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AUTHORING SECOND-GENERATION ENTREPRENEUR AND FAMILY BUSINESS STORIES

ABSTRACT

Purpose – This empirical article explores the under researched interface between entrepreneur and family business stories and in particular the form and structure of second-generation entrepreneur stories. It illustrates how second-generation entrepreneur stories can be (co)authored to narrate an alternative entrepreneurial identity within a family business setting.

Design/methodology/approach – From a desk based review of relevant literature a number of conceptual storyline models are developed and these are used to better understand second-generation entrepreneur / family business stories.

Findings – The authorial process allows individual family members the freedom to craft contingent stories which fit their circumstances. The article also examines the research process of co-authoring research with respondents and how this adds value to the process. The findings are mainly relevant to theory building.

Research limitations/implications – There are obvious limitations to the study in that the conceptual model is only compared against one second-generation entrepreneur story and that clearly further research must be conducted to establish the veracity of the storyline models developed.

Practical implications – There are some very practical implications in relation to conflict resolution within family businesses in that the storying process allows individuals the freedom to author their own stories and place in family and family business history.

Originality/value – This article highlights the contribution that an understanding of the interface between entrepreneur and family business stories can bring to understanding this complex dynamic.

Keywords - Family business, Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurial narrative, Entrepreneurial identity; Family business stories; First-generation entrepreneur stories; Second-generation entrepreneur stories.

Paper type - Research paper

1. AUTHORING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES – AN INTRODUCTION

In their book "*Understanding Family Business*", Brännback and Carsrud (2011) outline an agenda for future family business research and call for more theoretical or empirical work into neglected aspects of family business. Similarly, Debicki, Matherne, Kellermanns and Chrisman (2009) highlight gaps in the literature, whilst Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn (2011) make a similar argument for entrepreneurship. In considering similarities and differing forms and structures between entrepreneur and family business stories this article addresses an identifiable gap in the literature – namely consideration of how second-generation entrepreneur stories and family business stories are authored and narrated. This article contributes to a small but growing stream of research focusing upon the analysis of entrepreneur stories, from a biographical perspective, including those of Morrison (2001); Kontos (2004); Jones and Conway (2004); Goss (2005); Smith (2005); Fillis (2006); Down (2006); Conway (2007); Smith (2009); and Larty and Hamilton (2011). It also builds upon a growing appreciation of the importance of narrative mechanisms in propagating values associated with different categories of entrepreneur and family business stories - for example, great family stories (Steyaert and Bouwen, 1997) and familial fable (Smith, 2002).

Much has been written about the ubiquitous first-generation entrepreneur story and how it follows a socially constructed template (Hytti, 2003; Smith, 2006). According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000) individual and collective identities can be socially constructed for public representation in the form of a shared story which becomes ubiquitous as others adopt it. Thus, we intuitively know what storylines constitute a typical first-generation entrepreneur story e.g. the humble-beginnings; the-poor-boy-

makes-good; the rags-to-riches; overcoming adversity; and hard-work storylines (see Sarachek, 1978; Sarachek, 1980; Smith and Anderson, 2004; Smith, 2005; Goss, 2005; Smith, 2009; Dawson and Hjorth, 2011). 2005). Yet, little is written of second-generation entrepreneur stories (Osborne, 1991; Kazmi, 1999; Steier, 2001); nor of matured entrepreneurship (Clarke and Holt, 2010). Thus we become less clear of what to expect when we stray into the territory of second-generation entrepreneurs. This has clear implications in relation to entrepreneurial identity and how we tell inter-generational entrepreneur stories. For example, Barnes (1988) argued that the daughter or younger son who becomes head of the family business must struggle with self-identity and changing family role expectations.

Much of the extant literature of family business focuses on the legal, structural and organizational aspects of this very complex and potentially destructive social process. Little consideration is given to its storied and scripted aspects or to the form and structure of the resultant stories. This is important because stories (like entrepreneurship *per se*) are not static and are subject to change over time. Moreover, family stories can be positive or negatively charged. Consideration of narrative and storytelling raises the perennial question of whose story is it anyway (Hamilton, 2006)? Therefore, the research questions relate to:-

- Whether first and second-generation entrepreneur stories differ in terms of form and structure and how do these relate to family business stories.
- What storied identities (McAdams, 1993) are open to the children of first-generation entrepreneurs?

Section 2 presents a literature review relating to authoring first and second-generation entrepreneur stories and depicts a series of storyline models for understanding entrepreneur stories. Section 3 discusses issues of methodology and authorial practice as well as presenting a family business story to which the conceptual models are applied. Section 4 details findings and Section 5 draws some conclusions and implications from the study. First we must investigate form and structure in entrepreneur stories.

2. REVIEWING FORM AND STRUCTURE IN ENTREPRENEUR STORIES

Entrepreneur and family business stories can both be accommodated under the rubric of organizational stories (Gabriel, 2000; Boje, 2008). Indeed, McCollum (1992) argued that organizational stories help construct a system dynamic that reinforces the family's influence over the business. Kets de Vries and Carlock (2007) adopted an organizational storytelling approach to better understand the dynamics of family business and how families in business develop scripts to story their business decisions. Furthermore, Gersick *et al* (1997:149) argue that the business becomes a central component of family identity and that values, and assumptions associated with family business are reinforced through visible cultural artefacts, myths and stories of the founding entrepreneur. Although Steier (2001) has discussed the transfer of inter-generational wealth in family businesses there is more to the development of inter and intra-generational wealth than mere money because stories act as reputational currency (Vendelø, 1998).

The subject matter of this article spans the literatures of entrepreneurship, family business and narrative. Clarke and Holt (2010) highlight the "*narrative orientation*" of entrepreneurs and entrepreneur stories are socially constructed narratives (Hytti, 2003; Downing, 2005; Smith and Anderson, 2004; Smith, 2005; Gartner, 2007; Lindgren and

Packendorff, 2007; Korsgaard, 2007; Smith, 2009). Issues of narrative and identity are paramount in the constructionist process because of the links between creation; the passing on of identities; and the crafting of credible overlapping generational stories. Narratives add value in relation to identity construction.

According to Ochs and Capps (2001:57) stories depict a coherent temporal progression of events' located in time and place and are narrated with particular audiences in mind. For Bruner (2001) stories have a beginning; middle; and an end and thus situate us in time and place aiding identity construction (Bamberg, 2004a) because they are used in every-day, mundane situations to create (and perpetuate) a sense of who we are. Thus stories of entrepreneurs (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Hytti, 2003; Downing, 2005; Down, 2006; Smith, 2006) help us situate them in time, place and culture. However, there is a paucity of research into second-generation entrepreneur stories (Osborne, 1991). Thankfully, Steyaert (1997) suggests that stories can act as substitutes for theories in under researched contexts. Thus we can use stories to position ourselves and to contextualise our identities (Bamberg, 1997; Czarniawska, 1997; Bruner, 2001) within "*storied business*" settings (O'Connor, 2002).

There are distinct categories of entrepreneurial stories, albeit the terms 'entrepreneur stories' and 'family business stories' are often treated as different entities. Nevertheless, because the literature of family business is invariably authored by scholars who contribute to the entrepreneurship literature there is a degree of overlap and sharing of insights (Hoy and Verser, 1994: Gibb and Handler, 1994). Gibb and Handler (1994:80) discuss various nexus points between entrepreneurship and family business, including early experiences in the entrepreneur's family of origin; family involvement and support

in early start-up; employment of family members; and the involvement of family members in ownership, management and entrepreneurial succession. Thus the stories of founders and family businessmen are used in different contexts despite sharing storied commonalities (Kets de Vries and Carlock, 2007; Smith, 2009). Although first and second-generation stories appear to be essentially different they share similar epistemologies. Stories are boundary objects that resonate with and between multiple audiences (Bartel and Garud, 2009: Wry *et al*, 2001). According to Wry *et al* entrepreneur stories are 'growth stories' which as collective entities act as 'signaling stories' emphasizing core practices. They (2011:455) continue "*Signaling stories theorize a new collective identity boundary, making the extant boundary flexible to sanctioned practice variants*". Furthermore, they (2011:449) define collective identities as fluid "*groups of actors that can be strategically constructed and... organized around a shared purpose and similar outputs*".

