but also enabled by the categories at work in family business research and the inheritance of broader management thinking illustrated above. In a quest to define the characteristics of family business, a comparative stream of using the categories of nonfamily firms vs. family firms with empirical studies to identify a defining characteristic of family business has emerged (e.g. Chrisman et al., 2004; James et al., 2017; Zahra et al., 2004). Here, an underlying assumption draws on the doxa of the degree of shares and control. Campbell (2009), for instance, also indicates that family business research requires an extensive revision of its epistemological and methodological foundations. She states that the time is premature to offer a precise definition of family business. Instead, her suggestion lies in more explorative research to find the key elements of family business. This is based on the proposition that family business "in idiosyncratic and varying degrees ascribes to certain behaviours – a form of species/cultural similarity – which broadly differentiate them from the publicly owned, employee-managed corporate" (Campbell, 2009 p. 124). An argument is formed here that family business differs from the large publicly owned and managerially managed corporate.

I intend to show that it is essential that we as family business researchers increase our awareness of the use of the concepts and key assumptions, both possible false friends, that linger and are at work in the field, such as family business, family, business family, family ownership, and family governance. All these concepts have been key terms when producing relevant research on the family business object. Understanding the particularities of the social phenomenon of family business is the main concern of this thesis, not striving to find one precise universal definition of family business. Ambition in this study is clarity and coherence regarding key assumptions. A reoccurring tension was obvious in the meeting between the interview questions grounded in the STEP framework and the practitioners' ongoing search for words in formulating something challenging to express in the available words and formulations in the given structure of language (e.g. Fletcher, 2002a). Drawing upon Bourdieu (1990b) and the research field's object, i.e., family business and its different combinations of variables that we construct to study, also have implications for the daily practice of family businesses. More clearly, through Fletcher's (2002a) work we learn that family members draw upon language (for instance, concepts and vocabularies from family business literature) to understand their daily reality.

1.3 The Overlap of Family, Ownership, and Business/Management – a Structuring Structure

A particularly influential way to define and explain the family business has been the three-circle model of overlapping systems of family-ownership-business/management (European Commission, 2009; Madison et al., 2017; Sharma, 2004; Short et al., 2016). Aligned with reasoning from system theory, the analytical levels separated the three spheres of family, ownership, and business/management, however also characterized their interaction as an overlap. This model with family, business, and ownership was articulated by Tagiuri and Davis (1996)[9] in their work at Harvard in the early 1980s, according to Gersick et al. (1997). It has been visualized as a Venn diagram, and as a critique of it being too static, Gersick et al. (1997) introduced the development stages[10] of the three systems. Returning to the historical development of the

[9] The three-circle model of the family business system was first published in John Davis's doctoral dissertation back in 1982; it was not until 1996 that it was published as a journal article in *Family Business Review*, with the title: "Bivalent attributes of the family firm."

[10] The life cycle model that was included in the family circle mainly (in the three circle model) draw upon Daniel Levinson (Psychosocial theory of adult development (The Seasons of a Man's Life (interviews with 40 men)) and 'other fine theorists studying family life cycles,' see p. 19 in Gersick et al., 1997). The development of the ownership circle is described as 'controlling owner', 'sibling partnership' and 'cousin consortium'. For the ownership circle a variety of different ownership constellations are described (e.g., on individual, a couple, or unrelated partners, to ownership via public shareholders, trusts, and other companies). A commonality to these various ownership structures is individual property rights (inheritance when death), based on this I have interpreted that ownership in the ownership circle constitute to own something (as an object). The development of business circle is 'start-up,' 'expansion' and 'maturity' (Gersick et al., 1997). The notion of life meant different stages for the three spheres, where the family dimension was determined by birth to death, while the two others changed direction in relation to changes within the business and the environment.

model according to Gersick et al. (1997, p. 5), in the 60s and 70s there were texts[11] outlining a conceptual model of the family and the business as two overlapping but independent subsystems with their "own norms, membership rules, values structure, and organizational structure" with individuals that are, for example, obliged to fulfill both the act of a parent and a manager. Key challenges included finding strategies that would fulfill the needs of both subsystems. Gersick et al. (1997), for instance, refer to Kepner's work from 1983 who elaborates on the purposes of the family and business systems. The family's purpose was characterized as satisfying human needs, e.g., belonging, intimacy, and identity; the glue is the emotional bonding, whereas the purpose of the business is to make money. Further, in the same text, Kepner (1983)[12] suggests that the family consists of subsystems, e.g., couple, parents, and children, and change in one subsystem influences the other systems. Hollander and Elm (1988) explain that the system thinking in the family business derives from von Bertalanffy who in the late 1960s applied systems of biology to human systems. Hollander and Elman (1988) write that the system view emphasizes "the whole as the unit of focus, interrelatedness of parts, hierarchy, openness, and interactiveness" (p. 156). Gersick et al. (1997 p.25) further developed the ownership sphere by drawing heavily upon John Ward's work. They argued that the business and the ownership circles needed clarity, as individuals could be owners but not involved in the business circle. Further ownership was assumed as legal or financial (degree of control in terms of shareholding) (Gersick et al., 1997), and as a by-product of the transfer of management control. Consequently, according to Gersick and Feliu (2014), the family was often studied as a number of shares, i.e., ownership, family members' involvement in the business, and the influence on the management sphere. According to Goel et al. (2013), ownership and governance are the aspects that have attracted the most attention in the literature on family business. Therefore, focus on ownership can be seen as common sense (doxa) within the overall family business research field. Further, Gersick and Feliu (2014, p. 197) write that the model facilitates balancing the different dynamics of the key subsystems, which is essential for the family enterprise to succeed "… and therefore the basis for evaluating governance implementation in research and practice."

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), functionalist researchers favor the use of biological analogies to study the social world that consists of concrete relationships that can be identified. As introduced above in *the essence approach*, Chua et al. (1999) refer to the three-circle model as a way of understanding why a family firm exists and why the spheres (family, ownership, and business/management) are of a certain scale and scope in generating a theory for understanding family business. Gersick et al. (1997) conceptualize ownership as the controlling owner, sibling partnership, and cousin consortium.

[11] According to Gersick et al. (1997), these early texts focus on problems hindering development in the family firm, e.g., nepotism, sibling rivalry, and unprofessional management.
[12] No references are used in this article, not even to a system theory, which could indicate its doxic status at the time of development.

It can be said that the family has become a dependent variable as it is argued to positively or negatively influence ownership and, consequently, the business. Further, Sharma et al. (1997, p. 18) argue that:

> [T]he family-business research needs dependent variables. Whether these be family harmony, economic performance, or goal achievement matters less than the identification, explicit recognition, and inclusion of these variables to measure the outcome of decisions and actions. It appears to us that investigations of goals and objectives and the determinants of performance hold the most promise of contributing to the advancement of the field, if for no other reason than that these topics have not received sufficient attention in the past.

Further, drawing upon Burell and Morgan's (1979) functionalist paradigm, with objectivist, realist, positivist, and determinist standpoints on sociological concerns, the three-circle model with its system assumption, in combination with dependent and independent variables-driven research, has generated functionalistic and positivist-oriented research (Van den Berghe & Carchon, 2003).

1.4 Challenging Ownership in Family Business Research

Before moving on, this stream deriving from the Gersick et al. model (1997) could be characterized as diluting the object of study, the family business. Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2021) have stressed that these assumptions make more or less all enterprises family businesses[13]. For instance, the doxa of reproducing as Aguilera and Crespi-Cladera (2012) do when assuming strong or weak family control has generated a statistic where, for instance, family businesses by these definitions employ 90% of the workforce in Sweden and constitute the largest source of income for the Swedish economy (SCB, 2017)[14]. It also obscures the nontraditional dimensions expressed in the earlier quote by a family business owner, describing ownership as a philosophical question. Further, the family members are present in the firm's daily activities; for instance, according to La Porta et al. (1999), 69% of families (on average in the world) that control a firm also participate in management. It is argued that the Gersick et al. (1997) model is significant in the overall family business research field, both in research and in practice, as it is often used in the professionalizing efforts of family businesses and as a result adopted among practitioners.

[13] The European Commission (2009) define family business, regardless of the size of the enterprise, when the family holds 25% of the voting rights. This definition applies for listed companies.
[14] The emphasis on ownership has contributed to generating these high proportions (European Commission, 2009).

Further, according to Robé (2011)[15], shareholders as owners[16] own only shares. The shareholders do not own the corporation, as no one owns a corporation. The corporation is a legal construct. The shareholders rather enjoy privileges of what they own: the shares. The traditional sense expressed above by Henrik refers to legal business ownership involving shareholders who own shares issued by corporations. Further, according to Robé (2011 p. 2), "the commonly held view is that the shareholders are the owners of the firm and the managers, as their agents, must manage the firm in their interest." In the broader academic discipline of management, ownership has been studied by quantifiable variables of performance measures such as firm value (Hall et al., 2012). The research field of family business has followed this research tradition and studied family ownership of business mainly from a macro view using quantitative methods based on secondary data sets (Hall et al., 2012). An objective view of knowledge characterizes the studies of family ownership following this tradition. These assumptions have separated the family from ownership and family ownership from the business side of the family business (e.g., constituting taken for granted or doxa e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Ownership is assumed as being legal and financial with interest in the relation between family control and impact on business issues grounded in a functionalistic research paradigm.

Alternative views on ownership in family business exist. Ownership in family business has been suggested by Nordqvist (2005) to be socio-symbolic and is introduced as the relations, values, feelings, and actions that may be developed by owners while strategizing. Family ownership logic has been another way to conceptualize the meaning of family ownership in family-owned businesses (Brundin et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2012) compared to ownership as shareholding. Emotional ownership has been introduced to conceptualize the next generation's cognitive and affective relation with the family business (Björnberg & Nicholson, 2012). Ownership in family business has also been suggested as collective psychological ownership conceptualized as a contextual model (Ikävalko et al., 2008). Returning to the broader question I raise of the doing of doing business by families who own, the orientation of my research problem also embraces the practical business activities paired with the inner workings of the family that are infused by doing ownership. Ownership and business family in this constructed research problem place the practical activities of doing business and family as a collective entity in focus.

[15] The assets of the firm are owned by a separate legal/(juridical) entity, the corporation. The limited liability is what protects the shareholders from the calamities of the corporation. The only risk taken when buying a share is that it can lose its value when sold. On the other hand, the corporation's assets are protected from the shareholders by their strong form of legal regulation. As Robé (2011, p. 3) clarifies, "in the normal course of business, the bundles of assets and liabilities owned by the shareholders, on the one hand, and by the corporation, on the other hand, are totally separate thanks to the corporation's autonomous existence as a legal person."

[16] In the text when ownership is written 'ownership' it is used to emphasize the shareholder value version.

1.5 From Family as a Problem to Business Family

The presence of the family and its dynamic in family business has spurred a research stream depicting family business as an inferior form of an enterprise (Sharma et al., 1997) fused with problems such as nepotism (Finelli, 2011), destructive emotions, and family drama (Gordon & Nicholson, 2008). In short, family dynamics cause problems in the business category. This can be seen as a doxa; that is, the constructed research problem is the problematic dynamics of family on the business side. The solution to this has been framed by Hollander and Elman (1988) as the rational approach where scholars suggested decreasing the family influence on the business, and where business practical problems should be solved through intellectual (referring to Calder see p.146) and rational reasoning (referring to Boswell see p.147). I argue that a doxa here is to select practical problems and create a research problem for them to solve. For instance, within this stream, solutions such as external management, firms' interest before the family, and the family's emotional processes were prime sources of contamination. Ward (1987) suggested that to keep the family businesses healthy. The solution was to professionalize management by imposing separation of ownership and control (i.e., doxa) to decrease complexity and irrational influences from the family to the business 'system.'

Scholars in family business also leave family undefined or implicitly defined in published work[17] (Debicki et al., 2009; Litz et al., 2011). Maybe this is due to the tendency of the authors to assume that "any reader has the same implicit understanding of" what a family business is (Brannback et al., 2008, p. 109). Chua et al. (1999) write that it is agreed that a family business is a business that is owned and managed by a nuclear family. Often the implicit definition is the nuclear family version of the authors' nationality. However, it is not only the definition of family that has been dealt with less adequately, as family business definitions are also overlooked at times (Hernández-Linares et al., 2018). This is problematic since it creates a knowledge area with incoherency regarding the methodological assumptions of the family, which may have epistemological and ontological implications.

Similar arguments are raised in the conversation on the governance of family business. According to Steier et al. (2015), an unmet theoretical challenge is to conceptualize governance in contexts. Further, Steier et al. (2015) argue that family is a unique and underexplored context to further our understanding of, for instance, ownership. Leading family business governance models have tended to assume a single-family, single-business structure. They have not provided valuable explanations for how different organizations, such as multifamily and/or multi-business firms (business family), align their

[17] This trend I saw while reviewing definitions of family business in 2009. I did an extensive search of 'family business' and/or 'family firm' and created a database of 317 articles. The selection was from 2001 until 2009 in the following journals: 1) *Family Business Review*, 2) *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 3) *Journal of Business Venturing*, 4) *Journal of Small Business Management*, and 5) *Journal of Business Research*. These five journals were the main outlets for research on family business, according to Debicki et al. (2009).

governance system with their goals (Steier et al., 2015). According to Steier et al., (2015), the complexity of family behavior awaits research attention and suggest the concept of 'business family,' as this conceptual shift would increase clarity. It would also direct attention to Payne (2020, p. 8), who notes that families who work as entities within themselves with their inner workings influence business decisions. De Massis and Foss (2018) argue for turning the attention to families as a micro-level context. In this thesis, the concept of business family is an explicit turn towards placing the family at the center of attention and using a construct with the potential to revise various implicit assumptions (doxas). It, therefore, serves as a means of placing the widely held term of 'family business' under scrutiny and triggering the unthought. Bourdieu (1996) places family centrally in understanding how societies work, and therefore, in this study, it serves as a concept that is firmly sociologically grounded compared to common sense. What if we approach business families as a micro-level context (De Massi & Foss, 2018; Steier et al., 2015) to further our understanding of family, ownership, and business/management? This fuels a step towards embracing a sociological perspective in exploring the noneconomic and economic actions of what a business family does when owning a business.

Further, I suggest that the Gersick et al. (1997) model has an unrealized relevance in setting a direction for generating conditions for understanding the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. In the quotes above, CEO Henrik also addresses all three dimensions, family, ownership, and business/management. However, family, ownership, and business/management from this model will be assumed as empirical triggers to leave the theoretical doxa introduced previously aside, where 'the doing of business' as a business family requires an extension of the existing conceptualizations available.

1.6 What Could Be Described as a Revisited Characteristic of the Object of Study?

I intend to take the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management seriously rather than treating them as separate variables drawing on my encounters with the empirical context early in the Ph.D. process. Further, the family context of ownership in the Palmén family business example is particularly significant and, therefore, continuously important as a trigger for new/alternative conditions for understanding family and governing. For instance, the quotation from Henrik on the notion of custodianship is used here to guide and acknowledge the significance of the so-called 'micro-level ownership' within a single business owned by a family (extended family, i.e., two brothers and their children and spouses). A similar note is made by Suess (2014), who, in a literature review of family governance, states that there is an underrepresentation of qualitative research in contemporary family governance research. De Massis and Foss (2018) even suggest that this gap can imply that the current theory for macro-level phenomena may be wrong or incomplete. Returning to Robé (2011), he distinguishes between the corporate and the firm,

where the everyday doing of business is suggested as the firm, and the legal and economic refers to the corporate. This clarification between the corporate and the firm opens the possibility of exploring ownership as a private concern over the predominantly public one. It is also a reflective act to increase the coherence in an overall aim of conceptualizing with an awareness of doxa. Hence, as argued for previously, in the family context, governing is more private than in the traditional public corporation. Further, Goel et al. (2012 p.56) suggest that we need to move beyond "the structure of the ownership and governance of the firm towards the dynamics of the family system itself" to understand the "different and often conflicting motives of family members/owners," where "the owning family has its own governance structure and process internal to the family." Uhlaner et al. (2007, p. 227) write that governance as a concept, particularly in family business, is more organizational (including structural and processual components). Another way to describe the difference is that it is a shared collective concern, something done together. With the turn towards the daily activities of this coexistence, this opens the door towards time. Drakopoulou et al. (2013, p. 45) make an interpretation in which the temporal dimension is distinctive of family firms. They argue that "it is not agency or resources or even stewardship, it is their temporal context that differentiates them from other organizational forms. Managing is a way of being… for the family firm, it is the way of being. And both are always in time." A central component in various definitions of family business is the intention to pass the business over to the next generation, i.e., not only ownership here and now, but rather over time. A temporal dimension thereby also holds a historical dimension (Dodd & Dyck, 2015), for instance, it is more explicit in studies of management succession in family firms (Haag, 2012). A thing for the future or a relic of the past, Aronoff and Ward (1995) ask. They argue: "Our belief, of course, is that family business is both of the past and for the future, and that it is just this capacity to transcend time that is its greatest strength" (p. 121). Ericson and Melin (2010) argue via a philosophical hermeneutically based (i.e., Gadamer's process ontology) perspective on strategy-as-practice that the historical dimension is a living tradition that shapes the activities of the present and, as a consequence, future strategy. In the more mainstream family business research, the long-term orientation of the family ownership of business is a common characterization of family business (Aguilera & Crespi-Cladera, 2012). For instance, in a survey in 2014, family businesses in Sweden stated that it was more important to secure the longevity of firms than increasing profitability (PwC, 2014). Brundin et al. (2014) present similar findings on long-term industrial focus, visibility, and long CEO tenures rather than a quarterly focus. This time, the long-term orientation or temporal dimension explicitly relates to the transgenerational dimension as being one of the defining factors of family business according to the essence approach (defining family business by behavior) (Chua et al., 1999). So, what if history and time can be paired with what is done daily in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management as an alternative object of study within the family business research field, to take the transgenerational dimension of family

business seriously? Hence, a working statement in the following text, aiming to conceptualize business family ownership, is that it is private, collective, and transgenerational. It is different from the 'traditional' or the doxa (Bourdieu, 1975) of both corporate governance research and assumptions within the family business literature. This means that we reorientate assumption from the public, individual, and short-term towards the private, collective, and transgenerational. How, then, can we understand and conceptualize it, this ownership by business families (in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management), while also taking private (in a family context), collective (social), and transgenerational (historical) qualities into consideration?

What responsibility do we as researchers have in what we reproduce, i.e., the doxa reproduced in the overall family business research field? Fletcher (2002a) has suggested that family members draw upon language and discursive resources (for instance, theoretical concepts from the family business literature) in creating meaning in their organizational context. Family business understanding is reproduced in language (e.g., Fletcher 2002a). However, this language carries concepts from business and management that may not construct the business in a family business context. Based on the assumption that knowledge resides in the daily activities of running a business. We can assume that activities are taken for granted and less verbal. Similarly, managing a business over a long time involves daily activities that are so taken for granted that they have become invisible and part of a doxa in practical activities (Bourdieu, 1990b). A person knows more than what can be expressed in words. To explain to others how something is done can be more or less accessible. As in the example of riding a bike, you learn it by doing, not by talking about how to ride a bike. A reading with a sociological theory can create new conditions for understanding ownership as something done by a business family, particularly those aspects that are taken for granted and are not talked about, or due to the nature of activities only being understood by doing them with one's body. To do so, the family business research field could embrace a strong theoretical orientation toward practice.

1.7 The Practice Turn –Why the Logic of Practice?

At the turn of the millennium, a practice turn took off in social science (Schatzki et al., 2001), with several different philosophers and theories in use (Bjorkeng et al., 2009; Brown & Duguid, 2001; Gherardi, 2009; Whittington, 2006a). According to Gherardi (2012), a practice view can carry the interpretation of the complexity of human nature. With a practice view of the organization, the organization is viewed as a "texture or web of practices that extend internally and externally to the organization" (Gherardi, 2012, p. 2). The practice perspective involves moving from the assumption of studying an organization as an object to studying the very act of organizing in daily work. Central to understanding is that different assumptions underlie practice studies (Gherardi, 2012). Firstly, a practice study can be the study of activities that previous

research has not explored (Whittington, 2006b)[18], which was a guiding principle in the initial STEPproject in which I participated. The STEP framework included, identified, and described successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practices (here, activities were practices). Secondly, a practice study can also draw explicitly upon a theoretical framework consisting of practice theory (i.e., structuration theory, e.g., (Giddens, 1989), the logic of practice, e.g., Bourdieu (1977), power, e.g., (Foucault, 1982), and social practice, e.g., (Schatzki, 1996)). This was a common approach in the local research milieu of CeFEO. Thirdly, a practice study can also address the ontology of the phenomenon, i.e., the nature of practice constructed within assumptions that the agency is the creator of practice and a product of practice. Gherardi (2012) states that a strong practice study involves all three elements. This diversity among practice studies has generated a motion that Gherardi (2012) depicted as a bandwagon of practice-based studies, where, for instance, assumptions concerning if the practice is studied from the outside, inside, or both at times are vague and implicit. This study aims to address all three elements described above.

1.8 In Search of a Framework to Address What Was Done as it Was beyond Words

As previously mentioned, at the beginning of my doctoral undertaking, I was provided with a theoretical framework spurred by the strategic management and corporate entrepreneurship literature as part of the research project STEP. The framework in use was in my view, somewhat limiting, particularly concerning Fletcher's (2000a) argument of the centrality of a language for family members in creating meaning in their organizational context. The family business practitioner community could, in general, and in my case more specifically, have benefited from a broader language repertoire, as illustrated above in the quotes. The reverse movement is also relevant where the 'practical problematics' (e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) of the practitioner community serve as the trigger points but are also taken seriously throughout the research practice. In an earlier section, I described it as a discrepancy between 'the STEP framework-generated understanding with its particular research language' and 'the less abstract broader and more diverse ways of communicating (in particular communicating beyond the obvious common use of business language) from the family business practitioners' as illustrated in the quotes from the family business. In Bourdieu's terminology, I had begun to reflect on my intellectual bias (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 39), on how a certain set

[18] In the light of the development of this study, and my learning process, and to clarify, in the strategy as practice (s-as-p) conversation, *praxis* has been defined as the daily *activities* in the organization. These are everything that goes on in parallel in the organization, can be intentional movement of the body but is often unintentional, but for it to be described as, for instance, a routine movement of the body, it must be observed and constructed as a routine, i.e., practice. Practice is the human construction of activities, for instance, the shared norms within the organization. Practitioners are the people involved in doing activities that are of interest to study in that particular study. In s-as-p it would be people involved in doing strategy, while in this study it would be people (family members) involved in doing family business and ownership.

of theories produced a reality where the nature and understanding of practice were to some extent outside its conditions of intelligibility. For a related argument in strategy-as-practice, Chia (2004) elaborates on how strategy is thought versus done, where he states:

> One possible answer I would suggest is that strategy-in-practice answers to a different logic of engagement from that that the academic world is most comfortable with: a practical logic that, while internally coherent and plausible to the world of practitioners, is often misrepresented and force-fitted into an academic logic of rationality that requires practice to speak itself in a language foreign to its application (p. 33).

This made me search for a conceptual frame by which I could broaden and guide my thinking in creating clarity and coherence of what I perceived as foremost a phenomenon in doing and where its invisible aspects could be embraced. An essential criterion in the search for a framework was acknowledging the family as a social context, where family members do things together in line with the practitioners' view. Returning to Fletcher's (2014) argument, I aimed to challenge the doxa (e.g., Bourdieu (1975), the unthought and taken-for-granted assumptions of scientific reproduction) residing with, for instance, entrepreneurship and strategy. I searched for a vocabulary that included the doing of business and, how this was socially shared across generations. I was reading literature on relations (LaFollette, 1996) and self-development (Cullberg-Weston, 2005). The local research milieu was dominated by family business, strategy, and strategy-as-practice (Johnson et al., 2003). I found references to sociology in the strategy-as-practice literature, an area I was not schooled in. In social practice turn, humans were assumed to be social, thinking, and emotional (C.f Schatzki et al., 2001). This means a move towards social practice, where humans are social creatures who think one thing, say another and *do* a third (Gherardi, 2012). This was refreshingly different from the more common-sense view of management, with its inherent assumptions of the individual as opportunistic, self-serving, and rational (Lubatkin et al., 2005).

In particular, in Bourdieu, I found theoretical tools where agents were social to strategies available in a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), where a relational position is set by the type and composition of embodied (habitus) and objectified capital forms. The social praxeology not only directs attention to relationality but also to embodiment, where central concepts from this theory and key tools for readings are capital, field, habitus, and practical sense. What an agent does, intentionally and more importantly, is directed by the agent's history, relationality, embodiment, and mental structure. These assumptions formed a fruitful match of the practical activities beyond language's structure. In the strategy-as-practice discussion, Chia (2004) drew upon Bourdieu's notion of habitus and elaborated on the less rational side of management with the concept of style of engagement. Bourdieu's social praxeology highlights how history is performed in the present (e.g., reproduction of capital forms) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). What distinguishes this theory from others is the

attention to noneconomic forms of capital and the centrality of family[19] in reproducing the social world. With Bourdieu, I began to make sense of the experiences from the ongoing empirical research, and I became more aware of some behavioristic assumptions in family business research, for instance in the argument of Dyer (2006), who suggests a contribution *of* theory by generating different typologies of families using a quantitative method. This stands in contrast to the argument here of taking daily activities in a family business seriously, by assuming the social world as a social construction, which, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), requires structural interpretation.

In line with the quotation from the practitioner Henrik, I advocate taking doing ownership by business families seriously. Bourdieu (1996) elaborated on the family as the most natural social category, which works as a principle within the social world in general. What if we take this thorough sociological reading of family seriously in the family business research field? Further, by drawing on Bourdieu (1996), the family is seen to function as a field with the potential to further elaborate and refine its coexistence with ownership and business20. By choosing the Bourdieusian framework, therefore, three characteristics of a family are enabled: 1) daily activities by a family are, by their nature, done together in and over time; 2) the family construct inhabits inertia (a fixity), forming an inclusive durable; and 3) how individuals change relative positions within society. Therefore, an agent in a family is historical, as interactions are based on historically internalized events within a family. Constructing family business and ownership, along with a Bourdieusian reading, acknowledges this social reality's nonrational, relational, and embodied aspects. A business is what is 'owned' by the family, but business is also something that is done rather than an object that is traditionally controlled. More specifically, I advocate Bourdieu's social praxeology to elaborate a renewed understanding and construction of family, ownership, and business/management as coexisting. If we compare this to the Gersick et al. (1997) model, there the family sphere is seen as a life cycle based on theories from psychology with the phases of young business family, entering the business, working together, and passing the baton; this implies a shift of assumptions from the Gersick et al. (1997) three circle model (based on systems and step-by-step oriented development assumptions) to Bourdieu's refined social (relative positions) and structural (historical) assumptions of family, ownership, and business/management in the coexistence.

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[19] Another possible way to define the family could have been to use kinship theory from the anthropology literature and to define the family as "the network of genealogical relationships and social ties modeled on the relations of genealogical parenthood (Holy, 1996, p. 40 cited in Stewart, 2013, p. 68)." This theory is also grounded on the ontological view of social structures (Akther, 2015), but it lacks the explicit reasoning concerning the family members' daily practices that is offered by the logic of practice.

[20] According Everett (2002) for organization scholars adopting Bourdieu's ontology, this means seeing the organization as embedded in a "field" of relations, one wherein agents constantly struggle to accumulate capital, to increase the relative positions in the field, and the value of the capital is determined by 'doxa,' i.e., the rules of the game that are determined by each specific field.

Of relevance here is attention to the question of what qualifies as a family business for practitioners and researchers. And how could we think about shaping the distinctions of this phenomenon? Let us return to Fletcher's argument on generating a language for practitioners to talk about their reality. The words used earlier by the practitioner in the Palmén family business can be seen as an attempt to articulate a particular distinction regarding ownership in a family business as a family. He talks about custodianship, ownership as a philosophical thing, how they have thrown away a key, building a strong company, and how they are nontraditional owners. This is a study of the 'doing of doing business' in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. This has previously not been explored or constructed via a reading from social praxeology. Acknowledging the nature of this social phenomenon where the doing goes beyond the structure of language, it forms the potential to move from family business, ownership, and governance as categories of static objects and relations to actual practice – reorienting towards the practice of coexistence, to emphasize what is done in the coexistence, and moving towards something relational, social, and stable, enforcing the argument to study the daily doings seriously.

1.9 Purpose of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to elaborate on conditions for researchers and practitioners to understand the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management in the context of a business family that manages and privately owns a family business.

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to explore and construct the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management through a social praxeology reading leading to conceptualizing the business family ownership, as done together and over time.

1.10 Towards Distinction

With the turn towards social praxeology and its inherent structural assumptions of practice, and with the aim towards conceptualizing business family ownership, with an emphasis on the practice (e.g., the doing of doing), which evades the existing structure of language, the revisited qualities become something that is done together and over time structurally. With distinction, Bourdieu (1984, p. 261) adheres to the process of analyzing "different coherent sets of preferences stemming from distinct and distinctive systems of dispositions, defined as much by their interrelationships as by the relations between each of them and their social conditions of production." This is the process of construction towards contributions in the form of distinctions (as a system of dispositions) generated in practical activities of the Palmén family business with specific attention to business family and ownership in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. This implies that

this study will form a number of related and entangled constructs grounded on a shared philosophy of science with dual attention to both the embodied reproductive nature of practice and the conditions of the reflective researcher. This forms attention to both the unarticulated assumptions (in my research field) and the attention to doxas active in the conditions of my academic schooling. Instead, the ambition is to be open toward alternative convictions, for instance, Bourdieu's (2005) 'reasonable' over 'rational' or 'dispositions' over 'decision-making' – in other words, being attentive to seeing practical activities as economizing actions (Bourdieu, 2005) within the conditions of the empirical context. Embracing the reflexive approach, I moved towards addressing the doing of doing business in a local context as it generates but does not determine practitioners' shared doings. The turn towards placing 'the doing of doing business' at the center involved constructing the social phenomenon at hand with an awareness of the reproductive nature of the doxa.

This study generates conditions for understanding business family ownership as private, collective, and transgenerational. This stands in contrast to the dominating corporate governance view in the family business research as argued for in the formulation of the problem. Consequently, it challenges the dominant views of ownership as property rights that emphasize separateness incorporated in the Gersick et al. (1997) model. Here forms the contribution aiming towards distinguishing the family business as a particular organizational form by conceptualizing the coexistence of family, ownership, and management/business as entanglement. In this concept, the family and ownership categories are constructed as a collective subjective corpus operating as structuring structures within a business family field. Further to Bourdieu's (1996) family habitus, owning turns into own*ering*. Business family owning is a way of governing where the body and its sense reproduce and refine the structures in a family business. These structuring structures are embodied and active in a business family field here conceptualized as a specific cultural business family capital. Further, the owner family is argued to be relationally inhabited by dominated and dominating agents. Two characteristics of the distinction of business family owning are argued to be inertia and relationality.

Dear reader: Why is it essential to be attentive to unthought categories of your research practice?

I encourage the reader to bear in mind the epistemic doxa at hand and engage with me in the overall purpose of emancipation and in searching for an innovative way to re-engage with the distinction of family business by elaborating on the coexistence of family, ownership, and management/business.

Entrenched within us are the conditions of possibilities of both the inner previous external structures of research practice of the academic milieus of your life trajectory. Research practice is set in relation to structures of the field, that is, the expectations and the taken-for-granted lingering behind the direction of a question or a comment regarding a research text or discussions.

With this written: Welcome to a moment of reading, thinking, and reflecting while this text unfolds on the broad topic of the coexistence of family, business, and ownership.

1.11 Disposition of the Thesis

The first chapter addressed the intellectual dimension of the trajectory of the research undertaking in its academic milieu (family business research field) to overcome the epistemic doxa. When 'doing of doing business' moves beyond the structure of language, I argued for it to be studied via the social praxeology to take the coexistence of family business seriously. Chapter Two introduces social praxeology and key constructs to generate new theory effects. Chapter Three describes the methodology in practice. Chapters Four to Six form a progression of a reading of first-order structures towards second-order structures. Chapter Seven conceptualizes coexistence as entanglement. Chapter Eight conceptualizes family business ownering. Chapter Nine addresses future research in the areas of the Swedish context, doing research in gendered structures, the reflective researcher, and going beyond the doxa of intentionality.

Chapter 2: The Social Praxeology Framework

In this chapter, Bourdieu's framework – the logic of practice (social praxeology[21]) – where capital, field, habitus, and practical sense serve as key concepts will be further introduced and elaborated on in-depth, particularly its ontological and epistemological standpoints with an emphasis on its structural dimension. As addressed previously, the structural and relational aspects paired with the collective and historical aspects of the family business served to respond to an ethical quest to take the family business seriously. As the argument proceeds, Bourdieu's framework offers multidimensional rethinking possibilities of the social phenomenon at hand: ownership by a business family (in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management) via an embraced reading (reflective) as structurally done together and over time. According to Brosnan and Threadgold (2017, p. 2), Bourdieu's work should be actively interpreted as "Bourdieu [2008] wanted fellow travelers, not disciples; his work to be used as a companion, to inspire, transform, and to create." This chapter is a first move towards the methodological implication of the philosophical assumptions of social praxeology, which will be further elaborated and extended in the methodology-in-practice chapter.

2.1 Introducing Bourdieu's Social Praxeology

Two often-used references within Bourdieu's work are the books *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) and *The Logic of Practice* (1990). These books have often been cited by scholars using practice theory. Some examples of publications in management and organization studies where Bourdieu has been used are in practice-based studies such as Chia and MacKay (2007); Gomez (2010); Maclean et al. (2012), and for establishing links between knowing and practice, Gherardi et al. (2007); Gomez et al. (2003). Although the logic of practice is widely referred to, it has been cited rather than explored through empirical studies (Adkins et al., 2017; Everett, 2002; Gomez & Bouty, 2011; Sieweke, 2014). The same trend of citing has followed among scholars in the family business literature, with Danes et al. (2009); Nordqvist and Melin (2010). However, Glover (2010) is an exception with the broader adaption of

[21] According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 11), "[t]he resulting *social praxeology* weaves together a 'structuralist' and a 'constructivist' approach. First, we push aside mundane representations to construct the objective structures (spaces of *positions*), the distribution of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations. Second, we reintroduce the immediate, lived experiences of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (*dispositions*) that structure their action from inside. It should be stressed that, although the two moments of analysis are equally necessary, they are not equal: epistemological priority is granted to objectivist rupture over subjectivist understanding. Application of Durkheim's first principle of the 'sociological method,' the systematic rejection of preconceptions, must come before analysis of the practical apprehension of the world from the subjective standpoint. For the viewpoints of agents will vary systematically with the point they occupy in objective social space (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1989e)."

Bourdieu's theory of capital in her qualitative studies of farmers and their use of capital in adverse situations in the UK.

Bourdieu argues for a pragmatic use of theories, where concepts should be used as toolkits for solving problems (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). With an embraced structural interpretative stance, capital, field, habitus, and the practical sense will be used to construct the practice of activities of the daily governing activities in a family business. Capital, field, and habitus are 'fuzzy concepts,' due to Bourdieu's wish to create a sociology where concepts are subtle, adaptable, and can inhabit multiple meanings, instead of producing a science of sociology where constructs are defined, calibrated, and used rigorously (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 23). The researcher's work with theories is a knowledge-producing activity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), where research deals with empirical observations (Bourdieu, 1989). In the use of theories, Bourdieu (1989, p. 17) emphasizes that the theory effect is when a "theory is well founded in reality, and thus more capable of exerting a theory effect." In this study, it implies that when word or reasoning from, for instance, family business literature is established as the reality of (a) family business, it has become a theory effect. It comes from Greek *theorein*, which "means to see – that is, imposing a vision of divisions" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17). With the theory effect, it means that researchers construct words or constructs that are grounded in empirical observations, for instance, "groups such as social classes, are *to be made*" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). In this study, this means that construction is done within a particular context of strong existing theory effects. The aim here is to revise a new via the social praxeology. An important note, however, is that a researcher cannot construct "anything anyhow, either in theory or in practice" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18) it requires attention to epistemic doxas. Drawing on Bourdieu's framework and its inherent theory effect, the ontological world of the social world is relational, as a relational disposition of agents within a field.

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theory effect, it means that researchers construct words or constructs that are grounded in empirical observations, for instance, "groups such as social classes, are *to be made*" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). In this study, this means that construction is done within a particular context of strong existing theory effects. An important note, however, is that a researcher cannot construct "anything anyhow, either in theory or in practice" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18) it requires attention to epistemic doxas. In drawing on Bourdieu's framework and its inherent theory effect, the ontological world of the social world is relational, as a relational disposition of agents within a field.

Bourdieu was a French anthropologist and sociologist; he was born in a small village in the French Alps. As a son of a farmer, he studied philosophy at the École Normale Supérieure (a French elite school, equivalent to a university, which formed influential individuals, like Jacques Derrida, Emile Durkheim, Michel Foucault, Jean-Paul Sartre, Raymond Aron, Simone de Beauvoir, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty). In his studies, he explored humans' experiences and the objective structures that these humans lived under (Broady, 1991). He studied not only the objective structures of capital forms but also the reproduction and transformation of these capital forms. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 15):

> The social world is accumulated history, and if it is not to be reduced to a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must reintroduce into it the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects. Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle.

He used ethnographic methods to study human experiences, while the objective structure of the society was revealed with statistics. His empirical studies stretch over a broad spectrum of empirical settings: peasants, art, schooling, science, kinship, class, religion, politics, literature, and housing, to name just a few (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). He introduced a framework to understand the human as a social agent, within the society, where human behavior was assumed as being habituated or of a routine nature, rather than the incentive-driven view of the individual's behavior as in economic theory. The overall question, by Bourdieu, can be seen as somewhat uncomplicated: 'How a human can increase his or her relative position in society?', where this game in the social space is socially constructed. In comparison to the overall question, in the research field of family business: 'What is the uniqueness of the family business as an

organization form?*'*. Bourdieu can be 'read' in different ways (Carle, 1989); I will further elaborate on relevant assumptions in Bourdieu's social praxeology.

2.2 Introducing Agent, Relation, and Field

You may have noted that I return to using the label agent for humans. This is an intentional choice since an agent within social praxeology is relationally positioned (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). An initial frustration was if family members were addressed with the term 'actor,' which I interpreted as having an intentional implicit view of human behavior. This doxa was active in, for instance, the STEP framework and the strategy-as-practice turn. The assumption of the embodied habitus and particularly how it inhabits historical experiences that work as a structuring structure of practice formed a match in the search for an unintentional assumption of human agency (see the quotation by Chia 2004 in chapter one). In this study, the term 'agent' refers to, for instance, family owners, family members, coworkers, and external board members. Broady (1991) refers to Bourdieu, and explains that an agent can be a human, an institution, a group, a scientific school, or pieces of literature or even art. According to Broady (1991), an agent is positioned in the overall social space, with the sum of capital, and the relative value of the different capital forms possessed. Bourdieu used "agent" instead of 'actor' or 'role' to avoid directing the thought to act as what is done on stage in a theater play (Broady, 1991). 'Agent,' therefore, should in this study contrast with the assumption of human behavior in agency theory (e.g., the individualistic assumption, with its inherent legal and economic heritage doxa in strategic management and corporate governance). Drawing upon the notion of agent opens the door to creating conditions for understanding relative positions among family members and their collective doings.

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992 p.15) Bourdieu affirms the primacy of relations, as the structure of language facilitates expressing things over relations, or states over processes, because in 'relations' lies the intersection of history and structure. This means that the term 'methodological individualism' coined by the economist Joseph Schumpeter (a classic reference in my entrepreneurship doxa) is dismissed. Instead, 'methodological relationalism' resides in the two relational terms of habitus and field that only fully function in relation to one another (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19). The relations are the relative positions of agents within a field (Bourdieu, 1989). The practices are directed by the agent's history, his/her relationality, and the mental structure of the agent. The source of this argument goes back to Karl Marx's claim: "Society does not consist of individuals; it expresses the sum of connections and relationships in which individuals find themselves" (Die Grundrise, 1971 p. 77 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). The relentlessness of social praxeology is the attention to the bundles of relations of the key concepts of habitus and field. Here, agents' practices are directed by the different types of capital that represent the external (objectified capital forms and unobjectified structure) and the internal (mental schemata) structure active

in the field. A social world (Bourdieu's words: differentiated societies, e.g., the social cosmos) consists of several fields, e.g., "the artistic field, the religious field, or the economic field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97), where human practice is set by the structures of the field.

A field for Bourdieu is a general tool for the construction of a system of dominant relationships (Broady, 1991). Further, in order to study a phenomenon as a field, it must meet certain criteria. A central aspect is the relative positions of agents forming a certain level of autonomy of a field (Broady, 1991). In a field, agents fight over symbolic and tangible assets that are in common amongst them (Broady, 1988). A field requires a level of autonomy to function, where structures as different capital forms recognized by the agents of the field operate (Broady, 1991). Agents in a field, due to their relative positions, are conceptualized as dominant (higher position in the field) and dominated (relative lower positions in the field) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Ongoing games (power struggles to gain symbolic capital) over capital structures render a relational and dynamic structure of fields (Bourdieu, 1989). Agents who are holding relatively higher positions are trying to preserve their positions, while the newcomers are trying to gain symbolic capital. Power, therefore, is a function of relational multiplicity (Everett, 2002).

According to Bourdieu (1989), the logic of practice is a theory, but also a philosophy of science, due to the assumptions made of the embodied, reproductive nature of practice, and accordingly human agency. The internalized embodied social structures are also external; hence practice is also objectified structure of a field. Common misinterpretations of Bourdieu's theory of practice are firstly, according to Wacquant (1998, p. 7), the 'structuralist' misreading that overlooks habitus and coins new forms of capital based on the world as existence of social structure. The second is the rejection of the field concept and seeing actions as the pursuit of an agent's interest, instead of an agent's practices being a result of the available strategies in a field. The sociological framework of Bourdieu breaks with the context of market and economic actors.

In the following sections, the sociological framework, capital, field, family, habitus, and practical sense will be further elaborated upon.

2.3 Capital Forms beyond Mere Economic Reasoning

Bourdieu's (1986) notion of capital differs from the traditional purely economic form in economic theory, and in his framework, capital is a social structure that 'exists' in 'the objectivity of the first order.' It is accumulated labor; as such, it is also accumulated history. According to Bourdieu (1986), it is the social world. Capital refers to the distribution of material resources and means of appropriation of socially scarce goods and values (Bourdieu, 1989). Economic reasoning is only one aspect of how all practices come to be, but it is the economic game of society (Bourdieu, 1986), i.e., not only as recognized by economic theory. Capital, according to Bourdieu, is an invisible structure until

constructed by research. Capital is situated in a theoretical triad of field, habitus, and capital (Sieweke, 2014). Importantly according to Bourdieu (1992), these concepts are constructs that are preconstructed and socially constituted. They are located within the sociological and philosophical tradition (Bourdieu, 1992). Capital, therefore, resides within the broader ontological reasoning of human practice. From this sociological point of view, an agent can increase his or her position based on the sum and structure of not only financial capital, but also symbolic, social, and cultural capital forms. For instance, an agent can transform economic capital into cultural capital by buying a piece of art. But more importantly, the relative position of an agent in a field is increased by also knowing how to talk about art, which is then the embodied form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). However, due to the relative straightforwardness of Bourdieu's capital constructs, it has extensively been operationalized in existing research areas. According to Sieweke (2014) in management and organization studies, Bourdieu's notion of social capital is the most widely used form, followed by cultural capital and symbolic and financial capital. Further, 'Bourdieu's theory' means capital for researchers in the field of management and organization, where a significant part of the rich theory of social praxeology has been overlooked.

In this study, Bourdieu's notion of capital opens to generate conditions for an alternative understanding of ownership in a social phenomenon of economic activities beyond those dominated by agency theory. This individualistic reasoning has earlier been described as the economic and legal perspective (Robé, 2011) (as dominating doxas, individualistic, passive, and public), which also lingers within family business research. These assumptions (theory effect) have, according to my interpretation, been silent in family business literature, particularly regarding dynamic relations of capital forms. Bourdieu (1986) explains:

> It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by the economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices that is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, that is, (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore *disinterested*. (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 15–16).

According to Bourdieu (1986), agents are relatively positioned in society. It is the type and combination of capital forms that 'set' these positions. The field set the rules of how different capital forms can be converted. First Bourdieu (1986) revealed the capital forms, then he could study how they 'functioned' in the field. For example, economic capital can be transformed immediately into money, and cultural capital can be converted into economic capital, in the act of seeing a piece of painting constituting an objectified form of cultural capital

while social capital requires certain conditions for it to be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The field's 'rules,' but also the nature of the capital, particularly the more durable forms, like embodied cultural capital, or institutionalized forms like property rights (economic capital), educational qualifications (cultural capital), or the title of nobility (social capital), explain how different capital forms are converted into one or other.

As *economic capital* can convert into money, it can be said that it is money or assets that are easy to convert into money, while *social capital* is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition – or in other words, to membership of a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' that entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). In this definition, the durable network is the broadest definition of social capital. According to Portes (1998), this is the most refined definition and hence an influential definition of social capital. *Cultural capital* can exist in three different forms: *embodied* in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body – habitus, in the *objectified state*, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), and the *institutionalized* form of objectification (Bourdieu, 1986). An example of an institutionalized form of cultural capital is academic qualifications. This certification of cultural competence, holds a guarantee of value within a specific culture. That is why an institutionalized form of cultural capital, for instance, an academic qualification, is field-specific and cannot easily be translated across different fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The embodied form is the agent's life experiences, habitus; it is the cultivation of *Bildung*. It functions as a *symbolic capital* when the competence is recognized as status or legitimate by other agents in the field. The objectified state of things of cultural goods "such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and especially writing" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243) can be purchased and sold, but the ability to use language to talk about a painting or the ability to use a machine – this practice is done by those who have embodied this practice. The objectified state is a product of historical actions; it exists in material and symbolic forms. It has its laws, and it presents itself in the appearances of an autonomous, coherent universe (Bourdieu, 1986). It transcends individuals' will, due to the invisible social structure behind the language (Bourdieu, 1986). The rules of the field set the value of the objectified states of the cultural capital, and the legitimate statute of using an object is also set by others. The embodied cultural capital is also a product of 'economic' capital and other forms of capital perceived as wealth within a specific field, due to the definition of embodied cultural capital being "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into habitus" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 83). In the business field, the objectified form has been conceptualized as technological capital, being technical resources and coherent knowhow capable of reducing the expenditure of labor or capital or increasing the yield of different capital forms in the business field. Technological capital can also be organizational procedures, aptitudes, and

routines. For instance, Bouty and Gomez (2013) suggested that the mastering of particular cooking techniques of specific food and the ability to be gastronomically creative were highly valued and constituted a form of technical capital (e.g., p. 928). Commercial capital has been suggested as sales power, management of logistics, marketing, and after-sales services (Bourdieu, 2005).

2.4 The Functioning of Family

A family has been conceptualized by Bourdieu (1994) as a field. To illustrate how I see the family inspired by Bourdieu (1994), imagine a photo of your own family; at that moment when the photo is taken, each family member possesses different amounts and combinations of capital, which constitutes the relative power positions within the family. Just after the photo is taken, family members interact with one another, and the social structures of the field are changed within their practice, not directly, since the transformation is empirically specific, for instance economic, in the form of money that can be used to buy a piece of art, while cultural capital in the form of an institutional form of an academic degree requires resources for a living but also time to accumulate. The functioning of family resides in the assumption of a field, with first-order structures, in the form of capital structures, and mental and bodily schemata of the second-order structures directing daily activities. According to Bourdieu (1994), it is the daily activities where cohesion is sustained by a family feeling and an ongoing integration to sustain and maintain a family. According to Bourdieu (1994), the work of integration is predominantly done by women. It is done in the numerous activities of services, gift giving, visits, kindness, and affection. These activities are a kind of symbolic and practical work that forms the 'system of love dispositions' of the family in the fight to sustain and change the balance of power; the family functions as a field. Other agents give power in the field to an agent based on his/her ability to practice symbolic capital. Relative position in the field is based on the volume and composition of capital possessed by each family member (e.g. Bourdieu, 1994, pp. 118-119). In society, a family plays an important role in sustaining the social order (Bourdieu, 1994) however, the emergence of LGBTI contests this order. A family is society's most important place of reproduction, the reproduction of the social room, but also invisible structures of societal categories, in the form of socioeconomical class structures. Drawing upon Spinoza, Bourdieu (1994) argues that families constitute 'corporate bodies' that are governed by a 'conatus.' This is an urge or call to sustain social positions and perpetuate all the possessed possibilities and privileges of a family. This is the cause of the reproduction strategies, for instance, the strategy to have a child, marry, and inherit, and choose an education (e.g. Bourdieu, 1994, p. 31). A family reproduces capital since it can (Bourdieu, 1994). In these reproduction strategies, there are always ongoing tensions between the family's collective interest: the forces of fusion, and the individualistic interest: the forces of fission. These tensions are, for instance, intensified during the discussion and division of heritage (Bourdieu, 1996). In the functioning of a family, there are

different 'games' at work; the rules of the games are a 'doxa' (common sense). I this study, I will assume that the family that owns business functions as a field.

According to Bourdieu (1996), the social world consists of several fields, the field of the family, the economic field, etc. Bourdieu (1996, 2005) conceptualized the family as a field and the firm as a field. A family functions as a field, where social relations are the relations of the family and the structures of a field. This means that a family business could be defined and studied as a field. Bourdieu's (2005, p. 197) critical position is against the assumptions of firms having the sole purpose of maximizing profit, where agents act mechanically and base their decision on conscious calculation. Further, he is critical of the assumption of firms as a nexus of contracts, where agents' behavior is motivated by these contractual relations since these two assumptions lack anthropological underpinnings concerning human nature, instead of human behavior, and hence daily practice is constrained by a social position within that field and the possible strategies with embodied social structures and the social structures of the field (Bourdieu, 1977). This means that goals, decisions, and interactions are field-specific, set in relation to the agent's social position and the possible strategies concerning the structure of the field. Bourdieu has studied different kinds of fields, for instance, the field of production, the field of consumption, and the field of power or *champ du pouvoir* (Broady, 1991). Bourdieu's (2005) study of construction firms in France is deemed particularly relevant. It provides a conceptualization of a game as the collective and the individual dynamic of a family (in the study: the external managers vis-à-vis the family managers). In this study, I will assume that the family that owns businesses functions as a field. Bourdieu (1994, 2005) studied and conceptualized both the family and the firm as a field. These field conceptualizations of family and the firm will be used. As a consequence, there is an ongoing power struggle where family members hold relative positions.

2.5 Habitus – Agency Revisited

Habitus is the agent's life experiences in the form of the system of classifications, the mental and bodily schemata, that function as symbolic templates for the *practical activities* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7). These 'structures' are the objectivity of the second order. One of the most thorough theoretical explanations and commonly used definitions of habitus in can found in the following books: *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977, p. 72) and *The Logic of Practice* (1990a, p. 53):

> [...]habitus: systems of durable, transposable dispositions,1 structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations that can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of an obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated

> without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.
> (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72)

Habitus is a system of dispositions that allows humans to act, think, and orient within the social world (Broady, 1991). The dispositions are transposable in the form of collective memories, posture (ways of moving), ways of thinking that have been incorporated within humans' bodies and senses (Broady, 1991). These 'structuring structures' are reproducing practice. The structure of the 'first order,' the different capital forms, also becomes embodied over time, hence forming the 'external objectification' that has become 'internal social structures,' which form the principles for the generation and structuring of practice. These structures are 'invisible' but highly influential due to the directing of practice as they objectively adopt the practice without presupposing a goal. Further, practice within a family is collectively orchestrated but without the direction of conduct; instead, it resides in the 'power' of the historical, generated practices over generations. But can habitus change? Yes, it can, as can be found in the following explanation. Habitus rests on a simple idea: "[A]gents' habitus is formed by the life they have lived, it governs their presumptions and *practice*, and contributes to the reproduction of the social world, and when there is a discrepancy between the agent's habitus and the social world, it is changed" (Broady, 1991, p. 160). The field sets the 'value' of habitus; it can be in the form of embodied cultural capital, and as a result, it is mainly reproduced in a family (Bourdieu, 1996). The nature of habitus can be both collective and individuated. "In so far as he or she is endowed with a habitus, the social agent is *a collective individual or a collective individuated by the fact of embodying objective structures*" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). This assumption can be compared to the focus in the research areas of law and economics on methodological individualism (Ahdieh, 2011). As the child grows up their view of the world changes in this process of questioning and interacting – *as a result, the structures of the habitus change*. We are not born with habitus. Instead, already at a young age, the agent is socialized within the family into a certain way of talking, behaving, and dressing according to the power structures of the field. This is done when the child imitates the actions of their parents, since "the body hexis speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of patterns of postures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87). Further, through habitus, we share a world of common sense, our history, that over time becomes self-evident and unconscious for us (Bourdieu, 1977). Children in upper elite families in France are exposed to paintings and monuments during their 'schooling exposure' (Bourdieu, 1986). This can be expanded to the family business, where children, according to Hoy and Sharma (2009), participate in business activities, such as testing products or services specific to their family business. These forms are examples of the objectified form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This schooling exposure forms within habitus a system of schemes of production of practices, and a system of perception and appreciation of practices (Bourdieu, 1989). The length of this process depends on how long the family can provide 'free time' from economic necessity. For instance, for a child growing up in a wealthy family, opens up an opportunity to explore their interests and educate

themselves in areas outside of the core operations of the family business. But habitus also implies a "sense of one's place," and a "sense of place of others" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19); the family member is positioned relative to his or her embodied historical relations. These relations are 'deposited' within the agent's bodies "in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). The long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body (Bourdieu, 1986) inform practice from within, but the field *structures* action and representation from *outside*. The perceived structures and the "invisible" structures of the field offer the agent "a gamut of possible stances and moves that she can adopt, each with its associated profits, costs, and subsequent potentialities" (Wacquant, 1998, p.7).

