Family, business and kinship
in a German manufacturing organisation:
an ethnographic study

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To my families…

To my parents and grandparents, for the roots and wings they have provided me with

To my weekend-parents, without whom I would not have attempted the heights

To those friends, the one in particular, I feel a kinship with and who continue to keep me in the air

And, finally, to my supervisors, who, in German, are suitably referred to as Doktoreltern (doctoral parents)

…with sincerest thanks

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Abstract

The thesis contributes to ongoing debates on the dynamics of family and business (not family business) by presenting an ethnographic study of a medium-sized German family-centred business. The central research question is: 'How do organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in the everyday?'

The ethnographic study presented in this thesis is informed by a belief that research on issues of family and business should privilege how people as culturally embedded actors go about their quotidian work lives, rather than focus upon limited aspects of economic rationality or noneconomic goals. In other words, it openly recognises the need for more encompassing and dynamic theoretical frames to analyse the formation of practices and intricacies of family involvement in detail. The thesis builds on the insight that action—individual and organised—cannot be understood without locating it in a spatially and temporally defined societal context and makes central use of the notion of institutional logics.

The study is based on extensive fieldwork carried out by the researcher over a six-month period while working for his own family's vehicle manufacturing company in Germany. Although there was no clearly demarcated social space—no "dividing line", in Ram's (1994, p. 24) words, "between the home and the factory"—access was given to both. The company was founded in 1956 and has since experienced significant growth, reaching the current size of about 500 employees and annual turnover in excess of EUR 90 million. During this period, management shifted from the founding couple to two and then one of their four sons whilst ownership is retained by all family members.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This is a study of family and business. Family *and* business, because contrary to predominant suggestions in literatures shortly considered, it intends to go beyond the analysis of a limited set of activities befitting the family firm label. The developed research and personal frustration from which it originated gives cause to reflect on the usefulness of reducing the analysis of social phenomena related to the involvement of a group of family members, however loosely defined, in the day-to-day practices of a business, however large. This thesis can therefore be read as a study of the unexplored realities of how things work within in a family influenced organisation, with its key research question of 'how do organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in the everyday?'. It develops an analysis on the basis of fieldwork conducted over a period of six months at Bokendahl Manufacturing (BoMa), a medium-sized vehicle producing business in Draventhal village, Germany. The frustration was personal, as it was put above, as I am a member of the Bokendahl family. Names were changed in an effort to make the identity of those involved less easy to discern, although consent to do otherwise had been granted.

In the chapter overview below, it will become clear how the present undertaking, with its interplay between the concepts of broad framework of institutional logics and everyday realties they were designed to make sense of, is put forth to have the potential of being most helpful to anyone engaging with the type of family and business setting it addresses. This concern did not arise arbitrarily, but was rooted in my personal biography. Ethnographers are known to make problematic in their research matters that are problematic in their social lives (Lofland et al., 2006). Unfettered access and chance to deal with experiences that cannot be accounted for on the basis of acquired social scientific knowledge are amongst the reasons to do so. Whilst the former is, in the present case, particularly valuable given the penchant for privacy of those involved in family-centred enterprises (e.g. Litz, 1997), it is the personal frustration with existing material that gave shape to the thesis.

Contrary to deploying it as the means with which to assess the validity of theoretical positions, empirical material is not separated from conceptual work in the chapters that follow. Puzzling fieldwork encounters give shape to the theoretical ideas created (and re-created) to make sense of the social processes people cope with, just as broader existing knowledge informs the appreciation of situations in the field worthwhile to theoretically engage with. This process of learning constitutes a recurring theme of this research. It relates to the limited insight offered by existing approaches, particularly those dominant within the so-called field of family firm research, and the usefulness of institutional logics thinking shortly turned to through which this can be overcome. These topics are expanded on to introduce the broader social scientific environment within which this thesis is set. At this point, the chapter progresses by tracing the linkages between matters made problematic in research, as mentioned above, and the practices, customs and struggles I was confronted with in the

social setting of BoMa. This will make available to the reader the personal experiences and frustration, as it was put, that have come to stand behind the commitment to and creation of the present thesis. The more social scientific quality of being theoretically informed and informing as well as the contributions offered within this work are turned to below.

On the personal frustration with existing work: raising everyday processes in family-centred businesses as a question of research

Draventhal is the small German village in which Albert Bokendahl, my grandfather, founded BoMa and I was raised in. Set apart by 34 years, the creation of the firm had arguably more influence on my life than I had on its development. Never before had my actual work involvement at home been as extensive and long term in nature as it has been over the course of this research. Access in the way it was eventually negotiated is thus a topic to be returned to. It will also become clear how personal experiences relate to a vantage that made knowing when—and at whom—to look less challenging whilst engaged in the field. I had not, however, 'learned the ropes' by virtue of situational familiarity prior to my research involvement (*pace* Shaffir et al., 1980), nor would I have qualified as a native within the social setting of BoMa (Yang, 1945). I was, on the whole, aware of the 'whats' and 'whos', so to speak, but certainly not of the detailed 'hows'. The previously mentioned frustration did thus not stem from a discrepancy between, for instance, the literature on efficient resource management and the particular way Rufus Bokendahl, my uncle and a managing partner at the time, considered the internal distribution of aluminium sheets a personal matter. Such issues I became aware of as time was spent in the field. But the curiosity that led me there in the first place, however, was broader in nature.

Through my previous degrees I had the chance to equip myself with as full as possible a knowledge of research on family owned and managed firms and had acquired a good grasp of the management and organisation theory that informs the study of organisations more generally. This appreciation eventually applied outside the classroom and, similar to what Lofland et al. (2006) write, led to the intention to go beyond the taken-for-granted realities within which people live their lives. Given the setting I grew up in, the consideration of occurrences for the co-existing and, perhaps, conflicting domains of family and business these may relate to soon followed. The corresponding topic of research is, in itself, frequently turned to. Be that, for instance, the simultaneous pursuit of noneconomic and economic interests (Rau and Kellermanns, 2008), the firm as an extension of the family (Berrone et al., 2010) or the implementation of family-related conservation strategies (Miller et al., 2011). Isolated phenomena at BoMa would thus have lent themselves to validate arguments contained within these writings. But few contributions appeared sufficiently inclusive to shed light on

the daily interactions I was confronted with, allow for the significance of history and context and hence be of use to engage with the setting as a whole.

There was, for example, little to draw on as to why at family events, in the presence of my grandfather, conversations with certain family members implied that he was still in charge of the firm. This was despite the fact that my uncles Rufus and Konrad had managed BoMa for as long as I could remember. They, in turn, rarely, if ever, addressed business development during such gatherings. Equally puzzling was the shared acceptance that the fleet of company cars, including those driven by members of my family, was to be comprised of mid-range models or below regardless of business performance. Any conversation about the topic would usually feature a 'how would this look in the village?' comment. Then there was the issue of martial involvement at the firm. Bokendahl women, all of whom had married 'into' the family, worked around the understanding that involvement in the business was not desirable, even though the decisive role my grandmother Cecelia had played in the early years of BoMa was a story often told.

Incongruous and disconnected as these vignettes may appear, they serve the purpose of illustrating the range of issues that I associated with the interplay of family and business but could not helpfully account for as a student of family firm writings. Many of these, it became clear over the course of the research, were, in fact, connected and consequences of how situations, especially those related to the workplace, had been handled in the past. Ethnographies with the potential to offer an insight into such issues, given their appreciation for everyday interactions, remain noticeable for their absence (Stewart and Hitt, 2010; Evert et al., 2016). And amongst those whose fieldwork intensive studies mark a valuable exception (e.g. Hamabata, 1990; Ram and Holliday, 1993; Ram, 1994; Holliday, 1995; Fletcher 2002; Hall et al., 2006; Lam, 2011), few address the type of developments indicated above. It was this dissatisfaction with the ability of existing work to inform my interactions as part of the phenomena I was exposed to that raised the topic of how day-to-day processes unfold in a family-centred organisation as a question. It also made problematic dominant themes of existing research on issues of family at work. This is considered next.

Rising to the challenge of empirical material: beyond agency theory, stewardship theory and the resource-based view

Alongside the prevalent stream of research attempting to cut through the abundance of competing definitions (Astrachan, et al., 2002; Chrisman et al., 2005), there is a dominant enthusiasm for economic issues (e.g. La Porta et al., 1999; Claessens et al., 2002; Anderson and Reeb, 2003; Villalonga and Amit, 2006; Bennedsen et al., 2007; Miller et al., 2007; Sharma and Carney, 2012; Carney et al., 2014; Van Essen et al., 2015, Neubaum, 2018). Capturing the link between family ownership, management and financial performance is understood to resemble a "search for the Holy

Grail" in the field (Carney et al., 2013, p. 533). In spite of the awareness that an "exclusive emphasis on economic performance" may be of limited utility to those involved in a family-centred enterprise (Chrisman et al., 2005, p. 565), contributors have been slow to reflect on dominant reference frames shaping the relationship between family and business. Agency theory, stewardship theory and the resource-based view are more ubiquitous than most (Debicki et al., 2009). Reserving a detailed review of these for a subsequent chapter, established theories may not have done adequate justice to the complexities of work-related family involvement and thus relate to the personal frustration outlined above (Siebels and zu Knyphausen-Aufseß, 2012).

Particularly absent are studies that follow the tradition of Ram (1994), for instance, that interweave a detailed illustration of what is otherwise understood as natural and taken-for-granted aspects of the mundane with the development of theories adequate to deal with the complex social relationship they are created to analyse. Besides the ethnographic writings previously pointed to, the closest exception to this rule is the work of scholars interested in the study of small firms. Although seldom referred to by the so-called mainstream debates of the kind referred to above, this strand of research offers frames able to treat the intricacies of family involvement in adequate detail. Given the small size of such enterprises, Fletcher (2002, p. 4) notes the broad range of situations family members can have an active hand in: "product, market, employee, growth, training, […]". As a firm grows in size, the ability to participate in processes directly decreases, rendering the influence of family on practices less noticeable in turn. But if a primary concern of a project is to analyse and explain the dynamics actors within such settings are confronted with, the practice of ignoring these studies and the level of detail they emphasise would be an unhelpful one to perpetuate. It will become clear how the present thesis builds on small business research when studying larger ones, so to speak, in that it, too, approaches everyday realities through the complex and contradictory social nature of relations at work.

In dealing with the kind of questions introduced above, this thesis further builds on the work of those who have called for a broader investigation of social issues associated with the noticeable involvement of a family in a business (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010; Stewart and Hitt, 2010). In line with arguments shortly presented, these studies share or suggest the insight that forms of behaviour may be understood most helpfully by locating them in a social context. The economic rationale proposed by business-oriented approaches (James, Jennings and Breitkreuz, 2012) then becomes one amongst many, potentially conflicting bases for action. Related inroads have been made through conceptualising family embeddedness (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Wiklund et al., 2013), suggestions to open up the social domain of the family (Stewart, 2003; Stewart and Miner, 2010, 2011; Dalpiaz, Tracey and Phillips, 2014) and pointing to the utility of placing family related issues in an institutional framework (Colli et al., 2003; Nordqvist and Melin 2002; Miller, Le Breton-Miller and Lester, 2011 Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). The increasing concern for the notion of context notwithstanding (Gedajlovic et al., 2012; Carney, Gedajlovic and Strike, 2014; Wright et al., 2014), studies which develop such

conceptualisations in an attempt to learn about what actually happens in organisations, so to speak, about how things *work*, are rare. Few bring together the minutiae of activities related to the family and business interplay with the social structures in which they are embedded to inform the practices of anyone wishing to engage with it. The institutional logics thinking, introduced in the next section, and deployed throughout this thesis, relates to the attempt to do so. In light of the reluctance to go beyond concepts that emphasise aspects outside individual experience and action, it permits an inclusive way of thinking about family and assists the analysis of its everyday business involvement, whatever form this takes.

Making sense of action through context and context through action: developing the institutional logics notion

Along the lines suggested, raising fieldwork experiences to a "cultural whole" (Bazanger and Dodier, 2004, p. 13), institutional bases for contradicting action and a broad framework constitute key analytical resources to learn about family at work, but which are to be developed as the empirical material is examined and in relation to a specific temporal and spatial setting. There is no concern with illustrations or proofs of particular theoretical propositions. Institutional writings, instead, it will become clear, serve the purpose of assisting the generation of valuable insights into issues people face in their daily work lives and how these have come to exist. An ability worthwhile to point out, since doubts have been raised in that regard given a concern contemporary institutionalism is argued to find itself grappling with (Hallett and Ventresca, 2006). Influenced by major sociological texts and prominently linked to the organisation as an area of study, it is certainly rooted in a desire to understand patterns of social interaction (Scott, 2001; Barley, 2008). Yet exogenous forces, homogeneity and fields have been brought to the fore at the expense of their relationship with legitimacy and taken-for-granted action over a more recent period of its development (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott and Meyer, 1994; Wooten and Hoffman, 2008). Projects that conceptually arrive at the level of social interaction have become rare as a result of the interest in "momentous events" over "everyday processes" (Powell and Colyvas, 2008, p. 277). The present use of the institutional logic notion departs from this prevailing tendency. It is treated as a concept that can be developed to make sense of the practices and meanings people establish and alter as they sense and act upon the conditions which influence their lives at a particular place, at a particular time.

Whilst this is set out in detail in subsequent chapters, it is helpful to briefly expand at this point on an argument central to the work of Friedland and Alford and built on in the thesis. At the heart of their institutional logics concept, the authors emphasise, lies the awareness that "individual action can only be explained in social context", just as "context can only be understood through individual consciousness and behaviour" (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 242). Whilst activities

related to BoMa, their creation and questions they give rise to may, at first, be considered unique in terms of their specific history, they valuably illustrate the social structure of which they are a part and the particular circumstances in relation to which they came to be and took shape over time. Circumstances that extend far beyond the individual experience. The usefulness of the present ethnographic undertaking thus rests, in part, with its ability to, on one hand, organise particular instances of what has been observed, heard and experiences in the field around a "cultural whole"—individual action in social context—and, on the other—social context in individual action—use this analytical vantage to better understand how certain processes work, as it was previously put (Bazanger and Dodier, 2004, p. 13; Watson, 2011).

By utilising an institutional logics framework for this purpose, in line with the use of the concept Friedland and Alford (1991) may have intended, as will become clear, a local social grounding is provided and the interrelated nature of actions and their institutional bases recognised. This distinguishes the present approach from the small number of researchers who, too, have relied on a conceptual relationship between institutional logics and issues of family and business but applied it in a way indicative of the interest in exogenous forces mentioned above (e.g. Jaskiewicz et al., 2016; Reay, Jaskiewicz and Hinings, 2015). Their version of a family logic, for instance, is analytically set against the context and phenomena which they investigate. Little is, as a consequence, known about what differentiates the influence on behaviour of a commitment "to the benefit of the family" (Reay, Jaskiewicz and Hinings, 2015, p. 293) in one setting from established "family norms, values and goals" in another (Jaszkiewicz et al., 2016, p. 789). An insight that would, perhaps, have shed light on puzzling situations of the kind referred to as giving rise to the present research above, since an ideal, abstract version of family is of limited utility to understand how, for instance, local customs provide a point of reference, a question of 'how would this look in the village?' as it was put, through which legitimate family conduct at the workplace and beyond is determined. Theorised constructs, including a family logic and related norms, to continue with the example, are, instead, brought into a relationship with the activities of mundane work life. That is, to provide this and similar knowledge that may ultimately have the potential to be of use to someone, such as myself, wishing the engage with a social setting related to Bokendahl family and firm, a broad framework is used to make sense of empirical material as, in turn, concepts are refined on the basis of the same. The related use-value of knowledge is explored in Chapter 4. The ethnographic account is thus shaped by constantly going back and forth between fieldwork experiences and theoretical ideas, considering particular issues, processes and struggles for the broader story they may tell.

Plan of thesis

This chapter intended to provide an introduction to the personal and social scientific circumstances that raised the topic of how everyday practices came to unfold in a family-centred business as a question of research. Contrary to the predominant, business-oriented view of the so-called family firm and notions of, for example, noneconomic goals, family as a resource and risk-averse decision making the label has come to imply, the argument was made for more encompassing ways of analysis should issues of the above kind be better understood. This broader appreciation of the family and business interplay may, at first, within the social of setting of Bokendahl family and firm through which it was developed, appear as the particularities of quotidian work life at that firm. But through a process of learning that makes central use of the institutional logics notion, these little things have a significance that extends beyond themselves. In line with the insight that individual action may only be understood when related to a social context, and vice versa, this thesis attempts to go back and forth between scales of generality, bringing experiences at the social setting of BoMa into a relationship with existing knowledge and theoretical ideas developed to make helpful sense of phenomena when the former does not. Doing so will then, for example, account for the ignorance of Albert's retirement status by certain family members as these and similar phenomena are related to the influence of religion and broader definition of family it legitimises. The particular structure of the subsequent chapters is as follows.

Existing contributions are brought to the foreground in Chapter 2. The adequacy of business-oriented approaches is questioned further in light of the issues dealt with in this research. More realistic and context sensitive assumptions are offered as most valuable to the present undertaking. Building on these, Chapter 3 develops a conceptual framework of institutional logics to offer knowledge on family at work along the lines introduced above. Versions of co-existing institutional logics are presented as conceptual points of departure, so to speak, given the view that details of particular situations at BoMa are not proofs—bringing to mind what has been argued—of the framework any more than these logics could have been created in the abstract. Chapter 4 develops the guiding view of producing ethnographic research and then establishes how this process of analysis wraps up puzzling and problematic matter within broader attention to institutional bases for contradicting action in a particular social setting. The rationale underpinning this type of ethnography then comes to the fore, examining the notion of reflexivity in writing and principles of Pragmatism. Fieldwork accounts are turned to more fully in Chapter 5. It explores in detail the formations of practices associated with Bokendahl family and firm and looks closely at the context of Draventhal community. Extending these arguments, Chapter 6 deals with the roles played and positions held by family members besides the founder, Albert Bokendahl, and conflict stemming from contrasting interpretations within and amongst generations. Chapter 7 considers issues pertaining to this conflict, in particular how the contrasting ways of how work was organised before and after the death of the

Albert and his wife, Cecilia. The final chapter, Chapter 8, turns back upon and takes account of the insights generated through a conceptual framework flexible enough to accommodate alternative lines of interpretation as puzzling fieldwork encounters are continuously dealt with. Attention is given to existing work and themes explored throughout the thesis are reorganised to emphasise how the mode of analysis, the sense made and the questions and implications this, in turn, raises, can be of broader use to anyone wishing to learn more about and engage with an organisational setting with a significant family dimension such as BoMa.

Chapter 2 – Going beyond issues of performance to understand processes in organisations with a family dimension; the usefulness of institutional analysis

This chapter sets out to order existing knowledge in a way others have not around issues that are dealt with in the present research, with its key research question of 'how do organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in the everyday?' as it was introduced in the previous chapter. The related question of where the present thesis fits in relation to others is considered by assessing the usefulness of existing contributions. Agency theory, stewardship theory and the resource based view are more ubiquitous than most. Yet these are produced from the generally accepted understanding that the so-called family business field is worthwhile to add to because of link between economic significance and performance research. Those who have, at least implicitly, called into question the suitability of related assumptions framing behaviour as noneconomic and dysfunctional are only infrequently considered in mainstream discussions. Since an analysis of these particular forms of organising work will make research a helpful contribution to those wishing to learn about the type of social setting covered by the present thesis, it will be argued, their work is brought to the fore. To produce these insights, use is made of organisational and management theory in such a way which makes its selection about the family and business related phenomena studied. The related review of studies which, too, have developed institutional forms of analysis provides a neat transition to the theoretical framework outlined in the subsequent chapter.

Questioning the link between economic significance and research on performance to establish why issues of family and business are worthwhile to turn to

Despite its "growing prestige and acceptance as an established field", the study of family and business encompasses a diverse, not necessarily congenial set of conceptual stances (Evert et al., 2016, p. 17). Whilst the present research is informed by—and has benefited from—the overall increase in terms of publications, special issues and conferences, there is a predominant enthusiasm for performance related concerns. Business-oriented assumptions are inherent in theoretical and methodological advances as a result, calling into question their usefulness to the current study. Hence a consideration of the impetus giving rise to such field characterising approaches may provide an insightful starting point from which to review relevant contributions. More ubiquitous than most are versions of the argument that "family firms appear to dominate the world economy" (Debicki et al., 2009, p. 151). Reductionist as it may be, relevance for the analysis of family and business phenomena is established through the family firm status as the most common form of corporate governance. In support of this claim, families across the globe are found to serve as controlling shareholders in a significant number of business (Porta et al., 1999; Claessens et al., 2002; Colli., 2000; Morck et al., 2005). Recent

calculations see 43 of the largest 100 companies in Italy as family owned, 26 in France, and 17 in the USA and Germany (Becht and Mayer., 2001; Becht, Betts and Morck, 2003; Colli et al., 2003). Studies set levels of family business diffusion from 75% to 95% of all registered companies in Italy, 70% to 80% in Spain, 75% in the UK, more than 90% in Sweden, 85% in Switzerland, and 80% in Germany (Neubauer and Lank, 1998; Colli et al., 2003). Corresponding numbers are offered in research on European small and medium sized enterprises, proposing that, on average, more than 65% of firms in the sample may be referred to as family owned (Donckels and Frohlich, 1991). Whilst such findings are sensitively contingent upon the definition of just what constitutes a family business or firm (Westhead and Cowling, 1989; Wortman, 1995)—a debate returned to below—, economic significance appears to legitimise and shape the recent growth in this area of research.

The apparent influence of these firms in Western economies has given rise to a popular stream of research dealing with issues of corporate governance, the primary topic of family and business articles published in the 21st century (Chrisman et al., 2003; Debicki et al., 2009). There is a strong link between the interest for issues of performance and value maximisation and agency theory based investigations as the most common form of analysis as will become clearer shortly. Even within such field characterising lines of research, distinctions between enterprises "often simply labelled as 'family'", as James (2006, p. 9) writes, are worthwhile to make. The term may relate to diverging sets of decisions, actions and customs within firms depending on how it is conceptually understood. A distinctiveness rarely noted in research drawing on utility maximising and instrumental models of human behaviour. This is particularly noticeable in studies developing a concept of professionalised family ownership and management as a desirable outcome of its development (Schulze et al., 2001; Westhead and Howorth, 2006; Martinez et al., 2007, Rondoy et al., 2009). Formal training, formalised structures and independent (non-family) employees with delegated authority are proposed as completing the transition, bringing to mind writings associated with the modern corporation (Chandler, 1962; Colli, 2003; Stewart and Hitt, 2012). Given these shared methodologies and business/professional oriented approaches they can be seen as rooted in, the presentation of family influence as running counter to and deviating from notions of economic rationality is an almost inevitable outcome.

Little room was left by Chandler (1962; 1990) for the family in the formation, growth and conduct of the modern enterprise. Only professional management, he suggests, can bring forth the human and financial capital required to cope with what he saw as revolutions in strategy and structure. The separation between ownership and control is well documented (Berle and Means, 1932). It gave rise, as previously implied and expanded further below, to research traditions including those associated with agency theory, an approach formulated to specifically analyse the consequences— agency costs—of this disassociation. Its prominent impact on the development of the field can be associated with the taken for granted transition from a family/entrepreneurial to a managerial type of organisation, a kind of "doctrine", as Schulze and Gedjalovic (2010, p. 193) write. Historically,

family firms have been linked to poor economic performance, described to have "sinned against economic efficiency" or, more recently, referred to as a "permanently failing institution" (Landes, 1949; Kindleberger, 1964, p. 115; Meyer and Zucker, 1989, p. 79). In part this gave rise to the general assumption that family firms are scarcely adequate to contribute to economies of the second and third industrial revolution (Colli, 2003; James, 2006). Yet research suggests that of the large number of enterprises held by families in Germany—the setting of the present research—the majority is influenced by family management in the everyday (Berghoff, 2006). Corresponding with previous arguments on economic significance, the significance of this population also referred to as the German Mittelstand is undisputed: it generates more than 40% of all taxable turnover and up to 50% of the country's gross domestic product (Deutsche Bank Research, 2007). The question that may thus be raised is: are enterprises with family involvement a suitable area of application for theories stemming from a desire to study forms of organising understood as antithetical to what is practiced within these firms?

The studies turned to shortly suggest that this is the case. And the noted significance of these firms, the settings they influence as well as the work lives they shape may indeed be equally as legitimate paths to pursue as part of the family and business field of research. Before expanding on this argument further, the implied line of justification tying economic impact to issues of performance to agency theory based investigations should be reflected upon first. Consequences, usually of the financial kind, are generally considered by these studies through assessments of stock performance and similar measures (Faccio and Lang, 2002; Morck et al., 2005; Villalonga and Amit, 2006). Whilst broad differentiations between non-family and family are made, phenomena that may set these apart cannot be usefully dealt with by proposing a transition to business modernity. Family influences in the everyday and beyond are difficult to discern. Organisational development should not be separated from the diverse roles a family and its members may play in particular cultural settings (e.g. Colli et al., 2003; James, 2006). An emphasis implied throughout this thesis by referring to issues of family and business. Before attention is turned to a conceptual framework that incorporates such an understanding, its relationship with existing studies is developed by expanding on the usefulness of existing research as briefly mentioned above.

On the prevalence and consequences of business oriented approaches: agency costs, stewardship theory and the resource based view

Contributors have to an increasing extent analysed the relative merits of family and business (Bird et al., 2002; Debicki et al., 2009; Stewart and Miner, 2011; Payne, 2018). Insights have been most influentially shaped by research drawing on disciplines of economic and, to an extent, organisational theory (Chrisman et al., 2010). In their review of dominant perspectives, Siebels and zu Knyphausen-

Aufseß (2012) suggest that predominant approaches have not done adequate justice to the complexities of work-related family involvement. Whilst a deeper appreciation of the family itself has been called for (Litz, 1997; Dyer, 2003; Dyer and Dyer, 2009), there is a continuing adoption of business-oriented assumptions in family and business research (James et al., 2012). To convincingly claim the present direction as implied by the research question is a contribution worthwhile to pursue, the intellectual effort beyond these studies—one the field is arguably "ripe for", as will become clear—is now considered (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010, p. 200).

Of those who have made reference to the general state of the family and business literature (Bird et al., 2002; Zahra and Sharma, 2004; Sharma, 2004; Chrisman, Chua and Sharma, 2005; Debicki et al., 2009; Moores, 2009; Chrisman et al., 2010; Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010; Wright and Kellermanns, 2011; DeMassis et al., 2012; Salvato and Aldrich, 2012; Siebels and zu Knyphausen-Aufseß, 2012; Carney et al., 2013), many did so to place attention on previously inconspicuous lines of research, although it is clear that three are more ubiquitous than most. Agency theory, stewardship theory and the resource based view continue to theoretically frame the majority of family and business related phenomena studied. Rooted in assumptions summarised in Table 2 are the prevalent lines of research now dealt with (see Table 1).

This selection of articles is not to suggest that nothing of significance has been offered since. It is offered to further demonstrate the established theoretical frames around which dominant—and contemporary—family and business research themes can be organised. As a point of reference, these foundational articles and their theoretical bases shortly turned to continue to influence the field as a whole (Xi et al., 2015). Research beyond these perspectives and emerging themes of use to the arguments made in this thesis are revisited in subsequent sections. Noteworthy inroads are, for instance, made within studies dealing with succession which are also dealt with. At this point, emphasis is placed on the prevalence of business-oriented views and context of what was referred to as dominant.

Frequently cited article	Theory base	Brief summary
Schulze, Lubatkin, Dino, and Buchholtz (2001)	Agency theory	Extending the work of Jensen and Meckling (1976), the authors produce insights into the owner-manager and performance relationship. Ownership structures in privately held and family managed businesses, they argue, engender various agency issues related to altruism, self-discipline and market failures.
Chua, Chrisman, and Sharma (1999)	Theory of the family firm	Authors show components of family involvement to be 'weak predictors' of a firm's succession or professionalisation objectives. Vision, intentions and general behaviour are reviewed and introduced as better sources to discern family firms from non-family firms.
Jensen and Meckling (1976)	Agency theory	Key article on agency theory, see Table 2.

Habbershon and Williams (1999)	Resource based view	Closely related to Barney (1991), the authors define a family firm's unique bundle of resources and capabilities as its 'familiness'. In a unified systems approach, the latter is described as the source of family businesses' competitive advantage and potential outperformance.
Habbershon, Williams, and MacMillan (2003)	Resource based view	The family business is conceptualised as a meta-system. Interrelated actions among the sub-systems—the family unit, business entity, and individual family members—give rise a unique pool of capabilities. This 'f-factor', it is argued, can better explain the relationship between internal dynamics and firm performance.
Anderson and Reeb (2003)	Agency theory	Analysing the S&P 500, the authors find that family ownership is prevalent and related to superior performance. The authors relate this to reduced agency problems in public, family-owned firms.
Gómez-Mejía, Núñez-Nickel, and Gutierrez (2001)	Agency theory	Authors examine connections between firm performance, CEO tenure, CEO dismissal and CEO family association. As a result of executive 'entrenchment', family contracting relates to increased agency costs.
Sharma, Chrisman and Chua (1997)	Strategic management	Arranging existing theoretical and management practice in a strategic management framework, the authors offer directions for future research. Their suggestions relate to solutions to and (performance) outcomes of family problems, trade-offs related to family and business agendas, examples of effective management.
Sirmon and Hitt (2003)	Resource based view	Critically review the significance of (human) resources and capabilities for family firms.
Fama and Jensen (1983)	Agency theory	Key article on agency theory, see Table 2.
Astrachan, Klein, and Smyrnios (2002)	N.a.	In proposing a standardised assessment of a family's influence of a firm, the authors present an analytical approach to examine family power, culture, and experience in a business.
Sharma (2004)	N.a.	Literature is reviewed through four levels of analysis: individual, group, organisational and community. In discussing definitional issues, scope, and uniqueness of the field, the authors present general directions and offer guiding research questions.
Aldrich and Cliff (2003)	Sociology	The analysis of new venture creation (entrepreneurship) would benefit from including a family dimension, the authors argue. They propose the 'embeddedness perspective' to study changes in family composition, family roles, and family relationships and their consequences.
Kets de Vries (1993)	N.a. (psychoanalysis)	Positive and negative consequences of family control are reviewed. Advantages including long term orientation, resilience and intimate knowledge are contrasted with disadvantages such as nepotism, 'internecine strife', 'spoiled kid syndrome', and 'succession dramas'.
Chrisman, Chua, and Litz (2004)	Agency theory	Authors review the different features of agency costs. Findings suggest family involvement to relate to a decrease in agency problems. There appears to be a net agency advantage among small, privately held family businesses.
La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, and Shleifer (1999)	Agency theory	Upon reviewing ownership data of the largest corporations in the 27 richest economics, the authors find that few businesses are widely held in countries without strong shareholder protection

		(USA). Power of these 'block owners' is exerted though pyramidal ownership and management involvement.
Schulze, Lubatkin, and Dino (2003a)	Agency theory	By relating dynamics of debt to family ownership, the authors show that that family firm debt declines when the stock owned by loss-averse, consumption oriented family members increases. With a diluted ownership structure (cousin-consortia etc.), profiles begin to resemble models of institutional investment.
Tagiuri and Davis (1992)	Organisational theory/sociology	Authors empirically derive six sets of goals in family firms and examine the consequences of their provision and communication. Many goals are noneconomic in nature and no more than eight percent of respondents agree on a most important one, illustrating the unique challenges of conflict.
Chrisman, Chua, and Sharma (2005)	Resource based view/agency theory (strategic management)	Authors take stock of the literature, particularly relating to agency theory and the resource based view. Whilst the former has promoted studies of 'altruism' and 'entrenchment', the latter, it is argued, needs refining to better understand unique competitive advantages. As a response to continuing ambiguities, different approaches to defining family firms are reviewed.
Morck, Shleifer, and Vishny (1988)	Agency theory	Through data on Fortune 500 firms, authors compare the view of reduced agency cost due to converging interests in family firms to concepts of entrenchment. Performance changes according to levels of ownership. Family management is found to have a negative (positive) relationship with performance in older (younger) firms.
Schulze, Lubatkin, and Dino (2003b)	Agency theory	On the basis of (dis)continued family ownership and (un)known intentions of the principal shareholder, authors model the relationship between pay incentives and firm performance. Findings suggest the influence of paying incentives when the anticipated retirement of the CEO is known and imminent.
Barney (1991)	Resource based view	Key article on the resource based view, see Table 2.
Morck and Yeung (2003)	Agency theory	Authors show that concentrated ownership must not necessarily eliminate agency problems in family firms. The opposite may be the case, thereby creating agency issues including entrenchment and 'tunnelling'.
Cabrera-Suárez, Saá-Pérez, and Garcia-Almeida (2001)	Resource based view (knowledge based view)	Authors present the option and contextual capability of transferring embedded tacit knowledge ('familiness') across generations as the defining characteristic of family firms and source of competitive advantage. Several preconditions for a successful generational transition are offered.
Carney (2005)	Agency theory	Family firms, it is argued, derive their competitive advantage from their governance systems (managerial, alliance, and family). Depending on environmental factors, the unification of ownership and control can take three forms: parsimony, personalism, or particularism.

Table 1: Theory base and summary of most citied articles
the family business field developed from Chrisman et al. (2010)

Emphasis was already placed on the significantly large number of studies addressing family-related issues of governance (e.g. Debicki et al., 2009). Amongst those drawing upon agency theory

(Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Fama and Jensen, 1983), asymmetric information levels and related categories of involvement including, for instance, owners, managers and family are a central focus. Born out imperfect self-control, Schulze et al. (2001) prominently suggest, altruistic proclivities of managing family and non-family owners are likely to be concomitant with increasing agency costs. Free riding, biased evaluations and a tolerance of contractual breaches are regarded as amongst the sources of what is referred to as dysfunctional behaviour (Schulze et al. 2001). Gomez-Mejia et al. (2001), in a similar vein, develop the notion of entrenchment to assess a particular dominance of individual wealth maximisation among family controlled firms (see also Morck et al., 1988). With the significance of economic utility taken as axiomatic and the unification of ownership and control as a key theme, this strand of the literature, appears to organise the study of family participation around the question of whether it is good or bad for business, thus ignoring issues from beyond the marketplace (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2001; Schulze et al. 2001; Schulze, et al. 2002, 2003; Hendry, 2002; Morck and Young, 2003; Chrisman et al., 2004; Carney, 2005; Lubatkin et al., 2005; Morck et al, 2005; Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2006; Le Breton-Miller et al., 2011; Miller et al., 2013).

Conceived to cast off limiting assumptions of the "self-serving economic man" (Donaldson and Davis, 1991; Davis, Schoorman and Donaldson, 1997, p. 28), stewardship theory, from its psycho-social roots, analyses the subsumption of individual in collective—organisational—interests. Calling for a more fine-grained analysis of family firm performance, Corbetta and Salvato (2004) propose to complement business-oriented models with such self-actualising behaviour. Acknowledging a potentially strong socio-emotional aspect as part of the involvement of a family in its business (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2007), family management has been associated with a long-term commitment to the prosperity of the company or immediate kin. Whilst latter arguments resemble those made about altruism and entrenchment, a broader responsibility for the firm and its contributors sets apart stewardship related findings (Eddleston, 2008; Miller, Le Breton-Miller, and Scholnick, 2008; Le Breton-Miller and Miller, 2009; Davis et al., 2010; Le Breton-Miller et al., 2011). Yet the original impulses to better understand the situational "complexities of organisational life", as Davis et al. (1997, p. 20) put it are subsumed under an agency-theory like concern to distinguish between noneconomic and economic goals. To capture what actually drives family firm performance reappears as a central concern (Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2006; Eddleston and Kellermanns, 2007; Zahra et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2013; Chrisman, Memili, and Misra, 2013; Naldi et al., 2015).

The resource based view (RBV) of the firm attributes the ability to outperform competitors to a configuration of particular resources, including the family (Penrose, 1959; Rumelt, 1984; Wernerfelt, 1984; Barney, 1991). When these are strategically implemented, a sustained competitive advantage may be achieved (Barney, 1991). Turning to the performance capabilities of family firms, Habbershon and Williams (1999, p. 11; Habbershon, Williams, and MacMillan, 2003) identify interactions amongst the family, its members and the business entity, bringing to mind abstract categories of involvement mentioned earlier. This unique bundle of resources is proposed as the so-

called familiness of a firm. Extending their work, Sirmon and Hitt (2003) explore how businesses can create wealth by distinctively managing certain resources. Acknowledging that family can bring to bear something on the resources of a firm that others cannot, studies utilising RBV are second only to agency theory related approaches in their exclusive focus on factors which influence efficient forms of organisation and performance (Nordqvist, 2005; Arregle et al., 2007; Eddleston et al., 2008; Minichilli, et al., 2010; Zellweger et al., 2010; Carnes and Ireland, 2013).

	Agency theory	*Stewardship theory*	*Resource based view*
Core assumptions	• Economically rational and self-interested agents attempt to maximise their utility	• Economically rational and self-interest agents whose personal utility is linked to the welfare of another's attempt to maximise it	• Economic returns of firms are related to their resources.
Brief summary	• Two parties of a contract, the agent and the principal, are 'asymmetrically' informed. Because both the principal and the agent will behave in their respective interests, when ownership and control are separated, for example, conflicting interests give rise to problems of 'adverse selection' and 'moral hazard'. To prevent these and to minimize economic damage, measures are put into place that, in turn, incur 'agency costs'.	• Developed to investigate low-agency cost situations where agents align their interest with that of their principal. These agents or 'stewards' gain more utility from, for example, pro-organisational behaviour than from self-oriented behaviour.	• A firm's 'sustainable competitive advantage' lies in the application of a bundle of tangible and intangible resources that are characterised as 'valuable, rare, inimitable and non-substitutable'.
Key articles	• Jensen and Meckling (1976); Fama and Jensen, (1983)	• Donaldson and Davis, (1991); Davis et al. (1997a); Davis et al. (1997b).	• Penrose (1959); Barney (1991); Teece et al. (1997)

Table 2: Summary of prevalent theories in family firm literature

A pervading enthusiasm for economic issues becomes apparent when looking at above writings as a whole (Holderness and Sheehan, 1988; McConaughy et al., 1998; La Porta et al., 1999; Claessens et al., 2002; Anderson and Reep, 2003; Cronqvist and Nilsson, 2003; Lee, 2006; Maury, 2006; Villalonga and Amit, 2006; Bennedsen et al., 2007; Bloom and Van Reenen, 2007; Miller at al., 2007;

Sraer and Thesmar, 2007; Sharma and Carney, 2012; Carney et al., 2014; Van Essen et al., 2015). Capturing the link between family ownership, management and financial performance is understood to resemble what Carney et al. (2013, p. 533) refer to as a "search for the Holy Grail" in the field. But the usefulness of this quest is questioned. Chrisman et al. (2005, p. 535) note the "limited utility" a business-oriented focus may hold for family members involved in operating a business. The inability of the writings the authors draw on to inform issues of the everyday becomes apparent their call to pay closer attention to so-called noneconomic issues, "whatever they may be" (Chrisman et al., 2005, p. 525). A step in this direction has arguably been taken by scholars associated with the socio-emotional wealth theory. As this is expanded on briefly, the limited usefulness of the theory to deal with questions such as the one raised within the current thesis, questions raised from beyond the marketplace will become apparent.

Of those dominant or foundational theoretical points of reference reviewed in this chapter, the following is arguably the most recent addition (Xi et al., 2015, p. 120). Rooted in agency theory (Wiseman and Gomez-Mejia, 1998), Gomez-Mejia et al. (2007) extend noneconomic benefits to so-called socioemotional wealth (SEW) or affective endowments. Fundamental to this argument is the appreciation of certain family-related predispositions through which the pursuit of either economic or noneconomic goals can be understood (Berrone et al., 2012). Dominant family members transcend financial objectives in situations wherein SEW endowments are put at risk of termination. What can be summarised as forms of control they ultimately wish to maintain include personal and unrestricted authority, influence and status (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2007). The approach thus points to reasons other than—and arguably in conflict with—economic objectives which may render the incurrence of financial losses acceptable in certain situations. These can include, for instance, the appointment of a less than fully qualified family member or similar effort to secure a family related benefit depending on its particular endowment. Bringing to mind above notions of entrenchment and altruism, it is an attempt to further account for dysfunctional behaviour associated with family involvement. Incorporating the economic and noneconomic—family, in effect—dichotomy, SEW theory proposes situations wherein one is chosen over the other. This fit it retains with agency theory is arguably amongst the reasons for its frequent adoption (Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2014). But despite the business emphasis dominant in its conceptualisation of human behaviour, the approach developed a research interest in nonpecuniary aspects of family involvement and the desire to open-up what was is referred to as noneconomic or even harmfully noneconomic (Kets de Vries, 1993; Morck et al., 2005; Rau and Kellermanns, 2008), if only to account for agency costs more accurately (Chrisman et al., 2005).

Conceptual depth over generalisability? The need to understand social (workplace) realities through more realistic and context sensitive assumptions

Existing knowledge on agents, stewards and resource managers in varying competitive contexts that seek answers to questions including 'what and how can a business outperform others?' cannot be ignored, nor should it. Yet is not adequate to usefully inform a study of family *and* business—an emphasis made throughout this thesis—when drawn on exclusively. As a basis for understanding, research should privilege how real people go about their day-to-day work if more realistic and context sensitive assumptions are to be offered. The utility of "either-or scenario[s]" of economic or family rationalities accounting for alternating forms of behaviour may indeed be questioned against this reference (Sharma, 2004, p. 4). Of those interested in the study of small firms, a group of scholars has given rise to a research tradition beyond the contemporary focus that would pass this test. Although seldom referred to by studies of the kind reviewed above, this research places the notion of family in business alongside the complex nature of workplace activities in a particular context (Ram and Holliday, 1993; Ram, 1994). Fletcher (2002, p. 4), for instance, recognises the array of situations family members may influence on a daily basis: "product, market, employee, growth, marketing, training […]". Following their respective immersions in small family managed companies, Ram and Holiday (1993, p. 646) see these and other activities as illustrative of the "complex, contested, and contradictory nature of social relations at work". The present thesis builds on this study of workplace related issues and places related insights alongside broader phenomena which will become further apparent as these writings are drawn on as part of the analysis in a subsequent chapter.

The recognition of context these studies share is not altogether absent from writings associated with theoretical perspectives discussed above, be it only to argue that just when a family is of economic value is entirely situational. Legal regimes (Morck et al., 2005; Gedajlovic et al., 2012), national contexts (Sauerwald and Peng, 2013; Sharma and Chua, 2013; Carney, Gedajlovic, and Strike, 2014), temporal factors (Kellermanns, Eddleston and Zellweger, 2012), and industry standards (Naldi et al., 2013; Cruz et al., 2014) have been made part of the search for a more accurate measurement of family operated business performance (Wright et al., 2014). Without reference to the literature on small family-operated firms, authors have similarly come to reflect on this business emphasis and bounded appreciation of context that may be associated with it (James et al., 2012). The family embeddedness concept, for instance, grounds business decisions in a family system (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Le Breton-Miller, Miller and Lester, 2011) which, it is argued more generally, should not be treated as a "black box" (Creed, 2000, p. 346) but a social domain (Stewart, 2003; Stewart and Miner, 2011; Dalpiaz, Tracey and Phillips, 2014). It may even be useful, it is argued further, to place family related issues in an institutional framework (Nordqvist and Melin, 2002; Miller, Le Breton-Miller and Lester, 2011; Jaskiewicz et al., 2015). Only reluctantly, it appears, is this form of analysis developed. Few propose concepts that bring into a relationship aspects outside individual action with

immediate situations of interest that may give rise to them. An argument worthwhile to pursue and expanded on when the analytical approach of this thesis is specifically turned to below. At this point, it is important to note that within contributions which arguably imply a related awareness of context, perspectives are predisposed to view behaviour in "afamilial terms" (Litz, 1997, p. 67). Dominant frames are not reflected upon.