Collective identity stories are verbal or written expressions employed by a group of entrepreneurial actors to help project an image of themselves, collectively, as a coherent category with a meaningful label and identity (Wry *et al,* 2011:450). As with stories at the organizational level, collective identity stories offer ready-made constructions of credibility, appropriateness, and viability and serve as touchstones for audience assessments of legitimacy. This narrative turn is important because family business stories by their very nature are inter-generational stories of continuity and change (Gersick, Davis, Hampton and Lansberg, 1997). It is also apparent from a wider reading of the literature that second-generation entrepreneur stories build upon the founding story of the first-generation entrepreneur.

Entrepreneurship is thus a complex dynamic (Smith and Anderson, 2003: Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011) as is 'Family Business' (Gersick, 1997). Indeed, the interface between both story genres is complex, permeable and unmapped albeit particular storylines constitute a typical first-generation entrepreneur story. A storyline is a series of events that happen in a story and is related to its plot. We are all familiar with the humble-beginnings; the-poor-boy-makes-good; the rags-to-riches; overcoming adversity; and hard-work storylines (Smith, 2005) but struggle to comprehend how these transfer across generations in narrating second-generation entrepreneurs (Osborne, 1991).

2.1. Authoring first-generation entrepreneur stories

It is acknowledged that entrepreneurs play a significant part in authoring and co-authoring their own stories (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: Down and Hughes, 2009). This has obvious consequences for how such entrepreneurs choose to tell their stories. Indeed, the entrepreneur has a choice of storytelling genres to communicate their unique social capital to others. First and second-generation entrepreneur stories are cyclic in nature following the "*Seasons of a Man's life*" (Levinson, 1978). Indeed, Davis and Tagiuri (1989) discuss the influence of life stages on the father – son work relationship in family business settings. Entrepreneur stories are individualistic and are generally narrated in a first person voice whilst family business stories are collective narrations. One may consider second-generation entrepreneur stories as a family business story narrated from the perspective of a particular person.

Entrepreneur stories are structured and constructed around common, recurring, formulaic social themes and clichéd storylines (Smith, 2005; Anderson and Smith, 2007; Down and Warren, 2008). Gersick, *et al* (1997:137) stress that in founding entrepreneur

stories a common recurring theme is that of a benevolent other giving the entrepreneur a chance. Thus kindness and serendipity scripts overlap. The values embedded within such entrepreneurial storylines vary considerably depending upon the setting in which the story is situated. Fraboni and Saltstone (1990) argue that first-generation entrepreneurs are more suspicious, assertive, imaginative, controlled, and reserved than second-generation entrepreneurs who were generally more trusting, humble, practical, undisciplined, and outgoing than first generation entrepreneurs. Similarly, García-Álvarez, López-Sintas and Saldaña Gonzalvo (2002) in researching the socialization of successors in family business examined how the second-generation related to the values of the founders and storied them for future generations. The founders' (storied) values condition potential successors' socialization experiences according to two different stages of socialization. The first stage relates to the transmission of values to the founders' descendants and is facilitated by training and value transmission (via stories); the second is facilitated via the business socialization process and is generally reserved for the founder's potential successors. Interestingly, García-Álvarez *et al* refer to a '*Founder's Dependence Paradox'* which influences the socialization process in the next-generation. Stories of dependence/independence are important facets of the socialisation process.

O'Connor (2002) examined founding stories as a narrative genre arguing that the founder must develop a narrative competency in articulating personal, generic and situational aspects of their story. Cramton (1993) examined the founders' story of a particular family firm and compared public and private accounts of its creation authored from the perspectives of entrepreneurial activity and family systems theory. For Cramton, the two theoretical perspectives explain the salience of different facts regarding the

founding of the business. Crampton questioned the legitimacy of privileging certain types of accounts of business foundings' over others. Founder stories generally express "*rugged individuality*", whilst family business stories express the paradox of collective individuality (Cramton, 1993).

Nevertheless, first-generation entrepreneur stories may cast a dark shadow on families and across generations unless entrepreneurial identity is re-storied. First-generation stories are constructed and told as heroic eulogies in which a hero – typically a male entrepreneur, overcomes hardships and difficulties to achieve success. Such stories are panegyric and are usually narrated as semi-tragic stories in which the first-generation founder is denied legitimacy and acceptance by a vengeful establishment (Smith, 2005). They are a variant of the genre of '*Great-man-stories'* encountered in the literature of leadership (Carlyle, 1888; Cawthon, 1996**).** The entrepreneur as a leader is elevated from an ordinary to extraordinary person, achieving an almost godlike status. The fact that they may have established a corporate dynasty or a family business is often overlooked in the heroic narration. In achieving the socially approved status of entrepreneur, the first-generation founder lays claim to entrepreneurial identity.

From readings of the literature relating to the form and structure of entrepreneur stories (see Catano, 2001; Smith, 2005; Smith and Anderson, 2007, Smith, 2009) a cyclical storytelling model for telling typical first-generation stories emerges which broadly mirrors the '*life story model'* (McAdam, 1985). Figure 1 presents an overview of how the storylines align to tell convincing first-generation entrepreneur stories:-

Figure 1 – **Typical 1st Generation Entrepreneurial Storylines**
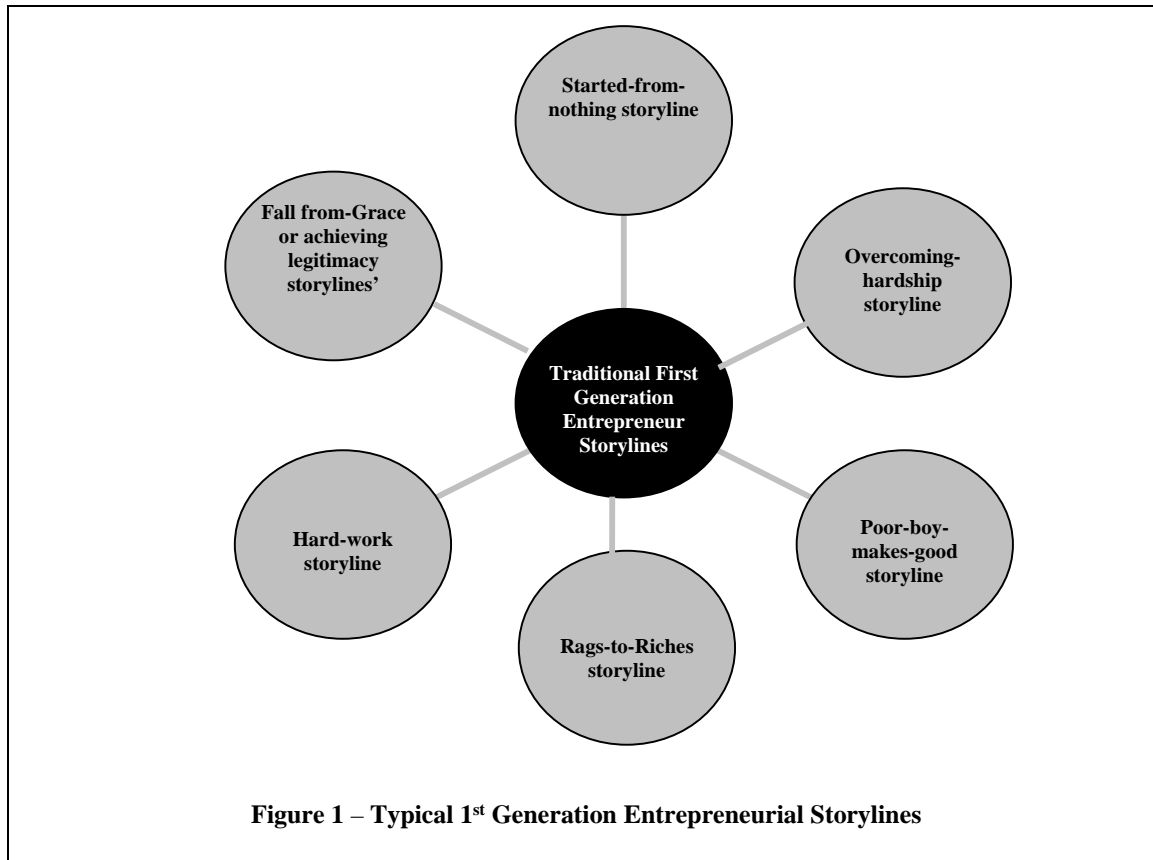
(Source – author generated).