2.6 Habitus, Sense, and Social Room

Habitus is something that is acquired through repetition, and it is something that we know in our bodies, not just in our minds (Calhoun, 2003). Mearleau-Ponty (2002) said that we come to know the world through our body's five senses, i.e., sight, hearing, taste, touch, and smell. Gomez et al. (2003) suggested that habitus as knowing in practice is something that individuals do rather than have. It is an art of inventing rather than a catalog of knowledge. "Habitus is in no sense a mechanical principle of action or, more exactly, of reaction (it is not a 'reflex'). It is conditioned and limited spontaneity" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). Gomez et al. (2003) explain that habitus includes all the structures that allow an infinite number of practices, even if these practices are limited in their diversity, since they are constrained by the agents' capabilities and mental schemata, but also by the rules of the game in the field. When we practice in the social room, for example, we respond to the social and cultural structures in which we find ourselves and our habitus in relation to our own previous experiences. A social room "is within itself a principle of a relational phenomenon of the social world: The term 'social room' constitutes all of the 'reality' that represents and exists in the coexistence of the exteriority that characterizes the elements that are the foundation of the reality of the agent" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 44). What the agent does is constrained by outer limits and our internalization of limitations on what we imagine we can do (Calhoun, 2003). According to Bourdieu (1990a), reproduction also takes place below the level of consciousness, since the body believes in what it does: At first, the expression comes, and second the inner emotion. The body enacts the past: "[W]hat has been learned in the past is not something that one has, it is something that one is" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 73).

In developing habitus, Bourdieu was inspired by Merleau-Ponty (2002), who suggested that we are our bodies, we come to know the world through our bodies, which help us attune ourselves to our situation. Our bodies are how we sense the totality of our experience, often before we can articulate the experience. The body is a source of familiar actions, as the argument of the system of dispositions of habitus. For example, we do not need to look at our hand when picking up an object, nor think about how to use a specific muscle – we just know how to do it. Habitus is an 'intelligent' response to an actively

selected aspect of the real. A history and a probable future direct it. This is the inertia, their past life trajectory, which agents set with the forces of the field (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 212). What a family member (individual) does cannot be deduced directly from either their immediate position or the immediate situation. The action or practice is determined and spontaneous since it is determined by conventional, conditional stimuli that exist only for an agent disposed to perceive them and capable of perceiving them (Bourdieu, 2005). Bourdieu says that this is nothing new but asks why economic theory has remained so solidly deaf to all reminders of these anthropological findings (Bourdieu, 2005). Agents are not universal; rather, their preferences and tastes are the product of their positioning and movements within social space and hence of collective and individual history (Bourdieu, 2005). As, for instance, Herbert Simon believes, "[r]eason (or rationality) is 'bounded' not only because the human mind is generically bounded (there is nothing new in that idea), but because it is socially structured and determined, and as a consequence, limited" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). Recognizing economic behavior as rational is the product of certain economic and social conditions (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). The anthropological stance concerning economic matters advanced by Bourdieu will inform the following ethnographically inspired study of the coexistence of business, family, and ownership..

2.7 Habitus and The Practical Sense

To understand the *practical sense*, I will use Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992, p. 21), example related to sports. Think of the expression often used in sports 'to have a feel for the game.' The rules of the game and its purpose are the doxa of the game. The participants know what is at stake in the game. In playing, the individual knows the rules of the game but also plays not only through consciously thinking about what to do but through the body's all senses. A good basketball player is not simply one who *can* shoot but knows *when* to shoot (Calhoun, 2003). Everything that takes place is full of sense for the players. The player does not need to think about *what* or *how* to do it. Instead, she/he reacts at the moment in relation to the game's direction. Hence the individual player is acting towards the future but does it based on embodied historical experience gained from playing the game (Bourdieu, 1990a). The human interacts based on her/his habitus and the practical sense in relation to the situation. Habitus is '*structured structures*' predisposed to function as '*structuring structures*' (Bourdieu, 1990a), where the structured structures are the experiences from the past and are held unconsciously and consciously (Bourdieu, 1990a). As a child, the player must think about how to kick a ball with the side of the foot or with the toes, becoming a skilled player when the act of kicking a ball comes as a reaction in the game, rather than an intentional thought. An example of the structuring structures in playing soccer is that the player never questions the actual purpose of the game – in this field, scoring is a 'structuring structure.' These structures of the purpose in the game are taken for granted in the field. For example, a child understands the structures by going through the era of

asking *why* things are the way they are. For the parent, it can be difficult at times to explain because these structures are taken for granted and an accepted part of the world, we live in. The principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations can be objective and 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53). In practice in a field, the doxa is held unconsciously by the body and the habitus, directing our practices, without us consciously knowing the purpose of what we do. The practices are "objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at the end" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53). Since the structures are taken for granted, they are held in our bodies. Humans who intend to do something often do something else and rationalize what was done. But the central point is that practices are not generated merely by the habitus's structuring structures. Instead, there is a:

> …principle generating and unifying all practices, the system of inseparably cognitive and evaluative structures that organizes the vision of the world in accordance with the objective structures of a determinate state of the social world: This principle is nothing other than the *socially informed body*, with its taste and distastes, its compulsions and repulsions, with, in a word, all its senses, that is to say, not only the traditional five senses – which never escape the structuring action of social determinisms – but also the sense of necessity and the sense of duty, the sense of direction and the sense of reality, the sense of balance and the sense of beauty, common sense and the sense of the sacred, tactical sense and the sense of responsibility, business sense and the sense of propriety, the sense of humor and the sense of absurdity, moral sense and the sense of practicality, and so on. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 124)

The body has an embodied, practical sense that, in the moment of practicing, sets the 'actual' practices in relation to the purpose of the rules in the field. The practical is knowing *how* to 'play' but also *when* to 'play.'

2.8 A Summative Return to Purpose

Relative position in fields, and the reproductive nature of human practices, form the construct of relationality; this, paired with inertia, are central stands for constructing the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. These will be further elaborated in the embraced reading and reconstruction of family business and ownership towards business family ownership, including both structural and practice components. This embraced reading of noneconomic actions of practical activities of the Palmén family business with particular attention to cultural capital and the emphasis on the habitus. The aim here is to provide new concepts and ways of talking and thinking about the three ownership qualities of private, collective, and transgenerational. As argued previously, the refined sociological conceptualization of family (Bourdieu, 1996) makes a fruitful theoretical match for my purpose of generating conditions for understanding the coexistence and business family ownership in

the research field of family business by placing the family at the center of attention. The family has been suggested as holding three characteristics: Daily activities are performed together, and over time, the family inhabits inertia (a fixity), forming an inclusive durable, and individuals can change positions within the overall society, as Bourdieu (1986) is firm on reminding us that the social world is history. History and its presence in daily activities can be considered an unthought category in the dominating way of studying family business. The philosophical assumptions of human agency in social praxeology form conditions of contributions generated in this study. It means that different contributed constructs form a holistic unit, where the act of separating pieces risks harming the inner core of comprehensive reasoning. This is similar to the light usage of Bourdieu's work raised by Brosnan and Threadgold (2017), where doxic values active in education research are left unchallenged. Continuing with the methodology in practice, the reflective aim of this overall research process will be continued in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology in Practice

3.1 Introduction

My engagement with Bourdieu's work did not necessarily provide clear guidance or hands-on instructions on how to form a study. However, by explicitly drawing on Bourdieu, I could surface a process of scrutiny that had been ongoing for several years in the research project. This would be the third turn or phase in the overall researcher undertaking. This Bourdieusian turn will be further elaborated in this chapter as methodology and will be placed adjacent to other methodological influences on the research undertaking. Reflexivity is crucial to progress scientific knowledge, where the researcher understands her or his presuppositions and the circumstances under which they appear (resulting in epistemic capital, according to Maton (2003)). The researcher needs to adopt a reflexive approach to ensure that the silent assumption of a theory in the scientific field is not reproduced (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

I have, to varying degrees, lived and thought about this project since 2007, and according to Gherardi and Turner (1987), typical for discovery research is the "extent to which the researcher acts as the research instrument is likely to be maximized" (Gherardi & Turner, 1987, p. 13). According to Dutton and Dukerich (2006, p. 21), "some research projects draw you in. They touch you on multiple levels, expanding, stretching, and teaching you". Reflexivity is important to overcome *epistemic doxa*: The researchers live in a state of unthought (doxa) presupposition acquired through an academic experience (Bourdieu, 1990b). At the same time, Bourdieu's reflexivity differs from others in three ways. "First, its prime target is not the individual analyst but *the social and intellectual unconscious* embedded in analytic tools and operations; second, it must be a *collective enterprise* rather than the burden of the lone academic; and third, it seeks not to assault but to *buttress the epistemological security of sociology*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). These three dimensions of reflexivity will inform the following chapters. Drawing upon Burrell and Morgan's (1979) well-established categorizations of research paradigms, my research undertaking deliberately attempts to establish Bourdieu in relation to ongoing embeddedness in positivistic/objectivistic and functionalist practice (provided by an international research community) and interpretive research practice (a local doxa, CeFEO), and thus a move towards Bourdieu's version of radical humanism research practice. Kostera (2007) describes how radical humanism is well entrenched in the notion of the social construction of reality. However, "[w]hereas social reality is socially constructed, the way in which it is done is hidden from average members of society. Since it is concealed, it is also practically impossible to change. Therefore, the very responsibility of science is to reveal the misleading traps of the collective consciousness in order to help people see ways of emancipation or innovative solutions" (p. 17). This

chapter will further elaborate the embeddedness of this project and its empirical and theoretical trajectories. I encourage the reader to bear in mind the epistemic doxa at hand and engage with me in the overall purpose of emancipation and in searching for an innovative way to pursue a distinction of family business by elaborating on the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management.

3.2 From Interpretative Stance towards Pluralism in Family Business Studies

If we turn to qualitative studies emphasizing different aspects or combinations of the coexistence between family, ownership, and business/management, there are a few alternative approaches. An interpretative approach is a response to exploring the *cultural* and *social aspects* of family business, ownership, and governance. A qualitative interpretative approach was advocated among senior colleagues within CeFEO (Boers, 2013; Florin Samuelsson, 2002; Haag, 2012; Hall, 2003; Nordqvist, 2005; Nordqvist et al., 2009), and part of a broader Scandinavian and European conversation on management and organization studies (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2003).

In this context, Hall (2003) shed light on the family, in the family business, emphasizing socialization as individuation and separation of family relations in strategizing. Her work developed into a comprehensive understanding of the significance of cultural competence in the professionalization of family business (Hall & Nordqvist, 2008). A key question was whether to recruit family members or external managers to develop the family business while sustaining the culture. Professionalization could also mean formalizing informal work practices with systems that increase the use of quantitative and systematic information collection in the organization (Hall & Nordqvist, 2008). Cultural competence brought an understanding of how the specific culture of a family firm can enable or restrict daily management practices (Hall & Nordqvist, 2008). For instance, a change that might seem objectively motivated might collide with family businesses' ownership directives. Avoiding this collision, Hall and Nordqvist (2008) suggest reciprocal role taking, being the ability to see a problem from another point of view.

Nordqvist's (2005) work drew on understanding the role of ownership in strategizing in the context of family firms with an interpretative stance and introduced the concept of *socio-symbolic ownership*. This construct has its roots in Mead's symbolic interactionism and psychological ownership, and its focuses on different actors and arenas. It stands for the relations, values, feelings, and actions that owners may develop in strategizing. Strategizing is seen as a social process that is guided by the province of meaning, i.e., the family members' "values and interests, as they interpret, define, and understand their ownership in different arenas of strategic work" (Nordqvist, 2005, p. 270). The how and why of the enacted ownership is explained by Nordqvist (2005) by three interrelated processes: 1.) channeling ownership through formal intentions and vision; 2.) channeling ownership through informal interaction;

and 3.) channeling ownership through symbolic embodiment in the strategic work (Nordqvist, 2005). All three channeling modes can be found in strategizing, and information interaction also increases the feeling of ownership among nonowners in the family business. Symbolic embodiment describes the symbolic value of the embodied intentions, values, and interests of owners' actions in the family firm. This was a novel and innovative study at the time, residing in a social construction view of knowledge. Nordqvist (2005) drew upon social interactionism in conceptualizing family ownership based on an interpretative in-depth qualitative case study method and emphasized ownership and family in relation to strategizing. Fletcher (2002b) argued for a social constructivist approach to knowledge to create an understanding of the reality of small family businesses.

Family ownership logic is another construct that was introduced to explain the meaning and conceptualize ownership in family-controlled businesses in contrast to shareholder value logic (Brundin et al., 2014)[22]. Their concept of logic is grounded in *institutional theory*. It is referred to as cultural values, assumptions, beliefs, and norms that shape a line of reasoning and acting in a field. The authors also draw upon legal, financial, and socio-symbolic ownership, psychological theory, and industry conception in introducing their construct. This interview study elaborated on the characteristics and patterns based on respondents' subjective representations of family ownership. Some studies further increased the diversity of methodologies in the research field of family business, and I begin with the ones that belonged to my Ph.D. surroundings. Haag (2012) studied succession from a practice theory perspective, suggesting the use of joint family management. Helin (2011) worked with process ontology and becoming to create an understanding for family meetings. Boers' (2013) dissertation study was founded on social construction and suggested a duality perspective of organizational identity. Balderrama (2015) used quantitative and qualitative methods to study the institutionalization of family governing in family firms. Fletcher (2013) argues for critical inquiry of family business concerning its ontological and epistemological but also its broader structural, political, and ethical implications. Dawson and Hjorth (2012) advanced family business research through narrative analysis, and Drakopoulou Dodd et al. (2013) through qualitative techniques based on Heidegger's ideas about time. Drakopoulou et al. (2013) explain how family firms move between habitual world time and more calculative clock time as circumstances demand in family business practices. Stewart (2014) suggests that anthropology (up-close field research using participant observation) can explore "the lived world of the practitioners … that often go unnoticed in our journals" (p. 67). These are just a few.

[22] Based on a multiple case study of 20 family firms, suggest seven core characteristics of family business of their concept of ownership logic: 1) active and visible ownership, 2) stability in ownership and power, 3) an industrial and long-term focus, 4) multiple ownership goals, 5) autonomy towards capital markets, 6) flexibility in governance structure, and 7) identification (Brundin et al., 2014).

This study is about the coexistence of family, ownership and business/management particularly when business families own. To my reading, several of the presented studies of ownership have placed ownership in focus and treated the family business as a context. This research project aims to generate renewed conditions for researchers and practitioners to understand the coexistence of the three categories of family, ownership, and business/management rather than treating them as separate conceptual and/or empirical variables.

3.3 Towards a Structural Interpretative View of Business Family Ownership

The interpretive research dominating my Swedish vista drew broadly but also profoundly upon Berger and Luckmann's (1966) notion of social constructivism. This means that studies, often explicitly but more often implicitly, have rested upon the assumptions that *knowledge*[23] *and the perception of reality is a social construction*. Starting from the notion that knowledge is everything that people can come to know about reality in their everyday lives, Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that reality is created in a dialectic process of objectivation, externalization, and internalization. Objectivation is done in the daily face-to-face interactions when we create meaning by materializing expressions, most often in the form of signs, symbols, and language. This is done in typification when the 'other' is apprehended as 'a woman' or 'a European.' The sum of the typifications that occur in social interactions forms a typification scheme, which is changed when current typifications do not correspond to those of the interaction that occurred. The social structure is the sum of these typifications, and the recurrent patterns of interaction established by means of them (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 48).

Humans act on these objectivized social structures. These structures create stability for human nature, and the assumption is that humans need stability to function. Although these structures are created and changed by humans, in everyday life, reality appears to us as already objectified, constituted by the order of objects designated as objects. This is done by creating understanding through language. In social interaction via languages, we understand these objects and processes. In these face-to-face interactions, the common-sense knowledge of others is shared. Language in a written form can convey meaning beyond 'here and now' interactions, due to its function of mediating objective meaning and experience. Everyday life presents itself as a reality, which is interpreted by humans and becomes subjectively meaningful to them in the form of a coherent world (Berger & Luckman, 1966). The world originates in their thoughts and actions and is maintained as real in this interpretation process. This means that the common-sense world is constructed in the everyday social

[23] Berger and Luckmann (1966 p.13) "assumed [reality] as a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition (we cannot 'wish' them away)", and knowledge is assumed as the "certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics".

interactions between humans; as such, it is *inter*subjective. Therefore, knowledge is seen as a real phenomenon with specific characteristics (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 13).

In Bourdieu's (1977, 1990a) version of reality as a social construction, humans act on social structures while understanding reality through their practical subjective knowledge. The subjective knowledge has been generated in the intersubjective transferring of meaning, which forms an embodied individual (habitus) and collective sediment (e.g., Crossley, 2001). Bourdieu develops his reasoning further with his philosophical reasoning of 'practice' as directed by habitus but not determined by it. Practices are produced in the process of improvisations, where agents draw upon previous life experiences 'stored' within his or her habitus. Lantz (2005) makes a comparison between Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Bourdieu (1977), and she claims that Bourdieu's criticisms aimed at the structure/action dichotomy are in line with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) thoughts. Both argue for an integration of methodological collectivism and individualism since objectivism does not account for the way people act in social structures and understand reality through their practical subjective knowledge. According to Lantz (2005, p. 110), Berger and Luckmann (1966) focus on primary and secondary socialization, while Bourdieu (1977) emphasizes strategies and positions of agents in the field as distributed capital forms constructed by researchers.

Further, Bourdieu focuses on these fields' power structures rather than societal institutions (Lantz, 2005). Another difference is how Berger and Luckmann (1966) distinguish between objectification and internalization. Objectification is the process through which humans perceive something as an object, for instance, family, as something external, objectively given. This can also be in the form of typification of habits, routines, and categorizations. When humans share these objects, they become institutionalized. Instead, Bourdieu (1977, 1990a) uses habitus (the structuring structures of both embodied and external structures), field, and capital to discuss the inhabited social world. As previously stated, the notion in Bourdieu of families functioning as fields is a more refined and useful concept than both primary socialization and the construct of 'society' (Berger & Luckman, 1966) for the study of what is done when business families own.

Before I introduce Bourdieu's methodology, I would like to take a moment to introduce this study's ontological and epistemological positions as guided by versions of the social construction of reality. An ongoing concern has been that family businesses use vocabularies and concepts to make sense of their everyday reality, which are, to some extent, a product of previous research (Fletcher, 2014). Their understanding of themselves is partly a product of what we, as researchers, do. This means that we need to take this situation seriously. I refer to this as an ethical sensitivity. I will continuously argue that this requires a less doxic (a more emancipatory) approach to studies on family business and ownership where the particular and situational are granted access to the research practice rather than preexisting categories. For instance: whose language we

place in use is central, whose categories, whose conditional givens. An affiliation with Bourdieu and the framework of reflexivity contains an aspiration to revisit current assumptions, and new concepts can be introduced, particularly concerning the knowledge residing in the taken-for-granted practices of everyday life, both in research and business family practice. Not only reflexive sociology but social praxeology could do things, I argue, new things in the research practice of interpretation and construction of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management through its inherent ontology and epistemology.

3.4 The Relational Mode of Research – Objectivation and Reflexivity

A quest for Bourdieu was to overcome the false dilemmas of objectivism/subjectivism, micro/macro, agency/structure, and the separation of theory from research, by introducing the logic of practice with capital, field, and habitus as key theoretical constructs (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). To overcome these false dichotomies, a "structuralist" and a "constructivist" approach were woven together in his logic of practice. When asked to label his work, he described it as a "structuralist constructivism" and he stressed the dialectic of the two also as "constructivist structuralism" (Bourdieu, 1989). However, this labeling calls for some clarification and translation into this project's particular context.

By *structuralism*, Bourdieu (1989) means that "there exist, with the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures, independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations" (p. 14). This means that structures exist twice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7):

- Firstly, in the 'objectivity of the first order'; in the distribution of material resources and means of appropriation of social scarce goods and values (species of capital, in Bourdieu's technical language). The different forms of capital are objective structures that Bourdieu has conceptualized through his studies as different capital forms. These are economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).
- Secondly, "in the 'objectivity of the second order' in the form of systems of *classification*, the mental and bodily schemata that function as *symbolic* templates for the practical activities" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7). These consist of conduct, thoughts, feelings, and judgments of social agents and form an inner 'structuring structure' as a system of dispositions.

The problem for Bourdieu (1989) with objectivism is that the social world consists merely of objective structures. The social world is reduced to the subjective representations that agents have of it in the form of operationalization or classification. Hence actions and interactions are deduced from the structure (Bourdieu, 1989). By *constructivism*, Bourdieu (1989) means that "there is a

twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily called social classes" (p. 14). In Bourdieusian *constructivism*, habitus refers to the objectivity of the second order, while social classes refer to the objectivity of the first order. These are the schemes of perception, thought, and action, while the objectivity of the second order *determines human behavior* by motivating it. What is visible, immediately given, hides the invisible, which determines it (Bourdieu, 1989). According to Bourdieu (1989), the truth of interaction is never entirely to be found for observation within the interactions themselves. This is also the problem with the subjectivist assumption described above, in that it reduces structures to visible representations (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17).

Therefore, a methodological concern is that practical activities that can be grasped and touched by observing, recording, and filming hide a structure that is realized within them (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu (1989), instead, argues that all humans, including researchers, are relationally positioned in a social world with sums and values of capital forms. These capital forms are scarce goods that humans compete for within the game being played and where agents have different strategies available in fields. The agents' strategies are conditionally given by the invisible objective structures (habitus). However, in these struggles, the structures are preserved and transformed by individual and collective agents. The perception of the social world is the product of this double social structuration, but the social world is also always perceived from a relational position in the field. According to Bourdieu (1989), to transcend the artificial oppositions that are created between structures and representations, the researcher must adopt the relational mode of research.

With Bourdieu at my side, the anthropological calling began to surface. To generate experiences required participation beyond the unnatural settings of interviews. In this phase, at the same time, I temporarily left family business research for Bourdieu-inspired research (read embodiment) in the adjacent organization theory literature. I started to explore organization theorists like Gherardi (2009), Marie-Léandre Gomez et al. (2003), and Strati (2003), all of whom, in various ways, drew on notions of habitus. According to Bourdieu (1989), the researcher must immerse herself in the field of practices to understand the social situation through the games the agents play. Practices are only objectively differentiated for those agents (the researchers) who possess the code or the schemes to classify and understand their social meaning. Failing to construct the space of positions leaves you no chance of seeing the points of view by which you see what you see. Bourdieu argues for a more conscious research practice than that involved in elaborating and externalizing given categories as knowledge. I found that his approach supported the scrutiny under which I placed the theoretical embeddedness of my work.

Firstly, this means that a researcher must reflect upon her or his position in the field, both regarding the forming of instructions for her or his academic

discipline and the dominant assumptions structuring her or his view on research and knowledge. This means that I, as the researcher, must address the assumptions of the research field of family business, i.e., taking a break from, or reflecting on, the doxa of the academic reasoning in which the field resided. During the early years of my Ph.D. studies, taking courses, I found myself not only giving notice but becoming frustrated when I met literature residing in the domain of more traditional scientific methodology. According to Cunliffe and Coupland (2012), working abductive new ideas can emerge by using the body, a process often characterized by frustration and doubt, but imagination is also part of it. For me, this meant, for instance, that if a human was present in the management literature, it was often a man, where behavior was based on rational assumptions and life trajectory was absent. Entrepreneurship and strategy were delimited to work life, while the rest that constitutes life was left in darkness. How on earth could I make sense of these materials of family and business with a disembodied body of scholarly work? And secondly, how could I avoid reproducing these implicit assumptions in the family business literature?

Secondly, 'first-order objectivity,' the different capital forms, must be "constructed, conquered, and confirmed through scientific work" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 7), and "scientific knowledge is only obtained by means of a break with primary representations – called 'pre-notions' in Durkheim and 'ideologies' in Marx – leading to unconscious causes" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 15). Bourdieu's notion of capital extends economic capital, and a broad number of capital forms are generated in Bourdieu's studies. In revealing the capital forms, it is important to acknowledge the particularities of the field, and the scarcity of the resources constituting the different capital forms. Lantz (2005) discusses how the numerous interdependencies of the social praxeology framework do not lend themselves easily to a structured presentation. With Bourdieu (1986), the capital forms of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic will be used in construction, aiming at moving beyond the economic capital (see Section 2.3).

Lastly, the thought objects constructed by the researcher to grasp the relational dynamic of the social reality should not be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of humans. Instead, the researcher's interpretations should be based both on the doings of humans and the researcher's first-hand interpretations of these by being present in the field. This is important as schemes of perception, especially those deposited in language, that are available in the moment of practicing are a product of previous symbolic struggles and express a state of symbolic power relations (Bourdieu, 1989). Humans in this construction are not subjects; instead, they are constructed as agents through subjective moments. "This means that the two moments, the objectivist and the subjectivist, stand in a dialectical relationship (Bourdieu, 1977) and that, for instance, even if the subjectivist moment seems very close when taken separately, to interactionist or ethnomethodological analyses, it still differs radically from them: Points of view are grasped as such and related to the positions they occupy in the structure of agents under consideration" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 15). As I will illustrate throughout this chapter, Bourdieu's relational mode significantly influences and forms the

constructs of the empirical material taken together and, as presented in the following three empirical chapters. However, this version was in many ways at odds with assumptions provided in situations I participated in or was more or less embedded in as a Ph.D. student and junior researcher. At the same time, and more importantly, Bourdieu's version provided solutions to many concerns and struggles I was experiencing concerning this doxa.

3.5 Three Empirical Phases of the Study: An Overview

This empirical study consists of various phases, as Chapter One introduces. In some way, one step led to the other and simultaneously coexisted in time, which means that the following presentation is a reconstruction of a series of events and choices, both intentional/unintentional and conscious/unconscious, to different degrees. Three more distinct empirical phases have been carved out: STEP, CeFEO, and social praxeology.

Table 1 The Empirical Phases of the Research Project are as Follows:

Phases	**I STEP**	**II CeFEO**	**III Social praxeology**
Epistemological orientation	Comparative business cases	Actor oriented	Embodied/ anthropological/ field-specific
Methodological orientation	Realist/ functionalist/ interactionalist	Subjectivist/ interpretative/ collaborative	Structural hermeneutics/participant objectivation
Outcomes	Comparative cases	Interpretations Practical implications	Constructed structuring structures
Core theoretical concepts	Strategic management, Entrepreneurial orientation (EO)	Strategy-as-practice, ownership	Field, capital, habitus, and practical sense
Chapters	1, 3, & 4	1, 3, & 4–5	1–3 & 6–7

The materialization of the struggle with this doxa during the process of generating empirical material will be described briefly in the following text.

The first phase began in 2007 when I, as a fresh master's graduate, was engaged as a research assistant in the STEP research project. According to Nordqvist and Zellweger (2010), the aim of this research project, initiated by Babson College in 2005, was to advance the entrepreneurial family business[24].

[24] Driving questions of the STEPproject: Q1. How does entrepreneurship relate to the continuity of family business groups? Q2. How do business families and their constellation of business activities generate and sustain entrepreneurship across generations? Q3. What are the unique resources of business families and how do they impact entrepreneurial behavior? Q.4 What kinds of entrepreneurial attitudes do families have and how does this impact their performance and longevity? (STEPProject, 2006)

This was executed by engaging with members of family businesses that were studied. Among the methods used was comparative qualitative in-depth case research within single-family businesses (an interview guide of 40 questions). During the period 2007–2010, I interacted with four out of five family businesses involved in the Swedish part of the project by co-interviewing (4) with senior researchers and conducting interviews (10) on my own. I also interacted during one European and one Swedish summit with the family members of these businesses (the case companies), where researchers presented and discussed their findings with the family businesses. During these sessions, I also had spontaneous conversations with family members from both Swedish and international family businesses. In this context, I did the initial interviews with the Palmén family business, where connections were already established between the family business and the research center to which I belonged. Researchers from this center had conducted interviews with this family in previous research projects. I wrote a 73-page case report on successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practices. In this unpublished report, the following issues were described: the profile of the firm, the profile of the family, the profile of the ownership, the profile of the industry, family involvement, family and firm life stage, summary of critical incidents, annual turnover, culture in the Swedish society, entrepreneurial orientation: autonomy, innovativeness, risk-taking, proactiveness, competitive aggressiveness, familiness, leadership, external networks, financial capital, decision-making, culture (in the organization and the family), relationships, governance, knowledge, entrepreneurial performance, the family's values, financial performance, social performance, and transgenerational potential. This research report was structured according to a theoretical framework created by the leaders of this international research project. The two theoretical frames guiding the research model (with entrepreneurial performance as the dependent variable) were entrepreneurial orientation and the resource-based view. In the framework, successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practices were primarily an empirical question, regarding different activities (e.g., description of internal processes for developing new products), broadly within the strategy-as-practice turn. During a conversation with a CEO in one of the case companies, I found myself going through the different aspects of the theoretical framework by heart without using the written interview agenda of 40 questions. This was the first time I was part of a qualitative-oriented research project with a cause-and-effect aim of knowledge generation. I had experience with qualitative work before, as in both my bachelor's and master's theses, I used interviews as an empirical technique. In fact, during upper secondary education, I had already written host company reports on various business administrative topics.

The empirical work within the initial STEPproject took place between 2007 and 2009. Based on this experience, I made a pragmatic decision to keep in contact with the Palmén family, although the purpose of the dissertation study was not yet formalized. In 2009, the empirical project took a more interpretative turn (phase II CeFEO). The research agenda was broadened to include aspects

less frequently addressed in the masculine entrepreneurial and managerial framework. I chose to include "women and children" within the family dimension and conducted interviews with members of the next generation (spouses, a sister, and a wife). The interviews theoretically turned towards socialization of entrepreneurial abilities and issues that had emerged from the casework within the STEPproject, and how this changed family members' involvement in the family business. I found that building trust was critical to maintaining access to family members and thereby facilitating conditions to talk about business, family, and ownership. During the interviews with the Palmén family business, I interpreted that the family members expressed a certain constraint with the vocabulary from the STEP framework as they used metaphors and searched for alternative words to express their relation to their family business as owners was a philosophical thing. Hence, they searched for alternative terms within management vocabulary to construct their way of doing business over generations.

Reading literature predominantly on family business, strategic entrepreneurship, and strategy-as-practice, I couldn't find a theory to make sense of the emerging themes and experiences from the interviews. Cunliffe (2010) suggests that qualitative research is more of a craft than a scientific method, where crafting research implies being careful about how we notice, bring attention to, and shape knowledge about organizational life. This interpretative turn of the empirical work is also a result of academic traditions, or as Bourdieu (1986) puts it, "the schooling of this academic discipline," of the Ph.D. research environment I was engaged in. Here, several interpretative dissertations had been or were being produced, for instance, Hall (2003), Helin (2011), Haag (2012), and Boers (2013). Thus, the craft of doing interpretative studies was shared explicitly and implicitly. I felt a responsibility towards the family members, who were sharing their time and story with me, to create room for their experiences within the family business literature, but where they at least were seen as living humans who were thinking, living, feeling, and doing. I continually consumed the literature searching for thinking tools, for instance, with a view of family members as humans that thought one thing, said something else and ended up doing a third thing (e.g., see the reasoning in Gherardi (2012)). I elaborated within the broader practice turn (Gherardi, 2012; Schatzki, 1996).

I turned to other researchers, e.g., Boers (2013), Brundin and Melin (2006), and Helin (2011), who had done qualitative research together with family businesses, for confirmation of my interpretative turn. As a result, I continued with a similar orientation of the interviews in the STEPproject, e.g., the background and work history within the family business of the family members. Still, I adapted how I posed the question from "Can you describe entrepreneurship within the business?" to "What does the word 'entrepreneurship' mean/imply to you?" With the coworkers, I focused on questions regarding innovation along formulations such as "if product development was done in alternative ways due to the daily contacts with the family members" (see 3.8 Interviews and Appendix A for interview guides).

Parallel to the empirical work I had engaged in Bourdieu's work on "the logic of practice," I found that my mind started to move more openly, and my thoughts even started to dance. A particular memory is when I read Bourdieu's (2003) paper on participation objectivation on the porch of a converted farmhouse in a small village in the French alps close to Bourdieu's birthplace, surrounded by a French family. To me, Bourdieu's anthropological reconceptualization of economic activities enabled an alternative point of entry, where humans existed with bodies engaged, for example, in playing games.

While carrying out the two rounds of interviews in 2007 and in 2009 and working on the interviews, I discovered aspects in the empirical study that were not being addressed. This emerged when I made summaries of themes from the interviews, for instance, comparing different answers concerning the role of ownership, its influence on motivation, leadership, and creativity in relation to work related to 'entrepreneurship and/or innovation,' the family culture and impact on the business, the family members' involvement during the history, and the succession process. Specific issues were 'hidden' or not said but meant, or constructed using words in the form of nouns such as 'culture' to talk about, for instance, how they shared their knowledge of doing business with their children. Nordqvist et al. (2009) conducted several interpretative studies on family businesses. They share the notion that many family business aspects are invisible or often tacit to the family members. In the interactions with us researchers, the family members interviewed similarly talked about custodianship, nontraditional ownership, and how they had been in the business for a long time and therefore were different from others. In this light, I experienced a strong inclination to engage in their process of making sense of themselves (e.g., Fletcher, 2002a), particularly how the family business research field provided a language.

Further, I began to reflect on how the brothers acted as leaders, following the advice of a company board member regarding, for instance, the importance of giving autonomy to coworkers. At the same time, a recurring theme was how history guided the strategic and entrepreneurial orientation of the family business. Their family heritage was present and absent in their stories and, to a lesser degree, conceptualized regarding practice in the research publications I was reading. These constructions of their reality as members in this family business were related to their reality as an enterprising family for more than 250 years. So much was taken for granted that it was not even conceived as relevant to express during the interviews. These issues lingered in their daily activities. I felt it was essential to participate in what was done since it was seemingly difficult to talk about. This turn also made it possible to observe tiny details along the way, as Bourdieu did when studying the Kabyle village as an anthropologist (i.e., Bourdieu, 1990b).

As my research proposal was finalized at the end of 2011, I began to study how the family business was progressing with a change of CEO. This meant that I also created questions around the change of CEO, inspired by Haag's (2012) questions on succession. With the lack of clarity in Bourdieu's writings

on how to study silent, taken-for-granted 'things', embodied or even invisible in Bourdieu's terminology, I had few clear guidelines on how to perform the anthropological turn. However, the Palmén family was rapidly approaching a decision regarding the next CEO, and this turn of events had many advantages for the third phase of the empirical study. It created a legitimate reason for me to take part in things that were done, such as meetings and conversations related to the change of CEO while it was going on. The change in CEO was a rare event, and it can be seen as a critical incident since it only happens on average every 15 years[25]. And more importantly, the change of CEO created daily family business governance activities in the form of conversations and meetings concerning leadership, management, and ownership between family members and coworkers, board members, and other trusted peers.

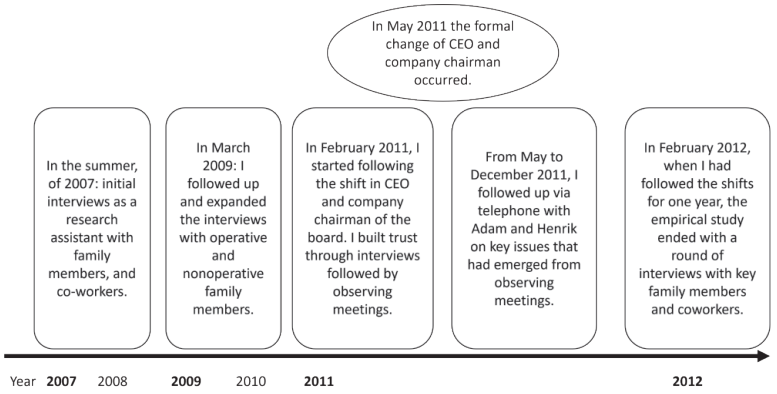
I found it easier to explain that I was physically present at the headquarters to study the change of CEO. When I asked about the change of chairperson of the company board or the family ownership council, a family member (one of the senior brothers) explained that these changes were not significant to the same extent as the change of CEO. I could observe these things that were talked about during the interviews first-hand. I conducted most of the empirical work at the headquarters in phase three. The company board meetings and the management team meetings were held here. It was also where several of the family members worked and met. In the Swedish context, this meant that the family members had *fika* (Swedish expression for a break with a hot beverage (coffee or tea), something sweet or a sandwich) and lunch with each other and coworkers. In other words, this physical place was where the family spent much of their work and family life. It was where the brothers and the next generations met daily, and often other family members not working within the business passed by, and even children home from school were here at times. The changes in the different central functions went on in several physical places at the same time, mainly at the headquarters, since this was the physical place where meetings went on, both informal, e.g., *fika*, and formal, e.g., top management and company board.

But most importantly, it was the place of the change of CEO of this family business. Therefore, headquarters was where the coexistence of family, ownership, and management/business took place. They talked about ownership and the family business as something they were doing, rather than something exciting as an object independently of this doing (the doing of doing business). I began to focus more on what they were doing over what was said, i.e., the saying of the doing or the doing of the saying.

The illustration below gives an overview of the yearly development of generating empirical material for this dissertation study. I started the Ph.D. program in 2008.

In a study by Melin et al., (2004) they found that CEOs in owner-managed firms on average stay for 15 years, while according to Bass cited in Haag (2012) CEOs in nonowner-managed firms stays on average for only five years.

Figure 1 Generating the Empirical Material



The figure above gives an overview of the development of generating the empirical material. For a detailed presentation of the interviews, observations, and follow-up conversations during phase III, see Appendix B.

An overview of the scope and form of the empirical material can be seen below.

Table 2 Overview of Different Empirical Techniques

Year	Documents	Interviews	Natural or semi-natural interactions
2007	All known books about this family business as of 2007. Annual reports.	Family members, board members, and managers (ten in total).	
2008	Annual financial reports, all media articles since 2008, and searches in the local newspaper since the digital database started (2002). A movie created by the senior generation as a way of handing the family heritage to the next generation.		

2009		Family members, management (eight in total).	*Workshop at the headquarters; conversation about successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practice.
2011	The family did not share text material related to the company board meetings or the management team meetings. I did observe and record these meetings.	Family, faithful coworkers, management, board members, and business partners (ten plus). Conversations with the next CEO after important meetings for seven weeks driving in the car. Talk over the phone with the brothers and the next generation during the spring and the autumn.	Four days of shadowing with the next CEO (several meetings). Two days of shadowing with a family member working in information. Three management meetings with father (one) and son (two). Four board meetings, one before the change of CEO, three after the change of CEO. An evening event. Informal conversation with coworkers and board members. I didn't get access to observe the owner or the family council. For details, see Appendix B.
2012		In February, I did a final round of interviews with family members, board members, and directors from the management team (seven in total).	

*During the workshop, research from the Swedish part of the international STEPproject presented how the project was developing (with several participating research institutions and family businesses) and research findings. The workshop's aim was also interactive, stimulating dialogues on the STEP framework and how the family members perceived this from their perspective. Members (parents and their children) from three different family businesses also discussed questions on succession and strategy. From the Palmén family, members from two generations and spouses participated (both operative and nonoperative in FB).

3.6 In Search of Thinking Companions for New Effects

Being coherent with the ontology of this study, it follows that all humans are positional in the social world. We are relational in the present and the past (our life trajectory) as well as in the future (what we strive for) (Lantz, 2005). As researchers, we all carry filters that guide our perceptions. We cannot go outside of our relational position. We always have company. We work and research in the intellectual field that influences us, and our perceptions are relational in how we socially construct how we engage in the world. What is assumed to think and doing possible? Doxa, the taken-for-granted knowledge. The doxa makes the understanding of social life both possible and incomplete and part of human life (Bourdieu, 1977). Three 'biases' or dimensions may blur the quality of the epistemological analyses. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), these are 1) *social origins*, 2) *the position of a researcher in relation to the academic field*, and 3) *the intellectual dimension*.

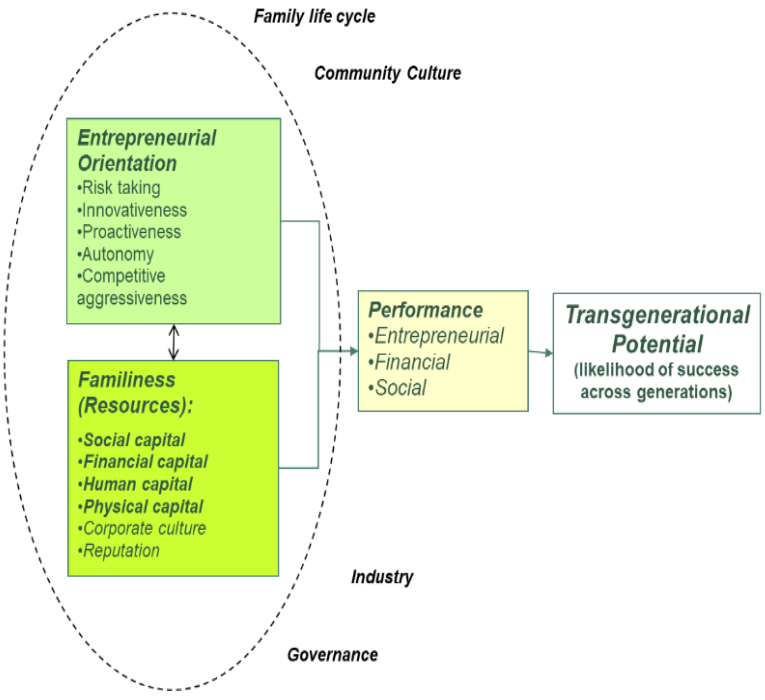
The *researcher's social origins are* class, gender, ethnicity, etc. In the following text, I have tried to write from a social trajectory view (as the opposite of a singular, unique life course). Growing up, my mother stayed at home, worked in tourism, and became a nurse (without higher education). My father worked for the state-controlled road department. I grew up in a small town in Lapland (the northern part of Sweden, rich in natural resources: water, forest, and minerals). The Sami (the indigenous people) have inhabited this region for centuries. Some talk about this region as being the 'real' colony of Sweden in the light of the political discourse in Sweden and the wealth of natural resources to the Swedish state (in comparison to the wealth generated by the historical Swedish colonies overseas during the era of colonization). My ancestors are primarily farmers who came to this region 250 years ago. I was often compared to my grandmother, a respected hairdresser (entrepreneur). My grandparents were farmers, and my grandfather also did plumbing and building. Many privately owned houses were rented out during the winter seasons, as my mother (supported by my father) has done for more than 20 years. Making money from a combination of different sources was widespread within society. Winning an award, I was described in the media as an entrepreneurial success story. In response to the low proportion of education within the population, an upper secondary school was founded when I was starting junior high school. There were ongoing initiatives to push my generation to increase their education level, preferably enrolling in higher education.

Voices have been raised that municipalities in the northern region supply natural resources for the overall growth of the Swedish economy and for young people with the potential to become educated professionals. I might sound naïve, but I never remember talking about 'class' growing up. I met this concept and question when I came to work in Stockholm as a northerner. In Arjeplog, there was a critical stance towards the dominating actors in Sweden, such as authorities, possibly due to how natural resources were harvested in the region while others gained profit. The fact that Arjeplog didn't exist statistically since inhabitants/square kilometer was only 0.2 didn't decrease the critical posture of

authorities. Intellectual knowledge and university were not part of the norm in this society. Instead, the norm was being practical and "good people." This can be seen in the way my father built houses without architects and increased his living standard by hunting, fishing, and growing his potatoes. It was a society dominated by male skills. Part of *my habitus* is *practical knowledge*, related via family (rather than a profession), masculine skills, and (at times) a skeptical stance towards dominating agents within society, family belonging, close-to-nature activities, and a strong push within my generation towards academia. Bourdieu moved from the working class to academia (Everett, 2002), while my life trajectory was that of this particular social context to academia. In the reflexive sociological stance, being from a different social group (than the influential professors) implies that knowledge assumption active within an intellectual field can be done differently.

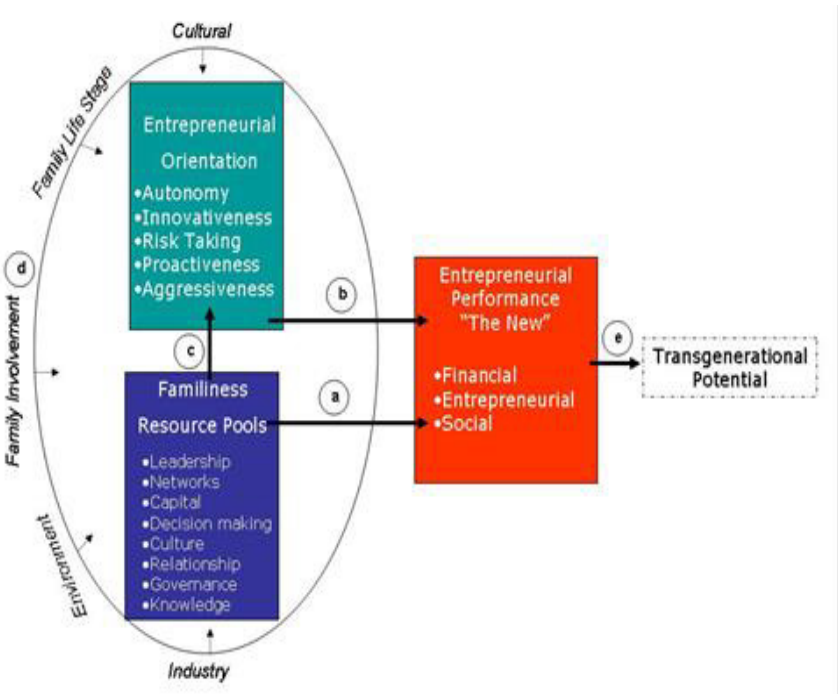
According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), the second bias relates to *the position of the researcher in relation to the academic field*. The socialization I was part of as a Ph.D. student took place in a social room consisting of local research seminars in the multidisciplinary and international context of the CeFEO research milieu and within the various theoretical Ph.D. courses. Here, I took part in ongoing established conversations in the family business research field (regarding law, finance, strategic management, ownership, and corporate entrepreneurship). I also had the opportunity to engage in more close contact by questioning, thinking, and writing. Already at this time, I found it difficult to accept certain dimensions of the existing theoretical doxa, which triggered a search outside of the dominating theoretical sociological influences, hence resulting in Bourdieu (i.e., assumptions guiding various strands of ongoing research), particularly the constructions based on representations from the family members to how Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2021) describe the field as characterized by recurring topics such as performance, succession, and entrepreneurial orientation, linked to various aspects of family governance (control) grounded on quantitative methods. My experiences from the empirical material were entwined, contradicting, multilayered, and fragmented. For instance, the brothers in the family business talked about bankruptcy and how it was avoided by explaining it as being thanks to 'Luck' (!?). This explanation clashed in my head when I met knowledge assumptions in the family business literature that was rational and performance-oriented. This empirical event was explored in a conference paper on a Bourdieusian view of wayfinding in the context of a family business (Bäckvall, 2011). A way to visualize how I perceived these knowledge assumptions in my head was as bowling, "bonk, bonk," when the energy from the hand intentionally directed the bowling ball towards the bowling pins. What? Was bankruptcy avoided because a bowling ball hit all the bowling pins on its own by accident in the dark? This thinking effect didn't make sense to me. I needed to move from the bounded, intentional objective knowledge view to the 'other.' In the following section, I will return to a few critical turning points during this process that relate to "Why Bourdieu?" (i.e., the alternative).

Figure 2 Illustration of the Theoretical Framework in STEPproject



The model is an illustration of the theoretical framework in the STEPproject. I worked with this model in 2007–2009. Please note the constructs: social, financial, human, and physical capital. The source for this model is: STEP Project For Family Enterprising (2006b)

Figure 3 Illustrations of the Refined Theoretical Framework in STEPproject



This model is a refined version (done by researchers participating at the time in the project), clarifying the interdependencies within the model with the dependent variable of transgenerational potential. The source for this model is STEP Project For Family STEPproject (2007 p. 3).

First, in the family business literature, Habbershon et al. (2003) drew on the resource-based view and coined the family influences on the firm's resources as familiness constituting positive or negative influences in relation to performance outcomes; this was also how it was used in the theoretical frame of the STEP research project (see figure 3). Grounded in the search for "the new (within the STEP family business context)," I read literature on innovation and family business and innovation. This resulted in a course paper addressing the significance of the long-term dimension in ownership for the ability to innovate. One argument was that innovation could go beyond an organization and also impact the legal environment of the family business in favor of coming generations. Another issue in the paper was the creativity of the senior and next generation in a family context. Here my interest turned towards the next generation (as the future of innovation and enterprising) in the family context and their involvement in the business. By turning to creativity and socialization,

I attempted to break with assumptions of how the family dimension had been defined as familiness in STEP, drawing upon the resource-based view. Through the notion of socialization, I began to elaborate on understanding family as a social phenomenon instead of one-dimensional moderating effects, i.e., as a resource. I aimed to take the human dimension more seriously and found that people were lacking in their human aspects and understanding their reasons for their doings. Theoretical precisions were not explicitly addressed, e.g., in relation to praxis from an ontological and epistemological viewpoint. This lack of precision triggered my search for increased clarity.

Parallel to this project, as a Ph.D. student, I participated in discussions on the topic of strategy-as-practice, where I zoomed in on the theoretical notion of practice. Gherardi (2012) emphasizes the importance of being conscious about whether practice is studied from the outside, inside, or the actual performance of the practice. The STEP research report followed a highly prefigured format, where the empirical material was written as close to the content of the interviews, historical bibliographies, and annual reports as possible (i.e., a realist view). In contrast to the functionalist (positivist) assumption, I chose, in line with Cunliffe (2010), to embrace the empirical material and be attentive to language in writing. In this notion, wording the empirical material as 'data' would, in contrast, signal an objectivist view of the family members' activities, while with an interpretative approach, empirical material is more coherent since the empirical material comprises artifacts of interpretations (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007 p. 1265). In the early phase (STEP), the empirical material also included more objective secondary descriptions such as information from archival material in the form of books, publications, and observation notes on such issues as the family genogram, formal positions in organizations, and the organization of the governing organs. Further, the social setting generates the empirical material rather than given (collected) (Gherardi & Turner, 1987). The theory and the empirical material are not seen as divided since empirical material is a construct of 'theory' or previous schooling in management, which colors experiences that are voiced (i.e., doxas). Further, Bourdieu (1998, p.vii) argues that objective relations must "be captured, constructed, and validated through scientific work."

The family in the literature is often treated as a unit, a system, and (implicitly assumed as) a nuclear family but is also often a missing aspect in the family business literature (Dyer & Dyer, 2009; Litz et al., 2011). Kets de Vries et al. (2007) introduced a less static view of family with the life cycle compared with the Gersick et al. (1997) model. I also read family system theory and family relations studies (network, social capital, kinship). However, I found the assumptions on human behavior and the human as such too simplified and one-dimensional. Poutziouris et al. (2006) concluded that the individual had been neglected in family business research. Even in the local milieu of CeFEO with interpretative assumptions on strategizing, decision-making was primarily seen as guided by actors' perceptions and intentional (within, at the time, a growing interest in the strategy-as-practice turn).

At the same time, I was relieved to find the emphasis on the actual strategist in the s-as-p conversation (although it was delimited to work-life). In the strategy-as-practice conversation, I also found Jarzabkowski and Spee (2009, p. 81-84) suggestion that practice is related to sociomaterial or material arrangements in which doing occurs, with doing being both the conscious doing of "intentional acts" and also the unconscious aspects of daily life. In the course paper of the s-as-p Ph.D. course, I explored the perception of collective ownership in family business (as communities-of-practices), driven by the agents' need for knowledge (Brown & Duguid, 2001). I thought this would add to the ongoing conversations on socio-symbolic ownership (with the assumption of symbolic interactions as the actions in social interaction are intentional and purposive) (Nordqvist, 2005) since it could then also include emerged (unconscious) actions. I found thinking partners in different conversations, e.g., family in social theory, individuals in s-as-p (although delimited to work life, childhood was absent), and human agency (conscious and unconscious) in practice theory. But it was not until I found Bourdieu that I found the consistency of ontological and epistemological assumptions on the human, the family, and human doing in and over time (history).

Presenting my research proposal (RP) in early 2011, I advocated a study of the 'doing of business,' during a change of CEO, focusing on the *family* in the family business. I coined it 'the doing of doing business,' to deconstruct the earlier framework. This was a turn away from the system assumptions of family and business due to the problematics of loyalty being family, manager, and owner in decision-making introduced by Davis (1983). I wanted to understand what it was like to grow up as a family business member, due to an assumption that humans are formed during their upbringing. This could be related to the potential of learning or acquiring the 'doing of business.' In the RP I drew upon Bourdieu's (1996) 'the family is a field' and assumed the family within the family business to function as a field. From this moment, Bourdieu was my new intellectual companion; this means that I could manage some of the puzzling questions deriving from the literature I was given (*intellectual bias*) and my experiences in the empirical context. Still, the question remained how a Bourdieusian-inspired study is done, or as Gherardi (2009) would characterize it as a strong practice study. However, how is the light, selective, or biased (see Brosnan & Threadgold, 2017) Bourdieusian study avoided?