"How could they?" is the question Stewart and Hitt (2010) put forth in light of the above. The authors find a prevailing preference for generalisability over contextual depth, even amongst those studies that call for more rigorous appreciation of context. Should this be changed, they argue, topics including historical developments (Church, 1993) and societal factors (Jones, 2005) have to receive more attention. Particularly when sense is to be made of, as is done in the present thesis, the "subtle realities" given rise to by family and business management (Stewart and Hitt, 2010, p. 265). That is, when going beyond the noneconomic to address how things work, it is useful to apply frames of reference more encompassing than what is suggested by work interested in performance implications. It would be unhelpful to ignore this insight shared with small firm research when studying larger ones. Observed minutiae of family and business interplay should be brought together with the social structures within which they are embedded. Kets de Vries (1993), Aldrich and Cliff (2003), Stewart (2003), Steier (2009), Schulze and Gedajlovic (2010), Miller et al. (2011) and Wright et al. (2014) have addressed—or implied the need to address—the importance of context when studying issues of family and business. But not many have followed the tradition of Ram (1994), for instance, and carried out research that emphasises what is otherwise understood as natural and taken for granted aspects of mundane work life within such firms. Research that, as Baumann and May (2001, p. 11) put it, is open to "sociological thinking".

To establish the usefulness of turning to such issues in the present thesis with its key research question of 'what are the day-to-day processes occurring in organisations with a significant family dimension?', literature relevant to the study of family and business has been reviewed. What becomes apparent is an uneven development of the subject. Performance related concerns have been researched extensively, as has the economic utility of the family as a resource. What remains a serious omission is an approach that makes use of organisational and management theory in such a way which makes its very selection about questions of family and business. Questions of inherently social nature, the argument is made, broader than any isolated concern with economic benefit whilst, at the same time, sufficiently detailed to be of help to those whose kind of a setting they address. The case is therefore made for an analytical concern with the relationship between broader societal arrangements and possibly patterned activities occurring in quotidian situations of work and beyond, as previously alluded to. The insight of Schulze and Gedajlovic (2010) is shared and seen as a response to the question raised earlier by Stewart and Hitt (2010): How could they? They could, as the authors put it, if more "realistic, context sensitive, and fewer facile assumptions" (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010, p. 201) are put forth that allow for the contextual depth required. Part of the contribution of this thesis

thus lies with its attempt to address this omission and open the field up to approaches able to helpfully deal with questions such as the one raised within this research.

To do so, the varying, complex, and conflicting nature of social actions of the kind Ram (1994) sees emerging from deep field immersion is raised to the "cultural whole" of which they can be seen to be a part (Bazanger and Dodier, 2004, p. 13). It will become clear in the subsequent chapter how this theorisation of both workplace issues and broader phenomena, as it was put above, is facilitated most helpfully by an institutional focus of analysis. As the particular usefulness of the institutional logic notion to the present research is demonstrated in that chapter, family and business research drawing on related forms of theorisation are addressed at this point. Miller et al. (2011), for instance, see institutional logics as a means to make up for the limited ability of agency theory to distinguish between social contexts of family managed businesses. An argument that would be concurred with, were the interest in economic performance not its impetus. As a transition, more broadly, the following review of such studies is helpful to establish the theoretical contribution turned to next.

Institutional forms of analysis in family and business research

On social context the following argument is made. Owners whose setting allows for family influence are guided in their behaviour by what Miller et al. (2011, p. 3) refer to as a "family logic". Agency theory related altruistic capacities are made part of this orientation of "nurturing, generativity, and loyalty to the family", which, in turn, can give rise to a performance limiting "conservation strategy" (Miller et al., 2011, p. 4). If family constituents remain absent from a context, owner behaviour will be underpinned by an "entrepreneurial logic" that "prizes growth in share price, wealth accumulation, keen competition, and committing investment capital" (Miller et al., 2011). It is difficult to see how the stated commitment of studying the relationship between societal logics and individual action is followed up with. Instead, institutional logics appear to serve as the conceptual means to tie agency costs to a group of individuals on the basis of their kinship ties. The intention to go beyond the reductive conceptions of actors through the introduction of an institutionally defined social context is a useful one, but questions remain if their arguments demonstrate the "realistic, context sensitive, and [non-]facile" assumptions Schulze and Gedajlovic (2010, p. 201) were cited to call for above. As Miller et al. (2011, p. 22) themselves admit, they predict and quantify social behaviour despite the "inability to discern the micro-processes that cause contexts to mould role identities and logics". How could these renditions of family and/or entrepreneurship norms then be more insightful than noneconomic and economic goals appraised above?

Headway in this regard is made by Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) through their inclusion of empirical material obtained in the field. In their study of succession phases in family owned and

managed businesses, the authors study how the influence of a "family logic" and a "commercial logic" can be managed and, based on their 21 case studies, theorise four different approaches of doing so (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 791). Corresponding to the framing of Miller et al., (2011), a family logic, as it is argued, encompasses "family norms, values, and goals, that guide behaviour" whereas a commercial logic refers to "norms, values, and goals of efficiency, profits, and market status that guide behaviour" (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 791). Despite the detailed material available, the authors sideline the significance of context by formulating these in the abstract. The German wine industry is established as "an appropriate setting to study how family firms respond to logics", but a correspondence between the meaning carried by the term family in this setting and, for instance, the one covered by Miller et al. (2011) is simply assumed. Without clarifying, grounding, in effect, the relationship between a social setting and the family institution, for example, the extent to which structural concerns help to understand the complexities of organising work remains unclear. Building on the reflection of Miller et al. (2011), micro-processes are in fact discerned in this case, but without demonstrating how these are contextually grounded. Still, even though historical developments and institutions are kept apart analytically, the authors usefully draw on their material to suggest how family and commerce logics are presently understood and dealt with.

Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) show how the interplay of conflicting logics can be used to account for various forms of behaviour relating to, given the focus of their study, periods of succession in family owned businesses. Based on their interviews, the authors theorise how levels of conviction for understandings related to a commerce logic can lead to one of four succession possibilities: from a "commerce approach", where a commerce theme featured dominantly at the expense of concerns for family unity and continuity, over a "selective approach" that allows for the latter within the bounds of economic utility to an "interwoven approach" that fully integrates competing understandings. The "detached approach", in contrast, shows how inter-generational barriers prevent such agreements (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 505-508). Context yet again does not feature in their version of tension with logics of family and commerce taken for granted as opposing forces. Forces, the authors write, that can be managed, and "filter[ed] out" if a particular form of culture is opted for (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 510). It appears that what could have been helpful categories of family related action are reduced to choice options.

A concern for culture may indeed hold much explanatory value in the study of family and business, it was argued above. Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) acknowledge its potential to shed light on puzzling situations through communication and interaction as forms of social construction. Paradoxically, they keep in the abstract what would, given this view, have strong ties with the realities they researched. The utility of "cohesive" or "conflict-laden" culture of the family as alternating forms of behaviour may indeed be questioned, as can the related choice to ignore available processes of historic development of social interaction that could have facilitated a broader understanding of practices and their meanings (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 505). Would it not be more useful to learn

how these have shaped a willingness to forgo a "return on investment […] in [one] generation" so a business can "support the entire family in the next", or prioritising that a relative "does not get a cent" when the firm is sold (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 506, 507)? Recalling the insight of Stewart and Hitt (2010) referenced earlier, this would require a prioritising of contextual depth over generalisability. A choice that perhaps runs contrary to the instrumentalist informed intention to develop "approaches that family firms can use to manage the process of succession" (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016, p. 489). Still, if future research, as the authors themselves propose, should test the applicability of their findings in settings beyond that of their work, concepts must be grounded more firmly in the context they reviewed.

Reay, Jaszkiewicz and Hinings (2015) are more explicit about the ability of institutional analysis to incorporate situational contingency as implied in above studies of economic performance (Cennamo, et al., 2012; Naldi et al., 2013). Like Jaszskiwicz et al. (2016), logics are seen as a set of socially constructed symbols and practices useful for the study of decision making processes in businesses particularly when, the authors emphasise, context is brought to the forefront of analysis (Reay et al., 2015, p. 295). A group of Canadian wineries—reminiscent of what has been offered previously—is therefore conceptualised as an institutional field. Postponing a review of the latter until the subsequent chapter, within this setting, Reay et al., (2015) study the interplay of a group of field level logics they derived from the collected material. Depending on their type, firms are seen as variably influenced by these family, market and community pressures. "Traditional family-owned wineries", the argument goes, show moderately strong levels of influence across all logics, whereas "lifestyle family-owned wineries" are associated with strong, medium and weak levels of family, market and community logics, respectively (Reay et al., 2015, p. 301). The authors helpfully organise patterned business choices around particular "rules of the game" (Reay et al., 2015, p. 292) that make apparent their respective family or market forms of organising.

The authors ground a particular set of logics by theorising how these have given shape to three categories and related behaviour of firms within an institutional setting they study. And although the interviews Reay et al. (2015, p. 309) conducted with one member of each firm cannot be drawn on to "distinguish intra-family differences", their focus on context offers an appreciation of actors both abiding by and changing sets of rules they are exposed to. Constituents of lifestyle family-owned wineries, for instance, are shown to actively lobby for a legislative effort to support their way of organising. This ability of individuals to create institutionalised understandings, Reay et al. (2015) argue, underpins the taken for granted co-existence of contrasting firm types in that particular setting. Curbing the usefulness of this implied awareness of agency and structure, it will become clearer shortly, is the reduction of an institutional field to its present day interactions as observed by the authors. Attention must therefore be placed, again, on the implications associated with utilising the institutional logic literature and, in particular, the notion of an institutional logic to avoid conceptually engaging with "often confusing empirical situations" as is, perhaps, made most explicit here

(Thornton et al., 2012, as quoted in Reay et al., 2015, p. 300). That is, even though the authors set out to learn about a particular field, its established customs are divorced from their conceptual framework.

Similar to Miller et al. (2011), the appraisal of Reay et al. (2015) of culturally contingent understandings is not made part of their formulation of a family logic. Bringing to bear on a detailed setting such an abstract concept makes it difficult to learn how symbols and practices associated with the family vary, for instance, from those suggested by Miller et al. (2011) or Jazskiewicz et al. (2016). Reay et al. (2015) show how past action can give rise to established forms of organising. Following through with this insight, it would, perhaps, be more helpful to begin by offering institutional notions beyond their ideal form. Continuing with the example of the family, this implies a shift away from general, cross-context values to potentially inconsistent but embedded logics. Notions of the family that may render more clear the expectations of a family whose father has founded a business in the US (Miller et al., 2011), the non-traditional aspect of passing a German winery to a second-born daughter (Jaszkiewicz, et al., 2016), or, in the study just reviewed, the marriage "romance" associated with couples pursing winemaking in particular region in Canada (Reay et al., 2015, p. 298). By letting these conceptual ties feature more prominently in the formulation of a family logic, more can be learned about the commitments "to the benefit of the family" (Reay et al., 2015, p. 294) in one setting, compared to the "family norms, values, and goals" (Jaszkiewicz, 2016, p. 289) guiding behaviour in another.

Parallel to this insight Greenwood et al. (2010, p. 535) write about institutional fields as a concept that may have become "divorced from the socio-political community […]". Behaviour is distinctively salient, they argue, depending on what has come to pass historically. Their study is particularly useful to consider at this point: it marks a transition from establishing to overcoming the limited usefulness of institutional analysis in family and business studies. Greenwood et al. (2010) valuably place knowledge related to the field of family and business into a review of institutional writings on the subject of the family more broadly. Consistent with what has been argued above, the authors emphasise that generalised concepts such as an institutional logic, when formulated to learn about a particular context, should provide the grounds for comparative historical analysis. Considering ways of human resource management and social responsibility in Spain, the authors point to culturally contingent approaches and appropriate historical lineage in concepts required (Greenwood et al., 2010, p. 353). Going beyond the abstraction they problematise, the authors produce a family logic that is specific to, and thus embedded in, the particular setting they study. Religious values, particularly those related to Catholicism, have promoted a view of the family as the prime unity of society. Spanish people, the authors demonstrate, remain strongly committed to these understandings of "family obligation and denial of self-interest" (Greenwood et al., 2010, p. 523). From this Greenwood et al. (2010) depart conceptually to demonstrate how an interplay with embedded logics of the market and community can make sense of patterned decisions for and against downsizing in small firms over the period of time they address. And although the authors are limited

by their database material in the sense that little is offered on how individuals within the firms they study cope with the "institutional complexity" Greenwood et al. (2010, p. 522) theorise about, their work makes a valuable argument for historically grounded research of the institutional kind.

Chapter 3 – Institutional logics and the intricacies of work related family involvement

This chapter develops a conceptual framework centred on the concept of institutional logics relevant to family and business phenomena. When dealing with daily activities and routines of a firm influenced by family, the realities of people at work should be privileged as a matter to be understood. The suitability of institutional forms of analysis to do so, as argued for in the preceding chapter, is thus elaborated on and co-existing and potentially conflicting institutional logics are offered. Reflecting on established approaches predisposed to view behaviour in abstract and "afamilial" terms (Litz, 1997, p. 67), the logics of the German nation state, modern market capitalism, modern bureaucratic management, rural Catholicism and the family are identified as more encompassing frames of analysis; frames able to treat the social intricacies of family and business in adequate detail. In contrast to the concern of existing institutional writings with individuals as theoretical extensions, the concept of institutions is developed to address issues people are confronted with as cultured beings leading cultured lives (Watson, 2010). Hence in contrast to the predominant focus on societal and field level phenomena, there is a need for a local social grounding. By offering the latter through the concept of a societal context, the present study is inspired by the writings of Mead (1934), Hughes (1936) and Becker (1963). The following chapter goes on to outline how the research took shape and how the term reality is understood and informs the creation of concepts now turned to.

The unnecessarily estranged conceptual relationship between people and institutions

Although the strength of an ethnographic piece of research lies, in part, with its ability to combine the two, the conceptual line of research is developed here before its interplay with empirical material can be expanded on in subsequent chapters. Given the dominant emphasis on concepts including institutional fields, for instance, there is a relatively small stream of research drawing on institutional logics, as Davis (2015, p. 321) notes, to pursue "phenomena in the world worth explaining". The underlying criteria for this claim and the Pragmatist roots from which related arguments are developed are examined in Chapter 4. Having previously established the usefulness of the present undertaking, a relevant strand of the institutional literature is brought forth in the knowledge that, as Glucksmann (2000, p. 16) so helpfully puts it,

> "actual instances of work could never be 'case studies' or 'proofs' of the conceptual framework anymore than the framework could have been formulated purely in the abstract."

Reiterating the above theme of a particular conversation in the field of family and business worth adding to, on institutional writings, Perrow (1986) remarks, they are most useful to understand social issues within organisations. Influenced by major sociological text and prominently linked to the

organisation as an area of study (see Scott, 2001; Hinings and Tolbert, 2008), early—or 'old'—institutional analysis is rooted in a desire to understand how people organise and do things together (Barley, 2008). Originally, works of those who are now acknowledged as key contributors to the 'neo' or 'new' institutional cause ran parallel to this interest in social context and action (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977, 1987). More recently, however, institutional research advocated an exogenous focus on structuralism and placed emphasis on homogeneity, fields and decoupling at the expense of notions including legitimacy and taken-for-grantedness, as implied in the previous chapter (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, Scott and Meyer, 1994; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; Deephouse and Suchman, 2008; Wooten and Hoffman, 2008, Suddaby, 2010). As a consequence of the initial disinterest in what has since been referred to as the "microfoundations of institutional theory" (Powell and Colyvas, 2008, p. 276), neo-institutionalism finds itself grappling with a concern pointedly raised by Hallett and Ventresca (2006, p. 215): 'what should be done with the people?' Inviting, in turn, the more pertinent question for the present study of whether contemporary institutional writings can serve the purpose of generating valuable insights into issues people face as they go about their daily work lives? To anticipate what follows: they can.

Distinctions between old 'micro' and new 'macro' perspectives, as some institutionalists, too, have come to argue, need reconciliation (Barley, 2008; Hinings and Tolbert, 2008). Fundamental to this assertion is Friedland and Alford's (1991) turn—or, rather, return—to individual and organised behaviour as simultaneously sensed and acted upon, that is, institutionalised and institutionalising. Without social action, societal patterns cannot be understood and, vice versa, broader concepts are required to make sense of individual action. But "theoretical tools" sensitive to this interplay are noticeable for their absence in writings associated with neo-institutionalism (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 244). This appreciation as well as the proposed answer of societal orders and institutional logics across levels of analysis has become a dominant theme in contemporary institutionalist research (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). Ironically, despite Friedland and Alford's (1991) frequently cited work being titled 'bringing society back in', recent advances of this debate continuously call for a reemphasis on the distinctiveness of institutions (Meyer and Höllerer, 2014) or heterogeneity of formal organisations (Greenwood et al., 2014). Few call for a reemphasis on patterned actions and relations within defined social contexts. Amongst those who incorporate increased attention to, as Powell and Colyvas (2008, p. 277) write, "everyday processes" over "momentous events", many prioritise the creation of 'theoretical tools' over dealing with more realistic inconsistences people are confronted with. Cases in point are studies wherein it is difficult to discern the conceptual means of understanding particularly interesting phenomena from the ends of what the authors set out to do (Dancin et al., 2010, McPherson and Sauder, 2013).

The notions of institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009) and institutional entrepreneurship (Garud et al., 2002; Dorado, 2005; Battilana, 2006; Hardy and Maguire, 2008) have proven useful in pointing out the need to shift prominence to issues of agency and open up

institutional dynamics whilst issues impeding the suitability to the present thesis remain. Institutional entrepreneurs, for instance, are generally applied as theoretical extensions to render structures conceptually receptive to agency, not as an approach to study how individuals actually cope in such situations (Leca and Naccache, 2006; Hardy and Maguire, 2008). Writings on institutional work, on the other hand, are rather explicit about the apparent lack of practical relevance of institutional theory (Miner, 2003, as quoted in Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), reminiscent of Davis (2015) cited above. Turning to a sociology of practice, the authors conceptualise "how action and actors affect institutions" (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 7). Their view of "higher order social collectives [as] accomplishments of their members, socially constructed and discursively maintained" (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, p. 248) as well as reference to local contexts is understood in the present thesis as supporting Barely's (2008) argument that neo-institutionalism could have spared much theoretical refinement had its suitability to study issues of the social kind been remembered.

Drawing specific attention to the sociological origins in which this is rooted, Hallett and Ventresca (2006, p. 213) propose that institutions should be regarded as "inhabited by people and their interactions" if what they see as the people problem is to be overcome. The authors suggest ways of dealing with questions of how people go about their lives through an institutional framework by referring to the works of Hughes, Blumer, Goffman and Giddens. Though what remains almost absent is an appreciation these authors were unequivocal in and the present thesis attempts to further contribute through: interacting people are not an extension to theory, they are its focal point. Turning or, more helpfully, returning to this appreciation would suggest that people do not inhabit institutions. They inhabit reality. And social scientists use the concept of institutions to make sense of people as cultured beings leading cultured lives (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Watson, 2011), with culture referring to the "meaning and practices produced, sustained and altered through interaction" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 221). With this is mind, the development of a framework of co-existing, potentially conflicting institutional logics is turned to.

Developing theoretical tools to study family and business: understanding social phenomena through institutional logics

Friedland and Alford (1991) introduced the concept of institutional logics to address a disregard for social context and the related inability to fully come to terms with individual and organised forms of behaviour. Attention to the societal level concept of institutional order is necessary, they argue, as each of the most important institutions of Western societies—market, state, democracy, family, and religion—is characterised by a central logic (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 248). Amongst their key insights is that in order to make sense of a social reality, a conceptual apparatus must work across levels of analysis—individuals, (formal) organisations and societal institutions—and be open to the

lives of people as lived across multiple and conflicting institutions. Only when an individual's experience of time and space as "worker, voter or lover" can be rendered just as meaningful as her or his role as economic agent, for instance, is society better understood (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 255). Building on this work, Thornton et al. (2012) have since developed the so-called institutional logics perspective. Two insights are particularly helpful. Firstly, their development of an institutional contingent rationale. By dismissing the rational-nonrational dualism, the authors simultaneously dismiss the insulation of organisations from culture and agency. Secondly, Thornton et al. (2012) note the affinity between the argument of Friedland and Alford (1991) and Weber (1978 [1922]) on institutional orders and value-spheres, respectively. Returning to this shortly, there are several reasons why the work of Thornton et al. (2012)—and that which it inspired—is only useful in part to the present thesis.

In line with the definition of

> "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p. 804; see also Thornton et al., 2012),

the concept of institutional logics is a scientifically informed suggestion of how individual or organised behaviour may be interpreted as institutionalised to make better sense of it. Attention must be turned to the implied suggestion of logics taking precedence over phenomena they are based on. The ideal types application of the authors is certainly useful to, as they put it, assist researchers to make sense of the "often confusing empirical situation" and provide an understanding "of the varied processes that shape the observed institutional outcome" (Thornton et al., 2012; p. 52-53). Ideal types are, after all, thought experiments intended to draw out relevant attributes (Whimster, 2004). But the encouragement of Thornton et al. (2012, p. 52) to look for these attributes in general, that is, to look for "instance[s] of concrete evidence of the theory" shifts attention away from the empirical phenomena they should ultimately address. It is this reading of their work that causes Greenwood et al. (2014) and Davis (2015) to respectively question the disproportionate concern for explaining institutional processes and usefulness of organising research around theories. Studies of family and business drawing on institutional writings, as demonstrated above, are a case in point of this critique. As an alternative to starting from an interest in dominant, conflicting, variations or constellations of logics, one should start with "phenomena in the world that are worth explaining", recalling Davis a claim that will be expanded on in Chapter 4 (Davis, 2015, p. 321, see also Greenwood et al., 2014; Meyer and Höllerer),   An institutional logic, in other words, should be developed in such a way which allows for insights to be made about, in the present case, issues of family and business which informed the choice of the analytical concept to begin with. Friedland (2013) can be seen to make a similar argument in his more recent writings.

Thornton and Ocasio (1999; and Lounsbury, 2012) and Friedland et al. (2014), in particular, have remarked on the affinity of the institutional logic concept to the Weberian understanding of social action in modernity. Because individuals are choosing which values to follow in recognition of choices made by others, life orders with their respective value spheres can ultimately only exist in tension and conflict with each other (Whimster, 2004, p. 207; Symonds and Pudsey, 2008). Analysing social phenomena then makes one sensitive to the underlying diversity and tensions beyond a limited number of institutions (Mills 2000[1959]; Bauman and May, 2011). That is, what is otherwise accepted as "natural, inevitable, [and] immutable […]"—in other words, daily 'ways of life'—is appreciated as attempts to cope with unachievable cultural hegemony (Baumann and May, 2011, p. 11). Emphasising the centrality of human actions, Friedland (2013) proposes that institutional logics and their core values, or 'substances', are helpful to make sense of them. Therefore, in contrast to Thornton et al. (2012), he writes,

> "[this form of analysis] does not order social life around culturally contentless solidarities or structures of domination. It does not block agency and variation […] but enables them […]. […] Institutional logics both require and enable a fulsome individuality, requiring individuals to identify with its substance and enact its logic in practice under changing circumstances with uncertain reference […]" (Friedland, 2013, p. 37-39).

An institutional framework can thus help to study the possibly patterned relationships between people, their actions and the broader social phenomena a researcher is exposed to and engages with. It can indicate how a certain structure has become institutionalised through the organised behaviour of people whilst, at the same time, others may choose to creatively vary from customary principles (cf. Giddens, 1984). Institutional language is not, Friedland (2013, p. 38) stresses, a "grammar, [or] a vocabulary". To conceive of it as a governance system would shift attention to those invisible forces or abstract concepts that arguably negate agency. But there is no paradox of embedded agency (cf. Holm, 1995). As Friedland (2013, p. 39) writes, the paradox would be "a dis-embedded agent", bringing to mind the issue of context reviewed above. The present thesis shares the understanding that an institutional logic is "performative" and "helps to produce to which it refers" (Friedland, 2013, p. 38). It is understood as a concept that invariably calls for attention to coexisting institutions—horizontal complexity—across levels of analysis—vertical nestedness (Greenwood et al., 2011). As Mills (2000[1959]) puts it, private troubles must always be placed into the broader context of public issues. But the concept of logics and institutional writings more generally, whilst embracing the call of Friedland and Alford (1991) for different levels of analysis, has become dissociated from troubles of the kind Mills is referring to. Troubles central to making sense of everyday issues in a particular setting as presently attempted.

Pulling together the interest of this thesis with its conceptual stance, with fields as the "central construct of [institutional] analysis" (Wooten and Hoffman, 2008, p. 130), studies of family and

business, it was shown in an earlier chapter, operate at much higher levels than anything private. Of the few which have considered a relationship between institutional logics and issues of family in business, these have mostly been confined to what Friedland and Alford (1991) and Thornton et al. (2012) see as an ideal type of family action or transcend local contexts. This included the inability to discern micro-processes as emphasised by Miller et al. (2011). Deviating from these lines of enquiry, Heimer (1999, p. 62) writes that questions of institutional legitimacy or conflict can be usefully grasped only by "looking at the micro processes by which institutionally based problems and solutions are brought together in a particular setting". To understand decision making processes, she draws on two years of fieldwork in her analysis of competing family, law and medicine logics. While the argument has clearly been made to place the study of family and business into cultural contexts, few, if any besides Heimer (1999), have brought institutional theory to fully bear on the empirically richness offered by a social setting of family and business.

As Hinings and Tolbert (2008, p. 486) write,

"[…] we have little insight into how individuals translate […] problems into a critical consciousness, or into what determines whether such constraints will lead merely to minor adaptations or to complete rejection of institutional patterns."

Clearly, the question of DiMaggio (1988, p. 10) "who has the power to 'legitimate' a structural element?"—raised in recognition of this problem—is as pertinent now is it was two decades ago. It is only in the more local situations that the relevance of institutions becomes directly observable and the inability to deal with agency may be overcome (Collins, 2004; Barley, 2008; Dancin et al., 2010). Hence a much more thorough understanding of the conceptual relationship between institutions and individual actions is needed. As argued above, this interest in what Friedland and Alford (1991) see as the individual level of analysis motivated sociological texts serving as forerunners to neo-institutionalism. But as present a concern for human actions may have been in former institutional work, is has, until recently, almost disappeared from view. Ironically, perhaps, since Friedland and Alford (1991, p. 242) made clear that "context can only be understood through individual consciousness and behaviour", just as "individual action can only be explained in a social context" (see also Mills 2000[1959] above). Given the contemporary predominance of societal and field level studies, any piece of institutionalist writing, if it is to make the most helpful use of the institutional logic concept—indeed, it may be argued, the only use Friedland and Alford (1991) intended—would benefit from recalling the compatibility with, if not need for, a local social grounding. The present study is thus inspired by the writings of Mead (1934), Hughes (1936) and Becker (1963). An appreciation of theorisation as temporally and geographically grounded and inclusive of the broader societal context as an ever-present input to analysis is therefore inherent in the framework now developed.

Institutional framework of competing logics as part of defined social context

The work of Thornton et al. (2012) offers an important point of departure for conceptualising public issues as they may be relevant to particular situations. Their renditions of the societal orders of family, religion, state, market and professions are not universally applicable, nor is their development helpful when confined to the abstract. A logic is performative in the sense that it informs an act relative to other, potentially conflicting logics (Friedland, 2013). Reminiscent of the Weberian understanding of social action, individuals choose which values to follow in the recognition of choices made by others (Whimster, 2004). Social scientists, Mills (2000[1959], p. 9) suggest, should therefore appraise the intersections "of biography and history within society". Introducing empirical material on individual experiences in later chapters, society, or, perhaps more in line with what has been argued above, the socially taken for granted—institutionalised—forms people shape and are shaped by, are presented as a framework of co-existing institutional logics in a particular social context (see Table 4 for a summary and Figure 2 for a graphical rendition). Before this is turned to, it is necessary to clarify the role of social context.

Organising research through theory is not to make research about theory. "Throws of everyday life", as Barley (2008, p. 510) sees them, are made sense of through the concept of an institutional logic. The previously established concern with advancing theory over answering questions (Davis, 2015) has excluded local phenomena from analysis despite the need for groundedness implied by the definition of institutional logics offered in a previous section. Authors, instead, look for contexts wherein predefined notions of a family, for example, appear to be particularly relevant. Bringing to mind those family and business studies that have been reviewed for their institutional approach in the previous chapter, Jazskiewicz et al. (2016, p. 495) write about their context, the German wine industry, as an "appropriate setting to study how family firms respond to logics". Similarly, Siebke and Rau (2015) refer to the tool manufacturing environment in Germany as a mature context worthwhile studying given the presupposed processes of succession. Though important in the way historically grounded processes are emphasised in these studies, contextual concerns do not feature in the conceptual development outside of justifying that it may be adequate to do so in the chosen setting. This level of abstraction brought forth a relative blindness to how the evolution of Draventhal village, for example, affect ways of organisation in local companies. Little is known, as a consequence, about the relationship between a manager going about her work and the setting of which she is a part.

Hence it is useful to shift away from absolute, cross-contextual forms and practices to inconsistent but embedded logics. For this to occur, the richness of local processes—contextual aspects, in effect—must feature as extensively as the knowledge condensed in ideal versions of broader institutions presently does. This is perhaps contrary to an ongoing trend of associating actions with structural arrangements (Edwards and Meliou, 2015). An insight linked to the dominant

emphasis on organisational fields, a concept, that also underpins the necessity for selection as implied in above family and business studies (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Greenwood et al. (2010, p. 535), too, see related lines of analysis as potentially "becom[ing] too abstract and thus divorced from the socio-political community" within which interactions occur. Arguing for institutional complexity—as opposed to dominance—their study demonstrates the usefulness of analysing organisations through logics rooted in local contexts. The authors, for instance, find that many processes and assumptions in Spanish regions are reminiscent of a Catholic influence advocated by certain political regimes (Greenwood et al., 2010). Circumstances relevant to the phenomena of interest are thus brought to the foreground as a means by which to engage with the kind of processes stated in the research question.

The term context is thus used interchangeably with and as part of a concern for circumstances relevant to phenomena of interest. In the absence of an intention to analytically separate individuals from their social setting, the notion of circumstances avoids any such misinterpretation. Attention is directed towards the present-day significance of past events. To overcome the unhelpful separation of a manager going about her work and the broader setting of which she is a part, a view similar to that of Spedale and Watson (2013, p. 4) is developed: institutions are proposed as "within" and "around" people. The use of circumstances—contrary to the use to fields, for instance, as will become clearer in Chapter 5—places emphasis on this interplay. Contextually grounded phenomena may give rise to the assumptions and practices according to which reality is organised at a particular point in time. An argument related to the one Weber ([1922] 1978, p. 907) makes about the community: a relationship between a "territory" and a value system beyond the local economy. Hence for the purpose of understanding how processes unfold in quotidian work life, the treatment of circumstances does not remain a backdrop against which analysis is set. Institutional logics of the kind shortly considered are developed accordingly. Whilst these may or may not coincide with logics in the broader ideal sense, analysis is only grounded when brought into a relationship with particular circumstances through empirical material.

This is the case for the framework now turned to. It originated from both materials obtained in the field and the personal experiences in the social context forming the focus of the present thesis. Conceptual ideas are offered with an open attitude through the "consideration of alternative routes of interpretation and analysis" (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007, p. 1273). The need to develop the conceptual line before its interplay with the empirical material—the strength of an ethnographic piece of research—was indicated earlier and is followed through with here. Accordingly, definitions of logics as they are relevant to the social setting of interest are offered as a first step towards the creation of useful generalisations about family and business. This is done in the abductive sense of, as will become clear in the subsequent chapter, suggesting what may be, contrary to deductive approaches showing what must be (Peirce, as quoted in Locke et al., 2008). The interplay between concepts of a "broad framework", as Glucksman (2000, p. 15) valuably puts it, and "the analysis of

the substantive subject matter they were designed to conceptualise" is thus allowed for as definitions are constantly refined in light of empirical research puzzles.

German nation state	The historically informed social principles of the German nation state that define the institutional regulations and body of laws through which people in Germany organise their work lives.
Modern market capitalism	The social practice of prioritising the self-interest maximisation of valued resources through the competitive organisation of social action as a commodity.
Modern bureaucratic management	The means of organising social action in the most administratively efficient form based on a predetermined view of rationality.
Rural Catholicism	The moral principles of the Catholic Church as the one true religion that guides its community in the social organisation of daily life as established demonstrations of their faith.
Family	The organisation of social action to the mutual benefit of a particular group of family members on the basis of kinship principles.

Table 4: Institutional logics in the present study

Society as an interinstitutional system (Thornton et al., 2012)
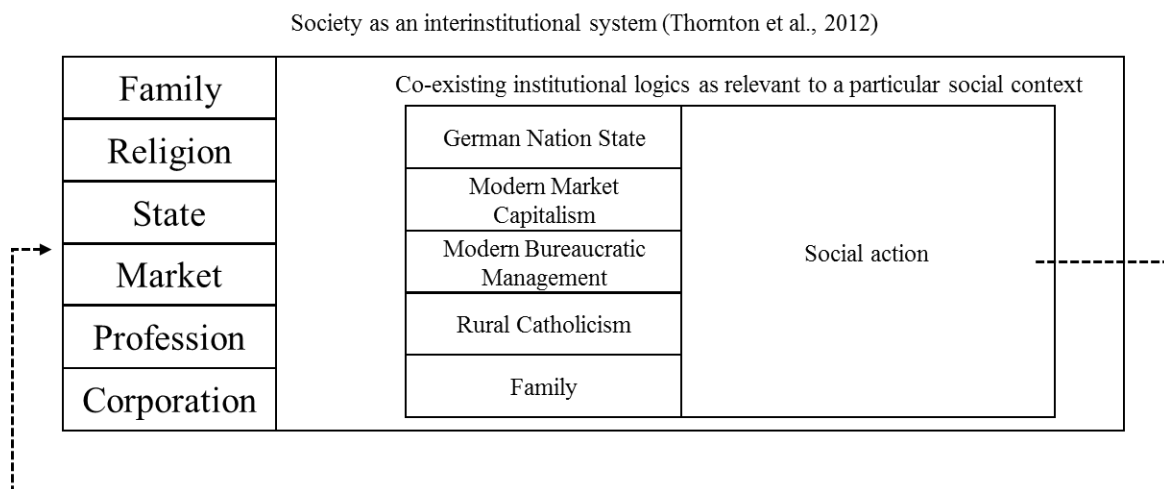
Figure 2: Co-existing institutional logics as they are relevant to a defined social context

The logic of the German nation state

Bokendahl Manufacturing (BoMa) is located in the township of Draventhal, which, in turn, is part of Lower-Saxony, a state of the Federal Republic of Germany. Returning to Draventhal in a later chapter, Germany is viewed as a contemporary modern and Western society. As such, the influence of certain logics can be seen as more prevalent than in non-Western and pre-modern societies and has, in

turn, shaped the modern Western world in which Germany is located (Scott, 2001; Thornton et al., 2012). The historical background of the country is offered in a way that demonstrates how the political context has shaped what is seen and later drawn on as the logic of the German nation state.

The post-war era political system of Germany was designed to restrict the powers of the central government on one hand, and, on the other, prevent political instability (Judt, 2005, p. 265). Despite American intentions, a part of the reason of state of the country (cf. Weber as quoted in Lassman and Speirs, 1994) was the implementation of a democratically oriented social market legislation. This was to reduce the risk of labour conflict related to political turmoil and economic disputes, effectively limiting the influence of capitalism, as expanded on below. The logic of the German nation state can be seen as manifested in statutory obligations including employee representation on supervisory boards, multi-employer bargaining, work councils and aspects of vocational training (Muller, 1999). Thornton et al. (2012) suggest that individuals mobilise to resist changes to what has become taken for granted, that is, institutionalised. Such mobilisation became apparent in the "firestorm of social action" caused by a reformation of the German welfare system by the Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder in 2004 (Judt, 2005, p. 793; Fleckenstein, 2008). His efforts to improve the socio-economic condition of the state clearly challenged the balance between economic performance and social responsibility as it was customarily perceived by the German public. Hence the German nation state logic came into conflict with, in this case, decisions whose legitimacy rested on the logic of modern market capitalism as will become clearer shortly.

The German regulatory environment and legislation is part of the context in which BoMa is located. Aspects of the state may be an important influence on family owned businesses as family and business scholars, too, have come to argue (Carney and Gedajlovic, 2002; Greenwood et al., 2010; Carney et al., 2013). Legal requirements are, for instance, a significant point of reference for managers of these businesses (BDI, 2013). Although a detailed examination of the relevant body of laws is not the aim here, Muller (1999, p. 42) demonstrates how narrow unitarist approaches "can generally not be followed by companies complying with [German] requirements". Managerial action is understood as not autonomous given the statutory obligations. Decision making processes are thus underpinned by co-existing institutional logics and required to incorporate, as it was briefly shown, multiple and at times conflicting rationales. For the purpose of this research, the logic of the German nation state is defined, at this point, as the *historically informed social principles of the German nation state that define the institutional regulation and body of laws through which people in Germany organise aspects of their work lives*. As part of the theoretical framework this definition, like the ones below, is revisited as they are brought to bear on fieldwork situations.

The logic of modern market capitalism

As a modern and Western society, aspects of the organisation of social life in Germany relate to an economic rationale (Giddens, 1991; Watson, 2012 a). Without claiming to offer a thorough historical analysis, modern features of contemporary capitalism are rooted in cultural factors of medieval Europe and can be defined by the significance associated with the "search for economic efficiency" (Baechler, 1975; Mielants, 2007, p. 44). The objectives of this search, as well as the search itself, can be seen as legitimised by the logic of modern capitalism. Commodifying human activity—human capital—and notions of individual utility maximisation are part of this rationale. Recalling above notions of dysfunctional, irrational or noneconomic behaviour, this form of rationality can be seen as providing the prevalent understanding on the basis of which issues of performance and utility maximisation are studied (Scott, 2008; Watson, 2013).

As part of the context relevant to the present thesis, the modern market capitalism logic is made part of a broader framework allowing for more helpful sense to be made of issues otherwise reduced to irrational or noneconomic. Western political and legal systems more broadly emerged alongside the processes of industrialisation itself and are characterised by private property laws, security and stability for business activities (Whitley, 1992; Scott, 2001). Despite this interrelatedness, the influence of the modern market capitalism is, as previously implied, more contested than in an Anglo-Saxon setting, for instance. Cultural authority is not as readily associated with the concept of a free market (Judt, 2005). Relevant to the present setting, the logic of modern market capitalism is therefore defined, at this point, as *the social practice of prioritising self-interested utility maximisation through the competitive organisation of resources*.

The logic of modern bureaucratic management

The logic of modern bureaucratic management is rooted in the historical processes that have shaped the view of the contemporary Western world. To bureaucratically organise social action is in line with what is sometimes referred to as the instrumental or calculative styles of modern thinking (Watson, 2012a). By arguing for the instrumental rationality of utility maximisation, Weber (1978[1922]) notes the reinforcing nature of broader forms of the logics of modern bureaucratic management and modern market capitalism. Referring to managing styles of organising labour, Elridge (1971, p. 200) sees a development of a "private economy bound up with private bureaucratisation and hence with the separation of the workers tools of his trade […]".

Whilst apparently intertwined with capitalism, it is helpful to recognise the distinction Weber (1978[1922]) made between formal and substantive rationality to discern its legitimacy. In line with the former, bureaucracy is a type of social organisation characterised by administrative efficiency and

calculability of actions (Elridge, 1994). Issues related to the control of bureaucracy, the bureaucrats themselves and the consequences for those organised, on the other hand, relate to varieties of substantive rationality (Weber, 1987[1922]; Elridge, 1994). Based on this rationale, rules and procedures influenced by the logic of modern bureaucratic management are viewed as the means through which social action is most efficiently organised, not as the ends. Through the hiring processes, an employee in a formal organisation created to generated profit may be hired for a particular task as he was determined the most suitable. This person is not hired for the process of hiring.

In the above case the influence of the logic of modern market capitalism—profit maximisation—can be argued for. In the realities of work, however, an appointment decision is less straightforward as it has to be viewed alongside other logics. Particularly in organisations of family and business can decisions be influenced by conflicting logics. The final appointment decision may therefore, for example, be influenced by both an economic and family rationale, pointing to varieties of substantive rationality. Making sense of bureaucratic processes therefore requires a consideration of the understandings on which they are based. It is an instrument, in that sense, for "those who control the bureaucratic apparatus" (Weber, 1978[1922], p. 987). What makes action rationally organised depends on what point of reference is chosen. The logic of modern bureaucratic management as it is relevant to the current study is defined as *the means of organising social action in the most administratively efficient form based on a predetermined rationale.*

The logic of rural Catholicism

The variable salience of certain logic influences the family and business context of interest in this research. Attention was placed on the co-existing logics of the German nation state and modern capitalism. The social market economy further implies the influence of religion both on the state generally and, as is demonstrated shortly, on the setting of BM in particular. Amongst the reasons why the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) political party ruled Germany continuously from the first election of the country in 1949 until 1966 was the strong position of the Catholic Church in the post-war era (Judt, 2005). But the first chancellor sought to make his party a Christian electoral vehicle rather than a Catholic one, emphasising a "socially ecumenical appeal of Christian Democracy" (Judt, 2005, p. 167).

The dynamics of religion and politics in Germany are generally related to the environment in which they take place. Many CDU activists, for instance, specifically allied with the Catholic Church to address cultural issues in some cultural communities but not in others (Hirschfeld, 2002). One of these predominantly Catholic communities influenced by a logic of rural Catholicism is the location of BoMa, Draventhal. The prevailing influence and awareness of Catholicism is significant in the

area. In a political debate concerning the reformation of denominational schools in the state, the Ministry of Culture published a report stating that in that part of Germany many "are Protestant and want to stay Protestant" even though in Draventhal, the Catholic Church constitutes over 75% of the people in contrast to the approximately 10% who follow the Protestant Evangelical Church (Spiegel, 1965, p. 33; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013).

Whilst different religions are tolerated, certain actions are rooted in the rather archaic view of Catholicism being the one true religion and functioning relationships within the family constituting fraternity within society (cf. Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2003). The significance of the family, in particular, is related to the practice of converting issues into expressions of absolute moral principles on the basis of faith which, in addition to finding an explanation to the origin of the world, is the focus of a religious logic (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Whilst there is no concern with principles of Christianity, there is with the practices and actions a logic of rural Catholicism may give force and legitimacy to as it is drawn on. In the cultural setting covered by the study this logic is defined as *the moral principles of the Catholic Church as the one true religion that guides its community in the social organisation of daily life as established demonstrations of their faith*.

The logic of the family

By turning to the logic of the family next, there is no intention to produce a historical analysis of the term. Keeping with a key conceptual argument, the work of others offering a similar concept is drawn on as it became relevant in the context of this study. Social conduct which is given legitimacy to on the basis of the family logic is, it became apparent above, generally placed in direct contrast to behaviour related to versions of the logic of modern market capitalism (Stewart, 2003; Miller et al., 2011; Jaskiewicz et al., 2016; Reay et al., 2015). Nurturing tendencies (Miller et al., 2011), altruistism towards other kin (Schulze et al., 2001) and a sense and intention of legacy (Berrone et al., 2012) can all be seen as principles related to a logic of the family. Friedland and Alford (1991) see it as defined by loyalty, mutual support and continuity.

Similar to the findings of Greenwood et al. (2010), aspects of this behaviour are complemented by the logic of rural Catholicism. There is a preference for married relationships and traditional family related ways of life as legitimised by the interplay between family and religion. Relative to the logic of the German nation state, in contrast, family law is not as progressive as Greenwood et al. (2010) found it to be the case in a Spanish context. This is mainly because the level of reinforcement the authors observed between the state, Catholicism, and the family is attenuated by the ecumenical orientation in post-war Germany illustrated earlier.

Relatedly, the notion of family centred altruism is not as inclusive as suggested by Greenwood et al. (2010). Indeed, within the work context, all family members must not necessarily

be, as Miller et al. (2011, p. 3) put it, "primary constituents of one another". In what is referred to as a sibling partnership (Gersick et al., 1999), for instance, actions overall may appear to give rise to what was previously referred to as a long-term perspective, arguably characteristic for family owned enterprises. But amongst members of the two family strands present within the firm, this orientation may not be adhered to equally. In line with the logic of the family, one group may take authority, financial benefits and other privileges for granted, whereas the other does not, privileging a more economic rationale over a family one. Prior to its interplay with empirical material turned to in more detail in the chapter after next, the logic of the family is defined as *the organisation of social action to the mutual benefit of a particular group of family members on the basis of kinship principles.*

Chapter 4 – Producing ethnographic research within a Pragmatist view of reality and truth

This chapter examines how ethnographic research shaped the present thesis and why it is suitable to make sense of daily practices in a family influenced firm as outlined by the research question. The discussion begins by introducing the social setting of BoMa and my role as an ethnographer and member of the owning family. Turning to the proposed view of ethnography as a social-intellectual exercise next, the ability to combine, in writing, autobiographical detail with cultural analysis is examined. Participant observation is thus understood as consciously bringing together the social/biographical with the external/cultural. Close involvement with daily procedures and routines was imperative and material obtained by working within BoMa for a period of six months. Particular emphasis is placed on how access was continuously negotiated. As a rhetorically honed account, reflexivity is understood as a style of writing that makes explicit the abductive reasoning processes then turned to. The broader interplay amongst the researcher, empirical material and conceptual ideas as introduced in the previous chapter is underpinned by a Pragmatist view of reality and truth. With this in mind, the significance of context and formation of customary action at BoMa are analysed in the following chapter.