The storylines represent possible storied sequences which vary according to each case where the story may follow a different sequence of events. These traditional first-generation entrepreneur storylines form a model associated with the telling of working-class entrepreneur stories. As traditionally many entrepreneurs came from humble beginnings, these storylines became the accepted, storied, default position. However, it is clear from an analysis of figure 1, that those born into entrepreneurial-families or family-business-dynasties are, by circumstance denied access to these clichéd storylines – with the exception of the 'Hard-work-tale'. Thus, privileged siblings, have to work even harder than others, to overcome the curse of the first-generation entrepreneur story albeit not all entrepreneur stories need follow a traditional storytelling model. For example, middle class children may be denied the 'poor-boy-makes-good' storyline, but the

framework remains valid if one substitutes denied storylines for other credible (and more situationally appropriate) lines such as the 'child-prodigy'; 'overcoming obstacles'; and 'self-education' storylines. Figure 2 presents an alternative credible storytelling model for children of middle class and professional families who cannot stretch the credibility gap to tell 'poor-boy' and other storylines associated with the 'storybook-entrepreneur formula' (Smith, 2005).

Figure 2 – Alternative First Generation Entrepreneur Storylines.
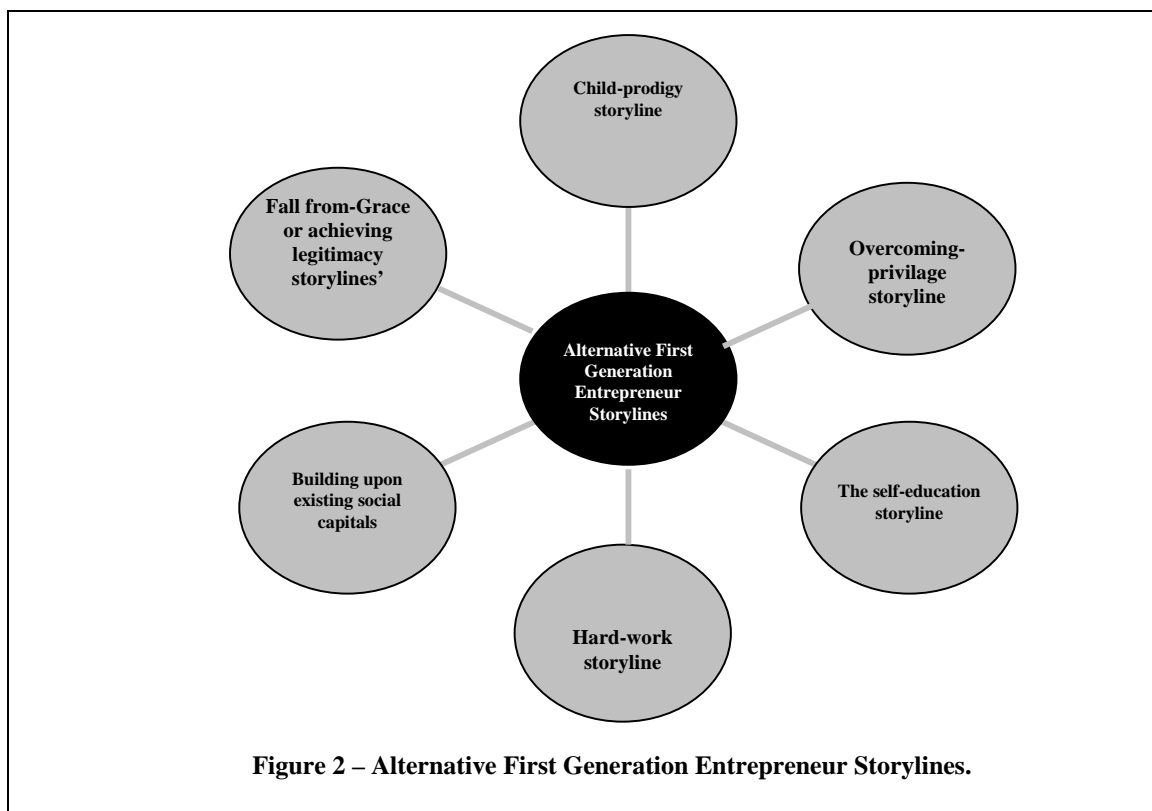
(Source – author generated).

2.2. Authoring second-generation entrepreneur stories

Thus the sons and daughters of the second-generation cannot so easily lay claim to entrepreneur status (as it is presently socially constructed) because their father or mother already claim both the status and bragging rights to the story within their lifetime. As a

consequence, the children of entrepreneurs are often forced to establish different and alternative storied identities within the framework of the family business story. Litz (2011:107) articulates the schizophrenic double message broadcast by family business owners to their children and discusses the paradox of conformity versus non-conformity. On one hand entrepreneurial ideology encourages children to make their own way in the world whereas family business ideology encourages subservience and obedience. Brännback and Carsrud (2011:31) argue that not joining the family business is read as an insult. One is minded of the sentiment of Sarachek (1980) that the best thing an entrepreneur as a father can do for their teenage sons, is to die young thereby allowing them the space to craft their own stories.

In relation to alternative storylines the sons and daughters of family business owners may rebel and in becoming misfits, adopt the rebel-child storyline and seek a different career path or engage in bad behaviour (Lansberg and Astrachan, 2004; Smith, 2009; Carsrud and Brännback, 2011:4). Indeed, Eddleston and Kidwell (2011:100) refer to the unfavoured, mischievous children in family business as proverbial "*Bad Seeds*" and argue that whilst some children are assets, others are deviants. Alternatively, they can become proverbial 'black-sheep' by emphasising their difference (Hall and Stone, 2004). The rebel and black-sheep stories may entail a descent into crime whilst others may become playboys or dilettantes, living off and spending the familial money accrued by their entrepreneurial parents. Others become spoiled children, unable to make their own way in the world (Kets De Vries, 1993; Kaye, 1996; Lansberg and Astrachan, 2004). Often, they have been deliberately sheltered from the realities from everyday life by overprotective mothers, or significant others. Alternatively, they fade quietly into the background,

accepting the rough justice of dutifully doing as they are told (Ayres, 1990). Neither family business, nor entrepreneur stories need always be eulogistic and according to Carsrud and Brännback (2011:1) such *"Horror tales are frequent and legend"*. Thus family business stories accommodate a myriad of storylines and plots.