Further, to relate this study to a social constructivism perspective, structural interpretative research can explain how certain capital forms and practices come into existence and why they persist or are reproduced. With this approach, I can offer new conditions for understanding family, ownership, and business/management coexistence. With this structural interpretative approach, I aimed to challenge and move beyond the assumption within family business research (my research doxa) where interpretation is advocated for further understanding of how and why social complexities of family dynamics influence business development (Nordqvist et al., 2010), i.e., for instance how the family circle influences the business and ownership circles in the system model (cf. Gersick et al., 1997).

3.7 Documents

During the first two phases of this project (i.e., 2007–2010), I wrote detailed and realistic descriptions of the Palmén family business, following the instructions of the STEP case report (STEP Project For Family STEPproject, 2007). This meant that I worked with books (bibliographies), a movie presenting this family business and product promotion movies, texts written by family members for publication in books, and annual reports from 1996 to 2009 (e.g., visualizing production capacity, growth, and profit development yearly in tables). I also worked with internal documents such as organizational charts, ownership structure charts, the family's data of genealogy dating back to the mid-eighteenth century, and PowerPoint presentations used by family members at universities in Sweden (e.g., marketing strategy, family business culture, and entrepreneurship), and public media material (press, marketing material) about the family business from 2000 to 2013. I have also read bachelor theses, dissertations, and other research reports that used empirical material from this family business. If a family member referred to a book or a law, I compared their statements with the written sources. I reflected upon what the family members emphasized and how it might have impacted their decisions. When facts were asked for during the interviews, for instance, a year or proportion of women's involvement in different functions with the business, I also checked these statements with written material in annual reports or historical bibliographies. I reflected on the difference between how they talked about, for instance, who is responsible for what concerning an illustration of the functional division in their internal documents. In the STEP report, I presented detailed empirical material about the family business and its industry, legal and physical environments, and historical data on national total market consumption.

3.8 Interviews

One of the techniques used for generating empirical material in this study was interviews. Sharma (2004) suggested that an understanding of family business uniqueness can be created by interviewing people from the family, different generations, and different formal and informal relations (coworkers, board, management team, etc.). This suggestion was in line with the instructions of the STEP project, resulting in interviews with key members of the family by using a snowball technique (asking for advice on whom to interview at the end of an interview). The first round of interviews was done within the STEP project. I did the initial interviews in collaboration with a senior researcher to observe how they did interviews and to get introduced to the family members (four in total). During this phase, I also conducted interviews on my own. Three of these interviews were done by other researchers (however, as an assistant in the STEP project, I was responsible for transcribing all the interviews). The second round of interviews during the CeFEO phase I did on my own with key family members (follow-ups), nonoperative family members (with a focus on the next generation), spouses (women), and coworkers. To identify whom to

talk about and to understand whom the family members were talking about, I created my understanding of key individuals and, for instance, of how the compositions of the company board had developed by reading bibliographies of the family business, media articles online, and annual reports. The third and fourth rounds of interviews during the ethnographic study I also conducted on my own (see Appendix C). It resulted in 63 hours of active listening and asking questions done by my body. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. I didn't conduct any interviews with the former wives of Henrik and Hardy nor Henrik's stepchild. They were not part of any formal governing organ; consequently, it was never suggested to do any interviews with them.

During interviews, family members, coworkers, and board members construct themselves via representations (Broady, 1991). This construction is done in relation to the life path experience (trajectory) and their social position within a field. The researcher should be attentive to the construction of this story with the interviewee's different social positions during their life course (Broady, 1991). Bourdieu (1989) words statements from interviews as representations of the agents. If a person is skilled in creating a vivid story of the experience, there is a risk that the listener feels like s/he has seen these actions during their life course, "but the researcher is not a witness; rather, s/he is the audience for the retelling of a tale, after the fact, from the perspective of another" (McDonald & Simpson, 2014, p. 12). Interviews also allow family members to make sense of their reality. Hence, insights from interviews make it possible to understand several perspectives (Merriam, 2002), for instance, concerning different views of the change of CEO, the company chairperson change, and aspects concerning their way of managing a business over generations. The relative positions in the field influence the construction of the empirical text. Quotes from Henrik are most dominant, followed by Hardy, Adam, Eleonor, Alan, the other family members, and essential others.

The questions during the STEP phase were grounded in the interview agenda of the project, to generate realistic descriptions along with the prestated headings of the previously described research model of the project (see "In search of new thinking companions"). For the CeFEO phase, the questions to the family members concerned their background, involvement (current and possible, formal and informal) in the business, family relations and family culture, more STEP-influenced colored questions on EO and leadership, and what entrepreneurship means to them (see Appendix A). To the coworkers, I asked questions about their background, how it had been and was to work in a family business, the family culture, ad hoc, and structured work, and more STEP-colored questions on EO and leadership. For phase III (social praxeology), I didn't have clear guidance on how to approach Bourdieu's assumption during an interview. To create trust and initiate contacts for shadowing, I wrote questions inspired by the interview agenda in Haag's (2012) succession study. The interview was around three main areas: your history concerning the family business, your current role during the ongoing change of CEO, and your future role (I used the term "role" as more of a spoken language than a more Bourdieu-inspired word: "social position"). I also formulated

questions grounded in Bourdieu's central concepts of culture and the social and economic capital of the family and the business (see Appendix A). The questions were open-ended, and I used previous interviews to formulate new questions or ask for clarification on things that I had read in the press or observed elsewhere. At the start of the interviews, I always made it clear that it was confidential and that if I asked a question that they felt was private, they didn't need to answer the question. In-laws declined to answer questions perceived as too private during the initial interviews (phase 1 STEP). Before the interviews, I prepared myself by going through the questions and came into the interview with a curious mindset and nervous.

I was a woman in the 26–31 age range with a northern dialect during the interviews. I presented myself as related to the Center for Family Enterprise and Ownership in Jönköping. I perceived the Palmén family appreciated the research focus on entrepreneurship and family business. I felt welcomed and appreciated but not always included. Drawing upon how Wigren (2003) framed herself as the harmless stranger, I would formulate myself as a *kind curious researcher*. My life trajectory of growing up in a rural village, where you are seen and met in relation to who your family is and their ability to do, facilitated my reading of their representations of being met as a business family member.

Further, at the beginning of the interview, I always tried to sense the needs of the person before me, for instance, making sure that their mind or body was not concerned with urgent issues. I think it is essential for the thought-talking process that the brain is calm and present during the interview. During the interviews, I focused on the questions I had prepared. I listened to what was said and how things were said. This is similar to Johansson in Kostera (2007), who, when interpreting an interview, focuses on how things are said, i.e., in anger, in a low voice, quickly, or with hesitance. In this listening, I carefully interpreted the meaning behind what was said. I mainly oriented my interest towards those things that lingered under the surface in the way they were said with hesitance, or the person seemed to search for words or used several words or a metaphor to increase the richness of the object being talked about. Kostera (2007) refers to Johansson and explains this working method during an interview as a sense-making process. The interview becomes a room where insights are created based on the family members' representations of their experiences and my way of further sensing and guiding these insights. I was also trying to be attentive to changes in the tone of voice or body language in sensing the 'sense-making' process and the direction of the interview, for instance, if it was possible to move further in talking more about family issues or 'sensitive' areas without being the 'interrogator.' Listening to the interviews, I could, at times, get upset for not managing to be present enough with my body to move a question further. Instead, I could abruptly change the conversation's direction by posing another unrelated question directing the interview into a new area. If the time ran out, which often occurred since I was curious, I made sure I asked the questions that I had marked as most central.

When the family business was on the stock exchange, financial journalists often did interviews with the brothers in the senior generation. This influenced the sense-making process. The brothers had constructed their experiences in ready-formulated messages on specific topics. When interviewing Henrik, he often spent ten minutes talking about the regulative conditions of entrepreneurs in Sweden before the interview could move into the issues I was interested in. Although I had explained that the interviews were confidential and for research, the expectation, as I perceived it, was that the content could also be for the public. Bernhardtson (2013) suggested that the ownership meets the (public) field during the interview. He indicated that the interview could be seen as an intimate subfield of the larger public field. A characteristic of owners' posture (particular gesture and movement of the body) is to be quiet and careful in talking to the press (Bernhardtson, 2013). This could explain my experience of not being trusted during the initial 2007 and 2009 interviews since these interviews were perceived as a meeting with the public. This was still present in the later interviews in 2011 and 2012, but not to the same extent.

My social position within management created an expectation of what the interview was going to be about, for instance, "when you come here and want to talk about the business – there have been several journalists here before – I don't talk about my mother; in other words, I don't expect that you are interested in listening to the role that my mother has played in this." The mother of the senior brothers, who had not been operatively involved, was not seen as someone relevant to talk about. This influenced the way I created questions for phase III, as I reoriented the questions to, for example, "what if the family business was a piece of art? What would it be for you?" Moving towards alternative words for talking about their family business, I shifted towards listening behind the words. In the construction of drawing the boundaries of family and business, the dominating knowledge assumptions were present in the generation of empirical material. A piece of learning here is to be attentive to the presence of, for instance, the division of work and family created by scientific management (Kanter, 1989). Implicit knowledge assumptions are present during an open-ended interview within the family business context, as previously advocated.

3.9 Shadowing, Participant, and Direct Observation

Since we know more than we can tell, the representations from the interviews are partial since they are a construct of activities of the family members. These constructs are also given from a relational position in the field. For me to go beyond the first-order and get an understanding of the second-order structures, I also shadowed and conducted participant observations and direct observations. Further, practical knowledge is personal knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990a). I need to generate my bodily understanding of these business governance-related activities, which were referred to as 'culture,' or second-order structures. With this choice, practice is seen as knowledge production rather than an objective

process of daily activities[26]. Studying practice from within means investigating the practical organization of knowledge "taking the form of methods of seeing, listening, reasoning, and acting in association with human and nonhuman elements" (Gherardi, 2009, p. 118). A change of person in the central power position of the CEO also created conversations about changes in other governance organs, for instance, the chairperson of the company board and the chairperson of the owner council. It also impacted family members operatively involved in the family business. With the toolbox from Bourdieu, I began to perceive the change of CEO as an eruption, which stirred the power relations within the family business as a field. This generates an array of business governance-related activities that, according to Bourdieu (1989), could be grasped by observing, recording, etc., as it hides a structure that is realized within them (the second order of structure). A power struggle or a game is a struggle over the distribution and structure of capital forms within a field (Bourdieu, 1989), which served well to rethink the change in CEO from a succession. Most importantly, it created an opportunity for me to explore the *second-order structures* since the change of CEO demanded conversations about the taken for granted or the "invisible," which directs daily activities (e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7).

According to Kostera (2007), shadowing implies following a person everywhere throughout an entire workday, while direct observation is the act of being present and observing activities in their natural environment. With direct observation, the researcher is a guest who presents the reason for being present and asks for explanations for observed activities (Kostera, 2007). The techniques used were a combination of shadowing and direct observation. I followed the adult siblings during their workday; this meant both taking part in meetings and following them around while talking to people at the headquarters. I was present during a large part of the workday. However, at times, the family members had meetings and work that the family members thought were not suitable for me to attend (for instance, external meetings or work at the computer answering emails, etc.). I asked questions about these meetings afterward to understand why I was excluded and if the content was relevant to the CEO change. While shadowing, I also got opportunities to talk to coworkers during lunch and coffee breaks. The family members were eating lunch and having coffee breaks with coworkers at the headquarters. On these informal occasions, I listened to what they were talking about, and I also focused my question to coworkers on how it was to work with the family (see Broukhaus, 2004). These insights gave me a pre-understanding when I later observed the management team and the company board meetings. Observing meetings, I found, was a way to see business governance-related activities since I could focus on the processes of observing, but also make sense of what I observed by having an ongoing inner dialogue about what was talked about and what

[26] In the larger stream of strategy-as-practice, practice is coined as process, rather than knowledge production. Gherardi, S. (2009). Introduction: The Critical Power of the 'Practice Lens'. *Management Learning, 40*(2), 115-128.

lingered under the surface. For instance, the family members were perceived by others as owners (colored along with a shareholder value logic) of a family business, and this mattered in several ways. However, it was spoken about with hesitance. During the interviews, ownership of the business was not widely talked about; in fact, it was avoided. When observing family members and coworkers during meetings and in their daily life at the headquarters, I was attentive to the ownership dimension (specifically the activities performed by bodies).

While shadowing one family member, I got to observe meetings that emerged as central in the construction of the second-order structures: the preparatory meetings related to critical aspects of the function of the CEO and participating while family members and coworkers were tasting products. The way I participated in tasting their products was along the lines of what Bourdieu (2003) would term "participant observation," which implies "designates the conduct of an ethnologist who immerses her- or himself in a foreign social universe to observe an activity, a ritual, or a ceremony while ideally taking part in it" (p. 281). According to Bourdieu (2003), a challenge here is the 'doubling of consciousness,' that is, how could I be both the subject and the object, i.e., both acting and observing myself at the same time? My solution was to record the audio from this meeting, creating an external observation of how I responded in words and its influence on the direction of the dialogue. My attention was to the relative positions in the field, but also their posture and manners, i.e., the way the family members interacted and talked while the tasting session was going on, to read the reflections of the habitus and generate the system of dispositions of this tasting session. Afterward, I also talked with the coworkers who had participated in the session to understand what I had participated in, for instance, the role of the body's sense in relation to aspects that could influence it. I found that meetings were easier to observe as I could sit down and listen and write, creating a space for a parallel process within the meeting: what they were talking about, what positions were at play, what assumptions from management linguae were present, and their way of talking about field-specific aspects. Moving from shadowing to observing was also practical reasoning: It was very tiring for me and, in my view, also for the one I followed. For instance, when he or she was working on the computer, I was asked to sit in another room. This study was constrained by the financial resources available, which made me adapt techniques in relation to the resources I had while generating empirical material. In retrospect, I have realized that it would have been beneficial to have a stable space to return to, for recovery and reflection, instead of sleeping on the floor or on the couch at friends' places. As shadowing is "perhaps more intense than any other research method, it is a physically and mentally demanding activity" (Gill et al., 2014, p. 76). Reflections about these issues should be discussed since they influence the ability of the body to do fieldwork. I *did*, however, *ask for* financial resources, but these requests were not met. I see it as a reflection of my relative position within an academic tradition and gendered expectations (C.f. Gherardi & Turner, 1987) upon research and available resources.

To increase my confidence while being present at the headquarters, being a novice in the craft of doing an ethnographic-inspired study, I called, for instance, Raviola (2012) for advice and support. She conducted an ethnographic study of news production in Paris in parallel with my study. While out in the field, I also reflected on my experiences concerning, for instance, the use of words by discussing it with Haag (2012), who was then finishing her empirical study on succession as practice with a family business. Borgström (2010) discussed how research is relational work. The researcher coworks with significant peers and creates insightful comments on ethical issues, quality issues, and decisions that direct the research project as it evolves. For a comprehensive overview of the empirical techniques, see Appendix C.

3.10 Recording and Transcribing

Formal and informal meetings were recorded if it was possible to ask for permission from people involved and if I assessed the background noise as not being too loud. I also kept a diary to write down reflections (see Appendix B for techniques used). This allowed me to focus on participating in the interactions rather than remembering what was said. I could be attentive to what was said and how the interactions emerged. I have transcribed all the recordings from the interviews (50 plus) and all the recordings from the observations (10 plus). I have processed the material by listening and writing. This time-consuming process lasted several months, generating pain in my shoulders. I have followed Cunliffe and Coupland's (2012) way of interpreting the empirical material, embracing embodiment as integral to lived experience. This method of interpreting allows me to explore the empirical material by combining and elaborating existing concepts with the embodied experience from hunches during the interviews, being in the field with my body, tasting their products, and seeing, listening, and sensing the 'rhythm' of conversational activities during the meetings—this created room for generating practical and theoretical insights from this study.

In generating a picture of the amount of empirical material, the size of the folder is three Gigabit, and it contains 1,004 files; it includes the recorded and transcribed interviews (as well as the follow-up calls), direct and participant observations, documents, and pictures that I took during visits to the headquarters.

Could I have saved time by paying another person to transcribe (as in the tradition of a senior researcher and one or two fellow Ph.D. students within the local academic milieu)? No, generating empirical material is done by interpreting while sound from the interview becomes words, sentences, and text on paper. The creation of the empirical material is intimately bound up with the theoretical construction of the object, and it cannot be reduced to the technical tasks of hired staff to transcribe them for the researcher (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu was highly critical of this hierarchy of intellectual work and physical labor within academia.

In transcribing the interviews, I followed what Cunliffe (2003) describes as a reflexive approach: creating meaning is done by being attentive to the constant interplay of presence/absence. Things I interpret as absent in the interviews from 2007 and 2009 generated insights to be explored further. One such question was to describe the feeling of being given something as a heritage: the family business that previous generations created embracing embodiment as integral to lived experience (for examples of how interview questions were formulated based on characteristics of the brothers, see Appendix A).

The quotes in the study are translated from Swedish to English. Firstly, I translated Swedish closely in phases I and II, generating "Swenglish" formulations. After a family member read these statements, he was upset since they portrayed the family members as unskilled in expressing themselves, and he wanted the translation to be more in written style than spoken and along the lines of English sentence formulations. When translating, I changed more than I would have done if I had written the text in Swedish. This was done to generate more written English language formulations while trying to keep the meaning behind the quotes. Developing this further in phase III, I have intentionally commented on words or formulations. At times, I will also explain relevant contextual aspects from my experiences in the field to broaden my understanding of the meaning behind a word or statement.

3.11 Various Aspects of Ethical Sensitivity

In generating empirical material, I will address some aspects of this study's ethical sensitivity. According to Hall (2003), the knowledge of how to do qualitative research on family business is more of a practical skill of being an emotional human who shows respect and an understanding of issues of 'family life' as well as 'enterprising life.' For family businesses, there are several issues to consider, like corporate confidentiality, respect for family members' integrity, and other issues that can be sensitive (Hall, 2003). The choice to follow Haag's (2012) open approach and try out different techniques along the way was my way of showing respect for issues of a "sensitive" nature and avoiding symbolic violence by using pre-thought categories. In the interviews during 2007 and 2009, I found it difficult to know what was not for others to hear. To show respect to gain trust, I was cautious about not referring to what somebody else had shared in a previous interview.

Further, I found that in shadowing family members in an open office, I was limited in asking questions, as some aspects were of a confidential or sensitive nature. It was a delicate balance of maintaining trust and showing respect for sensitive issues by asking questions of appropriate content to the physical place. At the same time, I was careful about going beyond the doxa or the more obvious.

My approach was to *ask* since I was there as a researcher; my interest was in issues related to business family governance-related 'bits of information.' By asking, it was then up to the family members or coworkers to decide if they felt

comfortable with answering, but they could also choose what and how they answered. Ethical sensitivity is a delicate balance between constructing a story that includes relevant issues and is transparent and, at the same time, respecting the individual family member's integrity and sometimes excluding information that might be relevant (Hall, 2003; Nordqvist et al., 2009). My way of behaving ethically during interviews, was to be clear that they could decline to answer questions and to present the research project, first STEP, then the study of the change of CEO. One family member was below 18 years of age, and I asked for permission from the parent for this interview, and I also stressed that it was OK to end the interview at any point in time and that s/he did not have to answer questions. This was done following the recommendation of Tisdall et al. (2009) on conducting interviews with a person under the age of 18, but also, along with informed consent (e.g., voluntary (withdraw at any time), informed, confidential) concerning individuals who participate in research following the guidelines of the Swedish Ethical Review Authority (n.d.).

Hall (2003) emphasized developing trustful relationships with family members as central to meaningful and trustworthy contributions. In retrospect, I should have introduced more about my family situation since I wanted to know about their family. For instance, the women in the family asked about my family status, but the men didn't. I should also have taken more room to present the study at the headquarters. I regret that I tried to allocate time for listening rather than talking.

A legal confidentiality agreement was also made between the family business and me since I was shadowing family members and observing management and company board meetings. Following Helin's (2011) process study of family meetings, I made the empirical material confidential by changing the names of family members, the name of the business, geographical places, and other aspects. When the confidential agreement ceased after five years, I chose to keep the text confidential. Before publishing this text, I contacted the Palmén family. They assigned a nonfamily member as a contact person to me. This person coordinated with the family members most frequently and explicitly referred to in the text. I also pointed towards sensitive aspects that I wanted their second approval of, making sure that they did not cause any harm to them or family relations. Minor changes were made to increase confidentiality and minor changes to increase the intention behind what was said. In this stage, they acted as a collective. For the curious reader, yes, the chosen CEO was still CEO as of 2022. Further, as Bourdieu (1994) writes, humans are attentive to their purpose and their position of being in the field. For example, we all experience and make our construction of what occurs from the position and purpose of being in the field. My interpretation is made from the researcher's point of view in the actual empirical field, but also concerning the 'educational field,' which is the purpose of this text.

Can this study be redone? Yes and no; for instance, many other researchers could write the first empirical chapter describing how this family had organized them in governing organs, while the second empirical chapter, and in particular

the third chapter, could not be redone since the reading of the activities of the family members was made by my embodied understanding within a particular time and relational position within an academic field as well as the empirical field. Here the term 'reading' is an innovation while using Bourdieu's reflexive quest and developing new empirical research practice concerning the particular field where family, business, and ownership are done.

Cunliffe (2010, p. 667) suggested that beauty and rigor lie in "crafting our research carefully and persuasively, being open and responsive to the possibilities of experience, people, ideas, materials, and processes, and understanding and enacting the relationships between our metatheoretical positions, techniques, our theorizing, and their practical consequences." I have tried to be attentive to these issues while crafting the text of this study – in particular, not to construct the activities of family governance-related bits of information based merely on my subjective experience but from various views and with changing orientations in the different empirical chapters. When translating from Swedish to English, I have tried to use words that mirror how language is used among the family members. For instance, they referred to employees as coworkers in Swedish 'medarbetare,' in a meeting, and I even overheard Henrik correcting Adam on the importance of addressing people working in the family business as coworkers, not employees. This signaled that "we are working together (family members, managers, and coworkers) in achieving our mission to become the best company in the industry." This wording communicated that 'we' (owners, managers, and coworkers) are all working towards the family business's mission to create a durable transgenerational family business. However, "coworker" was adapted to the situation; for instance, I never heard external board members being addressed or referred to as a "coworker," although the family members perceived them to be central to the family business's mission. Family members in managerial and nonmanagerial positions were often addressed as 'coworkers' over, for instance, 'family member' or 'owner,' In fact, formulations such as owner or ownership were rarely used during the interviews or observations. I perceived it to be a subtle avoidance among the family members to talk about their ownership (e.g., allocation of voting power within the governing organs), or the use of formulations or words on informal occasions (*fika*) emphasizing their role as owners. I observed how a coworker assumed that the family members owned shares with dividends. This was declined with a response such as 'I only have my monthly salary to live on.' The ownership of the family business was organized in a foundation this delimited dividends. The tradition of avoiding words emphasizing 'power' (following the chain-of-command concept) continued with the use of 'the management team,' in Swedish "*ledningsgrupp*," where *top* was not emphasized. Instead, I perceived the family members' way of talking to be informal, with the use of words to increase the belongingness and importance of all coworkers regardless of their formal position within the business. The management team had meetings every other week. This team consisted of production, marketing, sales, personnel, IT, information, finance, and logistics managers, and expertise in the form of the company lawyer and

the director of sustainability. I will try to be explicit when I use common words or labels to describe governance in this Swedish setting since there can be assumptions of an American context implicit in English labels (e.g., being attentive to the doxa residing in concepts). This means that I have also been careful to avoid reproducing the academic writing tradition following Grey and Sinclair (2006). They write about how it is believed to be a neutral exercise where reality is reported instead of generated by the numerous choices of words in the construction of argumentative writing.

3.12 The Research Process: Case, Actors, and Fields

Central to the discussion of the three empirical phases of this research project is Bourdieu's notion of the relational position of a researcher. Research resides within a particular doxa of a scientific field. In my case, empirical and theoretical context and emphasis change over time and is a central material for the reflexivity Bourdieu advocates.

Interpretative research using the case method was active within the research milieu of my Ph.D. studies (Hall, 2003; Nordqvist, 2005; Nordqvist et al., 2009). There was already a relationship between the family business and the research milieu at my first encounter with the family business as a Ph.D. student. The access was further enforced with the STEPproject. The relation to STEP makes it easier "to convince readers that the study holds value and merits scholarly attention" (Reay, 2014, p. 98). I established access to phase II with one of the senior brothers, who introduced me via written e-mails to the other family members. The access to phase III was established between different family members and me depending on whether it was an interview, shadowing, or observing a meeting. The family members then introduced me to coworkers.

The Palmén family business was presented as a family business with a history of entrepreneurial success; it worked with organizing its governance structures, and several generations were involved in the operations. Two hundred fifty years – this was how long this family business's presence dated back in the industry. The annual turnover during the study was in the area of three billion (SEK). Approximately a thousand were employed within the family business. Two brothers were the main leaders in the senior generations (see appendices D, G & H), and among the next generations, a large proportion worked in the business. Using words from Stake (1995) and the "case study tradition," the family business held characteristics of a representational case, rich in information with the potential to explore the contextual, particularistic, and experiential aspects of a single case, i.e., a single-family business, with its entrepreneurial history, transgenerational family involvement, and ongoing changes in governance. This family business also matched the accepted criteria in the family business research field, this was also used in the STEP project (e.g., Nordqvist & Zellweger, 2010). These criteria were the following: the family perceived themselves as a family business; at least one active business unit; the family had control, to at least 50%, over the main operating business;

at least a second generation was involved in management; at least 50 employees in the main operating business; and there was an intention to pass on the business to the next generation (Westhead & Cowling, 1997). This family business definition was central to my research community but also partly reproduced a large corporate logic. It can be argued to constitute a critical case (Flyvberg, 2006). Central in the STEP phase of the empirical work, it was argued that the case method is useful in exploring a topic where, as Eisenhardt (1989) writes, "it is particularly well suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate" (p. 549).

A common argument for the STEP phase and the CeFEO interpretative phase is along Stake's (1995) argument of case studies as coherent within the interpretative approach due to the possibility of studying complex social phenomena over a period of time, and it encourages theoretical and conceptual development. A single-case study has the potential to generate rich insights by exploring the depths of one single case and generating contributions to theory through literal persuasion (e.g., Stake, 1995). When a case study is positioned in the qualitative research tradition (Stake, 1995). According to Cunliffe (2010), a case study can be used across the objectivist and subjectivist 'problematic,' but could be constructed in and constructed in many different ways. Within the CeFEO tradition (supervision I received), it was to take the representations of the family members as 'real.' According to Ödman (2007), there is an openness in the researcher's interpretation of participants' world (i.e., their construct of their actual reality), where these family business governing activities can also be seen as many different things depending on the theoretical frame.

Further, Ödman (2007, p. 62) argues that even detailed descriptions of a simple chain of activities become a question of choices and explains that construction is based on a selection of all possible stories that could be shared. These assumptions were present in phase II of CeFEO, i.e., using Bourdieu's theories as a theoretical frame. However, with the turn towards Bourdieu, the 'choices' of a researcher following the assumptions of research work become more reproductive, i.e., coherent with structural interpretivism.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that researchers from dominant traditions often assume that the research object is given as 'an organization,' rather than assuming it to be socially shared and historically produced. The boundary and definition conversations are also active within the case tradition; for instance, Stake (1995) suggested that a case is seldom a verb, instead, it is often argued to be an object (a manager). The phenomena of this study have developed from the case of 'practices' from an outside view (object) of successful transgenerational entrepreneurship to an anthropological study of family business governance-related activities within fields, where the change of CEO was a seldom occurring event generating opportunity to talk and do things that were seldom done. This theoretically infused empirical delimitation is chosen since governance can be referred to as ownership of business organizations; in fact, the concepts of governance and ownership are often interchangeable (Gersick & Feliu, 2014). Ownership is often treated as merely

financial and legal (as something had, an object). According to Uhlaner et al. (2007, p. 227), governance as a concept, particularly in family business, is more organizational (including structural and processual components). Therefore, the empirical focus also addresses the change in family members' involvement in organs, such as the owner council. Hence, in this study, it is not only the object 'the CEO or the family business' that is in focus but the coexistence of the three dimensions of family, ownership, and management/business. Practice following Bourdieu becomes a reading by me of the field (bits of information related to management, ownership, business, family, with the doing of business family in the center of the three-circles model), i.e., the system of disposition. The reading of daily activities was dual, both from the view of the 'other' and from my firsthand experience. The insights are generated from phases I and II, through reading structures in the form of objective forms of capital, but also a search for subjective views (taking the view of the other in the field). My firsthand experience included participating in how bodies did things detached from how language was used in the form of representations (things explained) by the family members. According to Bourdieu (1990), the body's motor function is invisible to us. This is bodily movement, 'hms,' laughs etc., activities or bits of information more lingering under the 'surface', when family members did this in activities related to governance. The term "reading" is becoming "a read" as using my body as a conscious and unconscious relatively positioned and intuitively sensitive instrument, grounded upon the research habitus embodied at the time of the field study, but also as it has developed during this research project. A critical incident, such as the change of CEO in this family business, stirs the field's structures and disrupts previous stable ways of doing things. An aim is to shed light on forms of knowledge left in darkness. Martinez and Aldrich (2013) write that each family is unique and should be treated when studied.

Karlsson-Stider (2000) found in her study that several important decisions related to ownership were made in private settings, such as in family members' houses. In this light, these private settings could have been included in this study addressing these family business governance activities. However, that would have created a focus on the coexistence of the family and ownership dimensions while excluding the central business dimension. This is not a study of families' ownership of just anything; it is about families and their business ownership. Hence, the coexistence of the three dimensions of family, ownership, and management/business is key.

During the interviews in 2007 and 2009, there were taken-for-granted issues and issues not easily shared, and to understand this, I wanted to be involved and participate in their daily life at the headquarters. I found the habitus concept and began an extensive reading of Bourdieu's work. According to Bourdieu (1977), due to embodied habitus, practice is done consciously and unconsciously by an agent; it is internalized by an agent and reproduced in daily activities. This view of family members' practice helped me revisit the stories and insights I had gained from the interviews in 2007 and 2009. This more embodied orientation of the project, where I, as a researcher, had to be present in a new way,

challenged my research habitus. The development followed Bourdieu's more anthropological approach but also implied a change toward being present with my body at the headquarters.

The anthropological study started with me doing a round of interviews in February 2011 to reconnect and ask for opportunities to take part. The formal changes of the CEO and the company chairperson of the board were going to take place in May 2011. This meant that I could follow the preparations and participate during the day of the formal decision and the period after the change. I generated empirical material on family business governance activities for one year during these shifts. An ethnography often lasts for more than six months, with the researcher physically in the field (Alvehus, 2013). An alternative, according to Alvehus (2013), is a micro-ethnography, with a more specific scope, resembling that of a case study as similar empirical techniques are used but where the aim is still to generate an understanding of the actors in the field, understand their world and create meaning. However, the overlap of business, family, and ownership was constructed via historical bits of information in books and the changes in governance that had been studied via interviews since 2007. According to Kostera (2007 p. 21), an ethnographic study is "rooted in the interpretative paradigm and, more specifically, in phenomenology and social constructivism." However, as discussed in the relational mode of research, this study moves beyond the interpretative paradigm. This meant that I moved from the prefabricated research questionnaire to allowing myself to be present in the 'culture' of the empirical field at the HQ. This also changed from a focus on collecting real descriptions of predefined knowledge areas to taking part in the generation of activities between family members and coworkers at the headquarters, focusing on them and their activities. As I had ongoing parallel assignments at the department (at JIBS), I prioritized my presence in meetings and activities regarding the changes in governing positions, all in dialogue with the family members. One of the senior brothers explained the change of the company chairperson as a formality and with moderate relevance for me to study. I instead focused on participating in formal and informal meetings related to the CEO function. The techniques used were a balance between my being familiar with and what was accepted by the family members and coworkers (see Table 1). What decided the use of many of the techniques was the importance for me to build trust with the family members. There was an ongoing negotiation on participating in different relevant occasions between the family members and me. According to McDonald and Simpson (2014), the access-negotiation process can be challenging, particularly if the aim is to study managerial work that could be confidential for a long time. The social praxeology of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) increasingly became more central in this more ethnographic turn, in choosing relevant 'players' for observing and talking to be present on occasions where things (governance-related activities) were done by, within, and between their bodies. Based on information from previous interviews, I generated a drawing of the governing year within the Palmén family business, with the guiding question: When are decisions made during the year concerning the parallel managerial processes? In the overview, I included:

top management team meetings (once every fourth night), company board meetings (approximately six), company board meetings for the different daughter companies, family and ownership councils twice or three times a year (Christmas, midsummer + one). I also added if different family members were spending their vacation at the same location, the development of a revised strategic plan, presentation and discussion with auditors, assessment of work within the company board, salary negotiations, marketing plans, cost of commodities compared with production, financial investments, and other central activities. With this in mind, I followed a snowball technique of gaining access to relevant events (crashing celebrations). I adapted the techniques to what I found legitimate research practice, suitable, acceptable, and comfortable with and for the family members. One of the senior brothers received access to observe management and company board meetings. The family members were reluctant to share written documentation from meetings and access to the family or owner councils. I gained access to shadowing during workdays at the HQ during the interviews with siblings in the next generation, one of whom acted as host and facilitator during and after visits. During the summer of 2011, I did what I call 'follow-up calls' to talk about events related to the change of CEO. The family members needed to be in physical settings where they could talk freely. These could be at home, in the car, or conversation rooms in the open office setting of the headquarters. This was a solution when I couldn't participate (other assignments with the Ph.D. education) but also when I was not allowed to participate (see Appendix B, Observation of board meetings). Due to how the change of CEO was evolving, I used an open and emerging approach for generating empirical material. During the autumn, I participated in company board meetings and top management meetings; the empirical study ended with a round of interviews with family members and coworkers in February 2012. This is common for conducting an ethnographic study. Kostera (2007) includes an example by Elizabeth Dunn (pp. 48–49) of the importance of allowing the field to drive the research, where an openness towards the actors of the field orients the attention, for instance, to being attentive to searching for the right questions in the ongoing listening after how issues are shared, a hesitance or excusing laughter.

I turned towards participating and studying what the family members were doing to understand the lingering things between the words. This opened the door to techniques used within the ethnography. According to Kostera (2007), the study of culture is a common interest for ethnographers, whereas ethnography is the written effect of anthropological research. Further, Kostera (2007, p.12) writes that "ethnography allows for a creation of theories that are close to human experience, and that also offer the possibility of co-experiencing the reality studied by the researcher." However, as previously introduced, this is a structural interpretative study, grounded on the social praxeology of Bourdieu but also where his concepts are the theoretical constructs in use to generate the construction of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management, while also challenging the existing doxa. Seeing the family as a field informed and guided my approach on site. This reorientation

along Bourdieu's relational mode of research would add to our understanding of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management from a sociologically grounded perspective. Bourdieu (1994, 2005) studied both the family and the business as empirical fields. These two theoretical terms of "family" and "business" had already been conceptualized as fields and have become central theoretical components. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), practice is constructed via a reading of the system of dispositions of the agents in the field (for an extensive overview of techniques used, see Appendix B). Therefore, the Palmén family business served as a promising empirical study in not only creating empirical research opportunities but also generating objectification and conceptualizing a system of distinctions of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management.

Czarniawska (2007) writes about how organizing occurs simultaneously in several different places; this corresponds with the nature of the activities of interest in this study, occurring in several different physical and mental places simultaneously, making it impossible to study them all within the frame of a doctoral study. To illustrate what types of activities were studied or generated, I have developed a table (see Table 3 below) based on a table found in McDonald and Simpson's (2014) paper on shadowing within organizations. Their table illustrates different techniques about 'what is illuminated (e.g., activities),' 'what is left in darkness,' and 'who interprets.' I added one: unit of analysis, in response to the frequently asked question during several research seminars at CeFEO. This table responds to Gherardi's (2009) calls for clarification on whether the practice has been studied from outside or within. It further increases clarity toward the argument by Bourdieu (1998) on the scientific work of capturing, constructing, and validating objective relations, where objective relations, the second-order structures, form the system of disposition, generating practical activities. The practical activities hide the structures that realize them (Bourdieu, 1989); this study implies that in the formulation of practice, as in business family ownership practice, it is the structures that realize the practical activities. The term used "practice," although in its singular form, is misguiding the reading. This has been challenging for me as in the first phase (STEPproject), practices were based on subjective representations studied with a realist assumption upon activities or actions.

Table 3 Comparison of Techniques concerning Constructor: Inclusion and Exclusion of Activities

The components of the empirical study:	**"Interviewing" Follow-up calls**	**"Shadowing"**	**"Direct observation"**	**"Participant observation"**
"What is illuminated?"	"actor perspectives" Family members', coworkers', and external board members' representations of their experiences and understanding of the family business governance-related activities.	"actors, paths (in time and space)" The everyday activities of the family members at the headquarters while the changes were occurring.	"place(s), time(s)" My reading of the interplay in physical places for the activities of the informal and formal meetings.	"researcher perspective (changing over time)" My embodied engagement with family members' activities during the meetings I participated in.
Focus on relevant chunks of empirical material	The family business governance-related activities as defined in ongoing participatory research.	The family members' and coworkers' activities were related to business governance.	The family members interplay within a period and a physical place.	My embodied interplay with the family members doing governance-related activities.
"What is left in the darkness?"	"context" My first-hand experiences of the shared representations from the interviewees.	"actors and places that don't cross the path" The activities during the family, ownership council and other business governance-	"actor meanings" Family members' subjective construction of their experience.	"other actors' meanings" Other participants' embodied understanding of the meetings.

		related activities occur in my absence.		
"Who interprets?"	"First the actor, then the researcher". First the family members/cow orkers, then me.	"First the researcher, then both" First me, and the shadowed when s/he explains what has been done to me.	"Resear-cher": Me	"Researcher ": Me
Content in table adapted from Table 1: Qualitative data elicitation methods compared in McDonald and Simpson's (2014) text within "" corresponds to them. The table shows the relation between techniques used and who makes decisions, and if I construct or the actor (family member/coworker) represents in the generation of empirical material.				

3.13 The Conditional Givens of the Researcher Trajectory

Struggling within the strategic management and entrepreneurship literature early in my Ph.D. education, I turned towards spending time with postdoctoral workers interested in critical management, discourse studies, feminine writing, and corporate governance while pursuing social constructivist epistemology and ontology. This, for instance, resulted in a published discourse analysis of how women in family businesses were portrayed in media articles (Bjursell & Bäckvall, 2009, 2011; 2011). To explore aspects of the empirical material generated in the second phase funded by CeFEO, I held some CeFEO research seminar presentations to explore different ideas and theories and their relevance to the family business research field more broadly. During the first and second empirical phases (phase I STEP and II CeFEO), and in an attempt to establish the third phase of the overall project (social praxeology). I drew selectively upon Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and family and engaged in various conversations on topics such as entrepreneuring (Bäckvall, 2011), strategy as wayfinding (Bäckvall, 2011), and succession in family business (Bäckvall, 2012). In the entrepreneuring I worked with the emerging texts of Johannisson (2009) and Johannisson (2010). In strategy as wayfinding, Chia and Holt (2009), I explored critical turning points during the Palmén history that was in retrospect explained as 'luck'. The aim was to engage with researchers with alternative views on knowledge claims in entrepreneurship, strategy, and family business studies. The CeFEO research environment held common empirical phenomena: family business, ownership, and entrepreneurship. These were studied within various research areas and methods, where researchers worked interdisciplinarily. CeFEO had active international scholars with an interest in family business research as guests who held research seminars on various topics, e.g., qualitative methods, upper-echelon theory (schizophrenic

organization), and micro-historical methods. With my interest in approaching family business differently, I have explored several ideas (issues from the interviews) and concepts (e.g., knowledge claims) throughout this study. Several unpresented paper ideas on entrepreneurship, innovation, and creativity as processes were elaborated upon but never finalized; on the other hand, the empirical report on STEP, after many turns and twists, was finalized in 2011. My research proposal was also written under these conditions at the same time as the third empirical phase, with the field study focusing on the changing CEO was formed and initiated. My overall social position as a researcher was pulling and pushing in different directions. The money and the job description, on the one hand, consistently required that I return to the starting point (phase I STEP) of my reflexive and explorative search for new thinking effects. The field study of the empirical work at the Palmén family business was more inclusive and it was significant in the act of establishing phase III of the social praxeology.

A year after the field study was finalized (early 2012), a change within the supervision committee was initiated. My contract with JIBS ended, and not until a year later did I return to academia as a teacher at the University of Skövde (organization and management). The year of absence from academia generated the third empirical reading of the structuring structures, with the overall attempt not to reproduce the earlier version of the doxa surrounding the empirical and theoretical work. This new academic milieu also followed a version of the earlier academic doxa regarding compliance management research and qualitative organization studies. My ongoing research project was not easily placed within it. With the approaching entrance into the daily routine of preschool (a child born in 2014), I returned to Jönköping University in a permanent teaching position at the Engineering School. These changes can be seen as emancipatory from the primary academic milieu of JIBS and CeFEO. At this point, the change in the supervision committee was also finally completed. However, unthought categories linger and create certain possibilities in academic milieus, which in Bourdieu's vocabulary are the conditional givens of the relative positions in fields. These changes in the academic milieu enabled reflexivity. They contributed to both an emancipatory effect and a new given, for instance, the act of rewriting and redefining the first and second empirical chapters (spring 2017). The finalization of the manuscript during later years was done within the current employment. This drew the development of the reflexive aim forward, generating phases III and IV in the overall research undertaking (see table 3.14.3 below). I have very selectively participated in four or five research seminars, mainly with actors detached from my primary socialization academic milieu. I was not on the e-mail list related to CeFEO research seminars for two to three years, which drew the development of different writing styles forward. Listening to research during CeFEO seminars can also be seen as a potential burden of "heavy tools" that should be dropped, according to Weick (1996). With an awareness of the conditional givens of research, I have attempted to be transparent in reflexive sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

3.14 Overview and Clarification of Empirical Constructions

3.14.1 The First Empirical Chapter

In the first empirical chapter, the Palmén family business is introduced with an emphasis on their aim to become more of a family business (running a family business by several generations and over generations) in organizing their family business governance. This chapter was mainly constructed during the first phase (I STEP) and had a more realistic tone. It is more descriptive-oriented and from the "outside" (another researcher could have written this chapter). The creation and the content of the governing structures of this family business could be seen as belonging to well-established meanings to which most family members can agree. But also, scholars in the family business research field would describe it similarly. The description and understanding of the legal regulations of the foundation structures are created based on the representations given by the family members. I was never allowed to read any documents where the legal text was written. For several years an appeal had been going on concerning tax issues, and although this had been written about in the media, they were still cautious about sharing these details. The local situation should not merely be read as the physical 'local' situation but as the construction of their reasons for organizing their family ownership within Sweden's (local) legal and financial conditions. These local structural conditions and recommendations from professionalization (doxa) have formed the different formal governing forms: the owner council, family council, and the governing rules of these organs. The family members' involvement will be a first-order description of the Palmén family business using the already conceptualized capital forms (social capital). The intention here is to give an empirical description of the dimensions of family and ownership, forming a first step towards the conceptualization of coexistence. Here was also where the change of CEO was taking place – giving the reader an understanding of the setting or the objectivity of the first order, i.e., the objective structures of the social capital.

3.14.2 The Second Empirical Chapter

The second empirical chapter has been chronologically structured with a pre-phase and the formal change of CEO, followed by the post-phase. The material is mainly generated based on the subjective representations of family members and coworkers. The bits and pieces of information are structured to communicate the discrepancy between something that was said (this dominated the material of this empirical chapter) and something else that was done (i.e., my reading of the outcome of the change of CEO). This meant turning towards the family members' common sense and their definition of what constituted a preferred candidate and the actual chosen CEO. I see the CEO as a central position within the business dimension. The business dimension is based on the family members' subjective representations in relation to the functionality of the CEO position and the family. This means that the coexistence of business and family is continued and elaborated further upon, along with the predominant

first-order structures presented in Chapter Five, but also gradually introducing second-order structures through individual and family habitus. The text is based on the family members' subjective representation (constructs) of the change of CEO and my first-hand constructs generated from participating in meetings. Since I was doing interviews while it was going on, the family had not created collectively shared representations of the change of CEO; instead, I got representations that were still in the making as the activities of the change of CEO were emerging. For instance, various arguments for relevant criteria and who was a suitable candidate as the next CEO surfaced in the interviews. This reflected the way family members were constructing themselves and their understanding of the change of CEO in the context of the coexistence of business, family, and ownership. Notably, the change in CEO generated representations of 'taken-for-granted' aspects. That is why I both talked to the family members and also participated in meetings to read the second order of, for instance, judgments (e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7) on how they estimate (count): for instance, the generation of the criteria list for the next CEO, the emergent process, i.e., who had a say in the process, how the family members reached the decision, and how it was communicated within the organization. While constructing and writing the second empirical chapter, I asked myself the following questions: What is this change of CEO about? How can I understand it? Henrik and Hardy dominated the numerous interviews, and Henrik was skilled in creating convincing statements and examples, hence dominating the representations.

The ongoing reflexivity added a sensitive bodily presence to the atmosphere during the ongoing change in CEO. Bourdieu (1975, 1984) in the search for the transformation of capital forms within a field, analyzed the individual habitus in relation to the collective habitus of groups. He used ethnographic techniques to describe habitus in how farmers dressed, walked, and talked, their posture, and their hesitance in, for instance, asking for a dance during a social dance event in the village to construct the system of dispositions. There are as many habitus as there are humans (Broady, 1991); at the same time, there are common aspects of habitus shared by others due to its collective dimension. As the change in CEO was a significant event and a function within 'this is how we do things,' both the subjective representations and in particular, the various arguments directing the decision generated opportunities for me to read this via the capital forms of different family members, their transformation, in particular the cultural capital, and the embodied collective family habitus. Together this formed the reading of the ongoing change of CEO as a game in the field, i.e., the succession game. Here I was attentive to their representations as being related to their social position within a field. This was particularly important as Henrik, as acting CEO, was known to be skilled in oral persuasive communication.

According to Bourdieu (1989), to avoid generating statements about social life based on narratives from informants, the focus should be dual, that of the abstract knowledge of objective patterns and that of the close knowledge of the practical activity. This means that attention to agents' practical strategies in the

field, their explanation of their daily practices, and the invisible structures behind the numerous patterns of daily activities should be addressed in the sociologist research craft. This means that the empirical Chapter Two is dominated by the subjective representation of Henrik and other family members, the essential move towards the structural read with particular attention to what was done in the business dimension. However, to understand how things are done, the more realistic depictions of the first two empirical chapters generate comprehension of the practical activities in focus in the third empirical chapter.

3.14.3 The Third Empirical Chapter

The third empirical chapter is an objectivation of the reading of subjective representations of the family members and constructing three structures of the second order. Practice in phase III comprises my constructions of daily activities (family members) and the family members' representations of these activities to me. When I construct practice, activities, and representations are objectivated as expressions of the distribution of material resources in the form of capital forms and systems of dispositions of the family members' habitus. Practical activities are visible interactions in meetings, conversations, bodily movements, clothing, and laughter, but in the construction also the structuring lingering in the activities being done; the body just does them, not necessarily talked about (e.g., seldom expressed in representations), since some activities, due to their nature, are impossible or difficult to word. The structure that realized the practical activities could be how family members related to each other during a company board meeting or what they laughed about. Further, in working with the empirical material, I tried to listen and sense what was going on between different family members, what issues they shared, and how they shared them. I have also studied the agenda from several meetings, generating an understanding of reoccurring topics by being attentive to things that were different.

Part of my research doxa was the interpretive perspective following Berger and Luckmann (1966), where the thought objects constructed by the researcher to grasp the relational dynamic of the social reality have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of humans, living their daily life within their social world. Thus, the constructs of their common-sense thinking are constructs "of the first order," since the researchers' interpretations are based on their interpretations, which are based on their schemes of perception.

The third empirical chapter is a product of following my intuition in wanting to be around the family members and see their bodies work and participate in their field since we do more than what we can represent. Only by being present as a researcher with the body in the field can the unspoken aspects of the activities become tangible when the researcher works as an instrument in constructing a reading of these aspects. Central here was the break with the head (doxa of the family business research field), as a word for the rational,

intentional cognitive orientation of many knowledge claims from my schooling background (academic education within business administration, focus on entrepreneurship, strategy, and management).

In my construction of the empirical material, practices are seen as related to the first and second order of objectivity. Practice forms a system of dispositions (embodied mental schemata) that are generated from the possible strategies of the agent's social position within the field (due to the sum and type of capital form). These are the results of the double-directed relations between the objective structures (the social structures of the field) and the embodied structures (the previous objective structures that have become part of the embodied structures of habitus) within which the agent is practicing (Bourdieu, 1994). On a very tangible level, Bourdieu's dialectical research position is expressed through my intervention in the quotes in the third empirical chapter (see examples, p. 156), which from a phenomenological research position could be seen as rather rude; 'au contraire,' according to Bourdieu's successor Wacquant (1998, p.5), who believes this probing is appropriate:

> The social world is thus liable to two seemingly antinomic readings: a "structuralist" one that seeks out invisible relational patterns and a "constructivist" one that probes the common-sense perceptions of the individual. Bourdieu contends that the opposition between these two approaches is artificial and mutilating. For "the two moments, objectivist and subjectivist, stand in dialectical relationship" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 21).

As you may have understood by now, the way I have worked with the construction throughout the three empirical chapters has not followed strict systematic procedures; instead, it is a result of the conditional given in the research trajectory of doctoral education and 'strategies' available in the field under the ethical quest to take the family business seriously. It is also to avoid the subtle violence by turning away from unthought categories in the family business research field towards the unthought categories of the Palmén family, with a view to wording the unworded. This subjective construction of the second order is grounded in a researcher's body, acknowledging this research body (mine) as a delicate sensing instrument (emphasizing the participant dimension of the participant objectivation in Bourdieu's reasoning (1990a)). This implies that the construction of the array of daily activities in the different empirical chapters will differ. Resting in this interpretive scholarly practice, the novel world view of Bourdieu (1989) and his "structuralist constructivism" or "constructivist structuralism" added a structuralist interpretative dimension, a post-interpretative dimension (structuralist interpretative) to my study. This provided a fruitful match of the historical dimensions for exploring what a business family does when doing ownership while acknowledging the coexistence. The interpretative actor orientation of phase II has sometimes worked as an unthought category as constructing the second empirical chapter was a move towards the structural interpretation. And as previously stated, Bourdieu didn't provide clear instructions on how to do it. Being supervised as

a business administration dissertation, I turned towards critical organizational scholars in constructing the practice readings to return to the subject area.

These practices, namely calculating, tasting, and joking, seemed more relevant to the field and the particular family business, and I began to rethink their centrality concerning ownership. I am aware that other ordering activities (practices) could have emerged from this empirical material when I focused my attention on embodied hunches in listening, writing, and comparing different statements. Three areas emerged from what can be characterized as following or guided by a certain order (more business as usual than the change of CEO).

Cunliffe and Coupland (2012, p. 71) draw upon Friedrichs and Kratochwil and write about 'pragmatic common sense' used in the abduction process when the researcher makes observations and interpretations and applies different concepts in the interpretative process. This study is relevant as the idea of using capital, field, and habitus first emerged as lenses to see the empirical phenomena (e.g., phase II), then also the ontological reasoning of human practices emerged. Further, the ethical quest to go beyond statements like 'culture' and their ownerships as nontraditional formed the reflexive aim, for instance, towards the doxa (the unthought categories) of the family business research field (e.g., rational, static, and development-oriented). This means that in the third empirical chapter, there are formulations that are more written in the interpretative phase II where, for instance, practice sense is seen as something. Here I am using the pragmatic common sense of 'good enough,' hence reaching satisfaction in the form of creating novel and interesting contributions that had the possibility of creating a movement between the readers' expectations and insights gained. The interest has been to, by embodying the associative work of the brain in creating a structural language that is intentionally fuzzy, create a void and opening for conditions via the social praxeology of understanding family ownership of a business. This has also been driven as the empirical chapters were written during a phase when I intentionally used words that were empirically close to more abstract concepts or terms, for instance: 'shift in CEO' instead of 'succession'. The aim here was to select words which as little doxa (common sense of the family business research field) as possible, particularly during the period when the different phases of the overall research undertaking were in the process of being formulated (see phase IV, Bourdieu in the table below). The structural hermeneutic in the Bourdieu reasoning would imply that the reproduction of structures is done without a structuring subject, which is not the same as without any involvement of humans (e.g., Bourdieu, 1994, p. 51).

Methodologically this work of scientific objectivity can be seen in the emergent approach, where I, as a professional practitioner, was in a dual introduction phase, both to the activities active in the field of the family business and also to the craft of both (reading) being subjectively present and maintaining room to being objectively absent from the present. The adaption towards the direct observation of meetings meant that I could observe and have room for the ongoing sense-making process. I was attentive to how known objects, such as words from managerial literature, were used in a specific meeting. Further, I

was also attentive to nonwords, such as how sounds from the body, such as 'aaa' and 'mm', were used to communicate the product's taste. During the tasting session, I was a novice practitioner, both participating from a subjective view and maintaining a distance for reading the objectivation (the generation of new constructs (capital forms) for reading structuring structures). Brosnan and Threadgold (2017 p. 5) write about how Bourdieu's work has been applied in American sociology as the heterodox approach, which "takes Bourdieu's work as a springboard and uses empirical methods to develop new insights".