Starting where you are

As a starting point, the ethnographic genre is that of understanding how people shape day-to-day actions and processes in societies during the course of their lives (e.g. Bate, 1997). An ethnographer equipped with existing social scientific knowledge, as previously introduced and followed up in more detail later in this chapter, immerses herself or himself in a particular social situation to make sense of it in a written format. Perhaps more than in any other form of enquiry into business issues, fieldwork practice is influenced by the biography and interests of the researcher. If not for the personal ties to the social setting itself, then because of the many hours spent in the field: when carrying out ethnographic work, relationships between life experiences of the author and research areas are usually close ones. Whilst Lofland et al. (2006) see such studies successfully emerge from bringing together intellectual inquisitiveness with an accessible and relevant social setting, it would be unhelpful to instinctively associate this form of curiosity with a state of not knowing. To the contrary, immediate personal situations have long since given rise to social analysis as it is the case in the present research (Riemer, 1977): experiences as a junior family member living alongside two generations of relatives founding, owning and managing firms have, in part, given shape to the present analysis. For within family business research, such cultural circumstances—as it is indeed the case here—provide access

to research opportunities not otherwise available (Litz, 1997). "Starting where you are", as Lofland et al. (2006, p. 9) put it, can thus be a very useful point of departure.

However, the temptation to immerse oneself within the known, that is, within the lives of familiar people, must be weighed against one's ability to cast aside what is appreciated as common knowledge and normal ways of life. Strangeness in ethnography is, above all, aspired to for the sake of sensitivity and insight (Rosaldo, 1993). Whilst this may be accomplished by foreign and familiar researchers alike and is beyond question essential to its creation, a piece of ethnographic writing is not primarily judged by how a researcher came to know individually. It is the accessibility to the reader of these experiences once placed into a larger cultural context that determines its quality. Put differently, authenticity and plausibility of systematic generalisations in the written product are more helpful than the immediate virtue of first hand-experience (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 1993; Watson, 2011, p. 212). But regardless of the techniques that are brought to bear on the subtleties of cultural life to make theoretical sense of it, there is another, more fundamental criterion of ethnographic work: truthfulness. After introducing the social setting wherein fieldwork took place and the role of the researcher as part of how ethnography, more generally, is defined for the purposes of the present research, this chapter will progress by turning to these topics in more detail.

Bokendahl Manufacturing and the role of the researcher

The initial line of business of Bokendahl Manufacturing (BoMa) was metal work. Founded by Albert Bokendahl in 1956, a skilled farrier, and his wife Cecilia Bokendahl, the early development of the company was in part related to the rural environment in which it was located, the German township of Draventhal. Together with his three employees, Albert rendered repair works on agricultural machinery and horse shoeing. Becoming increasingly familiar with the needs of local farmers, he developed what was called iron grate tyres for tractors. Providing his clients with a cheaper alternative to regular dual tyres, the invention of Albert was the first product and success story of the company. Iron tyres were distributed nation-wide soon after. More agricultural-related innovations soon followed. What is described as a company milestone was an idea inspired by the passion for horses by the Bokendahl family. Albert needed a way of transporting his four sons and their ponies to a local horse show. Drawing on his knowledge on agricultural vehicles, the first ever horse trailer was created in a smithy in Draventhal, as a hobby. As the ponies of his sons were eventually substituted by full sized horses, this invention grew alongside family needs and was developed further. Soon cattle, pony, and horse trailers became part of the product portfolio of BoMa. Large scale production of multiple trailer series began around 1962 and have been central to the business ever since. Postponing a more detailed review of the corporate structure, the number of employees working in BoMa increased from three, when the company came into being in 1956, to around 400 in 2015. At that

point the annual review stated a turnover of more than EUR 90 million. See Figure 1 for a timeline of events relevant to the research.

1955	Albert received his diploma
1956	Founding of BoMa, then called Albo, by Albert and Cecelia Bokendahl
1959	Invention of iron tyres
1960	Invention of horse trailer
1962	Large scale production of multiple trailer series
1978	First heart attack of Albert; increased involvement of Konrad and Rufus at BoMa for 10 months
1980/ 1981	Second and third heart attack of Albert; permanent return of Konrad and Rufus to BoMa
2010	Death of Albert Bokendahl
2011	Death of Cecelia Bokendahl
2013	Termination of the work contract of Rufus as managing partner through a shareholder meeting
2014/ 2015	6-month long fieldwork period

Figure 1: Timeline of relevant events

My personal experiences as a member of a family which is involved in the organisation of processes in the business it owns have previously been mentioned. This raises the question of how BoMa relates to me and I to the family. The company founders, Albert Bokendahl and his wife, Cecelia, are my grandparents, their son Georg Bokendahl my father and his brothers Albrecht, Konrad and Rufus Bokendahl my uncles. At time of research, Konrad, Georg and Rufus equally owned Bokendahl Holdings (BoHo) which, in turn, had legal ownership over BoMa and other businesses. One of the latter was overseen by Georg, whereas Konrad and Rufus used to jointly lead BoMa as managing partners. Sales, distribution and marketing were overseen by Konrad, whilst Rufus was in charge of manufacturing, engineering and development. When fieldwork was initiated, this was no longer the case. For developments laid out in subsequent chapters, his brothers, utilising the majority

vote system of BoHo, asked Rufus to relinquish his active role in BoMa, effectively making Konrad sole managing partner and head of the firm.

It becomes clear that, since its inception, BoMa has been a social site of conflicting and yet related activities of family and business. There is no clearly demarcated social space: no "dividing line", in the words of Ram (1994, p. 24), "between the home and the factory" apart from, perhaps, a legal one (1994, p. 24). As Konrad Bokendahl is the only family member formally employed at BoMa, the wives of the brothers, as is expanded later, as well as their children—including me—had no direct legal relationship with the firm. One could venture to suggest that besides kinship and the role of Konrad, there was no clear distinction from what Chandler (1962, 1990) suggests a modern enterprise ought to look like. And this is how many family businesses, it was argued in Chapter 2, are analysed in contemporary literature: with an emphasis on the legal ties of the individual family member (Faccio and Lang, 2002; Wilson et al., 2013). Such a focus would shift attention away from how aspects of kinship, beyond the formal job description of a member, become relevant in action. The present view of family dimension is therefore less static; not the fixed entity of shareholders or board members (eg. Wilson, Wright and Scholes, 2013). It is a group of related individuals whose formal and informal involvement as it became apparent in the field can throw light on issues dealt with in the present research: how organisational processes in a business with such a family dimension unfold in the everyday. With knowledge of the family-related developments briefly introduced, close proximity to the field is imperative if useful insights about larger co-existing phenomena associated with family and business are to be offered.

Before topics of empirical material generation and analysis are expanded on, my role as an ethnographer and family member is considered. To formulate and review such experiences with most possible clarity, the first person narrative is applied where appropriate—as it has been thus far—but usually limited to fieldwork accounts. This avoids producing the "woolly and involuted tract" of autobiographical detail Van Maanen (1988, p. 92) cautions against. My personal involvement in both the Bokendahl family and company has nevertheless been extensive. Giving, in part, shape to the immediate social situation previously implied, I historically engaged with people at work not as a researcher who has taken to explore the possible contradictions of kinship and business, but as the grandchild of Albert and Cecilia Bokendahl toddling along on company visits, youngster being ordered to help out with packing in the busy season, mail-fetching son of the managing partner's wife or as nephew accompanying the boss to company events. In short, I have unconsciously embarked on the "ethnographer's path" as a member of the owning family long before I became a doctoral researcher (Sanjek, 1990; Stewart, 1998, p. 34). My experience of the academic world has furthered the desire to go beyond the taken-for-granted appreciation of how people organise their lives in what I then simply thought of as our business (see Ram, 1994).

Where an engaging research setting converges with an analytical agenda, insightful social research may emerge (Lofland et al., 2006). Many academics have taken advantages of such

opportunistic circumstances (Riemer, 1977). This is particular the case with the known penchant for secrecy of families (Litz, 1997), a connection to a biography of a researcher provides an entrée not otherwise available. It would have been difficult, indeed, to establish a measure of rapport and note some of the more subtle consequences of family involvement over the course of six months. It was because of my background that I developed a vantage that made knowing when—and at whom—to look less challenging. Pace Shaffir et al. (1980), I had not learned the ropes by virtue of situational familiarity. I was no native to BoMa (cf. Yang, 1945). Procedures and routines, the patterns of organising that defined work life were all but unknown to me. Whilst my main exposure was limited to activities of the business my father oversaw, I did know, on the whole the 'whats' and 'whos' of BoMa, but had certainly no knowledge of the 'hows'. Ethnographers "do not study organisations, they study in organisations" says Van Maanen (2011, p. 211). The aim is to make localised sense of the cultural processes as they occur. As proximity is imperative, an in-depth involvement in the day-to-day processes is required. While access to the business itself was not an issue, access to the processes were. In light of my inability to take on a pre-existing role and unfamiliarity with the work life itself, people—including my uncle Konrad—found it perhaps difficult to locate me within their experience. But "this is necessary", write Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), "for them to know how to deal with [the ethnographer]" (1995, p. 80).

Interestingly, this difficulty appeared to be limited to my professional role. The function of a researcher was new to people at the workplace and arguably led to the initial translation of academic work into consultancy work, as will become clear shortly. Whilst this notion was abandoned before fieldwork commenced, an explanation of what academic work entails became a requisite part of my introduction to participants and a reoccurring theme throughout the research. Access to the people themselves, so to speak, and their daily activities was more straightforward. The willingness to engage with me and the thesis can perhaps be accounted for by the precedent involvement of family members for the good of the company, a term further explored in Chapter 6. Since the business had moved away from an appreciation of family as an established source of authority, a development also expanded on in later chapters, notions of power were seldom an issue. Notable exceptions were two occasions wherein assumptions were made in jest about my future leadership of the business by members of the sales team. Table 3 offers a list of relevant names and research participants. Since related encounters took place after access to the firm's activities had been initially granted, the original negation is an empirical phenomenon worthwhile to review, as is the way material was amassed and analysed thereon after. These aspects of research practice are now addressed.

Albert Bokendahl	Father of Albrecht, Konrad, Georg and Rufus Bokendahl, husband of Cecelia Bokendahl; BoMa founder
Cecelia Bokendhal	Mother of Albrecht, Konrad, Georg and Rufus Bokendahl, wife of Albert Bokendahl: BoMa co-founder
Edith Bokendhal	Wife of Konrad Bokendahl
Georg Bokendahl	Third child of Albert and Cecila Bokendahl; BoMa shareholder
Konrad Bokendahl	Second child of Albert and Ceclia Bokendhal; managing partner and BoMa shareholder
Rufus Bokendhal	Fourth child of Albert and Ceclia Bokendahl; former managing partner and BoMa shareholder
Hildegard Brahms	Former head of finance
Fiona Firlicher	Personal assistant to Konrad Bokendahl
Siegfried Herroeder	Sales manager
Ferdinandt Kieselhof	Head of production
Dietrich Knaup	Head of finance and human resources
Tassilo Langenhorn	Financial accountant
Katharina Luecke	Family friend and contemporary of Albert and Cecelia Bokendahl
Christoph Lukas	International sales manager
Herbert Mieschke	Procurement manager
Hans Moeller	One of the first employees, retired at the time of research
Olaf Pohl	Head of Production B
Frederick Ribusendt	Quality manager
Gustaf Schmidt	Head of Production C
Ludger Stedinger	Like Hans Moeller, one of the first employees; retired at the time of research
Timo Weinsang	Former employee at Production B

Table 3: List of names and relevant research participants

The social-intellectual exercise of writing ethnographic work

Until this point the term ethnography was dealt with by referring to an ethnographer, a path she or he takes and a text that is produced as the final product. A definition is suggested to advance from the more general understanding and clarify the notion as it is relevant the present research, the practice of ethnography is a social-intellectual exercise undertaken by an immersed researcher to offer an insightful understanding of what is done and spoken in a particular setting giving rise to a written

account, the ethnography. The term immersed—as opposed to immersing—emphasises the ability of the ethnographer to persuasively draw on her or his cultural experiences gathered through a close involvement with the people in the field. Ethnography is thus—perhaps more than other forms of enquiry—as much a social undertaking as it is an intellectual one. Knowledge, in turn, becomes insightful not by transparently reporting past interactions but by placing what has been heard, observed or read into the larger cultural framework within which it occurred (Watson, 2011). As a basis for understanding, this "cultural whole" then may serve as "a global reference which encompasses these observations and within which the different data throw light on each other" (Baszanger and Dodier, 2004, p. 13). Utilising whatever literary means (Humphreys and Watson, 2009), the "interiority of autobiography" is consciously interwoven with the "exteriority of cultural analysis" (Tedlock, 2003, p. 165). Ethnography is thus an analytic genre distinguishable by its style of social science writing as the social converges with the intellectual in the form of rhetorically shaped insights into aspects of the cultured lives of people.

Informed by pragmatist writings by Peirce and James elaborated in a later section, part of the truthfulness of an ethnography rests on how immersed the author is. That is the ability to persuasively claim how people go and, perhaps, have come to go about their daily lives. One must be careful not to confuse this need for authenticity, as it was previously put, with placing first hand experiences above all else. Social interactions may only be successfully placed into a more meaningful context, suggests Geertz (1988), if readers can access what they are reading because of sufficient detail. Like the researcher who leaves the field "personally acquainted" (Geertz, 1988, p. 144), so must the readers leave the text. Data, or—more helpfully—empirical material of the sort Geertz is referring to implies a level of involvement put forth by some of the early Chicago ethnographers: to observe human group life in situ (Blumer, 1969; Hughes, 1971; Adler and Adler, 1987). Qualities of intense familiarity with the "mundane things people are actually doing", say Becker (1991, p. 190), may only be understood and conveyed by interacting directly and naturalistically (Denzin, 1989). Naturalism here refers to an attitude of appreciation and respect towards the social world (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Related discussions of participant observation continuously inform fieldwork of the immersive sort (Van Maanen, 2011), including the present research, if in a decidedly non-traditional way. For a participant observer wanting to study "the essence of ongoing activity while inconspicuously fading into the background" (Adler and Adler, 1987, p. 19) may produce an account which begs the question of the role of the researcher (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1995). Consistent with the social-intellectual exercise view, the present application of the term is turned to as emphasis is placed on the primary research instrument of ethnography: the ethnographer.

Participant observation and methods of ethnography

Fieldwork, to Tedlock (2003), is something ethnographers carry on even when they have left the field. Though it would be, in light of what has been argued, perhaps be more helpful to think of it as deskwork that begins in the field, implicit in her view is the transcending nature of the craft that causes Van Maanen (1988) to argue that the ethnographic process is not a "straightforward matter". "To suggest otherwise", he continues, would be to "reduc[e] ethnography to method" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 6). If the present research is an ethnographic study of family and business, what, then, are its investigative tools? Two issues must be addressed first if that question is to be answered most helpfully. First, consistent with the previously mentioned qualities of long term and self-immersed analysis, ethnographic research is a particular form or genre of qualitative research (Wolcott, 1990). Not everything qualitative is therefore ethnographic and, on the other hand, not everything ethnographic is necessarily qualitative (cf. Hammerseley, 1992). What is unique about this kind of research is the role of the participant observer. Not in the somewhat counterintuitive methodological sense than as a rendering of ethnography as a social-intellectual exercise. The social/biographical, the participant, in effect, is consciously brought together with the external/cultural, the observer. Second, accepting the ethnographer as the research method (Adler and Adler, 1987) makes apparent the subjective nature of participant observation and the research process more generally. To the contrary of those who would argue otherwise, this quality is of vital importance to studies—including the present one—searching for "valuable truths about the realities of work […] [and] organisations" (Watson, 2011, p. 207). For the ethnographer

> "[learns] from experience, what Douglas (1976) calls their "general cultural understanding" and "general cultural participation," how to feel their way through social encounters and draw on their appropriate human resources in gathering data" (Adler and Adler, 1987, p. 85).

Taking into consideration what the authors call social instincts, the usefulness of personal background is further emphasised. With these issues clarified and method question yet to be answered, attention is turned to how empirical material was generated.

Methods cannot usefully set apart ethnography from other qualitative work. They are, Bate (1997, p. 1152) writes, "basically the same". A more distinguishable ethnographic methodology places methods inside, not alongside, the scope of the participant observer. For example, researchers across a number of disciplines and contexts take to relatively structured interviews in their pursuit of qualitative material. Only when these are carried out through the role of the participative observer does the material—and the interview itself—become ethnographic. Heyl (2001), though more formally, includes in her definition of the ethnographic interview precisely this ability to "genuine[ly] exchange views […] [and] explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings [interviewees] place on events in their worlds" (2001, p. 396). And because not everything ethnographic is necessarily

qualitative, at the disposal of the researcher is an exceedingly inclusive range of investigative techniques. A survey, too, for instance, may be undertaken through the role of the participative observer. This ethnographic survey, as it could be called, might offer insight about the cultural context as the survey questions—and, of course, the answers—are informed by and become part of the interplay between personal experience and cultural analysis. Gellner and Hirsch (2001, p. 7) see this commitment to "methodological holism" as an essential consequence of recognising that, in principle, "anything in the research context can be relevant and could potentially be taken into account". This is a recognition that Geerz (1995) pointedly conveys by writing "I learn by going" (1995, p. 133).

The ethnographic process, it has been argued, is organised around a broader social-intellectual endeavour and takes place in an all relevant social context. With this in mind, recounting employed methods becomes an almost straightforward task. Recalling the unfamiliarity of BoMa procedures and routines, close involvement with daily activities was imperative. As the adage "live with and live like" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 219) implies, it was important that patterns of work organisation applied to me, too. Empirical material was therefore obtained by working within the company for a period of six months. Turning to the nature of access and reflexivity further below, part of the initial deal struck with Konrad Bokendahl was the production of an executive report alongside doctoral research. A task more to do with the initial inability of Konrad to locate me professionally within *his* experience than with the expectations associated with such a document.

The focus of the report remained unspecified. The idea was to provide Konrad Bokendahl with the perspective of what he referred to as an 'informed outsider', thereby converting my academic education and research into something of value to the company through an executive summary. Whilst this from of legitimacy was never formally introduced to the employees nor realised, it was, for Konrad, a comprehensible prerequisite to become involved in multiple functions and with whomever appropriate to address situations as they became relevant in the field. Whilst this notion was abandoned before fieldwork commenced, it arguably served the purposes of locating me within his experience, as it was put above. I was furthermore allocated an unused office. Its location off a much-frequented corridor led to the habit of co-workers striking up conversations when they passed by. A favour which I returned whenever there was an opportunity to gather relevant material. More formally, I was invited to partake in all meetings, irrespective of the department, and able to set these up, too, if there were questions to be answered. A typical Monday, for example, would unfold as follows:

06:00- 08:15	Daily walk through the production facilities with the operations manager to visit production sites and talk to various heads of divisions
08:15 -10:00	In my office, talking to people, refining field notes and preparing consultancy related comments
10:00 - 12:00	'Monday Meeting A' with all managers and heads of divisions apart from those attending 'Monday Meeting B'

12:00 - 12:15	Chatting to people that have stayed in the room after the meeting
12:15 - 13:00	Lunch either at home or with co-workers in local restaurants
13:00 - 14:00	Refining field notes, taking on occasional duties such as translation or online research
14:00 - 15:00	'Quality Circle Meeting' with people from engineering, operations and customer service
15:00 - 16:30	'Monday Meeting B'
16:30 - 18:15	Talking to people, refining field notes and carrying out occasional duties
18:15 -	Speaking to Konrad Bokendahl in his office

Since a form of involvement similar to the role of a full-time employee was assumed, hours spent at the firm amounted to more than a thousand over the course of six months. The investigation thus relied on a variety of sources of empirical material. Observations and dialogues led to the generation of approximately 490 pages of handwritten fieldnotes. More than 90 interviews and conversations were recorded through hand-written notes either during these encounters or immediately after. These occurred mostly by chance, were open-ended, unstructured and took place onsite and offsite (for exampe, during car rides), at meetings, company events or whilst carrying out joint tasks. The duration of these conversations went from a couple of minutes to several hours but lasted on average between 20 and 30 minutes. Exceptions were interviews with relevant informants such as the family friend Katharina Luecke, for example, who did not work at the firm or longer conversations at company events. Written accounts were assembled mostly during and sometimes immediately after such occasions. A variety of textual, documentary and visual sources were also collected and examined. These included BoMa's website and four binders worth of company documents: agendas, press statements, brochures, technical charts, and material obtained from official notice boards. Legal documents relating to family developments were also noted. As will become clearer in Chapter 7, these thirteen PDF files were made available by a managing partner via email. Consent of all parties involved was obtained. Issues of representation and selectivity will be further addressed in the subsequent section.

Making research part of the researched

With its interest in social action and subjective meaning, the present approach may be seen as open to criticisms relating to capturing the lived experiences of people as they are more vaguely aware than they are "to 'know' what [they are] doing or explicitly self-conscious about it" (Weber, 1987[1922], p. 21). Their force in relation to the present work can be tempered by drawing attention to the awareness of the relationship between empirical situations and previously mentioned cultural whole. The corresponding view of participant observation coincides with the claim of Hammersley (1995, p.

51) that there is "no direct access to the truth" and "[what] is [seen] is always a product of physiology and culture, as well as of what is there". Pace Malinowski (1922), any attempt to grasp the point of view of a native, that is, her or his respective vision of the world may not be as helpful when inspired by Weberian understanding of social action. It designates the way in which action is defined in relationship to other actors and their intentions, Silverman (1994) emphasises, not by the individual state of mind: "the actions of each takes account of that of others" (Weber, 1978[1922], p. 26-27). Therefore, any research project must be appreciated, says Hammersley (1995, p. 51), as "part of the social world it studies". To adequately convey this understanding to the readership, an honest and reflexive way of writing is essential. Only then, as demonstrated below can the audience place and situate material in context.

Whenever studies adopt the notion of participant observation in the traditional sense, objectivism is not far from view (Adler and Adler, 2008; Watson, 2013). Present though the traditional view of field researchers striving to "exert no influence at all" may be (Adler and Adler, 1987, p. 17), the present appreciation of an empirical situation clearly differs. Here, the ethnographic enterprise is not reduced to method, nor the ethnographer to a fly on the wall. Reflexivity is more than an aspiration to act in such a way that leaves the setting otherwise natural. Instead, inspired by an "epistemological practice that emphasises intellectual critique", reflexivity represents what has thus far been referred to as the consciousness of bringing together personal experience with cultural analysis (Barge, 2004, p. 70). Complementing the proposed view of ethnography as a social-intellectual exercise, it most helpfully demonstrates the broader necessity of research to "[turn] back upon and [take] account of itself" in light of the previously mentioned "situated nature of knowledge" (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 240). Since an ethnography is a rhetorically honed account, reflexive analysis of the latter can only be achieved through a certain narrative technique. What may be referred to as an honest and reflexive style has not do with a preoccupation of the self of the researcher (Van Maanen, 1988) or various selves even (cf. Reinharz, 1997). Reflexivity has to improve a piece of research and not become an end in itself. It should make explicit how sense was made from the interplay between the researcher, empirical material and cultural context. This will become clearer as the issue of access is reviewed next alongside a presentation of what writing reflexively implies.

Writing reflexively about how access came about

A high grade of research access is required for the immersion in the everyday processes and routines of an organisational setting to take place. To the purpose of creating a situated account, "access", say Gellner and Hirsch (2001, p. 5), "is not to be negotiated once and then forgotten about". On the contrary, it is something "continuously negotiated throughout the time of fieldwork". The following demonstration is a useful case in point of how the relationship of the researcher with the empirical

situation is to be brought out reflexively. It also makes apparent the nature of the empirical sections offered in this thesis and the selectivity that stands behind their inclusion. It is helpful to recall the need of people to "place the ethnographer within their experience" (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1995, p. 80) and the perceived legitimacy associated with my role at the firm.

I contacted Konrad Bokendahl once the ethics committee had approved of the decision that research of the business my family owned was to become part of my doctoral dissertation. There was no preferential treatment, no nepotism (Stewart, 2003) implied in the formal meeting requested I received via email for a reply. When I eventually sat in the office of my uncle two weeks later, I sat there alone; he was running late. Unsurprising as this prioritisation of business over family was for me, 15 minutes past our original meeting time, Fiona Koplund, Konrad's personal assistant, became increasingly uncomfortable and insisted on me having the coffee she had prepared. A minute later she returned and said, "Your uncle will be here in 5 minutes, he just called me." And so he was.

We at once discussed the nature of my work for Konrad enquired about what it was that I studied as soon as he had sat down. "The influence of family on business and vice versa", I replied. Further I expressed the necessity to actually work in the business because of the quality of empirical material I required. He shrugged and expressed, "No problem. Although I am not sure what area you would be interested in?" Anticipating this question, I quickly responded by suggesting my old summer job in the spare parts department as a viable option. "That is a good idea", he replied, "especially because two people are ill at the moment. When will you start?" I gave him the details and also provided him with other university documents, including my timeline to completion. We then spoke of unrelated topics, mostly concerning the global opportunities of the firm and the business' personnel requirements. Without reference to me, he stressed the significance of someone having the company's name as a surname for the perceived image of the business, especially in global markets. "It is always good when they see someone is actually behind the name", Konrad suggested.

A week or so later, I received my second official meeting request, this time from Fiona "on behalf of Konrad Bokendahl". Very formally—it started with 'Dear Justus' and concluded with 'Yours sincerely'—I was more or less summoned to an appointment where both my uncle and Dietrich Knaup, head of finance and human resources, would be present. "To discuss the details of your work experience", it read. I formally accepted and arrived, a couple of days later, at the company premises. The meeting, this time in Conference Room 6, began on time. "Thanks for coming back so soon, Justus", my uncle began, "I spoke with Dietrich and the both of us agreed that it would be good if you could introduce yourself to him as he is in charge of personnel around here. For me, too, this would be a good reminder of your CV. So please, if you will?" Doing as asked I described my career up to that point and framed my anticipated work experience as part of my academic interest in family firms.

"You are quite knowledgeable about your subject then", commented Dietrich, "in particular because of the link between your academic know-how and work apprenticeships, am I right?" "What is it then that you hope to get out of this study?", he asked. Foregrounding my desire to generate something useful, I responded, "To understand what actually goes on. And for that I need to work

closely alongside the practices I want to examine." "Ok. I understand, but working in the spare parts department might not be the best option. If you want research family, I suppose, you need to work closer with Konrad, especially now that Rufus has left", Dietrich replied, shifting his gaze onto my uncle, "or not?". Konrad retorted, "You are right, in principle. But if he wants to study 'me', he will be sitting around and drink an awful lot of coffee. There are not many interactions when I work in my office." "But he would be closer to you there than he would be in the spare parts department", Dietrich responded. He further added: "I've thought about this, Konrad. You know that we are currently in the middle of rearranging our organisation chart, correct? I would like Justus to look at that, I think it would be good if he could help us there."

Pleased with the general direction of this conversation, I assured them that I would be happy to do so. More engaged now, Konrad added, "I think this does fit really well with what is currently going on, you are right. And while you are doing that", now looking at me, "why don't you prepare a formal report for us. You know, to get an informed outsider's perspective on what goes on." Picking up on Konrad's comment, Dietrich suggested: "But if he is to do consultancy work for us, that is a job in itself. We could give him an office and freedom to choose what processes he wants to engage in, but there won't be time for much else!" "Justus", he asked, "what do you think?" I agreed with him and mentioned that a consultancy report should not be a problem so long as this was to imply a sort of executive summary of my thesis; especially because I hoped that my work would be of use to academics as well as to practitioners. "Very good", said Dietrich in closing, "I will make the necessary arrangements and, for a start, I will forward your consent forms and notify everyone about the nature of your work here. Also I will tell them to invite you to all meetings through our email programme. You can go from there. I will see you on Monday morning then."

This account demonstrates how disclosing the researcher's self (Watson and Watson, 2012) can significantly enhance an ethnographic text by situating it. This is a far more useful practice than a separation of the empirical material from the researcher would be; let alone the related claim that anyone could have generated identical findings. Adopting such a reflexive style of writing is particularly helpful when analysing issues of family and business from a "privileged vantage point" given existing family ties and experiences shared (Ram, 1994, p. 4). The account further demonstrates how empirical material was made use of for the purpose of this thesis. In line with the previously introduced ethnographic process, a diverse set of empirical materials (for example, the email exchange leading up to the meeting, notes on the pre-meeting with Fiona, notes the first meeting, the formal meeting request received via email, notes on the second meeting) presented as an organised account to give a truthful sense of how, in this case, access came about. Given the inevitable selectivity of what information is drawn together, there is no claim that this provides a full representation of the issue. Before the interplay of this kind of material with the conceptual framework can be turned to, it is thus worthwhile to consider associated notions of truth and reality first.

A Pragmatist view on reality and truth

Access in the way it is illustrated above is part of the broader interplay among the researcher, empirical material, theoretical ideas and readership. Studies embracing such an "interconnected net of potential insights and ideas", as Alvesson and Kärreman (2007) see it, sometimes struggle to explicitly communicate the means of judging reality, truth and reasoning (2007, p. 1268). Bringing out the rationale behind and interface between philosophy, theory and method is particularly useful within the tradition of non-positivist research (Rynes and Gephart, 2004; Johnson et al., 2006). Attention is therefore placed on the under-labour concept of philosophy (Locke, 1976). For the purposes of the present thesis, this view of clearing up confusions in the way of knowledge (Locke, 1976, p. xliii) is understood as a sense of direction and accomplishment guiding the social-intellectual exercise of producing an ethnography. Principles of Pragmatism providing this orientation are now considered.

Ethnographic projects have a "built-in propensity" to create theoretical ideas though the ability to constantly compare empirical insights to existing explanations and theoretical models (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007, p. 1267). By applying epistemological principles of Pragmatism, ethnographic work intends not to produce content that is correct because of its quality to closely mirror reality (cf. Eisenhardt, 1989; Lipton, 2004). Instead, the bedrock of truth to classical Pragmatists including James, Dewey and Peirce, as Joas (1993, p. 19) puts it, is "an increase of the power to act in relation to an environment". The reason things are called true "is the reason they are true, for 'to be true' means only to perform this marriage-function" (James, 1907, p. 64). Although "instrumental" theories may be produced as "mental models of adaptation to reality" they are no "revelations" that advance our knowledge toward the possibility of any final, foundational or absolute truth (James, 1907, p. 194). Hence knowledge and, in the present case, the ethnographic process carried out for its generation, is not to represent but to cope with the world. A view close to Dewey's understanding of the term (Mounce, 1997).

A Pragmatist epistemology, it becomes apparent, judges truth against utility. Any knowledge produced, says Watson (2013, p. 65), is "fallible and open to improvement" insofar as knowledge can be developed that "more efficiently informs human practices than what precedes it" (Reé and Urmson, 1960). Asking how day-to-day processes in organisations with a significant family dimension unfold—the research question—thus provides a particular impetus for this piece of social science writing. It is judged against its potential to inform anyone dealing with aspects of the social world studied which, in the present thesis, concern issues of family and business. When raising the inherently ontological question of how does the social world—or parts of it—work, the creation of knowledge has yet to be addressed.

Pragmatic realism

In the broader pursuit of knowledge that is more useful, studies informed by Pragmatism encourage researchers to examine realities about 'how things work' (Watson, 2011). Conceived as the "intersection between the conscious self with the world" by James and Dewey, experience is the fundamental means to judge usefulness and, therefore, knowledge (Kloppenberg, 1996, p. 104). The related way of asking how, then, the social world works is referred to as Pragmatic realism (Watson, 2011; 2013; 2013a). Recalling the ground-clearing notion of philosophy, this realism is contrasted with the realism implicit in the realist tales of Van Maanen (1988) and the naïve realism outlined by Hammersley (1992; Watson, 2011; Watson, 2013a). There is a clear demarcation from any attempt to produce sterile or corresponding renditions of a world taken as unambiguously there. Pragmatic realism, instead, recognises the significance of interpretive processes and social construction without awarding primacy to discourse and language (Watson, 2013a). Not unlike critical realism, it, too, accepts realities in the world that exist beyond what is interpreted by individuals, making further differentiation necessary (Bhaskar, 1978; 1989, Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

To understand what makes Pragmatic realism distinctive and valuable to the present undertaking, it is important to recall that in human experience James proposed the ultimate test for knowledge. "To be judged pragmatically true", Kloppenberg (1996, p. 103) quotes him, "a proposition must be consistent with the individual's […] beliefs that have withstood the severe test of experience" (1996). And whilst the way one pursues truths about the world reflects how she or he understands it to be, Pragmatic realism is not primarily concerned with the world per se but about human practices within (Putnam, 1995). Schiller (1903), a contemporary of James, even takes for granted "the world of man's experience as it has come to seem to him […]" as the "only natural starting-point from which we can proceed in every direction, and to which we must return" (1903, p. xvii). As a form of realism that is both non-representational and action-oriented (Watson, 2013a, p. 66), Pragmatic realism sits uneasy with the ontological aim of critical realism to reveal or discover generative mechanisms that account for those phenomena external to human interpretation (Reed, 2009). Refraining from such mechanical sounding alternatives (Watson, 2011), it is distinct in its emphasis on the fundamental human social condition to cope with and concomitantly make a life. To a study addressing how things actually work, Pragmatic realism is thus not simply right or wrong— labels to be avoided by Pragmatists—but most useful. Non-realist interpretative oriented approaches are avoided (Yanow and Ybema, 2009) without recreating the authoritative direction of positivism to discernible events of an ordered world (Crotty, 1998; Blaikie, 2010; Watson, 2011).

The social reality of institutionalised action

Helpful knowledge and a reality "independent of us", it was shown, forms the basis of the Pragmatist definition of truth (James, 1909, p. 217). Since the present thesis differs from the view of James that an external reality is neither philosophically interesting nor important (Kloppenberg, 1996, p. 106), the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) is helpful to turn at this point. As noted above, this study attempts to better understand the world without awarding primacy to non-realist approaches focused on discourse and language. Yet sense can only be made by looking at the language-based processes of people coming to know it historically and culturally (Watson, 2008). Defining knowledge simply as the "the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess certain characteristics", Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 52) deal with this taken-for-grantedness in the lives of people through a sociology of knowledge. Whilst social structure is "an ongoing human production", certain actions have become the culturally negotiated and agreed upon responses to deal with routine problems (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 52). Patterns of past human activity are understood as institutionalised knowledge in a social context. This knowledge, over time, gives rise to a reality that is indeed independent, one that has a "being independent of our own volition" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 1). What should therefore be studied is the process of how knowledge is "developed, transmitted, and maintained […] in such a way that a taken-for-granted reality congeals" for an individual in a particular situation as her or his reality is different as between one social context and another.

Recognising the need to "grasp what is going on in the world" and understand "intersections of biography and history within society", Mills (2000[1959], p. 9) developed his notion of the sociological imagination from his deep Pragmatist roots as is apparent in the views shared with James. In contrast to some of the more interpretive oriented approaches, this recognition does not arise from an awareness of a taken-for-granted reality as constructed by intersubjective conversation. Instead, people are appreciated as born into the consequences of institutionalisation, a condition Luckmann (1983) refers to as a socio-historical a priori; a social order with known cultures and institutions according to which patterns of action emerge and lives are made (Meyer, 2008; Watson, 2013a). Similar to natural facts that exist independently as matters of biology and physics (Searle, 1995), individuals are confronted with social facts as an external—albeit humanly created—institutional world (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). To make sense of how people cope with and make a life under different social circumstances, what Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 3) refer to as context specific "agglomerations of 'reality' and 'knowledge'", connections between "the patterns of [peoples'] own lives and the course of world history" are addressed in the present thesis (Mills, 2000[1959]). In light of this view that neither individual action nor the forming of society can be understood the without understanding both, the suitability of the conceptual approach developed in Chapter 3 becomes apparent. Particularly because of the underlying appreciation that social context, as part of the

theoretical framework, "can only be understood through individual consciousness and behaviour", just as "individual action can only be explained in a social context" (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 242). Hence the view of reality as it is developed here underpins the ethnographic process more generally, and, in particular, the way historical change and institutional contradictions were offered as means to making sense of family and business related phenomena.

The work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) can indeed be a suitable basis for institutional forms of analysis (Scott, 1992). Human activity continues to produce a social constructed world which is maintained by people as they move through it (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 70). The concept of institutions and, in the present case, framework of co-existing institutional logics is then used to study this social order. As people are constantly confronted with new circumstances, the implied tension is particularly helpful to make sense of how these challenges are creatively dealt with. Individuals are not just submissively affected by institutionalised understandings, but they actively use its "equipment" to respond to inconsistences, recasting it in the process (Swidler, 1986, p. 277). Human behaviour is thus simultaneously institutionalised and institutionalising. Further to above remarks, it is, perhaps, in these instances that Pragmatic realism, a socially constructed view of reality and institutional analysis come together most clearly: what is real and known to a person is taken for granted unless, as Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 2) put it, "[she or] he is stopped short by some sort of problem". The reasons why an understanding of the institutions concept as agency ignoring structures of domination should be avoided was laid out earlier. Their inability to exist in their own right should be emphasised at this point. Institutions are "dead" if not continuously "brought to life" in human conduct on which they are based (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 93). They are a part of the emerging interplay between theoretical concepts and empirical material to learn how people, as culturally embedded actors, cope with their daily realties. And by reading the present study, given its underlying sense of direction, they may do so more effectively in a social context it covers.

An abductive way of reasoning

In its focus on how knowledge is shaped as humans struggle with novel circumstances in a world that can never fully be known, creativity is central to Pragmatist thinking (Watson, 2013b). This principle was most effectively introduced to scientific enquiry by Pierce (e.g. 1934). Akin to the later notion of a disciplined imagination (Mills, 2000[1959]; Weick, 1989), he saw creativity as the only means to create new ideas in the academic process thus far referred to only as the intersecting lines of theoretical and empirical work. What Peirce (1934, 1:46) refers to as an abductive form of reasoning is thus worthwhile to turn to. It makes explicit, even depends on imagination for without it, he argues, "[phenomena] will not connect themselves in any rational way". Bringing to mind the previously mentioned "built-in propensity" of ethnographies to create theoretical ideas by comparing empirical

insights to existing explanations (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007, p. 1267), many such pieces of research may be viewed as informed by abduction. At least implicitly, this becomes apparent in the theoretical choices ethnographers pull like rabbits "out of their hats" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 223). A considerable amount of "silent selectivity" may thus stand behind what authors decide to represent in writing (Van Maanen, 2001, p. 249; 2011).

Despite the established awareness of personal contingencies including moulding of method and inference in social science research (Denzin, 1989; Willmott, 1998), only infrequently have ethnographers offered "honest and reflexive accounts of where and how their theory was generated", as Puddephatt et al. (2009, p. 11) write. Whilst it is academic custom to address, as is done in the present chapter, principles that guide concepts and theories, principles that facilitate the conversation between empirical material and the author, the actual formulation and dialogue itself is less transparent. Previously, disclosing the researcher's self (Watson and Watson, 2012) in the ethnographic text was demonstrated as part of adopting a reflexive style of writing. Situating material, it was argued, is a far more useful practice than separating the researcher from it would be. The reasoning process should therefore, in line with this understanding of reflexivity, be made available to the reader, too. Contrary to the perhaps unintended practice of hiding the abductive processes from view (see Van Maanen, et al., 2007), the creation and recreation of generalisations, as will become clear next, is made apparent in the following chapters.

This creation and recreation of theoretical ideas is an outcome of the constant comparison of empirical material to existing theories in the ongoing search for more valuable truth about reality (Peirce, e.g. 1934; Fann, 1970; Alvesson and Kärremann, 2007; Mantere and Ketokivi, 2013). As a foundation of enquiry, the abductive reasoning processes thus begins when the ethnographer, in the present case, is confronted with doubt (Locke et al., 2008), unmet expectations (Van Maanen et al., 2007), surprising facts (Hanson, 1958) or breakdowns and inconsistencies derived from empirical material (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007). These clues, as Weick (2005, p. 433) sees them, motivate the researcher to do without a "search among known rules" and form "speculations, conjectures, and assessments of plausibility" that can render the surprising meaningful instead. As the only processes that allows for creative solutions for puzzling problems, it is a primary reasoning practice both in everyday situations and scientific enquiry (Peirce, 1934, 5:171; Mantere and Ketokivi, 2013). Corresponding to the previously established unhelpfulness of associating the creation of ethnographic work with a state of not knowing, a useful way to proceed is not a turn to blankness or non-theoretical attitudes (cf. Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Eisenhardt, 1989). Instead, the researcher, well versed in the existing literature, works through a theoretical framework flexible enough to accommodate alternative lines of interpretation as she or he is explicitly stimulated by empirical material to develop insights that are, perhaps, more helpful than what has come before.

Chapter 5 – How early processes took shape in the Bokendahl family and firm: the influence of the institutional logic of the family, rural Catholicism and the community of Draventhal

This chapter examines the formation of practices associated with the Bokendahl family and business. Particular emphasis is placed on the Draventhal community context as a concept through which the situated nature of their organisation can be understood. Earlier definitions of institutional logics are refined alongside fieldwork material in line with a concern of bringing together conceptual and empirical lines of analysis as described in the previous chapter. Doing so allows for sense to be made of Bokendahl family life and the related creation of processes at BoMa through the logics of the family and rural Catholicism. In particular, an understanding of how the notion of family matters in a supposedly non-family business is offered. The initially bounded pursuit of family interests in the business setting gave rise to the key innovation of BoMa: the horse trailer. The success of this product, in turn, extended the influence of the family logic beyond the family domain and informed the understanding of the logic of modern bureaucratic management. Principles of welfare and cohesion, for instance, became part of how processes at BoMa took shape as Albert Bokendahl dealt with issues including product demand. Clashes related to the scrutiny of such institutionalised action are explored in the next chapter.

On social context: developing the institutional logic of rural Catholicism to understand the community of Dravethal village

When arguing for the institutional logic of rural Catholicism, the presence and influence of the Catholic belief was pointed to. Of the approximately 7000 Draventhal inhabitants, most were religious and the majority of them Catholics: a present day fact which points to the historical developments and customs of that setting. In an interview printed in a popular magazine, a prominent businessman of the neighbouring village recalls that

> "my hometown is such a black corner, protestants were treated like outcasts. It was unthinkable to go dancing in a protestant village. Sounds unbelievable today, but was a fact until 1970" (Der Spiegel, 2015, p. 64).

Draventhal was founded as a Catholic parish and whilst it became a municipality in its later development, church life provided a sense of order to its inhabitants. Particularly because half of the latter did not live in the centre of the town but in farming communities dispersed around. Mass was what established a sense of community and routine, with schools, bakeries, and corner shops built in

the vicinity of the church. In line with arguments made about social context in Chapter 3, Draventhal village should not remain a backdrop against which analysis is set. By developing further previously offered versions of institutional logics, versions mostly informed by existing knowledge, analysis is grounded in context and therefore may or may not coincide with the logic of religion, for instance, in the broader ideal sense. Instead, keeping with the example, rural Catholicism is informed by the latter but ultimately tied to the empirical material relating to Draventhal village. Doing so demonstrates, as is done shortly, that religion and Catholicism, in particular, plays a more significant role in ordering quotidian work life than what is suggested by the literatures on context and are thus important influences on the creation of BoMa. Before issues of the family are turned to, this is expanded on.

The above descriptions of the local businessmen regarding the aversions to protestants are in line with the accounts of Dravethal village in the fieldwork material. Departing from what has been offered earlier, historically, the village was indeed a very 'black corner', as it was put, with the colour black denoting religious conservatism. Asked about the local customs, a contemporary of Albert Bokendahl and friend of the family, Katharina Luecke, revealed the following about village life, the subject about which she agreed to talk to me.