Successful male entrepreneurs may therefore cast a long, withering shadow on their progeny (Martin *et al*, 2011). To lay claim to entrepreneur status themselves, the children must establish their own sense of self worth. Litz (2011:124) talks about such qualifying tests in family business ideology whereby the *"Entrepreneur in waiting"* (Kjellander, Nordquist and Welter, 2011) prove themselves by either getting an appropriate University Degree; starting their own company; or working their way up in the company before claiming managerial status in the family business. Dyer (2011:163) also identified a need for such individuals to gain significant outside work experience. To paraphrase Dyer (1986) there is a heavy burden of dependence placed upon a single entrepreneurial founder which characterizes first-generation firms. Kelly *et al* (2000) talk of this *"Founder Centrality"* whilst Davis and Harveston (1999) of positive and negative *"Generational Shadows"*.

Obviously, the preceding scenarios are not applicable in all situations, being predicated upon stereotypes. However, they accentuate the deeply psychological and very real malady of being overshadowed in business by a dominant father figure (Davis and Harveston, 1999). Here we encounter shades of Freud and Jung in their archetypal treatment of how fathers overshadow their children. It need not be as severe as the Oedipal cycle (Catano, 2001) but in business families, the children face a double jeopardy of having to respect their father twice – once as their father, and again, as an

entrepreneur. This shadow aspect of storied entrepreneurial identity is under researched, as often the boundaries between the two role models can become blurred. This has the effect of accentuating the overshadowing thesis in psychology (Perry, 1970; Dudley, 1991). Competing with father is a common theme in family business stories for siblings of either sex (Barnes, 1988). The expected fate of the disenfranchised children of an overly focused and overbearing first-generation entrepreneur is scripted continuation of the tragic first-generation entrepreneur story (see Smith, 2005).

Second-generation entrepreneur and family business stories are of interest from the point of conflict resolution within family businesses in that the (re)storying process allows individuals the freedom to author their own stories and place in family and family business history. Conflict resolution plays a major part in the family business literature (see Levison, 1971; Harvey and Evans, 1994; Sorenson, 1999; Davis and Harveston, 1999, 2001, 2007; Eddleston, Otondo and Kellermanns, 2008; and Frank, Kessler, Nose and Suchy, 2011). Luhmann (1984:530) defines conflict as a communicated contradiction and stresses that conflict only occurs if expectations are communicated and non-acceptance communicated back. For Morris, Williams, Allen and Avila (1997) conflict and strife are an integral unavoidable part of family business. Notwithstanding this, entrepreneur stories celebrate and perpetuate shared societal values which guide us through times of change and societal disequilibria (Smith, 2006: 57).

The story authored by such children, need not be a negative narration. Many business families deal with succession issues albeit dysfunctional jealousies and destructive family relationships can tear families apart (Eddleston and Kellermanns, 2007). The entrepreneur, with the sense and humility to step down at the appropriate time allows

their children the space to author their own entrepreneur stories. In comparing the stories of second-generation entrepreneurs against the storyline models, one senses that the voices of the children of entrepreneurs become muted. Gersick, *et al* (1997) stress that in second-generation business stories it is the venture, not the individual which often struggles - nevertheless, an alternative model emerges reliant on a series of cyclical storylines which begins with stepping out of the shadow; gaining autonomy; hard-work-tales; building upon family reputation; before finally establishing one's own reputation as an entrepreneur. See figure 3:-

Figure 3 - Second Generation Entrepreneur Storylines.
(Source – author generated).
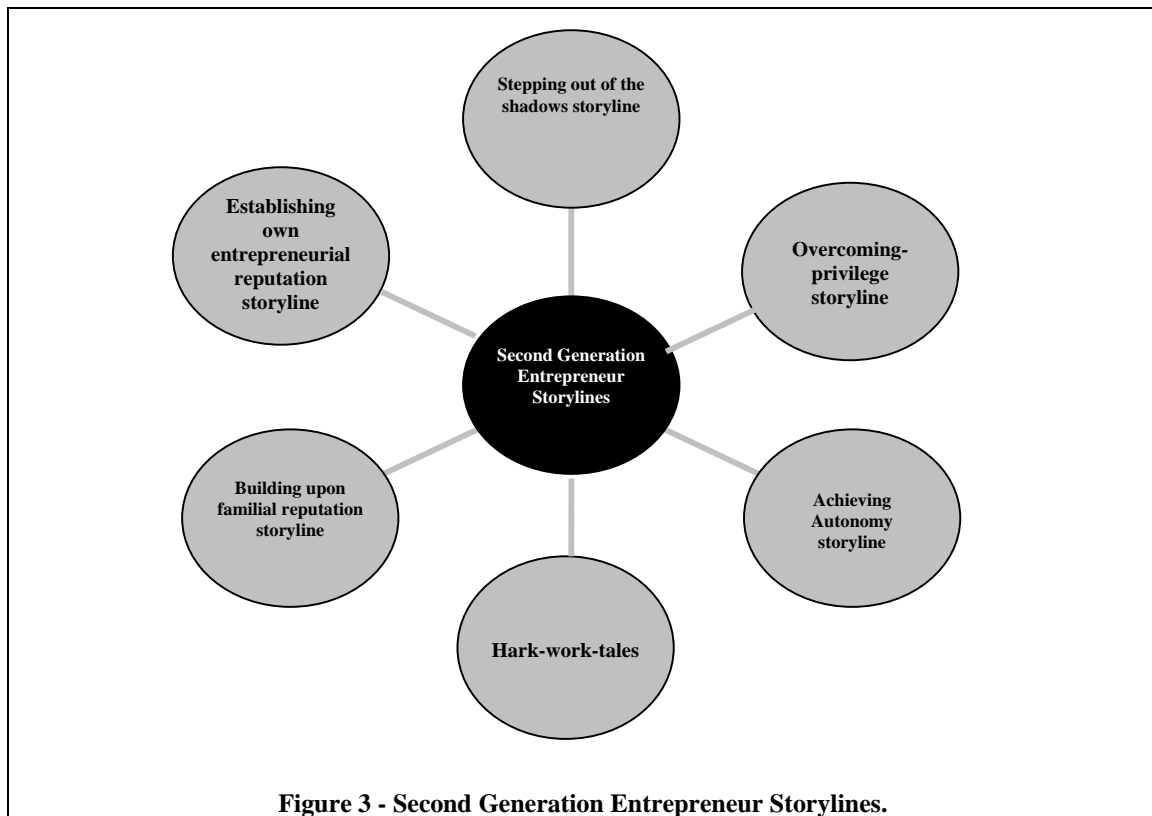
Granted the storylines narrated above do not bear the hallowed status of traditional first-generation entrepreneur stories or its alternative, but they are typical of the storied experiences of second-generation entrepreneurs. These are real storylines available to the

siblings who do not cut and run, or alternatively adopt the now hallowed middle class options of entering a profession as doctor, lawyer, accountant etc. It is apparent that these storyline models may well be linked and/or concentric because the second-generation entrepreneur must continue another cycle of the story started by their parents absorbing and becoming the story themselves, subsuming themselves in the family business story.

Vangelisti, Crumley and Baker (1999) in collecting family stories found two contrasting types - ideal typifications and realistic. Ideal stories reflect positive emotions such as care, togetherness, adaptability, reconstruction, and humor which are positively linked to satisfaction. Conversely, realistic stories reflect negative feelings such as disregard, hostility, chaos, divergent values, and negative personality attributes. Some stories are a mix of both elements which can have important consequences both for the authoring and storytelling processes and to the form and structure of the resultant stories.