Further, they refer to Reay (2004), who emphasizes the importance of bringing Bourdieu's work into practice to develop it, while maintaining the novice meetings with tasting activities to be attentive to the practical knowledge of the experienced family members. In the overall quest following Bourdieu's (1989) assumptions made of the embodied, reproductive nature of practice and human agency, business family ownership practices are constructed with the theoretical tools of social praxeology as both embodied and situated in the family business. This meant that I used my body as a sensitizing research instrument in generating the construction of practice. I was attentive to the 'doxa' used by the family members, my own 'schooling doxa' avoiding the use of words loaded with heavy baggage (e.g., competitive advantage instead 'how do you come up with ideas for new products'), and instead being attentive to things that were unusual, for instance, the act of arranging chairs by one of the senior family members in the dining hall. In doing this act, I asked if it was common for him to open the window to get fresh air in or if he talked to coworkers from various positions in the family business daily, having an observing, curious, and open approach to how things are done.

Although I used different techniques, this all created a possibility for me in line with what Bourdieu (2003, p. 282) writes:

> Participant objectivation undertakes to explore not the 'lived experience' of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility – and therefore the effects and limits – of that experience, and, more precisely, of the act of objectivation itself. It aims at objectivizing the subjective relation to the object which, far from leading to a relativistic and more-or-less antiscientific subjectivism, is one of the conditions of genuine scientific objectivity (Bourdieu 2011).

The table below gives an overview of the act of objectivation itself, i.e., how the conditional given the research trajectory has directed how this research undertaking has developed. This research process has spanned several phases, although visualized with closed and open lines. This is an act of showing the process has moved forward without clear-cut boundaries. A central characteristic of this research process has been the contradicting aim structured by the different external financing involved. With several other interests and stakeholders in use, the goal has been unclear to me, and the orientation has shifted. A table has been made as an educational tool to communicate and give an overview and credit to a process characterized by several turns.

Table 4 An Overview of the Different Phases in the Research Undertaking

Phases	**I STEP**	**II CeFEO**	**III Social Praxeology**	**IV Practice Bourdieu (1990a)**
Epistemological Orientation	Comparative Business Cases	Actor Oriented	Embodied/ Anthropological /Field-specific	Emancipatory
Methodological Orientation	Realist/ Functionalist/ Interactionalist	Subjectivist/ Interpretative/ Collaborative	Structural Hermeneutics/ Participant Objectivation	Radical Humanism Nondoxic
Outcomes	Comparative Cases	Interpretations, Practical implications	Constructed Structuring Structures	Epistemic Capital
Core theoretical Concepts	Strategic management, Entrepreneurial Orientation (EO)	Strategy-as-practice, Ownership	Field, Capital, Habitus, and Practical Sense	Biases and Doxa, the unthought categories
Chapters	1, 4, & 5	1 & 5–6	1–3 & 6	1–9

According to Wigren (2003), a text is perceived as authentic when the author is genuine about the experiences of observing and participating in everyday life of the empirical field. I have described the experience of using different techniques and the implications of how the empirical material was generated. According to Wigren (2007), a convincing text makes a study plausible when the reader recognizes the text's reasoning but reaches new understandings. Hence, good writing shows something we hadn't thought of or experienced before (Grey & Sinclair, 2006).

Chapter 4: Organizing Family Business Governance

This chapter introduces how the Palmén family aimed to become a family business by organizing their family business governance. This empirical construction of the development of this organizing can be seen as a response to Steier et al. (2015), who call for conceptualizing corporate governance in terms of its embeddedness in different economic and social activities within a variety of contexts with a particular concern for the unique character of the family business. It describes the family's way of recognizing the structure of their governance organs with their shared intention to own over generations. Further, it gives an empirical description of the legal context of Sweden, setting the conditions of the foundation ownership structure. This empirical construction forms the descriptions of family and ownership and their coexistence with the Palmén family business. This chapter forms an introduction to the overall conceptualization of coexistence. Bourdieu (1994) has already conceptualized family as a field; the family forces of fission and fusion form alternative reasoning for reproducing corporate governance categories (doxa). Ownership was central in the overall organization of the governance structures in the Palmén family business. Consequently, ownership is of main concern in conceptualizing the business family field.

"Why are we doing what we are doing?" asked Henrik and Hardy themselves when they had saved the family business from bankruptcy in the 70s and experienced a couple of successful years in the 80s and 90s. This question triggered conversations within the family on inquiries related to their purpose of ownership. For instance: Why did they own this business? Was anyone in the next generation interested in taking over? Or should they sell it?

4.1 The Palméns' Family Business

For over 250 years or across nine generations, this family has produced cakes (see Appendices E & F), organized in various legal forms. The legal entity of the family business that had been passed down to the current generations (fourth and fifth) of today was bought in the 1920s. The family members who bought this legal entity in the 1920s had ancestors operating within this craft for five generations. To emphasize the notion of historical activities (e.g., Bourdieu, 1989), I will refer to the generations as the eighth and ninth since this is how long the Palmén family has been baking cakes. With this choice, I try to reorient attention from the legal connection between a family and a corporate institution to emphasize the actual craft of producing a product over several centuries. For instance, in the STEPproject, the legal relationship between the family and business was emphasized regarding generations as fourth and fifth. I see this as belonging to the operationalization tradition of coding a data set based on

identifying the number of years a company has been active in relation to its annual turnover and/or the number of employees (i.e., along with the notion of tidying up the (messy) data).

From 2007 to 2011, the Palmén family business produced products on a large scale. Production was carried out in three different physical locations in Sweden. The products were sold via resellers, their customers, while marketing targeted their end consumers. The competition was high, but with strong brand recognition, market shares were gained. Margins were low due to the high legal regulation of the industry. Approximately 1000 people were employed. The family business was legally organized with a mother company and several daughter companies. The headquarters was designed as an "open office": The management, sales, and the core of the administrative work were made here.

Here is a brief history of the business: The turbulent years during the 70s turned to growth during the 80s. During the 90s, turnover surged. The press depicted the family business as an entrepreneurial success story. This era's organizational processes were ad hoc, paired with the growth that required more structure. Henrik and his brother, Hardy (eighth generation), wanted to sustain organizational proactiveness by working ad hoc in executive decision-making, creating flexibility in terms of seizing opportunities. The balance between structure and flexibility was an ongoing discussion within the management team during the overall transition of entrepreneurship in the family. In the mid-90s, the 'next,' or ninth, generation entered operational positions as company board members (for family involvement, see Appendix G). This was a short introduction to the history, key development steps, and the central discussion of the balance between structure and ad hoc work.

4.2 The Ownership Was Placed in a Foundation

Due to the high inheritance taxes in Sweden, several families who owned a business changed their ownership to foundation form[27]. This change in tax laws drove the process of identifying another form of ownership from the shareholding (public) form. The brothers continued with their successful experiences of working with externals (since the 70's, external members on the company board, including the chairperson); this created room for critical questions on formulating problems and solutions within the company board (for instance, the external company chairperson and other experts as board members). A natural part of the governance of the family business was talking to other family businesses and working closely with skilled tax lawyers. The

[27] According to Thomsen (2014) several Nordic companies are owned via foundations. One exampel is the Wallenberg family who are a conglomerate controlling several industrial companies via their foundation. This foundation also finances research. Another example is the large retail company IKEA, operating worldwide. One reason, except for the historical cause of the inheritance tax, is the long-term dimension that the foundations create for the dynamic nature of the family ownership. If we compare the foundation ownership globally, we only find a small number, for instance: The Tata Group (an industrial conglomerate, India), The Guardian (newspaper, UK), and Bosch (engineering, Germany).

aim was to create an ownership structure that suited their intention to sustain the relationship between the business and family over generations. A foundational ownership form was chosen. The brothers ended the period of being publicly owned, with the family business being taken from the stock exchange.

According to the brothers, a defining reason for these changes was that in the mid-90s, the future company's control over the family business was threatened by the high inheritance taxes in Sweden[28]. For instance, if one of the brothers had died, they would have been forced to sell a substantial part of the company shares to pay the inheritance taxes. The fee for their life insurance had also surged due to the increasing value of their company shares. When traveling, the brothers never shared flights, cars, or trains. The (external) regulative enterprising structure in Sweden separated the brothers. The business and ownership dimensions' external structures separated family members, i.e., forming forces of fission within the family functioning. During this time, the senior group of the ninth generation started to work in the family business (e.g., forces of fusion with the family functioning). They could not imagine another surname of their family business. For the children of Hardy and Henrik (the ninth generation), the family business had become part of their way of living as a family.

During forming the foundation, the brothers wrote in letters[29] their view of ownership and how it should be done in the future. These letters were shared within the family. This was a process of formulating implicit aspects of the purpose of ownership over generations to become more of a family business with a broader purpose than that of a mere individual financial gain. When they shared these letters within the family, the purpose became explicit, and it facilitated the development from running the business as brothers and one sister to 'custodianing' as several generations. They worded their refined way of 'family ownership' as "they had thrown away the key to the ownership[30]." After this construction, the family ownership could no longer be sold, given away, lost due to a hostile takeover, or liquidated due to the high inheritance taxes.

In this family, the worst-case scenario was to lose the family business, either in the form of bankruptcy or forced to sell it. Why did the family express this? This family had a long experience of being privately owned and a delimited

[28] The inheritance tax was abolished on 17th December 2004. It was progressively structured, e.g., in the case of a fortune over SEK700,000 it was 70%. Unrealized capital gains taxes could not be deducted; this implied that for this family the inheritance tax was close to 100% of the company value. The main reason to abolish the inheritance tax was the problem it caused for shifting ownership between generations within family businesses in Sweden.

[29] These letters were never shared with me. In fact, the brothers were reluctant to share the actual details of the legal and financial regulations of their ownership, instead they explained it as they had 'thrown away the key.' This was due to an ongoing lawsuit of taxes related to their ownership as a foundation (this legal process lasted for ten years, and during this time no dividend was paid to the family). Sharing details was a risk in terms of revealing something that could be of disadvantage in this law process.

[30] According to the legal definition, ownership is the ultimate and exclusive right conferred by a lawful claim or title, and is subject to certain restrictions to enjoying, occupying, possessing, renting, selling, using, giving away, or even destroying an item of property. Ownership may be corporeal (name for a tangible object such as a house) or incorporeal (name for an intangible object, such as copyright, or a right to recover debt) (source: BusinessDictionary.com, retrieved on 02 02 2016)).

period (approximately 15 years) of being listed on the stock exchange, which meant that the family members could sell their shares on the financial market. According to Robé (2011), these forms of ownership are very different, and he goes so far as to call the public shareholding in a corporation (listed) version a nonownership in its pure legal form. In Robé's words (2011): "Their lack of ownership is such that, strictly speaking, shareholders cannot even sell the corporation. […] They can only sell their shares and the legal rights that follow with the shares. When another company acquires a company, assets and liabilities are of interest, but these are not sold directly. […] Access to them is only obtained indirectly, through the ownership of the shares and with the continuing constraints of corporate law" (Robé, 2011, pp. 27–28). Robé (2011) emphasizes that holding shares as a legal person does not result in corporation ownership. Using the broader nonlegal terms of economic organization, a firm "is structured using several legal institutions" (p. 5). The private company, the public corporation, and the business foundation are three legal institutions structuring this family business over time.

In sustaining the family business in the future, the CEO, Henrik, played a vital role in the collective interest of the family. The inheritance of ownership between the generations was solved when the legal ownership was placed in a foundation[31]. One of the reasons was to ensure that the family business would become a more substantial family business, as Henrik expressed it. This act implied that a family member couldn't liquidate their ownership part any longer.

4.3 Returning to History – Leaving the Stock Exchange

Formalizing its family ownership mission, it started colliding with the demand of the stock exchange to increase company value with the dividend to external shareholders. At the end of the 90s, the interest in investing in production-oriented companies controlled by families had declined. Instead, investments were made in the successful IT companies in Sweden – promising short-term gain and high growth potential of 'the new economy.' This era was labeled as the 'IT bubble' due to the overvalued share price. The bubble bursting at the end of 2001 caused severe financial setbacks in Sweden. During this period, the family delisted their family business. The stock exchange had served the financial needs of the 80s and 90s well. However, the advantage had diminished, and the family wanted to set the future strategy without institutional interest from other owners. They wanted to return to the 'normal situation' of freedom and independence. For instance, their grandfather refrained from taking bank loans to avoid influence from external stakeholders.

Work routines developed during the stock exchange era were also kept. For instance, the financial reporting that had been introduced remained. Assessing the operations each quarter had become a method for deciding on future investments. An external board member who represented a significant

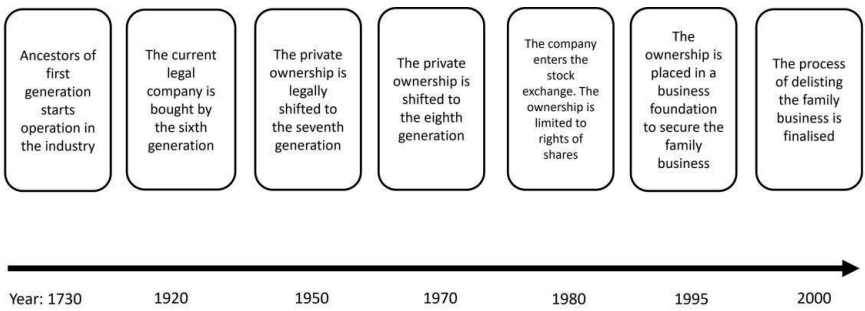
[31] According to Thomsen (2012) a foundation has a particular purpose that is set by the founders.

shareholder also remained because this person had become a friend and contributed valuable insights to the company board discussions.

This also meant that a woman was no longer an 'owner' of the family business when Hardy and Henrik's sister, Marie, sold her shares. She had been living and working abroad since the mid-80s and declined to be involved as an owner under the requirements to follow the foundational ownership structure.

Below is an illustration showing how legal ownership has changed over time in the Palmén business. The ownership was privately held for a very long time. When it changed to being public ownership and drawing upon Robé's (2011) line of argument, it was delimited to the mere rights of holding shares. This era was significant because the brothers gave up control of the business to grow. In Robé's (2011) terminology, they even agreed to be nonowners of the family business. The perceived challenges with private ownership pushed the brothers to argue for this solution despite the advice from the external company board members, and despite the potential threat expressed by the brothers with this alternative in terms of the risk of losing the family business through shares being sold or a hostile takeover. The process of creating the foundation ownership structure ended at the beginning of the next millennium when the Palmén family business was delisted. The business foundation created an institutionalized form of collective ownership (Swedish: '*statuterna*'), where the principles of how the business should be governed were stated. The brothers expressed the necessity of being independent in the ownership of the family business, and thereby they sought to return to the advantage of private ownership while renewing the ownership form to incorporate the brothers and their offspring. In the business foundation form, the ownership via statuterna was delimited to family members.

Figure 4 Historical View of Ownership: Private, Shareholding(public), and Foundation

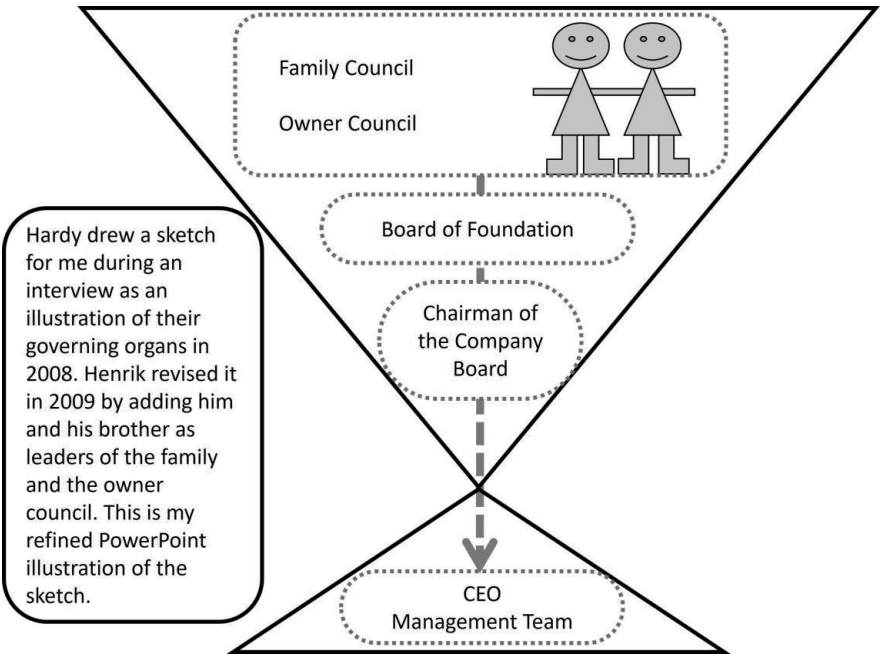


4.4 The Family in the Governance Organs

A family council was created in the mid-90s when the senior group of the ninth generation was in their 20s, had started to work in the family business, and stated that they wanted to own the family business in the future. Ten years later,

governance and management were carried out by both the eighth and ninth generations. To facilitate this, they attended a workshop on family business ownership organized by the Family Business Network (Swedish Section) and led by Annelie Karlsson, Ph.D. (see her dissertation Familjen & Firman Karlsson-Stider, 2000). When the three-circle model – family, ownership, and business/management (Gersick et al., 1997) – was presented to them (e.g., an example of the doxa of professionalizing), they realized that the name of their family council was incorrect because 'family' in this family was a broader group of members than merely the fathers and the senior group of the ninth generation. The *family council* became the *owner council*, including the senior brothers and their children in the ninth generation. A new council was created, *the family council*, to which all extended family members were invited except former wives and stepchildren (see Appendix H). This act showed that the extended family also played a central role in the future of the family business. The act of organizing their family ownership in these different family governance organs was also following the institutionalized recommendations from family business advisers (some active within family business research) and creating formal organs for the needs of the owners and the family. Below is an illustration drawn by Henrik to communicate his view of organizing their family governance. Hardy later refined the sketch.

Figure 5 Illustration of Palmén's Governance Structure



According to Henrik, the owner council's purpose was to be an advisory organ to the foundation board and the company board. The owner council was an owner organ created by the majority owner. It had a similar function to the shareholder assembly. In the owner council[32], there were voting regulations for Henrik and Hardy's family sides, but they were seldom used and were not well known when asked about in the interviews. Similarly, the ninth generation did not emphasize the age limit for participating and voting. Instead, the following factors decided whether a family member was included in the owner council: 1) interest and a will to be part of the family business; 2) deemed by others to be mature enough (over actual age); and 3) a collective inclusion decision within the family (over actual age). The owner council controlled the family business via the foundation and company boards. These regulations stated that if the foundation board was not acting according to the *statuterna*, the owner council could select four new members for the foundation board, constituting majority votes over the three existing board members. This voting has never occurred, as the brothers held an ongoing dialogue with the foundation board members. Based on the owner council's recommendation, the foundation board suggested new members for the company board. The owner council discussed succession, ethical questions, ownership questions, and social responsibility. However, the foundation or the company board gave no written ownership directives.

At the same time, the ownership directives were communicated by oral dialogues or by participating physically in conversations on ownership-related issues. For example, Henrik and Hardy discussed ongoing ownership issues with the foundation board members. Several family members from the owner council were members of the company board. They participated in the discussions on ownership-related issues. For instance, managers stated during the interviews that it would be helpful to have directives regulating financial indicators: annual growth rate, currency exchange, or interest of external capital. These decisions were related to risk and increased the 'marginal' of the financial ratios. The family members from the owner council wanted to be part of discussing these decisions, with their vast historical experience of decision-making, including uncountable aspects (particular words used by media related to the family business, e.g., 'negative publicity,' potential political changes in Europe and the impact on the cost of capital, or the supply of critical production commodities, i.e., their accumulated experience of running a business within this industry, Sweden, and Europe). The decision in the company board was made by consensus; the external board members constituted the majority (the family members held four seats out of nine on the company board: a minority) but had never voted against the family. This was, and still is, the commonly used decision-making style in the Swedish corporate culture tradition, along

[32] To become a member of the family council, the age limit was 18, and at the age of 25 they had the right to vote. But the age limit was not stressed during the interviews, instead it was rather the interest and if the person was perceived as mature that formed the 'rule' of participating or not in the family council.

with low hierarchical structures, high transparency, and coworker representations on the company board[33].

Discussion among the family members was ongoing in several arenas: ad hoc meetings in the corridor, at the end of a workday with father and son having a drink, during family dinners, over the phone while driving the car, during the breaks of company board meetings, etc. The ownership, company board, and management questions can be seen as entwined in these discussions – for instance, a question like: How can we make the company more efficient? One way could be to ally with another company, but this could jeopardize the control over the family business, which is more important than maximizing the efficiency of operations. This question was both ownership and management related to increasing the efficiency of production and distribution, which can be seen as the coexistence of ownership and business. A hallmark over generations had been independence and freedom with other external stakeholders. The mission of this family was intertwined with the governance organs:

> Our mission is to improve the products for the consumers continuously. By increasing the market share, we, the Palmén family, create the foundational conditions of a more vital enterprise that can sustain us in the future.

The vehicle for this mission was expressed as nurturing an entrepreneurial spirit within the family, which Henrik also expressed as *the purpose of the family council*. For instance, the entrepreneurial spirit could be seen as a manager talking with Henrik on Friday about a more significant investment, which was realized the following week. Another result was the development of the family business from being a small-scale remote family business to a substantial business holding market shares equivalent to that of the market leader. In June, an important annual event was the midsummer celebration at the family's summer house. This family gathering created room for the different family members to develop and maintain their bonding. Young children can hold hands, play, spend time together, and laugh in these social settings. However, there is also space to discuss family issues related to the business. There was not a set number of meetings, but the councils often met twice per year or when needed. Commonly, an owner council was also held if there was a family council. Hardy chaired the family council at the start of the study, followed by his sister Marie. If a family member did not participate, the family discussed the reason for their absence.

The women did the administration of facilitating the family and owner council meetings during 'nonoffice time.' Eleonor (youngest daughter of Henrik) became frustrated when she tried to coordinate a meeting for the owner council, and family members were not flexible in making room in their

[33] Since the late 80s the work legislation of MBL has stated that the union has the right to be informed about the current status of the company and future changes. This 'structure' forces management and the company board to identify reasons, solutions, and the implications of a 'change case' before it is presented to the union. This 'structure' diminishes the risk of decision-making on 'loose grounds.'

calendars. Protocols had also been incomplete and/or not distributed. Henrik referred to this as follows: "It is typical us we are working in the middle of everything in the day-to-day running of the business." Business and family were entwined in the daily activities, forming a chain of activities where ownership, management, and family were present. An external lawyer was assigned as chairperson of the owner council to create a structure of the meetings (e.g., ensure that all the members can participate, prepare an agenda, send out the protocol, etc.). But this solution did not solve the problems of the absence and incomplete protocols (sometimes not distributed). A 'law solution' is a common way of solving problems related to family governance of business (e.g., doxa implying the taken-for-granted of how to solve family business problems). This has been standard to solve a succession of ownership (see discussion in Thomas, 2002). According to Sund et al. (2015), this solution has mirrored more aspects, such as identity and belonging to the family, and these issues fall beyond the boundaries of 'legal solutions.' Often the lawyer's standard working procedures do not correspond to all the needs of a family's way of working in their governance organs. Sund et al. (2015) emphasize the family's psychological needs (e.g., the informal side during intensive phases of succession), as knowledge, relations, and emotions are more challenging to plan for than the more formal-oriented areas of law or finance.

4.5 The Family Members' Positions in Governance Organs

In the description of the family governance of the Palmén family business, the family and the business coexistence is seen as part of the business family field.

This study assumes the family and the business/management dimensions with the family and the business as fields of Bourdieu (1994, 2005). Since the closeness of relations in the extended family varies, a commonality of this group is that they all influence how the different family members in the extended family influence the 'doing' of business. According to Bourdieu (1986) the relative positions within the family and the business will be described and paired with the different levels of social capital. It consists of three levels within group membership, i.e., social capital: 'amie', 'copaine,' and 'acquaintance'[34]. The first level is the close family based on love 'amie,' with the second level of relationships being friends 'copaine,' and the third level being 'acquaintance.' Through the durable network, we are also related to our connections' connections. The Palmén family is assumed as a durable network of 'amie' and 'copaine.'

The family members' relative position will be presented with the earlier described owner and family council (see Appendices G & H). These organs governed the business via the company board of the mother company and

[34] The different levels of social capital were clarified in a conversation with Associate Professor Marie-Léandre Gomez, ESSEC Business School, Paris, on the different nuances of social capital (see the following publications drawing upon Bourdieu: Marie-Léandre Gomez, 2010; Marie-Léandre Gomez & Bouty, 2011; Marie-Léandre Gomez et al., 2003).

several daughter companies. According to Bourdieu (1986, 1996), age in the family and operative position in the business increases the relative positions of this family business. The relative positions of each family member within the owner council and the family council were related to their age and sibling position in the family. Further, according to Bourdieu (1998), a masculine order exists in society. I perceived males as having higher relative positions than women. Operational involvement was highest in the company board, via the management team in the mother company, managerial position in the mother company, or CEO and/or board member in daughter companies. According to Bourdieu (1989), the relative positions are set in relation to their accumulation of different capital forms received by holding different relative positions. This applies to the family members depending on the enrollment within the family, governance organs, and formal employment in the business.

The owner council consisted of ten family members: Henrik and Hardy and their oldest children. Decisions were made by discussion rather than voting. In the interviews, they claimed to have never used the 'voting' system to reach a decision. The family council consisted of the members of the owner council, the brothers' sister (head of the family council), the spouses of the brothers, the ninth generation, and their spouses and their children (the tenth generation). The family council held a relatively lower position than the owner council since it didn't have the rights and responsibilities that followed with '*statuterna*' of the foundational board.

From my experiences of interviewing several family members and spending time at the headquarters, Henrik and Hardy held the highest relative position in the family (fathers, 'the deciders,' were present in how the children and others talked about what issues they decided and how they were referred to). However, between Henrik and Hardy, Henrik was the 'family head' as the oldest brother and also the CEO (along with a reading of sum and type of capital possessed in these two social positions of the family and the business field, i.e., Bourdieu (1994)). When the family held their first family meeting, the family was separated into two teams, one team consisting of Henrik's family and one of Hardy's family. It was a sports competition. Hardy had always been the sportier of the brothers. When Hardy's team won, Henrik could not accept it (this can be read as his younger brother challenging Henrik's relative highest position as the older brother in the family). He accused Hardy's team of cheating and the judge of being corrupt. However, Henrik's children, Adam, Eleonor, and Alan, took it in their stride and agreed that Hardy's team was the winner. Even today, Henrik has not accepted this loss. Another substantial conflict happened when the brothers acquired a service company. Hardy feared they were not skilled enough to own and manage a service company; instead, he believed they should focus all their energy on their business, which constituted their family heritage. Another disagreement between the brothers was a business decision implying they would compete with their customers. This could cause indirect harm to their family heritage, and the production company.

Further, in this family, Henrik and Hardy have two groups of children in the ninth generation due to divorces. The older group was in their 40s while the younger group was in their 20s. My interpretation of how the younger group referred to the older group relating to involvement in the family business and being skilled at their work formed the older group's construction relating to Bourdieu (1986), a higher relative position in the family.

The brothers' sister, Marie, held a particular position in the family. She was not part of the owner council since she had sold her shares when the company left the stock exchange. She had no children and was not married but had a strong emotional bonding with the next generation and the family business overall. She was head of the family council. Due to these 'structures,' she held a relatively high position in the family. I perceived her standing to be just below her brothers. For instance, advice on family issues could significantly influence her since she had no traditional capital forms to protect, legal, financial, or parental. Nevertheless, she acted with similar authority to that of her brothers. We will have reasons to return to Marie concerning the third dimension of ownership in the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management.

The operative involvement within the family business was Henrik as CEO, while Hardy, former marketing director, worked as a company board member and chairperson of a daughter company. Henrik's three oldest children worked in the business. Adam was HR and IT manager, Alan was CEO of a daughter company, and Eleonor worked with external relations. Daniel worked part-time with product promotion. Hardy had no children working in the business while the study was going on. However, they had been working there during summers while they were still attending school in the past. On the company board, two chairs (each with a deputy) rotated among the children of Henrik and Hardy (two chairs on each family side). The deputies from the family were also present during the company board meetings since the deputies of the union representatives were present. Before the change of CEO, on Henrik's side were Alan and Adam (deputy), and on Hardy's side were Rikard (who passed away) and Maria (deputy). After the change of CEO, on Henrik's side were Eleonor and Daniel (deputy), and on Hardy's side were Maria and Patrik (deputy).

Notable positions of members influencing their relative positions in the family council included Henrik's wife, Jenny. She was CEO of a daughter company owned by Henrik and Hardy (50/50). Adam's wife, Margareta, was a product manager within a daughter company, and Alan's wife, Matilda, worked part-time with HR recruitment for the mother company.

4.6 Capital Forms of the CEO function

According to Bourdieu (1986) symbolic capital is a legitimated, recognized form of capital constituting all other capital forms (particularly the embodied and objectified form of cultural capital). Symbolic capital can be related to the CEO function where Henrik as a family member and CEO has accumulated

labor when portrayed numerous times as a successful entrepreneur of the family business (a former listed company) in the financial press.

In the quest to become more of a family business, Henrik took an active role in improving enterprising conditions, as he expressed. Since the beginning of the millennium, Henrik has become more involved in various formal organizations to improve the conditions of corporate life in Sweden. These actions derived from the accumulated experience of the brothers and their father in running a family business within what they perceived as harsh Swedish regulations for enterprising. In the 70s, the state initiated nationalizing private ownership. Henrik's dedication to improving the regulations for enterprising in Sweden can be seen as using his symbolic capital to improve the legal conditions for family businesses; for instance, changing regulations on taxes is a long-term process involving several influential societal agents. The way of collaborating within society and building strong relations with powerful societal actors has been suggested by Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2006) as typical of the stewardship behavior of family firms who intend to own for future generations. Despite Henrik's dedication to these external assignments, his primary commitment was to the family business. In 2009, during the financial crisis, he announced that he would quit all his external assignments and focus all available time and energy on preparing the family business for the change of CEO. He intended to hand over the family business in the best possible condition. Again, this subjective representation of Henrik's priorities can be interpreted as the family forces of fusion directing orientation of the CEO function on internal governance of this family business.

4.7 Ownership, Family, and Business as Coexistence

The dimensions of family, ownership, and business/management as illustrated from the Palmén family business have been identified as separate yet coexisting, and with the construction of the business foundation, coexistence is reinforced. The changes in institutional legal structures of ownership (e.g., Robé, 2011) resulted in the ownership dimension transforming more than the other two dimensions. In terms of coexistence, the transformation in ownership altered the preconditions for the other two dimensions (family and business) by clarifying family and ownership. Ownership had transformed into private, transgenerational, and collective. The process of transforming into a professional family business was ongoing when I started to generate empirical material in 2007. As illustrated by the quotations in the first chapter, they used metaphors to describe this new situation as a culture, nontraditional, and a way of life. In becoming more of a family business, they followed the doxa of professionalization paired with their doxa of describing it as a culture. In many ways, this represented their new situation, which I interpreted as a call for understanding its conditions in a new way.

Firstly, this change in structuring the ownership was done to prevent the family business from being separated from the family, as in the case of sudden

death or a hostile takeover. The family had agreed that the family business should remain within the family. As a result, the foundation's purpose was to secure family to the family business, create a structure for succession within the family, and prevent the transfer of ownership to external actors. Ownership stakes could only be given or exchanged within the family. These family ownership legal and financial structures were aimed at ensuring that the family members acted as custodians of the family heritage.

Secondly, it can be interpreted as the family business has become part of this family. The children could not imagine the family business not having their surname. It was unthinkable that this socially constructed object – the family business – would not continue to be part of their family. Although selling would have been a natural choice economically and rationally, the family business would have implied a large sum of private spending money for each family member. But this family expressed that the purpose of ownership was never for personal gain. Within the STEPproject, the substantial coexistence in the dimensions of the family and ownership of the Palmén family business was characterized as a case of successful transgenerational entrepreneurship practices. As a response to questions from the phase II (CeFEO), the family members articulated ownership as custodianship. Bourdieu's (1986) vocabulary of emphasis on the social and cultural capital forms becomes relevant here, downplaying the centrality of the performance orientation as part of my schooling doxa and the STEP (strategic management doxa). As expressed by Henrik, the overall quest was to become a stronger and more durable business, i.e., to become more of a family business. Drawing upon Bourdieu (2005), the family and business formed a substantial coexistence in the field of family business, i.e., a business family field with a restructuring of the governance forms (i.e., ownership via foundation). However, the different capital forms challenge the singularities of economic capital with its inherent performance orientation in general business studies and the Palmén family business in particular.

Thirdly, the lawsuit against the family foundation indirectly reinforced their custodian approach, restraining individual financial gain, and therefore worked as a force of family fusion (Bourdieu, 1994). A force of fission was, for instance, the act of the next generation asking for money to buy a car or a flat. The brothers answered that the family members could only get remuneration via operative involvement or membership of the company board following the remuneration principles of nonfamily members. Instead, the yearly financial margin was reinvested in production technologies, and increasing brand awareness. This can be seen as the forces of fusion (creating more family business) were emphasized and also reinforced by the lawsuit over the fission interest of each family member. The allocation of investing the available financial margin in the business was decided in relation to the need of the individual family members. For instance, some personal expenses of individual family members could be covered by business funds. Examples mentioned in the interviews were business-related education and security systems of owners' households.

According to Bourdieu (1994), the family reproduces capital forms because it can. The practice of sustaining the family is done mainly by women (e.g., Bourdieu, 1994). An example of this was the brothers' sister Marie. She was chair of the family council without being a legal or financial owner. Further, for the individual family member, involvement in the governance organs was sometimes related to costs. Eleonor was expected to perform service activities during nonoffice hours, contacting other family members to agree on when to meet on issues, e.g., related to ownership or family. I also observed Eleonor working in the family business and talked about how she felt uncomfortable when she met the expectations from her coworkers of having money available for luxury shopping. This example is included as it illustrates the doxa of the shareholder logic (e.g., in line with the agency theory assumption, it can be said that dividends are paid to the beneficiaries, i.e., the family members), where this work could then have been compensated via dividends. But since this family was on a quest to become a more collective family business (forces of fusion), these activities became nonfinancial compensation work.

According to Bourdieu (1994), the practice of sustaining family cohesion is commonly carried out by women when they execute the service function during family celebrations. Marie and Eleonor did this. According to Bourdieu (1994), the strong emotional bond of the family is created by symbolic and practical work that generates generosity, solidarity, and affection. The family feeling and cohesion are maintained through numerous activities such as providing services, arranging family gatherings, and showing kindness. Marie was responsible for family council meetings, which corresponds to how Bourdieu (1994) writes that women create occasions when the family can also meet, which is essential for the family functioning, for instance, during annual festivities, like celebrating Christmas, midsummer, and birthdays. In these family governance meetings, ownership issues are discussed when the family members participate in these events forming subjective and collective shared experiences and the notion of a social room. A social room "is within itself a principle of a relational phenomenon of the social world: The term 'social room' constitutes all of the 'reality' that represents and exists in the coexistence of the exteriority that characterizes the elements that are the foundation of the reality of the agent" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 44). A social room for the Palmén family members was entwined with corporate governance assumptions (dividends for governance work, i.e., structures for allocating financial corporation capital), and the gendered family function of facilitating family meetings infused by governance work. Two realities coexist (collide?) among the family members, that of the functioning of the family (maintaining family fusion in celebrating annual festivities) and expectations generated by the assumptions of corporate governance (i.e., shareholder value logic, human behavior as self-serving, rationally bounded and opportunist; e.g., Lubatkin, 2005).

Fourthly, family ownership via a foundation increased the close links and relationship between the family and the business. For instance, Balderrama (2015) discusses the institutionalization of family ownership, where the family is bound to the business in perpetuity. The structure via the foundation of this

family ownership became an external social structure – perceived as existing objectively (capital form, Bourdieu, 1986) – constituting the materialization of the internal structures of the ownership dimension. This meant that this family business (this local empirical example) formalized the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management within the external legal conditions of Sweden. This particular family business forms a strong coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. As a result of this, forces of fission (Bourdieu, 1994), of giving away ownership by shares, selling, or losing the family business due to a hostile takeover from competitors or the Swedish state, were demolished, or as Henrik puts it, 'they threw away the key.' Family ownership via a foundation was institutionalized along with legal structures for ownership in Sweden but also based on the advice of company lawyers and examples of ownership structures of other owner families. Their family ownership formed their subjective understanding of this externalized objective structure (family ownership via a foundation). Through Bourdieu, there is a reopening of the natural dimension of family as an objective social category in relation to ownership and business/management. In Bourdieu's own words (1996):

> Thus, the family as an objective social category (a structuring structure) is the basis of a family as a subjective social category (a structured structure), a mental category that is the matrix of countless representations and actions (e.g., marriages) that help to reproduce the objective social category. The circle is that of reproduction of the social order. The near-perfect match that is then set up between the subjective and objective categories provides the foundation for an experience of the world as self-evident, taken for granted. And nothing seems more natural than family; this arbitrary social construct seems to belong to one side of nature, the natural and the universal (p. 21).

This elaboration of the family concept by Bourdieu (1994), implies an alternative conceptualization of the family category in constructing the coexistence: family, ownership, and business/management. For this family, the business had become the taken-for-granted. In this family business, the business had become part of the family, forming an objective social category. The process of institutionalization was further accentuated in the STEPproject, where influences from the family business research area worked in the direction of separating family, ownership, and business/management. For instance, the advice was to formalize family governance in this family, which meant separating the family council into also forming the ownership council. Through the foundation, family ownership was institutionalized and protected from forces of fission. This meant that this foundation structure protected the family's explicit ambition to own as custodianship over generations. Another example of the doxa from the corporate governance was the criticism of nepotism when the children joined the company board in the 90s of a listed company. The argument of nepotism constrains the coexistence of family and ownership dimensions. According to Bourdieu (1989), nothing humans create is

everlasting, but the socially constructed structures are instead durable. However, this can change if external or internal conditions change, for instance, regarding forces of fission or changes in legal regulations (taxes). For example, an explicit indirect disadvantage was the next generation's frustration of being without a dividend for ten years due to the lawsuit following the creation of the foundation ownership structure. The social structures of the Palmén family ownership can be seen as durable (e.g., Bourdieu, 1989) but not permanent. Due to the legal regulations forming the structures of Palmén's governance, I argue that it can be seen as an institutionalized form of capital.

4.8 Corporate Governance (Doxa) Influence in Family Business Research Capital and the Palmén Family

With the reflective aim of doxa as residing with the family business research field with the move towards new theory effects, e.g., taking the family business seriously, it will hopefully offer new conditions for practitioners to self-understand their collective. I will give some examples of how the reproduction of the doxa of strategic management (e.g., competitive advantage and profit maximization) and professionalization (e.g., improving the family businesses) have been prevalent within the research conversation of capital forms. Paired with assumptions of corporate governance where the agent exercises oversight and control at the principal's request. Gersick and Feliu (2014) argued that what is governed by the family is family capital (e.g., financial, human, intellectual, social, and organizational) for the different subsectors (family and firm) in the family enterprise. The capital (social, financial, human, and physical) constructs were also present, as introduced earlier in the first phase (STEP). It formed variables that influenced performance outcomes leading to transgenerational potential. These can be seen as predefined categories reproducing a doxa of profit maximization. This directed my search for the epistemological assumption of human activities, particularly the role of history in these conceptualizations. My reading of family business literature generated four streams of capital conceptualizations that emerged: 1) Family capital as a special form of social capital (Hoelscher, 2002; Hoffman et al., 2006) which is based on Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) conceptualization of structural, cognitive and relational[35]; 2) Family capital as human, social, and financial capital (Sirmon & Hitt, 2003); 3) Family capital as a construct influencing strategic processes and outcomes (Salvato & Melin, 2008); 4) Sustainable family business theory (SFBT), which suggests that sustainability is a function of both firm success and family functionality and focuses on how family members exchange resources across the family and business system (Danes et

[35] Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998, p. 251) define social capital as structural: network ties, network configuration, and appropriable organization; cognitive: shared codes and language, and shared narratives; and relational: trust, norms, obligations, and identification. Social capital is a factor influencing combinations of exchange of intellectual capital followed by creation of new intellectual capital in an organization.

al., 2008; Danes et al., 2009). These conceptualizations reproduced a static and realistic view of activities.

I have chosen to draw more explicitly on the capital forms identified by Bourdieu in his early work, which have more of a generic character and need to be translated into their specific situation. For instance, social capital (as one of several forms), within social praxeology, is the structures of the field existing between the agents active within a field. Social capital is field-specific and is read in this study in parallel to cultural capital. Embracing social praxeology also implies that structures are the 'mental structures' of a social room, a more comprehensive view than social capital taken as a separate category. The problem with Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) conceptualization of social capital (by drawing predominantly upon Bourdieu, 1986) and the development of the term in several conversations, for instance, family business, is the separation from the other forms of capital. Instead, the term 'resources' has been used, i.e., neglecting the important role of structures in the intimate relation between capital and the assumption of the field. Acknowledging the definition of social capital from Bourdieu (1986), it exists and functions in relation to a field where 'resources' are the capital formations (e.g., economic and cultural) (Bourdieu, 1986). The role of habitus is important with its embodied objective structures and its relation to cultural capital. For instance, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998 p. 244) developed a cognitive construct of social capital as those resources that provide "shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties (Cicourel, 'cognitive sociology,' 1973)," instead of using habitus, which follows another reasoning of the agent's system of classifications, the mental and bodily schemata, in their conceptualization (see Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Two of the most common misreadings of Bourdieu's theory are, according to Wacquant (1998 p.8 in the footnote), "the 'structuralist' who overlooks habitus", and for instance 'operationalize' social structure as capital forms and the other is "the 'utilitarian' misreading that misses the field and condemns itself to construe actions as the purposeful pursuit of the agent's interest (ironically, the very philosophy of action against which Bourdieu deployed the concept of habitus)". My use of social praxeology implies that the reasoning of the second order can and should be a subject for a reading. Instead, the conceptualization of social capital in different related existing streams of research (e.g., Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Sirmon & Hitt, 2003) resides in an agency-grounded notion of intentionality, visible in the recurring examples along with formulations such as "individual family members' control over decision-making." The Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) article has been cited 23,659 times (source: Google Scholar as of November 2021), forming a strong source of reproduction of unchallenged doxas. Adoptions in the family business research field of Bourdieu's capital term have overlooked the reflexive sociological assumptions and instead been a light usage. Brosnan and Threadgold (2017) write that a light usage of capital forms implies that doxic values are left unchallenged and give an example of how this is done in educational research. Further, when the assumption of embodied structures is bypassed, the creation and the transformation of habitus with cultural capital can't be studied, as if "agents don't bring into play their

various forms of capital they will soon be lost" (Lantz, 2005, p. 113), since capital only exists and functions in relation to a field and 'resources' are the different forms of capital formations (Bourdieu, 1986).

Further, the conversation about family ties and their relation to performance became popular in family business studies (Ahrens et al., 2015; Bulboz, 2001; Danes et al., 2009; Pearson et al., 2008; Salvato & Melin, 2008; Sorenson et al., 2009; Uhlaner et al., 2015). This resides in the overall agenda to improve via professionalizing the family business, as they improve their performance in various dimensions. The conceptualization of firstly family capital as a particular form of social capital, and secondly, family capital as human, social, and financial capital, has assumed family capital as a sustained competitive advantage of the family business. This assumption resides in the beneficial aspects of the family's influence on the business dimension. Here, this conversation reproduced the assumption of economic performance. The introduction of several new capital forms in the family business research field may follow the examples stressed by Brosnan and Threadgold (2017) of how this trend can diminish the explanatory power of capital, habitus, and field that reside in a particular ontological and epistemological grounding. Further, this unchallenged doxa is problematic as it reproduces the assumption of family control over the business, separates the family from the business, and, first and foremost, it risks harming the assumption of structural practice and the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management.

This chapter has described *how* and *why* the eighth and ninth generation in this family business has organized their ownership, primarily influenced by the legal and economic dominance from the knowledge assumption of the family business literature. This means that this business family field inhabits structuring; it can be seen as a field with financial capital, but also social capital and primarily cultural capital, following Bourdieu (1986), reorienting towards the centrality of agency (reproductive in nature, something other than 'free,' rational, and/or intentional). Reproduction occurs in the family and business fields related to governing capital forms.

The doxa of professionalization, and legal and economic assumptions, form an important starting point not only for the family (as part of their self-awareness) but also for my initial pre-understanding. One central question for the owner council, the family council, and the company board was to discuss whom the next CEO should be. The CEO was central in setting the direction of daily business activities. The place where family, ownership, and business/management were at 'work' was in the daily business activities. Let's turn to the next chapter.

Chapter 5: The Succession Game – Choosing the Next CEO

In this chapter, the change of CEO will be described chronologically. During this period, the relative positions in the field of this family business, as described in the previous chapter, formed essential conditions for the critical decision of whom should become the next CEO. Rational and nonrational arguments surfaced simultaneously in choosing the next CEO, creating conditions for discrepancies between what was said and what was done. The solution materialized the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management and the history of how the question had been dealt with previously. This history (changing CEO several times in the family business) precedes the more recent history of business family governance described in the previous empirical chapter. From the dialectical position in embracing both the subjectivist and the objectivist moments, this chapter will give first-hand illustrations of various subjective representations (the subjectivist position) and a comprehensive reading of what they said but, more importantly what they did, i.e., direct attention to incorporate collective structures (those of habitus) directing but not determining the practice of this field of the family business. This means that I take the objectivist position of reading interviews respectively, and activities forming a comprehensive reflection of this collective chosen CEO. Game in 'succession game' stands for what is given in situations. It derives from Bourdieu's (1998, p. 25) habitus and practical sense, i.e., "the art of *anticipating* the future of the game, which is inscribed in the present state of play" in this field of the family business. The succession game is used to capture the contradiction between what was said and what was done within the relative positions active in this field of the family business.

While writing this chapter and constructing the active reading (objectivist position), I have asked myself: How can I go beyond managerial statements (subjective statements)? Since managers use texts to create an embodied space (Noordegraaf, 2014, p. 42), they manage through internal and external communication. They are skilled in using words; they process and produce text to understand what is happening. Further, by doing so, they also change what is going on (Noordegraaf, 2014). This means that managerial knowing is never neutral since it influences the organization (Noordegraaf, 2014). During the interviews, I have tried to be attentive to Henrik's relational and reproductive nature, intending to acknowledge that he was the 'family head' (i.e., oldest brother and CEO for more than 20 years). His way of communicating mirrored the relative position and the 'structures' of the capital forms of this family. My way of going beyond his understanding of custodianing the family business over generations was to use the relational mode of research thinking along with Bourdieu's reasoning. Henrik's statements should be read from his subjective view in the field (as a father, CEO, oldest, and 'owner' of the family business).

According to Bourdieu's reasoning, an agent practices to preserve its relative position in the field. I read statements from his concern for the CEO function of the family business and family members. The change of CEO was taking place within a family business (assumed as a family field) that, through history, had experienced several changes of ownership and CEO (i.e., family-sustaining and reproducing capital). In the narratives of the family members, professional management of the large corporate logic was present, intertwined with the more silent element of their "family way," sustaining ownership of the business within the family, where the 'family culture' was maintained. Hence the change of CEO was materializing in the language of their daily activities doing business over generations. This chapter contains different types of issues around the succession that emerged and how I made sense of them through a Bourdieusian reading. However, part of the text in this chapter is originally written during phase I, STEP, and phase II, CeFEO, as such, it is detailed oriented and consists of bits and pieces with implicit or even contradicting assumptions of the epistemological stance. It is kept increasing the transparency of the development of the overall research project in this research education. The detailed orientation of subjective representations is kept as it forms a vital turn between what was said and how the decision of the next CEO was made within the family. The first draft was structured as a process of detailed and realistic representations of subjective statements from family members talking about changes in governance structures and the change in CEO. Here I had attention to contradictions and similarities between family members and generations. When the formal decision was announced, the text was extended with the decision and its reasons. This text was interpreted as first-order structures (phase II, CeFEO). The historical empirical material (several generations' involvement in the industry) from phase I, STEP, facilitated a second-order reading of succession during supervision. When I started to observe the preparatory meetings for the CEO change, these business activities were read as second-order structures. As such different parts of this chapter is a reading of first and second-order structures. It has been challenging to structure the empirical material, the progress of construction in text, and balance the first and second-order reading paired with the emphasis on family, ownership, and business/management dimensions.

5.1 The Question of the Next CEO Is Raised

5.1.1 "We Should Have the Best 'Force' Available…"

...on the market as the next CEO within our family business," said Henrik, CEO, oldest brother, and father. But who was the best person as CEO within this family business? What qualities were essential? In 2007, when I did the initial interviews, the question of the change of CEO was raised. I was told that the next CEO could be a nonfamily member internally or externally recruited or a family member. Having a family or nonfamily CEO is a concern in family business research. It was central that the change of CEO was not going to *cause*

any larger disturbance of the 'force,' as they describe their competitive strength. Ever since the 70s, the brothers had gained market shares every time their main competitor changed CEO. They explained that, in their experience, a new CEO meant three subsequent years of disruption in managerial positions and revised strategy, causing increased costs. Consequently, the disruption of the CEO change was minimized by continuity in strategy and governance through efficient company board work, with family presence in governance organs. The brothers told me that members on the company board and the management team had remained due to the stability of the family members as active owners, i.e., CEO and company board members. The family was proud of this continuity in this family business governance. With reassuring majority ownership, profitably had been sustained.

Let's continue exploring how the family worked to materialize their family governance and their way of identifying the next CEO.

5.1.2 Criteria for the Next CEO

The company board had assigned Hardy (one of the brothers of the eighth generation) the project of identifying the next CEO. Criteria for the next CEO were identified by the external chairperson of the company board, the external board members, a recruitment agency, and Hardy himself (representing the family). The criteria were set based on the assumption that the business was *not a family business*. Instead, the list of candidates was developed based on the notion that the organization was professional with boundaries characterizing the corporate governance structures (e.g., CEO, not owner and family). The following criteria were identified to find the 'best CEO candidate on the market.' I generated these criteria based on when they talked directly about this criteria list (however, the actual written list was never shared with me) during interviews. But this list is also created based on my understanding when they have talked more freely about what they think are critical criteria in deciding who should be the next CEO.

- The candidate should have leadership experience, preferably as CEO or equivalent.
- A central criterion was the candidate's ability to act in line with the family business corporate culture, which could be framed via the words from the STEP framework[36] as *the entrepreneurial culture* – founded on the Palmén ownership directive of sustaining and growing durable transgenerational family business. The candidate needed to be able to maintain the 'force within the organization' in daily management at the

[36] The case report of the STEP research project ended with a discussion, and conclusion of the empirical material, in relation to the entrepreneurial orientation (EO) framework of degree of autonomy, innovation, proactiveness, and competitive aggressiveness. The transgenerational process was described as four important knowledge areas to be transferred between the senior and the next generation. One conclusion, for instance, was that the Palmén family business could be described as an entrepreneurial family business, with high potential in terms of transgenerational entrepreneurship practice.

same time as balancing the owner-close culture characterized in a fast-from-thought-to-action manner (despite it causing high cost due to creative solutions formed under 'the heroic solving problems in the moment culture'). Further, the candidate needed to handle these two cultural criteria simultaneously as the size and type of the organization demanded structure for operational procedures (i.e., planning, following standardized industrial work routines, etc.).

- The candidate should also be flexible and sensitive toward the *family's overall mission and the (implicit) Palmén ownership directives*.
- The candidate should manage with their *heart* (hold a family and emotional posture in daily management and decision-making) and *head* (i.e., the ability to use rational reasoning in problem-solving).
- The candidate should have marketing experience in an industry characterized by reoccurring yearly campaigns.
- The candidate should hold a degree in the knowledge domain of bachelor of business administration, master of science, or master of engineering. A university degree was not specified explicitly by the recruitment committee. Nevertheless, I assume it was an implicit criterion for a future CEO of a 1,000-coworker organization. Further, Henrik held a bachelor's degree in business administration, and Hardy held a bachelor's degree in marketing management, which they referred to as essential factors in sharing an understanding of dealing with critical financial investments.

However, something that clashed with the assumption of not being a family business was their emphasis that candidates with experience from large multinational companies were not an option. As I described in the STEP case report, they feared that such a candidate could damage their 'entrepreneurial owner-close corporate culture.' They had experienced how previous external managers with similar backgrounds had continued to manage via routines, standards, and planning, thereby enhancing the structure of managerial work. Further, the brothers argued that these managers talked about problems rather than getting the solutions done. The brothers also feared that such a CEO would compile a management team of managers in this managerial tradition. The managerial work culture needed to be protected from 'structural fascists,' as several family members denoted it. Even so, the current managerial work had a certain level of structure.

Consequently, it was essential for the family to find an experienced and competent person as the next CEO who could manage within their tradition of owner-close managing. This person should sustain the tradition of continuity in governance within this family business. In the following quote, Henrik reflected on the qualities of a skilled CEO in their business. He emphasized the importance of a professional and rational way of managing the human, social, emotional, and context-specific management conditions in family governance. The next CEO should:

> have the mind 'of doing business' and be skilled in human interaction. The person should have a twinkle in the eye [*glimten i ögat*]. But also the ability to count and set out the 'problem formulation' – in particular, the ability to identify the obvious and the subtler factors [to generate well-grounded solutions].