> "Oh. Sunday mass was certainly the highlight of everyone's work week."
>
> "Really?" I enquired.
>
> "Oh yea", Katharina confirmed. "Rules were much more rigid back then."
>
> "What do you mean?"
>
> "Well, young man, do you eat meat on Fridays?" she asked.
>
> "Sometimes", I replied.
>
> "And beer, do you drink beers on Fridays?"
>
> "Occasionally", I said with a smile.
>
> Returning my smile with a grin, the 89-years-old lady said "And I don't suppose you fast every year, do you?"
>
> "I usually don't, no."
>
> "See", she concluded, "that was unheard of when I was your age. Unheard of."
>
> "Could you, perhaps, tell me more about how life was like back then? You were born in Draventhal, were you not?" I asked.
>
> "Yes I was", she replied, "and yes I can." She paused. "There was not much besides work and church, I suppose, when I was your age. We sometimes went dancing, too, with the people in the neighbourhood. You know, the politics of the world took a long time to reach a rural place such as Draventhal. And as a farming village, we never suffered any shortages, if that is what you mean?"
>
> "Well, kind of," I replied. "You knew Albert well…"
>
> "… very well!" Katharina intersected.
>
> … what did his family do for a living?" I finished.
>
> "The old Bokendahls?" She paused again before she went on. "They were nice people. They had a large farm close to the church, which was very convenient." She smiled again.

"What do you mean?" I asked, unsure why she smiled.

"Well, you see, church was what brought the people together back then. People worked hard or helped out in the fields during the week, and on Sundays everyone met in the church, as I said before", she explained.

"But why was it convenient?" I asked again.

"Well that is simple, young man, because the Bokendahls did not have to walk 30 or more minutes like other farmers had to. And,…" she paused once more, appearing in thought.

"And?" I said eventually.

"And, after church, the women went home, but the boys and men, they went for a drink in the local pubs."

"Convenient because the way home was not too long, I think I understand", said I.

"I think you do," Katharina replied.

The Catholic church, this becomes apparent in the above conversation and historical accounts available, was an important point of reference according to which social life in Draventhal village was organised. On an individual or family level, as well as in reference to larger gatherings within that context. The sense of community this brought forth, it is argued, was in line with the institutional logic of rural Catholicism as defined in Chapter 3. That is, the moral principles of the Catholic church as the one true religion that guides its community in the social organisation of daily life as established demonstrations of their faith appears suitable to make sense for this behaviour. Particularly fitting is that besides guiding the organisations of certain individual or family level rituals such as fasting and abstaining from meat on Fridays, reference is made to community. And through a community predominantly influenced by the rural Catholic logic evident in, for instance, mass routines and pub gatherings of Draventhal villagers, context at that point in time may be best understood.

Others have pointed to the salience of a community within institutional analysis (Marquis and Battilana, 2007; Greenwood et al., 2011). Also remarking on the work of Weber (1978[1922]), Thornton et al. (2012) argue for an institutional logic of the community that competes with other notions in an institutional framework. Whilst the authors helpfully trace the concept of organisational field to the community emphasis in the work of sociological theorists such as Merton (1942) and Selznick (1949) as part of the discussion, the present use of the term is perhaps more in line with the work of the latter, particularly with that of Selznick, than with what is proposed by Thornton et al. (2012). This is because the Draventhal community at that point in time, as it may be put, is regarded as an outcome of the guidance provided in this case by the institutional logic of rural Catholicism rather than an abstract concept of its own. The defining patterned activities and shared understandings are offered as rooted in that logic and will, in turn, over a period of development, change the proposed version relevant and thus able to explain behaviour at that particular context. Hence there is no intention here to advance the concept of community (cf. Brint, 2001) beyond its present application to provide insight into the context studied that is both grounded, as mentioned earlier, in the empirical

setting and informed by what has been established previously. To study the influence of community in the process of founding and ordering work at BoMa, this line of analysis is extended in the next section. To do so, a conversation with Konrad Bokendahl is turned to.

Having established Draventhal as a community wherein the logic of rural Catholicism, as previously defined, guides the appropriateness of actions and behaviour at that time, a conversation with Konrad Bokendahl, son of the founder, that took place in his car on a way to an offsite meeting is valuable to report here. The topic was raised by chance and offered in response to a surprise of mine regarding the religious habits of the Bokendahl family.

> "Yes," Konrad reported, "we had to go to church every day before school."
>
> "I thought only Sunday mass was what was attended by all," said I.
>
> "The majority did that, I guess," he said, "but the proper Dravethal villager", Konrad continued with a smile, not shifting his gaze off the street, "the proper Draventhal villager went every day."
>
> "Were you all that religious?" I asked.
>
> "Of course not!" Konrad said laughingly.
>
> "So why did you go?" I wanted to know.
>
> "Because it was expected, I guess," he replied, overtaking a car as he spoke.
>
> "By whom?"
>
> "By our parents."
>
> "What happened if you didn't go?" I said.
>
> "We never dared not to" he answered. "Oh wait," he continued, "I think Albrecht skipped once."
>
> "What happened?" I asked.
>
> "All hell broke loose. Our mother went on about 'what the people would say that her sons didn't attend church' and so on," he explained.

Consequences of non-conformance with customs legitimised by the logic of rural Catholicism become apparent as what Konrad refers to as 'the people' is incorporated into the above view of the Draventhal community. Although other studies have addressed the consequences of behaviour not in line with accepted institutional logics (Zuckerman, 1999; Zajac and Westphal, 2004), impact on, as illustrated here, social status of family within a community has not received much attention. This is, however, what the account of Konrad implies. Other encounters with members of the Bokendahl family strengthen this insight. Georg, Konrad's brother, for instance, revealed the following during a so-called shareholder dinner.

> "Playing with protestant children was an absolute no-go," explained Georg.
>
> "What do you mean," I asked.
>
> "Not that there were many, but the Meiers for example, you know them?"
>
> I nodded.

> "We played pranks on them," Georg started laughing as he told the story, "threw eggs on their house. Oh boy. Nobody minded. To the contrary! Our parents would have minded if we'd played with them. That was bad company, so to speak."

Later on, Georg spoke on the topic of church attendance, too.

> "Oh we always had to wear the finest clothes to church," said Georg. "On weekdays," he explained, "mother usually closed an eye to how we were dressed, within reason. But on Sundays, I tell you," Georg paused briefly and laughed as he went on, "only the finest! Shoes had to be cleaned, shirts tucked in, usually we were even given new pants! All of Draventhal was there, so we had to look proper, mother always said."

It was thus important to Cecelia Bokendahl, wife of the founder and mother of Konrad and Georg, that her children conformed with what was accepted within the community to the fullest extent possible given the means of the family. Returning to the organisation of the family itself later, this extent is worth considering, for it was the behaviour beyond what was expected that catered to the social status of the family. Church attendance, for instance, was generally expected within the community. But attending mass before school, the argument can be made, was a possibility only to those who could spare the absence of the labour force their children represented and resources this required. Relatedly, the avoidance of those practicing what was seen as an unusual faith was taken for granted. Their discrimination through pranks that wasted food, in this case by the Bokendahl children, was accepted, perhaps encouraged even. And whilst the majority of Draventhal inhabitants dutifully attended church on Sundays—the 'highlight of everyone's work week', as Katharina Luecke put it—it is likely that fashionable and new clothing was only available to those families who could afford it. Therefore, although many of the pattered activities and shared understandings in the Draventhal community can already be linked to the institutional logic of rural Catholicism, its definition should be reconsidered in light of these findings.

Besides Greenwood et al. (2010) there are few contributions to draw on a logic of religion in this regard. Tracey et al. (2014, p. 3) connect this absence within literature on organisations to the aforementioned preference for broader levels of analysis. Although authors attempt to address this omission, seldom is a relevant logic utilised to analyse the role played by religion within a context studied. Yet within family influenced enterprises, others, too, have indicated, religious beliefs can explain certain management practices and preferences (Koning and Dahles, 2009; Paterson et al., 2013; Madison and Kellermanns, 2013; Jiang et al., 2015). A discussion that, whilst turned to specifically at a later stage, builds on the present analysis of context within which BoMa was founded. Previously, a definition of the rural Catholic logic was offered that treated related forms of organisation as demonstrations of faith. Fasting and mass attendance mentioned above, as well as charitable behaviour considered later fall inside the scope of this understanding. Similar sense is made of observed symbols and practices in existing work (Sorenson, 2013; Paterson et al., 2013; Madison

and Kellermanns, 2013), a line of analysis that comes close to the way Thornton et al. (2012) developed the institutional logic of religion (Friedland and Alford, 1991). In the present setting, it becomes clear, this version is only useful in part. Even the earlier introduction of community, helpful as it is, does not sufficiently make sense of what goes on in Draventhal at that point in time. Because Sunday mass, ultimately of course an established demonstrations of faith rooted in the principles of the Catholic church, is not undertaken as such. As Konrad explains, they were 'of course not' that religious but attendance was nevertheless 'expected'. And these actions go beyond carrying out religious practices. Rather, they serve as a forum to do display the possible extent of doing so given the available means and thus related to social status within that community. Therefore, as this chapter progresses to look at the early days of BoMa, the social context within which the business was founded may be most helpfully seen as guided by the institutional logic of rural Catholicism defined as the moral principles of the Catholic church as the one true religion that organises the social lives of its community members through expected demonstrations of their faith and expressions of social status.

Coming to terms with family influence in a supposedly non-family business

In the setting of Draventhal Albert Bokendahl lived with his family on a farm in the village centre as described by Katharina Luecke above. Albert spend much of his youth assisting his father with the livestock and knew that during harvest season, there was not much of a choice between going to school or helping the workers of his fathers in the fields. Albert senior, his father, would perhaps not have sat in the front benches during Sunday mass, but he had accumulated a reasonable amount of wealth at the time Albert junior was an adolescent. This gave him the opportunity to formally pursue an apprenticeship at a shop in the nearby village and not become, as his father and grandfather had done before him, a farmer. This path was reserved for his eldest brother Holger. In 1955, Albert was awarded his diploma and founded his own farrier's shop across the street from the farm of his parents. With the money he had saved during his education he rented the building and employed two co-workers. On the performance of the venture, Katharina Luecke recalls the following.

> "That was a nice little shop," Katharina noted out of context.
>
> "What was?" I asked.
>
> "The one Albert started his business in," she explained. "You know that business went so well that he bought it soon after?"
>
> "No I didn't," I confessed.
>
> "Yes, yes!" Katharina added.
>
> "How were his employees like?" I asked.
>
> "Nice chaps, really. Local boys. During their breaks he took them his parents' house for lunch, that is where I sometimes saw them," she replied.

"They had lunch on the farm?" I wanted to know.

"Yes, always. With the seniors." Katharina stated.

The above narrative refers to what predominant views in the literature would classify as the entrepreneurial act to which the roots of BoMa can be tracked back to (Chua et al., 2004; Brigham and Payne, 2015). Judged against the criteria to be met at the moment of conception, the "intention to shape and pursue the vision of the business held by a dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family […] in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations", as Chua et al. (2004, p. 38) put it, BoMa, or, more precisely, Albo, as it was referred to then, was not created as a so-called family business (Holland and Boulton, 1984; Holland and Oliver, 1992). Indeed, insofar as there were no direct family constituents, Albert Bokendahl suits the label of a lone founder—as opposed to a family one—as offered by Miller et al. (2011). In contrast to the version of social context they associate with this circumstance, family does feature, it can be argued, as becomes apparent in the way Albert organised the lunch routines of his employees. Returning to this shortly, it is important to note at this point that an isolated view of a solo-actor entrepreneur may not be the most useful (Lumpkin et al., 2011). Instead, the venture process is seen as embedded in the Draventhal context, inclusive of institutional understandings beyond a commercial one. This rendition may offer a more realistic, context sensitive understanding that may be less palpable than above categories suggest.

The organisation of family life at Dravethal has thus far been considered as part of dealing with the community. To make sense of what above studies refer to as the social context of the founder, the practices and understandings at the level of the family as a part of that community are considered. An account of Katharina Luecke is turned to.

"He married Cecelia Karlson at the time he started working in Draventhal," was the answer Katharina Luecke gave in response to my question. "She was a good catch," she said with a smile. "Albert was very proud."

"Why is that?" I asked.

"I didn't know her family personally, not then anyway, but her father ran the schoolhouse in Hafentrop…"

"…the neighbouring village?" I intersected.

Katharina nodded in reply as she went on "and more importantly you could say, she was the dean's niece."

"The dean?" I prompted for an explanation.

"Oh, you young people. Like a priest," Katharina replied, "he was appointed by the bishop, you know."

The marriage of Cecelia and Albert took place around the time he took up work in Draventhal. The label of a 'good catch' corresponds with the previously mentioned emphasis on social status as underpinned by the institutional logic of rural Catholicism. Its influence on family customs becomes

apparent in a conversation at the shareholder dinner with both Konrad and Georg Bokendahl in attendance.

"Of course we all had to be altar boys," Georg said.

"Serving at funerals was the best," Konrad added, "and marriages."

"Why is that?" I asked.

Georg put on a smile as he answered, "because the pay-out was great."

"Why did you do this?" I wanted to know, looking at Konrad and Georg in turn.

Georg shrugged and said, "it was expected, really. I don't think we ever thought not doing it was an option. That's just how things were back then."

"And when you got to serve on Sundays, oh my," Konrad reminisced, "that was also good. Father usually doubled our pocket money."

In addition to the meatless Fridays and church routines previously mentioned, the rural Catholic logic can be connected to the expectations Cecelia and Albert held in regard to the career choice of their sons. Konrad revealed the following during a talk that took place in his office after work.

"I never knew you had a middle name," I said in surprise.

"We all do," explained Konrad. "You didn't know that?"

I shook my head in reply.

"Albrecht's is Peter."

"Albrecht Peter?" I asked, still surprised.

"Yes. He was the first born son, so only a religious name would have made do," he explained with a sense of sarcasm.

"That religious, eh?" I remarked.

"I don't think it helped," Konrad replied with a smile.

"What do you mean?"

"Well Albrecht Peter," he emphasised the second name, "was supposed to become a priest. But Albrecht Peter didn't want to," Konrad explained, still smiling.

"What happened?" I wanted to know.

"Well after they unsuccessfully tried to persuade me, they just hoped Sister Margarethe would light enough candles of all of us."

Following a similar rationale as wearing finest attire to Sunday mass, having a family member in the service of God was seen as desirable and adding to the social status within the Draventhal community. Cecelia's sister, Theresa Karlson, is the nun Konrad mentioned. She had joined a cloister at a young age and became the rhetorical fall-back of the Bokendahl family, so the speak, after the attempts of Cecelia and Albert remained unsuccessful. Illustrated by the statement of Georg that 'it was expected' without an option of doing otherwise, a number of family practices were guided by the logic of rural Catholicism. Through this influence, the argument can be made, the community as a point of reference is imported into the family given that behaviour is judged against 'what would the people say', as Konrad referred to a reaction of his mother earlier. Serving as an altar boy on Sundays, for

example, is looked upon favourably by members of the Draventhal community and rewarded by Albrecht in the form of pocket money. But there are family related symbols and practices that appear to fall outside the scope of this logic.

As we drove to an offsite meeting, Konrad reported the following on family traditions.

"Lunch with the family was compulsory when we were young," said Konrad as he drove.

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Well, before we were married, we all met at Albert's for lunch. Albrecht even went after he was married, I think. A family tradition, I guess. I can't remember a time when we didn't have to call in advance and excuse ourselves for a meeting, event or something similar," he explained. "Obviously our parents did not like when that happened," Konrad added.

"Because Cecelia was not amused that her food would not be eaten?" I joked.

"No," replied Konrad, smiling. "She never cooked anyway. But it wasn't her who we were afraid of when that call wasn't made," he added, "it was our father."

"Why?" I asked.

"Well, he was the one who laid down the law, if you like. Oh how he yelled at us at times. He used to say that we should at least find the time for this one hour in our schedules. Family was important, he used to say, and that we only get this one. That's what he said: we only get this one," Konrad recalled.

Family lunches are a case in point of where behaviour was underpinned by logic of the family. This was defined in Chapter 3 as the organisation of social action to the mutual benefit of a particular group of family members on the basis of kinship principles. The decision that lunches were to be had, however, is less elusive, and, perhaps, less equitable even than what is suggested by this definition. It was Albert who, perhaps due to what he himself had become accustomed to socially in the house of his parents, established this family tradition. In his role that may be referred to as the Bokendahl family head, he actively enforced it, that is, as Konrad described it, he 'laid down the law'. A source of authority related to the "patriarchal domination" notion offered by Thornton et al. (2012, p. 56). Other behaviour of when this understanding can be seen as guiding family action were competitive events in which one of the brothers participated, as Kornrad reveals.

"It didn't matter what our plans for those weekends were," explained Konrad. "When one of us competed, the others were expected to come along. We go as a family is what our father used to say."

The 'we go as a family' reasoning was furthermore applied to church visits, funeral attendances, and other events that took place inside and outside of Draventhal. Family welfare and cohesion can thus be seen as an important principles of kinship. Over time, related customs and the role of Albert were taken for granted. Before a refined definition of the family logic is offered, it is useful to note that even after their marriages, his sons and his families spent every Easter and first day of Christmas at the house of Cecelia and Albert. Since these continually celebrated events are connected to religion,

that is, to the Catholic belief, in this case, behaviour based on the family logic can be seen as reinforced by the logic of rural Catholicism.

Elsewhere, the legitimacy for traditional relationships of the kind Albert and Cecelia pursued through their early marriage, for instance, has been discussed as based on the interplay of these institutional logics. Other behaviour, it becomes apparent, is mutually reinforcing, too. The preference for family cohesion and welfare as established by the logic of the family, for instance, is in line with the Catholic view of the family as the focal point of society. Greenwood et al. (2010, p. 524) come to a similar conclusion, albeit on a broader level of analysis, and connect the lasting existence of "traditional values of family obligation and denial of self-interest" to the influence of the Catholic Church in the social context of their study. Certain family related actions are more closely informed by the latter, such as the preference for family priest and meatless Fridays, whilst mandatory attendance at competitive events, on the other hand, may be more in line with the family logic. More generally, family customs of the Bokendahl family at that point in time, it can be argued, were guided by both the family logic and logic of rural Catholicism. That is, they were mutually reinforcing. Such an appreciation gives way to a coalescing understanding of what is considered proper in the family and adequate within the community. In other words, what was seen as appropriate in the family was perceived similarly by members of the community and vice versa. Merely the point of reference was a different one: what 'the people', as Konrad put it, represented in the community was symbolised by Albert within his family. This link between the Bokendahl family and community of Dravethal as facilitated by the interplay of these logics is important to note as will become apparent in the subsequent analysis of how processes at BoMa took shape. It is useful to offer a refined definition of the institutional logic of the family that accommodates what has been argued. Therefore, as the present chapter progresses to consider the development of BoMa, the family logic relevant to the social context of interest is seen as the organisation of social action to the benefit of a particular group of family members as established by an accepted head on the basis of corresponding kinship principles.

Since a more thorough understanding of the social context Albert is a part of has been offered, the prefaced discussion of the significance of the family logic in the founding process of BoMa and the subsequent development of the firm is reengaged with. Looking at the way Albert founded BoMa, or Albo, as it was called at its inception, the lone founder label as suggested by Miller et al. (2011) appears fitting. Through introducing the term, the authors helpfully point to the "social context, identities, and logics" a person starting a firm may be a part of and the insights into business development this may offer (Miller et al., 2011, p. 5). But the theorised absence of family influence is not as helpful considering the way processes at Alba were organised. Whilst the present-day industry in Draventhal depends on a small number of manufacturing companies, agriculture was the defining line of business at the time Albert set up his farrier shop. About three years later and as a father of four sons, Albo produced its first major innovation. In a gathering after church one Sunday, he noticed

Draventhal farmers lamenting the expense and delivery time of dual tyres. These were attached to tractors to allow the driver to steer through muddy terrain of which there was plenty on Draventhal fields. Albert, in an attempt to help his friends, fashioned a version out of the resource he was familiar with: metal. Soon every farmer in the area owned a pair of his iron tyres and Albert began distributing them nationwide shortly after. Katharina Luecke recalled the following.

> "Oh Albert," said Katharina more to herself than to me, "that is when you first struck gold."
>
> "What happened?" I asked.
>
> "Success happened, young men, success," she replied. "He patented his iron tyres. I remember this because it was quite an event at that time. Albert turned his workshop into a nice little factory, you know."
>
> "So became a proper business man!" said I.
>
> "No, not really," she mused, "it's true: all he did was trying to handle the demand, but Albert always stayed true to himself, I think. His workers—of which there were quite a few back then, mind you—always spent their lunch breaks together. Not at his parent's house anymore, but at the shop. I know this because I spent it with them a couple of times when I came by. Cecelia was there, too. Everyone was part of the family," Katharina explained and smiled as she did.

The opinion of Katharina that Albert Bokendahl stayed 'true to himself', as she put it, can be seen to indicate behaviour that was in line with what was taken for granted in Draventhal village. Commercial success, it appears, was dealt with according to the logics of the family and rural Catholicism. Employees were continuously made part of family related rituals such as joint lunches and a level of cohesion is indicated by the reference of Katharina describing 'everyone was part of the family'. Before these ways of organisation are turned to, the narrative is continued as the present concern is with the second and, perhaps, more significant innovation this success gave rise to.

As Katharina pointed out, business was good. Social status concerns regarding community membership, as previously dealt with, soon followed. Beyond that, Albert took to a hobby he was unable to undertake previously: horses. It was the pursuit of this passion that led to the early exposure of his sons to horseback riding. Their active involvement in the sport became apparent earlier through the mandatory family attendance to weekend competitions. Like lunches, taking care of horses in the stables Albert had built on a neighbouring property became part of what the Bokendahl family does. "Church, school, and stable" was how Georg once referred to this understanding. Besides making horse riding a "family sport", the engagement led to the creation of what was to become a 'milestone in the history of the firm' as it is written on the company website. Faced with the lack of adequate transportation for the ponies he had purchased, Albert drew on his knowledge of agricultural machinery and created the first ever horse trailer. This become another hobby of his for in the evenings, when the shop floor was not occupied with the production of iron tyres which Albert paid attention to during the day. What becomes apparent is a partially bounded pursuit of a family interest in the business setting.

Previously, the original venture process of BoMa was shown to not signify a business influenced by "entrenched values, culture, and structure arising from family involvement" according to Chua et al. (2004, p. 38), for instance. BoMa was not "born" a family business, as the authors put it, insofar as Albert, a lone founder, lacked any direct family constituents (Chua et al., 2004, p. 37; Miller et al., 2011). But neither is the business subsequently "made" into one (Chua et al., 2004, p. 37; Holland and Boulton, 1984; Holland and Oliver, 1992). Absent from view are any attempts to organise BoMa around the wellbeing of the family. Yet it plays a significant role in the development of the business. One that may not be best understood by confining the discussion to the venture process, nor by reducing family to a continuity intent. McMullen and Warnick (2015) acknowledge that a family business may be created around the passions of its founder. Classical approaches would suggest a focus on Albert's dispositions and preferences (Aldrich and Wiedenmayer, 1993). Others have pointed to the unhelpful divide between the individual and context (Watson, 2012; Spedale and Watson, 2013), which, it can be argued, causes the relative disregard of what led to the creation of a so-called family business as long as its founder or founders express an appropriate vision. In the present thesis, the actions of Albert, his passion and what it symbolises, is viewed as embedded in the social context of which he is a part. Emphasis is therefore placed on the social environment in which the founding and business development takes place (Kessler and Frank, 2009; Dufays and Huybrechts, 2016).

Miller et al. (2011) addressed the social context of a family influenced founder. But their framework is not able to deal with a lone founder who is nevertheless influenced by a family logic. Their version rules out any form of business or new business organisation on the basis of a non-market logic. Alternatively, amongst those who share the present insight that context is subject to multiple logics, few have made a family logic part of the analysis of companies that do not appear to be guided by accepted principles of family ownership (Fairclough and Micelotta, 2013). But this appears to be the case at BoMa: family related influences in what would generally be considered, at this point of its development, a non-family business. To move analysis along, the institutional logics developed thus far are utilised. Albert did not express any desire to create a new venture when he set out to develop a horse trailer, just as he had not done previously when he came up with the idea of iron tyres. Since the latter process was undertaken as a favour to a fellow villager of Draventhal, this may be considered an act of charity on the basis of the logic of rural Catholicism, an insight to which will be returned to. It will also become clear how the organisation of business took shape only after Albert was met and had to creatively deal with the demand his product created which led, in turn, to the emergence of a market logic as considered in Chapter 6.

A similar argument can be made for the invention of the horse trailer. Legitimacy for dealing with situation the way Albert had, in this case, can be viewed as provided by the institutional logic of the family. In his position as the family head, it was appropriate for Albert to act in the benefit of his family. That is, to find the means for his sons to pursue what was accepted as the family sport. On that

basis, it was appropriate to use the BoMa workspace to help his family overcome this particular issue. The fact that it was confined to the hours Albert was off work further demonstrates the designs were not developed with the commercial success in mind. It was separated from the previously introduced ways of dealing with the line of business his first invention had created. As the acceptance for the horse trailer grew, however, he was required to place attention on how he would organise his business accordingly. These processes are now tuned to. Before doing so, the helpfulness of viewing the founding processes of a business with a significant family dimension alongside the social context it is embedded in must be pointed out. Without the relevant historically grounded understandings brought forth here through the institutional logics of rural Catholicism and family, it would be difficult to account for the formation of actions that are part of the development of BoMa. Especially so when confining family influence to a sense of legacy at the moment of inception which was clearly not the case here, even though family did play a role in the way issues were creatively dealt with. A role which, if to be made sense of, must be grounded in the norms and accepted understandings observed in the field. This may then give rise to insights less in line with ideal versions of family continuity, for instance, despite what many studies suggest and therefore, perhaps, overlook. It is nevertheless necessary to understand how, in this case, the circumstances to which the creation of a horse trailer can be seen as a solution to, were influenced by the institutional logic of the family.

Inventing the horse trailer: the influence of the institutional logic of the family on dealing with work related circumstances it originally gave rise to

The prevalent adoption of perspectives chosen to assess financial performance of family managed firms has been established in Chapter 2. Amongst those who have addressed periods of formation and development, many refer to a so-called founder effect, especially when comparing cross generational success (Miller et al., 2013; Miralles-Marcelo et al., 2014; Lopez-Delgado and Dieguez-Soto, 2015). Concentrated ownership and small firm size, it is argued, make for superior performance. The desire of the lone founder to reap financial benefits through the active development of her or his venture has thus become a widely accepted point of reference in related work. Such behaviour has been connected to the exclusive influence of an institutional logic of the market (Miller et al., 2011). In light of the unfolding of events at BoMa considered shortly, the usefulness of confining analysis to the link between a founder's interests and business performance is questioned. Of those who point to the existence of family specific phenomena, a "family culture established by the founder" has been acknowledged (Wright and Kellermanns, 2011, p. 189). But few, if any, interpret this insight as a call to take a closer look at what culture actually does. That is, how established symbols and practices have become, on one hand, established over a particular time at a particular place and, on the other, given rise to particular forms of organisation. The risk of separating analysis of actors from the social

context they are located in has been pointed to elsewhere (Watson, 2012; Spedale and Watson, 2013) and is overcome by the conceptual framework of this thesis. Hence a view of action as simultaneously institutionalised and institutionalising in a setting where many of such interpretations—interpretations not dominantly guided by a market oriented one—may coexist and interact is continued with as the development of BoMa is turned to.

During the Christmas party I was introduced to an employee "of the first hour", as Hans Moeller was referred to by his co-workers. The reason I had not met him before was because he was long retired. A meeting was arranged for and the following was spoken.

> "Why employee of the first hour, if I may ask?" I wanted to know.
>
> "Simply because I was one of the first Albert hired," he replied.
>
> "You worked in his farrier's shop?" I asked.
>
> "Oh no!" Hans replied. "How old do you think I am? I was one of the ones he hired because of his horse trailer!"
>
> "What do you mean?"
>
> "He had built this trailer, you see, and it became quite popular in the area. There was no other way of transporting horses at the time. I mean, sure, some were creative and put the animals on their hay transporters, but Albert's trailer was the proper thing," Hans explained.
>
> "Let's talk about him as a manager. Did he, you think, have a plan for the business?" I asked. Hans laughed.
>
> "What's so funny?" I asked, unsure if I should laugh, too.
>
> "Of course you would ask for 'a plan'", said Hans, "but, to tell you the truth, there was none."
>
> "What do you mean?"
>
> "Our plan was: work as hard as you can so that the number of built products matches the number of products ordered," he explained and paused. Eventually he said, "You know, back then, everything was driven by those orders."

Albert invented the horse trailer to help his sons pursue the family sport. What becomes apparent in the above narrative his how he was confronted with an unintended challenge to deal with: product demand. Clearly there was no specific approach, no 'plan' as Hans described it. An individualistic- and market focused influence of an entrepreneurship logic that, as Miller et al. (2011, p. 4) see it, "endorses, even celebrates, a strategy for growth" remains absent from view. More helpfully, the argument can be made, Albert creatively dealt with the number of orders—some would see this, instead, as truly entrepreneurial (Watson, 2012; Spedale and Watson, 2013)—in a way that can be made sense of by the social context he is a part of. That is, through the arguably salient logics in addition to, it will become clear, the logic of bureaucratic management. The latter was defined in Chapter 3 as the means of organising social action in the most administratively efficient from based on a predetermined view of rationality. To continue this line of analysis, the conversation with Hans is returned to.

"May I ask why you were hired?" I said to Hans.

"Of course, of course." He replied. "We were neighbours, you see. Well, everybody was everybody's neighbour in Draventhal, really, but we knew each other, that's what I wanted to say."

"Were you the only one that was hired?" I asked.

"No. No. I told you before about the order numbers we had to beat?"

I nodded in reply.

"Well, Albert tried everything so this may be done. First he rearranged his little factory…

"What about the iron tyres?" I intersected.

"Compared to the trailers, these weren't important anymore. Anyway, where was I? Oh yes: he rearranged the factory to get the products out, but that wasn't enough. Albert needed people to help him buy material and more workers on the floor."

"Of whom you were one."

"Yes," confirmed Hans, "one of a few."

"Who else did he hire?" I wondered.

"Oh. Only people he knew and liked. Mostly local folks, acquaintances of his."

The way Albert had organised his workshop was no longer suitable to accommodate the work created by the newly invented horse trailer. At first, it appears, he attempted to make do with little changes such as, for example, repositioning the individual work stations. But this was 'not enough', as Hans noted. New employees were needed, employees with particular job specifications. A novelty compared to the way iron tyres had been produced up until this point. In his attempt to deal with demand, Albert began to single out areas where he needed support, 'people to help him buy material' can be seen as amongst those. Others he chose for their welding experience or knowledge on repairing cars. The ordered processes this ultimately gave rise to point to what may be seen as the increased influence of the bureaucratic logic. This is in contrast to earlier periods were administrative actions were not required to this extent. It is important to emphasise the absence of a growth strategy implied by studies referencing the founder effect (Miller et al., 2013; Miralles-Marcelo et al., 2014). Whilst the latter have come to take for granted a connection between logics of bureaucracy and competitive market, this remains absent from view at BoMa.

Albert did endeavour to find ways of administratively dealing with the individual problems that were part of the unexpected demand of a product he had created for a family purpose within the business he owned. It is useful to recall a statement earlier made by Katharina Luecke earlier.

So became a proper business man!" said I.

"No, not really," she mused, "it's true: all he did was trying to handle the demand, but Albert always stayed true to himself, I think."

Earlier the 'true to himself' statement was understood through behaviour in line with what was taken for granted in Draventhal village: dealing with commercial success according to the logics of the family and rural Catholicism. Alongside the strengthened influence of the bureaucratic logic, this

explanation remains as helpful here as it was earlier. Hiring decisions, whilst certainly informed by the candidate's ability to succeed in the area she or he will be in charge of most efficiently—thus guided by an understanding of bureaucracy—can be viewed as continuously based on above logics. Hans referred to the rationale underpinning the employment decisions of Albert as 'only the people he knew and liked'. By itself, the logic of bureaucratic management would bring selection criteria to a focus on qualifications for the task at hand; especially in a setting wherein a market logic is equally salient, giving rise to behaviour in line with the professional pursuit of economic goals (Schulze et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2011; Stewart and Hitt, 2012). Processes at BoMa, however, appear to be more closely related to the appreciation of Albert as the family head and other customs accepted within the Bokendahl family. His ability to 'lay down the law' at the lunch table, as his son referred to it, can be seen to reappear in the favourable treatment of those he liked. Put differently, it was Albert who established what was beneficial not only for family members but, in this case, for people at the firm, too. Legitimacy within both settings can be connected to the taken for granted logic of the family. Albert was not the most qualified, nor did he have experiences to draw on as he dealt with the order numbers at BoMa. But through his control, it can be argued, the particular group he established the benefit for and then acted accordingly alongside of extends beyond family. Seldom has this behaviour been made part of the research on sole ownership of a family founder, a topic, by itself, frequently addressed (e.g. Ang et al., 2000; Chrisman et al., 2004). What above studies would reduce to unprofessional forms of noneconomic behaviour could, instead, be understood better by taking a closer look at the social context in which developments take place. This is not to make family presence synonymous with a salient institutional logic of the family, nor to establish here general connection between the latter and ideal forms of family management questioned earlier (cf. Thornton et al., 2012). Rather, emphasis is placed on the existence of peculiar understandings, logics, in effect, taken for granted by a founder that transcend their original domain as they are drawn on in a way unaffected by questions of ownership related authority when coping with particular issues. As a historically continent concept, logics will evolve. Hence to retain its relevance to the social context of BoMa, the institutional logic of the family should accommodate these developments and refer to the organisation of social action to the benefit of a particular group of potentially related family members. This addition will make sense of the phenomena that Katharina Luecke pointed to earlier by recalling that 'everyone was part of the family'. Before the relationship with the rising number of BoMa employees is turned to, the continuous improvement of the horse trailer is a case in point of the significance of the family logic in the development of BoMa.

Hans Moeller said the following on a topic that may be referred to as product development.

"Did you know that Albert kept changing the trailer's design?" asked Hans.

I confessed that I did not.

Hans smiled as he said, "Oh yes. Oh yes. That was a hobby of his, you could say. For, you see, it wasn't done to increase order numbers; by God, we had enough of those."

"Why then?" I asked.

"Well," said Hans, "naturally Albert used one of our trailers as he drove his children to the competitions on the weekend. You know that part, right?"

"Yes, I know of the family's involvement in horseback riding," said I.

"Oh, good. Well, it was during those weekends that Albert noted what had to be changed. I think it was Georg, if I remember correctly, who said that the ramp was too steep for one of the horses he rode. It wouldn't get on! So, what did Albert do? He came into the factory the next day and would say 'the ramp is too steep; my son's horse wouldn't get on!' So we build a model with a more levelled ramp."

"Just one model?" I asked.

"Oh yes. At first just one model for Georg in this case to drive to the tournament with. It took some time before we changed the products sold to customers. That wasn't our main concern, but eventually that happened, too," explained Hans. "And guess what," he added, "this drove up sales, too."

Albert had previously worked on the trailer designs when the shop floor was not occupied with the production of iron tyres. As he sought to find a solution to a problem his family faced, it was considered appropriate on the basis of a family logic to devote his free time to the creation of a horse trailer whilst attention was placed on his company during the work day. Aside from continuing to find ways of dealing with product demand, what becomes apparent in the account of Hans is the absence of this separation. At that point BoMa employees took for granted a participation in what Albert had formerly pursed as a hobby: they solved family related problems for him. Clearly without intending to do so gave the improvements Georg, in this case, asked for rise to innovations of the actual product. For this to take place, a worker was made responsible by Albert to incorporate the tested ramp design into what had become a line production of horse trailers. On their own, these latter processes are aligned with the logic of bureaucratic management. But the circumstances these were put into place as a solution to, it is important to note, were given rise to by a logic of the family. The relative unimportance of modifying the actual product design points to the unhelpfulness of growth strategies commonly associated with founder managed firms (Miller et al., 2011). Notions of commercial success and increased competitiveness cannot be drawn on to explain what went on at BoMa then. In line with the definition offered earlier, the acceptance of BoMa employees to deal with problems of the owning family further demonstrates the expansion in scope of the institutional logic of the family. The favourable outcome of these creations in terms of order numbers were again dealt with as before: by means of actions that can be made sense of through the logic of bureaucracy, as is expanded on shortly. The difference was the success of a family related product created by Albert extended the influence of the family logic in that it transcended a separation between work and family he previously lived by.

Mentioned in passing was the line production that Albert had implemented in his factory. After two years of finding efficient forms of production, Albert arrived at an assembly line like

system. The enlarged factory building now featured three lines of production along each of which workers were tasked with the welding of frames, assembly of wheels and so on. When presented with a picture of this set up, Hans Moeller revealed the following.

> "Oh!" said Hans Moeller as he took the black and white picture into his own hands. "Where did you get this?" he asked.
>
> "It was inserted in a company brochure," I explained.
>
> "You see this?" he asked and pointed to a figure at the right hand side of the picture. "That's me! Line 1 was my line!"
>
> "What do you mean?" said I.
>
> "This picture must have taken briefly after we rearranged the shop floor. I told you before about the order numbers we had to beat?"
>
> Since this was not the first time that this question was asked, I smiled as I gave my reply in the form of a nod.
>
> "Well," began Hans, "this was the solution we arrived at. We had played through a number of scenarios back then, discussed them over lunch, changed things and decided again. But this was the one Albert decided on: it was the fastest."
>
> "Over lunch?" said I.
>
> Hans laughed and said, "Albert insisted! Yes yes. There were days when we wanted to keep working, but he wouldn't allow it. 'Lunch is lunch' is what he used to say to us."

Dealing with the demand the horse trailer had created over the course of two years, the lines of production can be seen as the solution Albert and his workers arrived at. This system was not implemented, as becomes apparent in the narrative of Hans, insofar as it took shape through multiple attempts of trial and error legitimised by the shared understanding of finding more efficient ways of organisation. But the view of rationality this logic of bureaucratic management was based on does not correspond to market-oriented perspectives established by economic scholars (Chandler, 1962). Instead, the continued lunch tradition illustrates the retaining influence of a family logic at BoMa. Even as the number of employees rose, Albert enforced a custom he had created by taking his first employees to his parents' house for their lunch break. Hence the point of reference for business development, it can be argued, was less provided by the economic success than by the determination of Albert to do so. This particular form of shop floor organisation, as Hans put it, 'was the one Albert decided on'. On the basis of the family logic offered above, his definition of what was beneficial for a particular group of people was taken for granted. What recognition amongst BoMa employees this created becomes apparent in a conversation with Ludger Stedinger. He, like Hans Moeller, was a contemporary of Albert. I was introduced to him at the Christmas party.

> "Have you spoken to Hans?" was Ludger's response to my introduction of the research topic.
>
> "Yes I have," said I. "But you must have many stories to tell, too."
>
> "I was there when we helped out at the stables, so yea, you may say so," replied Ludger.

"At the stables?" said I, unsure what he meant.

"We used to help out at the stables back in the day," he repeated. "You didn't know that?"

"No, I didn't."

"On certain times of the year, harvest season, for example, a number of us helped out at Albert's stables: we stacked the hay, moved the horses," Ludger explained.

"What about the factory?" I wanted to know.

"What about it?" he replied and went on, "some of us still operated the lines, of course. But we worked for the family. It wasn't a question really. If Cecelia and Albert asked, we helped out. And they took care of us, too. Cecelia, for example, when we stacked the hay, she would come by and open the boot of her car: it was filled with refreshments. We could have whatever we wanted."

Besides legitimising what a group of people should strive for, which, in this case, is to offer support when needed, the influence of the family logic is similar to the kind previously dealt with as part of the analysis of Bokendahl family life. The workers, too, take for granted principles associated with kinship including group welfare and cohesion as pointed to in the above account. 'When Cecelia and Albert asked', as Ludger explained it, 'we helped out'. The related appreciation that employees 'worked for the family' most valuably illustrates an appreciation that may be viewed as an accepted interplay of the logics of the family and bureaucratic management. Whilst the past tense of that statement is considered in a later chapter, emphasis is placed on how people Albert employed saw themselves as a part of the social setting understood through this interplay. Clearly, the salience of the family brought forth an association with the Bokendahl family, not the BoMa business. An insight that may further be connected to the treatment employees received from Cecelia and Albert.

The above narrative points to an employer-employee relationship whose organisation may only be in part understood through the logic of bureaucratic management. Besides enforcing joint lunch breaks and providing free refreshments, Albert was known to support employees in need, as Katharina recalls.

"Albert was a great man", the old lady said.

"Because he stayed true to himself?" I suggested based on what she had said earlier.

"Much more. But I suppose many have forgotten about Cecelia's and his kindness."

"I don't think I understand", said I.

"Few know that he paid hospital bills for several of his employees when they were severely ill. It's true!" added Katharina as though I would not believe her. "He helped to find doctors, too. And paid wages in advance if people went through rough times."

The assistance Albert rendered corresponds with the existence of group cohesion and welfare at the workplace as brought forth by the family logic. Offering financial assistance and support may therefore be viewed as the counterpart to the 'we work for the family' statement offered earlier by Ludger. That is, Albert, too, viewed BoMa employees as working for his family rather than the firm. Attention was paid earlier to the acceptance of Albert as the head of that particular group. He himself

acted on the responsibilities this implied in a way similar to the organisation of the Bokendahl family. Related customs, in turn, implicate the influence of the logic of rural Catholicism. And indeed, in light of the benevolent acts of Cecelia and Albert it is useful to recall the reinforcing nature of the two logics in the family setting. The preference for cohesion and welfare as established by the logic of the family, as previously argued, can be seen in line with the Catholic view of Christian charity. Hence the way Albert ultimately dealt with his employees may be understood through the logics of bureaucratic management, the family logic, and logic of rural Catholicism, with the interplay of the latter providing the rationale on which the formation of processes at BoMa were based at that point in time. A similarity between this form of organisation and the analysis of Bokendahl family life becomes apparent. Developing this argument further, a conversation with Ferdinandt Kieselhof is turned to.

I accompanied the head of production during his daily visits to the manufacturing facilitates at BoMa. As we walked between buildings one early morning, he told the story of how he was hired as prompted by a question of mine regarding office space.

"Why was he so keen on remodelling the building?" was a follow up question inspired by a talk with a line manager earlier that day.

"No idea, really", admitted Ferdinandt. "Perhaps because he will get an inch more office space. That has always been a big deal."

"What do you mean?" said I.

"Haven't I told you the story of how Albert hired me?" he asked as we kept walking.

"No you haven't," I replied in a way that implied my interest in the tale.

"Well, I was the first person with a degree he hired", explained Ferdinandt. "For him that was a big deal at the time. Not so much because BoMa needed my expertise, really, but because he could go around the village and say: 'I have a man with a degree working for me now'. In a way, I think, he did so because I confirmed his idea that the venture was a proper one."

"What does this have to do with office space?" I wanted to know.

"You see", he began, "a proper business needs proper offices, or so Albert would think. Places weren't really structured back then since everyone was interested in making the sales numbers. But when I was hired to provide that structure, or so it was Albert's idea, a proper office was needed." Ferdinadt smiled as he went on, "So what did he do? He had a hole cut into one of the outer walls and attached a little room to it: that was my office. The only one at the time, if I may add."

The grounded logics drawn on above raise the question of the relationship with social context that has thus far been limited to the analysis of Bokendahl family routines as part of the Draventhal village. In the above narrative, Frederick's description of a 'proper business' brings to mind the existence of a 'proper Draventhal villager', as Konrad put it earlier, that, for instance, went to church on a daily basis. Sense has been made of the latter by placing emphasis on the community of Draventhal wherein customs and habits informed by the logic of rural Catholicism provide a forum to make apparent the social status of its members. Frederick's reference to the term further implies an application of this

understanding to behaviour within BoMa. As the influence of the logics of the family and rural Catholicism extended to the firm, the community reappears as a point of reference that behaviour was, perhaps, not judged against but catered to. Publicising the employment of an educated man was arguably to bestow legitimacy on the business in the eyes of 'the people' and to concomitantly add to the social status of Albert within the community. This understanding may be more helpful than assuming an identification with the business (Sharma and Irving, 2005). But the acceptance of community expectations is not one impervious to modification.