2.3. Factoring in issues of entrepreneurial identity.

Entrepreneurial identity is an individual and collectively constructed phenomenon which encompasses the biographical, the life story and the organizational (Albert and Whetton, 1985; Whetten, 2008). Organizational identity is defined by Albert and Whetten (1985) as the central, distinctive and enduring characteristic of an organization and consists of three principle components, namely ideational, definitional and phenomenological. This is of relevance because a family business is an organization of control and thus the individualistic elements of entrepreneurial identity a second-generation entrepreneur must project the collective entrepreneurial identities of the family and the business.

Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that entrepreneurial identity is a discursive, narrative construction (Rae, 2002; Foss, 2004: Lewis and Llewellyn, 2004; Berglund,

2006; Down and Warren, 2008; and Jones, Latham and Betta, 2009). Consequentially, there is a relationship between an individual's life course and the creation of their entrepreneurial identity (Foss, 2004). Entrepreneurial identity is influenced by dominant and alternative discourses and in this case by the dominant narrative of the heroic first-generation entrepreneur versus the alternative narrative of the second-generation entrepreneur. The second-generation entrepreneur may thus be conflicted with a 'split entrepreneurial identity' (Vesala, Peura and McElwee, 2007). According to Warren (2004) entrepreneurial identity is a negotiated one within particular communities of practice. Indeed, entrepreneurial identity is constructed and reconstructed through story work within shifting communities of practice. Thus identity construction is a two way process of acknowledging and being acknowledged by others within a milieu thus stories must be told and retold as circumstances change. Furthermore, Down and Warren (2008) suggest there is a repertoire of narrative resources such as cliché's and metaphors used to create and maintain entrepreneurial identity and that these vary within different settings. Indeed, Watson (2009) has acknowledged the use of identity work in family business settings to create dual entrepreneurial and family business identities. Shepherd and Haynie (2009) identified a complex dynamic associated with competing family and business identities which suggests that there are competing roles in play which influence entrepreneurial identities within family business settings. Shepherd and Haynie introduce the notion of the family-business role as a distinct identity functioning at the intersection of family and business identities. In a similar vein, Hoang and Gimeno (2010) suggest that founder role identity affects the identity of the long term entrepreneurial identity of the founding entrepreneur and business. Consideration of identity and in particular

entrepreneurial identity is significant because it shapes the way second-generation entrepreneurs build their identities based on their parent's and how they detach from previous identities. Thus an appreciation of the identity construction process is important in order to "change mindset" in terms on how we depict entrepreneurs and how they depict themselves. We now consider methodological issues related to authoring stories.

3. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES RELATING TO AUTHORING STORIES

In constructing the conceptual models outlined above, the author conducted a close reading (Amernic and Craig, 2006) of the articles cited in this study for common themes and phrases relating to storylines. These were analysed using constant comparative analysis and lists of similarities and differences emerged (Miles and Huberman, 1984). From these it was possible to visualise the themes diagrammatically. It is significant that the themes often came from vignettes or small stories used by individual authors to illustrate a particular point. From the readings, the author had realized that certain elements could be modeled. The models were drafted by taking various elements from the reviewed material. These were mapped using 'post-it notes' on an A5 sheet of paper until patterns emerged which resonated with the authors understanding of the storied process.

Rae (2004) considers stories to be practical theories which emerge from the implicit, intuitive, tacit and situated resource of practice. Likewise, Steyaert (1997) argues that we create knowledge through stories which are often imbued with issues of locale and locality as for example 'local-boy-makes-good' stories. According to Davis (2004) authoring stories is done in interaction with others thus "*narrative is developed in an interaction between an individual author and others in a cultural context, and serves as a*

symbolic resource for the author and for others to draw upon". Indeed, Davis (2004) explored the dialogic process of (co)authoring and the ways that self-narratives help authors develop their writing. The issue of co-production of stories in an entrepreneurship setting was covered by Down (2006) who described this very process as he collected stories from entrepreneurs and employees in work, household and social settings. Furthermore, Down and Hughes (2009) argue that in exploring the 'everydayness' of entrepreneurship in an organizational setting one faces many issues[1]. Methodologically, getting close to the thorny issues of entrepreneurial and familial identities in family business settings entails using ethnographic approaches to collect stories which provide an in-depth and up-close understanding of how the 'everyday-ness' of work is organized and how, work itself organizes people and the societies they inhabit (Down and Hughes, 2009).

3.1. The authorial process

We are concerned with the process of authoring and co-authoring entrepreneur stories. During 2005, the author was engaged in research into entrepreneurship in a family business setting and interviewed a second-generation entrepreneur Hebbie Fowlie, proprietor of the family business 'Bert Fowlie Butchers', Strichen. The author interviewed Hebbie on several occasions using recorded, face-to-face interviews. The case story itself was developed from two, three-hour interviews, supplemented by a 45 minute telephone interview and numerous email conversations in which the iterations were drafted and redrafted. Hebbie also provided written material to help in the process.

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[1] Such as gaining access to research sites and respondents; how to write up ethnography; how to deal with the role of friendship relations; how to keep an academic and professional distance; when to encourage closeness; and ethical issues. However, these are of little concern to an entrepreneur who merely seeks to present their life story in an authentic manner.

The story which emerged was thus written by the author and approved by Hebbie. As is standard research practice, the author shared the story with the respondent prior to presenting the paper and case story at a conference and was delighted at the level of cooperation involved in the process as the story underwent several iterative drafts before Hebbie was finally satisfied with his story. This close collaboration improved the authenticity and resonance of the story and in many respects the collaboration shared many of the collaborative elements of action research because the spiralling process of narrative collection, interpretation, entrepreneur checking and permission granting undertaken was similar to that of participative action research (Reason, 1988: Reason and Bradbury 2001). The emotive authoring process impacted upon Hebbie and forced him to take stock of his achievements and to consider his future ambitions as well as his place in time. What is surprising is that the story emerged as that of a second-generation entrepreneur story and that Hebbie played such an active part in shaping his family business and personal entrepreneur stories. In this manner he crafted and shaped his personal biography illustrating the power of narrative in shaping entrepreneurial identity. This collective co-authorial process is quite common as Hansen *et al* (2007:18) refer to "*collective narration*" and Czarniawska (1997) refers to "*collectively woven tales*".

3.2. Narrating the Fowlie family business story

The family business 'Bert Fowlie Butcher' has developed a reputation locally as a traditional butcher par-excellence. The business was founded in 1955 by the founding first-generation entrepreneur, Mr Bert Fowlie. The story presents a powerful tale of

individual enterprise in a personalised way - a story of a caring family business. The story

box below, tells a twin tale of family business and entrepreneurship:-

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THE FOWLIE FAMILY BUSINESS STORY

The founder, Bert Fowlie was born in the village of Strichen and upon leaving school went to work in the Butchers business W. Clubb as a Butchers 'Message Boy' aged thirteen. Bert learned his trade and aged fifteen left his native home to seek his fortune in Aberdeen. Bert, never afraid of hard work secured work in a busy Aberdeen Butchery business - Rueben Laing. Bert's future in Aberdeen looked secure – he worked hard and saved. Canny country loons (boys) were schooled into the ethos of hard-work hard. After National Service, Bert returned to Aberdeen and his old job. He married and looked towards his future.

Fate intervened one day in 1955 when Bert visited Strichen. He was approached by the Clubb's and sounded out about whether he was interested in buying out the Butchers business. The Clubbs were friends of Bert's parents and the hard working ex 'Message Boy' seemed an ideal choice – there being no obvious successor. Bert pondered long and hard about the opportunity because no one in his family had business experience. He was confident of his abilities as a butcher and bought the business renaming it Bert Fowlie Butcher.