Henrik had talked about the 'problem formulation' several times, which I interpreted as the central issue to materialize and sustain their family mission (ownership directives) in the daily activities of the family business. The primary source of their success was this culture (as they called it) characterized by fast-from-thought-to-action, which had generated several drastic turnarounds in the company's history. The brothers' personalities attracted managers who wanted to work with them in this flexible way. These managers had been given autonomy (a piece of advice from an experienced external board member back in the 80s). As the brothers did when delegating work to coworkers, giving the coworkers autonomy was also necessary when the company was growing rapidly. The growth also required structures, which was not a dominating characteristic of the managerial culture of Henrik. He reflects upon these drawbacks:

> The negative side of our leadership style is that it lacks structure, and as we have grown, the organization has demanded more structure. Thus, we have allowed islands of structure within the organization to exist. Whether the next CEO will continue with the same leadership style, I do not know.

According to the brothers, this existing governance form had the advantage that Henrik (CEO and owner) could make investment decisions with a more generous financial limit than the standard in the industry (assuming a non-family-owned business). For instance, this could be done during a meeting with a manager without waiting for the next meeting with formal decision rights. The brothers talked about this ability as a competitive advantage over their competitors. For the brothers, it was relevant that this work routine was sustained when another person operated in the function of CEO.

The managerial style of Henrik and Hardy, including others, dates back to when their father passed away in the 70s, and they needed help in managing as brothers. A hallmark that has emerged since the 70s is the tradition of working with advanced expertise generated by external company board members. Besides the experiences of external members on the company board, a recruitment agency and other family businesses with experience in handling a change of CEO were included while finding a new CEO. Furthermore, the brothers not only talked and asked for advice but also wrote down things during this decision process, as exemplified by Hardy's way of generating the criteria list. Hardy also thought it was essential to follow the formal specification given to him by the company board with the freedom to adapt to critical aspects.

At the same time, generating the criteria list on the assumption of the company not being a family business reveals something about this family business governance. Various positions surface regarding whether the family governance dimension should be taken into consideration. At the same time,

there was a strong emphasis on sustaining a strong corporate culture. One interpretation could be that the dimension of family governance should not be included in the CEO process, which contradicts the strong emphasis on sustaining the corporate culture. Further, a contradicting combination emerged with the criterion of 'the best person on the market,' and one who could also manage along with their 'corporate culture.'

5.1.3 Something Was Said, While Something Else Was Done

When I met Henrik during the initial interviews, he *was* a forceful CEO. Further, he perceived himself as being not a day over 60 (although he was closer to 65). The brothers talked about the next generation as children, even though the seniors in this group were a decade older than when Henrik and Hardy took over after their father had suddenly passed away in the 1970s (the next generation consisted of two age groups: the seniors in their 40s and the juniors in their 20s).

However, in 2007, Henrik started to see and talk about the next generation as adults. The reason was that he had a friendly reminder of his mortality (a disease, in Swedish: *sjukdom*). The era was coming for the ninth generation to step in. Moreover, addressing the next generation as children can be seen as neglecting them and even patronizing them by perpetuating parent and child relations. Both brothers hesitated about the next generation taking on operative roles in the family business. The brothers emphasized their high-pressure experience as owners and managers of a family business. They mainly talked about how working as an owner implied accountability towards the other family members and the feeling of being a custodian of their family heritage. The work entailed maintaining a high pace, and the expansion of the 80s and the 90s meant long office hours. Hardy and Henrik stated that they thought about the business 24/7.

Further, in the Western corporate world, the expectations of the CEO were not delimited to an eight-hour workday (something the interviews with external board members confirmed). In the CEO role, the brothers argued that it would be difficult for Adam or Alan, for instance, to continue to pick up their children from daycare and spend time with them daily. This routine was sometimes set aside for Henrik and Hardy as parents during the turbulent era of the 80s. Further, it was also the period when both brothers divorced simultaneously, as the business was consuming a lot of energy. Although the brothers argued that the demanding family business did not directly cause divorce, it decreased their father-child time. The next generation was then in their teens during this period, and both Henrik and Hardy's children began boarding school.

Further, the tendency to protect the next generation from the demanding life as an operative in the family business can be seen as coming from the brothers' experiences. At the end of the 90s, the brothers and the family business were in a position where the family life of the next generations who were starting families of their own could be protected. Both Hardy and Henrik felt relieved to see the stability of the large corporation. From my point of view, these

grandfathers tried to act patriarchally to integrate and sustain the family, i.e., forming sound relations for handling the balance of power along with the Bourdieusian family functioning (i.e., working, for instance, in the business and being part of the family governance of the family business).

In 2007, Hardy emphasized that the brothers were happy if a family member was competent enough to become the next CEO and would welcome it. Nevertheless, they were cautious about expressing these demands to the children. The argument of 'best CEO candidate on the market' could also be a way to protect the children from their own experiences of working in the family business during the turbulent era. Hardy had already identified candidates that he was going to contact. As I understood it, the conversation about the next CEO was going on in informal places, such as over a beer between Henrik and Hardy. Hardy was also having formal one-to-one meetings with the external board members. Here the criteria that were previously discussed were drafted. Based on this progression, Hardy was sure that in 2009, when Henrik would retire at 65, an external candidate would be the successor[37]. Since the brothers did not wish to express any demand for the children to become the next CEO, they did not ask members of the next generation if they were interested in becoming the next CEO. Thus, I interpret it as the members of the next generation did not see themselves as capable (of becoming the next CEO) during the interview round conducted in 2007.

However, something that contradicted this view was that during the interviews in 2007, I found that Adam held the title of assistant CEO. His younger brother Alan had recently finished an MBA degree. Alan was also CEO and founder of one of the daughter companies. My impression from the answer they gave when asked who they thought would be the next CEO was that due to the criteria 'the best person on the market' for selecting the next CEO, neither Adam nor Alan perceived themselves as potential candidates. In 2007, during an interview with me, Adam said that he thought the next CEO should be an external person. Most of the family members wanted to see a 'star' from the professional CEO market as the next CEO. However, in 2007, there were also family members who wished for a person from the family as the next CEO, although this was not shared in the interviews in 2007; instead, this was shared in interviews done after the change in 2011. This may indicate that Henrik had started to open the door for the next CEO coming from the next generation. He emphasized that if a member of the next generation wanted to become the next CEO, the children *must build trust* (highlighted in italics since I interpret it to be a crucial factor) within the family, with the board, and the management team. The difference between the brothers was also visible in their tendency toward inviting the next generation to work in the family business.

[37] In this family, there was a rule that the maximum age of the CEO was 65, while it was 70 for the chair of the company board. In March 2009, Henrik would turn 65 and in 2010 the external chair would turn 70.

Hardy had told his children to make their life choices based on what would make them happy in their lives. Before finding the next CEO, Hardy's daughter had worked full-time in the family business during the 90s, and his son had worked part-time during summer holidays in the family business. When the discussion of the next CEO intensified, none of his children worked in operative positions; instead, they were members of the company board, owner council, and family council. External company board members perceived his daughter as competent and expected her to become an operative manager and potentially the next CEO. However, when it was due to identify the next CEO, she had already moved abroad, started a family, and was running a family business with her husband. Her brother had also moved abroad, started a family, and ran his company.

For Hardy, the children needed not to be awarded any unique benefits due to family ties. Instead, it was essential for them to understand the value of money. Henrik also believed that family members should be treated the same way as external coworkers. Concerning the value of money, Henrik, on the other hand, had been described as less stringent with his own money. For instance, having a month's salary in his pocket (in the 80s). The family members also expressed a difference between Hardy and Henrik: Hardy was firmer with money. Henrik was more inclined to invite family members to work in the family business. He was also more inventive in creating work assignments and flexible concerning work conditions than his brother.

5.1.4 The Greenhouse Solution

After the workshop on family business ownership (arranged by the family business network), the so-called 'greenhouse solution' for the next generation was introduced in the mid-noughties (before the change of CEO was initiated). The greenhouse solution implied that the next generation members could diversify their competence and education for future careers within the family business. The results were Alan's MBA education and Adam's diversified work assignments. Adam and Alan shared how their competence development was delimited. Firstly, no competitor in the industry wanted to hire an owner of the Palmén family business (i.e., they couldn't diversify their competence by working in different companies within the same industry). Secondly, working as an owner and having nonfamily members as managers, the managers felt unease with coaching a family member who was an owner, with the risk of the father, the CEO, and being informed about the situation in the role of both the father and the CEO. During the interviews with external managers, they shared that it was difficult to handle being a manager of a son or a daughter of their CEO (the father of the employed children). Henrik and Hardy had never worked in nonmanagerial positions within the family business and never applied for work outside the family business. The brothers wanted the managers to treat the owners in the next generation in the same way as any other employee. But given the ownership dimension, managers had problems with, for example, giving criticism, thus, it was challenging to treat family members as equivalent to

external coworkers. In retrospect, according to Hardy, creating the greenhouse solution should have been done 15 to 20 years ago to prepare for a position as CEO.

5.1.5 Several Solutions Are Discussed

According to the external company board members, the imbalance between Henrik's family and Hardy's family needed to be considered in creating the future governance structure. In the 70s, their father suddenly passed away shortly after their brother died in a car accident. Ever since, an external chairperson of the company board had functioned first as a father figure and, lately, harmonized conflicts between the brothers. The current company chairperson needed to be replaced as he was coming close to the company rule of 70 years.

Based on the interviews, there were several solutions available for the next CEO and the next chairperson:

a family CEO and an external chairperson,

an external CEO and a family chairperson,

or a family CEO and family chairperson.

Although possible in theory, an external CEO and an external chairperson never discussed with me during the interviews or mentioned in the meetings I participated in. The advantage of the current situation of the external chairperson and family CEO was that disagreements between the two family sides could be solved together with the external chairperson. The external board members also appreciated the solution with an external chairperson. The reason for this, in my understanding, was that they were also externals.

The advantage of the second option of an external CEO and a family chairperson was that the family influence could be preserved via the chairperson, and the family members could work as active owners in the different governance organs. The drawback with an external CEO was the risk of damaging the corporate culture and the increased remuneration decreasing investments in the family's mission, which could hinder maintaining a durable transgenerational family business. It was also a problem with the chain of command regarding employed family owners. The family members were owners and held family ties with the chairperson. The chain of command of the family was feared to be stronger than the external CEO in the corporate chain of command. A potential solution was that family members could be assigned projects on behalf of the company board instead of working with operative tasks. But the risk was that these projects might interfere with the responsible areas of the CEO and the management team. Another risk was the imbalance between the two family sides, with one family side holding the position of company chairperson. The external CEO could function as a mediator between the family sides. However, the chairperson would be above the external CEO in

the chain of command. Despite all these aspects, several family members supported an external candidate as the next CEO.

The family culture would be sustained with the third scenario of a family CEO and company chairperson. A disadvantage, however, was that the family would become too powerful in relation to the external company board members, although the external board members were in the majority regarding the number of votes. There was also the risk of an imbalance between the two family sides in the overall governance structure. 'Group think' (the risk of a homogeneous group making decisions that are less thought through and hence of lower quality) was also a risk, as the domination of the family could decrease the tradition of in-depth discussion with external company board members generating diversified advice and opinions. A solution to the family domination of the governance structure was that the foundation board could work as a counterforce in the discussions and thus counterbalance the family influence.

Table 5 Different Combinations of the Next CEO and the Next Chairperson

Option	CEO	Chairperson Company Board	Advantages and disadvantages
1	Family	External	In the present situation, during the process of identifying the next CEO. A governance structure with external board members active since the 70s. *Advantage* balances out potential conflicts between Henrik and Hardy, the two families.
2	External	Family	*Advantage*, family control preserved via chairperson. *A disadvantage* with an external CEO was a threat to owner-close corporate culture. -Increased cost of CEO remuneration. -Potential conflict of interests with employed family members. - With one family side as chairperson potential imbalance of power between family sides. *Solution stated by family:* Family members work as active owners and/or projects assigned by the company board.

3	Family	Family	*A disadvantage,* the imbalance of power between family sides. 'Group think' with the domination of family in governance. *Solution stated by the family:* Foundation board functioned as a counterforce in this scenario.
4	External	External	Never uttered, never an option to sustaining the family control over the family business.

5.1.6 The Solution with the Family CEO

In contradiction to the brothers, the external company chairperson did not agree that none of the next generation members were capable of succeeding Henrik. The chairperson saw the advantage of a family member as CEO. If we take the two potential candidates, Adam and Alan, who were preparing themselves in the greenhouse and compared them with the criteria list:

Table 6 Criteria List of CEO Function: Adam and Alan

The criteria list of the CEO	Adam	Alan
Leadership experiences, equivalent to CEO	No. Instead, experiences as a project manager and vice CEO	Yes, of a small (one to ten staff) daughter company
Work experience in marketing (within an industry characterized by annual campaigns)	No	No
Ability to embody the ad hoc culture	Yes	Yes
Understanding of the owner directives	Yes	Yes
Ability to work with head and heart	Yes	Yes
University degree	No. Two years in BA subjects	Yes, MBA and a craft education

This list shows that both brothers were qualified to understand the family's mission and the ability to manage with both 'head and heart.' Based on the number of crosses of the criteria: Alan was a more suitable match than his older brother Adam. Alan held an MBA degree, and he had founded a daughter company of which he was the CEO. Alan also had a craftsmanship education, while his older brother held experience from working with sales, IT, and accounting within the mother company in the family business. Adam had studied business administration at the university but had not completed his

bachelor's degree. Both had been working in the family business since the mid-90s. In 2007, Adam held the title of vice CEO and was assigned projects by his father, Henrik. An example of such a project was developing a new product range, as he was deemed to lack experience as a staff manager. Adam had also, in the past, been the project manager for introducing and integrating an advanced business solution system (IT system) for business operations. Neither Alan nor Adam had explicitly stated interest in becoming the next CEO to me during the interviews in 2007 and 2009. Even so, my impressions from the interviews were that both Adam and Alan were interested in becoming the next CEO. However, Alan had a concrete suggestion for an external candidate and believed it was unnecessary to have a family CEO. In his opinion, family influence could be sustained via active board work as owners.

Furthermore, Alan believed deciding who should be the next CEO should not be rushed. As he saw it, when a new person (an external or a family member) enters that role, they must have support from the organization and the owners. It was also crucial that this person got coaching in the position. On the other hand, Adam wanted a family member as the next CEO. During the interview in 2009, he said that if one of them were to become the next CEO, it would be him since Adam would have difficulty taking directions from his younger brother.

5.1.7 The Defining Criteria – Sustaining the Culture

Sustaining the family business culture was essential in creating the next CEO's criteria. The family members (as owners) and the other coworkers in the business agreed that it was important how they acted as icons for the culture and the intimate relations. These insights I interpreted as emerging in the conversations with external board members and within the family. But they were also reinforced when I listened to experiences from other owner families who had changed CEO. Hardy explained how he experienced that they were reaching an understanding of the importance of the family culture:

> Yes, first, Henrik changed his mind. In the end, I also changed my mind because the arguments for a family member became stronger [as the discussions developed]. The simple reason was that we had not initially understood the importance of *family as a carrier of culture*.

Another significant factor, according to Hardy, was that both Adam and Alan had said that if the decision on the next CEO was not made soon, they were going to leave the family business.

5.2 The Decision Is Made

5.2.1 It Is Decided: Adam as Next CEO and Henrik as Next Chairperson

In conversations with the chairperson of the company board and the external board members, Henrik decided that he wanted Adam to succeed him. Henrik and the company board then talked with Hardy. On the other hand, Hardy said in retrospect that he changed his mind when he had an interview with Adam about the next CEO. This mirrors the difficulty of defining when a decision is made. Nevertheless, Hardy's decision was reinforced in the conversation with Henrik and the company board. To protect the CEO process, Henrik continued to say, 'the next CEO should be the best person on the market' until 2009/2010. The decision that Henrik would be the next chairperson of the company board was not as significant as the decision of the next CEO. He was only assigned for a transition era of three years (in the position as chairperson of the company board) during the initial period of the next CEO. During the interviews with Hardy, he said that he trusted his older brother in these positions and could only imagine stepping in as CEO or company board chairperson in the case of crisis (death or equivalent).

Regarding professionalizing the family business, one could expect that the external board members would have argued for an external alternative that would bring the competence of MBA education and professionalization into managerial work. However, on the contrary, the external board members expressed during the interviews that they had experienced board work in other family businesses, and how trust for a family CEO, both from management and the owner's family, would by far outrun formal competence (along with the best candidate available on the CEO market). They (the external company board members) had seen how family members had become strong and successful business leaders, despite a lack of formal competence.

The decision of appointing Adam as the next CEO, was already going on in 2007 when Henrik had made him vice CEO and was 'testing' him by assigning different projects. These projects could be seen as an alternative to the more commonly used HR tests, as the projects were adapted to the particular nature of this family's way of governance. An official HR test would have tested formal competence, which was the weak side of Adam's profile. These projects also created a space for Adam to develop CEO-relevant skills. These projects were evaluated by the company board, management team, and the family. Moreover, the projects also helped Adam to trust himself. Adam was thus placed in a 'CEO green room' during the succession process.

But why did they select Adam when Alan, at least in terms of the criteria list, was perhaps a more suitable option? There are two answers to this: Firstly, Adam was a diplomat who could consider several views, thinking twice before sharing his opinion. Hence, he could work with the externals in the management simultaneously as he could harmoniously deal with the two family sides.

Secondly, he was the oldest member of the next generation. He already held the highest relative position out of all the people in the younger generation. The younger brother Alan, on the other hand, was the intrapreneur. He continuously generated innovations both in new products and production technology. He had started up a daughter company that beat the profitability margin of the mother company each year. To my understanding, Alan was never asked if he wanted to be the next CEO.

The diplomatic posture of Adam was to balance the conversation in the management team regarding matters of structure vis-à-vis ad hoc working processes. In his management, he was not challenged by the managers, as could have been the case with an internally recruited manager – the chain of command of business and the functioning of the family were sustained. The younger members of the next generation supported Adam as the next CEO. They had been included in the decision by Hardy, who had had conversations with them. Thus, the family's choice reproduces the historical past of stability in the family business's governance, as Adam intended to stay as CEO until he needed to retire at the age of 65, something an external CEO would be unlikely to do.

5.2.2 The Formal Decisions and the Announcement

The owner council made the formal decision about the new CEO. Before the vote, the owners discussed the strengths and weaknesses of Adam's competence profile against the listed criteria. During this discussion, followed by the actual vote, Adam was not physically present in the meeting room. The same routine was followed in the company board meeting. The external board members first discussed their view of Adam as the next CEO. This was followed by the family, presenting their alternative. The family members thought it was beneficial that the external board members first shared their views, which legitimated a family member's decision and went against their initial idea of an external candidate. But also, it was seen to diminish the risk that other stakeholders would think that the family acted nepotistically.

The actual time of the official announcement of the next CEO came as a surprise to the management team. Ten months before the formal change, Henrik broke the news at lunch held during a management team meeting. Adam was away during this meeting, so Henrik took the opportunity to tell the management team. This way of managing 'in the moment' is typical and coherent with the fast-from-thought-to-action culture. After the meeting, the head of information and the management team decided to inform coworkers via the intranet, and a press release was sent out.

Table 7 Timeline of the Change of CEO

Timeline of the change of CEO	
2007	The rhetoric is: 'It should be the best force on the market as next CEO,' whereas Adam was vice CEO, and Alan was finishing an MBA.
2008	Conversations were ongoing while Adam was working on projects diversifying his competence.
2009	Conversations intensified, and the family no longer emphasized that there should be an external CEO. It was decided that Henrik would succeed as the company board chairperson.
2010	The decision was taken by the owner council and the company board; it was announced to the management team in September. Adam was now an IT manager and also an HR manager.
2011	In May, Adam officially became CEO, and Henrik became chairperson of the company board.

5.2.3 Why Adam Agreed to Take Over as CEO

Adam accepted the position as CEO since he was of the appropriate age and his children were growing up. Before the change, his wife had worked in various expert roles within the family business, and now agreed to work part-time on projects he assigned. He felt accepted and trusted by the other family members. Since his early 20s (when he joined the family business), he has experienced personal growth in an environment characterized by sharing problems and solutions. He felt a calling to join what he saw as an exciting family mission. This is how Adam phrased it:

> …like most children, I have my father as a role model and always wanted to do what he did. I remember how I used to climb up on a footstool in the bathroom and stand next to my father when shaving in front of the mirror, using a metallic toy as a shaver. When I was five, I knew I wanted to work in the family business and [maybe one day] become the next CEO... As a child, I always wanted to be at the office, and when I was there, I walked around and asked if I could help out with something. I found it exciting to see how bread was made. Back then, it was possible to take a cookie direct from the production band (just before it was put in a cookie jar)... I felt a spirit of community, where everybody was working towards the same goal in a chain of activities.

Via Bourdieu (1994), this forms Adam's embodied experiences as a son of a CEO and as a child participating in family business activities. Adam wanted to do what his father was doing. Despite Henrik never directly expressing that he wanted Adam to be the next CEO, Adam could already see himself as CEO one day at this early age. Adam shared this in an interview after he had become CEO. I interpret this from a Bourdieu (1977) reading of how his life experiences directed his activities later on in life. Instead, Adam's reasons for agreeing to be the next CEO can be seen as a historical conditional (structuring structure) given. In line with a Bourdieu (1977) reading practice, it is collectively

orchestrated but without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. Further, maybe Adam understood that nominating another CEO candidate from the next generation could harm some aspects of the family that previously had been working well, forming forces of fission over fusion, and hence harming the joy of working together as a family every day. These forces of fission could have caused family members in the next generation to leave.

Furthermore, Henrik expresses the following reflection on how growing up in a family can influence the career path of the children:

> Of course, there are no guarantees that everybody will become entrepreneurs and have the same characteristics as I do. Some may have better, and some may have worse [traits of entrepreneurship], but the chance is higher if you have grown up within an enterprising family that you are attracted to work in the family business. Not because you are more skilled, but because this is what you have grown up seeing [experiencing]. When you choose your life course, you are not choosing independently from your parents, and there is something there [related to their profession] that influences you, in most cases but not always.

In talking with Henrik about the bakery's future, he smiled and said, “The future is looking good, much brighter than it did in the past. Parts of us are within our children [as a father, Henrik assumes that he influences his children by being a role model]; of course, they will run the family business somewhat better than we have done.” Further, he emphasized the importance of understanding *when* it is time to hand it over to the next generation, in the following way: “You don’t want to imitate the British Royal Family.” How old will Prince Charles be when he finally takes the throne? The next generation needs to be given roles and responsibilities when they still have the capacity and hunger. Let's not wait until the children are close to 50. They will be too old and no longer hungry for the mission.” This is said even though Henrik could have continued as CEO for another five to eight years if there had been no one to succeed him. But he added, “Stepping down now was based on the belief in the next generation. I saw it was an opportunity now to leave room for Adam to step in." Henrik continues, "The largest threat is that you, as a 68-year-old CEO, is not trusting and believing in the next generation. You base this belief on your self-image: no one will ever be as skilled as me. No, it is essential to acknowledge that some can do this much better than I ever did.” These quotations illustrate Henrik’s views on family succession.

Eleonor also shared the belief that Adam could succeed his father as CEO. She said: “Of course, he [Adam] still has a lot to learn, and we still do not know how much pressure and stress he can handle. One thing is for sure, his father has had a unique ability to handle a lot of stress.” Hence, again the pressure of being both owner and CEO emerges. When Henrik left, he shared the following thought with one of the managers: “You can’t believe what a relief it is not to have the responsibility of going into the headquarters as the CEO every day.”

5.3 After the Succession Game

5.3.1 Changes in Management and Relations after the Change of CEO

Ten months after the change of CEO, Eleonor said that Adam was busy but enjoying being CEO. She described him as having become 'more Adam'; he was relaxed, joking, and exercising regularly. A worry, however, was the relationship between her two brothers. She said she would like more collaboration between Adam and Alan instead of the separation that had occurred. Adam was occupied as CEO while Alan was CEO of two daughter companies. After the change of CEO, Alan also became CEO of the logistics company, a spin-off from a previous division function. In the 80s and 90s, Henrik and Hardy promoted the company and acted as a duo managing the family business. Before the change of CEO, Adam and Alan had spent more time together as brothers outside of the business. This was something that Henrik and Hardy had never done. Their relationship had consisted of talking about the business, rather than socializing as brothers. Eleonor was concerned about how Adam and Alan's relationship would develop with Adam as CEO. Henrik's father emphasized that he would continue to talk with Alan about the new family positions in the family governance structure.

The stability of the business family governance was disturbed by the change of CEO. Two members of the management team left. One of these managers had been recruited with the promise of a possible position as CEO in the future. However, with the selection of Adam as CEO, this career possibility vanished. The other manager had been on sick leave due to a repetitive strain injury in the arm. This manager felt it was time for a change, and an external headhunted person filled this position. Eleonor also changed roles within the family business, from working with information within the mother company to becoming a marketing manager in a daughter company. Hardy once founded this company and was still the chairperson of the board in this company. Hence, after the change of CEO, Adam did not have any family members below him in the chain of command in the mother company. Instead, they were working in daughter companies.

5.3.2 Two Relationships: CEO–Chairperson and Son–Father

After the change of CEO, Henrik and Adam had two different relationships: the lifelong family relation as father and son and the new coworker relationship as CEO and chairperson. As a father, Henrik was very committed to helping Adam. Further, the risk of failing as a family member in an operative position would have been a failure to custodianing the family heritage. Although Adam was both an owner and a family member, Henrik stressed that he would be evaluated on the same premises as the nonfamily CEO. This was Henrik's way of emphasizing the need to assess Adam on the same criteria as that of a nonfamily CEO. I interpret it as the fear of nepotism instead of an understanding of the

unique criteria related to work as both owner and family in the function of the CEO, for instance, in relation to a Bourdieu (1991) reading of the forces of fusion and fission along with the family functioning. If the family's expectations were not met, Adam would be forced to resign. Henrik shared this consequence during both top management meetings and company board meetings. During the interviews, a risk shared, just as in the case of an external CEO, was that Henrik and Hardy would diminish Adam's power as CEO through their higher positions in the family as father and uncle, criticizing or not allowing him to take over the relations and decisions of the CEO role. This could result in those managers starting to talk with Henrik again about CEO issues, and eventually, if allowed to proceed, resulting in the end of Adam as CEO (diminishing his symbolic capital as CEO of the business dimension). Henrik and Adam collaborated daily, to hand over the work of the CEO function and discuss ongoing issues as CEO and company chairperson. In the interviews, Henrik referred to the Companies Act (in Swedish: *aktiebolagslagen*) on regulating the relation between the CEO and the company chairperson. Henrik appreciated this close contact with his son.

Henrik thought he had done a great job as chairperson of the company during the first six months. On the other hand, Adam felt his father interfered too much when he informed the company board as CEO. That Henrik would dominate the discussions in the boardroom had also been feared by the external board members. But they didn't share Adam's opinion that Henrik was too interfering; instead, they thought that Henrik had handled the work as chairperson well. Henrik also received positive reactions from the other boards, of which he was chairperson. He explained how he allowed all members to share their views, and the ones who did not raise their hands should be asked to share their opinions. Afterward, the chairman should summarize the discussion before proposing a decision. Here is an excerpt (forming material of a second order reading) from what was said during a company board meeting that I observed where Adam presented the sales figures at the start of the meeting, with Henrik as chairperson:

> Henrik: [referring to Adam] Do you want to present the current sales figures?
> Adam: Yes.
> Henrik: You have statistics per [Adam interrupts]?
> Adam: I have statistics for July we got from Xagon [Henrik interrupts].
> Henrik: That is…
> Adam: …statistics showing stock deliveries, not [Henrik fills in] actual sales in store.

Adam continued with a summary of the sales figures in a quiet and frustrated voice. During Adam's oral presentation, Henrik interfered three times, asking questions on details and directing the representation of numbers. Henrik had an impatient posture (which he also had towards other presenters). But to Adam, being the son and new CEO, this behavior of Henrik could easily be seen as not giving legitimacy to Adam in his work as CEO. Hence, Adam's work as CEO

could be interpreted as not being fully recognized by Henrik, as Adam was not acting according to the 'rules of the field' of Henrik.

Henrik's impatient posture of not recognizing Adam's work continued during the company board meetings. For instance, Adam addressed his father as 'chairperson' instead of 'you,' 'Henrik,' or 'father,' signaling that Henrik's formal chairperson role and that Adam as CEO should be respected. During one board meeting, there was a discussion related to developing a new strategy:

> Henrik: Don't you [Adam] think this question should be in focus in the strategic work? [The company board is silent. The atmosphere is tense. I sense how the board members disliked the question's tone and formulation.]
> Eleonor: I think he [Adam] got the point. [Adam is silent; instead, the sister and owner signal to the father that he was pushing the limits of acceptable behavior.]
> Henrik: Together with the question of production.
> Adam: Does the chairperson [Adam addresses his father as 'chairperson' instead of 'you'] believe we have not included these issues?
> Henrik: Yes, but Mr. CEO [uncommon to use 'Mr.' and CEO in the family and Sweden, showing that he dislikes Adam addressing him in his formal role as chairperson, rather than 'you' or 'Henrik,' and answering by being even more formal in adding 'Mr.' before CEO] did not mention this question at all when you presented what you had discussed and were intending to focus on in the future strategic work. [Henrik implies that Adam is not transparent on relevant aspects to the board, hence again not recognizing and giving Adam autonomy in the position as CEO].
> Adam: No [Adam says, goes quiet, and stops the dialogue with this father].
> Henrik: But then we decided this [how the new strategy will be developed]. Good, then we have decided something today.

Initially, Adam wanted to develop the strategy with his management team, followed by a final version for the company board. I read this as he is signaling that he wanted to trust and autonomy from the family and the company board in setting the future direction of the business. In contrast, the company board wished to participate in developing the strategy, in line with the old routines that had been in place since the 80s. The conversations concerning the company strategy were settled by the company board involved in the process and the content of the new strategy. Adam wanted to set a new strategy, while Henrik wanted a revised version. When the future strategy was discussed during the company board meeting, Adam was not given the responsibility to renew the strategy independently. I interpret this as he was still becoming CEO. Hence, the dialogues above illustrate Henrik's (Company Chairperson) impatient posture toward Adam (CEO).

While Henrik was reluctant to give Adam space to act as CEO during the company board meetings, he had physically left the headquarters. This change surprised the managers and the family members when Henrik emptied his working space on the top floor. The office was designed as open space. Nobody had their room; instead, different workgroups sat in formations where they could talk and work. Henrik's clearing out of his workspace contradicted his statement in a film about the family business only ten months earlier. He said

he could not imagine coming to the headquarters daily. Following this change, he only showed up when it was necessary for the company chairperson role. Then he sat in the reception area working on his laptop or having meetings, just like the working routines of the external board members I had observed. His former place as CEO had been in the internal office space only accessible via cards. This act followed what Henrik told the managers during his last management meeting. The managers should contact Adam and not him onwards. After the CEO change, a manager said that he and Henrik had gone from talking daily to only speaking once every fortnight on issues related to the company board chairperson role. Henrik said:

> It will never work for Adam if I do not leave the headquarters altogether [*fullt och fast*], implying I will not have any direct contact with Adam's coworkers in the management team. The managers shouldn't be given a chance to discuss issues with me, behind or by the side of Adam.

I read Henrik's behavior during the company board meetings as delimiting Adam's ability to act as CEO. I could also see that Adam and other members around the meeting table did not appreciate Henrik's harsh posture towards his son and the next CEO. At the same time, Henrik was changing his physical presence at the headquarters, giving Adam the space to become CEO.

When I asked Henrik how he had perceived that Adam had handled becoming CEO, he said that he had not seen Adam's leadership in action daily but that he shared Eleonor's view. Adam had become more at ease with life, was happier, and had more energy and confidence. Henrik thought this was a good sign since he argued that Adam could have become more insecure. The managers that I interviewed also said that Adam had surpassed their expectations. For instance, the managers argued that Adam had profoundly scrutinized the financial reports, generating a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the current and future status of the family business.

In an interview at the headquarters ten months after the formal change of CEO, I asked Henrik: How does it feel coming into the office?

> Henrik: Well, it's a bit different, since I don't come here every day…. Why should I come here? I am no longer needed here; that is how I feel. But at the same time, it's nice to be back. It feels warm and friendly to come into the office to meet the people I know. It's a family feeling within the business like we want it to be. But a striking thing is all the new faces that I don't recognize…when you are working here, you don't notice it [the small changes occurring every day].

Henrik's way of leaving the headquarters physically was different from his brother Hardy, who had already left his operative managerial role ten years ago. Hardy had continued to be physically present at the headquarters, having a desk and working on different assignments on the company board and as chairperson of a daughter company. Hardy continued this routine after the change of CEO. When I asked if Hardy had talked with his brother about the role transition from CEO to the chairperson, he said that now they did not need to talk about how

Henrik as a father and former CEO needed to be with Adam, since 'this goes without saying,' as they had worked together for so many years. Hardy helped Adam by being a mentor for him during the initial phase. In the past, they had commuted to work in the same car and knew each other well from these daily discussions. When I asked when Hardy planned to retire, he responded:

> Hardy: Lisa! [in a surprised voice, not appreciating the question. I started to laugh, realizing the kind of existential question I had asked.] What kind of question is that? [Based on the reaction and the history, the question is equivalent to asking: When will you die?]
> Lisa: [I am now laughing aloud when I see Hardy's reaction and say] But I must ask this. [Smiles in the way of understanding that I am posing a sensitive question while using my smile to show that I am doing it out of kindness and curiosity.]
> Hardy: This question is worse than the one I posed to the coworkers in the stairway! [He had asked two coworkers going to lunch if they had earned their salary during the morning.] What did the prime minister say [referring to the political debate on raising the retirement age]? Did he say 75? Did he?
> Lisa: [I continue to laugh, understanding that I have posted an 'improper question' while at the same time trying to excuse my question] Yes. [Maybe nobody in the family has posed this question before, perhaps this issue has been a 'nonquestion' not uttered during the succession talks?]
> Hardy: Right, we can say 75 [soft laughter]. We will see if I think it is more fun to come here than staying at home and as long as I feel welcome. Then I will continue to go into the office. If either of these two conditions is not met, then I will not take the car to the headquarters. [A reoccurring manner of Hardy was his way of leading conversations by using tone of voice, or his body by tapping his fingertips on the table, etc. Not knowing him, could be intimidating. At the same time, I saw it as an expression of his strong commitment to the family heritage.]

So, the father left for Adam, but the uncle stayed at the headquarters. Adam was given room to act as CEO in the daily activities of the headquarters; while in the company board meetings, Henrik was not giving Adam recognition as CEO. Adam tried to gain 'capital' by renewing the strategy with his management team, but the company board did not grant this. Although no family member worked below Adam in the chain of command, they were often physically present in the daily activities of the headquarters. In meetings, Adam, as CEO, was responsible for directing the questions and deciding who should participate in a meeting (i.e., he could create conditions determining who was involved in a meeting, and hence participating in discussing critical business activities i.e., materializing the overall quest to become a more robust family business). For Hardy, the question of retirement was more than merely a professional question – it was existential since as long as he was still working, he was part of the everyday activities of the family business. The brothers valued the freedom of being owners with other external stakeholders (i.e., leaving the stock exchange). The family members expressed accountability towards each other, and family relations rather than their employment bound them. The brothers had never been

employed elsewhere as they had always worked in the family business as family members and owners.

5.3.3 Adam's Changes to Management Work

Henrik's leadership style as CEO had been described as authoritarian; however, the managers also said that they had been given freedom with responsibility. Henrik held individual conversations with managers. During these planned and spontaneous meetings, he formed a comprehensive understanding of several perspectives, which included the basis for decision-making in the management team and created a centralized knowledge (business dimension) held by Henrik as CEO. During the management team meetings, Adam included the managers in identifying problems and developing solutions. This generated a holistic understanding for Adam as CEO. However, the managers were not used to this transparency. This interfered with the conversation climate of the meetings, and some managers perceived a decrease in autonomy. Previously, the individual managers had decided on more significant investments for their respective areas of responsibility with Henrik only. As the owner, Henrik could decide on more substantial investments, all in the tradition of the heroic culture of fast-from-thought-to-action, creating the ability to parry identified as the primary source of business success. Within this culture, the coworkers said there was a large room for forgiveness when they took a risky decision, i.e., causing costs. After Henrik left, the managers were a bit slow in including Adam in the discussions concerning the implications of some critical decisions. An explanation given by a manager was Adam's leadership style. Another reason could have been the need to learn from the experience of the managers. However, it could also have reflected his personality in managing. Adam had not communicated this as a new intentional way of managing. Another difference between father and son was that Henrik focused more on investments in production.

In contrast, Adam focused on marketing and sales. In the past, the area of marketing and sales had been Hardy's. Paired with the change of leadership focus of the CEO was introducing more structure and policies in the managerial work. This decreased the managers' perceived autonomy with the risk of managers leaving. An example was the solution to implement a cost-cutting program by the management team members by asking each function manager if they had more staff than required. Adjusting costs to revenues was standard in the budget work. Adam thought the amount in this cost-cutting program was set too high since the staff had to be dismissed. Saving through layoffs was uncommon. Henrik hadn't succeeded in decreasing the overheads during his last years as CEO. The company board assigned Adam this task. The profit needed to be increased to reduce the risk related to European economic instability and the possible effects of the cost of capital. This was his first major 'test' as CEO. Adam said during the interviews that he had always lived in the family business. And as CEO, he was the initiator of a change by presenting it to the company board. If approved, he became responsible for the implementation. This was a

significant change from being one amongst many others who suggested what needed to be done.

5.4 History Returns to the Present and Repeats Itself

Returning to Bourdieu's (1998) historical assumptions, they both reside within incorporated structures of the body's habitus and in the structures of the situations where they act (the field of the family business). The family relations in history will be elaborated to provide a context of the structures generating conditions of how choosing a CEO was done. This was an outcome of several factors: family members and external company board members, as well as various sources for their arguments and recommendations on how to plan for succession in a family business. As such forming a second order reading.

5.5 The Coexistence of Business and Family Ownership

The coexistence of business and family surfaced in discussions about the next CEO. This coexistence materialized in the colliding combination that had emerged with 'the best CEO candidate on the professional CEO market' and 'an individual who also could manage along with our corporate culture.'

Firstly, the criterion of 'the best person on the market' can be seen as grounded in 'rational' arguments of the organization's professionalization and agency theory: a heritage from the external expectations of the family business being a listed company. This argument was emphasized by Henrik, who had also become portrayed as a successful CEO with entrepreneurial characteristics of a listed (80s and 90s) and foundational governed (00s) family business. Secondly, emphasizing the external alternative could also be seen as preventing potential tension in the relationships between the siblings in the next generation. Thirdly, this external alternative should not be a multinational product fused with structure (i.e., an external candidate could harm the 'fast from a decision to action' work culture). Instead, the work culture (business dimension) should facilitate 'freedom with responsibility', steaming from the parenting in the family dimension. Here we see a coexistence between the family and the business dimension. Fourthly, giving much thought to the external professional alternative also showed that the process of identifying the next CEO had been thorough and grounded. In this sense, it could decrease the risk of activities related to the next CEO function that could diminish the accumulated symbolic capital of the family business – for instance, criticizing Adam's activities as CEO (by family members) or managers or company board members saying that the choice of a family member is an act of nepotism. According to Bourdieu (1986), symbolic capital is acknowledged by others in the field, when for instance, Adam acts according to the 'practice' of how to gain legitimacy. Lastly, the way Henrik and other family members emphasized the 'external alternative' could also be a way of talking to externals (suppliers, customers,

researchers, and other family businesses) in the 'right way' (e.g., the doxa of professionalization) about the change of CEO.

Further, the cultural argument could be related to the other way of doing this (the Palméns' way of doing as they worded their 'culture'). This can be seen as related to the family's ad hoc heroic problem-solving culture as their 'entrepreneurial culture.' One component was 'freedom with responsibility' as Henrik and Hardy expressed that their father had given them when they entered the business in their mid-20s, which they passed on to their coworkers. This culture also consisted of the brothers' long-term experience that led to decisions or investments in a sort of 'fast-from-idea-to-action force' (for example, financial decisions were made by the CEO to a much larger degree than was the norm in the industry). This is shown in the previous chapter as the substantial coexistence of the owner and management/business dimension. The fast-from-thought-to-action was also done based on Henrik's ability of problem formulation, i.e., long-term experience combined with a thorough understanding of their mission. Further, this family business's governing involved family members discussing with managers, company board members, and the extended family. The decision to choose the next CEO was the outcome of the collective structures of the business family field with an emphasis on family functions as a field (e.g., Bourdieu, 1996).

The question of external or internal CEOs (the business dimension) has been dealt with extensively in the family business literature (for instance, see Nave et al., 2022; Waldkirch, 2020). On the one hand, harming or interrupting family unity and values could send the family business into chaos (Astrachan et al., 2002, p.192). On the other hand, by downplaying the family dimension, a family could adapt to pressures for legitimacy through the professionalization of the family business (Balderrama, 2015). Hall and Nordqvist (2008) draw upon Dyer's (1998) central argument that family business by recruiting external managers holding MBAs or BBAs or educating family managers through business education enhances decision-making based on rational reasoning. Another way of professionalizing the family business can be to formalize everyday work practices with systems that increase the organization's quantitative and systematic information collection (Hall & Nordqvist, 2008). The Palmén family business lived in this dual world, where rational reasoning (formal education) was emphasized at the same as the latter was feared and characterized as 'structural fascism' (Swedish expression: *strukturfascist*[38]), challenging their entrepreneurial corporate culture. These ways of professionalizing the family business are here argued as theory effects (Bourdieu, 1989) in the way they have been active in the Palmén family business.

[38] The meaning behind the word from how the family members used it was that they didn't want too much control, but rather to preserve 'the freedom with responsibility' given to coworkers; neither did they want too much structure (plans, documentation, etc.) being infused in their managerial work.

The brothers' emphasis on sustaining their culture reflects Hall and Nordqvist's (2008) notion of cultural competence, an extended form of professional management in the family business, where understanding the organizational culture and managing the family's goals and meanings of being in business are in focus. Further, cultural competence (Hall & Nordqvist, 2008) means understanding why a family firm's specific culture can enable or restrict daily management. For instance, a change that seems objectively motivated might collide with the family ownership directives. To avoid this collision, Hall and Nordqvist (2008) suggest reciprocal role taking, which they argue is the ability to see a problem from another perspective, for instance, the family's purpose of being in business. Another concept, 'owner-centric culture,' is used along with cultural competence to highlight the close connection between the family and the business due to family values, interests, and goals rooted in history and ongoing social relationships (Brundin et al., 2010, p.125).

The interpretative tradition[39] generating, for instance, cultural competence and owner-centric culture and professionalization by Hall and Nordqvist (2008) and Brundin et al. (2010), does not explicitly address the unconscious residing in the motor function of the embodied habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87). The aim here is to address the objectivist active reading and set the family members' use of 'culture' at work in this field of family business, generating a reading of their collective (both embodied historical structures and objectified structures at work in the field of the family business), with an emphasis on what is then done by the embodied structures (habitus). This means that this embraced reading sets subjective representations within its relative ongoing power struggles, e.g., reading the succession as a game.

The outcome of the process was to choose the oldest son of the oldest brother as the next CEO. The argument was that he had experience working operatively in marketing and sales and, lately, with assigned development projects within the family business. The family alternative became more influential in the various dialogues in different 'arenas' such as the workshop on family ownership, the informal conversations between family members, and the formal conversations between Hardy and external board members. A key turning point was when the external chairperson of the board sanctioned the decision. In the early phase, the family alternative had been forcefully downplayed by the sitting CEO in favor of the more rational corporate governance arguments to choose

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an external CEO. However, contentment spread once the family alternative was shared within the family.

Goel et al. (2013) review previous family business research on affiliated directors and conclude that they play a substantial role in family firm governance. In deciding on a family member as the next CEO, they had a decisive role in acknowledging the invisible activities of the family's culture, formed in the way of owning over generations as a family. In this family, the external company board members have earlier been described as a buffer from dysfunctional family influences in dialogic decision-making. These dysfunctional influences could be seen in the example of distrusting a family member to become the next CEO. Here, an external company board member reinforced the family's aim of becoming more of a family business.

An essential aspect of this change was that the position was held by an 'owner' and shifted to an 'owner' in the next generation. That this family 'owned and controlled' the company via a foundation, not via company shares, also had implications for the CEO position and the change. This also meant that this study became a study of changes in family governance since the change of CEO was an aspect of several issues related to the overall succession. The CEO position can be seen as relational, where execution by the CEO was made via relations and conversations. The choice of family CEO also sustained relative positions within the family field, not only in the chain of command (organization) but also in the family chain of command formed by age (older) and gender (male over women). The change of CEO more openly addressed the business and family dimensions, where the family came to dominate rather than explicit references to the ownership dimension. So how can we then understand the unspoken dimension of business family ownership? Business family ownership resided in the unspoken activities both central to and surrounding this change of CEO. In the family members' subjective representation, the dimension of ownership resides implicitly and plays a less significant role in their various accounts of why and how this happened.

Drawing upon social praxeology, I suggest that ownership lies in the researcher's reading and construction of social structures' first and second order. From this point, the elephant in the room is ownership, where participants use various capital forms in situ in their relative positions. Central here is how others perceive family members as owners and how they perceive themselves as owners. Further, I argue that the succession situation was determined by a habituated and embodied practice of succession within the family. How the CEO is changed in this business family could be characterized as an ownership practice; it is a particular historical product (e.g., Bourdieu, 1994, p. 51). In this business family field, it was the second time in history that the oldest brother's oldest son was selected (in history, the successor has been a son, however not the oldest; see Appendix D, genogram of succession since the eighteenth century). This objectified ownership practice both resides within the internalized structures of habitus and also 'exists' as an external objectified structure, a structuring structure. The materialization through choosing the next

CEO is seen as an outcome of practical sense (family habitus) or knowing how to play the succession game in this business family field. As such it forms a business family ownership practice. The outcome resides within history, as no single explanation, such as the criteria list, the greenhouse solution (an internal term for competence development for members in the next generation that wanted to work in the family business), or education, can in itself explain the consequences of the next CEO. Instead, the choice was an outcome of the family members' system of dispositions (family habitus), directing but not determining their decision of choosing the next CEO.

By being a part of the everyday activities of a family, it becomes possible for me to explore the reproduction of history in the present. Alternatively, the historical relations present in the daily action drama (observing the meetings, I experienced the phase as an action drama) of discussing the continuous adaptation of the family members exist every day. History creates stability for practice. The family members embody history. Historically, they have strived for continuity and stability in business management. This family business has had the same CEO for 30+ years. Many family members have been operative during their whole working life and beyond. Several of the board members have stayed on since the 80s. Altogether this forms structuring structures as field-specific to the Palmén family business.

5.5.1 The Brothers' Relationship

The brothers' relationship since the 70s has been about business. However, over time, many things 'went without saying anything,' for instance, Henrik's understanding that he had to give Adam space so that he could activate the functions as CEO. Therefore, the brothers had not explicitly talked about the transition of the CEO position from Henrik to Adam. Hardy and Henrik's relationship as brothers was formed by interacting about the business. At the same time, the question "How are you?" was a question that was seldom asked. Since the business occupied the available space for relating, their relationship was built on doing, and "if you grow up interacting as a family about the business," you don't get much training in talking about other things. I suggest this to be a standardized way of interacting as a business family via conversations about business issues.

5.5.2 The Twist: History Repeats Itself

Why did they not just say, "We do like we always have done: We take a son from the family." Because they can't see their doings, I had the function of asking questions about the CEO change, generating a holistic view taking the historical aspects seriously paired with a Bourdieusian reading. Let's elaborate on how they have chosen CEOs in the past.

Since the current family business was bought in the 1920s, the family business had chosen a CEO twice before. Interestingly, there was disbelief in the ability of a family member to be CEO. For instance, through acquiring an

academic education, Henrik had prepared for roles outside of the family business since the 70s. The first change was in the 50s when grandfather Arthur did not want to sell the business to his son Jack. He disliked Jack's idea of taking bank loans to invest and expand the family business. Arthur had always said that he wanted to sell and retire at 60. When that time came, his son Jack had educated himself in the craft and understood the business's financial side. He was also the manager of two bakeries. However, he did not appreciate being managed. He wanted to own his business. Henrik and Hardy remember how they lay awake in the evening listening to their father and grandfather arguing in the kitchen about the family business. Arthur did not believe in his son's ability to own and run the family business. Instead, he had given operative responsibility to an accountant and the production manager. This solution followed Arthur's intention. In the end, an in-law, a physician, convinced Arthur to sell the business to his son Jack. The turning point was Arthur's lack of pension savings. After selling the business, Arthur could finance a holiday cottage near a lake to spend his time going on fishing trips as a retiree. Henrik described his grandfather Arthur as "devoted, fond of children, and a 'man of his word'."

The second CEO and ownership change occurred in the 70s when Jack suddenly passed away. Hardy suggested that an external person should take over as CEO. He saw neither himself nor his brother as a capable CEO. Henrik agreed with his brother and believed that only a fool could take on such a suicidal mission as CEO of a close-to-bankrupt company. However, still they agreed the Henrik should be CEO and an externally recruited, highly experienced person would chair the company board. They also agreed that the CEO role should rotate on a three-year basis. However, after three years, Hardy allowed Henrik to remain. Hardy had developed confidence in his brother as CEO. Hardy told me that he thought the brothers were not naïve but rather held "the 'fearless' attitude of early adulthood." Hence, they did not foresee the actual magnitude of the path they embarked on.

Nevertheless, they were, in many ways, forced to take over. They were liable for bank loans due to the poor financial situation of the family business. Their sister Marie had also inherited ownership (in the form of financial ownership). However, she was not liable for the business debt to the same extent as her brothers since she was not working when the bank loans (as security, the bank used the brothers' private properties) were signed. Despite Marie being an owner, she was never talked about as an accountable owner to the same extent as the brothers. She was a woman and was seen as too young, as she was six years younger than her older brother Hardy. On the other hand, Henrik was also relatively young, as he was only in his early 30s.

5.6 Selecting a family member as CEO

One of the first steps in choosing a family member was when the senior next generations were addressed as adults. They were given relational space. The social capital of belonging to the family was central to the outcome of Adam as the next CEO. Additionally, his specific type and the sum of capital (oldest son and education) also reinforced his relative positions. Based on a Bourdieusian reading, he had extensive experience in the business family field (i.e., accumulated labor in the form of capital: from working in the family business for almost 20 years). This regarded business issues, such as conversations about financial investments to be made, i.e., using cultural capital (accumulated labor from numerous experiences of interacting over the business) in allocating financial capital in the business. In these conversations, several forms of capital are at work in reproduction and expansion, for instance, social capital (formal position in family and business), cultural capital (work experience), and economic capital (financial resources). The senior brothers' relative positions could easily challenge Adam's position in the business family field. An advantage of the process of identifying the next CEO via the external argument can be seen as the family alternative had been evaluated towards external candidates, also decreasing the risk of being criticized for being unqualified for the position (i.e., lacking cultural capital in the form of relevant working experience as CEO previously). If Adam failed in the CEO function, the backup plan was that Henrik would be forced to return to the role of CEO.

A comparison could be made here with the brothers' taking over in the '70s. When their father died, this gave the brothers relational space to act in the functions of owners, CEO, and marketing manager. It can be said that they held the relative highest position (in the form of sum and type of capital in the field) to become the leaders (individuals with the relative highest form of capital) of the family business, with a Bourdieu reading of this business family field where 'legitimacy' is rewarded by others in the field. The brothers' symbolic capital consisted of a combination of social capital (i.e., family), cultural capital (i.e., their doing of business), and economic capital (investing profit). These forms of capital were transformed into productive cultural capital forms of the family business. This can be seen as how the dimensions of family, ownership, and management/business coexist as intertwined or forms of inseparable dimensions. The external company board members had capital in the form of their educational capital linked to their positions on the company board and social capital linked to membership of professional bodies (being members of other company boards, being part of alumni). They also had capital in the form of accumulated labor as working in a particular profession, which then could be regarded as an embodied form of cultural capital (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986). The family CEO's capital forms were validated externally and in the family function. The family members held relative positions due to their accumulated, and others acknowledged capital forms. Adam held a relative position relative to his uncle, as their relationship had developed while commuting. As such, Adam had a relationship with his father and his uncle, forming a broader ownership

perspective (i.e., social capital) than his father, Henrik, had. From this reading, when others perceived them as owners and ascribed them the power to be owners due to their possessed and perceived capital forms, they became owners. Consequently, it forms the elephant in the room, constituting the relational position as owner within the business family and the family business. Further, it suggests that a reproductive practice, i.e., a structuring structure, came to determine the outcome of who was chosen as the next CEO.