As Katharina Luecke explained, for instance, Albert decided against the consecration of his factory buildings, a tradition common at the time. The local priest would visit the newly built premises and sprinkle holy water as a prayer was spoken. The conformance to religious rituals that continuously shaped related customs within the Bokendahl family was thus mediated by the existence of a logic absent from the latter: bureaucratic management. Whereas a coalescing understanding of what was considered proper in the family and adequate within the community was taken for granted amongst Bokendahl family members, this was not always the case at BoMa. Even though Ferdinandt deemphasises the significance of his education, he would not have been hired without it. Primacy was therefore awarded to finding a person qualified to implement a new structure at BoMa—in line with the bureaucratic logic—and only then a 'proper office', a rare commodity, it appears, built in light of how this may be perceived by members of the Draventhal community. The logic of rural Catholicism retains much of its influence on behaviour including, for example, the support extended by Albert and Cecelia. But this arguably relates more to the notion of a 'proper Draventhal villager' than what makes a 'proper business'. Within the community, the conformance of a business to religious traditions, so to speak, was less established than what was expected of a family. Hence as the analysis of processes at BoMa and their link to the context they are based in is continued, the Draventhal community matters less in the appraisal of conformance than to the extent it facilitates a social status of its members. Since both members of the firm and family relate to the respectability of Albert within Draventhal, differentiating the leadership of one from the other becomes increasingly difficult. This final argument is now considered.

The case has been made to offer institutional notions beyond their abstract form of an ideal type, to shift away from cross-contextual family orientations of, for instance, "nurturing, generativity, and loyalty" that elicit "conservation strategies" (Miller et al., 2011, p. 4). By tying the logic of the family to the empirical material and refining it alongside it, emphasis has been placed on the social context presently studied. Without this conceptualised knowledge on local symbols and practices it would have been difficult to study family principles of the kind argued for above in the absence of any intent of continuity or nurturing tendencies. But group cohesion and welfare, for example, were shown to extend beyond the family domain and feature in the development of BoMa. Any separation between the two was transcended as Albert began to cope with the demand of a product whose creation was based on a family need. The initially confined logic of the family became an increasingly

noticeable point of reference. As ideal behaviour remained absent from view, BoMa was not "made" into a family business in the sense suggested by Chua et al. (2004, p. 37). Employees nevertheless began to describe themselves as working for the family, not the firm. Albert, at the same time, accepted and acted according to his role as the head of the firm in a way similar—if not the same—to how he had done within his family. The legitimacy of establishing what is beneficial for each group apparent in, for example, enforcing family lunches and employing people he 'knew and liked' points the significance of the family logic. A significance that facilitated a merging of roles: patriarchal authority in both family and firm. As clashes related to the involvement of other family members are considered in the subsequent chapter, the inability of Albert to differentiate between the two becomes further apparent. In later years, as elaborated below, his role as the head of the family and related behaviour remained unquestioned. But changes to business procedures as guided by the logic of bureaucratic management and implemented by one of his sons, Albert nevertheless understood as such a challenge. Hence the early days of BoMa can be seen as institutionalising a pre-eminence of the family logic as it was drawn on to cope with circumstances it had partially given rise to. This accepted influence, in turn, institutionalised behaviour that brought forth clashes dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 – The significance of family at work: tenable customs, clashing logics and generational conflict as part of the developments at BoMa

The present chapter deals with the involvement of family members besides Albert Bokendahl and their influence on how processes at BoMa took shape. Arguments made in the previous chapter about the Draventhal community context and how institutional logics provided legitimacy for taken-for-granted actions are built upon. The work of Cecelia unfolded in a manner appreciative of principles Albert defined. She chose to not make apparent her involvement but, instead, associate projects she undertook with her husband. The education and initial engagement of their sons with BoMa is then turned to. Both are understood as part of the context the brothers were a part of and on the basis of the institutional logic of the family. Family labour is thus associated with a sense of obligation which, too, led Konrad and Rufus Bokendahl to work at the firm in periods during which it was not possible for their father to do so. This, in turn, gave rise to what is referred to as the unexpected processes of succession. Whilst Konrad accepted, on one hand, the symbolic desire of Albert to have the final say, changing conditions and an understanding related to the institutional logic of modern market capitalism led him to, on the other, challenge this custom in situations in which he saw it as appropriate to do. Disagreements between Konrad and Rufus following the deaths of their parents and the family dispute this gave rise to are considered in the next chapter.

Managing the business for him: martial scope for action

Wives of the family play, as Poza and Messer (2001, p. 25) put it, "a key, even if often invisible, role in most family-controlled operations". The theme of invisibility has become a reference point within more recent studies (see Jimenez, 2009; Karataş-Özkan et al., 2011; Gupta and Levenburg, 2013). From the beginning have authors dealt with issues related to the daily involvement of women at work (Danco, 1981; Rosenblatt et al., 1984). Continuing with an earlier theme, contributions offered in the field of small business research have been particularly forthcoming about their everyday participation. Ethnographic studies are, for example, the analysis of women as a source of family labour by Ram (1994) or the "the boss's wife" study by Lu (2001, p. 263) on the working lives of married women in Taiwan. Given the present research interest in how things work within relevant businesses, there is a need to continue with this mode of enquiry. To reemphasise a point made in a previous chapter: this is not to suggest a general absence of studies on the topic. To the contrary, issues of female entrepreneurship, career progression and succession have received increased attention (e.g. Ahrens et al., 2015; Gherardi, 2015; Campopiano et al., 2017). But related contributions of use to the arguments made in the present thesis, are generally rooted in questions of agency and placed along the economic

and non-economic dualism. Few have thus brough to bear those inquiries and insights into the development of mundane work activities on a larger firm setting. The present chapter attempts to do so. By building on the historically contingent understandings previously offered, this is now turned to.

Thus far the involvement of Cecelia Bokendahl was considered alongside the actions of her husband and founder of BoMa, Albert. Family related actions, it was argued, were organised around a shared view of the Draventhal community. An understanding that became further apparent in the relationship between BoMa employees and Albert and Cecelia, even though she was not an actual member of the workforce. Despite these accepted versions of what 'the family' stood for and did, so to speak, the need for a more nuanced appreciation becomes apparent as a conversation with Katharina Luecke is considered.

> "You mentioned that you didn't know Cecelia…", I started a section of the interview.
>
> "I said I didn't know her family", Katharina reminded me. "Cecelia I knew quite well in the end."
>
> "That is helpful," I began, "because I am interested if and how she and Albert managed the business together."
>
> Katharina smiled as she replied. "Nobody would say that both she and Albert managed BoMa together, son. Albert was in charge, that was clear to all. But the thing is, you see, she did manage the business for him."
>
> "How is that?" I asked.
>
> "You know how it reads in the bible 'do good and talk about it'?"
>
> I nodded.
>
> "Well, she didn't; talk, that is", the old lady explained. "For her it was always only Albert who mattered."
>
> "What do you mean?"
>
> "She wouldn't claim a reward or appreciation for her actions, she would always say it was Albert's doing."

The issue of invisibility (Jimenez, 2009; Karatas-Özkan et al., 2011; Gupta and Levenburg, 2013) clearly goes beyond issues of research access. Cecelia actively chose to not make apparent her involvement but, instead, associate forms of family or firm organisation she took part in with her husband. Legitimacy as related to the reinforcing interplay between the logics of the family and rural Catholicism has been turned to in Chapter 5, as has appropriate family behaviour as part of the Draventhal community. Both appear relevant here: on one hand, Cecelia can be seen as conforming with her established duty as respecting the decisions of her husband and, on the other, she ensured that a wider audience understood them as such. She would therefore not 'claim' acknowledgment, as Katharina put it, for a positive result she helped to bring about.

Bringing to mind the notion of a family head as part of the definition of the family logic, another answer Katharina provided is particularly valuable. Cecelia managed BoMa 'for him', not

with Albert, as she emphasised. Amongst the few who have offered knowledge on the topic, there is a general tendency to attribute "power sharing spousal partnerships" to family owned and managed businesses (Poza and Messer, 2001, p. 26). But Cecelia's influence, extensive as it was, it will become clear, unfolded in a manner appreciative of principles Albert defined. During the first week in the field, Hildegard Brahms, then head of finance, revealed the following.

> "Cecelia hired me," replied Hildegard in answer to my question of how and why she had started working at BoMa.
>
> "You have then certainly been here a while", I expressed. "What was she like?"
>
> "Cecelia, you mean?" Hildegard reconfirmed as she searched the drawers in her desk.
>
> "Yes", said I.
>
> "Oh, she came in everyday, had a look at the account sheets I prepared for her and took home mail."
>
> "And before that?" I asked.
>
> She now held in her hand the outcome of her quest and motioned me to look at what was a black and white image of her next to Cecelia. "You mean at the time this was taken?"
>
> "Yes!"
>
> "Oh we worked closely together then. She would always say 'Albert wants to know the numbers' even though it was clear that she wanted to see them. Did you know that she was the only person, besides Albert, who had sole signing rights to everything?"
>
> "I didn't", said I.
>
> "Oh yes. And it was good that she did", explained Hildegard.
>
> "Why is that?" I wanted to know.
>
> "She could always be counted on. And I mean always."

Before analysis progresses, it is useful to report here an additional part of the conversation offered by Ludger Stedinger at the BoMa Christmas party.

> "You seem interested in the old stories: did you know that I was fired three times?" said Ludger, laughing.
>
> "No, I didn't", said I, given that I had just been introduced to him.
>
> "It's true! In the early days, when Albert was in a really bad mood for whatever reason—it happened, believe me—he fired people at will! At will!" explained Ludger.
>
> "And this happened to you three times?" I asked.
>
> "Yes, it did."
>
> "So how come you are a regular attended of these Christmas parties then?"
>
> "I was never *really* fired", he explained. "You see, on those days Cecelia would come in and explain shortly after Albert had moved on that he didn't mean what he said and that we were of course not fired."
>
> "And this happened often?" I asked.
>
> "Occasionally," replied Ludger.

Poza and Messer (2001) offer various martial role types in their attempt to promote related research. What the authors refer to as a "senior advisor" and "keeper of family principles" appears useful, especially in light of their suggestion of assuming a position as a "dean of the 'intangible crossovers' between family and business" and "great importance" this may have for both (Poza and Messer, 2001, p. 31). Despite opting for invisibility by foregrounding her husband when at work, the significance of Cecelia as part of the processes at BoMa becomes apparent. Prior to the Hildegard's recruitment, Cecelia was the de facto employee who dealt with banks and produced company records. This facilitated the more practical development of the then young business Albert occupied himself with. Unlike what Poza and Messer (2001, p. 31) argue, she did not "instil a sense of what the business stands for". She managed it. Whilst the notion of an intangible crossover bears resemblance with the family logic as point of reference for administrative decisions, legitimacy was ultimately associated with Albert. As the respective roles of family and business head merged, he defined what was beneficial. Mindful of the latter, Cecelia maintained particular family understandings when Albert himself varied from them.

One answer Hildegard provided in answer to a query on Cecelia's signing privileges read as follows.

> "Why she had them, you mean? That is simple: because Albert had complete faith in that Cecelia knew what he thought would be best."

As part of the same follow-up conversation, Hildegard clarified that whilst she of course worked for Albert, it was his wife who told him that her employment was necessary, hence the 'she hired me' comment above. Spouses and family members more generally, Ram (1994, p. 58) finds, are expected to have "the interest of the firm at heart" and may therefore be trusted with key tasks within the firm (see also Welsh et al., 2014; Campopiano et al., 2017). In the present case, the 'firm's interests' whose compliance qualifies for the latter were defined by Albert. That is, by his preferred ways of how the business should be organised. The actions of Cecelia may therefore be seen as guided by an understanding Albert had shaped over a period of business development. This version of the family logic she accepted provided the scope of her actions and part of the reason why Cecelia placed attention on Albert. She did not instil a sense of what BoMa stood for, she managed it, as it was put. She managed those decisions of her husband which she perceived as outside of what he actually thought, as Hildegard noted, 'would be best'. Rehiring employees he had let go on a bad day is a case in point. Cecelia can thus be seen as acting on structural elements Albert himself had created but chose to alternate from. This became particularly important when working alongside their sons. It is necessary to first place attention on how their initial involvement with BoMa unfolded before this is expanded on.

The symbolic pursuit of education beyond an intention for continuity

Earlier, Draventhal community was suggested as the context through which the organisation of the Bokendahl family may be understood. Part of that social setting, the logic of rural Catholicism facilitated a consideration of 'the people' against which behaviour was judged and social status within the village established. With the prosperous development of the firm, the discernibility of members of the Bokendahl family increased over time and symbolic actions such as church attendance remained important as ever. There is little knowledge on how such context specific findings may relate to and, perhaps, shape the relationship between generations, a topic which, by itself, was frequently turned to (Gedajlovic et al., 2012; Helin and Jabri, 2015). As part of the succession literature, McMullen and Warnick (2015) point to situations brought on by parents wherein children learn about attitudes and regulatory structures to later maintain family business activities. In the absence of any intent for continuity at this point in time, an account of Georg is useful to consider. He offered the following during a shareholder dinner.

> "What was your first job at BoMa", I asked.
>
> "You mean besides running around the shop floor?" Georg replied with a smile.
>
> "Yes."
>
> "I think our first job was to deliver trailers to dealers and clients around the country," he said and looked at his brother for confirmation. Konrad nodded and Georg continued, "Yes, three to eight trailers were loaded onto a transporter at Draventhal and two of us would then start driving."
>
> "Why two?" I asked.
>
> "So you can keep on driving."
>
> "Was that something you and your brothers chose or liked doing? Was that something you wanted to do?" I queried.
>
> Georg and Konrad laughed. "Nobody was interested in what we *wanted* to do, son. It had to be done. Orders came in and trailers had to somehow make it to those who placed them."
>
> "Was it worth your while then?" I asked.
>
> "You mean in terms of payment?" Georg asked.
>
> "Yes."
>
> Laughing, he said "I don't think we even dared to ask for more than the occasional D-Mark he gave us. There wasn't really a question, in his view, I don't think"

The absence of a particular plan for growth reappears in the description of Georg. Tasks were continuously organised around dealing with the demand the invention of his father had created. Besides administratively coping with individual problems by looking for new employees, Albert required his sons to deliver products. The brothers did not actively seek that particular job, nor were they salaried. But in line with the principle of family cohesion, Albert established this 'had to be done', as Georg put it. Related the above argument on the firm's interests, their father, again, defined what ensuring the prosperity of the business implied. Reference can be made here to the logic of

bureaucratic management and a form of family labour. Despite their respective involvement in the firm, neither Albert's wife, nor children held any formal position at BoMa. Yet tasks performed by members of the owning family, Ram (1994) notes, are an important factor in the viability of enterprises of the size BoMa had at that stage of its development. To Albert, work and family were no longer demarcated social spaces. The separation in line with which he had previously confined the development of new designs to evenings existed no longer. Albert therefore saw no need to formally employ his sons or wife in the processes of coping with rising order numbers. In addition to seeing themselves as working for the family, BoMa employees, in turn, began to refer to Cecelia as 'Chefin', the female version of the German word for boss, despite her lack of bureaucratic credentials. Before the notion of family labour is elaborated on and the acceptance of Rufus and Konrad returned to, aspects of their education are considered. In particular, if the question, as McMullen and Warnick (2015, p. 1380) interpret the succession literature, "to nurture or to groom" holds relevance in the present case.

What 'heir' to select and how to ensure the long-term prosperity of a firm are concerns frequently raised within the succession literature (Handler, 1994; Ahrens et al., 2015). In the historically neutral contexts these studies refer to, a conflicting relationship between logics is generally accepted. Processes of succession coincide with opposing logics of commerce and family. Situations, as Jaskiewicz et al. (2016, p. 781) write, wherein these are "likely to flare, […] [thus] increasing the likelihood of organisational failure". What has come to pass historically, however, and what context actually does, as it may be put, has to be considered alongside logics when analysing the involvement and grooming of, in the present case, Konrad and his brothers. Priesthood as a desirable career path, for instance, was made sense of in Chapter 5 through this grounded—context specific—awareness of the logic of religion. Turing to the educational paths the brothers actually chose, related arguments can be made. The following was mentioned by Rufus Bokendahl during a meeting at BoMa.

> "Remind me again," Rufus asked, "what is it your PhD is about?"
> I offered an explanation and he said "So you are seeing university all the way through then?"
> "I am trying, yes. I guess so," said I.
> "You are one of them smart kids, I can see that."
> "I am sure your degree wasn't less challenging", I suggested.
> "Son, I never went to university," Rufus laughed as he went on. "You never heard the story?"
> Since I had not, I shook my head in reply.
> "Well, Albert wanted all of us to go to Uni. The only proper way, or something like that. You see, he didn't go to university. It was still special back then if anyone in Draventhal did, mind you. So not going, you would think, wouldn't be that much of a big deal. But because Albert had created BoMa, it was up to us to pull our weight for the family: he insisted we go", Rufus explained.
> "That is the story then?" I asked.

"Oh no. Konrad and Albrecht did go, but that wasn't for me," explained Rufus. "But I knew that dropping out of my course was not an option for Albert, so I simply showed him the report card at the end of a semester that made it pretty clear that I couldn't go on even he wanted me to."

"What happened then?" I wanted to know.

"He was furious for three days. Three days. But eventually he came to terms with me choosing a more practical education."

Beyond the limits set by an assumed intention to pass on the business, a more complex relationship between its development and education of family members becomes apparent. Should parents become aware of a plan that deviates from their own, McMullen and Warnick (2015) see a conflict between their roles as parents and founders. Tensions arise, they argue, should the child's plan not qualify her or him for a future position in the firm. Given the understanding of Draventhal community developed up until this point, emphasis on contextual factors may be useful. Reported here is the second part of a conversation with Konrad introduced in Chapter 5.

"Albert and Cecelia simply accepted your choice then?" I enquired after Konrad had outlined his parents' reaction to the unwillingness of their sons—Albrecht, in particular—to become men of the cloth.

"Yes", he replied. "That choice they accepted."

"Was there another one?" I asked.

"Well, they eventually accepted that a church career wasn't for us. But anything short of a university degree was out of the question."

"What do you mean?" said I.

"Albert made it more than clear that he expected us to come home with a university degree", explained Konrad.

"Did he want you to pursue a subject useful for working at the firm? You have an engineering degree, right?" I suggested.

"Yes I do", replied Konrad, "And no, he didn't really care. Albrecht, for example, he chose to study agriculture. That has nothing to do with what we do here."

Looking at preferable choices of education, the link between family and firm becomes more involved. Conforming behaviour was previously associated with the interplay of the logics of the family and rural Catholicism. A combination that provided the basis for a coalescing understanding of what was considered proper in the family and adequate within the community. Rural Catholicism, in particular, was demonstrated to establish a broad concern for community membership and status of its members. As part of this understanding, the development at BoMa appears to matter less in the sense that certain subjects or courses were more suitable than others, but in a way that places additional emphasis on Draventhal community based expectations. Behaviour does not unfold within categories offered by McMullen and Warnick (2015), nor according to a willingness to pass on or take over the firm. It would be equally unhelpful to suggest Albert did not nurture Rufus as a father or neglect his duties to

Konrad as a founder. More usefully, perhaps, is to view actions as influenced by the symbolic pursuit of higher education by members of the Draventhal community. As Rufus noted, it was 'still special back then'. University degrees were uncommon and seldom required for agriculturally oriented businesses of which there were many at the time. Similar to attending church during weekdays in addition to mass on Sunday as mentioned in Chapter 5, Albert expected their sons to 'pull [their] weight for the family' through university enrolment. An appreciation of context therefore plays an important role as the circumstances which led to the employment of Konrad and Rufus are turned to.

Returning home in a time of need: how the next generation became involved at BoMa

The existence of a younger generation is frequently connected to a long-term appreciation for family involvement and related conservation efforts of the business (Zellweger, 2007; Wiklund et al., 2013). In line with this version of the family is a willingness to pass on work related norms and customs to allow for stability (Dyer, 2006; Arregle et al., 2007). Such an intent for continuity which Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) associate with the ideal logic of the family remains noticeable for its absence in the discussion thus far. It is useful to recall here the emphasis on institutional notions beyond their ideal form. Dominant themes of legacy, succession and continuity have thus far not helpful to make sense of processes considered (cf. Thornton et al., 2012). Konrad's choice to pursue the subject on engineering, for instance, cannot be linked with a recognition of the benefits this may have for the development to BoMa. He did, however, end up working at the firm his father founded. The view of Sharma and Irving (2005) is shared: succession and how it unfolded demands a close look at the circumstances by which it was brought about. With this in mind, the eventual employment of Rufus and Konrad is turned to.

During Konrad's second year at university, Albert survived his first heart attack. He was admitted to a local hospital and underwent several operations. Cecelia oversaw his recovery personally and was therefore, apart from two hours in the morning which Albert insisted she spent on her church routines and company visits, mostly away from Draventhal and BoMa. Rufus, whenever his timetable allowed, began to dedicate himself to BoMa where the simultaneous absence of both Albert and Cecelia proved disruptive to the daily processes at the firm. Rufus was able to do so as he had not, unlike his brothers Albrecht and Konrad, moved to a larger city. Aware of the disruptions but unwilling to leave her husband, Cecelia urged Konrad to return home and, in line with the notion of family cohesion, as is returned to shortly, he did. Due to his previous exposure to the business, Konrad, like his brothers, was fairly knowledgably about the people and operations. He intensified his involvement and focused on areas that would later be referred to as procurement, sales and distribution. On issues of technical nature and production planning Konrad liaised with Rufus as his brother had picked up tasks related to that area.

The salience of a family understanding as institutionalised by Albert can be associated with the way Konrad and Rufus carried out tasks related to the positions they assumed. Bringing to mind the employee's acceptance of working for the family, the brothers had no difficulties of transitioning fully into the workforce. Besides the engineering degree of Konrad, it is important to note, there was no formal work experience that qualified him or his brother over their co-workers. During the morning walks with Ferdinandt Kieselhof, a number of them would, in fact, introduce themselves as classmates of Rufus and emphasise the years of experience they shared. Legitimacy for this particular unfolding of events as guided by the logic of bureaucracy remained with the family logic. Employees, relatedly, did not differentiate between members of the family. Hence the interim organisation of processes the brothers undertook was facilitated and legitimised by family specific understandings their parents had established over the time of their involvement. It took Albert 10 months to recover and subsequently resettle himself at the helm of the firm. That was the amount of time Konrad stayed for. Rufus, too, decreased his involvement but, in contrast to his brother, continued to oversee a number of projects.

Three months after Konrad's graduation, Albert had his second heart attack. The worst was averted, but his general state of health suffered. His doctors advised him to reduce his workload and, as they put it, 'take smaller steps'. Albert naturally could not agree less: he was fine and, apart from his wife, in no need of assistance whatsoever. It took the symptoms of a third heart attack for him to reconsider their suggestion. Throughout this time, ever since the second health incident, Cecelia had begun to make the case for the permanent return of Konrad and his younger brother. Rufus, with no immediate alternatives, accepted her proposal. Konrad, on the other hand, needed further convincing. Only when Cecelia laid out the benefits of his homecoming with respect to the poor health of his father—and own ignorance thereof—did she persuade him to pick up from what he had started during his gap year. In a conversation with Konrad in the fourth month of the research period, he and I discussed the following in his office one evening after work.

"Have you thought about what you are going to do after you PhD?" Konrad asked.

"No, not really. I will focus on writing it first and then see what happens," was the reply I was used to give to people who enquired.

Apparently aware of the mechanical nature of my response, he added "I was just curious, that's all. Do let me know when you have thought of something, though. Feel free to ask for advice." After a brief pause, he added "although mine is perhaps not the best experience to draw on."

"Thanks for the offer," said I, "and why would it not?"

Konrad laughed as he said, "Because my own plans didn't really work out."

"What do you mean?" said I. "The company record would suggest otherwise."

"Thanks. Yes, I guess. But looking back, I don't think BoMa was my first choice. I don't think I would have come home were it not for my father's illness and mother's request to step in", he explained. "Who knows what would have happened."

"Rufus was there then, was he not?" I asked.

"Yes, he was", replied Konrad. "But it was pretty clear that Cecelia wanted both of us here. Anyway, the message is", he paused again, "the message is to make up your own mind about where you want to work."

Regardless of the present day ownership structure and management of BoMa, the succession process was not organised around a desire for cross generational ownership. Had this been the case, contemplating a legacy of family effort, or, alternatively, unrewarded beneficence might have been helpful (Schulze et al., 2001; Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2005; Miller et al., 2013). At BoMa, however, the argument can be made for an unintended unfolding of events, a process of, as it may be referred to, unintended succession. Corresponding to the work of Sharma and Irving (2005), the need for a more critical analysis of the willingness to work for and potentially inherit a firm becomes apparent. Differentiation is necessary since various forms of commitment, as the authors put it, can be related to a family notion. Keeping with arguments previously made, it is helpful to place attention on the particular social circumstances and how these were dealt with as guided by an interplay of inconsistent logics. With this in mind, events that led to Konrad's involvement are considered.

In contrast to BoMa employees who, as demonstrated above, did not differentiate at that point amongst generations of Bokendahl family members, Albert did. The structural arrangement that legitimised the management of Konrad and Rufus, in other words, did not apply to the family domain. There was no shared interpretation of logics that, as will become clear, provided the basis for issues of succession. Despite the interplay of the bureaucratic and family logic that was accepted and influenced the successful organisation of processes at BoMa, tensions within the family arose. In a follow-up conversation with Konrad, he revealed the following.

"Albert must have been happy that his sons were able to help him when he needed it", said I.

"In hindsight", replied Konrad, "I wouldn't be so sure about that."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Technically he never asked us to step in", said Konrad and laughed. "It was our mother, really."

"And when he returned?"

"What then?" returned Konrad.

"Well," I clarified, "Albert must have seen that things worked out well, the company was still up and running… he must have been happy with your performance thankful, not?."

"I guess he was, yes", said Konrad. "But after those periods of need, or how you put it, he was happy for things to get back to normal."

"Normal meaning …", I prompted.

"Him in charge and us at university. Or something like that", said Konrad.

"And you were happy to continue your studies?" I asked.

"Yes, of course. You see, it was never my intention back then to become head of the firm."

The period of 'need', as it is put in the narrative, may be understood as a work situation whose solution depends, in part, on the actions of family members. As Cecelia petitioned Konrad to step in, his willingness to do so was arguably guided by the family logic principle of cohesion. In this sense, the 10 months he and Rufus managed BoMa in the interim resemble a form of family labour of the kind also turned to when confronted with, for example, a shortage of delivery personnel. The unwillingness to implement action that may lead to the incumbent's withdrawal is frequently turned to (Lansberg, 1988; Daspit et al., 2015; Sund et al., 2015). In contrast to these debates, there is no conflict between a desire to, on one hand, retain influence and wish for legacy on the other. There is no "founder's shadow", as Davis and Harveston (1999, p. 311) put it, in which the actions of Konrad and Rufus took place. Konrad's hesitant return and eagerness of Albert 'for things to get back to normal' emphasise the temporally defined nature of their involvement instead. An intent for continuity that would suggest an interpretation of family labour beyond a sense of obligation remains absent from view.

The symptoms of a third heart attack made Konrad and Rufus reconsider the short-term nature of their involvement. Rufus accepted to prolong his commitment without much debate. Unlike his brother, he had continued to oversee small-scale projects after the first return of Albert.

> Confronted with a question that referred to his plans when he was about my age, Rufus replied "I actually wanted to emigrate when I was about your age. I think I kept with this plan way into my thirties," explained Rufus. "I would have actually left the country, I think, had I not met my wife."
>
> "Why did you continue with your work at BoMa then?" I asked.
>
> "I was good at the job, I guess, and it was the best chance for me to make the money I need to save."
>
> "And why did you, if I may ask, stay after you had met her?"
>
> "She was happy for me to stay, you know, and what else would I do? It gave me the means to provide for my family."

Forms of behaviour related to the principle of family cohesion, it appears, varied. Looking at the commitment of later generation family members, Sharma and Irving (2005) suggest different basis for decision making that are useful to consider here. More so than his brother does Rufus place attention on financial benefits. This, as well as the lack of an alternative opportunity, the authors align with a form of continuance commitment. As Konrad suggested in the narrative above, he would not have returned, 'had Albert not been sick' and Cecelia made the case for him to 'step in'. This behaviour associated with the principle of family cohesion corresponds to what the authors see as the normative version of an obligation based commitment (Sharma and Irving, 2005). The circumstances which caused Konrad and Rufus to succeed their father without intending to do so were, in part, produced by his inability to return to the firm. The work situations the brothers were confronted with and how their solution brought forth changes to accepted actions within BoMa and the family are now turned to.

Dealing with circumstances through family labour and the unintended process of succession

Settled at home, Albert encouraged Cecelia to reassume her daily routines at BoMa. Since there was no strategic plan to take over, Konrad and Rufus initially did as their father had done before them: they sought ways to deal with rising demand. But, unlike Albert, they had to take into consideration decisions already made. Guided by an increasingly influential logic of bureaucratic management, as will become clear, they had to deal with the approximately 100 employees Albert had given employment to. Whereas the legitimacy of Albert related to his position as head of family and firm, the brothers became known for their particular area of expertise, in addition to their family membership. Konrad continued to focus on areas of procurement, sales and distribution upon his return. As part of the broader endeavour to deal with order numbers, employees soon learned to turn to him on related problems. Rufus, on the other hand, assumed authority on technical issues and production planning. Even though this specialisation remained informal at first, processes became increasingly structured as part of the new emphasis on administrative efficiency. Satisfied as the brothers may have been with the results of their actions, this form of workplace organisation led to conflict within the family domain.

An important hiring decision was to be made three years after Konrad and Rufus had acquiesced to the request of their mother to once more prolong their work in Draventhal. There was need for an employee to assist Konrad with procurement related tasks. Applicants were interviewed as a result and Herbert Mieschke eventually offered the position. The reaction of Albert to this decision, as Konrad explained, was all but appreciative.

> "Oh Albert didn't like it. He didn't like it one bit", said Konrad.
>
> "Why is that?" I enquired.
>
> "Uh, I don't know. Perhaps because he hadn't vetted the guy. He was in charge, you see, therefore he wanted to have the last word on everything. And that was fine by me, really, but I had to work with Herbert and he was the best for the job and the firm", explained Konrad.
>
> "Why was he the best?" I asked.
>
> "At that point numbers were still up, but not by as much as they had been in the past. We knew we had to improve our product, find better suppliers, satisfy clients, decrease costs, you know… the works."
>
> "And Herbert…."
>
> "And Herbert", Konrad began, "Herbert had overseen a similar process in the business he came from. He was clearly the best for the job. I still have no doubts about that."

Once Herbert had been employed formally, Cecelia suggested that it may be helpful for Konrad to go see his father. He did so. What Konrad referred to as 'he didn't like it one bit' referred to an argument that took place during that meeting. Albert was furious that he had been confronted with a decision already made. It did not matter to him, as Konrad put it, that Herbert was 'the best of the job'. To

Albert, legitimacy for employment decisions related to his position as head of the Bokendahl family and firm. Aware of this preference, as an employee put it, Albert only hired people 'he knew and liked'. But Herbert, in contrast, Albert did not know and, it appears, did not like. Yet he was offered employment nevertheless, suggesting, in turn, a change of what was considered preferable and legitimate. The family logic as a basis for behaviour was not generally scrutinised. Konrad consented to the desire of Albert to have the 'last word on everything'. But its influence on certain administrative routines waned as the brothers settled into their positions at BoMa. Succession was a term rarely, if ever, mentioned. Konrad and Rufus continuously referred to 'stepping in' as a basis for their work. An understanding that can further be connected to the retaining influence of the family logic and the symbolic acceptance of Albert as the final authority. For every year he could not resume his role at BoMa, Konrad and Rufus prolonged their involvement, thereby effectively succeeding Albert without intending to do so. In the absence of a coinciding understanding guiding this process, tensions arose. Tensions that point to the awareness of a context beyond Draventhal community of which BoMa was seen as a part.

Regardless of whether Albert did or did not know that he was able to return to BoMa, the perception of Konrad and Rufus as form of family labour to be drawn on during a time of need did not change. As such, the legitimacy of their actions was contingent upon his approval as head of both family and firm. Like Cecelia, they were to align their action with the structures he had created. But the issues they were exposed to and the way these were subsequently dealt with point to the recognition of a context other than as Draventhal community. Apparent in the way Konrad interpreted the change in product demand, he saw the need for, as he put it, 'the works': product improvement, supplier management, client satisfaction and lower costs. Keeping with the practice of making contextual concerns part of conceptual development, his actions point to the relevance of context beyond the one previously introduced. Earlier, the rural Catholicism logic—as informed by the broader ideal logic of religion—was tied to the empirical material relating to, in this case, the social setting of Draventhal. Looking at the narrative of Konrad, the need for a more relevant concept, one able to more helpfully account for processes at BoMa at that point in time becomes apparent.

The fieldwork material on the early involvement of Rufus and, in particular, Konrad, suggests a gradual change that took place at BoMa. Hans Moeller, the 'employee of the first hour' as he was referred to in Chapter 5, revealed the following during our conversation.

"Later you abandoned Line 1, is that correct?" I asked.

Taken aback, he replied, "What do you mean: abandoned?"

"Sorry," I began, "I meant to say that you were involve in the sales and distribution of trailers in the later years of your career."

Appeased by my explanation Hans said, "Oh yes, that's true."

"How did that happen?" I wanted to know.

"Well, because I had experienced what we built from the first hour, so to speak, and we needed someone to talk to the dealers and clients. Albert thought I could do that."

"And could you?" I joked.

"I guess so," said Hans and laughed. "I mean I kept that position for the next couple of decades."

"That's a long time, indeed," I said. "What was it like then when Rufus and Konrad joined the business?"

"For me personally, you mean?" Hans asked.

"In any way that comes to mind," I replied.

"Well, first of all they never really joined because they never really left. I mean yes, they got their education and everything, but they always dropped by. But I guess you are referring to the time when Albert couldn't really be part of it anymore."

I nodded in response.

"For me personally, as I said", Hans began, "things didn't change much. I continued on the post to which I was assigned by Albert and, I guess, that was respected." He paused before he continued. "There was more reporting, now that I think of it."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"For Albert, you see, a simple 'yes' when he walked by and asked if we are selling was sufficient. But Konrad wanted to meet and talk. This became the "sales team meeting'", said Hans and its emphasis on the name suggested he wasn't overly fond of it.

A conversation with Siegfried Herroeder, an employee Konrad had hired for that sales team, is also useful to report here.

"Why were you hired, if I may ask," I began shortly after Siegfried had called for questions on any topic.

"Because Konrad wanted to create what we today call the sales team," he replied.

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"When I came, I will never forget, this company only had one person in charge of dealer management. One. Hans Moeller."

"And?" I prompted.

"And Hans was used to simply allocate trailers, if you know what I mean."

I said that I didn't.

"Demand was so good, you see, he could just pick up the phone and tell dealer A that in this week, you are getting so and so many products, dealer B you will receive so and so many … and so on. And if they didn't agree to his terms, he would offer a direct competitor of that dealer better terms… but that didn't work anymore."

"What changed?" I asked.

"Demand did. BoMa now had a competitor with cheaper prices and no idea how to approach that."

"How can a company have an idea?" I asked.

"Well, you know what I mean: people at BoMa tried their best to meet demand, not manage it."

"And Konrad…", I prompted again.

"Konrad and Rufus wanted to change this. Leaner production, again, in today's terms, and a purposeful development: suppliers, sales, dealers… and that's where I came in," explained Siegfried.

Konrad arguably began to depart from what had been accepted as customary behaviour up until that point. Not so much because of the knowledge he had been equipped with at university, it appears, but rather because he perceived the circumstances as changing. Unlike his father, Konrad was acutely aware of level demand rates and conditions that may have brought them about. The recognition of this development and how it was dealt with point to the acknowledgement of a context that may be referred to as the trailer industry. The formation of the sales team, for instance, and general emphasis on bureaucratic developments can be related to this appreciation. A competitive area may be seen as organised according to the market logic, an understanding salient in the actions of later generation family members. In Chapter 3, the modern market capitalism was defined as the social practice of prioritising self-interested utility maximisation through the competitive organisation of resources. Amongst studies that, too, take industries or, more commonly, fields as the relevant unit of analysis, similar notions are offered (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Davis and Marquis, 2005). But unlike these, attention is not placed on isomorphic developments and practices converting around templates (cf. DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Keeping with an argument made Chapter 4, the present concern is not limited to associating actions with structural arrangements (Edwards and Meliou, 2015). The richness of local processes is placed alongside existing knowledge on broader institutions. That is, in contrast to above studies, no "array of appropriate collective organisational identities and practices" that organisations draw on to assemble legitimate versions of their own are offered (Lousbury and Glynn, 2001; Thornton et al., 2012, p. 135). Organisations have been associated with intersecting institutional fields (Pache and Santos, 2010). As the above narratives are considered, a grounded, perhaps more realistic, version of this discussion is offered: processes at BoMa as influenced by a variable appreciation of contexts and logics associated with each.

The generational conflict of conditional legitimacy

Having established the trailer industry as a competitive arena wherein the logic of modern capitalism appears to emerge as guiding the appropriateness of actions and behaviour, disagreements amongst family members apparent in above material are returned to. The decision of Konrad to employ Herbert Mieschke was grounded in the recognition that demand could no longer be passively accepted. There was the need to, as he put it, 'find better suppliers' and 'decrease costs', the legitimacy for which relates to the influence of the competitive market logic apparent at this point in time. To administratively deal with the issue at hand, Konrad wanted to employ a person to assist with

procurement related tasks. The influence of the bureaucratic logic remains as helpful here as it was earlier. Selection criteria were brought to focus on the ability and qualification of a candidate to efficiently perform in the area for which she or he will be in charge of. But whereas Albert 'laid down the law' within both family firm and offered a favourable treatment to those he liked, this version of the family logic remained absent from Konrad's decision making process as he outlined it above. By referring to Herbert as 'the best for the job and the firm', reference is, instead, made to an interplay between the logics of bureaucracy and the capitalist market. Guided by this co-existence, the new employee was part of the solution to find better suppliers. But Albert did not see him as such.

Related to the 'stepping in' basis for work, Albert judged the actions of Konrad and Rufus against a form of legitimacy he had, in part, created and was accustomed to. The work of Cecelia reviewed above may be seen as fully appreciative of the ways Albert had defined, behaviour as influenced by the reinforcing logics of the family and rural Catholocism in the community of Draventhal. Transcending the scope of this rationale, Konrad paid attention to the trailer industry and, as part of that emphasis, prioritised the market logic over the logic of the family, effectively substituting one for the other on occasion. Going against established patterns, it becomes clear why Albert 'didn't like it one bit', as Konrad described it. A development which raises doubts regarding the diminishing significance of market related understandings attested to younger family members in studies on performance (Miller et al., 2013). In light of above disagreements, there is a formation of practices based on a level of historically contingent conflict between institutional logics. Konrad accepted, on one hand, the symbolic desire of his father to have the final say, whereas, on the other, changing conditions and the emergence of a market understanding led him to challenge this custom when he saw it legitimate in a situation to do so. The little insight there is into "how individuals translate […] problems into a critical consciousness" (Hinings and Tolbert, 2008, p. 486) as well as the broader question of "who has the power to 'legitimate' a structural element" (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 10) were referred to in Chapter 3. Building on what has already been offered in that regard, further knowledge on how individuals chose to creatively vary from customary principles is presented as the present line of analysis is continued with.

Valuably apparent in the accounts offered by Hans Moeller and Siegfried Herroeder is the co-existence of rival understandings that became part of how actions at BoMa were organised at this point in time. Hans, as Siegfried described it, was accustomed to 'simply allocating trailers', a custom related to the popular demand of the product. The handling of requests was informed by this understanding, as were the processes at BoMa more generally. Circumstances changed with the appearance of a competitor and levelling order numbers. Finding a solution to the problems this posed, Siegfried, like Herbert before him, was hired as a part of a development that can be associated with the previously introduced interplay between logics of the market and bureaucracy. But for Hans, as he himself pointed out, 'things didn't change much'. He further emphasised that his appointment by Albert was 'respected'. Making sense of his descriptions, Konrad can be seen as accommodating

Hans' approach to work instead of challenging it. When the group of people today referred to as the sales team at BoMa were offered employment at BoMa—the appointment of Siegfried was the first of six—Konrad began to classify dealers according to their region. He intended to make the relationship between dealers and the company more efficient, as Konrad later explained: shorter handling times, more available staff, and a recognisable contact for a dealer at BoMa. The logic of bureaucratic management became an increasingly influential point of reference as these processes took shape. This, as endorsed by the market logic, is arguably the 'purposeful development' Konrad referred to. As attention is next placed on the co-existence between this course and family related norms, it is useful to offer a refined definition of the market logic. To accommodate above developments and in appreciation of those turned to in a subsequent chapter, it is viewed as the social practice of prioritising utility maximisation to the advantage of particular people through the competitive organisation of resources.

Konrad accommodated the approach of Hans, as was previously explained, by allowing him to select a group of dealers and keeping reporting to a minimum compared to what was required of his colleagues. There was a co-existence of family informed and market logic related forms of work, each bringing forth a conflicting appreciation as to what bureaucratic processes referred to: a family defined benefit as Albert used to see it or, as Konrad mentioned, the good of the company. The logic of the family no longer guided both. That is, the transcendence of the former beyond its original domain became contested when Konrad took to the market logic as he dealt with circumstances at work. Innovations, for instance, were no longer unintended consequences of utilising BoMa resources to help family members overcome problems. Rather, Georg, who still pursed horse riding, was issued prototypes to test in the field and remunerated for his efforts. And whilst he continued to request changes to the given products, these were now appreciated with an emphasis on notions of commercial success and competitiveness, reintroducing, in a way, the separation between work and family Albert had previously overcome. It would therefore be unhelpful to treat processes or, more generally, "the business as an extension of the family" (Dyer and Whetten, 2006; Berrone et al., 2010, p. 87, Cruz et al., 2014). The need for a nuanced understanding reappears when attention is placed on who worker perceive as their employer.

Tassilo Langenhorn, a financial accountant in his third year of employment at the time the research took place, put it as follows.

> "Of course I like working here", Tassilo explained. "BoMa is a great employer. The company is family owned. I mean, we are not going to be sold to China anytime soon, are we?"

Besides the considerable group of employees who continuously referred to themselves as working for the Bokendahl family, co-existing, rivalling understandings gave rise to an appreciation of the BoMa company as their employer. Relatedly, the meaning of "the interests of the firm" was reconsidered by certain members of the family, as is elaborated on in the subsequent chapter. But these changes as

related to the emergence of the market logic and appreciation of the trailer industry are not as clear-cut a development as what research on shifting institutional logics suggests (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Lounsbury, 2007). Related to the notion of institutional complexity mentioned earlier (Greenwood et al., 2011), a dominant logic remains absent from view. The interplay of conflicting logics, to the contrary, becomes apparent in the discussion of whether the wife of Konrad, Edith Bokendahl, should or should not join the firm. Around the time Albert and Konrad had disagreed on the appointment of Herbert, Edith, to whom Konrad had recently been married, quit her old job and was looking about the Draventhal area. Unsuccessfully so, as there were not many marketing related employment opportunities at the time that suited her level of qualification. Konrad therefore suggested that working at BoMa could be an option, a proposition on which Edith noted the following during a shareholder dinner.

> "Why did you not work at BoMa then?" I asked.
>
> "Because Cecelia wouldn't have it", Edith explained.
>
> "What do you mean?" said I.
>
> "She said Albert and her would not like the wives to work at BoMa, the boys were enough."
>
> "But she worked at the business", I remarked, "did she not?"
>
> "Yes, but that didn't matter. You know, she wasn't exactly the type of women that explained herself", noted Edith.
>
> "And Konrad", I began, "couldn't he persuade her or them otherwise?"
>
> "He tried, I think, but there was really no discussion to be had", said Edith.

In the sense that processes at BoMa, on the whole, were not organised accordingly, the influence of the market logic does not appear comprehensive. The trailer industry, for instance, would be unhelpful to turn to if sense is to be made of the decision of Albert and Cecelia against Edith's employment at BoMa. With her level education she was a suitability qualified candidate for a position Konrad regarded as necessary to fill, given the growing importance advertising in print media. But legitimacy, in this case, was not accepted on the basis of how helpful her work may prove to overcome competitive challenges. Besides the symbolic authority of Albert, there is a retaining influence of the family logic. The martial ties of Edith to Konrad led to an emphasis of the latter over that of the competitive market. The guiding view on issues pertaining to the family domain, especially as part of the Draventhal community, it appears, remained with Albert and Cecelia. His position as head of the family and, to an extent, firm, remained undisputed at this point. Konrad instead chose between conflicting logics as he differentiated between what context provided reference for a particular situation, a separation on which Albert arguably did not concur. This becomes valuably apparent in the final dispute this chapter turns to. Before doing so, it is useful to note questions these findings raise in regards to studies on issues altruism in family owned firms (Schulze et al., 2001; Lubatikin et al., 2005). Members of the family were clearly not indulged without question at BoMa. A possible

explanation suggests that Albert saw Edith as outside of his family, perhaps of a member of that of Konrad's, a division retuned to in the subsequent chapter.