Hebbie was born in 1957 and his earliest memories are of the family business and his father working hard. Hebbie remembers stories about Bert delivering meat to an isolated farm in a blizzard and having to spend two days there before the snows abated. Hebbie recalls the early business as an old fashioned shoppie and has no knowledge of how his father financed the deal but Bert bought the premises and rented a house nearby before purchasing a house in the village. Other properties followed.

Hebbie recalls his father being a very industrious, enterprising and shrewd businessman who did not sit back and wait for customers to come to him. Bert bought an old Ice cream van and started a round to expand the business. This was common practice in the rural communities of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Bert drove round the farms and cottar houses of the surrounding countryside gaining new custom. Bert bought a second van, recruiting his brother Andrew to drive it. A third van followed. In 1965, Bert felt secure enough to invest his hard earned capital on refurbishing the shop. It was to be the first of many refurbishments over the years as the family business changed with the times during the 1970s.

Not content, Bert spotted a new niche in the catering market when he realised that the new trend for families owning chest freezers was catching on in the North-East of Scotland. To create a new niche, Bert worked late into the night doing the rounds of the WRI to demonstrate to the wives and young mothers how to cut and dress joints of meat into smaller portions. Bert advocated the use of chest freezers to any customers who would listen and dished out leaflets galore. By Hebbies reckoning the vans and the freezer trade laid the basis for the family's success and with that built a new blast freezer to save having to go to Fraserburgh everyday with products.

Although Hebbie grew up around the business he only helped out on the odd occasion and was under no pressure to join the family business. He chose to do so upon leaving school aged fifteen. All Bert asked of him was that he learned his trade and served his time as an apprentice butcher. Hebbie had to answer to an experienced butcher for four years before being allowed to work unsupervised. No favours here for the bosses son. He worked hard and mastered his trade. As Hebbie entered his twenties, Bert took time off and allowed him the freedom to take charge. Hebbie thrived on the responsibility but recalls an air of tension between father and son. He believes that this is both a healthy and necessary state of affairs. He wanted to be himself and not his father's son. It is a common theme in families and in family business, especially when following in father's footsteps. He remembers those early years as being very busy and literally had to take the phone of the hook early afternoon to get peace to work. There was big money to be made and Hebbie remembers two van loads of meat being loaded every week for the Aberdeen freezer market. Bert also began to deliver direct to local schools and hospitals. During these halcyon years Hebbie married Eileen and began a family himself. During the 1970s the mobile shops were discontinued due to changing markets.

Hebbie being ambitious wanted to take the business in other directions. He realised that peoples eating habits were changing. He recalls a turning point in 1987 when he went with Bert to a food fair in Dundee. Hebbie placed an order for various meat seasonings including Chinese style stir fry using the best of steak with Bert criticised him for wasting good meat. Hebbie persevered and the new products "*flew off the shelves*". Housewives placed repeat orders which led to further experimentation and increased sales. Soon after that Bert retired aged fifty-five and Hebbie took over. He assessed his future and realised that not being on a main road and having a negligible passing trade meant he had to work hard, and work hard he did. It is not uncommon for him to put in a 90 hour working week. Until recently he seldom took holidays. He developed a huge range of new products and developed new income streams from a wider range of customers. He entered competitions and won awards for such products as best lasagne Pie in Scotland; Best BBQ in Scotland; Pork and Black Pudding Burgers. He went into the fishing boat market supplying boats in Fraserburgh and Peterhead with a 24 hour service. In the 1990s competition from supermarkets became stiffer. So in 1993 he refurbished the shop again. In 1996, he built his own bakery area and produced his own special selection of pies and pastry products. These proved a huge success. His range of pies grew to 24. He had to diversify because his arrangement with a local baker fell through. He introduced a range of fresh ready made traditional meals which proved popular. They now deliver these to 20 privately owned convenience stores in the area.

Eileen joined the business in 1992 and shares the load. She had always helped out, doing the books, minding the shop and answering the telephone. The couple decided to build a further extension to their burgeoning business. Always canny, they financed the extension themselves and this increased efficiency - leading to increased revenue. They had faith in themselves and in their business acumen. Others in the business advised them not too and to build up their pension fund.

In 2003, the Fowlies linked into a sales orientated website www.scotsmeat.co.uk realising that internet sales were an expanding area that could not be ignored. It is a small but expanding part of his business. They plan to develop the website by the addition of more images and photographs. The business caters to an expatriate community of Scots who want to order Lorne sausage, haggis, mealie puddings, clootie dumplings and butteries as well as Scotch beef. Hebbie has been surprised that nearly all his internet customers take some of his award winning pies. He has supplied pies to the Globe Theatre in London for a Burns Supper.

Hebbie jokes that his business is a 'Tardis' because people judge it by its shop frontage and are surprised to find that it is actually a modern food processing factory. 'Hands On' Hebbie is not ready to slow down and displays an obvious passion for his business. Still being ambitious and hungry he enjoys every moment of the business adventure. He harbours an ambition to open other premises and has plans to expand the business on its present site. He has visited Butchers abroad to stimulate new ideas and has no immediate plans to follow his father's into early retirement. He appreciates that he has done well for himself and his family considering that the business has survived many crises as well as a raft of new legislation.

4. OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

From a reading of the story it can be seen that storied landscape changes from generation to generation and take on the configuration of an epic story as themes of heritage and heritance also feature as familial expectations and obligations form in which the first-generation dream of the second-generation carrying on the family business name.

4.1. Appreciating the significance of the story told

The story is a mixture of first and second-generation entrepreneur storylines. A strong theme of tradition pervades and the overall message conveyed is of a culturally prescribed conservative identity, further emphasising morality, family values and conformity to storied sensibilities. The narrative resonates with pride, hope, and love, being a story told with passion and obvious familial pride. The fact that Hebbie cannot narrate the familiar first-generation storyline does not diminish its power as an entrepreneur story.

But what values are being signalled (Wry *et al*, 2011) via the family business story? Hebbie authored his own story and that of the family by reminiscing about his father's story as an obvious beginning of the family business story. He praises his father's entrepreneurial proclivities constructing across the generations. This helped him understand who he was and how he in turn authored his own identity as entrepreneur. From this we sense that first-generation entrepreneur's stories are narrated as a heroic adventure whilst second-generation entrepreneur stories seem to be more humble without taking away the entrepreneur part. Second-generation entrepreneur stories are more humble because they have to incorporate the founding hero story and build upon and recognize their parents' entrepreneurial adventures. To illustrate this point in a reflective moment when asked if he considered himself to be an entrepreneur Hebbie remarked *"You don't blow your own trumpet."* This characteristic is typical of Scots reserve. When further asked if he considered his father Bert to be an entrepreneur Hebbie showed no hesitation arguing that his father read the market and took his product to his customers, he innovated, he improvised and he made his own fortune. Hebbie further remarked - *"It is harder being a second-generation entrepreneur because everybody compares you to*

your father". Yet, Hebbie is most definitely an entrepreneur marching to his own beat, reading the market, innovating and refusing to stand still. Hebbie remarked – "*I may have followed after my father but I will rise and fall by what I do. I have seen many second-generation businessmen fail to follow in the footsteps of their fathers and end up penniless"*. These are powerful words.