5.7 Family Habitus – a Feeling for the Succession Game

Field, capital, and habitus share ontological assumptions. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant, (1992, p. 7), habitus is the agent's life experiences in the form of the system of classifications, the mental and bodily schemata, that function as symbolic templates for the *practical activities*. These 'structures' are the objectivity of the second order. In a family business, the next generation's habitus is formed by growing up in a family when they participate in business-related activities (making estimations) and the brothers' leadership posture (parenting) feeling trusted by their father. The children acquire this both consciously and unconsciously since, for them, the business becomes part of their world (Hardy and Henrik grew up next to the physical factory). According to Bourdieu (1996), the nature of habitus can be both collective and individuated. "The social agent is a collective individual or a collective individuated by the fact of embodying objective structures" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). Habitus is *structured structures* predisposed to function as *structuring structures* (Bourdieu, 1990a), where the structured structures are the experiences from the past and are held unconsciously and consciously (Bourdieu, 1990a). The family business, therefore, is part of your life, but more importantly, part of your body in the form of embodied experience and current lingering issues in the family business's daily activities. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) game is the embodied knowledge of knowing how to play, forming the formulation of 'the game of succession' were something was said (the subjective representations of how they handled choosing the next CEO) and something else was played (reproducing the history of selecting the oldest son). So how does this family do business? Are there more field-specific practices at work here? I observed that the family members participated in formal meetings and small talks over lunch and 'fika' at the headquarters. Relating to Bourdieu (1994), the family functioning was also vivid when family members were present in daily work at the headquarters. Let's move on to the next chapter to explore primarily the activities done by and between bodies (owners, coworkers, and the researcher) in the business field.

From a social praxeology perspective, business family ownership is done in the daily activities of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management. *What is this family doing when they own, and how is this materializing in the business?*

Chapter 6: Business Family Ownership Practice as a Collective Practical Sense

In the previous chapter, the decision-making process regarding the next CEO is constructed as a business family ownership practice, with the primary emphasis on the family as a field. This chapter will focus on an elaborated and extended field reading of the second-order structures placing what is done that is specific to this Palmén family's way of doing things as the center of attention. Why? Because the change in CEO by the Palmén family, held an emphasis on something that was done rather than planned for and talked about. Thus this chapter is a move toward taking the daily doings of a family business seriously via a field reading of the second-order structures. This means I used my embodied understanding generated during several years of working with detailed realistic descriptions in the STEP project. I paid specific attention to these things that are just done or what is directed by the habitus. I also focused on these issues that lingered between the lines during interviews following the STEP framework and the follow-up questions (see appendix A). My way of visualizing: is to imagine a body without a head. The head represents what can be expected as doing management in a family business "according to the book". From my social position in the field, I saw these daily doings as "existing in" and as "outcome" of the inseparability (coexistence) of family, ownership, and management/business and hence the family business as a whole. According to Bourdieu (2005, p. 205), a decision or an activity in a firm does not depend on one actor; rather, when we enter a firm, we find structure, "that of the firms as a field" with its field of power specific to each firm. Further, the field within the firm is the relational structure of force between those agents who have the most significant weight in the structure and those who play a part in the decision in relation to their weight (Bourdieu, 2005). This was particularly evident in the previous chapter regarding the choice of the next CEO. Further, in Bourdieu's terminology, what is field-specific is a reproduction of practice, the relations (between coworkers, owners, family, managers, all involved in achieving the 'family mission'), and the habitus of the humans in the daily activities that materialize the heritage of the family business. These field-specific business family practices reside in embodied and relational practice and external objectified structures.

6.1 The Practice of Counting

My attention to the practice of counting emerged partly from how Henrik had described his way of working as CEO. For instance, when an external manager suggested an investment, he took a deep breath and thought twice before he said

something. This was also a piece of advice he passed on to Adam as the next CEO. It can be suggested that Henrik had developed a CEO work routine of creating room for dialogue to listen to "what do I know?" before giving an answer and directing the continued dialogue. Let us turn toward history for activities related to making estimations.

6.1.1 Grandpa's Slide Ruler[40]

Grandpa's slide ruler was an object that the brothers referred to in emphasizing the ability to be able to count. Grandfather Arthur was frugal with money and had to borrow SEK 25,000 when he bought the bakery in the early 1920s. He shared his belief with his son and grandchildren that you "get rich from the small costs and not on the large revenues." This belief spurred the ongoing discussion on money between frugal Arthur and his son Jack, who was more expansion oriented. Arthur argued for organic growth, while Jack wanted to develop through external financing. According to Hardy, Jack was also frugal and habitually walked around with a slide ruler, calculating everything. Hardy also adopted this trait. In his early career, his wife used to get mad at him for always making an economic estimation of all the family's activities, such as the cost per run down a ski slope. Despite Arthur's advice, Jack financed investments by bank loans and, as a result, doubled the turnover annually during the 1950s. Jack managed his business under the idea that "standing still was the same as going backward," somewhat contradicting his father's vision of small costs. Jack was described as *the* entrepreneur, a role model for the brothers:

> In the morning, he baked cakes. During the day, he met customers. In the evening, he participated in the Rotary meetings. During the night, he did the bookkeeping.

Henrik and Hardy described how they were a product of their father, watching him act as they grew up. They had "inherited his parsimony and striving for the enterprise." The brothers were the only managers in the industry with academic education. During their initial years, they saw competitors going bankrupt by investing based only on figures in the income statement and overlooking the balance sheet. Counting and making estimations based on, for instance, calculating facilitated risk-taking in large-scale financial investments and solved many lively disagreements between the brothers. Hardy and Henrik's generation's counting tradition can be described as frugal, active, and growth-oriented through external financing (via bank loans and even as a listed company). Both income and the balance sheet were used in dealing with the risk associated with investments.

So, let's stop and see how Henrik and Adam talk about the counting tradition. Preparing for the change of CEO, Henrik and Adam had a few meetings, where they discussed central issues related to the CEO role. I was sitting in on one of

[40] In Swedish: *Räknesticka.*

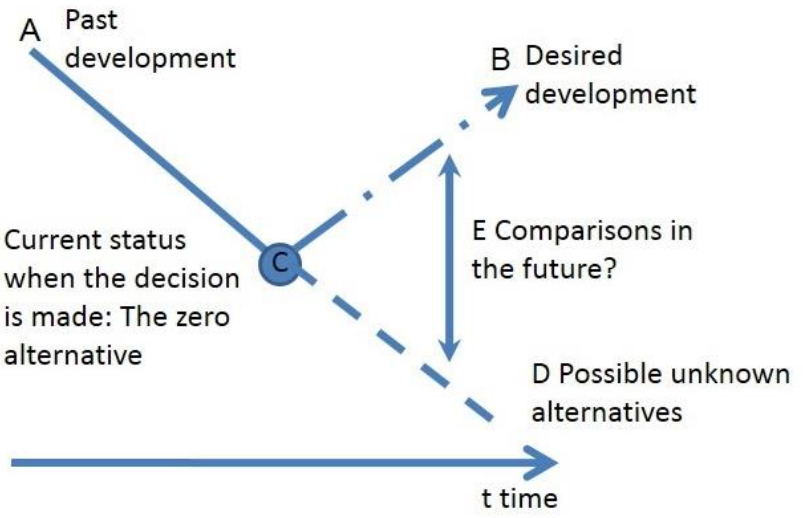
the meetings observing the interactions between the father and son, when Henrik was talking about calculations as a central ability in managing as a CEO:

> Henrik: ... last time we [this was the second meeting out of three planned meetings] touched upon the subject of making calculations. I think we can talk some more about this today. Do you feel comfortable with making calculations? That is how we…[Observation: Adam interrupts and says]
> Adam: Well, I have… you have taught me a lot over the years, and I feel comfortable making calculations. I remember you told me when we were in New Zealand [20 years ago, Adam was doing an internship there]. You pointed at a mountain and asked what the volume of the mountain was. Do you remember that?
> Henrik: No [observation: he says in a quiet tone and with a slightly worried voice that this was not the right association].
> Adam continues and says that the instant gut feeling is that "I don't know", but then explains his reasons when estimating the mountain's volume.
> Henrik: I meant with that example that it is better to make a….
> Adam: [Observation: continues the sentence of the father. Reflection: confirming that he understands him] … calculation than no calculation at all.
> Henrik: Exactly estimate rather than saying, "I don't know."
> Adam: Mmm …

The importance of estimating counting is thus emphasized. Hence a practice is sustained by practicing it. A central factor in any business is the function of accounting. The interesting question is, then, how this is done, for instance, in the activities related to counting. Let us return to the dialogue between Henrik and Adam on the importance of counting when making an estimation:

> [Observation: Henrik continues and talks about calculation… ends by saying:]
> Henrik: …making the estimation, you always should consider what you are comparing with. I usually say you compare with the 'zero alternative' [Swedish: *noll alternativet*].
> Adam: Or do nothing at all.
> Henrik: Yes, but doing nothing can also be a changing target. This is something essential to understanding as a CEO.
> Adam: [Observation: quiet]…Fe… [Observation: Adam is interrupted by Henrik, who stands up and walks to the whiteboard and does the following drawing:]

Figure 6 The Zero Alternative



Henrik: It is good to visualize how an investment develops over time.

In the illustration, the 'zero alternative' is just an assumption; in 'reality' nothing is static; instead, he expressed how change is a natural state, which the family can only parry for (Swedish: "parera för").

(A) is the bold line that represents past development. (C) is the point where the investment might be made. (B) is the desired development, the arrow pointing upwards. Further, choosing not to invest can result in (D), but as regards unknown factors such as competitors' investments, interest rates, etc., possible development over time can be anything between (B) and (D). When you decide on an investment, it should be compared with the 'zero alternative' and potential future scenarios. Henrik continues, looks at his drawing, and says:

> … it almost looks ridiculous when you show it like this, but you often make these calculation mistakes. Hence it is essential to remember that the *net present value* of zero [the null alternative] is not always what you should compare with since it is a *changing matter*. So, when you make a calculation, you should always ask yourself, what is it I am comparing with?
> Adam: Yes, I understand what you are saying, but I can't remember a situation when we discussed the investment in this way.
> Henrik: Nähää… that you can't…
> Adam: [clears his throat]
> [Silence]
> Adam [starts saying something] But I believe indeed [Henrik interrupts and says]
> Henrik: I can give an example.
> Adam: Can you take Åkarp as an example?
> Henrik: Yes, that is what I have in mind…

The drawing and Henrik's explanation of the importance of considering that 'what you are comparing with is always a changing target' expresses a result of Henrik's accumulated experience of running a bakery within specific conditions. It can also be seen as a result of academic education: learning the standardized calculations for investments in the business and understanding the boundaries of the calculation's assumptions when using them. Further understanding how to adapt them to the specific conditions of the family business is central. Similarly, the notion of frugality, a principle formed from previous generations' experiences, has been elaborated and refined to increase the toolbox of using several ways of counting by calculating, reasoning, and adding factors and aspects in making investment decisions. Significant investments are thus made based on historical experience simultaneously as they set the future business platform for the family business. As I illustrated earlier in the discussions regarding Adam as a new CEO, the risk-taking associated with investments is done in the ongoing conversations with external members on the company board, external managers, and family members. Drawing on the descriptions of Henrik and his predecessors and the central artifact of the ruler, these matters are taken seriously, and Adam is still in his qualifying rounds on the topic. Based on Henrik's vocabulary, calculating and making estimations involves a continuous (including with their bodies) search for known and unknown factors.

Counting as practice involved all those activities related to making estimations based on standardized calculating methods and financial ratios. Over time, these experiences of making estimations by counting had become embodied and work on an unconscious level from the often called 'gut feeling.' This conversation can also show how Henrik socializes Adam into the ability to calculate and make estimations based on numbers and other assumed factors. Following a Bourdieu reading: It is history that directs future investments more than the unknown future can, meaning that history must transcend into the present with examples and artifacts. Although investments are made for the future, history resides within the structures, setting the possible structures for future enterprising: for instance, the decision to invest in a factory or rent the factory facilities sets frames for future decisions to be made. Counting becomes reasonable to their life trajectories rather than rational, merely using it as a standardized way of calculating, without acknowledging the historical and situation-specific conditions in risk-taking. The brothers' reluctance to write down directives regarding indicators for risk, annual growth rate, and return on equity was expressed on several occasions (for instance, during an interview with the firm accountant). They knew or had a silent agreement about how this was done. Bourdieu (2005, p.213) explains it in the following way:

> Habitus is a highly economical principle of action, which makes for an enormous saving in calculations […] and also in time, which is also a scarce resource when it comes to action. It is, therefore, particularly well suited to the ordinary conditions of existence, which, either because of time pressure or insufficiency of requisite knowledge, allow little scope for the conscious, calculated evaluation of the chances of profit. Arising directly out of practice and linked to

> it in both its structure and functioning, this practical sense cannot be accessed outside of the practical conditions of its implementation.

This practice of counting, this system of disposition (these activities of calculating and estimating) that has been transferred within the family business over generations, can be seen as becoming part of Adam's habitus. Adam and his father Henrik have been counting together since he was a child. The practice of counting can constitute a form of patterns of postures of the body hexis. Body hexis speaks directly to the body's motor function when a child imitates the parents' actions (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87). In any case, it is invisible, but since all humans involved are humans, and humans are embodied with habitus, and habitus is historical experiences, this meant that Adam was considered as still lacking by Henrik. This family had formed a way of owning and managing over generations where their embodied experiences were present and materialized in risk-taking activities.

Hardy continues: "What if our father had left his view upon what the family business should accomplish? I think it would have constrained us in our business development." Again, it was instead the 'means' in the form of 'principles' as in the example of counting that Jack had already handed over, rather than leaving over 'ends,' in the form of truths on, for instance, annual growth rate. During Henrik and Hardy's era, more 'principles' have been formed, as Henrik shared in his view of the future for the family business:

> But of course, the family will not change the agreement of owning the business over a generation to create a strong, robust enterprise that can sustain itself. Nevertheless, the way forward to create a sustainable business here is in the ongoing discussion between tradition, long-term experience from the industry, and running this business, together with a strong feeling for the heritage. However, there are several central values, such as independence, growth, and the counting practices in agreeing on what strategic investment to make.

These values can be seen as a system of dispositions. Growth should be continuous but without the risk of losing (the control over) the business.

The practice of counting can be seen as the embodied form of cultural capital. The external form (the objectified state) of cultural capital is a product of historical actions in material and symbolic form (Bourdieu, 1986). In the system of dispositions of this family's counting, a principle has materialized to set the internal rate of return (IRR) threshold to 15%. The formula used to calculate the IRR gives a percentage. This figure should be higher than 15% for the investment to be accepted by the company board. The brothers had refined the frugality of using standardized modes of investment calculations in dealing with risk, where the feared risk was losing the family business. Henrik shares the following explanation to Adam during the meetings on calculation and how it is used to sustain growth but with moderate risk.

> Henrik: Rather pay a Swedish krona tomorrow than today. That is something that people often forget; that is the reason why we have a high IRR of 15%. It is an expression of what we want to be (clarification: a financially robust business

> that can sustain external changes such as a sudden increase in the policy rate (Swedish: *styrräntan*)). The higher the IRR, the more careful we are as entrepreneurs, and the lower the IRR, the more financial risk we take. The people who sit and count only the bank interest will hit the wall with a big bang.

Henrik strongly emphasizes risk awareness by preferring to pay today rather than tomorrow for fear of losing the family business. The IRR can be seen as a product of history along with the grandfather's principle of frugality, forming a materialized tool for maintaining it, but in a better way than saying "no bank loans." However, some managers believed it to be too rigid. In the following conversation, we can see how Adam challenges the principle of frugality in the same way as Jack (Adam's grandfather) challenged his father.

> Henrik: From seeing how other family businesses have gone bankrupt in this industry, I make the following comparison – it is like flying a jumbo jet, where the pilot only checks the speedometer and not the altimeter at the same time. If you don't look at both instruments [Henrik laughs], the risk is that you only look at the income statement, not the balance sheet and the cash flow, do you understand?
> Adam: Yes, I understand, but should not the IRR be adjustable? In a way, the better the solidity, the more the liquidity, and the lower the IRR will be [as a response to the father's body language] And if the circumstance is worst, maybe that IRR should be even higher. That is something that we have done at times in the past. It is not enough with 15%; we need a payoff in only 24 months.
> Henrik: [is quiet, he says something about not agreeing, looks worried, and shakes his head] you don't know what is waiting for you tomorrow. Driving a car, you should always stick to the speed limit and keep some margin all the time; you might find it boring to drive, but you can be sure that your chance of having an accident is much less.

Adam insists that the IRR threshold level should be fixed at 15% and not adjustable according to circumstances. Henrik responds by drawing from his experiences of being a CEO for 30 years and stresses that you never know what will come tomorrow. A high IRR decreases the risk of unknown challenges in the future.

> Adam: But can I pose a counter-question if you are driving on the road and the speed limit changes from 70 km/h to 110 km/h and the road suddenly has two lanes?
> Henrik: Yes [in a strong, slightly irritated voice], but I said stick to the speed limit.
> Adam: Yes, that is what I mean.
> Henrik: [interrupts] hm…
> Adam [continues]: That is my point to stick to the speed limit, to adjust the IRR to current circumstances.
> Henrik: NO, that is not what I meant by the example.
> Adam: But if we take an example from practice: We didn't count on the IRR as 15% when we acquired the bakeries in Västköping and Östervik.
> Henrik: Yes, we did.
> Adam: Did we?

> Henrik: Yes.
> Adam: Because we also included those strategic options of not doing it.
> Henrik: It is good that you say I have never decreased the IRR. I have always made investments using the IRR of 15%. Then there can also be strategic advantages, but these will be the 'icing on the cake'…
> Adam: I remember that we dressed the decision of Västköping with the alternative that if a competitor bought the bakery, then we would miss out on that market.
> Henrik: Well, there you have an excellent example of the 'null alternative.' We knew that another company wanted to buy Västköping to enter the market. If we had not bought the company, another actor would have been entering the market, which would have changed the Swedish cookie market. Do you understand?
> Adam: Mmm …

Frugality can be seen as a system of dispositions where the threshold level of 15% of the IRR is an objectified form of cultural capital, while the net present value is not a 'zero alternative'; instead, it can be seen as a principle in decision-making, with moderate risk taking. Hence the IRR of 15% becomes an objectified form that is used as a rhetorical tool in risk-taking along with frugality. Therefore, the objectified form of cultural capital is not a stand-alone object. Instead, it is this family's way of practicing within the practical sense. But this business family also uses documentation to reach a decision and manage. Writing down the different assumptions and alternatives creates clarity in the dialogic discussions before a decision is made, as Henrik says that often the obvious is forgotten if it is not written down or an illustration is used like the one above to see the development over time, as "what is written in text is not as easy to run away from as when only using oral presentations." The 'outcomes' of this business family's way of reaching a decision, are based on embodied historical experience, external managers' knowledge, and generating industrial-specific understanding by asking 'what' if questions. Not acquiring a business could open the door for other competitors to enter the market. The practice of counting was formed by adapting formulas to time and making estimations based on field-specific assumptions, external managers' knowledge, and historical experiences, i.e., a practice of counting within field-specific structures. The practice of calculating is a practice set by the reproductive nature, the habitus, but also in the practical sense, i.e., a practice directive by structure but predominantly residing in practice.

This family way of questioning is not only actively carried out by Henrik during presentations of investments during meetings but also a shared and encouraging behavior among the family members. This forms a room for family members to embody the practice of counting and to reach an 'automatized' (i.e., the way body hexis speaks directly to the motor function) understanding of financial calculations. However, in Henrik's words, these financial fingertip feelings (DE: fingerspitzengefüel) need to be shared within the business family. Henrik reflects this culture from the perspective of being a father:

> It is evident that the financial finger sensitivity you don't possess when you are born. But of course, we are talking about things [related to the business], when

> we celebrate midsummer and Christmas together. On these occasions, we discuss and criticize each other. You must answer and explain why you are doing things in a particular way and why you made that decision. Opinions and knowledge are transferred on all these occasions [family festivities]. But of course, not all families are like us. In other families where you have different types of relations [family cultures], it is difficult to answer the questions [posed by the children or in-laws].

A culture of honesty can characterize the family (almost using harsh tones) and direct discussion (at times, individuals were questioned) about central issues within the family. For instance, financial reports are sent out before the owner council meetings. The next-generation members are welcome to clarify the information shared. The brothers believe that each generation should be able to develop the family business since writing down principles could reduce the complexity of each decision. When decisions are made, they are based on the belief that the company should develop positively and enhance its position in the market. Henrik explains:

> It's not only about maximizing profit; it's about maintaining a solid position as a brand for several years and maintaining a good reputation within the general public, attracting the best talents to come and work with us. If we have the highest profit, but nobody wants to come and work with us, you have created the start of your death as a family business.

However, sustaining this counting practice is possible as long as the family members are present with their bodies and their habitus in the operations and the process of reaching strategic decisions (i.e., the 'structuring structures' for future business activities). This practice is done within a field of objectified and subjective structures. For instance, the objectified structures (i.e., capital forms) are formulas of calculations and other factors that don't lend themselves easily to counting, such as "what if competitor X buys this property." The frugality had been objectified in the form of a threshold level of 15%. Therefore, counting formed a distinct objectified form of cultural capital and had become an embodied business family practice.

The dispositions of business family practice in the calculation practice, following Bourdieu's (2005) reasoning, would be termed *reasonable* rather than rational since the family members base their relational practices on historical experiences (embodied structure) in numerous dialogues.

6.2 The Practice of Tasting

Part of the 'schooling exposure' (Bourdieu, 1986) occurs when children grow up in a family and are exposed to paintings and monuments. Expanding this to the family business, the children were to participate in business activities during childhood, such as testing products or services specific to their family business (Hoy & Sharma, 2009). These objects, products, or services a business offers are the objectified form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The next generation spent time in the family business's physical place (headquarters) as they were growing up. Several family members have memories of playing with their relatives at the headquarters and sensory memories from tasting the products. Around the two brothers in this multifamily business, the next generation members were raised in proximity and with varying connections to the business. While growing up, part of their world played and consumed products at the headquarters or the multifamily festivities. These business-related activities became part of them as these experiences formed their life trajectories. Children in a family come to know the world through the sense of the body, as suggested by Bourdieu by drawing upon Merleau-Ponty (2002). In reading the family members' activities, this second theme is related to how the products are developed within the family business. This involves a bodily knowing of taste where taste is "the faculty of perceiving flavors" and "the capacity to discern aesthetic values" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.474). Being at the headquarters, I could bodily sense these family members' activities – for instance, recognizing flavors via the senses of taste and smell of the body. During the field study, I participated in a session evaluating the flavors of their products. Both family members and coworkers formed a group (about 15–20 evaluators constituting a blend from different work areas within the family business). This group formed the basis of the evaluation of new products. Ten rounds of products were evaluated; during each test, one product from a competitor was compared with an in-house product. It was a blind test, implying that the evaluators could not see the producer's label, and the package was standardized. Each evaluator gave a grade from one to nine and an oral opinion concerning their experience. A coworker kept a record of all the evaluations, which then formed the basis for a decision on the refinement of the products and the potential release of new products. Afterward, a coworker revealed the origin of the blind-tested products, and various coworkers around the U-shaped sitting arrangement shared their views. For instance, a person from the marketing department filled in by explaining the product's positioning concerning target consumers. I noticed positive preferences toward the family business's products during the session. Alan, who was educated in the craft of production processes, could, by using adequate vocabulary, explain the cause of variations in the production process. Bourdieu (1984) showed how taste is a product of upbringing and education. Taste is a product of agents' positions and movements in social space, collective and individual history (Bourdieu, 2005). Taste is an acquired disposition to 'differentiate' and 'appreciate' in the process of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Here, Alan showed how he embodied the aesthetic dispositions and could, through predisposed codes in the sense of taste, evaluate the quality of the production process. Alan was experienced growing up in a family where tastings were an ongoing practice, and he was educated in evaluating products. On the other hand, I was what Bourdieu (1984) characterizes as the naïve painter who could not attain the value of art due to the lack of cultural competence in the field (i.e., artistic tradition). This meant that I was a novice lacking the ability to address the varieties of flavors that I sensed through my body in words. I also lacked the competence developed during

history expressed by Bourdieu (1984) as an artistic tradition carrying aesthetic dispositions. Instead, I tasted without any preference for distinct characteristics of the family business's products. I graded the competitors' products higher several times. I had no historical experience recognizing the producer by only tasting the products. I lacked the 'schooling' (Bourdieu, 1986) in identifying the predefined preference of how a good product should taste. Neither did I have the embodied ability to distinguish the characteristics of the family business's products. During this tasting session, the family members showed the embodied cultural capital of this business field that enabled them to identify the distinct aesthetical categories of their flavors (as a business's products constitute cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2005)). Knowing the products meant having the capacity to make a distinction between differentiation and appreciation (Bourdieu, 1984). Tasting products was done as a formal activity when new products were developed and when the multifamily spent time together as a social activity done by a family that has been producing these products for generations. Over time this family had acquired practical mastery of taste through numerous contacts with the flavors of the products. They could define taste without explicit rules or criteria, as this practical knowledge was held in their bodies. I observed how part of their experience of taste was expressed via tasting followed by a 'hmm', 'eye contact' [confirmation] and a 'yes'. The bodily tasting experiences were evaluated without explicit using words. I perceived Alan to be central in directing attention to essential aspects via body language and words to family members and coworkers. Preferences were deviant, but Alan directed an emphasis on essential aspects of taste criteria. Bourdieu (1984) suggested that the competence of taste is often held at a practical level, and the criteria for their judgments usually remain implicit. The coworkers evaluating for several years had also acquired the family members' preferences for the aesthetic categories. This family was not only using 'practical knowledge' in tasting products, but they also shared their experiences from tasting fruits and berries during the autumn harvest informally with other family members, for instance, during company board meetings. I was told that food has always been allowed to 'cost' in this family. When dining out, the family members have been allowed to try out different things, albeit costly. The children had been introduced at an early age to using their practical knowledge by tasting a wide variety of foods. According to Bourdieu, again drawing upon Merleau-Ponty (2002), the body is the instrument for a primary source of the relationship with the world; hence a human's body evolves through all sensible contacts with the world. As in this family, using money in the form of economic capital is transformed into cultural capital, in the practice of embodying the dispositions of taste, forming habitus that was held in the body. This can be seen as the aesthetic criteria for the distinct character of their flavors. They hold aesthetic criteria as a family practicing this 'craft' for generations. They have acquired the ability of differentiation in distinguishing 'high-status' from 'low status' flavors of their business family field, enabling them to identify the distinct aesthetical categories of their flavors (Bourdieu, 1984). Further, the aesthetic categories of taste making are continuously negotiated; for example, the norms

of what distinguishes a 'high-status taste' are set in relation to societal trends. After the tasting session, I talked with coworkers about the necessity of how the body works as a reliable instrument in evaluating products. I noticed how he was struggling with recognizing their products through the flavors. Hence, the body requires a sound relational dynamic for tasting to function. Stress and lack of minerals due to inflammation in the body can disturb it. As such, the social room of the reoccurring tasting ritual resides among social relations characterized by stability and safety. This implies that participants know each other and have long-term experience of tasting. This can be expressed as the ritual of tasting residing within durable and stable structures for the body to sense and sustain the aesthetics of the taste of business family practice.

According to Bourdieu (1984 p.474), taste is the ability to perceive flavors and to "discern aesthetic values", it is a practical mastery grounded in habitus that has turned into a bodily automatism over time. Following this reasoning the family members are present with their habitus, evaluating and reproducing the distinct characteristics of the flavors of the products over generations, hence their lifelong belonging to the family and the transgenerational character of the business form structuring structures.

When the family members talked with coworkers, they addressed each other by their first names (this informal tone is typical of Swedish corporate culture). Participating in these conversations, I got the impression that the family members had rich insights into their coworkers, knowing what they worked with, had worked with, and their relations in the form of family and friends. It was familiar with spontaneous conversation in the hallway or during lunch at the headquarters with coworkers from all 'levels in the chain of command.' The operative working owners had lunch in the same space as their coworkers.

Shared daily activities engaging bodies took place during more informal occasions such as the afternoon *fika* (Swedish for coffee or hot drink and a cinnamon bun or sandwich). On one of these occasions, when I was present, Eleonor invited her colleagues and even their children to smell an ingredient in their products. She would bake during the coming weekend and have been to the production area to pick up this waste product from the production process. Eleonor explained how this ingredient was used in the production and created a nice flavor in the bread. The headquarters was located close to the production, and coworkers could smell the production process at work. This meant that family members and all those involved in their everyday work could smell the production process through their bodily senses. When Eleonor shared her embodied knowledge of the waste product and how it had been used in the production process, she was sharing the ability to make a distinction with the body's senses of the smell from the ingredient and the production process, sharing a business family field-specific practical activity.

According to Bourdieu (2005), business products or services can be objectified cultural capital. The family business products can be seen as cultural capital, implying that the family members' distinct historical embodied preferences for flavors are 'existing' in the flavors of the products. The bodily

meeting between consumers' senses and the family's flavor preferences forms a meeting between embodied aesthetics in sensing. Again, the business family practice – in this case, the body's experiences sensing the taste of a product – resides in the embodied doing of family business members and their consumers. It follows that the characteristic of this family business's product is often shared among family and friends during dinners and festivities. The business family practice thus exists on all occasions where their products are consumed, regardless of whether the family members are physically present with their bodies or not, as long as they are physically present with their transgenerational sensible (accumulated) knowledge materialized in the products.

6.3 The Practice of Joking

The third reading of the daily family business activities concerns joking and its bodily expression of laughter. The bodily practice of joking reoccurred during meetings where I participated and observed the interaction in what can be seen as a social room (Bourdieu, 1994). The family members made jokes about mistakes made by themselves and their perceived competitors. These jokes were shared among family, coworkers, managers, and external board members, followed by laughter. Being a visiting Ph.D. candidate at ESSEC in Paris, I shared with Ph.D. students from other cultures my reading of jokes. One Ph.D. student from Russia, said that it would be unacceptable to laugh at the CEO and the owner. In the Swedish management setting, particularly in this family business, it was an accepted way of interacting (although within social limits) while working. The reader may not be aware that the Swedish corporate culture is characterized by a nonhierarchical organization structure, where decisions are made in consensus, titles are rarely used, and as a result, making jokes about owners could be expected to occur in other owner-managed organizations too. Explaining this addresses the call from Broady (1988) that Bourdieu's field concept needs to be adapted to the Swedish corporate conditions. When business families do business, the unique context of the specific field should be seriously taken into consideration, as Bourdieu directs us to the anthropological methodology. Already during the initial interviews, it was shared that a characteristic of this family was the sarcastic tone that, at times, could turn harsh among family members. As previously described concerning investment decisions, this harsh tone was a characteristic of this family and sustained ongoing questioning. Hardy also emphasized that coworkers should perceive it as fun working within their family business. I, too, got a first-hand experience of this family tone when I was referred to as the 'stalker' by Adam while shadowing him. It was done in a friendly manner. I perceived it as Adam's way of describing the tension I created in 'surveying' what he was doing and saying while taking over as the next CEO.

The practice of joking will be read continuously from the second order of structure. It was a reading (of the second-order structures) from being in the field as I was taking part and laughing when jokes were made. However, being an outsider, I was not the initiator of jokes. I was experiencing the jokes from

an outsider's view. If the system of disposition of counting and product development was partly conducted based on standardized formulas of accounting and innovation management, my background did not include jokes as 'a standardized managerial component,' rather, the sense of humor is part of the body's practical sense (Bourdieu, 1977), i.e., it is field-specific of this family business game. After observing company board meetings and management meetings, I wanted to talk about the jokes that I had observed and shared with Henrik:

> Lisa: Are the jokes during the board meetings spontaneous? Because I am thinking that these jokes are creating a space for what can be shared within the family business. [In the following answer, Henrik only partly answers my question.]
> Henrik: I am surprised. Have I been joking? Did we do that? [Henrik says that he is surprised and I interpret this as he is both surprised that I bring up the subject of jokes, and secondly, it shows that he had another expectation of what I was interested in, as the family was reluctant for me to use the technique of observing meetings, but in the end, they did allow me to observe the meetings.]
> Lisa: Yes, you and the family are joking during the company board meetings.
> Henrik: Yes, OK, yes. Then I will phrase it like this if I have made any jokes. I have since I was a child liked sayings [*ordvitsar*]. […] By reading Povel Ramel's[41] book *Galna Hage* [1957], I was inspired by this way of making jokes. So, he is to blame for my kind of humor.

Drawing upon Bourdieu's reasoning of the practical sense of humor, e.g., knowing how to play the game, 'joke,' and when to play the game 'joke.' is accumulated within our habitus through our numerous social interactions. Höpfl (2013) argues that by joking, we violate the social shared rule, and with humor, we try to understand the rule that has been violated. Humor is context-specific; to understand a joke, one must understand the social rules of the social environment. Therefore, joking in a social environment unfamiliar to us is difficult. In relation to business family practice, reading the practice of jokes can reveal the social norms taken for granted, which can be said to constitute the invisible social structures of the second order. Jokes are also a way for an outsider to become acquainted with what constitutes right and wrong behavior. When the family owners' embodied habitus is present in the daily activities, in formal conversations, and in sharing jokes, the social norms are transferred in social interaction, such as using jokes, to show ethical behavior. This is also in line with Hardy's belief that the act of writing down a code of conduct is embarrassing. Other family members perceived Hardy as a family member showing what can be said constitutes a moral compass in his way of interacting. When asked how he did this, as described by other family members, he said that he tried to share the values of honesty, transparency, and courage by being a role model. Although Hardy disagreed with the requirement of writing down a code of conduct, it was done. But when I asked the family members what their

[41] 1922–2007 A Swedish baron and famous author, revue writer, comedian, composer.

code of conduct was, they had trouble remembering. Instead, I conclude that joking was a way of sustaining and renewing their code of conduct, i.e., reproduced in what they did over what they said.

Here's one example of Henrik's comments during the company board meetings:

> Hardy: I only say one thing: 'Botten' [Reflection: referring to the surname, Botten, of a recently hired HR manager, it can mean both 'bottom' and 'bad'].
> Adam: Yes, it is Botten [Observation: laughter].
> Henrik: Yes, his surname is Botten [Observation: He mispronounced the surname], although he is the best [in Swedish he said: '*Toppen*' = Great, and implying in Swedish the summit (peak of the mountain)] is the opposite of Botten [the bottom of the sea].

Henrik continues and shares his view of how he uses humor:

> Henrik: But of course, you also have the social dimension during business meetings. You can't just sit and talk about work all the time [how fun is that on a scale of 1–10, as Henrik's children would put it]. I believe that humoristic jargon facilitates a trustful spirit within the group [*svetsa samman ett gäng* = weld a gang together]. This doesn't mean you joke all the time and try to outcompete others by making the funniest joke. I am trying to say that I believe that a familial (*familiar* = friendly, conversant tone) tone is good for the conversation as we talk about company board work. In this case, you should know that my opinion contradicts the recommendation stated in the books of a high turnover among company board members. Instead, I see an advantage in company board members staying for a longer duration.
> I believe creating and sustaining a team spirit within the company board is essential. When the team is in harmony, and it is fun to go to the training sessions and the games, then you are, as a team, performing at your best. When challenges come, they are met with the team's improved performance. A strong feeling of belonging is created by collaborating over a long period. This is my conviction [Henrik often uses the analogy of playing soccer in talking about management]. Our company board members have been with us for more than 20 years. In this team culture, making jokes and having fun are possible. But of course, there is always a limit to what is accepted. Personal attacks on nonfamily members should be avoided. At the same time, I think it is OK to have this sarcastic tone of making fun of each other within the family. But I must also accept that others make fun of me. It is our way of being, which I think is an admirable trait we have [as a family].

In this quote, Henrik shares how he uses jokes to create a team spirit and respond to the human need to laugh and have fun while working on formal issues such as risk-taking and investments. He also addresses the sarcastic tone by drawing a line between the family members (accepted) and coworkers (not accepted). Henrik continues and shares an example of his joking regarding Swedish society's view of being an entrepreneur. Here the moral is that being an entrepreneur is not perceived as a high-status position in Swedish society, which is organized by social democratic values. Instead, the norm is employed for a large organization or government. According to Henrik, their positions as owners and entrepreneurs are not seen as real work in society. The other joke

he often refers to was his mistake during a business meeting when he mixed up two similar words, which altered the formulation from being the 'responsible entrepreneur' to the 'chauvinistic entrepreneur.' There is a tradition of sharing family members' mistakes, which is also done when Adam makes a first memorable impression as CEO to the coworkers. During Adam's first speech as CEO to the coworkers, he visits the restroom before entering the stage but forgets to set the headset on mute. Arriving in the Aula, the coworkers hear a sound similar to a waterfall. Adding to the interpretation of this water sound was recent water leakage in the building, and some thought it had returned. Upon his return, the head of information explained what had just happened to Adam. Adam allowed the coworkers to laugh at his shortcomings, here forgetting to mute his microphone, causing everybody to hear him pee. This mistake can be seen to work as a social regulator (Höpfl, 2013); for both Adam and the coworkers, they were forming an authoritative relationship. Höpfl (2013) refers to the authoritative relationship 'erection,' as in Latin erection means to direct or transmit structure and content. The power dimension residing in this relationship can be established through irony and absurdity as there is a presence of maintaining order and a sense of place in this relationship or erection. For coworkers, humor can remind workers that there is an alternative: for instance, bad practice deserves derision, and this erection cannot be sustained in the face of ridicule (Höpfl, 2013, p. 51).

In this social setting, Adam is not only the CEO; he is also perceived as an owner, i.e., humor can be used to ease the pressure. In the way Adam allows the coworkers to laugh at his mistake, the coworkers recognize that humor can still be used in the same way as Henrik had done. Adam also shared this story with me and others, explaining that this mistake was a fantastic way of taking away the moment of seriousness during his first talk as CEO. He, too, felt that he, as a human, could use humor in comforting his body in the new relative position of the erection as CEO and owner, which in some way complements the reading of Henrik in the previous chapter. The family members create stories in this spirit about mistakes made by the family members and nonfamily managers in the family business. Adam's father had also made this mistake once, which meant that when Adam shared his mistake in a story, it was referred to as 'just as my father did' and then laughed at. Here, Adam reproduces his father's joking practice of allowing others to laugh at, according to Bourdieu (1986), the agent in the field with a relatively higher position. The family had created a way of using jokes to create trustful relations. Humor was also used to destabilize the social position as family members and allow critical or alternative views to be present in the conversational way of working in decision-making, for instance, on the company board. But it can also be said that humor in the context of a family business "draws us together in common understanding, gives us a common form of expression that breaks down social barriers and creates friendship" (Höpfl, 2013, p. 49). This reasoning of Höpf (2013) can be related to Bourdieu's (1996) family function of how fusion draws the family together. Humor in the form of a system of dispositions forms, then shared stories (e.g., family business habitus) that become objectified forms of the embodied cultural

capital. Hence capital is reproduced, but also, due to the nature of practical sense, changed (Bourdieu, 1991).

Here is a conversation between Henrik and Alan where a sarcastic tone is present. A door opens about 15 minutes after the meeting has started (considered late in the Swedish corporate culture). Alan enters as the last person arriving at the management team meeting. I note that his appearance gives the impression of being a bit underdressed compared to the other participants' dress code in the room:

> Henrik: Here is Eriksson [tells Henrik when his son enters the room. I interpret this as he is using low-class labeling of his son, signaling that it is not OK to be 15 minutes late. In Sweden, many surnames end with 'son,' as in the son of Erik].
> Alan: Aha, you don't recognize me. Am I that different? [in a tone of stopping the meaning behind greeting his son with the use of 'Eriksson,' signaling something that he is not].
> Henrik: You look proper today. [Henrik changes the use of words to acknowledge that he seems appropriate when he realizes that Alan didn't appreciate how he was greeted with a sarcastic tone.]
> Alan: No, I have shaved today.
> Henrik: Yes, exactly [that is what I meant].

Henrik is decreasing the social status of Alan by greeting him not with his surname but as that of his father, which comes with a certain status. In this setting, he uses a low-class surname, signaling that arriving 15 minutes late is not behavior worthy of a person carrying their surname. This can be considered as a personal attack, which is part of the sarcastic tone within the family. However, Alan is somewhat offended, answering that his father does not recognize him as his son. And then Henrik feels that he might have been a bit harsh and apologizes by complimenting him and saying he is looking proper. Alan partly accepts this but only to the extent that he says he has shaved, as would be the men's daily routine within the family. Implying, that he has not made any extraordinary effort today. However, it can be interpreted as breaking the norm concerning the dress code by being slightly underdressed. At the same time, his shaving status is higher than average. An answer saying "I forgive you" could have been "thanks, I appreciate your compliment, father." Instead, Alan uses the strategy by making comments like his father's joking way. This can be seen as another way of saying "I forgive you" but replicating his father's way of creating the right mood around the meeting table. This strategy can also be a way of saying, "I am sorry that I was 15 minutes late. I try to compensate by entertaining you," as illustrated in the following conversation during the continued part of the meeting:

> Director of Finance [continues the conversation after Henrik and says]: My wife heard you on the radio.
> Alan: Yes, with Benson [fictive name of an influential character in their industry]. He said: Do you have something new in the pipeline? Alan: Yes, I have the checkmark in paradise [in Swedish '*bocken i paradiset*,' a male character's ability to seduce and satisfy the sexual lust of the other sex].

> [Observation: The other person answered Alan] -Yes, I also need that one! [Observation: The end of the sentence constitutes the punchline of the joke, which Alan emphasizes, and there is laughter around the meeting table.]
> Alan: Henrik said once that the last thing I will do in my life is sit down in a meeting with me and Benson [the previous referred to character]. [Observation: Laughter]
> Henrik: …for a second time, should be added. [Interpretation: Henrik corrects Alan and reminds him that he has already been in a meeting with these two. Observation: Everybody is laughing loud.]
> Sales director: Yes, that I can imagine.
> Henrik: Yes, that is correct. There is something similar within these two souls (his son and Benson), and when they come together, something happens. To understand it, you must experience it.
> Sales director: [Observation: A confirmation sound but expressed too quietly for me to hear the exact words.]
> Henrik: Yes, we have had a meeting once. [Observation: Repeating what he said previously.]
> Henrik: Yes, my dear friends, we have an agenda today …[Observation: Henrik changes the tone of voice and signals that he wants the meeting to start. This turn in the conversation also signals that the 'game' of competing over who makes the funniest comment today is over, with Alan as the winner. I also interpret that Henrik is signaling that he will not participate in Alan's conversation as there is a tendency to violate the social norms with sexual connotations.]

As regards the relative positions of father and son, this illustrates how Alan surpasses his father in using comments to generate laughter (i.e., an activity of the game in the field). However, when the son beats the father (receiving more attention in terms of laughter at his 'jokes') and Henrik's relatively higher position is challenged, the father becomes reluctant to compete. He uses his formal role as chairperson to continue the meeting. In Alan and Henrik's way of talking, the social norms of shared views are violated. The father is responsible for maintaining what constitutes acceptable behavior and social norms. A reason for ending the 'game' of Alan's jokes can be interpreted as that a social norm has been violated, surpassing what is considered acceptable behavior. In this way of using jokes, both the relative positions of the field and the doxa, the social norms of the field, can be violated and, as a result, changed. During the continued meeting, Alan wants to fill in with small jokes. I see it as a way of assisting his father in creating the atmosphere of having fun while the meeting is proceeding. Here is one occasion when the financial director is making a joke that is reinforced with sexual connotations:

> The financial director: [Observation: concludes his presentation] The financial forecasts have rye in the back… [Strong backbone. Swedish: *råg i ryggen*].
> Alan: [Observation: he interrupts]… *råg i ryggen och säd i brallan*. Guts and grains in Oamaru [untranslatable pun, referring to the likness of swedish word for 'råg': grains and 'säd': viritily in pants]. [Observation: Laughter.]
> Henrik: Yes, that is the least one can say. The new CEO is jumping into quite soft shoes. [Observation and reflection: Laughter and the father support Alan in

making this joke, but he also hints to Adam that he has expectations of performance since the financial conditions are promising.]
Henrik: Let's proceed.

Alan is skilled in telling timely stories and giving conversation an entertaining tone. He wants to share a story in the following situations, but his father is stopping him. Henrik is the meeting chair and needs to keep track of time allocation and time available for jokes. They are discussing the cost of commodities:

Henrik: Why can't the producers in third-world countries deliver?
Financial director: They are not achieving their production volumes.
Alan: I know of a producer…
Henrik: That we can discuss on another occasion. Let's continue with the next point on the agenda.

During the continued meeting, there are occasions when Alan and Adam make jokes that are shared *with* the managers. However, when this is done, they interfere when the managers share information. From my interpretation, there are occasions when they are treading a fine line of making jokes *at* the managers rather than *together* with the managers – hence violating the nonfamily members' social position as employed managers. According to Bourdieu (2005), the field within the firm is the relationship structure of force between those agents who have the greatest weight in the structure and who play a part in decision-making in relation to their weight. The weight is set by the directors' structure and amount of capital. I interpret this as Alan and Adam sustaining their 'capital' as family members in the field by making these subtle signals via jokes concerning the managers' expertise (capital forms e.g., diplomas from education and the know-how within their working area). Maintaining the order of which capital forms are heavier in the field – that of the family owner embodied cultural capital form – requires a 'knowing the timing' for making a joke. According to Höpfl (2013), a group needs to share context and knowledge to understand how the social rule is violated for a joke to be appreciated as humor. A joke is made within a social context. Timing is central in telling a joke, as it inhabits the two temporal dimensions of *duration* and *instant* (Critchley, 2002). When being told a joke, we know there will be a punchline, and we are waiting for this punchline while listening to the joke. This means the family members, over time, embody habitus since making a joke requires sensitivity for both duration and timing. As family members hold a relative position in the business family field (i.e., social capital as a family), they can joke with other family members. Still, they have also accumulated experiences of growing up and working in the family business, e.g., accumulated embodied cultural capital (habitus). When a joke made by family members is laughed at, symbolic capital is at work. When perceived as humor, the joke is attained at the moment and by an agent, forming laughter within the business field. Henrik's laughter also shows what is supposed to be funny and laughed at (i.e., showing the social rules of human interactions in the family).

Humor occurs when you perceive something as funny and allow your body to fall into an explosion of bodily organs, i.e., laughing with the whole body. Or as Critchley (2009) phrases it, by referring to Kant, 'an oscillation of the organs.' Hence, using jokes to oscillate coworkers' organs can reveal some of the bodily tension in dealing with risk when evaluating sales figures and financial forecasts. The pressuring rhythm of daily activities is formed by production technology, speed of creation, production, and delivery of products, and paired with urgent problems that need to be solved here and now. In these daily activities, using humor can release bodily pressure. It can also create a feeling of 'we.' As humor draws us together, when we share stories, incidents are tales (Höpfl, 2013). As family members, from their relative position, they can construct tales. In times of mistakes by them and coworkers, the family members can construct a tale (with a funny twist) about forgiving when they and coworkers have made mistakes. They are reproducing the culture of freedom with responsibility, characterized by forgiveness. During the meetings, I observed how Henrik pauses and directs the rhythm of the meetings by sharing short stories from the past with a funny twist, but often containing a message on social norms. This way of using jokes forms a community of meanings (i.e., objectified forms of the second order), where humor sustains and changes the social norms of this family. The practice of laughter, i.e., the structures of the second order shown in human activities, is an essential aspect of the dimension of family ownership forming the activities of doing business. Jokes remind who 'we' are, who 'we' have been, and who 'we' might come to be (Critchley, 2002, p. 87). Jokes can be said to constitute the historical structures (historical, social relations of family), and embodied cultural capital (habitus), forming the external structures directing daily activities within the business.

Adam was the new CEO reproducing his father's practice of sustaining the tradition of allowing others to laugh at his mistakes in the sound of a bodily need. He was reproducing family business owner practice that was familiar to the coworkers. Structures of domination in a field are reproduced and transformed when language can work as symbolic goods (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Here language can be said to be symbolic in how family members reproduce jokes in dominating positions within this 'owner field.' Adam also shows that he has embodied the habitus of knowing when and how to 'play the game' in this field by using timely jokes and, along with the known social norms of this family, jokes that create laughter and recognition.

Let us turn to a final example of the joking practice when two accountants present their work to the company board. The company board has asked them for a thorough audit of specific operational areas during this year's auditing. When the presentation is coming to an end, Hardy asks the following:

> Hardy: Am I allowed to swear in church?
> Henrik [Observation: as the chairperson of the company board]: It depends on which church you had in mind.
> Hardy: Well, I have been reflecting. You have been here for six years.
> Accountant: This is the seventh year.

Hardy: Then, you no longer have the obligation of mandatory auditing, right?
Henrik: Hmmm [Observation and reflection: he is laughing, understanding the thought behind his brother's request, constituting the high cost of the auditors].
Accountant: If the turnover is more than…. [Observation: Hardy interrupts.]
Hardy: If we disregard that [referring to the turnover], … how can one make the audit process more efficient? Why can't some areas be controlled every second year and other areas… what I want to say is: Your way of working is very standardized. You could increase efficiency in your audit work.
Accountant: Well, partly auditing is regulated according to the law. It follows a particular pattern.
Hardy: I understand.
Accountant: If we disregard the mandatory auditing. Most people [Swedish: *de flesta*] experience a value in having control over their operations. The board can get an insight into how things are managed and that everything is working adequately. Twelve months is a long time, and 24 months is even longer. The risk is that the control over crucial areas of the operations is lost. Then, of course, it is possible to discuss what kind of control you want to have, and the role of 12 or 24 months is a philosophical discussion. In that regard, I have no better answer than what you have.
Henrik: [Observation: directs his comment toward his brother, who has a history of speeding]. If you know that they are shutting down all the speed cameras during the coming months [Observation: soft laughter], then the question is what kind of behavior you would develop in driving your car. [Observation: The comment creates a loud sound around the table. Henrik is on the line of a personal attack on his brother's weak spot of speeding. But this comment can also be interpreted as the owner's signaling surveillance of business operations. From the comment made by Henrik, it is a more crucial point for Henrik than Hardy.] Just the awareness within the firm that this family has…
Hardy: Frankly, Henrik, you make a correct evaluation because I adapted to the kind of knowledge I possess…
Henrik: Good.
Hardy: …regarding how I drive. But I believe there are efficiency improvements to make within your line of business [Observation: talking to the auditors]. But I believe Bo [Observation: external board member skilled in financial reporting] has an answer to my question [Observation: Here, Hardy redirects the discussion and the criticism raised by Henrik, by turning to an external board member as the expert on the company board].
Bo: If we consider this part, there is potential to improve efficiency. You have audited these six times, learned the firm's operations, and can do the same controls because a large part is periodic over the years. This can hopefully be done with less work.

Henrik laughs subtly and smoothly in this conversation when he understands why his brother wants to swear in church. He uses Hardy's weakness of speeding to argue for the risk that coworkers change their behavior concerning the information they possess. Henrik wants to decrease the risk of opportunistic behavior by surveying operations via auditing annually. Henrik was smiling and laughing slightly with his body when he compared the moral of the story. Humans adjust behavior to the degree of surveillance. But the comparison is not perceived as a joke. I sensed the reaction around the company board as a slight

assault on Hardy, made by his older brother and the chairperson. As Douglas (1999) writes: "We must ask what the social conditions are for a joke to be both perceived and permitted" (p. 152). Henrik might have tried to make the comparison into a joke by laughing, but others around the table did not perceive it as humor. I infer that Hardy permitted Henrik to use his speeding behavior in arguing for the relevance of annual auditing since he continued his argumentation by turning to an external board member (the expert in financial reporting). Douglas (1999) writes that all jokes are expressive of the situation in which they occur. Henrik tried to show a social norm of human behavior concerning surveillance by using the example of breaking the law by speeding. However, it was inappropriate in the social setting around the company board table, whereas making this comparison on a family occasion could have been well received and permitted. At the company board table, the brothers had relative positions as the chairperson (Henrik) and board member (Hardy).

In deciding on the next CEO, I suggested that it was the external company board members who reinforced their quest to become more of a family business. In the empirical illustration above, Hardy refers to an external company board member in getting support for his way of showing the objective form of cultural capital, of frugality as discussed in the first reading – but also using the aid of an external company board member towards his brother. Ever since the 70s, there had been tension between the brothers. Hardy adopts a posture, almost as an embodied accountability, of questioning issues he perceives as essential. His way of questioning can almost be perceived as showing off. In the illustration above, he does it toward the head manager of the auditing bureau, questioning the efficiency of their work procedures. When these acts of questioning have between the brothers, it has been challenging for some external company board members to know when it has been for show and when there has been a real underlying conflict between them.

There have been occasions when a conflict has been present in the past. However, these disagreements have never had a long-term influence on the brothers. The external company board members require to show integrity on these occasions, facilitating a solution to the conflict between the brothers. In the past, the brothers have asked external company board members to solve the conflict. This can be seen as a sign of profound trust in these company board members. But the family owners also know that the company board members are accountable for the company's actions in a way that an external consultancy is not. A common characteristic of the external company board members has also been expertise in complementing knowledge areas relevant to the nature of the business. Women were still a minority amongst the external company board members, as only one in four was a woman. One external company board member was a woman who brought essential expertise. During my observations, she increased the scope and created pluralism in the conversations. The male company board members saw her as a role model for the women in the family, and they perceived her to work as a counterforce to Henrik's stubbornness.

Jokes are also a way for outsiders to become acquainted with what constitutes right and wrong behavior. For instance, in the Palmén family business, continuity, high attendance, and jokes have been how the external experts have been both asked for advice and listened to. I observed how the family members used jokes and stories to create relaxation for the bodies, and this was where creative ideas were shared. Regarding research on ethics in family businesses, Adams et al. (1996) found in a comparative study between family businesses and nonfamily businesses that family businesses rely on modeling appropriate ethical behavior and that behavioral norms are transmitted informally among coworkers. This study also pointed out that family businesses had fewer formal policies, rules, and codes that governed employee behavior, as explained by the lower level of formalization. When the family members' embodied business family habitus is present in the day-to-day activities (e.g., informal conversation and sharing laughs), the social norms are transferred in these activities, for instance, using jokes to show right and wrong behavior. For example, a code of conduct first becomes 'active' when it is carried out in practice, outplaying the actual formulation of a written code of conduct, i.e., the power of the practice residing within what is actual done or the logic of practice.