Eight years after successfully dealing with challenges the circumstances of BoMa produced, a tax accountant reached out to Konrad and explained that if Albert were to start signing over shares, money could be saved. As part of a conversation on German inheritance tax laws, Konrad offered the following remarks on the topic.

> "It makes sense so many owners are nervous about the government's decision to review the tax law", said Kornad.
>
> "Because they wouldn't be able to afford the inheritance?" I suggested.
>
> "Yes", Konrad replied. "Who has that much cash? What will happen is that owners will sell their shares to manage financial demands."
>
> "But one can qualify for exemption, correct?"
>
> "Yes, one can", said Konrad. After a pause he continued. "I had this discussion with Albert." Konrad paused again before he went on. "I wanted him to consider the benefits for us and the business should he agree to hand over shares early."
>
> "Well, what happened?" I asked to eventually break the silence.
>
> Smiling, Konrad explained, "To put it mildly: he wouldn't hear of it. He thought I was after my inheritance. He called me a legacy hunter."
>
> "But he eventually passed parts of the business over, did he not?" I asked.
>
> "Years later, yes. A couple of percentages. And only under the condition that he could legally veto every decision made", Konrad explained.

The discussion Konrad refers to was fiercer than he suggests. He would not continue to oversee the business, Konrad told his father, should he continue to experience an unwarranted loss of control whenever Konrad made a decision for the company. Arguably, the request of Konrad went beyond the scope of him 'stepping in' for Albert, as it was put above. To the contrary, signing over shares would uncouple legitimacy from Albert's definition of what the family benefit was. The 'legacy hunter' insult may therefore be viewed as a reaction to challenging Albert's position within the family. Whereas Konrad had previously assented to judge the involvement of Edith at BoMa against the opinion of his parents, the disagreement would suggest an opposing development: behaviour as based on the family logic but contrary to how it had been accepted in the past. Tension, in this case, not related to the co-existence of conflicting logics as apparent in the organisation of the firm, but as created by a rivalling understanding based on the same. A separation that was also apparent in the decision against the employment of at BoMa. No reference was made to the principle of family cohesion within this process.

Attention is placed on the actions of Konrad that can be associated with this rivalling understanding in the next chapter. Going back and forth between the community of Draventhal and the trailer industry, so to speak, he redefined, it will become clear, what the "interests of the firm"

implied (Ram, 1994, p. 58). Clearly, there is conflict abound as the present day organisation of processes at BoMa is turned to. Conflict that, if to be understood, must build on the analysis of this chapter. That is, on the analysis of how certain processes, customs, and understandings have taken shape historically. The influence of Cecelia, circumstances that led to the succession of Albert without intending to do so, and changing competitive conditions as understood through co-existing and conflicting institutions all relate to how the passing of Albert and his wife was dealt with. Related to an inconsistent view of the logic of bureaucracy, as will become clear in the next chapter, Rufus did not share the 'firm's interest' definition Konrad proposed. As the latter continued to scrutinise customs Albert had created, a dispute that led to the termination of Rufus' work contract arose.

Chapter 7 – Founders' death and brotherly dispute: understanding organisational structures and appropriate practices through conflicting institutions and differing contexts

The present chapter examines the organisation of work as related to the involvement of Konrad and Rufus at BoMa. As argued in the previous chapter, day-to-day processes are shaped by a retaining influence of the institutional logic of the family, giving rise to structures that are in conflict with the increasing influence of the logic of the competitive market. Following the deaths of Cecelia and Albert, the interplay of these conflicting logics changed, challenging taken for granted principles of family interaction and introducing the introduction of new forms of organisation. The legitimacy of family related action is reviewed and the retaining influence of the family logic on processes at BoMa established. As this relates to an avoidance of open discussion amongst family members, the formation of structures that occurred in parallel is turned to. Making sense of processes summarised in the organisational chart next, emphasis is placed on conflicting institutional logics. Before the family dispute and changes this led to is considered, the need for a nuanced understanding of logics as informed by inconsistent views of context is argued for.

The continuing influence of the family logic at BoMa: quietly confirming to what is expected

Actions of Konrad previously turned to implied the re-emergence of the social domains of family and business. Albert had, in the years following the invention of the horse trailer, striven to overcome this divide as the scope of the institutional logic of the family was extended to decisions including, for instance, selecting candidates he 'knew and liked' or prioritising the solution of a family related problem over the product innovation this may bring. But the changing circumstances understood through an increasing awareness of the trailer industry context brought forth a new point of reference. The way in which Konrad dealt with issues at the time could, to an increasing extent, be interpreted as judging the appropriateness of practices against the guidance provided by the logic of the competitive market and its interplay with the bureaucratic management logic. This led to a changed acceptance of what, as it was previously put, the interests of the firm implied: practices at work as independent or increasingly independent of family benefits as Albert defined them. Postponing a discussion of how this informed ways of organisation at BoMa and corresponds to so-called notions of professionalism in family managed firms, the retaining influence of the institutional logic of the family is expanded on. Doing so at this point is helpful as it informs subsequent discussions on rising tensions as part of the processes at BoMa.

Beyond matters of the firm, there was a consistency in what was expected within the Draventhal community context. The family logic based principle of cohesion as well as the influence

of the logic of rural Catholicism is apparent in the joint celebration of holidays, religious holidays in particular, including Easter and Christmas by Bokendahl family members. With children of their own, Konrad and his brothers modelled their version of appropriate behaviour after that which Albert and Cecelia can be viewed has having institutionalised. Joint birthday celebrations of grandchildren's birthdays, for instance, were expected and held without interruption as Albert and Cecelia were alive. On issues pertaining to the family, legitimacy, it becomes clear, remained with the founding couple. Decisions were made on the basis of the logic of the family. The acceptance of Albert as the head of the Bokendahl family thus remained unaffected by developments within BoMa. And Draventhal community continued to influence family related understandings. A coherence important to note as it relates to a form of interaction now turned to.

Levels of interpersonal communication amongst family members has been associated with an absence of conflict about developments of a firm they own or are involved in (Poza et al., 1997; Sharma et al., 2003; Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). Whilst confined to a 'filtering mechanism', Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) make reference to the relationship between impeded communication and family logic influence. To be consistent with the review of their work offered, it may be more useful to go beyond the notion of a filter as the forms of exchange became apparent in the field less as an abstract mediator than an outcome that can be understood through the historically contingent interplay of logics. During a shareholder dinner previously quoted from, Edith—Konrad's wife—made the following statement as part of a discussion on the dispute between Konrad and Rufus returned to in a later section of this chapter.

> "Why do you think the conflict escalated so quickly?" I asked Edith.
> "Quickly?" she replied, "I don't think you can say that."
> "What do you mean?"
> "Well the disagreements, if you want to see them as such, weren't new. They were simply never spoken about", Edith explained.
> "Why not?" I asked.
> "Albert and Cecelia wouldn't have it. Simple as that. Harmony was desired and the brothers knew that. Besides the one discussion with his father, I can't recall an incident where Konrad would have addressed his concerns about his bothers or the other way around," said Edith. "If there is one thing they never learned", she continued, "than it is how to communicate properly."

The limited communication Edith implies may be understood through the family logic related principle of cohesion. An aspect of the organisation of family life practiced by Cecelia and Albert included their sons' awareness of what was expected. Noncompliance, as Georg stated, was never thought of as an option. Considering the narrative of Edith, the communication practiced by the brothers is informed by this understanding. It is characterised by a silent conformance to what was defined by Albert through his role as the accepted family head. This custom of acquiescing instead of

dealing with concerns openly can be seen as the opposite of what Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) consider helpful in establishing consensus amongst family members.

The 'one discussion' Edith referred to was dealt with in Chapter 6. Its quality as the only family related issue that had, at that point in time, been addressed sheds light on how disagreements were never spoken about. Although the content of the legal documents reproduced here relates to a later discussion, it demonstrates the relevance of this form of communication to the organisation of processes at BoMa. The correspondence was part of thirteen PDF files that were made available by Konrad and related to the family dispute concerning the termination of his work contract. Consent for its inclusion was obtained by all shareholders (Georg, Rufus, and Konrad Bokendahl). Through his lawyers, Rufus expressed his view as follows.

> "In the two decades of service the brothers have worked alongside each other as managing partners at BoMa, there is no incident where [Konrad] sought out our client to address any concern relating to any form of conduct that he now claims to have had issue with over a long period of time. Needless to say would our client have been happy to reach an agreement, as he still is at present, even though a level of surprise cannot be denied."

In a different section, it reads:

> "It is true that the two managing partners communicated mostly in writing, that is, via email. This practice is, however, common in other businesses and only in part the reasoning for producing the argument that it was [Konrad] who isolated himself. It was the brother of our client who chose to remain absent from meetings."

In response to these views, the lawyers of Konrad responded as follows.

> "How the two managing partners communicated with each other is by no means 'common in other businesses'. Contrary to the impression the opposing counsel would like to give, there was no agreement whatsoever. Joint decisions were altogether absent from view as each managing partner decided within his respective departments. Whilst this certainly occurred in parallel, it was done without prior discussion and sometimes even in conflict. […] Whilst managing partners worked next door to each other, our client chose to communicate in writing not for efficiency but because [Rufus] demonstrated ever more extreme cases of 'selective memory'."

In contrast to the waning influence of the family logic as Konrad turned to the competitive market logic instead, its influence remained significant in establishing the form of communication outside the family domain. And the surprise of Rufus over the disagreements his brother raised demonstrates the influence of the principle of family cohesion: Konrad remained silent on issues that could have incited conflict. In this way, as is expanded on in the subsequent section, the institutional logic of the family remained salient in the organisation of processes at BoMa as family conduct was continuously defined according to what Albert and Cecelia established as appropriate. Despite the number of processes put into place as part of coping with the competitive trailer industry, issues that curbed the efficiency of

particular projects remained unchallenged if they related to the work relationship with his brother. Two forms of communication can be inferred. An acceptance to engage with constructive critique to cope more effectively with challenges as influenced by the interacting logics of the competitive market and logic of bureaucracy and, in contrast, a family logic endorsed avoidance of open disagreement amongst members of the family. This argument is expanded as the formation of structures related to the involvement of Rufus and Konrad are turned to next.

Making sense of managing the firm 'in parallel'

In the second week in the field, I enquired about the notice board that hangs next to the employee entrance.

> "What are these?" I asked Ferdinandt Kieselhof.
> "A notice board. A mess indeed", he said as we looked at a bunch of papers which had been posted on top of each other. As Ferdinandt attempted to take down the first layer, a one document fell out.
> "What is this?" said I as I picked up the paper.
> "An organisational chart of how things used to be", he replied. "But with everything that is going on, it is not accurate anymore. I doubt it has ever been."
> "Why is it up there then?"
> "A company is required by law to publish one, I think. You can keep it if you like."

Figure 2 is a representation of what was shown on the paper. Informed by the empirical material obtained, Figure 2.2 is an extended version which, it will become clear, provides a more helpful summary of how practices at BoMa were organised. The differences between the illustrations are returned to below.
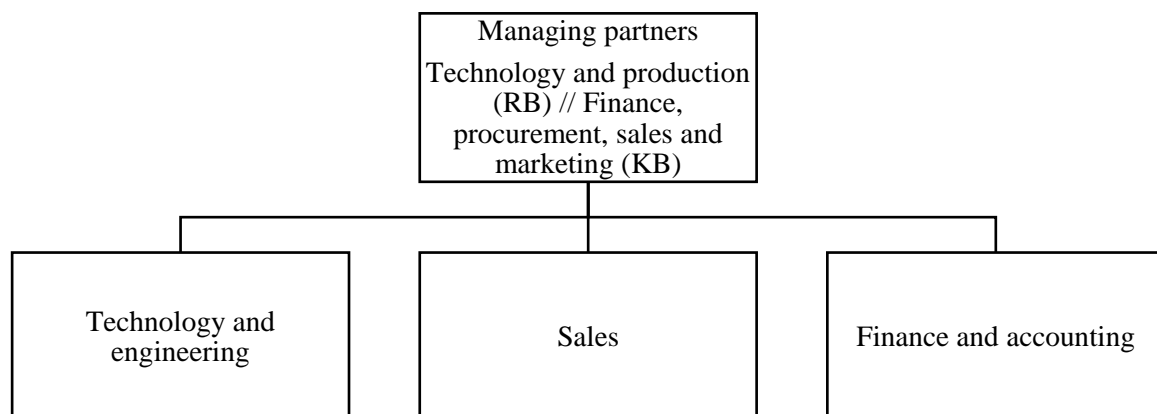