Hebbie's story is not a conventional entrepreneur story. Nor does it tell 'tall tales' of guile, or cunning we associate with first-generation entrepreneur stories. However, a closer scrutiny of the 'storylines' in this socially constructed co-authored story illustrates that the founding story contains many of the first-generation entrepreneur storylines detailed in figure 1. Hebbie's narration of his fathers entrepreneur story[2] tells of him starting from nothing, overcoming hardship, of hard-work tales and if not of rags-to-riches at least financial security and of entrepreneurial activity leading to success and succession. There is also the storyline of serendipity. Where Bert's tale and Hebbie's story begin and end is not clear because at one time it was both their stories. In Hebbie's narration we see him following the storylines illustrated in figure 3 by stepping out of the shadow of his father, overcoming privilege by means of staring an apprenticeship on the shop floor. It is also a story of hard-work and of building upon familial reputation. There are many examples of entrepreneurial activity as Hebbie achieves the legitimacy of becoming an entrepreneur in his own right.

Thus the 'Fowlie family business' story is a collective story woven from first and second-generation entrepreneur stories. The family business story provides an ideal

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[2] This issue of authorial entitlement and storytelling rights is crucial to the telling of entrepreneur and family business stories because one repeats renditions of entrepreneur stories as accepted fact ad nauseam without checking their veracity. To get to the truth of such stories we should interview all the actors in the drama. It must be noted that the story related is constructed by Hebbie to honour his father Bert. In the 'write up' the author struggled to articulate the story precisely because he had not interviewed Bert.

template in which a second-generation entrepreneur can perform entrepreneurial feats without having to fit the heroic stereotype of the first generation parvenu. Nevertheless, just because society has chosen to celebrate the heroic entrepreneur this should not blind us to the existence of alternative entrepreneurial types. The fairytale and heroic elements of entrepreneurial narrative has little ideological bearing on the lives of the children of established business families. Hebbie was privileged to be born into a family business. Although denied the opportunity to tell a first-generation entrepreneur story or to enact rags-to-riches drama his personal entrepreneur story began in the family business story initiated by Bert. In family business stories, the dominant narrative shifts the emphasis from individual personal values, to collective familial traditions. It is almost as if the two circles in figures 1 and 3 conjoin.

As well as being engaging, Hebbies second-generation entrepreneur story permits him to reintroduce the entrepreneurial spirit into an established business and thus reinvigorate both story and business. Rodgers and Shook (1986:199) articulate this need to reintroduce the entrepreneurial spirit into established businesses to keep alive the original spirit of the founder and the sense of adventure. In resorting to the literary genre of adventure stories, second-generation entrepreneur stories continue the active voice. Furthermore, Rodgers and Shook (1986:203) talk of allowing new generations room to develop and to find their own voices. This is important because Brännback and Carsrud (2011:36) articulate that in family business the 'Patriarch' and the 'Matriarch' posses the loudest voices. In such stories, second-generation entrepreneurs are permitted to exercise their own voice within the traditions of family business narrative whilst respecting the founding entrepreneur story. The resultant stories bridge generational business stories.

The narrative construction and authoring processes enabled Hebbie to actively participate in identity construction spanning first and second-generation stories. This allowed him to transcend his industry specific identity as a butcher by stressing characteristics enabling him to enact entrepreneurial narrative and thus construct an entrepreneurial identity[3].

4.2. Modelling the story.

The storyline models presented in figures 1, 2 and 3 converge to form a wider storytelling framework. This scripted pressure is common in many family business scenarios. It is also common in other professions – e.g. the children of farmers are often expected to take up their father's role and occupation (Weston, 1977; Hastings, 2012). The interface between first and second-generation entrepreneur stories allow a transition of entrepreneurial identity from one generation to another. For example see the work of Down and Revley (2004) on generational encounters and the social formation of entrepreneurial identity in which the struggle between the young guns (second-generation) and the old farts (first-generation) is played out in family business settings. Thus entrepreneurial identity is shaped by generational encounters within a small organization context via micro-socially situated aspects of identity formation. Stories thus shape identity as well as the more traditional view that identity shapes stories.

Moreover, entrepreneurs operating within a family business setting have to navigate a process known as "*nascent collective identity*" (Wry *et al,* 2011) as they learn to accommodate (often conflicting) entrepreneurial and family business identities. Wry *et al*, 2011) examined collective identity and how nascent collective identities become

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[3] The story as narrated is an adventure story and is not a typical 'butchers story', nor are the narrative 'plots' those of the butchers craft. Instead they narrate commercial acumen accommodating change.

legitimated and culturally mediated through stories told by group members. Hansen, Barry, Boje and Hatch (2007) refer to this as collective story construction which is relevant because entrepreneurial identity is an improvised, storied construction made up from individual and collective storylines. Figure 4 illustrates how storied entrepreneurial identities change across generations accommodating transition.
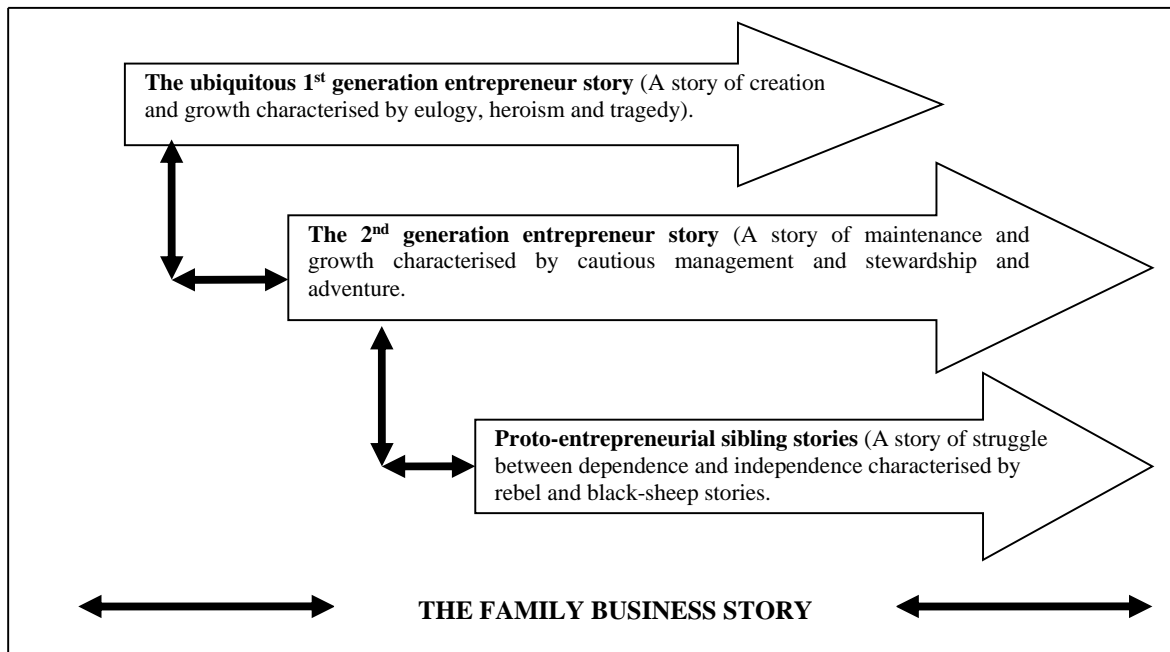

The ubiquitous 1st generation entrepreneur story (A story of creation and growth characterised by eulogy, heroism and tragedy).

The 2nd generation entrepreneur story (A story of maintenance and growth characterised by cautious management and stewardship and adventure.

Proto-entrepreneurial sibling stories (A story of struggle between dependence and independence characterised by rebel and black-sheep stories.

THE FAMILY BUSINESS STORY

Figure 4 – The transitional nature of inter-generational entrepreneurial identity

(source – author generated).