6.4 Counting, Tasting, and Joking as Business Family Field-Specific Practices

In this empirical chapter, the daily business activities done at the headquarters are central. Why? I assumed this was a central place for becoming more of a family business, as the Palmén family expressed it. Essential for this business family was the quest to create a more robust business every day. The CEO was the central function of this quest generating business activities. I have argued that the family and business dimensions coexist in this CEO function. A reading of the second-order structure of business family practice forms the three practices of counting, tasting, and joking. These were three essential practices of the business dimension of how business was done. One was joking, as it requires field-specific embodied family habitus and a practical sense of timing and relative positions; as such, it is far from 'a standardized managerial textbook component'. Moreover, it breaks with doxa from family business literature. A second-order structure implies that business family practice resides in embodied and external objectified structures directing daily business activities. In the practical sense, in ongoing activities originating primarily in the second-order structures of the habitus, I have constructed their practice in counting, tasting, and joking. Due to the practical sense, business family practice is changed and shared between family members and coworkers in daily activities in one significant place, the headquarters (the business dimension). But part of the business family practice is also non-family coworkers' habitus. The business dimension with all the coworkers' activities is blended with the family members' activities (family dimension) in all the physical places it occurs, one significant place being the headquarters.

Further, the constructed business family practice shares common objectified social structures of the first and second order due to shared commonalities of the social structures of the wider business field of Sweden. The external and internal managers' schooling experiences constitute different forms of capital 'acquired' during education and developed during professional work (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986). The business dimension is more open to external influences since family members are delimited to acquire personal work in competing industries because they are perceived as loyal to their business family (as Alan and Adam expressed it). The conceptualization of the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management is hence more open and changing due to the nature of the business dimension (where co-workers change employment more frequently than family relations change due to, e.g., birth or marriage).

A social room (activities at the headquarters forming experiences of the Palmén family business) is both a physical space as experienced by participants in the daily activities of counting, tasting, and joking and the family members' inner experiences (e.g., Bourdieu 1994, p.44). Business family practices take place within a social room. They can be seen as their way of sustaining the different capital forms, social, financial, and in particular, the embodied cultural capital in using the sensible ability of the body. These practices of counting, tasting, and joking via the bodily senses constitute the opacity of practice, a practice that is acquired by doing business activities. The novices (less acquainted with practicing) in these three business family practices are the external accountant and me. These business activities produce practitioners within the coexisting family, ownership, and business/management dimensions. Making the estimations, counting, and calculations based on their embodied experiences over generations can be conceptualized by drawing upon Bourdieu's (2005) practical sense, that 'sets' due to the specific structures of the field (the business family field) and the agents that meet has a structure that is field-specific (i.e., historical experiences of doing business for more than 250 years). The practical sense resides in the act of practicing (doing business), and the understanding of this functioning can be seen in the following statement made by Hardy concerning how they don't want to pass down 'truths' to the next generation:

> We don't want to leave any monuments or old truths for the coming generations. What was successful in the past holds no guarantees for success in the future. The trends in society are constantly changing!

The practical sense is changed since the conditions of the social room are changed, i.e., the practical sense 'lives' in the practicing. When each generation makes financial estimation via counting in the field-specific structures, the practical sense is 'active' or reproduced. An example is how counting was done in history between the brothers and their father, and this principle of allowing room for each generation. This created conditions for practical sense. In acquiring a business, reaching an investment decision is based on several aspects. It is based on the 'schooling' of calculating the net present value and the internal rate of return. An understanding of the limitations of the formulas,

the implications of the numbers used, and how these are generated is central. The practical sense of discussing different future scenarios with external managers and company board members where the generational family business experiences form the ability to reach the 'relevant' decision based on historical industry-specific experiences, externals' interpretation of critical risk factors (e.g., fluctuation of interest rate), and shared experiences of financial estimation (key financial rations). The decision will create growth, moderate risk-taking, and protect as well as develop the family business. Independence from other owners is thereby sustained, and family relations are maintained through solving disagreements via counting.

Tasting is sustained in practicing (practical sense), as in the previous example of calculating. A family member who had overseen the open testing sessions of products to the public explained how the body needs to be used in tasting to sustain the ability to evaluate and recognize. The practice of tasting could not be written down and shared; it resided in the lived body's memory, sustained in the practicing of tasting. It was timely. Although the body was continuously tasting, a lack of minerals and other disturbances could change the preferences of different flavors. This suggests that the evaluators' bodies must work as reliable instruments to recognize the family members' products and assess what a successful taste could be.

Joking can be seen as an activity of the second order, a highly relational activity. It is also sustained in practicing in the same way as tasting and counting. The practicing of joking requires a sense of time, duration, and moral sense, done under a practical sense of humor, i.e., a break with the norms of the social room. A practice when a joke is explained via talk, the time and duration relation between the bodily reaction and the understanding of the humor (breaking a social rule) is ceased. The sense of humor is embodied by family members and coworkers and is part of the external objectified structures. As the family members (owners) collectively have a higher relational position, their relative positions can be maintained and challenged in joking, and their bodily activities (laughing) can be seen as if the reaction to the violation was field-specific, i.e., 'sense of humor' or not in this business family field. This objectification over time in joking (external structures of what constitutes their norms) relates to the doing of business, for instance, regarding how family business habitus directs but does not determine its transgenerational trajectory.

6.5 The Practical Sense of Business Family Owning

Ownership is read (by me) and constructed via the assumption of how family transforms capital (essential cultural capital) in the Palméns quest to become more of a family business and create a robust family business over generations. Ownership as a second-order structure implies that business family ownership lies in the researcher's reading and construction of the first and second-order of

social structures[42]. So, what is the difference between business family practice and business family *ownership* practice? As such, business family practice depends on the degree of non-family coworkers (e.g., managers and their composition of capital forms) involvement in critical business activities primarily within the business dimension. Consequently, it depends on the social praxeology reading of field-specific activities, field structures, and relative positions of the field (degree of non- and family members (owners) involvement) in the business dimension. In conceptualizing coexistence, the emphasis is more on its coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management than its differences. The family members' high involvement in informal and formal business activities was significant for this business family field. Due to the structures of the field, the business family was 'present' even when family members were physically absent. Yes, coworkers had 'freedom with responsibility' but within conditions given by the business family. In the business dimension, the type of activities and composition for relative positions agents generating activities would direct an emphasis on business family practice and/or business family ownership practice. Relative positions constitute coworkers' composition of capital forms regarding professional and educational work experience. This capital composition sets coworkers' relative position within the overall chain of command in the organization. Family members are perceived as owners and read by me via directing business activities due to their high involvement in the business family practices. Altogether this forms business family *ownership* practices. Business family ownership works 'as a motor' forming the second order structures generating the daily business activities. The three business family ownership practices of counting, tasting, and joking residing on the second order would only be partially visible, for instance, if I compare it with my first visit to the headquarters.

As an objective structure, the business family ownership practice is part of each member forming the Palmén family; due to family habitus. As such, business family ownership habitus is the core, a structuring structure reproduced over generations by the family members due to being part of the family's reproduction of doing business. This fusion force of family forms a structure in the field of the business family practice. As a family, they are every day materializing in practice the reproduction of capital forms as a transgenerational family business. Therefore, specific ownership by a family could be constructed as reproduced and shared collectively within a defined group as a family. From this point of view, the elephant in the room is a distinct aspect of owning (reproducing structure) together over time. Participants use various capital forms (emphasis on cultural capital) in their relative positions (social capital). Talking and doing business issues form historically accumulated experiences of

[42] In all three empirical chapters, all three phases: I STEP, II CeFEO, and III Social praxeology, are present to various degrees. However, the aim is a distinct move towards structural hermeneutic reading in constructing the four practices. All three phases' ontological and epistemological assumptions are manifested in constructing the empirical material in text form. This implies that a reader might read the text from his or her doxa, i.e., from a realistic, interpretative or structural hermeneutic.

sensing with the body, forming structuring structures. These structures constitute, for instance, the act of risk-taking when economic capital is invested in production, technology, marketing (i.e., capital, see Bourdieu, 2005), and all the essential operations to sustain a business owned by a family. The family wealth resides in the family business when economic capital (dividends) is reinvested (transformed) into capital forms in the family business, functioning as a structuring structure. As such, the sense of humor, the sense of calculating, and the sense of joking are partly visible in activities, are timely, but are embodied practical knowledge and constitute symbolic capital of this business family field. Essential for these practices is that they require relationality and reside within a collective.

The three business family ownership practices can be seen as practicing embodied cultural capital (e.g., Bourdieu 1986). According to Bourdieu (1990), symbolic capital is given to an agent by others (relatively high positioned) in the field, to the agent who holds a relatively high position (composition and type of capital) but also can 'practice' cultural capital and hence is by others given credence, i.e., symbolic capital. Practicing embodied cultural capital was also done with social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), e.g., using the resources of being both owner and CEO. The family members working as board members and managers will constitute the greatest weight in the capital forms – both as an *individual* and, first and foremost, *as a collective*. Family members, as well as coworkers, when perceived by others as skilled practitioners of these business family ownership practices (cultural capital), holds symbolic capital. The Palmén family business has been presented as a transgenerational entrepreneurial family business within the STEP project. The media have also depicted this family as a successful entrepreneurial company, often with Henrik in front as the CEO. This coexistence of family ownership and management/business could be seen as a system of dispositions forming an entrepreneurial capital. Hence, the field-specific symbolic capital of the Palmén family business can be referred to as symbolic (cultural) family business entrepreneurial capital.

According to Bourdieu (1977), the embodied habitus directs the practicing; part of habitus is incorporated during the life of the 'objectification.' Objectification is the social construction of words such as what a family means or the social construction of a human of what he or she can believe they are 'free' to do or can do. But due to the incorporation of structuring structure or capital forms, the human is never free; instead, practices are done within the limits of the habitus, the life experiences, and the incorporation of objectification of knowledge gained from growing up within a particular culture, family, society, and so on (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 78–86). Interacting humans are trying to do something grounded in their habitus, but at the moment, they do something else, directed by their practical sense (Bourdieu, 1990a). Agents act based on their habitus and the *'options' available at the moment of acting*. This is done under uncertainty (Calhoun, 2003). The practice, what is said and done, is governed by a *practical sense*, which orients 'choices,' albeit not deliberate but through individuals' prior experience (Bourdieu, 1990a). In French, this is referred to as *le sens pratique*; however, in translating the

expression to English, the philosophical reasoning of how the individual sense the world through the body was lost. In this business family field, the family field, with its habitus and structuring structures (history of doing business as a family for more than 250 years), illustrates the dynamics between the intended and unintended. Business family ownership practice is directed but not determined by family members' habitus. It is changed to the discrepancy between the embodied social structures and the external conditions of the field. This change is done 'under' the practical sense. Assuming the family as a field implies that business family ownership practice is transhistorical since history resides within the objectified social structures of the field but is also embodied by the family members. Family habitus forms the structuring structures over goals or ownership directives—this forms the transgenerational collective as well as individuated orchestration of business family ownership practice. Further, with the family members' bodies present in 'doing business,' their accumulated experience and long-term employment (e.g., CEO for over 25 years) form structuring structures that bypass a high degree of administration (e.g., policies directing work routines). Instead, structuring structures are present in, for example, counting, tasting, and joking. It requires bodies to practice under the "practical sense."

As suggested in the former chapter, the process of choosing the next CEO can be seen as a business family ownership practice and a game. The discussions within the family, with external company board members, and other family businesses can be seen as the practical sense of the succession game in this business family field. A game is directed by the structuring structure, the family habitus, and the business dimension's functioning. According to Bourdieu (1996), the field sets the 'value' of individual and collective habitus.

Relating practical sense to a central concern in family business research: who controls the family firm (e.g., Aguilera & Crespi-Cladera, 2012), the reasoning of practical sense forms a break with the control doxa where the power of the practice resides in who takes part in essential field specific business family ownership practice. We turn from "holding control," to practicing amongst historical and present bodies with embodied field specific sense for the practice.

To conclude, this ownership is not just any ownership. It is ownership by a family that does business, constituting business family ownership practice. The business family ownership practice is formed by the conditional given historical structures (structuring structure), refined in daily activities, founded on the embodied business family habitus and the shared capital forms of the field, done in *le sens pratique* of the practicing body; consequently, it forms business family *owning*. The change from *ownership* as an object, due to owner (as agent/family member), to *owning* is intentionally done to emphasize the relational, collective, and embodied characteristics of business family owning. This construct is collective (shared and done relationally) and embodied (directed but not determined by business family habitus). Further, it is sustained via the relational practicing historical bodies in a specific business family field.

Chapter 7: Coexistence as Entanglement and Collective Subjective Corpus

In this chapter, I will bring together some of the distinctive threads generated within the three empirical chapters, to elaborate on the entanglement of family, ownership, and business/management. The social praxeology that I am advocating in this thesis, provides us with the possibility of a coherent theoretical framing of the three dimensions and their dynamics. The primary dimension of this dynamic is its structuring nature. I propose the concept of entanglement to characterize this coexistence in the business family field. As argued previously, this is an act of a Bourdieusian reading and a relational mode of research, with the attention given to at least challenging the reproduction of the doxa active in the family business research field. According to Bourdieu (1985, p.205), language and concepts carry with them history forming a common sense of the collective of the social world we are part of. Further, according to Wacquant (1998, p.7):

> Every field is thus the site of an ongoing clash between those who defend autonomous principles of judgment proper to that field and those who seek to introduce heteronomous standards because they need the support of external forces to improve their dominated positions in it.

A potential clashing effect might occur when introducing heteronomous standards in conceptualizing the entangled nature of a family business, turning from a separated elaboration on the three categories to entangled, due to the nature of the three categories (family, ownership, and business/management).

7.1 Taking Structural Interpretation Seriously

In the three preceding chapters, I have aimed to embrace a Bourdieu reading to contribute to a revision of family, ownership, and business/management as entanglement. Central here is the structural dimension of human agency residing in the daily activities of a family business, constructed by a bodily and embodied field reading, in the four practices of choosing the next CEO, counting, tasting, and joking. This structural dimension of the social world is significant in a reading from a structuralist interpretative position. It implies that representations from individual subjects are relevant but not the subject at hand as in other interpretative traditions or approaches dominating family business research (e.g., Fletcher et al., 2016; Nordqvist et al., 2008). This means that the assumption of the structures that generate linguistic processes in the interpretative stance (in phase II) differs from the second-order structures of the social praxeology (in phase III). Generating the reading of the second-order structures requires an embodied field reading (anthropological approach).

Further, the three empirical chapters can be read as moving from a constructivist position taking subjects' experiences seriously towards increasingly addressing a structural dimension. This alteration from a constructivist reading to a structuralist reading at the end of the second empirical chapter results in the construction of practices: choosing the next CEO and counting, tasting, and joking. These four practices are not thereby determined merely by an individual structuring subject (for instance, the entrepreneur); rather, they reside in the motor function (collective family habitus) of human agency in an embodied relationality. This is particularly relevant in relation to the initial part of this empirical study and the theoretical framework (within the STEPproject) in use. There was a focus on the individual entrepreneur and strategist (decision-makers) and their context in generating intended outcomes as financial performance measures defined within the broad entrepreneurial and strategic management discourse.

Let me aim to clarify by providing an example. Henrik repeatedly returns to the family business's specific corporate culture, articulated in a generated list of preferred qualities of the next CEO (see the second empirical chapter). Drawing upon Fletcher's work (2002a), this language use could be seen as reinforced through a multitude of interactions within the discourse of management, for instance, the conversations with researchers during the STEPproject. The Palmén family members' narrative of their family business used a legitimate business language, where the word 'culture' is used to label what is unique. I, too, carried a doxa in the vocabulary at hand when I formulated questions. However, I tried to use an open approach to ask what different words meant to them or used metaphors for them to use alternative language structures to formulate themselves about their experiences of doing family business.

Further, Henrik, for instance, in this framing, was in focus as the corporate entrepreneur (Mr. Palmén), personifying the Palmén family business as an entity from the corporate entrepreneurship (entrepreneurial orientation EO) literature. This resembles Bourdieu's criticism of the assumption of methodological individualism. The reflexive sociology advocated by Bourdieu and Wacquant, (1992) enables a reflection around this deeply ingrained doxa of phase I and phase II, focusing, for instance, on the entrepreneurial theoretical framework and assuming capital, field, and habitus as perspectives in the interpretative tradition, but also the individual entrepreneurial subjectivity. Here Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 16) draw upon the significance of the "emergent properties of situated interaction as its core unit of analysis qualities" in line with Knorr-Certina's work in the 80s, which also clearly rejects the standard economist view of methodological individualism that "holds that social phenomena are in principle explicable strictly in terms of the goals, beliefs, and actions of individuals" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). The significance of sociological qualities is manifested in the second empirical chapter (the change of CEO), where the entrepreneur (Henrik) forms subjective representation, while the broader family context, through the uncle's action, was simultaneously preparing a family member as the next CEO. Not only did these sociological readings challenge the doxa of phase I and phase II, which provide

financial funding for my work, but also the biases of my position in the field as a product of an education system (see 1.1).

The framework of phase I and phase II left the role of history and family from a sociological view unattended and unaddressed, triggering my search for alternative framings. The social praxeology can be characterized as a grand social theory, where a potential pitfall is that it is developed with the aim of "explaining the social world *in toto* or at least large parts of it" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p. 31). The readings in this study are constructed from a structuralist interpretative position, meaning I do not claim to offer the most accurate way of viewing the social world. Instead, natural to the reasoning of relative positions (Bourdieu, 1989), the world is seen from our relative positions in a field. Hence, the understandings gained from reading this text are unique in the way the reader relates and creates comprehension in relation to her/his embodied life trajectory, forming their unique habitus (academic schooling) (Bourdieu, 1986). Further, this relates to the aim of participant objectivation, which, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 253–254), implies "on the one hand, the specific interest associated with being a member of the academic field with occupying a specific position in that field, and on the other hand, the socially constituted categories of perception of the academic world."

How can we frame this uniqueness, drawing upon Bourdieu's (1989) reasoning? Only with an anthropological reading of the structure of first and second orders does it become possible to construct accumulated labor within the boundaries of the family business as various capital forms, for instance, cultural capital. Embodied capital and its objectified states are specific to *the structures of the field*, in this case, the Palmén family business. As a researcher in the empirical field, this is an encounter that Bourdieu (1977) would characterize as a doxa. The doxa is, to a large extent, taken for granted and held unconsciously. The practices are "objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at an end" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53). The family members do not think about what or how to do things; rather, they react at the moment in relation to the embodied doxa residing in habitus. The doxa can be seen as the conscious and unconscious reason or purpose of 'being in business' in this business family field. According to Bourdieu (1984), "…primary experience of the social word is that of doxa, an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident" (p. 471). Additionally, the subjective and objective movement in Bourdieu and Wacquant's, (1992) dialectic methodology, the four practices of, choosing the next CEO, counting, tasting, and joking, are constructed via the second-order anthropological reading involving my bodily presence in their daily activities, where the doxa resides. This ontology materializes through the Bourdieu reading at the end of the second empirical chapter and throughout the third empirical chapter, thereby more explicitly incorporating the unconscious, embodied, and habitual. This was recorded through my bodily presence. The dimension of ownership has been the most difficult to present and communicate throughout this study. I have gone so far as to call it the elephant in the room. It was difficult since they never referred

explicitly to ownership in any argumentation – 'I own, therefore I decide' was never expressed. I entered the family business where a business foundation existed and institutionally regulated the ownership, and they talked about the various previous institutionalized forms of ownership that preceded that situation as it was part of their business family history. Orientation in search of ownership in this situation was, for a long time, too opaque for me. However, with Bourdieu's (1996) assumptions of how family reproduces capital, it became possible to read, construct and conceptualize. According to Bourdieu (1989), on the other hand, the mental representations available to us in the moment of practicing, especially those deposited in language, are the product of previous symbolic struggles and express a state of symbolic power relations. The word 'ownership' was not used by them, and they were reluctant to talk about it. These constructs available in a language are also a construct of social science, hence one example of the close relation between 'theoretical construct' and the 'practical use' of them in practicing. My research doxa and the encounters with doxas in the Palmén family business required attention to these different but kindred research positions. By acknowledging subjective representations, Bourdieu (1989) warns us that it could be seen as social interactionism (for instance, as Nordqvist (2005) assumes an ongoing negotiation of the social world); however, the objective moment inscribing relative positions (drawing upon Bourdieu's praxeology) stands in opposition to the clean subjective moment. As Bourdieu (1989, p. 16) explains, "the truth of any interaction is never entirely to be found within the interaction as it avails itself for observation." Dual attention is required, that of both the subjective representations, but also to see these as representations stated from a given relative position within a field of structure. This means that a question the answer generated is an outcome of the relative positions of the agents in the field. As researchers we need dual attention to what is said, but moreover to the conditions of the field structures. Bourdieu (1989, p.16) writes that what can be observed: "mask the structures that are realized in them" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 16).

Suppose we return to a prevailing doxa residing in my research environment. In that case, I argue that ownership and management are separated as a natural order of things, i.e., doxa (the taken for granted). These assumptions are incorporated in research formulations to the extent that they constitute knowledge that is unthought. For instance, they are reproduced both by the essence approach (Chua et al., 1999) and in the three-circle model (Gersick et al., 1997). These assumptions have also, to various degrees, generated knowledge and language for the practitioners (e.g., the Family Firm Institute, in collaboration with the Global Education Network in 2022, offers a course entitled "Systems Thinking for the Family Enterprise Advisor" see: ffigen.org/pages/courses). On a societal level, the Gersick et al. (1997) model has become the assumption upon which national statistics are generated. One example is how the European Commission (2009) uses assumptions from the Gersick et al. (1997) model to define a family business. According to Chrisman et al. (2021), in a call for papers on economic theories of the family business,

they argue for investigations into why family firms exist and what determines their scale and scope, which are still missing in the literature, by using economic theories. In the call, Chrisman et al. (2021) give the following examples of economic theories and classical references; Grossman and Hart's property right theory, Williamson's transaction cost theory, Jensen and Meckling's agency theory, and Conner's resource-based theory. This functionalistic research stream grounded broadly in strategic management and economic theories are active as of 2021. With this formulated, I aim to take a structural interpretation seriously by offering an alternative framing moving towards conceptualizing entanglement.

7.2 From Coexistence to Entanglement

If we turn one step back to the empirical overlapping of the dimensions of predominantly family and ownership, in my first encounter with this family business, two senior brothers had been central figures, since they took over the business after their father and brother passed away. Prior to this, during the previous generations, fathers had held the central function (owner-manager) in the family business and passed on the family to a son, often the eldest. The phase of the extended family was established when the two brothers took over, and as the family business expanded, it resulted in several generations working in the family business. As described in the first empirical chapter, approximately 30 family members were involved to varying degrees in family governing (owner and family council; the dimension of ownership). Just short of half of these family members held various operative positions in the family business (the dimension of business). Further, the family spent time together on annual festive occasions. A common denominator among family members was their engagement in an aesthetic side of life, for instance, tasting food and beverages, gardening, playing instruments, and art interests (family dimension). This is argued to be part of the sense of the historical heritage residing in practice, family relations, and the business, constituting a field of both family and business. Over time, the individual family members have embodied due to habitus, a field-specific practice, in the numerous conversations about family business issues and family aesthetic issues on family occasions, but also in growing up imitating the others' way of acting, forming a collective family habitus. This is the embodied form of cultural capital that is developed in relation to the power structures of this business family field.

The business dimension was characterized by growth via innovation within the overall entrepreneurial culture centered around Henrik. The family had been in the bakery industry for over 200 years. In the 1970s, they were a small actor, and threats of nationalization by the state contributed to pushing the brothers into the stock exchange in the 1980s. During the following decades, the Palmén family business was transformed from a single business unit to a group of companies where the perceived necessity to grow was achieved through acquisition, alliances, and organically. Efforts to internationalize and market through branding were ongoing simultaneously. The growing family business

at the same time caused concerns among the brothers over the balance between freedom within the entrepreneurial spirit among business coworkers and control. After leaving the stock exchange, returning to an identity of being a family business and pursuing the family business agenda in society became increasingly significant.

The dimensions of family, ownership, and business/management, as illustrated by the Palméns' family business, have been identified as separate yet coexisting, although with the construction of the business foundation, coexistence is also reinforced. The changes in institutional legal structures of ownership (e.g., Robé, 2011) resulted in the ownership dimension transforming more than the other two dimensions. In terms of coexistence, the transformation in ownership altered the preconditions for the other two dimensions, by clarifying family and ownership. In the process of becoming a professional family business, they divided the family and the ownership dimensions. At the same time, these two coexisted in the family business as a whole. With the formalization of the foundation structure ownership transformed into private, collective, and transgenerational. As I illustrated in the quotations in the first chapter, they used metaphors to describe this new situation as a culture, as nontraditional, and as a way of life.

Steier et al., (2015) argue for a turn from family business as a 'single business' and 'single family' to the business families. It yields a shift from depicting the coexistence of dimensions as a practical problem to solve to taking coexistence of family, ownership, and business as a conditional given (constituting of history and family habitus), where it becomes something that is required to be done at the moment, as it is done within the structures of the field, in the practical sense.

In the Gersick et al. (1997) model, family, ownership, and business/management are characterized as intertwined, which according to the Cambridge dictionary[43] is defined "as something that is twisted together or closely connected so as to be difficult to separate." These spheres of family, ownership, and business/management are defined and treated as entities where their epistemological assumptions direct the understanding from circles to threads that still have defined boundaries. The conceptual development of the model from overlap to intertwinement increases its complexity and connections while maintaining their separateness as components.

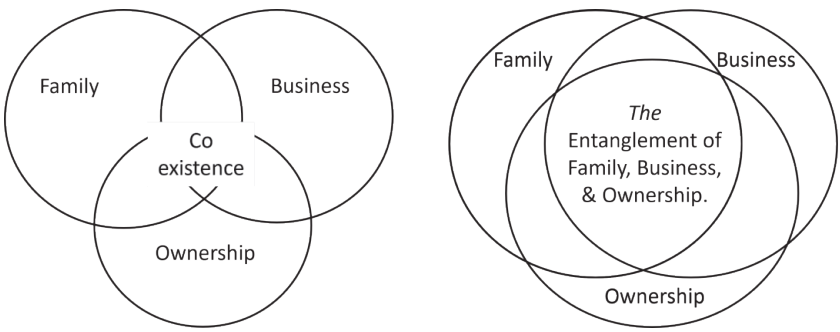
I argue that this coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management should be conceptualized as entanglement. Entanglement, according to the

[43] Retrieved May, 23rd, 2020, from

https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/intertwined

Cambridge dictionary[44], is defined as: 1) "a situation or relationship that you are involved in and that is difficult to escape from"; 2) "a fence made of wire with sharp points on it, intended to make it difficult for enemy soldiers to go across an area of land"; 3) "the condition of being wrapped and twisted together in a mass." These related but separate meanings of the concept are meant to generate a break with the existing doxa regarding the Gersick et al. model's (1997) assumptions while maintaining its spheres (although with new theoretical underpinnings). Here the empirical dimensions of family, ownership and business/management turn into conceptual categories based on the social praxeology ontological and epistemological assumptions. Central to these definitions is how the process of being entangled requires participation between bodies (over time), and it delimits exit and entry possibilities. Bourdieu's construct of the family contributes significantly to its development, in particular, its assumption of the logic of practice and how embodied structure (habitus) and practice (directed by structures) in the practical sense, and how the presence of the human body and its embodiment, unsnarl (Swedish: *uppluckra*) the sketchy contours between the categories, i.e., the family, ownership, and business/management. The subtle boundaries or the sketchy contours of the objects are transcended because practice exists beyond the structure of language. The entanglement resides upon both epistemological and ontological of social praxeology.

Figure 7 From Coexistence to Entanglement of the Categories: Family, Ownership, Business/Management



A central component in developing the notion of entanglement is the particular version of family that Bourdieu brings into the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management where family members are part of a 'united body.' This development of the family category of the family business can be read in relation to how Bourdieu writes about how a family feeling is

[44] Retrieved, May, 24th, 2022 from
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/entanglement

vital for fusing a force of cohesion. Using Bourdieu's (1996) words on family here: "The structures of kinship and family as bodies can only be perpetuated through a continuous creation of family feeling, a cognitive principle of vision and division that is at the same time an affective principle of cohesion, i.e., the adhesion that is vital to the existence of a family group and its interests" (p. 22). The family gains properties of a collective beyond the individuals and the sum of these individuals and acts as a collective subject. Again, in Bourdieu's (1996) own words: "It is true that, in this case, the family acts as a kind of 'collective subject,' as commonly defined, and not as a simple aggregate of individuals. But this is not the only case in which it is the site of a kind of transcendent will manifesting itself in collective decisions and in which its members feel required to act as parts of a united body" (p. 23).

7.3 The Centrality of Family in Entanglement and Collective Subjective Corpus

Gherardi et al. (2013) raise the issue of *death* as an existential issue for every human being. They propose asking: How then to think of the body that knows and senses in organizations? Answering this question means moving beyond the life cycle assumption of the family system in the Gersick et al. (1997) model, where the end of life is death. Previous generations' business practices reside within the family habitus and the capital forms in the business family field. One example of this is frugality, forming activities read as a practice of counting related to the concept of practical sense. The business consists of and is done in, the historical structures (collective business family habitus), a structuring structure, of the field. Human life here is due to family reproduction in the infinite business family field. The bodies of family members are finite, while business family ownership practice sustains over generations. The time-bound dimension of the body was highly present in this family business, with Henrik's health condition, while the children became adults, and a family member also died during the study. The body dies, but the knowing-in-practice is reproduced and changed by all in the business family field. The business family habitus, their internalized life trajectories, but also their actual everyday practices become part of the social structures of the business family field and due to their nature sets the conditional given for future structures. Deceased family members' ways of reasoning and doing are present in the current family members' ways of thinking and reasoning based on shared ways of doing things. The family members' practices change the structures, part of their knowing-in-practice. "The accumulation [of capital] has to be reproduced in every generation or it is lost" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 21).

The emotional aspects of family transcending the individual family members also have relevance to the act of reproducing capital, i.e., accumulated labor remains in the family business. Organizing a family business residing in this force of fusion implies often dealing with issues related to business during evenings and weekends when nonoperative family members can meet. In the Palmén business family, the family governance described in Chapter Four was

done during nonwork hours, and the boundaries between ownership and management were increasingly dissolved. Further, in this field of family business it is the rhythm of the business operations (e.g., routines of annual financial reporting, etc.) that sets the yearly reoccurring structures for the business family to meet (in the family council and owner council) paired with annual festive traditions. Bourdieu (1996) writes about 'great families':

> … extensive families ('great' families are big families) that are strongly integrated because they are united not only by the affinity between habitus but also by the solidarity of interests, i.e., both by capital and for capital, economic capital naturally, but also symbolic capital (the name) and perhaps above all social capital (which can be shown to be the condition and the effect on successful management of the capital collectively possessed by the members of the domestic unit). For example, among executives, the family plays a considerable role not only in the transmission but also in the management of economic heritage, especially through business alliances, which are often family alliances (p. 24).

Because family, business and ownership are entangled, following the Bourdieu reading, this forms an understanding of entanglement, where a family works as a collective subject and body reproducing capital (wealth) in the business family field, because it can.

Further, by acknowledging the family functioning in Bourdieu (1996), the categories of ownership and family have collapsed into an entangled form, of a second-order structure, as structuring structures both being changed but also durable due to practical sense. Here, for instance, joking is a predominantly relational activity sustaining and changing in practice and in relation to the doxa of the field, i.e., the forming of structuring structures of what, for instance, constitutes ethical behavior. Family business members know more than they can tell due to their embodied habitus. In the third empirical chapter, the practical activities of habitus, for instance, moral conduct, jokes, or making estimations, have been argued to be more complex than written down on paper. This collective business family habitus directs but does not determine these activities due to how the embodied habitus and practical sense set the actual practices in relation to the external structures of the field. This means that business family ownership practice is directed by first-order structures and, secondly, the first-order structures (i.e., accumulated and institutionalized capital forms and their associated forms of family governing). Embodied capital and its objectified states are specific to *the structures of a field*, in this case, the Palmén family business.

As argued in the problem formulation by choosing the Bourdieusian framework, therefore, three characteristics of a family are accentuated: 1) practice by a family is in its nature done together in and over time; 2) the family construct inhabits inertia, forming an inclusive durable; and 3) how individuals change relative positions within society (according to Bourdieu (1996), family is the central place for reproduction of capital, and family is then a central

assumption for how a human can change relative position in society; see 2.2 and 2.4). Through Bourdieu, there is a reopening of the natural dimension of family as an objective social category in relation to ownership and business/management (see 0). At the time of the empirical study, family members from several generations, including spouses, were working at various levels in the family business. As the sociological reading of the entanglement of family, ownership, and business/management of this family business shows, the function of the family forms the structures for the family to govern the business. Family is a collective subject and a 'conditional given' in the family business. This forms the reproductive nature of the collective subject. Ownership can be seen as this collective dimension of how the family functions over time in family governing-related activities develops into and works as a collective subjective corpus. This occurs in the materialization of how the reproduction of capital forms. As argued for in the problem formulation, central are history and time, these conditional givens of family business that have earlier been bypassed in terms of ownership. Business family ownership is here argued to be collective, private, and transgenerational. By maintaining the coexistence of the three categories they form knowledge assumptions that are bypassed a static reading as it ignores the context-specific nature of the family as a collective subjective corpus. Cnossen and Winter (2022) is an example that draws upon the reasoning of social practice referring to Reckwitz and Burin et al. and present an empirical study of family and entrepreneurship as entanglement. This empirical study resides on subjective representations (narratives), hence it bypasses the structural (second-order) central elements of the field of family business that is emphasized in this study.

Family governance practiced broadly by business families resides due to its specific nature in playing the game along with the doxa of the field, where the game's purpose is to advance. Further, advancing according to Bourdieu (1994) is guided by, and resides in, the structuring structures of the field as nonfree, set by the relational dimension of the argument for collective aspects of family reproduction as ownership. This forms an understanding of how families reproduce capital (more than mere financial capital, essential here is the cultural capital form) as a collective form.

7.4 Challenging Doxa with the Unintended and Cultural Capital towards Economizing Actions

According to Bourdieu (1977), goals are not merely set for the good of others; rather, activities of, for example, entangled owning, when a key is thrown away (under the notion of entanglement), can be seen as a structuring structure (i.e., second-order) generating activities that are objectively adapted to their goals, but without presupposing a conscious aiming. Thereby, the structuring structures (routine nature of human agency) across time become embodied objectives structures that generate 'new' practical activities during the workday in the family business. This breaks with the assumption of the original Gersick et al. model (1997), where decision-making resides in rational assumptions.

Instead, family habitus directs the practice, and as a result, goals are adapted when there is a discrepancy between the family habitus and the structures of the field. Activities of family (business family ownership) are collectively orchestrated, but without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (Bourdieu, 1977). In the Gersick et al. (1997) model, which takes a decision as a central concern, with this reasoning, the collective orchestrates the activities, i.e., decisions are directed but not determined but rather 'set' in relation to the specific structures of a business family field. Modifying or adapting the more rational grounded assumptions on family ownership, control is executed in the business/management circle, according to Gersick et al. (1997). The daily activities of the 1980s formed 'success memories' around the family dinner table. All these activities formed their shared experiences that, over time, became individually and collectively incorporated in the internal (habitus) structures and objectified structures of a business family field. The habitus is individual but also collective, and this is due to the notion that "the social agent is a collective individual or a collective individuated by the fact of embodying objective structures" (Bourdieu, 2005) p. 211). This is also a move from goals towards the business family field-specific embodied economizing actions of business family owning. Within the reasoning here lies the assumption that practice inhabits economizing actions, which is inherently different from the dependent variable of Gómez-Mejía et al. (2011) with, for instance, strategic direction, stakeholder relations, and business venturing. It is also different from business activities described in the STEPproject, grounded broadly on profits (dependent variable) and intentionally driven (assumptions on human behavior). With economizing actions, it means that there is an economy in what is done, set by the structures (e.g., historical reasoning of how to take financial investments also based on industry-specific conditions) of the capital in use in the business family field (predominantly the cultural capital). A central strand here concerning the notion of entanglement of family, business, and ownership is the possibility of expanding the reasoning of the essence approach of the family firm, with the collective, unconscious, field-specific (local), and historical aspects.

Chapter 8: Business Family Owner*ing*

This chapter will elaborate on the conceptualization of business family ownering. The overall contribution up to this point has involved introducing entanglement to conceptualize the coexistence of family, ownership, and business/management, drawing on Bourdieu's social praxeology. I have argued that intentionality and nonanthropological methods bypass the conceptualization of collectivity. The conceptualization of entanglement instead provides conditions for renewed understandings where family and ownership, in particular, are conceptualized as a collective subjective corpus. Business family ownership practices (owning) become the family way of governing where the body and its senses set structuring structures in motion within institutionalized structures, constructed as field-specific cultural family business capital. Further, business family owning is grounded in a reoccurring system of dispositions. Accordingly, business family owning turns into business family own*er*ing. Two qualities, namely inertia, and relationality of business family ownering, will be argued as theoretical effects of the collective subjective corpus. Entanglement of family business and ownership advances a version of the worldview that is less dominant. However, I will further argue that it may be more realistic as a way to think and reflect upon family governance as a relational, nonvoluntary, embodied way of governering.

8.1 Business Family Ownering as Inert and Relational

Ownership was partly related to family members holding positions in family governing organs and the different formal positions in the different legal institutions (e.g., mother and daughter companies). It was also the forces of fusion formed by the family feeling and the reproduction of capital forms that formed the collective category of 'owning' via the business foundation and the way external members harmonized possible fission between the brothers. Here entanglement describes the family members' involvement in all 'levels' to various degrees within the family business, from decisions on financing investments, allocation of finances in the budget process, follow-up, and evaluation of marketing campaigns to products, strategy plan, etc. In the Palmén family business dividend was reinvested in the family business, and accumulated capital became capital in use within the business dimension. When the shares were tradable this generated potential expectations of individual gains (e.g., forces of fission). Family members' nonpaid spare time involvement in governing organs also became capital in use within the business sphere. In the Palmén family, the tension in the field was 'decreased' by institutionalizing ownership via the foundation. In this way, individualistic interest was hindered by throwing away the key. Drawing upon Bourdieu (1996) these forms examples of capital reproduction of family fusion forces forming altruistic qualities. These specific local milieu capital forms (as elaborated on in 5.6) can

be framed as cultural business family capital. In short, the fusion of the business family feeling was diffused within the family business. Commonly family owners are often perceived as wealthy, but this should not be perceived as equivalent to having access to economic capital for private consumption. Instead, as in the example of the families behind the landed estates in Scotland (Belmonte et al., 2017), they did this at personal expense to sustain the family heritage. But on the other hand, these families were consuming in the form of living at landed estates. The accumulation and reproduction of various forms of capital are specific to the local milieu of a business family field.

Effects on the individual family members, therefore, break with Kanter's (1989) argument of the separation of work and nonwork (private) and economists' assumptions (separation of, for instance, paid and nonpaid work, and delimited to physical spheres, e.g., Graeber (2011)). In the family business family members are owners, family members, and employees simultaneously (Aronoff & Ward, 1995).

Doing ownership or owning in the Palmén family business implies being accountable to all involved in the business family field (past relatives, the entity, family members, and so on). Economic behavior from this sociological reading, as in the form of owning as custodians over generations, can be understood by its economic and social conditions of 'possibility' within the embodied and external 'social structures' of a specific field and it requires an anthropological reading. The empirical field study generates four business family owning practices (choosing a CEO, counting, tasting, and joking) particular for this business family field. The practice of owning within an entangled collective subjective corpus thus breaks with 'the fiduciary duties view' described eloquently by Robé (2011); instead, it becomes a practice with a force of fusion in the reproduction of capital, where 'the receivers of beneficiaries' are not holders of shares; instead it is the materialization of the collective practices, i.e., the type and sum of capital structures of the family business where several legal institutions (foundation, a public corporation) are set in relation to the conditioning (the doxa, the structures, and so on) of the business family field.

They refer to themselves as custodians, a result of life trajectories, within specific objectified structures, for instance legal, and financial constraints of running a business in the wider economic field of Sweden, and the particular conditions of the historical structures of the business family field. By drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of capital, field, and habitus, the framing of human activities in the social world assumes a sociological character that is explicitly noneconomist. The business family ownership practices (owning), in contrast (to the economic version above), are beyond the mere family and ownership categories (the collective subjective corpus) and reside primarily in the daily activities of the business family field (i.e., the doing of doing business). In this particular family business, it involves realizing the mission of the family. I observed how the family members daily talked with coworkers; for instance, this formed rooms for sharing information or even making a decision with the operative family members during a *fika*. Communication was not limited to only

the organizational chain of command. Instead, the person who was most acquainted with the activities of a specific knowledge domain was given freedom with the responsibility to act and interact with the family members. Rephrased, these coworkers were encountering the cultural capital (i.e., the embodied form of family habitus) of the family members; the collective subjective corpus was to some degree extended to include coworkers, who thereby internalized these structuring structures, for instance the dispositions of how to taste products or calculate. The family business mission described in the first empirical chapter was materializing in daily activities directed but not determined by the 'chain of command', instead structured by this shared habitus in the family business (both embodied and externalized forms of the objectified collective cultural capital). According to Bourdieu (1986), capital takes time to accumulate; it has the capacity to produce profits but also to be reproduced in identical or expanded forms. It is durable due to its existence in the objectivity of things.

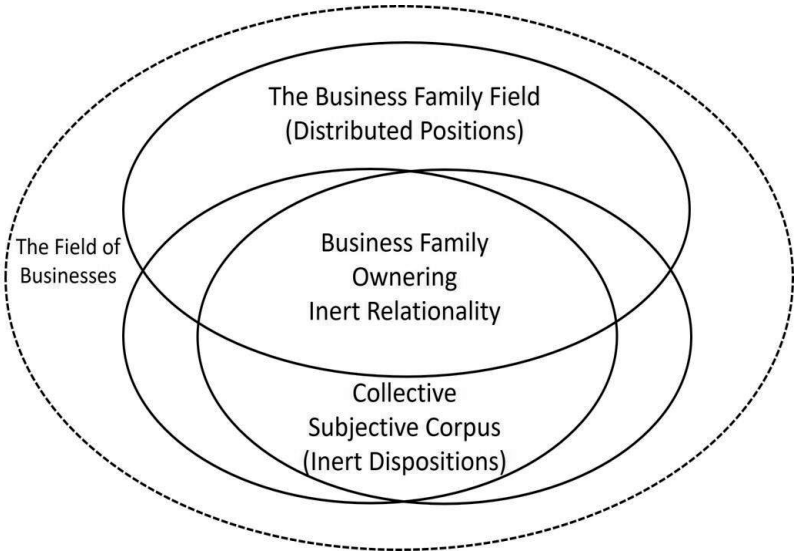
A practical sense is sensing the practical knowledge of the family business habitus, practicing from the transgenerational historical experiences in everyday life. Sensing the intention of the business family can be seen as an embodied knowledge in the family business, a combination of family habitus and practical business sense (i.e., family business habitus). Habitus is "socialized subjectivity, a historic transcendental, whose schemes of perception and appreciation (system of preferences, taste, etc.) are the product of the collective and individual history" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). The human mind is socially structured and determined and, consequently, limited (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 211). Further, the body's senses constitute bodily sense (e.g., tasting) but also the ability to have a sense of humor, calculating, and joking. This bodily sense of practice is social and requires more than only a single-family member's mind in decision-making. An essence here is the bounded reproduction of the business family's cultural capital (family and nonfamily participants) in the business setting as a collective habitus. Hence, being an employee, owner, family member, board member, CEO, or external manager (as 'classificatory schemes' in family business literature) involved in the doing of doing business is guided but not determined by what is reasonable rather than rational in the context of this business family owning. Taking all this reasoning together, the structuring structures of the family business owner practices as embodied in a specific business family field hereby changes from family business ow*ning* to family business own*ering*, due to the epistemological reasoning of practical sense.

I propose that the practice of owning framed in this particular manner as ownering, by its origin in Bourdieu's social praxeology on the nature of human agency, inhabits an inert quality, and at the same time a quality of relationality residing in, and shaped by, the collective subjective corpus. Business family ownership, therefore, is business family *ownering* characterized both by inertia and relationality. Where the '*owner*'ing is to know how to do things with others, in the local specificity of entanglement, it is the assumptions of the embodied habitus paired with the practical sense elaborated above.

As elaborated on in 7.1, a central aspect of Bourdieu's praxeology is the notion of structure and on whose behalf a structure acts as structuring structures. In the family business context, the collective dimension of habitus of the family and ownership has been conceptualized as a collective subjective corpus. Cultural capital forms reproduce particularly within the functioning of the family field, where the forces of fusion determine the monopoly of this reproduction. According to Bourdieu (1984), "[t]his structural inertia, deriving from its function of cultural conservation, is pushed to the limit by the logic that allows it to wield a monopoly over its reproduction" (p. 15). Bourdieu's dialectic reading, therefore, proposes "living by the inert, creation by routine, grace by heaviness" (Bourdieu, 1986, footnote 9, p. 56). Deriving from this, I choose to characterize business family owning as inert with a sluggish character due to the nature of the family with its inherent reproductive function and the embodied and relationally positioned body. Further, the collective family habitus includes intelligent responses given only to those disposed to perceive them (see 2.5 and 2.6). The inertia ascribed to business family owning at the same time does not single-handedly generate predictable responses as from within a more mechanical line of reasoning; instead, it simultaneously inhabits a distributed dynamically. Capital forms are not equally distributed within the fields of family and business, as incarnated history or dispositions. Systems of positions within the fields form unequally distributed opportunities to dominate and be dominated. Business family owning requires both these qualities to result in practice, meeting inert collective dispositions and positions in immediate situations. The power struggle in business family owning converges these different structures in relation to the functioning of the business family field and the functioning of the collective subjective corpus. The business exists in a field of businesses, generating a relationality where the immediate situations of its position generate new impulses or practices. The reason why 'strategies' can work without individuals being consciously strategic is due to the assumption of human agency residing in habitus and field.

Family business owning with the qualities of inertia and relationality, is illustrated below. It is placed in the center of the illustration (see figure 6). The collective subjective corpus (family and ownership) forms the foundation of the concept. Inertia is the assumption of how family reproduces capital and how the combination of capital forms distributes relative positions. Inertia is related to both the family but also the concept of entanglement. The relationality is due to the relative positions in the family and the business as a field. Family members are due to combination of symbolic capital, both individual and collective. The family as a collective generates agency. These arguments form the inert relationality of business family owning. The business family field is placed above in the illustration below. The formal competence sets the relative position of the distributed positions among external coworkers. The outer circle is dotted, symbolizing the openness of the field of businesses wherein the conceptualization hopefully will generate theory effects.

Figure 8 The Conceptualization of Ownering as Inert Relationality



Compared with the family business literature where what constitutes a family business resides upon the assumption of family control (e.g., the proportion of ownership in terms of shares in Mazzi, 2011). Business family ownering within business families forms an alternative view.

8.2 Towards a Distinction of Family Business and Research

As mentioned in Chapter One, an ongoing debate in the family business literature is what constitutes *the* essence of the family business (Dawson & Mussolino, 2014). Three constructs have been advocated to move beyond the definition of components of involvement to theoretical definitions: the essence of family business (Chua et al., 1999), familiness (Habbershon & Williams, 1999) and socioemotional wealth (Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007). According to Dawson and Mussolino (2014), the three constructs are characterized by strong organizational commitment, a distinct orientation to family/business affecting strategic decision-making, and primarily how this forms the particularistic behavior of family firms. This behavior is related to both economic and noneconomic performance outcomes. Further, Dawson and Mussolino (2014) suggest that the three constructs overlap while simultaneously reflecting different levels of analysis. *The individual level* is socioemotional wealth (SEW), as it represents the affective or noneconomic value that individual family members have invested in the family business (e.g. Berrone et al., 2010). *The family level* is the essence of the family business (Chua et al., 1999), as it represents the family's vision and transgenerational intention. And the third, *the business level*, is familiness (Habbershon et al., 2003) as it represents the unique

bundle of resources that characterize the family business. The family and the business level can be related to the two responding spheres of Gersick et al.'s (1997) three-circle model, while the ownership sphere can be related in terms of the family members' control and influence over strategic decisions with the SEW framework. Accordingly, a collective dimension of ownership is not explicitly theoretically addressed in these three conversations. The collective dimension becomes possible to conceptualize through Bourdieu's (1996) construct of family and my elaboration to the concept of entanglement, where the family and ownership categories together constitute a collective subjective corpus forming business family owning. Further, Dawson and Mussolino's (2014) clarifications of the different levels of analysis reproduce the assumption of overlapping or intertwinement inherent in the three-circle model. With Bourdieu's reading and taking entanglement seriously, it becomes possible to expand understanding first by including history. Further, the anthropological Bourdieusian reading sheds light on the distinction of human agency, residing in the invisibility of the family business's daily activities, as discussed in the three business family ownership practices (in chapter 6). The understanding, here, moves towards the centrality of the collective subjective corpus, with its boundaries (of entry and exits), forming the essence of the reproductive durable way of practicing, which is conditionally given in relation to the doxa of its field. The business family owning is not merely economic actions but inhabits the noneconomic dimension with the capital forms in use, specifically the cultural business family capital. Bourdieu's (2005, p. 2) empirically driven alternative theory, noneconomic actions are grounded in the empirical theory.

To elaborate further on business family owning in relation to stewardship theory, it shares similar reasoning, yet there are important points that differ. Miller and Breton-Miller (2006) suggested that families who intend to keep the business within the family are more likely to reflect stewardship behavior in terms of decision-making and incentives to monitor managers: "Businesses intending to accommodate future family generations are expected to exhibit a good deal of stewardship in how they manage capital and where they direct their attention. They are more apt to be financially cautious, invest more in building long-term reputation, and build social capital in the form of enduring relationships with outsiders" (Miller & Breton-Miller, 2006, p. 81). Present in this reasoning is intentionality, i.e., the outspoken attention to goals. With the conceptualization of business family owning, the unconscious or emergent 'set' goals in relation to the field doxa and structures are embraced. Another overlapping reasoning is the stewardship argument that goals are more than merely financial, which is partial reasoning of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the conceptualization of the cultural business family capital.

Further, stewardship theory assumes managers to be stewards whose behavior is based on an intrinsic desire to serve the firm and will naturally align with the principal's interests. The reasoning resides mainly in the business category, for instance, as the manager serves the firm, which is aligned with the principal's interest. The separation of functions (i.e., stewards and principal) includes an assumption of monitoring different interests, although with the

reasoning of entanglement, particularly family and ownership work as a conditional framing illustrated by the four business family ownership practices constructed in the empirical chapters. According to Davis et al. (1997), altruism is a characteristic of stewardship behavior. The reading of Bourdieu expands the reasoning, with the assumptions that 'goals,' or rather practices, are directed by history and set in relation to the agent meeting with the structures of the particular business family field. Further, Miller and Breton-Miller (2006) argue that family CEOs who are secure in their role, and committed to working for a long time in the business, will act as *far-sighted stewards*. These family managers are less likely to use quick-fix solutions and focus on long-term investments. Miller and Breton-Miller (2006, p.78) draw upon a number of scholars in making the following claim (e.g., Anderson et al.; Daily & Dollinger; Gallo & Vilaseca): "There is also evidence that larger FCBs [family-controlled businesses] pay out lower dividends and reinvest a higher percentage of profits."

Turning towards the reasoning of Bourdieu (1994), disposition of love, as in the numerous activities of sustaining a family feeling, is not a state, it is a practice, a practice that is stable, reproductive, and 'directed' by the first- and second-order objectivity of the structures. The social structures directing practice reside within the economic and the particular symbolic power tensions related to the volume and combination of capital that each family member possesses and that the family holds collectively. There is an ongoing fight to sustain or change the family balance of power (e.g., Bourdieu, 1994, pp. 118–119). The family is trying to preserve the heritage, rather than separating the business between the inheritors (Bourdieu, 1994). In other words, the family acts altruistically in the practice of sustaining the accumulated predominantly cultural and economic capital over generations. In the family business, altruism can be seen as residing within the functioning of the family as a collective act. In other words, the function of owning unites (the force of fusion) the family (Bourdieu, 1996) and the business. But due to the force of fission of the individualistic interest, there is also a force threatening the reproduction of capital forms. Bourdieu (1996) places altruism in the family, and therefore the altruistic acts would reside within entanglement in the way a family reproduces more than economic capital, under a force of fusion. Characterizing the entanglement of family and ownership as a collective subjective corpus strengthens the view of the alignment of interests underlying the stewardship model. A central difference, however, is where altruism is thought to reside. In Bourdieu's (1996) family, the concept of altruism resides in the family, and as argued in a durable collective embodiment in the business family field, while in stewardship theory it is in the individual manager's shared interest or intrinsic individual drive.

As previously discussed, stewardship theory, however relevant as an alternative to agency theory, still maintains a notion of intentionality and explicit goal setting. The entanglement of family and ownership as a collective subjective corpus could further the conditions of understanding of altruism inherent in stewardship theory.