Figure 2.1: BoMa organisational chart published

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │ Managing         │
                    │ partner (KB)     │
                    └──────────────────┘
   ┌─────────────┬──────────┴──────┬─────────────┐
┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ Sales    │ │ Sales    │ │ Finance and  │ │ Procurement  │
│ national │ │ international│ │ accounting │ │              │
└──────────┘ └──────────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
     │
     ├──┌──────────────┐
     │  │ Distribution │
     │  └──────────────┘
     └──┌──────────────┐
        │ Service      │
        └──────────────┘
```

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │ Managing         │
                    │ partner (RB)     │
                    └──────────────────┘
 ┌───────────────┬──────────┼───────────────┬──────────────┐
┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌────────────┐ ┌────────────┐ ┌────────────┐
│ Technology and│ │ Quality  │ │ Production A│ │ Production B│ │ Production C│
│ engineering  │ │ management│ │            │ │            │ │            │
└──────────────┘ └──────────┘ └────────────┘ └────────────┘ └────────────┘
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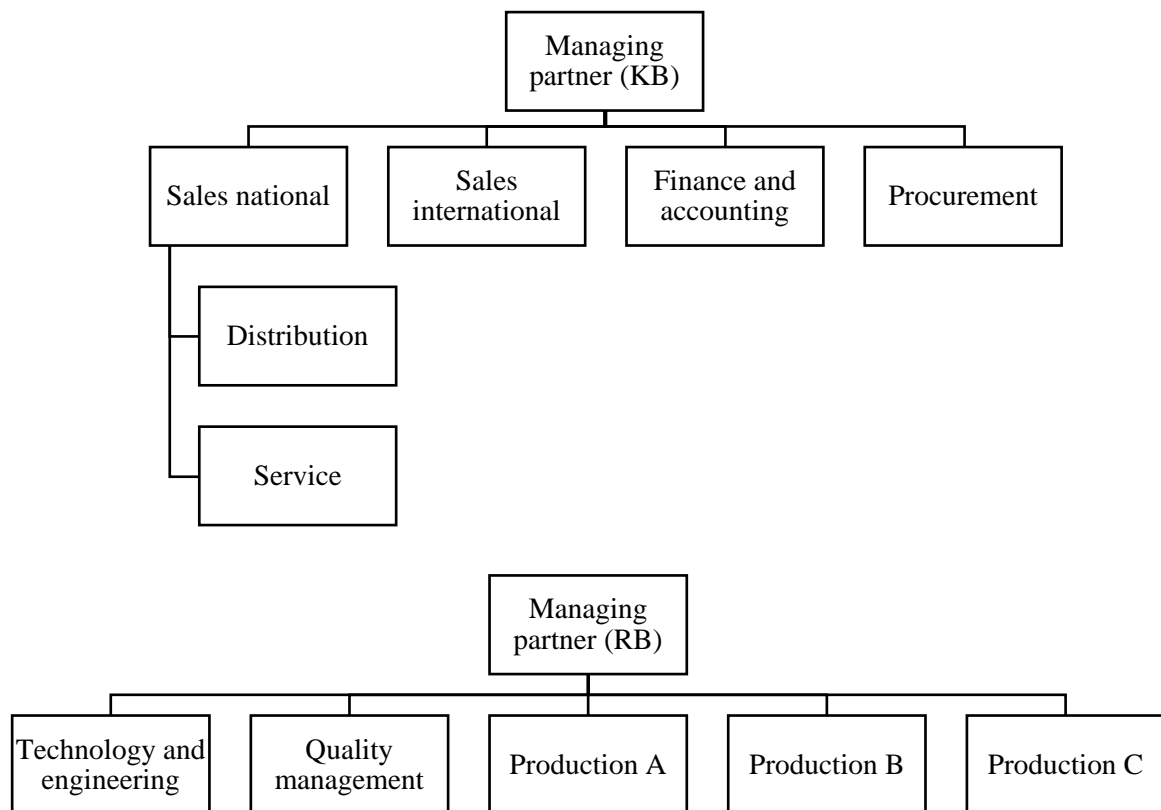
Figure 2.2: BoMa organisational chart extended

Whilst focussing on fields, Lounsbury (2007) notes the influence of particular geographical regions on the interpretation of co-existing logics that ultimately relates to forms of organisation companies adopt. Sharing his industry-level concern, others have addressed the relationship between historical developments and a coming together of institutional logics—usually conflicting logics of the market and the professions, or versions thereof—that give rise to an accepted way of how tasks are handled (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Thornton et al., 2012). Broader discussions of isomorphism and diffusion (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Fligstein, 1985) that acknowledge the existence of structures of the kind summarised above generally ignore their relationship with local understandings. But these, it has been argued, are essential if practices at the organisation level are considered. Building on previous arguments organised around the need for a more nuanced understanding, the interplay of logics influencing the unfolding of events that led to the publication of the above structures are considered.

As part of dealing with what Konrad perceived as novel circumstances, he reintroduced a separation between family and work as he implemented customs in line with the competitive market logic. Through acknowledging the trailer industry, he, for instance, dealt with levelling order numbers and emergence of competitors in a way previously analysed. In contrast to a suggestion made by Lounsbury (2007), at BoMa, an interpretation of context was not shared by all. And Konrad, as

established earlier, chose to accommodate rather than challenge approaches to work that questioned his view of appropriate action. This insight can be expanded on as the formation of structures summarised in Figure 2.2 is considered. During one morning inspection of the premises, Ferdinandt mentioned the following on his relationship with Rufus.

> "Don't get me wrong", explained Ferdinandt, "there were issues on which we did not see eye-to-eye, but Rufus did great things for this firm."
>
> "I believe so", I replied. "Any one thing in particular that comes to mind?"
>
> "There was a gluing machine, for example", Ferdinandt began, "with no prior analysis it was a great risk to buy it, but what can I say, it worked out."
>
> "What do you mean, no prior analysis?"
>
> Laughing, he replied, "Rufus, you have to know, is, in contrast to Konrad, a 'what does your gut tell you' kind of guy."
>
> "In a business this size?" I wondered.
>
> "As I said", repeated Ferdinandt, "don't get me wrong, he accomplished great things but we didn't always see eye-to-eye. But the production lines, machines... I don't think we could have kept our position in the market without them. He was, sometimes, all about improving this place."

In situations in which Ferdinandt, for instance, saw him as 'all about improving' BoMa, actions of Rufus may, too, be understood through the awareness of and as responses to the context of the trailer industry. Acquiring the gluing machine and re-training personnel to operate appear in line with the logic of bureaucratic management as endorsed by the logic of the competitive market. Product lead times, in this case, decreased significantly as wooden parts were attached to metal frames at a faster pace. The group of employees who previously handled both aspects of this processes were now two: gluers and lifters. The inconsistent approaches to act amongst Konrad and Rufus are subsequently expanded on as based on conflicting logics. At this point it is important to note that, on occasion, an awareness to judge action against a context defined by the logic of the competitive market was shared amongst the brothers.

Despite of these incidences, the respective ways of organising action of Konrad and Rufus were not perceived as corresponding. As pointed out by Ferdinandt, Rufus, 'in contrast to Konrad', appeared to prioritise intuition over analysis. Sense can thus be made of the practices that took place 'in parallel' and, at times, 'in conflict' with each other as referred to in the legal statement of Konrad above. Extending this argument further, it accounts for the managing partner roles described as separate in Figure 2.2, in contrast to the official version wherein they are joint. Four months into the fieldwork period, Konrad mentioned the following in a discussion about the dispute with his brother.

> "The accusation that I'm not able to oversee production processes properly is a funny one", said Konrad.
>
> "Why is that?" I enquired.

"Well because in hindsight the setup is nonsensically, really", he began. "I'm the one holding a university degree in engineering. So technically," Konrad continued, "I am actually most qualified to handle technical matters."

Figure 2.1 brings to mind the separation of tasks at the time Rufus and Konrad became originally involved with processes at BoMa. Respective work areas, in fact, did not change over two decades of their engagement. As Konrad can be seen to note in hindsight, this arrangement took place outside the scope of the interplay of the logics of the competitive market and bureaucratic management as he perceived it. Although the symbolic value of education has been addressed, there was a taken for granted understanding that underpinned the formation of processes not yet accounted for. In the absence of a strategy or educational background that could have accounted for the position the brothers shared as it was published on the notice board, this 'setup', as Konrad puts it, can, perhaps, be understood through the unintended process of succession developed in a previous chapter.

The arrival of Konrad and Rufus at BoMa was associated with a form of family labour as Albert expected it on the basis of family logic based principle of cohesion. Despite the time of their involvement with the firm, the logic of the family remained salient in the division of their jobs. An arrangement that apparently remained unchallenged by the conflicting, co-existing logic of the competitive market. A development that may be accounted for through the family logic related form of communication: silent conformance to what was expected. And cohesion, it is clear, was expected and endorsed by Albert who, at this point in time, was still accepted as the head of the family. The work roles of Konrad and Rufus can thus be seen as outside the scope of the market logic despite its growing influence at the company as legitimacy for this arrangement was based on the logic of the family. Figure 2.2 should consequently be seen as an outcome of these logics, whose conflicting presence—and the influences thereof—is elaborated shortly.

In a conversation with Dietrich Knaup, head of finance, the following remarks on the circumstances at the time of his first day at the firm were offered.

"You know before I came here there was no organisation of jobs", Dietrich began.

As a joke, I replied, "You have only been here for four years, haven't you? Quite the miracle worker then."

Dietrich laughed and clarified, "I didn't mean to say that they are now!"

"Weren't you?" said I.

"No, really! Of course the business was successful, but when I asked about a plan or strategy for the next 10, hell, the next 2 years, there was none."

"Who did you ask?" I wanted to know.

"Konrad and Rufus, of course", Dietrich replied. "And of course did they speak to me about ideas for what they wanted to do in their areas, but there was no big picture, if you know what I mean."

Although the argument has been made for a shared acknowledgment of the trailer industry through which Konrad and Rufus can be seen to make sense of the challenges they dealt with at work, employees, the accounts of Dietrich and Ferdinandt suggest, noted when this was absent from view. In contrast to arguments suggesting an ignorance of competitive context brought about by the existence of the logic of the family (Schulze et al., 2001), the absence of a strategic or economic plan at BoMa, it appears, was related to the inability to address different opinions openly. Hence it was less the active pursuit of family wants (Bertrand and Schoar, 2006) than the outcome of an historical process that excluded roles held by members of the family from other processes that took place at BoMa. Konrad and Rufus, it will become clearer in the subsequent section, instead dealt with problems on an individual basis, having 'ideas for what they wanted to do in their areas', thereby accepting the inability to address the management partner positions on the basis of the family logic. These incoherent ways of organising, it will be argued, gave shape to the separated versions of processes detailed in Figure 2.2 earlier in this chapter. To better understand these discrepancies, empirical material on practices related to Rufus is offered next. Conflicting views of legitimacy relate to the existence of more than one context the company was seen as a part of.

Dealing with context related challenges through institutional logics: the industry family logic…

The family logic can be seen as related to the inability to openly discuss issues pertaining to the relationship between Konrad and Rufus including, for instance, the rationality of the positions they held as part of the organisation of processes at BoMa. And whilst a shared awareness of context has been noted, the inconsistencies pointed to by employees suggest a disagreement about the situations to which this applies. As a shared interpretation in the form of a strategy or plan was clearly missing, Konrad and Rufus dealt with situations differently. Aside from abstract discussions on decoupling (Binder, 2007; Lok, 2010), scarce attention has been placed on how contradicting, context specific logics may account for conflict within organisations. And fewer still have studied the relationships of individuals as part of this conflict (Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008). The usefulness of doing so becomes apparent as practices related to Rufus are considered. Ferdinandt Kieselhof mentioned the following as we spent the breakfast break in his office after he and I had returned from the morning inspection of the premises.

"So what do you think?" said I to initiate the conversation. "Are you happy with what you saw this morning?"

"Nothing unusual. Always the same with some of them." Ferdinandt paused before he continued. "But we are really picking up steam with the organisation of the warehouse", said he.

"Why is this only happening now?" I asked.

"Well," he paused.

"Well?" I prompted. Noticing his hesitation, I suggested, "Does it have to do with Rufus?"

"You may say so", said Ferdinandt and took a bite of his sandwich.

"But he has been gone for half a year now, hasn't he? Is that why we are picking up steam?"

Apparently more at ease to speak about his former boss, Ferdinandt said, "You know, there are stories I can tell you. Do you know why progress is happening so fast over at the warehouse?"

"Because you've reorganised it?" I offered, half-jokingly.

"That came after. You know what happened the other week? They came up to me and said that it would be much faster if they didn't have to call me first when they wanted to move materials. 'Why would you want to call me first?' I asked. And you know what they said? They said that they always had to call Rufus before any material was moved out of the warehouse."

"But there is an electronic system for that", said I.

"Yes, I know!" shouted Ferdinandt in relief. "But Rufus wanted to be called first no matter what. Do you know how much material is moved out of that building every day?"

This time he waited for a reply and I said "I don't know. Lots?"

"Yes! Lots."

"But why would he insist on this practice?" I asked.

"I wanted to know the same", replied Ferdinandt. "You know what they said? They said he always told them it was his material and he wanted to know what is going on with his stuff. This way he could prevent shortages, or so he said."

It is clear the above narrative took place at a time Rufus was no longer involved with the firm. In the months following his absence, Konrad made Ferdinandt oversee the production planning activities previously organised by his brother. Before this behaviour is analysed below, it is useful to establish the legitimacy of these practices as part of the broader organisation of practices and structures suggested in Figure 2.2.

Studies on the qualifications and participation of family members in a business they own produce mixed, sometimes contradicting findings in terms of the benefit they may offer (Chrisman et al., 2005; Gedajlovic et al., 2012). In an earlier chapter, it was shown how authors connect an understanding similar to the presence of a family logic to dysfunctional behaviour including entrenchment and nepotism whilst others refer to a long term commitment with positive performance outcomes (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010; Miller et al., 2011; Berrone et al., 2012; Chrisman et al., 2014). As the empirical material is turned to, these rather isolated—sometimes abstract—views of outcomes that may be associated with the logic of the family are not the most helpful, given that Rufus was, for instance, viewed as 'all about improving' BoMa on occasion. The following was spoken as I remained behind in the office of Olaf Pohl, head of Production B, whilst Ferdinandt continued his tour.

"So you are writing your PhD about family firms?" Olaf asked.

"Yes I am. You did read what it said on the paper you signed the other day?" said I, referring to the consent form he had returned to me.

"About your study, you mean?" he replied. Seeing me nod, he laughed and added "Well… tempus fugit, as they say."

"Well how do you spend yours?" said I.

"At the company?"

"Yes", said I. "How have you come to do what you do, for example?"

"Oh", Olaf began, "I have been with BoMa for such a long time… But I've always worked in Production B, ever since Rufus hired me."

"Why did he hire you?" I wanted to know.

"When I came to the firm BoMa had just begun to build regular trailers, you know, not just those for horses", he paused.

"And?" I prompted.

Olaf replied, "And Rufus couldn't handle the workload by himself anymore. Konrad and he knew this was a promising market to get into: economies of scale, and such. But it was too much for Rufus: working with the guys in Production A, lead the technicians and oversee what is now Production B."

"So you were hired?" I offered.

"So I was hired", said Olaf.

"Why you?" I wanted to know.

Olaf laughed. "Besides helping Rufus? I guess because I had the right work experience and a degree in engineering."

Olaf Pohl gave the inability of Rufus to 'handle the workload by himself' as the main reason for his employment at BoMa. The decision of Rufus to hire him could also be also made sense of through the previously outlined interplay between the logics of the competitive market and bureaucratic organisation. Faced with the challenge of developing a new line of production that would benefit other processes—'economies of scale', as Olaf emphasised—his engineering degree and previous work experience could be seen as legitimising his selection. But Olaf clearly associated his presence at the firm with Rufus' need for it. Put differently, the rationale for his employment is therefore not most helpfully accounted for through the guidance provided by above logics. Gustaf Schmidt, head of Production C, made a very similar remark as we met in his office.

"Surely you are familiar with the latest management trends", said Gustaf as he caught me looking at his bookshelf.

"I sure hope so", said I. "What would your style be?"

"I don't think there is a Gustaf Schmidt style", said he, smiling. "But I could definitely write a book about the things that happened to me at BoMa."

"Really?" said I. "What made you come here then? The promise of an adventure?"

"Ha. You may call it that, young man. Why I came here?" Gustaf paused. "I guess because Rufus needed me?"

Since he put his answer as a question, I responded, "Don't ask me, I wouldn't know."

"Well, the fact that BoMa has use for engineers helps, but Rufus certainly needed assistance with getting C into shape."

Gustaf Schmidt, who had been working for BoMa for eight years was, at the time of the study, the youngest and most recently hired production head. His arrival at the firm coincided with the decision of Rufus to consolidate work stations that did preparatory tasks for other lines—welding, cutting, and pre-assembly—at one area of production: Production C. Whilst these decisions, again, point to the awareness of challenges related to the context of the trailer industry, the explanation Gustaf offered in regard to the decision making of Rufus goes beyond the influence of the market logic and bureaucratic organisation. They do, in part, apply to the reorganisation of the workplace. But Gustaf, like Olaf, states that Rufus 'needed him'. As an important insight to better understand the organisation of processes at BoMa, it is clear that the formation of structures requires a more nuanced appreciation of which logics came together at different stages of the development of BoMa. The logics of family and competitive market can be seen as vying for dominance in the interplay with the institutional logic of bureaucratic management.

The limited usefulness of work offering a reductionist view of conflicting versions of the logic of the market and the family was noted in Chapter 2. Decision making processes at BoMa cannot be condensed to family logic induced noneconomic goals on one hand, and economic goals as related to the influence of the market logic on the other (Miller et al., 2011; Chrisman et al., 2014). Decisions that correspond with a shared recognition of circumstances which emphasise the logic of the competitive market are not straightforward. Without a general shift, a complex interplay becomes apparent in the above narratives. It is the family logic through which the above references to the 'need of Rufus' may be understood. The same logic, it is useful to recall, impeded conversations about the roles of Konrad and Rufus. In the absence of a strategy or plan, this understanding further relates to structures that were modelled after or provided an extension to the processes associated with the original position of Rufus. Whilst these expanded as the company grew, the decision to create the particular position of head of Production C, for instance, can be made sense of through the logic of the family. The candidate himself, it can be argued, was then selected according to the guidance provided by the competitive logic of the market. But the legitimacy for the creation of the position for which, in this case, Gustaf was chosen, remained with the logic of the family as implied by the reference to Rufus' 'need'. This process, the argument can be made, was informed by the awareness of the trailer industry of which BoMa was a part. Yet the means of how to deal with this particular situation were provided by the logic of the family. This influence of the family logic is referred to as the industry family logic, a term expanded on below. It draws attention to the guidance provided by the logic of the family in response to a situation dealt with as part of the competitive context of the trailer industry.

In line with arguments made above, others have associated local, context specific versions of the family logic with, for instance, employee relations of family managed businesses (Greewood et al., 2010). But seldom, if ever, has its influence on the actual practices and formation of structures within lager family businesses been considered. An influence, it appears, that, too, relates to the involvement of Rufus' brother Konrad. Christoph Lukas referred the origins of his international sales activities during a lunch break as follows.

> "There was little for me to start with", began Christoph in answer to my question regarding French dealers of BoMa, "So I took over from what Konrad had begun. Hence the French dealership agreements."
>
> "What do you mean, 'you took over'?" I asked.
>
> "BoMa had international customers from the start, but Konrad didn't have enough time to give them the amount of attention they required", he explained.
>
> "That's why you were hired?" I asked.
>
> "You may say so, yes. I was hired since Konrad needed help clearly knew the 'to do' list to be long enough."

In the above narrative, too, the creation of a job can be made sense of through the industry family logic. Here it influenced a function related to the involvement of Konrad. It was not the economic significance or increased efficiency that is offered as an explanation for this particular position. Instead the form of support required by a managing partner can be seen as an accepted base for that decision. Unlike Rufus, it will become clear, Konrad would have more readily aligned this decision with the interplay of the logics of bureaucratic management and the competitive market. But a reconsideration of the established roles he and his brother held were not appropriate given the influence of the family logic, nor was a reconsideration of administrative practices from a point of view informed by the competitive market logic. In line with the latter, Christoph explained in a follow-up conversation, it would have been beneficial to create a position that combines quality management with international sales. Since those tasks were associated with Rufus, however, it was not considered. The industry family logic can therefore be associated with the creation of positions related to both Konrad and Rufus as summarised in Figure 2.2. as the broader family logic impeded the application of other, conflicting logics, as legitimate bases for action.

… and the logic of Draventhal family

Reference has been made in passing to the interplay of the logics of the market and bureaucratic management salient in the criteria according to which candidates were selected. The creation of the position of the international head of sales itself was guided by the family logic as informed by the trailer industry of which the company was perceived to be a part. As the daily organisation of tasks, in

particular those related to the management of Rufus, is turned to, it becomes clear how he and his brother Konrad dealt with situations differently on the basis of conflicting logics and related disagreements about contexts.

"Oh, it was generally my idea", said Olaf Pohl in answer to a question about the layout of the production lines he was overseeing. "It used to be very different, as you can see from the original layout of the building. But it was too slow, too inefficient. Time was lost in turns, material wasn't delivered. Everybody pretty much put the screws in where he wanted. I changed all that."

"How?"

"Well nobody really cared about this section back in the day. We weren't a cashcow back then, if you know what I mean. So I sat down, broke down tasks and put them back together in their most efficient order."

"What do you mean by that?" I wanted to know.

"You know what I mean", explained Olaf, "the fastest way possible, low scrap ratios, and so on."

"And this you did by yourself?"

"I had help, of course, Pit, the assistant, was helpful in the process. And Rufus had to approve it, of course." Olaf paused before he went on. "You know what the funny thing is? He simply said that I should go ahead. I was the right man for the job and that he trusts my expertise."

Rufus apparently had no particular interest in developments overseen by Olaf Pohl. Referencing his 'expertise', Rufus consented to the implementation of practices Olaf suggested. Low scrap ratios and timing of production became a part of the customary understanding of how work at Production B should be organised: most efficient ways of producing trailers. Ways clearly in line with the bureaucratic logic as endorsed by a salient logic of the competitive market. Previously dismissed notions of increased competitiveness and growth come to mind and appear relevant here (Miller et al., 2011). Indeed, an isolated view of procedures and behaviour at Production B corresponds with the functionalist argument for professionally managed firms (Stewart and Hitt, 2012). Salaried and formally trained employees are needed to cope with competitive business environments (Chandler, 1990). The absence of the family logic as suggested by the "commercial approach" of Jaskiewicz et al. (2016), for instance, appears useful, at first, too (see also Miller et al., 2011; Lopez-Delgado and Dieguez-Soto, 2015). But in line with the previously outlined need for a more nuanced understanding, the logic of the family is not entirely absent, nor does it relate to the inability of family managed firms to survive. It is simply not salient in practices associated within this section of BoMa, a section which, on its own, can be understood as organised according to the competitive market logic. The implied complexity of which this situation is a part becomes apparent as attention is placed on those projects Rufus was seen as actively concerned about.

Earlier, Ferdinandt mentioned the instruction Rufus gave to a particular groups of employees: the material in the warehouse was 'his' and he wanted to be informed about 'what is going on with his

stuff". It is necessary at this point to expand on the organisation of the warehouse at BoMa. As all raw and semi-assembled materials were delivered to this location, it was a key element in the production processes. There was a planning software in place that calculated stock by comparing what amounts had been scanned in at delivery and what was withdrawn as workers moved it to the work stations at the assembly lines. Despite this technology, Rufus insisted that his permission was to be sought before any of 'his material' was moved. In follow-up conversations, warehouse staff clarified that the latter term referred to only to those goods related to projects he was actively interested in. The group of workers tasked with assembling new prototypes, for example, had to seek his permission before any material was used. The incident pointed to by Ferdinandt took place during a time Rufus was concerned about the usage of aluminium sheets. As these were required in a large number of processes at BoMa, the decision interfered, for instance, with the organisation of Production B. I raised the following question on morning in the office of Olaf after Ferdinandt had left to complete his tour.

> "Congrats on meeting all targets", said I, aware that Olaf was eager to continue with his duties.
> "It's much easier when you don't have that many sick people", replied Olaf as he sat back down at his desk.
> "Sick people, warehouse permissions… how smooth it could be, right?" said I.
> Looking up from his computer, Olaf said, "Warehouse permissions? What do you mean?"
> "Last week I learned about the time when aluminium sheets were a hot commodity around here."
> "Oh that", replied Olaf and looked back at his screen. "Those weeks were crazy. Talk about meeting targets. Delays, I tell you… had to put on extra shifts to make up for lost time."

The administrative requirement to seek permission for aluminium goods by calling Rufus cannot be associated with a reasoning provided by the institutional logic of the market. On the contrary, employees relying on the latter logic found ways to cope with disruptions this decision created. The additional shifts Olaf Pohl implemented to avoid delays are a case in point. More helpfully, the legitimacy related to what BoMa employees refer to as Rufus' 'interest' may be understood through the logic of the family. As previously argued, it relates to the original involvement of Rufus and gave shape to the types of processes now overseen by him. An isolated view of his involvement at Production B would, again, relate to existing arguments on the influence of family at work. This time, delaying production because of a "noneconomic goal" appears in line with forms of behaviour characterised as dysfunctional and harmful (Schulze et al., 2001; Chrisman et al., 2005, p. 525). But, again, the usefulness of these writings beyond a limited set of practices must be questioned, as should underlying assumption on the nature on the conflict between the logic of the family and the competitive market.

The routines Rufus implemented conflicted with procedures of the kind present in Production B. The bureaucratic logic apparent in these ways of organisation can be seen as respectively

influenced by a family and market based understanding. Yet both, it is important to note, were part of finding ways to deal with problems at work. Rufus, as Ferdinadt put it, wanted to 'prevent shortages' and improve 'this place', just as Olaf dealt with 'time lost' and 'material that was not delivered'. Circumstances apparent to both, again, imply a shared awareness of the trailer industry and the challenges it posed. Wherein they differed—clashed, in effect—was the knowledge they relied on when coping with the situation they faced, the means. The limited usefulness of previously cited work confining the influence of the family logic to the pursuit of personal interests "harming firm performance" comes to mind (Schulze and Gedjaloivc, 2010). Reference notions of selflessness, at the opposite extreme, does also not appear helpful (Donaldson, 1990; Davis et al., 1997). Both logics, instead, can be seen as rivalling over providing the means, that is, over informing practices at BoMa, including those already guided by the logics of bureaucratic organisation. Practices which are put forth to deal with, in this case, overcoming challenges presented by the competitive trailer industry. Hence the industry family logic. The gluing machine, for instance, was a 'great risk' and purchased 'with no prior analysis'. Rufus simply insisted on it. And without his 'gut feeling', as Ferdinandt refers to it, the 'position in the market' could not have been maintained. Not all forms of behaviour related to the influence of family logic could be, in hindsight, justified with the logic of the market. Whilst this is certainly the case for those 'great things' Ferdinandt references as ultimately increasing performance, conflict becomes apparent as personnel decisions are considered.

In a conversation with Dietrich Knaup and Ferdinadt Kieselhof one evening after work in the office of the latter, the following was spoken about Section 21, which was part of Production C, and housed a number of non-assembly line work stations. At the time of the discussion Rufus was no longer with the company, a development expanded on below.

"And?" said Dietrich has he came in to Ferdinandt's office. He had seen us talking on his way out and decided to join in. "How did your meeting go?"

"What meeting?" said I, unsure what he was referring to.

"Nothing", said Ferdinandt dismissively. "It went fine. They gave into reason."

"Not like Section 21 then", joked Dietrich.

"No, not like Section 21", repeated Ferdinandt.

"What about Section 21. And reason?" I asked.

"You mean besides the fact they don't have it?" suggested Dietrich.

"I still don't get it."

"How could you", offered Ferdinandt after a brief moment of silence. "It's been going on for a long time. It's got do with the fact that Section 21…"

"…you mean: the usurper section", intersected Dietrich.

"… that Section 21", Ferdinandt continued, "is home to all those Rufus didn't like."

"What do you mean: didn't like?"

"If they caused trouble", it was Dietrich who replied, "they were moved to Section 21. Rufus always said the he would not be made a fool of in his own village."

"But Section 21 handles most of the pre-assembly tasks, don't they? It's not particularly unimportant in terms of flow of production, correct?"

"Correct", confirmed Ferdinandt. "But that didn't matter. People he didn't like were deported to Section 21. Simple as that. Obviously dealing with them hasn't been easy these days. But we'll get there, too."

The following was offered in a conversation three weeks later in the same setting.

"I can tell you why this is so difficult to deal with", was part of Dietrich's opinion on a meeting all of us had attended during the day. "He was one of Rufus' favourites."

"His favourites?" I asked.

Ferdinandt replied: "Employees Rufus got along well with moved up the ranks quickly. Dealing with them now is difficult for obvious reasons. It's been a smooth ride for them until now."

"Smooth ride?" I queried.

"Konrad didn't tell you the story about Timo Weinsag?" asked Dietrich and continued before I had to chance to confess that I didn't. "He was one of Olaf's guys. For some reason Konrad saw him parking a trailer where it wasn't supposed to go and told him. Guess what? Rufus made it clear to him that it wasn't his business and that neither Konrad not Olaf were to talk with Timo."

"And that happened frequently?" I wanted to know.

"No", retuned Ferdinandt, "not frequently. But Rufus had a number of people whose VIP treatment was obvious."

Before phenomena including 'special treatment' are turned to, it is useful to analyse how employees related to daily operations more generally. The position held by Olaf Pohl was previously made sense of as an extension of the processes the managing partners originally oversaw but needed support with as the company grew. The rationale for selecting a candidate has been associated with the interplay between the logics of the competitive market and bureaucratic management. Beyond tasks that were associated with Olaf Pohl, to continue with the example, legitimacy for dealing with employee matters, it appears, remained with the logic of the family. It was thus customary at BoMa that, in this case, Rufus dealt with employees of Production B should issues arise, not Olaf. Hence reporting patterns on the basis of the family logic existed in tension with above logics whose influence would otherwise make it customary for Production B employees to report to Olaf and he, in turn, to Rufus. Extreme cases of this conflict arguably become apparent in the above narrative which is now turned to.

Having argued that legitimacy for dealing with employees bypassed, so to speak, the reasoning associated with the choice of production heads, the conflict related to these co-existing logics is indicated above. In contrast to the version of 'reason' offered by Dietrich and Ferdinandt, as will become clear, Rufus offered preferential treatment to a group of employees referred to as 'his favourites'. It is useful to recall that Albert, too, preferred a number of workers 'he knew and liked' whilst he was present at the firm. The acceptance related to this behaviour had then been made sense

of through the logic of the family. His ability to 'lay down the law' at the lunch table arguably reappeared in the favourable treatment of those he liked. But this extension of the family logic was no longer taken for granted at BoMa. The behaviour of Rufus can nevertheless be seen as a vestige of this understanding. An understanding that conflicted with notions of efficiency and qualification, as Section 21, despite its significance as part of the production process at BoMa, served as the means through which Rufus disposed of employees he did not like. Expressions such as 'usurper section', 'deport to', and 'VIP treatment' cannot be accounted for through concerns associated with the trailer industry. Within these situations, Rufus and Ferdinandt did not 'see eye to eye', as he put it earlier. It falls outside a form of 'reason' defined by the logic of the market and viewed as customary when coping within the trailer industry context. Perpetuating conflict, the actions of Ferdinand can be seen as challenging the legitimacy related to this influence of the family logic. Becoming clearer shortly, this version is referred to as the Draventhal family logic as related ways of organisation cannot be accounted for through the context of the trailer industry.

Moving analysis along to the dispute that led to the termination of Rufus' work contract, the following statement is useful to consider. Rufus justified the treatment of those he 'did not like' through the desire not to be 'made a fool of in his own village'. Rufus thus makes reference to a context thus far primarily associated with his parents: the community of Draventhal. The latter was shown to facilitate an awareness of social status in Chapter 5 and the link between developments of BoMa and added status of Albert within the Draventhal community bears close resemblance with the challenging actions of an employee and reduced—'fool'—status in Rufus' 'own village'. In light of this insight, the guiding view on issues pertaining to the organisation of processes at BoMa must be refined. Earlier, the argument was made that Rufus and Konrad, on occasion, shared an awareness of appropriate action according to the competitive context of the trailer industry. This shared awareness, the argument is extended, appears confined to situations within which both Rufus and his brother were involved. These included, for instance, the creation of a position and selection of a candidate they would both come into contact with regularly. As Konrad, Rufus and all heads of production attended the so-called Monday Morning Meeting, the appointment of Olaf Pohl is a case in point. Beyond these interactions, the salience of the Draventhal family logic and the conflict it brought forth became clearly noticeable in material pertaining to the emerging dispute between Konrad and Rufus now turned to.

Founders' death and family dispute: changing the interplay of multiple logics by changing the prevalence of one

A tendency to avoid conflict amongst family members was previously associated with the family logic. This influence can, at this point, be classified as the Draventhal family logic. It signified an

application of the family logic within the work domain that was not informed by the trailer industry but the community of Draventhal. It thus relates to the silent conformance to family cohesion which, in turn, led Konrad to tolerate efficiency curbing projects his brothers undertook. An acceptance that facilitated its influence beyond the creation of positions at BoMa. Konrad thus deemed the tolerance of his brother as appropriate on the basis of the Draventhal family logic. He, in other words, came to terms with the existence of practices in conflict with what he arguably considered as appropriate in line with the institutional logic of the market. This silent consensus, as it may be referred to, is useful when dealing with the behaviour of Rufus.

In situations relevant to both Konrad and himself, Rufus, it was shown, adopted an interpretation of context similar to that of his brother. The qualifications of Olaf Pohl were thus judged against his ability to most effectively deal with challenges on the basis of the bureaucratic logic as endorsed by the logic of the competitive market. Beyond these situations, the adopted point of reference was less clear. Looking again at arguments made, it is apparent how the decision without which the firm, in hindsight, as Ferdinandt saw it, 'wouldn't have survived' co-existed with those he and Rufus did not 'see eye-to-eye' on. The appropriateness for each depended, in turn, on the context they were seen to relate to. Points of reference which, too, were moderated by the understanding that conflict was to be avoided. This becomes clear in the following conversation with Dietrich one afternoon in his office.

> "Rufus and I?" Dietrich began, "Completely different. Even though I have only been with the firm for five years, you know, behaviour got increasingly extreme."
> "How did Rufus' behaviour get 'increasingly extreme?"
> "I don't' know", he replied. "But if you ask me, he became more and more like Albert from what I hear, especially so in the last four years."

Four years before fieldwork commenced, it is useful to add, Cecilia passed away. Albert had died a year before her. Until that point, Rufus can be seen as acting in the knowledge that a consensus with his brother was required. Therefore, whilst he can be seen as shifting between the Draventhal community context and trailer industry, legitimising practices in line with the Draventhal family logic and industry family logic, respectively, the presence of the former was moderated by the potential conflict it may cause with the logic of the competitive market known to be preferred by Konrad. He thus did not become 'more and more like Albert' until four years ago. Put differently, in the two decades the brothers managed the firm, the Draventhal family logic underpinning Albert's position within the family as relevant to the business limited its own influence to the latter. He continued to define what was beneficial for the Bokendahl family, as previously mentioned. And passing on the business was not a part of it. Thus, on one hand, the Draventhal family logic relates to the understanding that conflict was to be avoided, whilst on the other, it established that even though Rufus' interaction with certain employees was informed by it, practices of the kind were ultimately

only appropriate for Albert. Their tolerance by Konrad, essential to avoid conflict, therefore depended on being kept within reason. This analysis relates to previous finding that whilst working directly alongside each other, only the competitive trailer industry was considered. Before the significance of the death of the founders is elaborated on, the related 'increasingly extreme' forms of behaviour are briefly turned to.

In a conversation one evening after work with Ferdinandt and Dietrich, the following was spoken about the final year of Rufus at BoMa. It took place in the office of Ferdinadt.

"He escalated? What do you mean?" said I in response to a statement Ferdiandt had made about Rufus.

"You know how he handled Wilhelm Brueck?" said Dietrich.

"Nope."

"He was one of those he clearly didn't' like. I think he caused trouble in Quality management?" said he, looking at Ferdinandt for a response. He nodded and Dietrich went on. "Right. So Rufus had to deal with him. Only Wilhelm caused trouble in Section 21, too: demanding a desk job or something. Instead of laying him off, as I suggested to Rufus, he said that it was now a personal matter and that he wouldn't want to pay him off anyways. He got Wilhelm an office, alright. One down the corridor," Dietrich pointed to the hallway, "but that was it."

"What do you mean?" said I.

"No computer, no telephone, no nothing", explained Dietrich. "Wilhelm was just to sit there."

"And do what?" I asked.

"Nothing", replied Dietrich. "Just sit. Rufus didn't' want to fire him, you see. He wanted him to apologise or quit by himself or something. He sure wanted to come out as a winner of that mess."

"What happened?"

It was Ferdinandt who replied. "Konrad and Wilhelm came to an understanding later and that was that."

The interaction of Rufus with an employee who, as Dietrich put it, 'caused trouble', relates to the previously outlined link between challenging employee action and being made a fool of. Reference was made to an awareness of social status as brought forth by the Draventhal family logic. Causing 'trouble', in this sense, may be viewed as questioning the legitimacy related to the latter thereby rendering the matter, as Dietrich explained, to a personal one. Providing an office to an employee without assigning him a task in the hope that he may 'apologise or quit' would otherwise not be accepted in a business informed by challenges of the competitive market. Hence the 'increasingly extreme' behaviour of Rufus, as Dietrich saw it, can be viewed as based on the Draventhal family logic. This was behaviour which, it was argued, was moderated, in part, by the understanding that a consensus amongst the brothers was to be kept. Such moderation, to continue a previous line of analysis, disappeared in the years following the death of Cecelia and Albert.

Clemens and Cook (1999, p. 447), studying field level changes, refer to an exogenous "jolt" as "smacking into stable institutional arrangements and causing indeterminacy" (see also Meyer,

1982). A related, although more local argument can be made about the death of the founding couple. Legitimacy pertaining to matters of the Bokendahl family remained with Albert. Konrad, as will be explained further shortly, reintroduced the divide between family and work by emphasising levelling order numbers and need for more efficient practices, for instance, all interpreted through context of the trailer industry of which BoMa was, at that point in time, seen as a part of. Contradicting this form of guidance offered by the competitive market logic and its interplay with the bureaucratic logic of management was the influence of the family logic. It, too, related to the unintended process of success through which Konrad and Rufus had originally join the firm. It produced the basis of the work roles they held at BoMa, an arrangement that became taken for granted. It is useful to recall that Konrad, through his lawyers, referred to 'undiscussed' decisions and practices that occurred 'in parallel'. These co-existing patters of action changed as a result of the death of Cecelia and Albert. The field-level notion of a jolt or shock that change "stable institutional arrangements" (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, p. 28) are, perhaps, not the most helpful to make sense of this development as conflict, rather than stability, was apparent in the organisation of practices at BoMa. Relevant to the latter, the death of the founders changed the appreciation of the logic of the family, an understanding which they, in in part, institutionalised through their related actions. Hence this jolt is not an "exogenous shock", but a development which changed the prevalence of one logic, as becomes clearer shortly, thereby changing the arrangement of co-existing logics influencing customs at BoMa.

Reference has already been made to the 'increasingly extreme' practice of Rufus in the years following the death of his parents in an earlier section of this chapter. Practices which related to an increasing—reappearing—presence of the Draventhal family logic. This, in turn, led to a level of conflict within BoMa beyond the silent consensus previously referred to. Dietrich offered the following in a conversation already cited from above.

> "In the first two years Konrad was never here. He ignored it", said Dietrich.
> "What do you mean?"
> "Business trips", explained Ferdinandt. "Many of them."
> "And this was," I began, "in response to Rufus' actions?"
> Both men nodded in response and Dietrich eventually added, "Yes, that was pretty clear."

The 'first two years' Dietrich speaks of are those within which he noted the changing behaviour of Rufus. These years were the ones following the passing of Cecelia. Konrad, initially, chose to avoid the conflict with his brother, thereby keeping with a family related custom Albert had implemented. Open discord, suggestive of the principle of family cohesion, was to be avoided. But employees associated disruptions in the daily organisation of tasks with Rufus as conflict 'escalated'. The tension between the Draventhal family logic apparent in the behaviour of Rufus and logic of the competitive market employees including Dietrich and Ferdinandt saw as appropriate rose. But the custom Albert had established of how family member should be dealt with was kept with at first. Konrad eventually

chose to address this situation as is outlined in legal documents relevant to the case. In an email, keeping with the established form of communication they had long been practicing, he wrote the following to his brother.

> "I would like a clarification of the current situation of cooperation, which is no cooperation."

And, a couple of lines on, he adds:

> "Our poor relations are increasingly influencing our employees and the company."

This was the first time, it is useful to emphasise, that a work related disagreement between Konrad and Rufus was openly referred to. Thus far the changing perception of the Draventhal family logic has been considered only in connection with the changing behaviour of Rufus. As this email was also sent in the years following the death of the founders, it can further be used to better account for the actions of Konrad. Without the endorsement of Albert, it can be argued, Konrad chose to go against an understanding he had thus far abided by. He chose to deal with a family related issue at work in a way similar to how he approached non-family related issues at work: on the basis on the competitive logic of the market. This legitimised, in its interplay with the logic of bureaucratic management, a form of constructive critique thus far inappropriate to matters of family according to the influential family logic. Rufus, the document further shows, chose to not give an answer, bringing to mind a comment made by Edith above, stating the one thing they 'never learned', was 'how to communicate properly'.

About two months later, a client informed Konrad about the blunt way a complaint of his about the quality of a trailer was handled. As this was an important client of BoMa, Konrad, acquainted with him through his sales activities, promised to enquire. He sent an email to Frederick Ribusendt, who dealt with quality complaints at BoMa, and Olaf Pohl, as the trailer had been assembled in Production B. Konrad asked for clarification and additional information. Within three hours, details of the conversation are included in the legal documents, it was Rufus who responded to the request of his brother. In an email, he wrote:

> "I've had it. Enough is enough.
> What do you want?
> Grind me down? Finish me?"

The harsh sound of the response strengthens the usefulness of an argument previously made. The Draventhal family logic, on which Rufus can be seen to base this interaction, provided no capacity to handle criticism. It further relates to the incident of Timo Weinsag above, demonstrating that Konrad, on the basis of the Draventhal family logic, was not to talk to employees of Rufus. Over the course of four weeks, this exchange led to a shareholder meeting with Konrad, Rufus, and Georg in attendance. The 'future direction of BoMa', as it was stated on the agenda, was the only point of discussion. Georg, who was not involved in the organisation of the company on a daily basis but had been presented with the cases his brother respectively made—in both official and unofficial capacity—

aligned himself with Konrad. By the end of the meeting, the work contract of Rufus as a managing partner of BoMa was terminated.

This development can be understood as an outcome of the changes to the arrangement of co-existing logics influencing practices at BoMa brought about by the deaths of Cecelia and Albert. Georg was required to solve a situation brought about, in two ways, by the consequences of their deaths. On one hand, in the absence of an agreed upon head of the family there was no enforcement of the understanding that this path was not a legitimate one for him to pursue. He thus became, as Dietrich put it, 'more and more like Albert' despite circumstances challenging this understanding. On the other hand, the decreased advocacy of the principle of family cohesion weakened the retaining influence of the Draventhal family logic in its interplay with other logics at work. The 'setup' of the brothers remained no longer outside of the scope of the competitive market logic. On that basis, it was appropriate for Konrad to question, as he did through the email above, the disruptions their 'poor relations' produced. And Georg appears to share the 'direction' for the organisation of BoMa Konrad proposes, one guided by the competitive market logic as a way to cope with the challenges presented by the trailer industry context of which the company was a part. By sanctioning, institutionalising, in effect, this understanding, Georg prepared the grounds for changes that where noticeable in the field.

This organisation chart was published on the BoMa notice boards in the final month of the research.
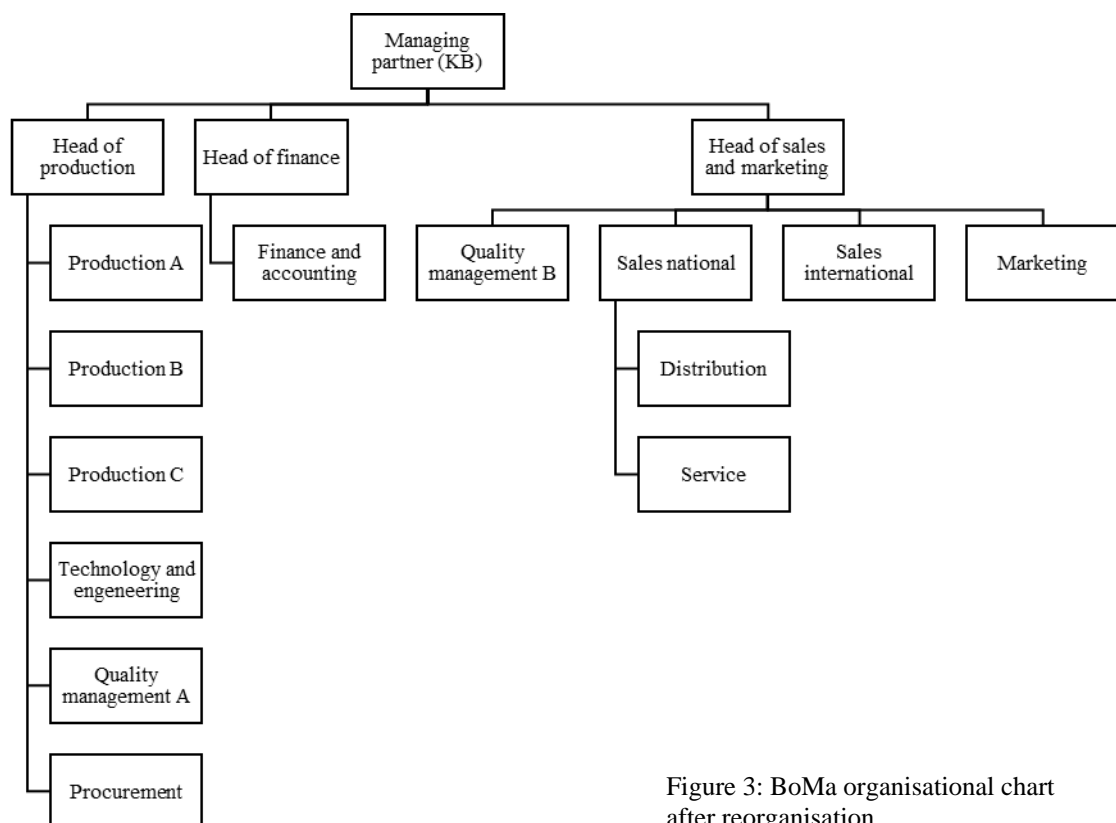

Figure 3: BoMa organisational chart after reorganisation

As previously implied, the absence of Rufus facilitated the extension of the competitive market logic to structures relating to the managing partners as part of BoMa. An arrangement that was made sense of earlier in an historically contingent outcome of the processes of unintended succession and prevailing influence of the Draventhal family logic. Looking at Figure 3, this was not the case anymore. Tasks that had previously been loosely associated with Konrad's involvement with the firm were now redefined and, in line with the bureaucratic logic, reorganised according to what was necessary for an effective performance of tasks. Changes of the kind suggested by Christoph Lukas were now considered and implemented. Previously, this was decided according to what areas Rufus or Konrad needed 'help' with as the division of tasks itself could not be questioned. As the head of sales and marketing was hired externally, for instance, the scope of the reconsideration of work tasks is made akin to the notion of professional management of family firms (Stewart and Hitt, 2011). And as far as candidates with formal trailing were considered for positions created to most effectively deal with challenges of the trailer industry, this may be the case. But the word decreasing in reference to the influences of the family logic was purposefully chosen.

As part of the changes that led to the structures indicated in Figure 3, vestiges of the Draventhal family logic in the way it used to guide decision making become apparent in the actions of those opposing the developments mentioned above. The following situation took place in the office of Fiona Firlicher, secretary of Konrad. She collected all published and publicly available material on the firm, including accounts on the Bokendahl family.

> "Hello Fiona", said I as I closed the door behind me.
>
> "Well hello", replied Fiona.
>
> "Do you have anything for me this week?"
>
> Her manner changed from joyous to cautious as she responded, "Not unless you want anything that was taken down."
>
> Mocking her change of tone, I asked, "Uh. What's so sensitive that it needed to be censored?"
>
> "Look for yourself", said Fiona and held up a document she produced from one of the boxes behind her. In large, printed letters, it read 'WE WANT RUFUS BACK'.
>
> "I see", said I. "Do you mind if I take it?"
>
> She said, "by all means", and handed over the paper.

Even though the author of the document was never revealed, workers believed it to be one of these employees previously referred to as one of Rufus' 'favourites'. Given his absence, incidences of this were limited and grew even fewer in number as they were dealt with by Konrad. The agreement he reached with Timo Weinsag, for instance, is a case in point. Apart from these Rufus related occurrences, the Draventhal family logics remained present at BoMa although at a significantly less noticeable form. One of the few instances it became apparent, for example, was in a meeting between

Konrad and three architects were I, too, was in attendance. The purpose of their meeting was a new building as part of Production B.

> "Yes. That can be done Mr. Bokendahl", said one of the architects to Konrad.
>
> "Excellent!" he replied. After a brief pause, he added, "One more thing. Before you look around for contractors—electricians and so on—could I please ask you to work with Draventhal ones? We keep good relationships with businesses in the village and would keep it that way. It will probably cost a little more, but I'll have you send a list, if that's agreeable."

These words bring to mind behaviour regarded as appropriate as part of the Draventhal community, in this case based on what is referred to as the Draventhal family logic given its influence on the firm. In conflict with the logic of the competitive market apparent in justification for the higher price, the conflict of the family remained part of the interacting logics through which actions at BoMa may be better understood.

Throughout the present chapter reference has been made to the usefulness of understanding temporally and spatially defined phenomena through an arrangement of context specific, co-existing institutional logics. Instead of organising conflict around logics that have been formulated in the abstract, their development and historically contingent customs, practices, and ranges of behaviour they can be seen as giving rise to were considered in answer to the research question of the present thesis. It would have indeed been difficult to arrive at the retaining influence of the family logic at BoMa, for instance, without the previously developed arguments regarding the unintended process of succession. Likewise, Bokendahl family principles as part of the context which they helped to establish were essential to understand the formation of structures at BoMa and how these had become taken for granted. Building on these, the guidance offered by co-existing logics as Konrad and Rufus dealt with challenges related to inconsistent contexts were considered. As the influence of the family logic rendered differences inappropriate for discussion, decisions were made in parallel, facilitating the emergence of practices as influenced by conflicting logics. The need for a nuanced understanding became particularly noticeable as the reorganisation of processes was considered. Without the endorsement of the founders, tensions arose, challenging understandings that had previously been taken for granted. Whilst the next chapter draws together a number of these findings, the above sections provide useful insight into the development of daily organisation and practices of a family managed business.

Chapter 8 – Taking account and looking ahead

This thesis set out to study how organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in situations of quotidian work life. Utilising a conceptual framework of coexisting and conflicting institutional logics, empirical material was analysed in a process of learning and reflection made possible by becoming thoroughly immersed in the social setting of BoMa, a medium-to-large business owned and managed by members of my family. Arguments offered originated from a personal frustration with available social scientific material to make helpful sense of situations I was confronted with. How such a starting point has given shape to the key research question of 'how do organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in the everyday?' has been laid out in an earlier chapter. The aim of this final chapter is to turn back and take account of arguments guided by this question and the way in which these were refined over the course of this thesis. The wider relevance of the knowledge offered is suggested, areas for future research are pointed to and the significance of space, time and the role of the researcher is addressed.

As part of the attempt to write about the "valuable truths about the realties of work", as Watson (2011, p. 207) so helpfully puts it, a number of issues were dealt with. Amongst them was the usefulness of more realistic assumptions appreciative of contexts beyond noneconomic aspects of family firms, to arrive at a perhaps more helpful way of making sense of what is 'actually going on', that is, of how have certain customs and structures come to exist. A view of the conflicting and dynamic nature of historically contingent appropriate ways of dealing with challenges was thus developed for the purpose of this thesis. Emphasis was placed on how these logics, in effect, came together in the formation of situations of mundane work life. Situations that have received relatively little attention elsewhere, despite the recent growth of what is referred to as the field of family firm research. The development of such day-to-day issues of family and business and how they have come to exist were brought to the forefront of this research. As an ethnographic account, it set out to have the substantive quality to be of potential use to anyone engaging with the type of social setting addressed here and, at the same time, add to the broader body of social scientific knowledge it is a part of.

The substantial quality of being of use

Knowledge offered in this thesis, it was argued, is judged against its potential to be of use to anyone engaging with the social setting studied. In the present case: a social setting of family and business. Through the notion of Pragmatic realism developed for the present purpose, 'to be of use' was, more specifically, offered as the notion to be of *more* use as part of the broader emphasis on the fundamental human social condition to cope with and concomitantly make a life. An underlying

theme giving shape to the ethnographic process made use of in this research. The related interplay between fieldwork experiences, existing knowledge and a theoretical framework flexible enough to accommodate these routes of traffic was thus, in part, driven by the attempt to produce knowledge that is more helpful than what has come before in its ability to enable a reader to better cope should she or he become practically involved in the setting studied. And whilst the above interplay has been developed in relation to the fieldwork accounts of a specific subject matter—activities of BoMa, a German family owned and managed manufacturing business—the sense made is not restricted to the specific phenomena that were dealt with. Rather, the wider relevance suggested here takes shape in the theoretical generalisations and their ability to inform the practices of anyone entering the type of setting covered. What follows turns to this substantial quality of being of use, as it may be put, addresses several themes that have emerged over the course of this thesis and attempts to make broader implications of how the ropes were learned at BoMa more explicit. "Cherry-picking" practices of the kind Van Maanen (2011, p. 222) cautions against are avoided. Individual issues are returned to for their theoretical linkages with a thorough appreciation of the interwoven nature of theoretical work, empirical accounts and the ethnographic process as a whole.

The appreciation of both family and business in the founding processes and beyond

Referencing the focus of the present thesis, the absence of an intent to distinctively cut through the abundance of competing definitions and specify what a so-called family business stands far was previously noted (cf. Astrachan, Klein and Smyrnios, 2002; Chrisman et al., 2005). Attention was, instead, placed on coming to terms with the development of everyday realities within such organisations. Doing so brought forth the usefulness of dealing with a significant family dimension, as stated in the research question, through the social context of which the firm is viewed as a part. Family influence notwithstanding, when judged against established criteria to be met at the time of its creation, BoMa did not qualify as a family business in the established sense. Absent was the "intention to shape and pursue the vision of a business held by a dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family […] in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations" (Chua et al., 2004, p. 38). Yet such customs including the regular lunches of Albert with his employees at the house of its parents were shown to be informed by the logic of the family. A recurrent insight worthwhile to point out is the appreciation of family and business over family business. When interested in what goes on within family-centred organisations, the utility of going beyond predefined concepts such as cross-generational ownership, intent for continuity or entrenched values without which the firm is arguably not a family firm has been demonstrated in the present thesis (Morck et al., 1998; Gomez-Mejia et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2008; Berrone et al., 2012). This is not to suggest corresponding forms of behaviour remain altogether absent from view. Family-related behaviour referred to in some of these writings could indeed have been made sense of through these notions. But

not exclusively so. Other influences associated with family are subtler in the vicissitudes of daily work life and may be overlooked in a search for conditions which differentiate family from nonfamily, economic from noneconomic and so on. The question should thus not be if family firms are borne or made, as Chua et al. (2004) ask, but to what extent issues within organisations are given rise to by a family related understanding and its conflict with rivalling bases for action in particular place, at a particular time.

Research endeavours related to the call of Chua et al. (2004) are not without merit. The salience of the logic of the family, complemented, in the present study, by a logic of religion and contested by others, does appear to wane and wax over the course of a firm's existence and developments at the workplace. Behaviour on the basis of 'all were part of the family', as a contemporary of Albert referred to it, appeared no longer appropriate when his son Konrad organised processes at BoMa. As actors are confronted with situations to deal with, the perception of how to best go about them changes. Certain customs are maintained whilst others are creatively varied from. These were made sense of through conflicting and co-existing institutional logics and most helpfully understood, it is important to note, as contextually grounded and historically contingent. Persistent conflict within the sales department at BoMa would, for example, have been difficult to make sense of otherwise. That is, had there been no insight into the family logic related legitimacy of an employee's actions when Albert was in charge, it would have been difficult to comprehend why and how his son Konrad accommodated this approach to work instead of challenging it. Guided by an understanding of the capitalist market, he intended to increase the efficiency of the sales department. Yet related expectations of personnel hired for this purpose did not extent to Hans Moeller, the worker referred to above. As an 'employee of the first hour', as he was referred to by his co-workers, his appointment by Albert was 'respected', as he himself put it, even though he was no longer actively involved at the firm. Returning to the significance of the social context shortly, the suggestion of Olsen et al. (2003) is a useful one to make. Even though the authors appear to accept the family firm label, they refer to the usefulness of paying closer attention to the founding process. Arguments made in the present thesis correspond with the insight that issues dealt with at a later stage of the existence of a company can be better understood if aspects in the venture creation processes are thoroughly accounted for. This is apparent, for instance, in the link between once taken-for-granted behaviour at the time of Hans' employment and conflict amongst workers in the BoMa sales department several years later.

Miller et al. (2011) were shown to helpfully address the social context of a family founder. Yet the inability of their framework to account for a lone founder who is nevertheless influenced by a version of the family logic is as unhelpful as the preclusion of family when, for instance, a continuity intent is not readily apparent. Contrary to their suggestions, the logic of the family was shown to be present despite the fact that Albert, a lone founder, lacked any direct family constituents. There were no attempts to organise BoMa around the welbeing of the family as such, no generous payouts or avoidance of new projects. The call to pay further attention to the creation of a business is made in a

section below. The insight that can be gained from a nuanced understanding and bringing it to bear on the founding processes of a business was demonstrated.

The relationship between innovations and family influence at the workplace

An increasing amount of research attention has recently been devoted to the study of what is referred to as family firm innovation (DeMassis et al., 2012; DeMassis et al., 2013). Whilst the work of those exploring the junctions of the fields of entrepreneurship and family firm research is drawn on, there is no intention here to join their ranks or even advance the literature on so-called family entrepreneurship (Randerson et al., 2015). A number of special issues have been produced for that purpose (Rogoff and Heck, 2003; Heck et al., 2008; Uhlaner et al., 2012). Amongst these contributions, however, few assess the consequences of an innovation within a family influenced firm in a way such as it is offered in the present thesis. Building on the previous section, the usefulness to learn about the formation of daily processes of a business through taking a more detailed look at the circumstances leading to and following from an invention should be noted. The legitimacy of variably maintaining or departing from work customs as a consequence of inventing iron tyres and horse trailers as part of the development of BoMa stands as a case in point. Helpful insights can be gained from informing related discussions with a broader understanding of conflicting, institutionalised, understandings in the way it was proposed.

DeMassis et al. (2012) usefully point to the importance of investigating innovation as part of research on family and business issues. Whilst the authors approach the topic from a concern with determinants of sustained superior performance, the introduction of a new product can indeed have a lasting effect on what is considered legitimate within a business. Beyond the routine labours of a village farrier, Albert Bokendahl originally began to develop iron tyres as a favour to a fellow Draventhal villager. The work of Spedale and Watson (2013) has previously been referred to as helpfully foregrounding the notion of social context in the analysis of entrepreneurial acts. Corresponding arguments about the coming together of institutional logics in the community of Draventhal, which Albert was, in turn, proposed as a part of, helped to account for his iron tyres innovation. Besides having to deal with situations brought about by product demand, however, little changed in the organisation of processes at BoMa. It continued to exist as a farrier's shop. Away from work, the success of his business enabled Albert to take to a hobby later known as the 'family sport': horse riding. The lack of adequate transportation this eventually exposed him to was previously linked to the creation of the horse trailer. A 'milestone in the history of the firm', as it reads on the company website. But in contrast to his previous creation, the development of this invention was not integrated as seamlessly into operations at BoMa. The time Albert devoted to his creation was initially confined to evenings when the shop floor was unoccupied with the production of iron tyres. This he oversaw during the official operating hours. To account for this distinction, the argument was made for a

partially bounded pursuit of family interests in the work setting. A condition that ceased to exist as horse trailer sales rose.

Despite the notable exceptions, little research has been undertaken to learn about the social context of a family involved at a firm and its relationship with an innovation offered by one of its members. Calling for the pursuit of questions such as "are family firms more or less innovative than nonfamily firms?", this absence is, perhaps, not surprising (DeMassis et al., 2012, p. 19). There is a predominant concern with the proclivity of family as a system to influence entrepreneurial behaviour and establish a capacity for innovation. This ranges from measuring levels of research and development spending (Munari et al., 2010; Block, 2012) over characterising the "familiness" of a firm as a variable of new product creation (Habbershon and Williams, 1999, p. 11) to proposing transgenerational entrepreneurship (Habbershon et al., 2010). In line with the illustrated utility of working with more realistic and context sensitive assumptions, family comes to mean an abstract concept, variable or term with certain characteristics taken as unambiguously there. The difficulties of such an approach when addressing what actually happens within a type of social setting addressed within this thesis has been discussed. There is no intention to point out the usefulness of a particular strand of the entrepreneurship literature that may accommodate this line of reasoning. Instead, the largely unnoticed influence of an innovation on the legitimacy family related actions at work is addressed.

Going beyond what is otherwise understood as natural and taken for granted aspects of mundane work life has been central to the present thesis. The usefulness of applying a framework of co-existing institutional logics and grasping the contradictions amongst appropriate ways of dealing with issues in a particular context has been illustrated. As these are temporally defined, the distinctive insight gained from doing so over stages of the existence of a company has been addressed above. As part of this reasoning and nuanced approach to how people go about their daily work lives, certain customs at BoMa were associated with the institutional logic of the family. An influence not related to a predefined or ideal sense, but one endorsed by understandings rooted in the community the Bokendahl family was a part of. On that basis, it was considered appropriate for Albert to devote his free time to the creation of the horse trailer whilst attention was placed on the regular business of assembling iron tyres during the day. That is, a separation which had not existed when the latter was developed. Even though both innovations were inspired from a social context beyond the work life of Albert—an insight in itself worthwhile to note—the trailer was devised as a solution to a problem his family faced. An appreciation which distinguished the product development and accepted customs from previous ones. Changes which the small number employees present at the time, when asked about their experiences at the time the commercial success set in, barely took note of. Most appeared to take for granted their participation when Albert attempted to solve family-related problems through the company, so to speak. Upgrades his son Georg requested to optimise his personal experience with the trailer, for example, led to unintended improvements of the actual product design. A development

that would have been in conflict with the earlier tradition of prioritising actual work, such as the production of iron tires, for instance, over the pursuit of ideas suggested by the family. The workplace-related success of such an idea, however, overcame this division and view of legitimacy now barely remembered.

The influence of the family logic was thus extended by the favourable outcome of an innovation that was intended to only be of use to Albert's family. It transcended the hitherto accepted legitimacy of a work/family separation. Family became an increasingly noticeable point of reference and the boundaries between the forms of legitimacy associated with Albert's family-related activities and those he pursued amongst his BoMa employees increasingly difficult to discern. The procedural changes that followed further emphasise the usefulness of addressing the ramifications of an innovation in a business with a family dimension. Entrepreneurial behaviour of the kind referred to in above studies may well be given rise to by a version of the family logic. Social circumstances and, as it was shown, related changes to what is considered legitimate should be placed more at the centre of analyses. Just as organisations may be influenced by family concerns despite the absence of specific family firm conditions, circumstances leading to and following from new product creation may be less straightforward than assumed. There is a need to learn more about the consequences following from innovations that have close ties to the family domain. These can have a significant influence on the appreciation of family at work and, as a result, shape the way issues are dealt with and processes unfold.

The inverse relationship between the significance of women and their visibility

The involvement of family members and their relationship with the organisation of a firm's activities is an established research topic (Campopiano et al., 2017). Despite this interest, few have come to give attention to issues relating to spousal involvement or an unintended process of succession in a way it is done within the present thesis. Their significant influence on how contemporary practices took shape at BoMa is worthwhile to note. Reference has previously been made to the suggestion of Poza and Messner (2001, p. 25) that wives of business leaders within families involved in a firm play a "key, even if often invisible, role in most-family controlled operations" (see also see Jimenez, 2009; Karataş-Özkan et al., 2011; Gupta and Levenburg, 2013). The authors go on to challenge the background positions to which spouses, usually female ones, are confined to. Particularly so in succession related studies. Besides supporting the authors' argument, the present thesis goes on to propose an even greater influence of these women on the development of relevant firms. Related conclusions may be drawn from the detailed insights generally confined to small business research (Danco, 1981; Ram, 1994; Chiu, 1998; Lu, 2001; Gherardi, 2015). These insights are rarely brought to bear on a larger firm setting. It is clear, however, that certain present day customs and quarrels at BoMa, including the absence of a spouse from work related activities, would have been difficult to