Entrepreneurial identity is negotiated via the improvisation of the ubiquitous entrepreneur story in that an individual (irrespective of whether they are a first or second-generation entrepreneur) is free to select individual storylines (figures 1 and 2) that fit their personal circumstances. In constructing storied identities they can choose (or not) to select storylines that fit the expected eulogistic template of the tragic heroic entrepreneur. Transition is a key theme because one cannot directly transfer entrepreneurial identity to siblings or other family business members. First-generation entrepreneurial storylines are

not always transferable to second-generation stories. Instead, aspirants must story themselves as entrepreneurs renegotiating issues of gender, proclivity and intention[4].

Moreover, first and second-generation entrepreneur stories are generally regarded as the province of working and middle class families and Stanley (2000) and (Kiyoski, 2009) argue that the children of millionaires or 'Rich-Kids' are raised on different stories altogether. This has implications for how we educate students from differential socio-economic backgrounds. Generational entrepreneur stories are variant forms of family business stories told from a different perspective. This study points to the morphological nature of inter and intra-generational storytelling and how first and second-generation entrepreneur stories merge into each other and form part of the wider genre of family business stories (Sheldrake, 1988).

4.3. Observations and finding

From a review of the literature, analysis of the case story and subsequent discussion it is possible to make several observations relating to the form and structure of first and second-generation entrepreneur and family business stories. See table 1 for details:-

Category	Form	Structure	Purpose
1st Generation entrepreneur stories	These founding stories are an individual narration normally authored by the founding entrepreneur and narrated in a first person voice. In most instances the stories will be crafted orally and unless	The structure of the stories follows a socially constructed template of clichéd storylines. The events usually span the lifetime of the founding entrepreneur. They come to us in a variety of formats	The purpose of such stories is to eulogise the individual and elevate their social status whilst celebrating their success and personal achievements. These are heroic tales which emphasise the individual

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[4] An entrepreneur cannot directly pass on an entrepreneurial identity to their siblings as this must be earned but one can pass on entrepreneurial social capital. Siblings or family members subject to dependency issues may either choose to stay in the family business and adopt identities consistent with 'rebel' or 'blacksheep' stories or exit the business. Those siblings or family members with a more independent mind may also start their own business or master another profession before returning to the fold to run the family business.

	formalized in a biography are seldom written down.	including biographies, novels, newspaper articles and media biopics.	and drown out the collective familial voice.
2nd Generation entrepreneur stories	Examples of these stories are quite rare and they are a curious mixture of individual and collective reflection and can be told in a mixture of individual and collective voices.	The structure of the stories is less formalized and less socially constructed although the second-generation entrepreneur can still select from a variety of alternative storylines to suit self and circumstance.	The purpose of such stories are two-fold. Firstly, they are a bridging mechanism between generations. Secondly they must acknowledge and celebrate the achievements of the founder whilst also situating the new entrepreneur as an entrepreneur in their own right.
Family business stories	Such stories are a collective narration of family achievement usually narrated in a more objective third person voice. They posses a more historical, authoritative voice.	The structure of such stories varies considerably. Often they are short stories contained on company websites or publications or they come to us via biographies or case studies in academic journals.	The purpose of such stories are to celebrate and honour the collective achievement of the whole family.

The table partially addresses the question of how first and second-generation entrepreneur stories differ in terms of form and structure and how they relate to family business stories. The findings are clearly related to the form and structure and differences in the way stories are built based on past (previous generation) and how second-generations struggle with identity issues.

5. DRAWING IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY

The discussion above highlights that the stories tell us more about strategies used by second-generation entrepreneurs in order to become entrepreneurs more than about the way they tell their stories or build their identities. The main focus of the study contributes to the development of theory. As such, the practical implications are fuzzy at this stage. The main implications of this article are research orientated and the study conducted is primarily inductive in nature. More time and research is needed to develop theory which

can then be tested through deductive methods thereby contributing to practice. Thus this article makes an incremental contribution to the developing theory on the topic.

Nevertheless, from a practical perspective new generations of entrepreneurs have a right to author their own entrepreneur stories and even to reject ubiquitous entrepreneur storylines. The children of successful entrepreneurs have a choice as whether to become dependent or to assert their independence. Their strategic decisions will in turn, influence what type of entrepreneur stories they can tell because first and second-generation stories are told for different purposes. As scholars of entrepreneurship and family business, we should not expect them to conform to the same, socially accepted storied formulas. Both generations need to respect the stories each other tell, particularly in traditional small businesses where the business entity may often carry the name of the founder thus denying the second-generation a separate identity[5]. Moreover, second-generation entrepreneur stories are less about overcoming disadvantage than they are about overcoming advantage. Although the 'poor-boy' and 'rags-to-riches' storylines are denied them, they can still claim entrepreneurial status by re-emphasising their difference and independence in escaping from the dark shadow of the entrepreneur founding story. It must be stressed that second-generation stories are not about denying the "poor-boy", but showing their independence and difference by enabling them to build entrepreneurial stories not relying on the "heroic" or epic, but on the everyday and the prosaic.

The authorial process allows individual family members the freedom to craft contingent stories (Smith, 2009) which fit self and circumstance (Anderson, 2000). In

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[5] It is rare for the second-generation entrepreneur to break with tradition and rename the business in order to reclaim the bragging rights of a first-generation entrepreneur. Indeed, it is not necessary to rename a business to build one's own entrepreneurial identity and to break the link with the first generation – but it is a legitimate option.

researching and writing their family business stories, individuals of all generations can add value to the business and the relational dynamics contained within. This study also illustrates that second-generation entrepreneur stories encapsulate the experiences of a legitimate collective entrepreneurial identity (Wry *et al,* 2011). There is a pressing need to build on the importance of identity construction and the need to "change mindsets" in terms on how we depict entrepreneurs and tell stories of and about them.

The study has obvious limitations in that the conceptual model is only used to shed light on one second-generation entrepreneur story and that clearly further research must be conducted to test the veracity of the storyline models. The case story merely illustrates, some or various phases of the models. One must be careful not to over-generalise from one's readings. There is a clear and pressing need for further empirical studies and potential avenues for future research include consideration of how the models relate to criminal entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs and other applications and settings where entrepreneurship is practiced. Furthermore, this article highlights the contribution that an understanding of the under researched interface between generational entrepreneur and family business stories can bring to understanding the complex dynamic that is family business. A clearer understanding of the collective identity that is associated with the second-generation entrepreneur will enable those individuals to better understand their individual and collective entrepreneurial heritage and how it relates to their family business stories.

This article highlights the contribution that an understanding of the interface between entrepreneur and family business stories can bring to understanding this complex dynamic. This article brings interesting narrative elements into play such as the notion of

second-generation entrepreneurs' stories and in particular how second-generation entrepreneurs use the overlapping stories to build their identity. Finally, it hints at the usefulness of storytelling in conflict management in family businesses. In doing so, this article makes an incremental contribution to the fields of entrepreneurship and family business research because it directs the research focus away from the myth of the first-generation entrepreneur of humble origins to highlight an alternative social construction of the entrepreneur – namely second-generation entrepreneur stories. It is too easy to become lost in the romance and detail of entrepreneur stories that one can forget that entrepreneurial identity is not one dimensional. Second-generation entrepreneur stories are not the only formulaic narratives associated with family business stories – there are others which remain to be explored and understood. Finally, in relation to the conflict literature developing a cohesive family business story is a sound conflict management strategy. This article also begins to address the calls of Brännback and Carsrud (2011); Debicki, *et al* (2009); and Wry, *et al* (2011) for innovative research into family business and entrepreneurial practices. Nevertheless, much more work remains to be done.

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