An alternative view of ownership in family business is that of Nordqvist (2016), who suggested that embodiment is related to the enactment of socio-symbolic ownership as an important aspect of the SEW framework in decision-making. Enacting ownership, family owners' actions of their body can influence, for instance, decision-making by the actions in themselves and others' interpretations of those actions. Further, "[e]mbodying ownership is related to the symbolic aspects of family owners being involved in the decision-making" (Nordqvist, 2016, p. 252), as the family members embody values and interests, by which they become objects of the symbolic ownership that is active when they are physically present but also absent. "In sum, actors embodying the guiding values and interests that the ownership is based on obtain a symbolic status in the social interaction, and the extent to which other actors interpret and act upon these values and interests determines the extent to which they enact ownership, and thus the ability of the owner-family to exercise influence in decision-making" (Nordqvist, 2016, p. 253). A central part of the reasoning of business family ownering, both ontologically and epistemologically, is its embodied nature in terms of individual and collective habitus. Although Nordqvist (2016) incorporates the embodied aspects empirically, he leaves out – due to his epistemological assumptions – what Bourdieu (1989) refers to as the objectivist moment, and hence the reading of the objectivist structures of the first and second order, in particular the latter with its invisibility. According to Bourdieu's (1989) social interactionism does not take the objectivist moment seriously. Further, Nordqvist (2016) reproduces the intentionality of the Gersick et al. (1997) model, where the quality of decision-making is a central concern.

To conclude, what is essential with ownering? The anthropological reading of a family member in this particular field of family business,- Marie (the sister of Hardy and Henrik) serves as a relevant example: She was the head of the family council, but no longer an owner according to the legal definition (i.e., neither a financial owner of shares nor a member of the owner council). She has not held legal ownership for an extended period of time and has no intention of doing so in the future. She has no children of her own. Based on interviews and observation, she is trusted, she is the one the next generation turns to for advice. Due to her relational belonging to the extended family, she is a member of the family council. I would argue that Marie does ownering in the entangled sense. Essential here is the move from ownership as something had to ownering that is relational (specific business family field) and by bodies (collective family habitus).

8.3 Towards Business Family Governering

With the turn from ownership as something had, via owning towards ownering as previously defined, could governance turn towards business family governering?

The Palmén example serves here as a thought-provoking alternative and as a particular case of strong entanglement, where forms of fission are reduced, and

financial capital forms are transformed into business family capital in a broader sense. This particular owning requires a language where dialectical moments (coexistence) are a central aspect of understanding the particularities of the entangled family business. The stronghold of the separatedness version makes the entanglement version less reproduced, i.e., given less symbolic attention, and less recognized as legitimate in the struggle to impose a view of the social world. In Bourdieu's (1984) words:

> It follows, among other things, that symbolic capital goes to symbolic capital, and that the – real – autonomy of the field of symbolic production does not prevent it being dominated, in its functioning, by the constraints that dominate the social field, so that objective power relations tend to reproduce themselves in symbolic power relations, in views of the social world that help to ensure the permanence of these power relations. In the struggle to impose the legitimate view of the social world, in which science itself is inevitably involved, agents wield a power proportionate to their symbolic capital, i.e., to the recognition they receive from a group (p. 205).

In the Palmén family business, the in-house alternative won the succession game. Throughout this study, a quest to take the local descriptions of struggles seriously and explore the distinctions of business family and ownership has resulted in the Bourdieu-inspired concept of entanglement. This challenge the traditional understandings of business ownership, under an ideal of separation, and instead proposes a more holistic, complex, and distributed understanding of ownership as a collective subjective corpus including all three categories (family, ownership, and business/management) as well as relative embodied positions (of agents in the Bourdieusian sense) within a business family field. My sociological construct of business family and owning as a 'collective subjective corpus' (incorporation of family and ownership as business family ownering) complements and challenges the legal economic construct of a corporation, which is defined in the following manner: "[it] is a legal entity entitled to operate in the legal system and in particular to own assets, to enter into contracts, and to incur liabilities" (Robé, 2011, p. 1). At the same time, Robé (2011) is explicit and distinct in challenging the property view of ownership attached to the larger corporation. "To start with, shareholders do not own *firms* and nor do they own corporations: they own shares issued by corporations" (p. 3). So, if we, as the common woman on the street, ascribe to human ownership of or in a business, this is in fact incorrect or misleading, drawing on individual property rights. Holding shares and owning a business are two different types of activities, which some literature on ownership and family business has shed light on, and I have sought to extend further. What is the responsibility of research regarding the reproduction of particular symbolic power relations when it misguides our thinking by drawing upon assumptions of separation rather than entanglement? What would happen to research if our thinking companion was entanglement instead of separateness as an ideal standpoint in our studies of family businesses and governing? My answer is to

suggest the term of govern*ering*, for family governance embracing the entanglement, the theoretical assumptions with the centrality of '*sens pratique*,' and the empirical doxa, i.e., the structuring structures of the second order of family businesses. Further, there is the doxa from the family business literature, as these assumptions are reproduced in the daily work in family businesses.

Due to the ambition to break with implicit assumptions residing in doxa, a reoccurring challenge in this study has been the attention to the use of words, such as governance, ownership, family governance, family ownership, and so on. At this point, in the unfolding text, the alignment of the argumentation residing in parallel threads, an intention has been to use the term 'family business governing' or 'family governing' as a broad empirical term. This means that the empirical practical activities of family governing (described in the first empirical chapter) are infused with doxas from the family business literature (for instance, separation). In the last empirical chapter there is an aim not to reproduce doxa with the use of social praxeology and the concepts from critical organizational theorists when, for instance, governance-related activities and family governing are addressed. If doxa (control and separateness) is reproduced it is because the empirical material in itself entails doxa from family business literature. Therefore, business family owning is a result of the Bourdieu reading and central in elaborating the concept of entanglement. I have used owning and owning since ownership, according to corporate governance, is often read merely as financial and legal, and it is strongly infused in theorizing governing (e.g., Gersick & Feliu, 2014; Larsson, 2019; Mazzi, 2011; Sund et al., 2015). If we turn to the literature on family business and governance, we find that family governance has been referred to as family meetings, family constitutions, or family councils (Mustakallio, 2002), seen as institutionalized structures of family business governing (Balderrama, 2015). Family governance can be interpreted as the empirical places of family meetings following the notion that a family can choose to implement family governance or not. Gersick and Feliu (2014) draw upon Pieper's review and conclude "that there is no consensus on the definition of governance, either in corporations in general or in family enterprise" (p. 197). Governance has been defined along with the structure of rights and responsibilities among the parties with a stake in the firm, where firm governance dictates how benefits are created, maintained, and distributed across different stakeholders' control (Aguilera & Crespi-Cladera, 2012). Chua et al. (1999) draw on Cyert and March and Hambrick and Mason's concept of a dominant coalition as the powerful actors in an organization who control the overall organizational agenda to capture the essence of family business. They suggest the dominant coalition to control ownership, and the family's endeavor to shape and pursue its vision. Framing family governance this way resides in a reproduction of corporate governance of objects, where the owner family is objectified as a dominant coalition and where there is an instrumental relation between the means of *the family* and the end as the *outcomes* in the form of generating benefit for the stakeholders. According to Gersick and Feliu (2014), the conceptualization of governance in the family business literature has been broadened, not just to the business ownership, but

to include all the subsectors of a family enterprise. Further, they argue that it is the family capital in all its forms (i.e., financial, human, intellectual, social, and organizational) that is governed within family business. With the turn to Bourdieu's cultural capital, predominantly the embodied form, the reading of the second-order structures generates new possibilities for understanding in this study where the focus is not on 'what is governed as an object,' but on how governing is an unconscious, unintentional, un-goal-oriented practicing along field-specific structuring structures. This claim then challenges the intentionality of human behavior, which is assumed in definitions of corporate governance (e.g., Gersick & Feliu, 2014). Further, Gersick and Feliu (2014) argue that they are not interested in ownership as it is financial and legal, while governance, on the other hand, is organizational, and includes both structural and process components. Gersick and Feliu (2014) turn their attention to how oversight and control are exercised and how governance contributes to a firm's performance. With the ambition of taking the reading of business family ownership seriously, I have advocated the necessity to include how families reproduce capital in the family business, subjective collective corpus, and due to the (entanglement of) cultural business family capital 'firm performance' is bypassed due to its nature. In contrast, by framing attention to governance as 'oversight and control,' key elements such as the presence of history and the practical sense of relationality, highly central in how governing is actually done, are left in darkness. With the Bourdieusian reading, the business family ownership, as a second-order structure, generates the activities of sharing jokes and tasting, where both private issues and business issues are shared via the sense of the body. With the concept of entanglement, we leave the assumption of 'the control of a firm' and instead the knowing of ownering exists in the daily activities, i.e., it lives within and among the bodies of a specific business family field, and we as scholars should acknowledge it as such (i.e., collective subjective corpus).

Governance becomes a related word as used by Goel et al. (2013) and Uhlaner et al. (2007). Paired with the reasoning of business family ownering I suggest the following formulation: business family governering that resides in a dialectic relationship where the subject-object dualism is overcome and where structures and habitus direct but do not determine the practices in relation to the field-specific structures (local milieu of the family business). This means that these structures can work in favor and disfavor, depending on how the relationality of significant social rooms such as the various degrees of formalized governance rooms, are in place and how the games within these social rooms are played. Further, a field is not assumed primarily to be a game of change (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 214); rather, it presents regularities and an infinite number of similar patterns that recur. Governance, as a response to Steier et al. (2015), within entanglement alters into something directed by these historical patterns of recurrence, which sets the future direction by the presence of collective family business habitus, hence forming specific rules of this business family field's game. The functioning of the collective subject of the family forms a business family field where forces of fusion direct the reproduction of

capital forms towards the collective. The family members are accountable to each other and together with externals 'set the direction' conditionally given of historical structures paired with the practical sense. Returning to the question of what is different between owning and governering, the answer resides in the word 'own', where the family and its members and the relatedness to the business from the business family fused with the historical past of the reproductive force of fusion. Governering emphasizes conditional givens of the structures of the particular business family field (a direction directed by collective family habitus and the external structures of the business family field) and is based on the local example with externals in various formal governance organs. Central in these governance organs (social rooms inhabited by relative positions of family members and externals and their formal assignments) is the practical sense in the meeting of embodied collective family habitus in discussing direction (business) and ownership questions. Further, with the previous argument of suggested theory effect of Bourdieu's (2005) economizing action in a family field, the doxa is the forces of fusion and fission existing in practices of, for instance, showing love to sustain the family feeling, resulting in cohesion. This contributes to a break with the traditional view of ownership, as control over something that is had, decisions are intentional, and male-dominated, through the construct of entanglement (with the reasoning of great families), as the reproduction of capital set by a structure (gendered). The structuring of the family business draws upon multiple legal institutions, for instance, the business foundation, all set in relation to the reproduction of the family ownership doxa. Due to the family functioning of fusion, accumulated labor when transformed into capital is retained, and the entangled family business form enables the ongoing transformation of capital (e.g., cultural capital to financial) central to Bourdieu's line of reasoning.

8.4 Bourdieu's Reproduction of Epistemic Doxa

Did I manage to continuously reflect upon my research practice in doing the field reading? Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 43) write that Bourdieu came full circle with his reflexivity when he generated the structure of the Kabyle cosmogony by being attentive and laying a puzzle based on the tiniest details. This forced Bourdieu to theorize the difference between practical logic and abstract logic. Central was his ongoing theoretical reflection upon his work "as an anthropologist that could recognize and capture" the disharmony between these two logics (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 43). This work laid out the principles behind the logic of practice. In this study, it has not been two logics; instead, it has been the quest to disharmonize between what was said (change of CEO) and what was done in choosing the oldest son, i.e., turning towards how they do things, generating the three business family ownership practices that move from the more obvious counting practice (doxa from business administration) of my education, however being attentive to the family members' history of making estimations forming a practice of counting beyond the schoolbooks' recommendation. Tasting and joking are the two practices that

show how I was moving away from my doxa turning towards two second-order structures of practical logic. There could also be other possible readings available in the Palmén family business, however, none are as significant as these four business family ownership practices.

According to Swedberg (2011), Bourdieu has made a contribution to economic sociologies with his broad concept of what could constitute an 'economic' phenomenon. Swedberg (2011) carries out a critical review of Bourdieu's studies and reproduces the centrality of how owners and managers are crucial for understanding who decides the strategy of the firm. My argument is that both Bourdieu (2005) and Swedberg (2011) reproduce the epistemic doxa in agency theory. Further, Bourdieu (2005) falls into his trap of bypassing the centrality of the relative position of the family in the firm, the relative positions of family members within the family, and the role of gender. Let us turn to Bourdieu (2005) in his words when elaborating on firms and fields, drawing upon an anthropological study of a family firm in the construction industry.

> If the strategies of firms (most notably with regard to prices) depend on the positions they occupy within the structure of the field, they depend also on the structure of power positions constitutive of the internal governance of the firm or, more exactly, on the (socially constituted) dispositions of the directors [*dirigeants*] acting under the constraint of the field of power within the firm and of the field of the firm as a whole (which may be characterized in terms of indices such as the hierarchical composition of the labor force, the educational and, in particular, scientific capital of the managerial staff, the degree of bureaucratic differentiation, the weight of the trade unions, etc.) (p. 205).

Interestingly, in contrast to viewing a firm as a specific historical product requiring an anthropological reading, beyond family as a field, Bourdieu (2005) appears to reproduce symbolic power relations implicit in agency theory, when he discussed firms and fields. The business category in entanglement further accentuates the relevance of the specificities of a particular business field already conceptualized as a collective subjective corpus. Further, according to Bourdieu (2005, p. 205), a decision or an activity in a firm does not depend on one actor; instead, when we enter a firm, we find structure, "that of firms as a field," with its field of power specific to each firm and formed by both the external positions of the firm within the field of firms, but also the internal structure of the firm. He advocates how strategies depend on internal governances and the disposition of directors operating under constraints of power. In the particular case of the Palméns as a strong illustration of entanglement of family, business, and ownership, the notion of the collective subjective corpus and relative positions offer a new point of entry to understanding internal governing structures' influences on business matters. This thinking turns the view of the owner family as existing 'higher' up in the governing organs; rather, it becomes a family structure, a structuring structure of the business family owner practices, while the relations of the nonfamily

agents are more fluid in nature. Due to the reproductive forces of fusion of the family, the family members hold symbolic capital and hence have a stronger influence on the practices. The lifelong belongingness to the family becomes key in this concept. I have argued for a renewed understanding of calculating and developing new products as well as board meetings and decision-making, where a practical sense guides, but does not determine, these business matters. However, these business matters cannot be understood as separate from the family ownership entanglement, nor can ownership by business families be understood separately from the business and the family. Further, in the family members' collective habitus are experiences of doing business, family, and ownership, and when they practice in various organs' forms these experiences are at work depending on the topics that are discussed. Arguing that governing organs are a social room implies that this is both an experienced perception of the social context and an "exteriority that characterizes the elements that are the foundation of the reality of the agent" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 44). The governing organs of the Palmén family were an outcome of their participation in workshops reproducing the idea of separation, which was also enforced by me in participating in the STEPproject. The argument here is that they form social rooms for the practical sense and the collectively embodied family habitus to be at work. In actual practices, separation is bypassed due to the various experiences held in the collective family habitus. Capital forms should be read from their local situation, to overcome the tendencies of the symbolic power, i.e., the dominant understanding residing within the literature. As such, it could be argued that I follow an anthropological reading of a business family field, and embrace the centrality of family and gender, something that Bourdieu (2005) bypassed. The aim is to move towards avoiding reproducing doxas (as addressed in the problem formulation in Chapter One) active in the family business research field, organization theory (hierarchy of levels as distributed power), and agency theory (separation of owner/principal and manager/agent).

In a way, the notion of the collective subjective corpus of ownership displaces the modern legal construct of the corporation and awards the family business a dimension of a collective body in the more original sense, which at the same time is structured by contemporary institutions. A family business in this entangled version functions as a field in Bourdieu's terminology where accumulated capital forms regarding the three categories (family, ownership, and business/management) determine agents' abilities to influence outcomes (to dominate or be dominated). What is recognized as capital in a particular field is therefore central to our understanding of how a particular family business functions, and on whose behalf the structure acts (the dominating). I have aimed to take both structuring and relationality seriously in discussing entanglement as an alternative to the more established concept of governing both in the corporate and particularly the family business version. In the entangled version, historic specific capital forms, primarily under the labels of social, cultural, and symbolic capital (the local capital), are included and addressed.

With this anthropological reading, the term 'economizing actions' generates new thinking and conditions for generating understanding as we turn towards

contemporary and urgent calls for alternative ways of doing sustainable business. What if ownership directives turn into business family owning as generating economizing actions? What if governering becomes a theory effect with embodied relationality, accountability, and long-term commitment where various forms of capital are reproduced and sustained in the particular local field of family business? What if these became the dominating doxa within management education globally?

Chapter 9: Future Research

This chapter directs attention towards potential areas for future research based on various contributions generated in this study.

9.1 The Swedish Context

What are the possible theory effects of business family owning? The conceptualizations of this study can be relevant to other business families with similar conditions to the Palmén family business: for instance, a business family with portions of family involvement in various governance organs, or facing the succession question and searching for ways to become more of a family business despite the doxa of professionalization active in the family business research and educational field.

What are the conditions like of the overall family businesses in the Swedish context for business family owning and business family governing? Lubatkin et al. (2005) argue for the relevance of shedding light on the historical governance story of how institutions are embedded as "history shapes a nation's informal and formal institutions and thereby influences the governance of economic relationships" (Lubatkin et al., 2005, p. 867). American society is organized in accordance with individual rights, where property rights result in diffused and widely held ownership (La Porta et al., 1999; Robé, 2011). In contrast, the Swedish corporate landscape during the twentieth century was characterized in terms of more concentrated ownership and as organized around business groups, which was previously unthinkable in the American context (Lubatkin et al., 2005). The Swedish version was characterized by stabilizing co-dependency and mutual interdependencies (Lubatkin et al., 2005). For instance, the Wallenberg group, "one of the largest remaining family-run financial empires in Europe" (Lubatkin et al., 2005, p. 867), in 1998 controlled[45] over 14 listed Swedish firms constituting almost 40% of the Stockholm stock exchange's value (Lubatkin et al., 2005). La Porta et al. (1999, p. 500) similarly found evidence of how "significant control of productive resources" by business families in Sweden was obtained through their shareholding. Given the social values of Sweden and the impact on behavior, "it may not be surprising that management scholars note that the Swedish governance mechanism does not fall neatly within, nor between, the classic agency theory dichotomies of markets and hierarchies, and principals and agents" (Lubatkin et al., 2005, p.

[45] A-shares (shares are divided in Sweden into A- and B-shares) constitute a larger voting power in an annual assembly, therefore a 40% shareholding of A-shares can constitute 60% voting power, with sufficient control to nominate members of boards and as a consequence CEOs.

875)[46]. Based on these arguments, is there a particular Swedish way of doing governering as business families? Has the 'tradition' of working long-term oriented with experts in social rooms (governance organs meetings) spread? The example of the Palmén business family shows how they ask for advice from other family businesses in organizing their ownership. An area of future research could be to study other business families in Sweden and generate their particular second-order structures of owning and governering. Such a study could show if a high concentration of ownership constellations forms structures wherein practical sense is at work, where both family members and external experts form challenging and forward-oriented conversations on 'doing' business. In these conversations, several factors are unknown, but where the accumulated collective family habitus at work in family relational inertia paired with external experts can work as a buffer towards the discourse of family business as unprofessional. This means to find ways forward that are business family field-specific and where formal written-down plans are at work but not the defining factor of owning and governering. Chia and Holt (2008) call for an alternative practice-oriented approach in teaching at business schools that they call knowledge-by-exemplification. To learn and teach owning and governing would require an alternative approach, here the knowledge-by-exemplification could be one way forward.

9.2 Doing Research in Gendered Structures in Family Businesses

In my previous experience studying management in different national contexts, I was attentive to the gendered schemes of perception and appreciation while generating empirical material. Further, women have accumulated life experiences of being 'hit' in silence by the gender being relationally positioned (Bourdieu, 1998). These accumulated experiences limit the sharing of low-status gendered activities to a male researcher, who can be perceived as holding a higher relative position. These are all arguments for future research on gendered structures in family business, and gendered structures for conditional givens for doing research as a woman, but also doing research on topics and with techniques that are of gendered structures within academic structures and gendered expectations (c.f. Gherardi & Turner, 1987).

Further research based on the experience in doing this field study could be the gendered conditions for creating trust with family members. Based on the reading of body language and placement of bodies when having lunch together with managers, the CEO, and other family members, I perceived my relative position was not challenging 'their game of relative positioning.' I could phrase it as I was a young woman in a male-dominated field. For instance, I was met with: "I got surprised when a young girl comes into the room to interview with me," although the man (a manager and long-term coworker) explicitly stated

[46] Lubatkin et al., (2005) support the view of human behavior, where the moral factor is a form of efficacy of cooperation and coordinated by shared purpose. But this moral factor does not just happen, it requires a more cooperative and a priori trusting view of human behavior than what grounds agency theory.

that I should take it as a compliment. This signals an expectation of an older man or younger man conducting research at the headquarters. If I had had the name Lars, was 26 years old, and had had a degree in entrepreneurship/management, I would have experienced more of the 'male way of joking' and maybe overheard 'secrets.' However, as a young woman, I also experienced similar activities during the observations (see the practice of joking). On the other hand, being a woman was an advantage as women shared their experience of working as women within this family business. During phase I, I had been asked by a male researcher (more senior than me) to interview a woman, because he had done an interview with her but had perceived hesitance in her towards sharing her view with him. In arranging interviews, the senior researchers (STEPproject) preferred women to conduct interviews with women. At the headquarters, I felt welcomed by the women, and things were shared with me because I was a woman, for instance: '[A]s a woman in this culture [of the company board and the management team], you have to learn the way of speaking for your ideas and message to be heard, and for it to influence the decisions.' Or '[A]s a woman among men you must bring more knowledge about an area of expertise, to make a difference.' These were hints that were shared with me as a woman and that I could relate to as a woman. Gherardi and Turner (1987) refer to Basoux who states that management is a rational-deductive task that should be dealt with by a man. Further, Gherardi and Turner (1987) draw upon MacGregor where a good manager is aggressive, competitive, and where feminine attributes would interfere with effective business processes. Similar structures were at work in the Palmén family business, for instance, during the top management team meetings, where women were to a higher degree involved in activities related to human resources and communication, while the men predominantly held the roles of CEO, chief financial officer (CFO), chief operating officer, and chief information officer. From my interpretations of the women's representations and how they were also addressed during the meetings, I argue that the women within the Palmén family business had a life trajectory of being challenged on their skills in this male-dominated field. As Bourdieu puts it, "[w]e, as men or women, have embodied the historical structures of the masculine order in the form of unconscious schemes of perception and appreciation" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 17). Further, Bourdieu (1998, p. 116) writes that women often hold a position of symbolic value. They are positioned to increase social capital and symbolic capital. Based on this reasoning, future research could study the role of women and their work in the family and governing organs, and how this can constitute cultural capital forms. We move towards a potential distribution where women hold a relatively higher proportion of accumulated capital due to the central function of the family in the family business, moving from traditional legal and financial ownership as the defining factor for decision-making. Following this reasoning, women would then hold a higher proportion of capital.

An interesting question emerges here: What factors should decide a financial compensation for the lifelong 'investments' of a woman and family member (in this family business, due to the foundation there is no dividend)? The women

were to a higher degree nonoperative but to a larger extent expected to service the family and the ownership sphere. For instance, on an annual basis do the 'work' in the form of facilitating family festivities (Christmas and midsummer celebrations). The women do the bodily work in reproducing new family members for the business. This question is intentionally posed in response to how women are bypassed in the Gersick et al. (1997) model. The family sphere constitutes the life cycle model grounded on the life cycle of men. This can be said to be a doxa (i.e., the taken-for-granted men work in the family business and forms empirical evidence for the generation of new knowledge). With a Bourdieu reading, this is surprising since the reproduction of capital in the family (the force of fusion, i.e., love,) constitutes several of the activities mainly done by women in sustaining the family. For instance, recent statistics by Staland-Nyman et al. (2021) show that women in Sweden report being the main ones responsible for planning household work (women 61% compared to men at 5.1%). 93% of the men reported working full-time compared to 64% of the women.

9.3 The Reflective Practitioner

Future research could also address the role of the reflective research practitioner based on Gherardi's (2009) reasoning on becoming a practitioner. Central aspects here include the innovative way of using the body as a sensitizing research instrument in generating the construction of the four practices, in relation to the objectification of the conditions of research education in Sweden. It has struck me that the requirements of independence for the doctorate, i.e., the conditions of the research field in Sweden and the challenge to conduct and generate a text (forming the material for the assessment of an academic degree) as a Ph.D. student, contradict the centrality of how research according to Bourdieu is a collective and nonnarcissistic quest. According to Maton (2003), Bourdieu's innovation can be referred to as objectifying the relation of knowledge, where objectifying reflexivity is in focus over epistemic reflexivity (Maton, 2003, p. 58). These are relevant areas of potential future research. The collective is also present in Gherardi's (2009) argument of how "taste is a sense of what is aesthetically fitting within a community of practitioners – a preference for 'the way we do things together'" (p. 535). In this study learning, the act of doing a bodily field reading was mainly done independently. However, I had ad hoc conversations with others using ethnographic-inspired techniques such as Haag (2012) and Raviola (2012). The bodily sensible field reading of the second-order structures of counting, tasting, and joking could be based on Gherardi's (2009) argument of how sensible experiences form an aesthetic judgment forming a professional competence, a professional research practice.

9.4 A Concluding Comment on Going Beyond the Doxa of Intentionality

My research trajectory is a sum of the experiences accumulated during the phases of I: STEP, II: CeFEO, III: social praxeology, and IV: practice (Bourdieu, 1990) see table 4 in 3.14.3. It has been an ongoing reflection of my research practice in relation to epistemic doxa, attention to the objectivation of the actual generation of new reasoning and words of this text. As Bourdieu (2003, p.,289) writes in the later stage of his career:

> Yes, I am convinced that one knows the world better and better as one knows oneself better, the scientific knowledge and knowledge of oneself and of one's own social unconscious advance hand in hand, and the primary experience transformed in and through scientific practice transforms scientific practice and conversely.

Further, to avoid the reproduction of doxa, I turned to critical organization theorists such as Höpfl (2013), Critchley (2002), and Douglas (1999) in making an intentional attempt at not reproducing the knowledge claims to emphasize the cognitive assumptions founding the corporate governance assumptions. However, these organizational theorists wrote about embodiment broadly but didn't reproduce the assumptions of doing embodiment to the same extent as Bourdieu's social praxeology. With the turn also, the text or the argument became less the act of doing the social praxeology. The third empirical chapter could also have been written only by elaborating on Bourdieu, emphasizing the logic of practice and in particular the practical sense; however, with the quest to increase clarity concerning the positioning of the text in relation to the family business, this became a path leaving the strategic management and corporate government-infused literature from family business literature and opening the door towards a broader, more organization-oriented research conversation. This sheds light on how the different parts of the text in this overall research process of doing social praxeology is done in different 'social rooms': For instance, the text in the third empirical chapter was formulated by thoughts generated when my body was in a high bodily state of pregnancy. The turn towards crucial organizational theorists implied a decrease using the social praxeology of Bourdieu. It has been an ongoing reflection of my research practice, how I have done Bourdieu on an unconscious level in constructing the empirical material with significant others. In writing these final words, I am awaiting how this study will transform my future research practice, as habitus directs but does not determine practice.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Examples of Interview guides

Questions to the family members in 2007 as part of the research project on transgenerational entrepreneurship.

The interview agenda for the research project consisted of 40 questions. For each question, there were several issues to consider. To family members: Questions regarding educational background, background (formal and informal) in the business, and family relations were asked to everybody. At the same time, aspects related to the firm's history, family, and the industry were asked to generate an account of these. Questions related to the entrepreneurial orientation – autonomy, innovativeness, risk-taking, proactiveness, competitive aggressiveness, leadership, and culture of the business – were asked to generate a realistic descriptive text. To coworkers: Questions concerning formal occupation in the business, educational background, work background in the business, and informal relations with the Palmén family were asked to everybody, while questions about aspects related to the history of the firm, and the industry, were asked to generate an account of these. Questions related to strategy and entrepreneurial orientation (EO) – autonomy, innovativeness, risk-taking, proactiveness, competitive aggressiveness, leadership, and culture of the business – were asked to generate a realistic descriptive text.

Questions to operative family members and nonoperative family members 2009

Depending on whom I talked to, the questions changed since I had done a previous interview with some of them but not all.

To the family members: I asked questions concerning their background, family relations, relation with the family business, family culture, follow-up questions on the EO framework, and what entrepreneurship means to them.

To the coworkers: The questions were similar to those in 2007, but some were more specific on details such as ad hoc vs. structured work practices or the work of product placement in physical selling channels.

During these interview sessions, I also posed the following question to the family members: If they could do a study about the family business, what would it be?

The answer was related to the comparative nature between family and nonfamily businesses. The responses from Hardy covered: In which industries are families better as owners? Are there any values that are unique to family businesses? What are the reasons why family business as an organization form is preferred?

The answers from Henrik referred to: Make a comparative study between a family business and nonfamily business, within the same industry, over ten years to find differences in development between these two. If possible, also expand this to ten different industries.

Questions to the family members as of winter 2011:

These interviews were done to regain trust in the empirical study of family business governance-related activities during the change of CEO and chair of the company board. During these interviews, I asked if I could shadow workdays and observe meetings while the changes were going on.

The interview guide has been translated from Swedish to English.

Note to me: During the interview, have a copy of the family relations and an overview of critical events during the history. To enhance my ability to ask questions, listen and ask follow-up questions. (In developing follow-up questions, I was continually reflecting, analyzing, and relating the answers by taking notes on emerging issues.)

Listen for 1) the family's influence on the company and 2) the company's influence on the extended family, but also the influence on the next generations and their relationship with their children (i.e., the grandchildren of the senior brothers).

Inspired by the interview guide of Haag's (2012) succession study, I followed a similar structure:

At the interview's beginning, I said we would talk about three main areas. The idea was to put them at ease by introducing what the interview would be about before I asked the specific questions.

A Your history concerning the family business

B Your current role* during the ongoing change of CEO

C Your future role*

(*I used the term "role" since it is more about spoken language than social position.)

There were many questions, and depending on how the interview developed, I didn't pose all the questions to all family members. But all aspects were covered after all the interviews were done. However, in every interview, I did cover the three main areas of A, B, and C.

I did create a unique interview agenda for each family member, reflecting on whether there was anything from previous interviews that I wanted to ask. I also considered whether or not they were operative in the business. I did this to prepare my short-term memory – to be in the asking-listening-reflecting mode while it was going on.

Below follows a battery of questions:

How do you remember the business during your *childhood*?

First memory

Particular event? Was it fun?

How was your relationship with your parents? Did they have time for you despite the family business?

Have your parents' personal characteristics colored your personality?

What gave you strength while growing up? Did you miss something?

Family relations

I have got the impression that there are sound relations within the family:

Whom are you close to among siblings/cousins? How come?

What *role have the women* had within the family?

Your role within the family: Are there any particular *stories about you*? How are *you described* within the family? What do they say about you?

When you *spend time together* as a family: Are there any particular activities you share, like cooking food or playing music? How do you show *affection* for one another?

The family business will be handed over to you as a gift to own and manage for future generations: How would you describe your feeling about this? You can also express yourself in symbols.

[for family members working in the business] How come you decided to *work in* the family business? When did you decide this? Whom did you talk to? Did you consider other career choices?

Being part of this family business and holding the same surname as the business: Do you think about this in *how you dress, talk,* or *behave*? [in relation to the manners of their habitus]

The view of money. There is a rule of a high-interest rate. How has the approach to money changed within the company and the family? What are the things that you can spend money on? And are there things that you are not allowed to spend money on?

How have you experienced your entry into the business? (if applicable)

Who introduced you to work?

How did you experience the family's reaction to your enrollment?

Stakeholders' reactions?

What assignments/roles have you held within the board/owner council?

Why have the changes occurred?

Owner structure role within the board

Will there be any changes within the control functions of the family business when the next generations become more involved?

What problems have you encountered in the owner council?

-conflicts

-different degrees of involvement

What is your most memorable memory from the family business?

The family business can become a career trap: How have your goals and engagement changed?

Which is your current role? For how long? Why? Any other alternatives?

Do you have a mentor?

What is your view of the business future? What are the plans? Who is involved in them?

Succession process of the change of CEO

Could you describe the process?

What have been the critical events?

Who has been involved?

Who decided that Adam was going to be the next CEO?

Why Adam?

Why the change from "best person on the market" to a family member?

- Oldest brother

- Experience, personality

What does the expression "carrier of the culture" mean?

What challenges and difficulties do you foresee when you and your cousins own and manage the family business?

It has been described that the brothers Henrik and Hardy never really agree on things. How will you ensure that you don't get a *culture of 'emperor's new clothes*?

When Henrik and Hardy took over the business, they had strong external pressure. As a result, they had to stop fighting like brothers and collaborate: How would you and your siblings and cousins create the same understanding and be forced to collaborate?

What other *challenges* do you face with Adam as CEO and Henrik as chair of the company board?

The *board composition*: Are there any plans to change the composition of board members concerning future challenges? In terms of competence?

What needs to be preserved after the change? What are your *holy cows* (Swedish "heliga kor")?

If you were to *write a message to the next generations* and place it in a time capsule that would be opened in 20 years: What would you write? [previously

asked if Palméns Bakery will exist in 50 years, but this question is more suitable.]

Interview agenda to long-term coworkers

I started with a presentation about myself and the research project to relate to the person I interviewed.

What is your background? For how long have you worked within the company? What different positions have you held?

Why have you stayed for so long in the family business? Considered leaving?

Describe a memory from working in the family business, something special.

What have been the advantage and disadvantages of working in the family business?

Describe 'freedom with responsibility'; what does it mean in your work?

What is it like working with family members?

What is your view that the business is owned via a foundation?

Could you describe the leadership style of the family managers?

Could you elaborate on the working culture as ad hoc processes visa vi as characterized by structures and routines?

Change of CEO:

How did you find out? When? Did a manager brief you after the information was sent out on the implications of the change?

What do you think about Adam becoming the next CEO?

What have been the main reasons for this?

Did you have another candidate in mind? External from the family?

Do you see any disadvantage with Adam as CEO?

The act of selecting a family member as CEO: Do you perceive there to be certain career tracks in the business that are closed for you? What implications can that have for you?

Interview guide in February 2012, after the formal change of CEO and change of chair, as of May 2011

The last round of interviewees left the field, and the study ended.

Similarly to previous interviews, I said that the interview was structured around three areas.

A Follow-up after the CEO change

B The change of leading positions within the family

C Specific questions and reflections evolved from the top management and company board meetings during the autumn.

Appendix B. Techniques structured concerning the changes (the names of coworkers and external board members are pseudonyms)

Observations, interviews, and conversations as the changes were going on. It is structured in relation to the changes over time.
2007, the first round of interviews with the family, board, and top management team. Succession, entrepreneurship, strategy, and history.
2009, the second round of interviews with family and the top management team. Issues discussed regarding family and strategic development.
Since 2008, daily read newspaper articles about the company. Using the digital archives of the local newspaper, read all articles since 2002 (2002 was the start of the digitalization of the newspaper).
Observations with family members
February 2011: Hardy visits JIBS. We had an initial conversation about conducting another round of interviews before the formal change of CEO in May 2011.
14th March 2011: an interview with Henrik, Adam, and Eleonor (see interview table above)
15th March 2011: an interview with Alan and Patrik (see interview table above)
16th March 2011: an interview with Hardy and Henrik (see interview table above)
17th March 2011: shadowed Eleonor for one morning and had a guided tour of the bakery. Afternoon Interview with Bengt and Hans (see interview table above)
25th March 2011: an interview with Marie sister of Henrik and Hardy (see interview table above)
28th March 2011: shadowed Eleonor during the morning, interviewed in the afternoon, and observed a meeting preparing the surprise celebration party for Henrik. Afternoon observed Adam's speech to coworkers at the headquarters. Interview with his wife, Margareta.
4th April 2011: interview in the afternoon with Tina, coworker since 90s.
6th April 2011: an interview with Margareta in the morning. Lunch with Eleonor and Margareta, interview with Catrin in the afternoon.
7th April 2011: shadowed Adam for one day. I observed a meeting between Henrik and Adam discussing what is essential to know in the role of CEO. I observed a meeting concerning recruiting a new secretary for both Adam and Alan, listening to their conversation on whom to choose.
8th April 2011: shadowed Adam for one day. I did a participant observation since I participated in tasting new bread flavors. Each year there are four occasions when they test new flavors. Adam had a canceled meeting with the marketing manager in the afternoon and was not feeling well; the day ended after lunch.

14th April 2011: shadowed Adam. Observed meeting with HR over lunch talks about politics and role of IT systems in the organization. Adam met with the union representatives on the board and presented the company's current status and future.
15th April 2011: shadowed Henrik and observed a meeting when Henrik, Adam, and others discussed risk in financial investments.
Observation of top management meetings
15th April 2011: management meeting with Henrik as CEO 2011 10.00–15.00 with lunch.
27th May 2011: management meeting with Adam as CEO 2011 10.00–14.00 with lunch, a short meeting. Observation of office space. Informal conversations with members of the meeting afterward, e.g., the recently recruited secretary of Adam.
7th November 2011: management meeting with Adam as CEO 2011 10.00–17.00 with lunch. It was the longest meeting.
Observation of board meetings
4th May 2011: company board meeting. Sixten Pedersen's last meeting, Adam was selected as CEO and Henrik as chair. This was followed by a "surprise party" to celebrate Henrik.
June 2011: board meeting I didn't observe, away as visiting Ph.D. student at ESADE.
24th August 2011: company board meeting, Henrik's second, with a newly elected board composition.
19th October 2011: company board meeting at the airport, due to Adam catching a plane.
15th December 2011: company board meeting, the last for 2011 and the last observation meeting for me.
Shorter conversations over the phone, discussing ongoing matters
28th April 2011: a conversation with Adam concerning what has happened since I last saw him on 15th April. We discussed current issues when he was driving home after work (length 45 min).
29th April 2011: a conversation with Adam after Henrik's last management meeting (length 30 min).
29th of April 2011: a conversation with Henrik after his last management team meeting and other current issues. (30 min)
6th May 2011: a conversation with Adam after his first two days as CEO.
11th May 2011: a conversation with Hardy concerning the change of CEO and the owner council was held two days before the board meeting when Adam became CEO. I asked to participate in the owner council, but Hardy declined since legal matters would be discussed.
11th May 2011: a conversation with Adam after doing his first official speech as CEO for coworkers in the factory together with Hardy.

13th May 2011: a conversation with Adam after his first management team meeting, I was not allowed to participate since it was his first meeting, and he didn't want to have the extra disturbance of me observing.

From mid-May until the end of July 2011, the generation of empirical material was put on hold during the summer due to a period of being a visiting Ph.D. student at ESADE.

5th September 2011: I observed a conversation with Hardy concerning the family council during the summer and issues discussed during the board meeting on 24th August (55 min).
6th September 2011: a conversation with Henrik, after the summer, regarding the company board meeting (45 min).
20th September 2011: a conversation with Adam concerning the change of CEO (difficult to get hold of, tried for a month) (11 min).
21st September 2011: a conversation with Adam continued from before (20 min).

Interviews 10 months after the official change of CEO
8th February 2012: an interview with Hardy
9th February 2012: an interview with Henrik
9th February 2012: an interview with Eleonor
9th February 2012: an interview with a board member since the 80s
9th February 2012: an interview with Adam about the change and collaboration with Henrik
14th February 2012: an interview with the financial director over the phone
24th February 2012: an interview with Alan over the phone
13th March 2012: an interview with the head of sales over the phone

Appendix C. List of Techniques for Generating Empirical Material

Interviews From 2007 Until 2012					
Family					
Name	**Position**	**Ownership**	**When?**	**Length in Min.**	**Interviewer**
Henrik Palmén	Chair since 2011. CEO from 1976 to 2011	Yes, via foundation	Aug. 1 2007, March 10 2009 March 14 2011 Feb. 9 2012	117 78 90 120	Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall
Hardy Palmén	Former marketing director, responsible for the succession process	Yes, via foundation	July 31 2007, Nov. 4 2008 March 18 2009 June 15 2009 March 16 2011 Feb. 8 2012	90 80 80 30 80 120	Mattias Nordqvist & Leif Melin, Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall
Marie Palmén	Sister to Hardy and Henrik. Chair of the family council	Until 2001	March 25 2011	150	Lisa Bäckvall
Adam Palmén	CEO since 2011 Former IT manager & HR manager. The oldest son of Henrik	Yes, via foundation	June 28 2007 March 14 2011 Feb 9 2012	90 90 60	Ethel Brundin & Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall
Alan Palmén	Pastry chef & son of Henrik	Yes, via foundation	June 28 2007 March 15 2011 Feb 24 2012	90 90 90	Ethel Brundin & Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall

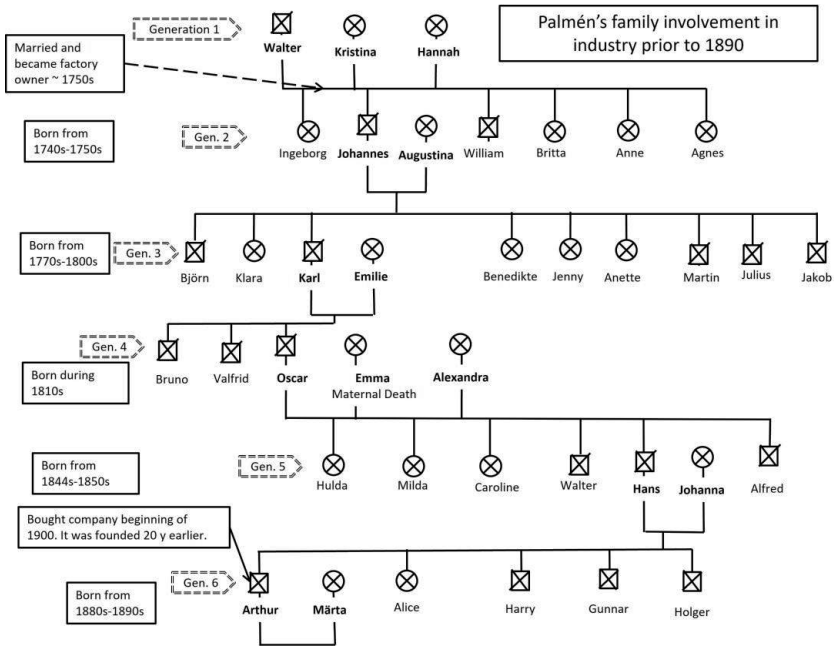
Eleonor Palmén	Responsible for external relations. She had worked in the company since the 90s	Yes, via foundation	March 11 2009 March 14 2011 Feb 9 2012	106 140 70	Lisa Bäckvall
Maria Palmén	Member of the board & oldest daughter of Hardy	Yes, via foundation	July 11 2007 March 2011 Declined Feb 2012 via e-mail	80	Lisa Bäckvall
Daniel Palmén	Oldest of the younger group in the next generation. Son of Henrik worked in logistics and accounting within the company	Yes, via foundation	March 10 2009 May 11 2011	64 60	Lisa Bäckvall
Anders Palmén	Member of the family council, the oldest son of Henrik's second marriage. Worked during summer and is studying architecture in Milan	Yes, via foundation	March 15 2011	72	Lisa Bäckvall
Patrik Palmén	Son of Hardy. A successful career in marketing outside of the business	Yes	May 3 2011	64	Lisa Bäckvall
Fanny Palmén	Daughter of Hardy. Under 18 y old. Member of	Yes	May 2 2011	37	Lisa Bäckvall

	family and owner council				
Jenny	CEO of a company owned by Hardy (50%) and Henrik (50%), married to Henrik	No	March 10 2009	77	Lisa Bäckvall
Marga-reta	Married to Adam, worked in the company since mid-90s, former product developer. Leave of absence since May 2011 due to increased workload of Adam as CEO	No	March 28 and April 6 2011	57 90	Lisa Bäckvall
Matilda	Responsible for recruitment, de facto with Alan	No	March 11 2009	82	Lisa Bäckvall
Members of the Board (the names are pseudonyms)					
Leif Svan-ström	Board member since late 80s	No	June 21 2007 Feb 9 2012	100 90	Mattias Nordqvist & Lisa Bäckvall Lisa Bäckvall
Mads Pedersen	Chair from 1999– 2011	No	July 3 2007	80	Mattias Nordqvist
Bodil Sandfors	Member of the board since 1996	No	Aug 3 2007	90	Ethel Brundin
Sven Hansson	Union representative on the board from the 80s until 2011	No	May 13 2011	66	Lisa Bäckvall
Informal conversation with other members of the company board, e.g., union representatives, during breaks.					

Members of the Top Management Team (the names are pseudonyms)					
Alan Holmlund	Production manager since 1990, vice-CEO	No	June 28 2007 March 10 2009	40 81	Ethel Brundin & Lisa Bäckvall; Lisa Bäckvall
Catrin Karlsson	Commercial director since 1999	No	Aug 1 2007 April 6 2011 May 12	90 120 46	Lisa Bäckvall
Leif Hardyson	Marketing director since November 2007–2012	No	March 18 2009	79	Lisa Bäckvall
Robert Wenner-sson	Financial director since mid-00s	No	Feb 14th 2012	50	Lisa Bäckvall
Also, informal conversations with other management team members while I was doing observations.					
Members of the Organization that have Worked in the Family Business for more than Ten Years (the names are pseudonyms).					
Knut Berg-ström	Worked for more than ten years. Marketing manager for the chocolate cake. Hardy is the chair of this daughter company.	No	March 16 2011	80	Lisa Bäckvall
Hans Adam-sson	Worked for more than ten years in sales. Currently head of the service and installation of machines in public places. Worked w. Hardy.	No	March 17 2011	90	Lisa Bäckvall
Bengt Tydén	Worked for more than ten years in sales.	No	March 17 2011	90	Lisa Bäckvall

	Worked w. Hardy.				
Tina Steel	Worked in the organization since 94, with product development in the marketing department.	No	April 4 2012	80	Lisa Bäckvall
Eva Svensson	Henrik's secretary, I asked for an interview, but it was declined.				
Informal conversation with coworkers working in reception and staff restaurant.					
8th May 2009: a workshop on transgenerational entrepreneurship was held at headquarters. Members from two generations and spouses participated. Three families from other family businesses also attended. During the workshop, notes were made and reviewed shortly after the workshop.					

Appendix D. Genogram of Succession since the Eighteenth Century



Genogram of the Palmén family from the first generation to the sixth generation (the names are pseudonyms, but gender is correct). We can see that it is not always the oldest son (age (order) among siblings) that has continued the baking activities of the family, but it is a son. Arthur bought the cheapest factory and is considered the first generation by the family members as of 2012. However, the family has been practicing baking since the eighteenth century.

Appendix E. Description of the Family Business since the Eighteenth Century

Gene-ration	Operative Family Members	CEO & Chair	Owners	Characteristics
1st	Erik & Johanna	NA	Erik marries Marie, a widow, and they become factory owners.	They operate in the same industry as the current family. Ca 1750
2nd	Mattias & Lovisa	NA	Mattias is educated as a priest and succeeds his father.	They invented a 'dominated design' within the industry.
3rd	Abraham & Emilie	NA	NA	Continues with operations.
4th	Fredrik & Alexandra	NA	NA	I moved to Sweden due to low taxes. Farmers
5th	Lars & Johanna	NA	NA	Lars adventure. Johanna the breadwinner in the family.
6th	Arthur Palmén & Lilly	Arthur Palmén	Arthur Palmén 1923–1950s	The mother's family pays for education. He takes a loan and buys the only company he can afford: regional sales & small production.
7th	Jack Palmén & Isabel	Jack Palmén & external.	Jack Palmén 1950s–1970s	Borrows money from banks to expand the company. It starts selling products nationally.
8th	Henrik & Hardy	Henrik & two different externals.	Henrik, Hardy, Karl, and Marie (1970s–80s) stock exchange. Henrik and	To secure ownership within the family. Focus on heavy expansion through organic and external growth from a minor actor

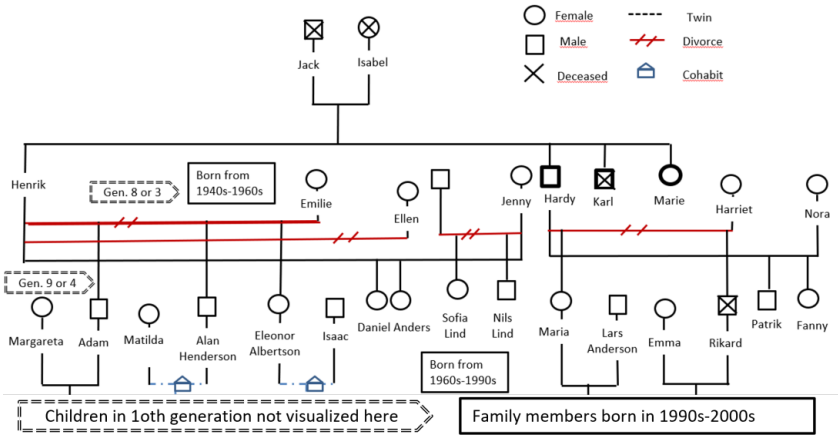
			Hardy take the company off the stock exchange. Marie sells her ownership shares to the brothers.	to one of the significant actors of the industry.
9th	Hardy, Adam, Alan, Eleonor, Maria	Adam 2011 Henrik 2011 (company chair)	Foundation controlled by Henrik, Hardy, Adam, Alan, Eleonor, Maria & Daniel, Anders, Patrik & Fanny	Expansion and economies of scale in production.

Appendix F. Family Members and Their Involvement in Different Governing Organs

Family Member	Position in Company and/or Board	Board	Owner Council	Family Council
Henrik Palmén 1st wife Mona, children: Adam, Alan & Eleonor 2nd wife, April, children: Daniel and Anders	CEO until 2011	Chair 2011–2014	Yes	Yes
3rd wife, Jenny Palmén has two children from former relation	CEO of the daughter company	No	No	Yes
Hardy Palmén 1st marriage to Harriet, children: Maria, Rikard	Has an office space and works with the different projects assigned by the company board	Working company board member, chair of the daughter company	Yes	Yes
2nd marriage to Nora	No	No	No	Yes
Marie Palmén, sister to Henrik and Hardy	No	No	No	Head of the family council
Adam* married to Margareta	IT manager, HR manager	Board member	Yes	Yes
Anette	Product Manager	No		Yes
Alan* de facto Matilda Cornelson	CEO daughter company	Board member	Yes	Yes
Matilda	HR Recruitment	No		Yes
Eleonor* de facto Daniel	Information manager	Board member	Yes	Yes
Daniel	No	No	No	Yes

Maria,* the oldest daughter of Hardy. Married to Lars	No	Board member	Yes	Yes
Lars	No	No	No	Yes
Rikard,* son of Hardy, deceased	-	-	-	-
Daniel, son of Henrik, 2nd marriage	Part-time product promotion	Board member	Yes	Yes
Oscar, son of Henrik, 2nd marriage	Summer job	Board member	Yes	Yes
Patrik, son of Hardy, 2nd marriage	Summer job	No	Yes	Yes
Fanny, daughter of Hardy, 2nd marriage	Summer job	No	Not old enough	Yes
*There were 11 children all under the age of 18 in generation 10 who are also members of the family council.				Yes

Appendix G. Genogram of Owner Council and Family Council of the Eighth to the tenth generation



Jack and Isabel were Henrik, Hardy, Karl, and Marie's deceased parents.

Members of the owner council were: Henrik, Hardy, Adam, Alan, Eleonor, Daniel, Oscar, Maria, Patrik, and Fanny. Rikard passed away while I was conducting the study. The chair of the owner council rotated among the members; Henrik and Adam held the chair. During the study, they changed to an external lawyer.

Members of the family council were: Henrik & Jenny, Hardy & Nora, Marie (head of the family council but not a member of the owner council), Adam & Margareta, Alan & Matilda, Eleonor & Isaac, Maria & Lars, Patrik, and Fanny. And the eight living children of the tenth generation.

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The Coexistence of Family, Ownership, and Business:

Conceptualizing Entanglement and Business Family Own*er*ing

This research concerns what business families do when owning a business. The study explores, via the social praxeology, the coexistence of family, ownership, and business conceptualized as entanglement, which is lacking in extant corporate governance research and family business studies. Social praxeology directs attention to individual and collective embodiment, with key concepts being capital, field, habitus, and practical sense. This theory offers conditions for a renewed understanding via an ethnographically inspired study of business- and governance-related activities during a change of CEO in the Palmén family business. With a structural reading, four business family ownership practices are constructed: the practices of choosing a CEO, of calculating, of tasting, and of joking, respectively. These results challenge dominant views of ownership as property rights and the separation of family, ownership, and business by instead conceptualizing their coexistence as entanglement. Moving towards a distinction of family business, the family and ownership categories are constructed as a collective subjective corpus within a business family field. The concept of own*er*ing (that is an embodied ownership) is introduced to embrace the particularities of an owner family, inhabited by positioned family members. Consequently, business family ownership practice turns into business family own*er*ing, which is characterized by inertia and relationality.

LISA BÄCKVALL holds an M.Sc. and is a Lecturer in Work Organization at the Department of Supply Chain and Operations Management, School of Engineering. She visited Esade Ramon Llull University and ESSEC Business School during her research education as a Ph.D. Candidate in Business Administration at JIBS, CeFEO. She has done research on transgenerational entrepreneurship in the STEP project. Her research interests are ownership, gender, entrepreneurship, and strategy within family businesses, business families, and business.

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