account for had, in this case, detailed attention not been placed on the historic influence of Cecelia Bokendahl.

At BoMa, issues of invisibility of the wife of the founder went beyond the problem of access. Cecelia strove to ensure that her family and business involvement was associated with that of her husband's, thereby making her actual participation difficult to discern. Legitimacy as related to the reinforcing interplay of the logics of the family and rural Catholicism has previously been turned to, as have appropriate forms of family behaviour associated with the Draventhal community. On that basis, Cecelia was, on one hand, appreciated as conforming to the established duty of acting in accordance with what her husband deemed appropriate for family and firm. On the other, she actively ensured that anything to the contrary would nevertheless be understood as such. She would therefore never 'claim' acknowledgement, as a contemporary of hers put it, for any positive impact she helped to bring about. The role of Cecelia as the de facto employee who dealt with banks and produced the company records, for instance, was apparent to but a few within the firm. This was despite the fact that her participation enabled the more practical development of the then young business Albert took to.

As her influence unfolded in a manner appreciative of the principles her husband defined, she managed the company for him, not with him. Yet the conclusion that Albert was the decision maker at work, so to speak, would be an unhelpful one to make. Cecelia actively managed those decisions of her husband which she perceived as beyond her interpretation of what Albert would actually view as appropriate within these situations. Rehiring employees a bad tempered Albert had previously let go, for example, was offered as a case in point. Her actions can therefore be accounted for, it was argued, through an understanding Albert had—or was believed to have—institutionalised. Especially when his own activities appeared to come into conflict with this reasoning. If sense is to be made of the informal roles women like Ceclia Bokendahl play, a through involvement in the social setting related to the firm in question is required. In the present research, this approach enabled a more helpful understanding of how, in this case, the present-day finance and HR departments at BoMa took shape. Also, sense was made of the fact that no Bokendahl woman has ever joined the firm since Cecelia's tenure.

It was Konrad's wife Edith who said that, in the view of Cecelia, 'the boys were enough' and that 'she wouldn't have it'. That is, Edith's participation at BoMa. She had, at one point, considered joining the firm, given the absence of any local employment opportunities that suited her qualification. The salience of the family logic—as opposed that of the modern capitalist market—was considered. It was established that the martial ties of Edith and Konrad led to an emphasis of this relationship over the potential economic and administrative benefit of her being at the firm. The usefulness of acknowledging the significance of women amongst issues of family and business is developed further below. At this point, the heterogeneity of family ties and their influence is important to note (see also Chua et al., 2012). Much could be learned if, for instance, the analysis of

business development is informed by the relationship between the spouse of an incumbent and that of her or his successor.

From 'helping out' to unintentionally embarking on the process of succession

Succession remains a predominant theme in the study of family owned and managed firms (Debicki et al., 2009; Daspit et al., 2015, Neubaum, 2018). And usefully so. The present-day organisation of BoMa is, too, rooted in the way the firm was passed down from the first generation to the second. Arguments such as this one are now presented in answer to those who call for additional emphasis on context and assumptions that go beyond a business-oriented focus (Sharma and Irving, 2005). The latter was referred to as a characterising tendency foreground business viability and assess attributes, traits and conditions as variable factors contributing to its long-term existence. Returning to the developments at BoMa, themes including an incumbent whose wish for legacy is thwarted by her or his own personal unwillingness to go, thereby casting a "founder's shadow", nepotism or unrewarded beneficence have only been of partial use to make sense of what was observed (Davis and Harveston, 1999, p. 3; Schulze et al., 2001; Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2005; Miller et al., 2013; Daspit et al., 2015; Sund et al., 2015). Similarly unhelpful were conservation strategies and the family related appreciation of long-term involvement (Zellweger, 2007; Wiklund et al., 2013). Sense was, instead, made through the principle of family cohesion. In contrast to Jaskiewicz et al. (2016), who see an intent for continuity as concomitant with an ideal form of the family institutional logic, a more context sensitive version of what appeared to be taken for granted at the social setting of BoMa was offered.

'A time of need' was a description made by Konrad in reference to a situation whose solution depends, in part, on the actions undertaken by members of the family. In this case he, more specifically, referred to the period during which his father survived several heart attacks but was nevertheless unable to resume his post at the helm of the company. The willingness of Konrad and, to an extent, that of his brother Rufus were accounted for through the family logic and principle of family cohesion. The interim management of Konrad and his brother, in this sense, resemble the form of family labour also turned to when, for example, there was a shortage of delivery personnel. Contrary to what is suggested in the above research, the assumption of a conflict between a desire to retain influence on one hand and wish for legacy on another would have been an unhelpful one to make. Their involvement was initially based on a 'stepping in' basis. This became particularly apparent in both Konrad's and Rufus' unwillingness to return or continue their work on more long-term basis. Albert, too, was eager 'for things to get back to normal'. An intent for continuity that would suggest an interpretation family labour beyond a sense of obligation remains absent from view (Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). A more useful argument to turn to is one of Sharma and Irving (2005). Succession and how it unfolds demands a close look at the circumstances by which it was brought about. These were, in the present thesis, made sense of through an unintended process of succession.

An unfolding of events and processes that has received relatively little scholarly attention despite the prominence of the succession topic outlined above.

In the absence of a planned or strategic process of succession, Konrad and Rufus initially did as their father had done before them: they sought ways to deal with rising demand. Their actions were understood as guided by an increasingly influential logic of bureaucratic management whilst they, more than Albert, had to take into account customs already established. The legitimacy of the latter generally related to Albert as the head of family and firm. The brothers, in contrast, established their particular areas of expertise alongside their family membership status. This gave rise to conflict. Tensions became apparent, for example, in the decision by Konrad to hire a qualified employee despite the reservations of his father. Historically, these would have precluded any form of engagement with the firm. But the employee was kept, thereby demonstrating a change of what was considered preferable and legitimate. The family logic as a basis for decision making was not scrutinised generally. Its influence was retained as Konrad, for instance, consented to the demand of Albert to have 'the last word on everything'. Over time, however, the salience of the family logic in the administrative routines waned as the brothers settled into their positions. Unintentionally so, at first, for reference was frequently made to 'stepping in' and succession a term rarely, if ever, used. But for every year the brothers prolonged their involvement, they effectively succeeded Albert without intending to do so. Considering this unawareness, the tensions they faced related to the absence of a coinciding understanding guiding this process.

A degree of expectation and recognition of events to come is generally assumed in the type of succession related studies referred to earlier. At BoMa, in contrast, patterns were created as unanticipated circumstances were dealt with. In light of this development, the relatively recent call to focus more on the issue of death within families involved in a firm is a useful one to make (Evert et al., 2016). In the absence of any willingness or preparedness to pass on the business, no matter how conflicted, this invites emphasis to be placed on the struggles constituents have to face in the wake of an incumbent's sudden absence. And the way these are dealt with can have a significant influence on how practices take shape over the years following such an event. Whilst challenges to the context specific influence of the family and religion logics are shortly turned to, the unintended involvement of the next generation tested—not extended—the salience of family related understandings at the workplace. Konrad's appreciation of BoMa as part of the trailer industry led to the renewed separation of the family and work domain, a separation his father had previously transcended. By leaving the 'stepping in' basis of his engagement behind, Konrad was aware of the conflict between the actions he proposed and those Albert had defined. He nevertheless chose to prioritise measures in line with the institutional logic of the market over those based on the family logic.

This development raises doubts about the diminishing significance of marked related understandings attested to the involvement of younger family members (Miller et al., 2013). Konrad may have accepted the symbolic desire of his father to have the final say, as it was put. But a changed

appreciation of context led him to challenge customary processes when, in a given situation, he perceived conflicting, that is, market related bases for action as the most appropriate. Contrary to arguments suggesting stagnant or even increased levels of entrenchment or social-economic wealth (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2001; Berrone et al., 2012), the involvement of additional family members led to less—not more—family centred processes at BoMa. Beyond simplistic dichotomies of family versus business, the respective influences are, perhaps, more complex than what is generally suggested. As part of their analysis of what changes in professionalisation family businesses may undergo, Stewart and Hitt (2011), too, point to the roles of younger family members. But in the absence of empirical material on the "familial domain", the authors acknowledge the difficulty of addressing the transition process itself (Stewart and Hitt, 2012, p. 65). Besides offering such content, the present thesis contributes to this discussion by demonstrating the complexity associated with forms of professionalisation. For example, not all endeavours to effect more professional forms of organisation must be consciously pursued. Within the context of BoMa, there was no straightforward, broad shift in logics (cf. Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). The reformation of practices was driven by the attempt of second-generation family members to deal with novel situations in the absence of a shared interpretation of what was appropriate. By embarking on this path of succession without intending to do so, existing forms of legitimacy were called into question. These tensions between institutionalised and emerging bases for action ultimately resulted in a break amongst family members. Whilst the related consequences of this development are shortly considered, this argument corresponds with prominent suggestions that matters of succession must be proactively dealt with if disruptions are to be avoided (e.g. Dyck et al., 2002; Sharma et al., 2003). The related creation of legal documents, mechanisms and structures intended to facilitate succession processes is a relatively recent practice (Suess, 2014). Its usefulness becomes particularly apparent given the absence of an intention to initiate a succession process that nevertheless occurred. A family-related commitment to help out can give rise to such a process which, as it was shown, can lead to the emerge of conflict and corresponding forms of organising within a firm setting. Forms that are difficult to account for through more abstract notion of family. Conflicting and more complex bases for action were suggested as alternative, more helpful ways of analysis.

A retaining awareness of family and conflicting patterns of communication

The call for more "realistic, context sensitive" assumption was addressed earlier in this chapter (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010, p. 201). Conflict and how it was analytically developed was related to the usefulness of the present thesis. It was offered as given rise to by a variable appreciation of particular social circumstances and appropriate institutional logics. Turning to this appreciation and related contributions shortly, focus is now placed on the significance of the retaining influence of the family logic at the social setting of BoMa. The unintended process of succession and the related

unfolding of events triggered by Konrad and his brother Rufus were reviewed above. Konrad, in particular, judged the appropriateness of practices against the guidance offered by the logics of the competitive market and bureaucratic management. The assumption of a straightforward process of transition from non-professional to professional, to family to nonfamily is thus clearly an unhelpful one to make. Despite this and other initiatives to do otherwise, ranges of dichotomies are frequently offered (Astrachan et al., 2002; Stewart and Miner, 2011). The following section will add to this discussion. Forms of influence, the argument is made, are not mutually exclusive but dynamic and conflicting.

The taken-for-granted understanding of Albert as the family head remained unaffected by developments within BoMa. On issues pertaining to the family, legitimacy was continuously associated with the founding couple. One principle they actively advocated was the one of family cohesion. But contrary to bringing about consensus within families, it was shown to underpin a form of communication characterised by a silent conformance to what was expected (cf. Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). Concerns amongst family members were never openly dealt with and disagreements not spoken about. The waning influence of the family logic notwithstanding, this conformance remained noticeable in patterns of communication between Rufus and Konrad. Others, too, have considered the degree of openness with which issues are raised within families that own or manage firms (Martin, 2001; Gallo and Kenyon-Rouvinez, 2005; Helin and Jabri, 2015). Since the topic is seldom considered an issue in itself, it is generally made part of a means to an end type discussion. Little is known about individual manifestations and how, for instance, a context-specific form of family cohesion relates to a preference for harmonious relations. Konrad remained silent on topics with the potential to incite conflict between him and his brother. Issues curbing the efficiency of projects, too, remained unaddressed for similar reasons. Two forms of communication were suggested. One was based on the interacting logics of the competitive market and logic of bureaucracy: an acceptance to engage with constructive critique so that issues may be dealt with more efficiently. The other, influenced by the family logic, was characterised by an avoidance of open disagreement amongst family members. Hence there is merit for further investigation of communication patterns in family-centred businesses beyond an appreciation as variable outcomes of implemented governance mechanisms (Martin, 2001; Mustakalio et al., 2002; Suess, 2014). The proposed awareness of specific customs and family related preferences to conform to may be a more helpful starting point. As the next paragraph is turned to, the type of processes this can help to account for will become clear.

Conflicting understandings and rivalling bases for action

The family specific tendency to avoid open discussion facilitated a variable appreciation of circumstances and related to the existence of conflicting logics. There was no strategy or educational background that could have accounted for the respective positions Konrad and Rufus held, nor were

they considered the optimum arrangement to deal with competitive pressures. But more efficient ways of management were impeded by the retaining influence of the family logic. Since the brothers did not agree upon the subject of task distribution and conflict had to be avoided, the managing partner roles at BoMa remained impervious to change. This insight offers a perhaps more nuanced understanding than the board relationship between the presence of a family dimension and ignorance of competitive pressures (Schulze et al., 2001). The absence of structural changes that would have corresponded to the latter argument were, in fact, related to the issue of communication: the inability to address administrative changes as apart of a topic the family may disagree on. It had thus less to do with the active pursuit of family wants than the outcome of an historical process that placed issues of family conduct at the workplace firmly within the family domain. At BoMa, this led to parallel forms of management, since practices associated with the respective work area of each brother were consciously uncoupled.

Much could be learned if the called for analysis of the heterogeneity of family forms were to include the heterogeneity of issues *within* such a setting (Chua et al., 2012). Continuing with an earlier example, Rufus and Konrad took to different interpretations of circumstances at work. Only when they were both involved in a situation was the guiding awareness of the trailer industry a mutual one. Whilst their respective bases for actions were still different ones, the family related expectation to avoid conflict facilitated these occurrences. Konrad preferred practices legitimised by the institutional logic of the market; Rufus relied on a family logic-based reasoning process. Within such situations, however, the influence of the latter was accounted for through the industry family logic. A version that allowed for a better understanding of how issues related to the competitive trailer industry were dealt with through the family logic. And successfully so: the acquisition of the gluing machine and consequential strengthened market position of the firm was but one case in point. Arguments of this kind are presented to open up discussions generally confined to the business-oriented consideration of the family as a competitive resource, the "familiness" of a firm (Habbershon and Williams, 1999, p. 11). A predominant question posed in related research is whether family is good or bad for business. 'It depends' may then be simplest answer that can be offered in response. Given the family industry logic, family related actions may indeed unfold in a way similar to how Habberson and Williams (1999) suggest. But these logics exist in conflict and, as a case in point, not all of Rufus' workplace interactions could be accounted for through an interplay between the family and market logics. This variable suitability further questions the adequacy of approaches outlining a 'yes' or 'no' in answer to the 'is family good for business?' puzzle.

To further expand on the topic, Rufus justified the management of his employees with the desire to not be made a fool of in his own village. Suggestive of the historically accepted behaviour of his father, he also extended preferential treatment to a limited number of employees. With the waning influence of the family logic at BoMa, these reasoning processes clashed with notions of efficiency and qualification. Rufus' influence on this underlying interplay of conflicting institutional logics were

referred to as vestiges of the ways Albert had previously established. Prevailed had the reference to the Draventhal community context and associated awareness of social status, as had the link between the firm and the standing within the community. To account for these developments alongside those with a more positive economic outcome reviewed above, the Draventhal family logic was introduced. In contrast to what his brother Konrad understood as appropriate responses to the competitive—market logic related—trailer industry, Rufus adhered to the Draventhal community. He shifted between these conflicting contexts. Customs were thus preserved that would have been abolished in a business solely informed by challenges of the competitive market. A phenomenon that indeed corresponds to what has been referred to as the type of action "harming firm performance" (Schulze and Gedjalovic, 2010, p. 196). Beyond such instances, a more general connection between the influence of the family logic and dysfunctional behaviour would be less helpful. Future research on the involvement of family members at work could benefit from the suggested treatment of social circumstances. There is a need to learn more about the relationship between the processes of a business and the broader social setting or settings to which it relates. Such contextual links are proposed as foundational to more helpful and realistic understandings of how processes may unfold in a family-centred business.

The significance of the founders' death

The tendency to avoid conflict amongst family members was associated with the Draventhal family logic. It signified an influence of family-related principles at work beyond the trailer industry context. It also related to the understanding of family cohesion and tolerance of Konrad towards the efficiency curbing practices his brother implemented. The respective deaths of Albert and Cecelia five and four years prior to the present research endeavour were previously referred to. Rufus was argued to act in the knowledge that consensus with his brother was required until that point. As he shifted between contexts, the introduction of practices in line with the Draventhal family logic was arguably moderated by the potential conflict these could cause. This changed with the deaths of his parents and Albert-like manners Rufus then began to display. The influence of the Draventhal family logic appeared therefore as self-limiting. Albert, as the family head, had continued to define what was beneficial for the family and passing on the business was not part of it. On that basis, whilst certain customs, including the silent conformance to family cohesion, for instance, were influenced by the family logic, it was ultimately only appropriate for Albert to act upon it within the workplace.

A contextualised, local version of an "exogenous jolt" altering institutional arrangements was offered to account for these and related changes following the deaths of Cecelia and Albert (Meyer, 1982; Clemens and Cook, 1999, p. 447). As the prevalence of certain logics changed, so did the arrangement of coexisting logics underpinning customs at BoMa. Principles that had previously been taken for granted were no longer enforced. The legitimacy for expanding family related

understandings, for instance, remained unchallenged in the absence of an agreed upon family head. The waning influence of the principle of family cohesion, in contrast, challenged the general legitimacy of the Draventhal family logic at the firm. The relationship between Rufus and Konrad remained no longer outside the scope of the competitive market logic as a consequence. These developments ultimately resulted in the termination of the work contract of Rufus. Research on related issues of conflict amongst family members involved in a business is well established (Sorenson, 1999; Eddleston and Kellermanns, 2007). Yet with the known preference for privacy (Litz, 1997), few have offered empirical material on such struggles of the kind offered within this research. It would be helpful if others were to continue to add to these discussions through an analysis of the complex set of social relationships that give shape to such organisation of practices. The significance of the deaths of Albert and Cecelia could not have been usefully accounted for, had this research been carried out through a questionnaire, for instance, as sometimes done amongst studies related to the topic (Davis and Harvestion, 2001). The insight offered within this thesis was produced by a way of analysis made possible only through an immersion in the field. This would be a useful path to further pursue. Beyond references in the research on theories of succession (McMullen and Warnick, 2015), empirical studies on the significance of death in family-owned and managed firms remain scarce. Given the suggested relevance, however, much could be learned from this type of studies.

On writing reflexively and being forthcoming about the research context

Reflexivity, the argument was made in an earlier chapter, has to improve a piece of social science research and not become an end in itself. For the purpose of the present thesis, reflexivity was developed to represent the consciousness of bringing together personal experience with cultural analysis in writing. 'In writing' is particularly helpful to note, since as a rhetorically honed account, reflexive analysis forthcoming about the "situated nature of knowledge" is ultimately achieved through a certain narrative technique (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 240). Beyond the aspiration to leave the setting otherwise natural or to "exert no influence at all" (Adler and Adler, 1987, p. 17), reflexivity was inspired by a transparent emphasis on intellectual critique (Barge, 2004). A style of social science writing— "writing reflexively" (Watson, 2011, p. 212)—as part of the ethnographic endeavour that allows for an appreciation of context and turns back and takes account of itself. The subsequent section will continue with this theme and turn to the 'where and how' of theoretical refinement. At this point, influences that have been a part of the process of writing reflexively are drawn together and made more explicit. Turning back and taking account of these influences will bring understandings of the role of the researcher and the broader relevance of related claims to the fore.

Fieldwork practice, perhaps more so than in any other form of enquiry into issues related to business, is influenced by the biography and interest of the researcher. Relationships between life experiences of the author and research areas are usually close ones. But the temptation to immerse oneself within the known must be weighed against the ability to cast aside what is taken for common knowledge. Strangeness in ethnography is aspired to for the sake of sensitivity and insight (Rosaldo, 1993). The conscious interweaving of the "interiority of autobiography" with the "exteriority of cultural analysis" was previously referred to (Tedlock, 2003, p. 165). And whilst this may be accomplished by foreign and familiar researcher alike, the quality of ethnographic work is ultimately determined by the authenticity and plausibility of systematic generalisations of the written product, not by the immediate virtue of first-hand experience (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 1993; Watson, 2011). As a key theme of the present research, this becomes apparent in the above understanding of reflexivity and the requisite ability of the reader to situate the content offered in this thesis.

The relationship of the researcher with the empirical situation was thus brought out reflexively. This includes the "privileged vantage point", as Ram (1994, p. 4) puts it, I may have had due to existing family ties. In line with the understanding of social action developed for the purpose of this thesis, the aspiration to get insides people's heads would be unhelpful. There is no emphasis on individual states of mind of the people involved and what these may be been given my status as a member of the family which owned and managed the company I researched. It is clear that I, like any social researcher, was influencing those I was researching. And I have endeavoured to be forthcoming and disclose the researcher's self (Watson and Watson, 2012) through the honest and reflexive style referred to above. Whenever my relationship with the family appeared to influence an interaction, practice or role that was encountered in the field, it was made a part of this thesis. This is made evident in the stress on dialogue and detailed fieldwork accounts. The relatively straightforward access to the people and their practices was addressed in Chapter 4. With few exceptions, there were no issues of power in light of the firm's shift away from the appreciation of family as an established source of authority and precedent involvement of family members. It would, however, be unhelpful to attempt to separate the empirical material from the researcher or to claim that anyone could have generated identical findings. Nor are the accounts inclusive or reported neutrally. Transparency was instead attempted by offering an appreciation of context, so that readers may assess for themselves an extent of the influence I had on the utterances and events I refer to.

To continue with the theme of turning back and taking account of the thesis overall, a question that may be asked is one pertaining to ability of what has been offered in previous sections to be of wider relevance. The immediate answer would be based on the Pragmatist view of reality and truth made use of for the purpose of this work and developed in an earlier chapter. A follow-up question may then still address the broader, more general relevance of the unintended consequence of succession, for instance, beyond the sample dealt with in this research. The argument could be made that the way those puzzling phenomena associated with, say, rural forms of religion or deaths of the

founding couple were made sense of only applies to Draventhal village, the Bokendahl family and BoMa company at the time of the research. This would, however, not be in line with the understanding of ethnographic work put forward in this thesis. The latter set out to better understand how processes and activities in businesses with a family dimension unfold in the everyday. It is thus less a matter of representing or addressing a particular sample, family businesses in general, for instance, than forming analytical generalisations at, in the present case, the level of process (Watson, 2011; Yin, 2014). The broader relevance of what has been suggested is thus founded upon theoretical, not empirical claims.

Theoretical refinement and how it was undertaken

Arguments offered in the present thesis are an outcome of ethnographic research which, for the purpose of this work, involve the constant creation of theoretical ideas by comparing insights gained from field immersion to existing explanations. A process informed by philosophical principles previously outlined. Contrary to theoretical choices ethnographers pull like rabbits "out of their hats" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 223), laying out the refinement undergone by the conceptual framework over the course of the research was intended to offer an account noticeable for its absence: one forthcoming about "where and how" theoretical refinement was undertaken (Puddephatt et al., 2001, p. 1). Presenting to the reader why certain fieldwork situations qualified as puzzling phenomena and how these were theoretically dealt with facilitated an awareness of the reasoning process itself. Changes to the way tasks were organised following one innovation at BoMa, as opposed to others, over a certain period of the development of the company are, for instance, a case in point. It was the horse-trailer as a solution to a family-specific problem that, put very briefly, was suggested as related to the growing legitimacy of family-related reasoning at work. The theoretical refinement involving the institutional logic of the family, innovations and taken-for-granted practices at work were made available. Perhaps less transparent but equally conducive to the reasoning processes was the relative absence of arguments that, too, could have been drawn upon and developed for that particular type of situation, although in a perhaps less helpful way. An awareness central to the present understanding of doing research is to eventually transcend a search amongst known rules. A process introduced in an earlier chapter but not made as available thus far. Contrary to what Van Maanen et al. (2007) see as the unintended practice of hiding such reasoning processes from view, the creation and recreation of theoretical work is, in line with the above notion of writing reflexively, returned to. The intention of this section is thus twofold. Relevant aspects of the reasoning processes that were carried out over the course of this thesis are drawn out and the broader relevance of key arguments taken up in the processes is pointed to.

Arguments that call into question the suitability of stances forming the predominant approaches to the study of so-called family firms were developed in a previous chapter and will not be repeated here. Consequences of business-oriented assumptions inherent in theoretical and methodological advances associated with, amongst those most noticeable, the resource-based view or the SEW theory were considered (Habbershon and Williams, 1999; Berrone et al., 2012). They were brought forth in the knowledge that "family firms appear to dominate the world economy" (Debicki et al., 2009, p. 151). Given the family firm status as the most common form of corporate governance, capturing the link between this form of ownership, family management and financial performance was shown to be understood as the "search for the Holy Grail" in the field (Carney et al., 2013, p. 533). In light of the extensive focus of business issues, several authors were shown to reflect on their work and, in turn, call for attention to so-called noneconomic circumstances, "whatever they may be" (Chrisman et al., 2005, p. 525). These would capture the involvement of family members in a business they may own or manage more accurately. It is useful to briefly link back to the introduction and take note of the personal unease with existing material from which the thesis originated.

My personal frustration with existing material related to the misalignment between available knowledge and the ability to helpfully deal with situations encountered in the everyday organisation of firms such as BoMa. Incidents which would certainly merit the noneconomic label, as would most of the unexpected situations which were made sense of during the six-month long period fieldwork. The criteria for usefulness was examined in Chapter 4. As part of the adopted abductive reasoning process, such surprising facts (Hanson, 1958), unmet expectations (Van Maanen et al., 2007) or inconsistencies (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007), were presented to serve as clues to do without a "search among known rules" (Weick, 2005, p. 433). The argument was made to, instead, form ideas which can render the surprising meaningful. The difficulty of working with theories stemming from a desire to study forms of conduct—the economic—understood as antithetical to what may be seen as interesting about these firms—the noneconomic—became apparent.

In this thesis, social scientific knowledge was approached in such a way which makes its very selection about the questions of family and business it is supposed to deal with. Questions of inherently social nature, broader than any isolated concern with economic benefit. The stated prevalence of this type of firm does not, by itself, legitimise the current undertaking. Straightforward as this as this may sound, the prioritisation of bringing to bear theoretical tools on areas of economic significance over seeking insights into inconsistences or surprising facts people, including myself, are confronted with was demonstrated earlier. Impulses to better understand such complexities of organisational life, including daily activities at BoMa, then become wrapped up in an agency theory-like concern to, for instance, distinguish between noneconomic and economic goals. This is despite the fact that the very dominance of the type of firms to which these studies refer is sensitively

contingent upon the definition of just what constitutes a family firm or business (Westhead and Cowling, 1989; Wortman, 1995).

Aside from, perhaps, my personal experiences in the social context forming the focus of this research, the pursued interested of learning more about issues of family and business is not novel. Christman et al. (2005, p. 565), too, were shown to be well aware that an "exclusive emphasis on economic performance is of only limited utility". But regardless of the limited insight this appears to perpetuate, the practice of organising research around theories is rarely transcended from. Authors whose work is at variance with this custom were reviewed. One aspect shared by the latter and the present thesis: the conceptual means of dealing with interesting social phenomena are readily discernible from the research ends. The conclusion that the current study is firmly rooted in its interest in the development of daily activities of a business with a significant family dimension is thus a suitable one to make. It did not start with a concern for theory building, but, in line with the call of Davis (2015, p. 321), with "phenomena in the world that are worth explaining" given the view of Pragmatism developed in Chapter 4. An ethnographic way of doing research was, relatedly, not adopted to address a particular stream within the institutional literature. Arguments of those who, for instance, suggest prominence to be given, or again given to issues of agency have been expanded on. But interacting people are not an extension to theory. Keeping with the emphasis outlined above, the proposed appreciation of institutions as utilised by social scientists to make sense of how people, as cultured beings, lead cultured lives has much to offer for the study of family and business and beyond (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Watson, 2011).

Principles of engaging with institutional writings and the use of the 'logics' notion

Outside of the intention to reproduce arguments associated with the creation of the conceptual framework laid out in great detail in a previous chapter, several aspects are valuable to summarise here. Amongst these are the principles informing its creation and development over the course of the present thesis. It was previously noted how the utility of institutional writings to assist in the pursuit of a research question such as the one guiding the present endeavour has long been established (Perrow, 1986). Yet the focus on structuralism and emphasis on homogeneity and fields, over a more recent phase of their development, has given cause to question the ability of the concept to serve the purpose of generating valuable insights into issues people face in their everyday lives (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, Scott and Meyer, 1994; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; Deephouse and Suchman, 2008; Wooten and Hoffman, 2008, Suddaby, 2010). Without revisiting efforts of reconciliation between the so-called old micro and new macro perspectives (Barley, 2008), the use of the institution notion offered throughout this research can be seen as a case in point that such doubts are unwarranted. Particularly so when taking to heart the appreciation of individual and organised behaviour as simultaneously sensed and acted upon, institutionalised and institutionalising, as it is

done in this thesis. The related call most helpfully put forth by Friedland and Alford (1991) has been central to theorising efforts. And the conceptual development this facilitated is offered as a procedural contribution useful to note.

The authors have highlighted that a worthwhile understanding of social reality rests on the ability of a conceptual apparatus to work across levels of analysis and to be open to lives of people as lived across multiple and conflicting institutions (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Without social action can societal patterns not be understood and broader concepts, vice versa, are required to account for individual action. The usefulness of this view becomes further apparent when bringing to mind the research question from which the present thesis started as well as the proposed way of pursuing ethnographic work. Institutional logics were defined as the

> "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p. 804; see also Thornton et al., 2012).

Far from letting the concept of a logic take precedence over the phenomena they are based on, the term was understood as a scientifically informed suggestion of how individual or organised behaviour may be interpreted as institutionalised to make better sense of it. The ideal type application proposed by Thornton et al. (2012) was useful to account for complex empirical situations and draw out relevant attributes (see also Whimster, 2008). But there was no intention to look for these attributes in general, that is, to look for "instance[s] of concrete evidence of the theory" (Thronton et al., 2012, p. 52). In contrast to the disproportionate concern for explaining institutional processes and constellations of logics in themselves, attention in the present thesis rests with the empirical phenomena it was ultimately about (Greenwood et al., 2014). The framework has thus been developed to allow for sense to be made of issues of family and business which informed its choice as an analytical concept to begin with.

The noted affinity of the institutional logic notion to the Weberian understanding of social action in modernity has been a helpful one and was expanded on (Thornton and Ocasio, 1990; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012; Friedland et al., 2014). Since individuals are choosing which values to follow in recognition of choices made by others, the argument goes, life orders with their respective value spheres or, as it was referred to in the present thesis, institutionally contingent rationales, can ultimately only exist in tension (Whimster, 2004; Symonds and Pudsey, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). Dismissing any rational non-rational dualism, this appreciation allowed for the analysis of social action through the underlying diversity and conflict beyond a limited number of institutions (Mills 2000[1959]; Bauman and May, 2011). What may otherwise be accepted as natural or customary behaviour was then organised around attempts to cope with unachievable cultural hegemony (Baumann and May, 2011). A development particularly helpful in light of the previously

mentioned temptation to become immersed within the known, that is, within the lives of familiar people. The proposed version of the framework of conflicting institutions therefore helps to account for the possibly patterned relationships between people, their actions and the broader social phenomena a researcher is exposed to. As a working concept, it is one of the few which fully incorporates the previously mentioned suggestions of Friedland and Alford (1991) by invariably calling attention to co-existing understandings across levels of analysis. Its application further demonstrates that only when attention is also placed on local situations, the "throws of everyday life", that the usefulness of organising reality through institutions becomes readily apparent and the oftentimes missing conceptual link between institutions and individual action may be provided (Heimer, 1999; Barley, 2008, p. 510). With this in mind, key elements of how the framework was put to work and refined over the course of the thesis is now turned to.

The issue of context-specific social action

In line with the constant refinement mentioned earlier, the need to further develop theoretical ideas became apparent. Particularly so as the relationship between customs associated with the village of Draventhal and the formation of processes at BoMa at the time of its founding was dealt with. Studies of family and business which also make use of the institutional logic notion keep with the broad field-level focus. The context of a group of German wine-making businesses is, for instance, confined to an "appropriate setting to study how family firms respond to logics" (Wooten and Hoffman, 2008, p. 130; Jazskiewicz et al., 2015, p. 6). Besides justifying that it may be adequate to do so in a chosen setting, contextual concerns remain noticeably absent from conceptual refinement and analysis. This level of abstraction would make it rather difficult to understand how the actions of Albert Bokendahl, for instance, relate to the context he was viewed as a part of. A number of the processes he implemented at the firm were viewed as sanctioned by a particular version of the institutional logic of the family. A version which was proposed as grounded in the temporally and spatially defined setting of Draventhal village. Relatively little use was made of such an embedded notion of social action to account for historically contingent developments in related research.

Even if a definition of the family logic had been shared amongst the study of Jazskiewicz et al. (2015) and the present thesis, to keep with the example, related forms of behaviour could not have been helpfully accounted for without any concern for the contextual roots. That is, even if observed practices allow for a shared understanding of what the family institution may stand for, its influence on everyday action would differ due to arguments made about the historically contingent interplay of co-existing logics. The developed framework therefore departed from the practice of reducing context to an abstract backdrop against which analysis is set. In doing so, it is one of the few institutional approaches which builds on the work of Greenwood et al. (2010), who argue that the concept of an institutional logic, when formulated to learn about phenomena in a particular setting, should provide

the grounds for comparative historical analysis. The discussion of the insights following from this appreciation of context and social action, as well as how they related to the work of authors who have offered related arguments, is returned to below.

The institutional logic of rural Catholicism: from demonstration of faith to status within the community

The definitions of institutional logics were offered as relevant to the analysis of the social setting of BoMa early in this thesis. The Catholic church became apparent in the empirical material as an important point of reference around which social life in Draventhal village was organised. The institutional logic of rural Catholicism was previously defined as

> the moral principles of the Catholic Church as the one true religion that guides its community in the social organisation of daily life as established demonstrations of their faith.

It was informed by the logic of religion in the broader ideal sense but does not coincide with existing versions given its ties to the empirical material. The community reference was particularly helpful as part of accounting for the circumstances and practices associated with the creation of BoMa. In line with the appreciation of context argued for, Draventhal village, or, as it was put, Draventhal community was related to the guidance provided by the rural Catholic logic. This is in contrast to studies proposing a pursuit of community in its own right, that is, as an institutional logic (see Thornton et al., 2012). And whilst there is no intention to advance the concept beyond its present application, the usefulness of going beyond an abstract institutional framework through constant recreation in light of the empirical material becomes apparent.

The consequences of non-conformance to customs legitimised by the above understanding is another case in point. Whilst others have brought to bear institutional writings on conflicting behaviour (Zuckerman, 1999; Zajac and Westphal, 2004), issues related to what Konrad Bokendahl, for instance, referred to as 'the people' and the social status of a family within a community have not received much attention. Yet these appeared to inform a number of Bokendahl family actions. Since the earlier version of the institutional logic of rural Catholicism was not sufficiently helpful to make sense of these developments when turned to, further refinement was necessary. Sunday Mass, for example, whilst ultimately an established demonstration of faith—in line with the definition above— was not undertaken as such. Above all, it was 'expected'. Besides carrying out religious practices, related activities served as a forum to display the possible extent of doing so given the means available. As such, they relate to the social status with a community. Therefore, as the material relating to the founding process of BoMa was dealt with, context was most usefully understood as guided by the institutional logic of rural Catholicism defined as

> the moral principles of the Catholic church as the one true religion that organises the social life of its community members through expected demonstrations of their faith and expressions of social status.

This version of the institutional logic and the actions it was, in turn, viewed to legitimise facilitated an understanding of those circumstances which, for instance, led Albert to found his own business, create his first major invention and deal with economic success.

The institutional logic of the family: from the benefit of related family members to the legitimacy of a family head

Empirical material relating to the present-day organisation of BoMa made apparent the need to account for how the understanding of family had taken shape over the course of its development. Family members were, for example, historically required to attend lunches organised by Cecelia Bokendahl. These and similar practices were understood as legitimised by the institutional logic of the family. It was previously defined as

> the organisation of social action to the mutual benefit of a particular group of family members on the basis of kinship principles.

Whilst the logic of the family is often drawn upon, little use is made of the kinship notion in related studies as part of a particular context (Stewart, 2003). In line with the demonstrated need to deal with historically contingent practices, kinship principles were offered as a more useful way to account for the understanding of family within a specific setting. Bokendahl family life, for instance, was made sense of through the proposed principles of family welfare and cohesion. Family lunches as well as the 'we go as a family' rationale applied to church visits and sport events relate to these. This recognition of how family customs are given shape to by the family logic more broadly is inclusive of the significance of the Draventhal context: the legitimacy and preference for certain activities were reinforced by the rural Catholicism logic. Traditional relationships Cecilia and Albert pursued through their marriage at young age, the preference for a priest within the family ranks or mandatory attendance to religious holidays were, for instance, related to the mutually reinforcing influence of the logics of the family and rural Catholicism.

This appreciation gave way to a coalescing understanding of aspects considered proper in the Bokendahl family and adequate within Draventhal village. What was viewed as appropriate by Cecelia and Albert, in other words, was perceived similarly by members of the community and vice versa. Merely the point of reference differed: what 'the people' represented in the community, was symbolised by Albert within his family. This interplay of the logics of the family and rural Catholicism and the related link between the Bokendahl family and Draventhal facilitated and understanding of how processes at BoMa took shape at the time of its founding. The role Albert

symbolised within his family is briefly returned to. It was perceived as legitimate for him to 'lay down the law', as one of his sons described the practice of enforcing what was expected. To helpfully deal with these accounts and inform the analysis of those subsequently turned to, the proposed institutional logic of the family needed refinement. Accommodating the notion of a family head and thus more relevant to the social context in question it was thus seen as

> the organisation of social action to the benefit of a particular group of family members as established by an accepted head on the basis of corresponding kinship principles.

Accounting for this influence illustrates framework's ability to go beyond broader versions of co-existing, dominant logics. Others, too, have made use of the relationship between logics of religion and the family at broader levels of analysis. Given the emphasis on empirical material, the present application of the logics concept is contrary to the noted trend of "becom[ing] too abstract and thus divorced from the socio-political community" (Greenwood et al., 2010, p. 535). That is, whilst other studies import the ideal relationship between the concepts of religion and family, the presented interplay is rooted in the empirical material. Logics are treated as grounded, that is, contingent upon the past to make sense of the present. And their interplay should be understood in a similar manner. Hence in contrast to the predominant view of a constellation as a top-down, isolated event, the coming together of the logics of rural Catholicism and the family was shown to be of consequence the respective perception in the following years. This particular co-existence, for example, influenced the emergence of a family head which, in turn, led to a number of taken-for-granted practices within the family and the workplace. By allowing for such insights through an appreciation of the interplay of logics in situations of everyday life across a period of time, the framework is one of the few which puts to use the aforementioned assertion of Friedland and Alford (1991): individual and organised behaviour is simultaneously sensed and acted upon, institutionalised and institutionalising beyond the influence of just one logic.

The institutional logic of bureaucratic management: understanding how administrative processes take shape in a context of co-existing institutions

The logic of bureaucratic management was first noticeably made use of and developed to understand the changes Albert introduced to the shop floor. Several years in existence, the way in which he had organised his workshop was no longer suitable to account for the work created by the then newly invented horse trailer. Confronted with rising levels of demand, areas wherein Albert needed support were singled out. The logic of modern bureaucratic management was argued to inform the organisation of practices intended to deal with these. It was previously defined as

> the means of organising social action in the most administratively efficient form based on a predetermined view of rationality.

The emphasis on the predetermined view of rationality was particularly helpful. It challenges the taken for granted connection between this logic and what is understood as the logic of modern market capitalism (Miller et al., 2013; Miralles-Marcelo et al., 2014). Staying 'true to himself', Albert was understood to deal with commercial success and unexpected demand in line with the logic of the family and rural Catholicism. This, for instance, was a useful way of accounting for hiring decisions made at that point. On its own, the logic of modern bureaucratic management would bring selection criteria to a focus on qualifications for the task at hand. In a setting wherein a market logic is equally salient, this would give rise to behaviour in line with the so-called professional pursuit of economic goals (Schulze et al., 2001). This remained absent from view. Hiring decisions made to deal with the first surge in demand were certainly informed by the candidate's ability to most efficiently succeed in the area she or he would be in charge of. But the rationale ultimately underpinning the employment decisions of Albert were referred to at that point as hiring 'only the people he knew and liked'.

The ability to place the logic of modern bureaucratic management alongside logics of rural Catholicism and the family demonstrates the sensitivity of the framework to an underlying diversity beyond a limited number of institutions. It therefore became clear how processes at BoMa were, at one point, closely related to Bokendahl family practices given shape to by the family head. The legitimacy of 'laying down the law' reappeared in the favourable treatment of those he liked. Albert thus established what was beneficial for both members of the family and the firm. Such behaviour would have likely been dismissed as noneconomic or unprofessional had a link between the logics of the market and bureaucratic management been assumed. Opening up the latter to a conflicting range of influences is, in contrast, the more useful practice since it leads to the recognition of how activities within both BoMa and the Bokendahl family were guided by the institutional logic of the family. As such, the group of people Albert established the benefit for and then acted accordingly alongside of transcended those he was related to by blood. To accommodate these arguments and deal with the developments at hand, the logic of the family was refined to

> the organisation of social action to the benefit of a particular group of potentially related family
> members as established by an accepted head on the basis of corresponding kinship principles.

Doing so allowed sense to made of statements including 'everyone was part of family'. It also became clear that changes that were introduced to the workplace, whilst arguably in line with the logic of modern bureaucratic management when considered on their own, can be seen as part of the solution to circumstances given rise to by the logic of the family.

The institutional logic of modern market capitalism: from the interest of one to the interest of a group

Empirical material relating to the social setting of Draventhal was previously tied to the institutional logic of rural Catholicism. Keeping with the arguments offered about the usefulness of context as part

of an analysis that draws on institutional logics, the relevance of one beyond the Draventhal community became apparent. A concept able to account for the types of issues Konrad and his brother were understood to be exposed to, as well as how these were subsequently dealt with as part of their involvement at BoMa was required. Konrad began to depart from what had been accepted as customary behaviour up until that point. Contrary to this father, he was acutely aware of level demand rates and placed focus on the conditions that may have brought these about. The related emphasis which was placed on, for instance, product improvement, supplier management, client satisfaction and costs were made sense of through the acknowledgement of a context referred to as the trailer industry. A competitive domain organised on the basis of the logic of modern market capitalism. It was defined as

> the social practice of prioritising self-interested utility maximisation through the competitive organisation of resources.

Whilst BoMa was understood as a part of the trailer industry, as is returned to shortly, the influence of the institutional logic of bureaucratic management remained helpful to account for developments at the company. Attention was continuously placed on the ability and qualification of an applicant to efficiently carry out processes she or he was to be in charge of. Konrad, however, began to challenge the practice of treating favourably those he knew and liked as his father had done before him. It was thus more helpful to account for changing processes at BoMa through the logic of bureaucratic management as endorsed by the logic of modern market capitalism, not the logic of the family. Producing such insight on the basis of how multiple logics co-exist, come together and change, further attests to the utility of the predetermined rationality argument associated with the bureaucratic management logic. Through this reasoning, the emerging reference made to candidates which were 'the best for the job and the firm'—as opposed to those he might have known and liked—became clear.

Over the course of accounting for these developments and changes at BoMa, a refined definition of the logic of modern market capitalism was offered. It was understood as

> the social practice of prioritising utility maximisation to the advantage of a particular group of people through the competitive organisation of resources.

Earlier, reference was made to the mutually reinforcing logics of the family and rural Catholicism. Recalling the appreciation of social behaviour as simultaneously institutionalised and institutionalising, this co-existence influenced how the logic of the family was understood over time. The related legitimacy of certain activities at BoMa became scrutinised as reference was made to the institutional logic of modern market capitalism. Actions understood as guided by the latter did not correspond with practices that had been taken for granted up until that point. The ability of the framework to analyse empirical material through both reinforcement and conflicting amongst changing constellations of co-existing logics is thus worthwhile to note. The interplay between the

logics of the family and rural Catholicism was useful to consider when accounting for the development of the latter over time. In a similar manner, the, in this case, conflicting co-existence of the logics of the family and modern market capitalism give shape to how it was understood. Konrad, for instance, did not refer to employees as part of the family as his father had done before him, nor did tendencies of self-interested utility maximisation become apparent in his behaviour. Reference was, instead, made to the 'good of the company' even though bureaucratic processes were arguably endorsed by a market-oriented understanding.

Whilst the logic of modern market capitalism became increasingly salient in the organisation of processes at BoMa, practices and understandings which had arguably been given rise to by the family logic were not simply replaced. It became clear how a focus on a particular group of people— the employees—which had previously been absent from the definition of the modern capitalist market logic was preserved as its influence increased. A revised view of the latter was thus offered to account for this development. Contrary to a shift (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), the coming together of logics in situations of daily life has, in the present framework, the potential to influence the respective appreciation in the following years. The conflict between the logics of the family and modern market capitalism were thus understood as institutionalising an appreciation of a particular group of people beyond the family logic. The suggested group emphasis implied in the definition of the modern capitalist market logic is thus viewed as a residual influence of this conflict. By refining the framework to retain its utility in dealing with such phenomena, the use of the concept extends from the commonly accepted practice of organising what has been observed around institutional logics whose rivalry is kept in the abstract. This way of analysis is thus one of the few which accessibly puts to use the view of social action as simultaneously sensed and acted upon—institutionalised and institutionalising—by constantly revising concept to helpfully deal with fieldwork material.

The emergence of the competitive trailer industry context

The emphasis Konrad placed on, for instance, demand rates, product innovation and issues of productivity and how these were, in turn, dealt with was connected to the acknowledgement of a context referred to as the trailer industry. Related notions have been suggested amongst studies that, too, take industries or, more commonly, fields as the relevant unit of analysis (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Davis and Marquis, 2005; Lounsbury and Crumley, 2007). Unlike these, the present concern was not limited to associating actions with structural arrangements (Edwards and Meliou, 2015). That is, no "array of appropriate collective organisational identities and practices" that organisations draw on to assemble legitimate versions of their own were offered (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Thornton et al., p. 135). What follows was built on previous arguments demonstrating the limited utility of reducing context to an abstract backdrop with no ties to analysis within family and business research. Practices and forms of organisation Albert had created at BoMa were understood as guided by the

reinforcing logics of the family and rural Catholicism taken for granted within the community of Draventhal. Transcending the scope of this context related rationale, Konrad, in contrast, paid attention to the trailer industry and, as part of that emphasis, prioritised the market logic over the logic of the family. Going against established patterns, it became clear why Albert 'didn't like it one bit'.

Organisations have, within the institutional literature, been associated with intersecting institutional fields (Pache and Santos, 2010). The call for more "realistic, context sensitive" assumptions has been put forth in response to the level of abstraction these studies operate on (Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010, p. 201). A call which is answered in the present thesis by the sense made of context and social circumstances. For in addition to introducing a sufficiently grounded and historically contingent concept of Draventhal community, for instance, the usefulness of allowing for more than one context became clear as the empirical material was dealt with. This is in contrast to taking a so-called "hybrid" status of organisations for granted in advance (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). It is rather the product of following through with the recognition that puzzling fieldwork questions should determine conceptual development. Hence as conflict amongst activities introduced at BoMa by members of the Bokendahl family was considered over the course of the development of the company, they were understood as influenced by a variable appreciation of contexts and logics associated with each. The insights facilitated by this way of analysis were referred to in a previous section. Their respective appreciation of which context BoMa arguably related to, whilst informed by existing customs, was far from unanimous.

On looking ahead

This thesis builds on the work of those introduced in previous chapters who have called for a broader investigation of social issues associated with a noticeable involvement of family in business (e.g. Schulze and Gedajlovic, 2010; Stewart and Hitt, 2010). In line with earlier arguments, the insight that forms of behaviour may be most helpfully understood by locating them in a social context is shared. Given this appreciation, the economic rationale (James, Jennings and Breitkreuz, 2012) then becomes one amongst many, potentially conflicting bases for action. It is this body of academic literature dealing with related issues of family and business that the present thesis addresses. It may thus be placed alongside those advances made through conceptualising family embeddedness (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Wiklund et al., 2013), opening up the social domain of the family (Stewart, 2003; Stewart and Miner, 2010, 2011; Dalpiaz, Tracey and Phillips, 2014) or pointing to the utility of placing family related issues in an institutional framework (Colli et al., 2003; Nordqvist and Melin 2002; Miller, Le Breton-Miller and Lester, 2011; Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). Beyond what is offered in these studies, the present thesis is worthwhile to note for its attempt to learn what actually happens in organisations, as it was put, about how things work. It brings together the intricacies of activities related to the family

and business interplay with the social structures in which they are embedded to inform the practices of anyone wishing to engage with it. Related arguments and literatures have been addressed throughout this thesis and their wider relevance was suggested. This section will return to a number of these to point out avenues of research that may be particularly worthwhile to further engage with. Doing so will then lead to a discussion of themes that did not constitute the focus of the present thesis but would be useful to pursue in the future.

When addressing whether family is or is not part of the organisation of a business, it became clear that neither attributes of the kind previously turned to—an intent for continuity or cross-generational ownership, for instance—nor a glance at the social context of a family or lone founder provides a sufficiently helpful proxy (cf. Chua et al., 2004; Thornton et al., 2012; Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). The call to pay further attention to the creation of a business is thus a useful one to make. It challenges research to go beyond the practice of contemplating abstract conditions and their association with the question of whether an organisation warrants the family firm label or not. Of those who address the period of business formation, most do so to study economic success across generations (Miller et al., 2013; Miralles-Marcelo et al., 2014; Lopez-Delgado and Dieguez-Soto, 2015). Wright and Kellermanns (2011, p. 189) acknowledge a "family culture established by the founder", but few have interpreted this to take a closer look. It is thus helpful to emphasise the need for family and business research to be more forthcoming about historically contingent developments associated with the organisations and settings of interest (James, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2010; Stewart and Hitt, 2012). A thorough appreciation of taken for granted customs and circumstances playing a part in the process of business creation may be useful to make sense of when, for example, attempting to deal with a conflict several years into the firm's operation. This kind of relationship merits further research.

The analysis of day-to-day customs, struggles and practices of BoMa, a medium-to-large business with a significant family dimension, were continually informed by the context-specific circumstances at the time of its founding. The firm's size is important to note since the level of detail required to establish the above link is more common within studies on smaller firms. Small business research is indeed useful to consider. The analysis of larger ones could—as it did in present case—benefit from this level of emphasis placed on the organisation of daily activities in the future (Ram and Holliday, 1993; Ram, 1994; Fletcher, 2002), particularly so when interested in the humbler beginnings of these businesses. Contributors to the field of family business research have largely moved to accept the heterogeneity of the organisations they study (Chua et al., 2012). It would be helpful if research would, too, come to address the equally heterogeneous family ties within. Over the course of the present thesis, related labels and concomitant assumptions have been considered. Amongst these were the associations of the family firm with potentially dysfunctional "noneconomic goals" (Schulze et al., 2009, Chrisman et al., 2005, p. 525), family founders (Miller et al., 2011) and notions of legacy, succession and the intent for continuity (Chua et al., 2004; Thornton et al., 2012;

Jaskiewicz et al., 2016). The usefulness of becoming thoroughly immersed in those family and business related practices when attempting to learn more about them is returned to below. At this point, a topic studies with such an approach may turn to is considered.

Broader reviews of and suggestions for the study of women as part of family owned and managed firms have been offered elsewhere (Sharma, 2004; Jimenez, 2009; Gupta and Levenburg, 2013). Arguments related to the involvement of Cecelia Bokendahl, too, suggest the significance of the topic. It may be useful, however, to problematise and, perhaps, go beyond those roles and characterisations made reference to in above calls for additional research. Amongst these are the female successor, parent, in-law or even emotional leader (Ward, 1987; Dumas, 1989; Ward and Sorenson, 1989; Poza and Messer, 2001; Berghoff, 2006). Whilst gender was no basis for the current study, it must be better understood if helpful sense is to be made of the complexities of work-related family involvement. Related to the wish of Poza and Messer (2001, p. 26) to learn more so-called "power-sharing spousal partnerships", research should address the less noticeable but nevertheless significant influence of women involved in firms with a family dimension. The complexities related to the suggested issue of female invisibility may be a helpful topic to further pursue.

The reemphasis on patterned actions and relations within defined social contexts was part of a call that has been addressed within the present research. Reference was made to the usefulness of incorporating empirical material on day-to-day processes when dealing with more realistic struggles people are confronted with (Powell and Colyvas, 2008). Few appear to follow suit within the relevant research streams. And fewer still appear to inform the discussion of everyday issues with the awareness of social relations at work at the time of firm's founding, for instance, or at any point in time since. Future research on phenomena in an organisation with a family dimension may benefit from such an appreciation of both detail and context. Since the present research was carried out, De Massis and Foss (2018) have called for family business researchers to embrace the unfolding of processes in quotidian work life. But related phenomena, the authors write, are seldom dealt with theoretically or empirically "at the levels of analysis lower than that of the phenomenon itself" (De Massis and Foss, 2018, p. 386). The present thesis, with its theoretical work on practice that has emerged from examining social interactions and events within such settings, too, makes the case for research to get close the activities and puzzles it wishes to address.

An earlier section in this chapter drew together issues of place, time, the role of the researcher and how this was dealt with by writing reflexively. My role as the author of this thesis was referred to, as were my personal experiences in the social context forming the focus of this research. There are but a few ethnographies on the organisational practices in larger family owned and managed firms (Stewart and Hitt, 2010, Evert et al., 2016). Additional research of this kind would be helpful to study issues amongst and across national and cultural dimensions. Theoretical refinement was referred to as grounded in empirical material and inclusive of the broader societal context. More could thus be learned about the significance of religion at work, for example, if a firm within a different cultural

setting became the focus of an ethnographic piece of research. Particularly so if the study were to be carried out in a different German context, given the country's clusters of traditionally Catholic or Protestant regions. Relatedly, the present treatment of a nation state may relate differently to business in France or the United Kingdom. The usefulness of more realistic and context sensitive assumption is not restricted to its present application. There is more to learn about how things work in businesses with a family dimension: across industries, regions nations, from researchers who happen to be members of the family and from those who share no personal experiences at all.

Guided by the key research question of 'how do organisational processes in a business with a significant family dimension unfold in the everyday?', the present thesis was created to be of potential use to anyone engaging with the type of setting addressed. It originated from my personal frustration with existing academic work which it also aims to contribute to. It is useful to recall that I had not learned the ropes of BoMa by virtue of situational familiarity prior to my research involvement. Knowledge is thus offered as the outcome of bringing together the experience of establishing myself in the research setting with existing knowledge and theoretical ideas developed to make helpful sense of phenomena when the former could not. This process was drawn together earlier in this chapter. I imagine that had I, as a member of the Bokendahl family about to engage with BoMa, known about the generalisations offered in the thesis, learning about related processes and norms would have been a far less surprising endeavour. I would have been more conscious, for example, of the potential influence of religion on the organisation of family-related tasks and the relationship of the business with the context it was a part of: Draventhal village. I would have also been aware of the possibility to become a successor without intending to do so and less surprised by the family dispute following the death of the founders. In line with the view of ethnographic work and principles of Pragmatism developed, related principles and arguments brought forth in this thesis are not the inevitable sort that had waited to be uncovered. Rather, this ethnography is presented as the most helpful, in its interplay between theoretical generalisations and fieldwork accounts, that could be created through the substantive analysis of the realities of how things work within a family-centred organisation.

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