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Abstract
Women's potential to lead a firm - whether one started by a family member or a new venture of their own - is still not often enough acknowledged. With family firms acknowledged as the seeding grounds for the next generation of entrepreneurs, and with increasing attention in research and public policy to women's entrepreneurship, it is important to understand the factors in family firms which help and hinder their women members' leadership and entrepreneurship potential. This article, based on the authors' book Women in Family Business Leadership Roles: Daughters on the Stage (Edward Elgar, 2009), presents ten lessons for family firms which arise from the experience of women in family firms.

Keywords
women, leadership, family, firms, ten, lessons, fostering, entrepreneurial

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Fostering Women's Entrepreneurial Leadership in Family Firms: Ten Lessons

Mary Barrett, Ken Moores

Abstract

Women's potential to lead a firm – whether one started by a family member or a new venture of their own – is still not often enough acknowledged. With family firms acknowledged as the seeding grounds for the next generation of entrepreneurs, and with increasing attention in research and public policy to women's entrepreneurship, it is important to understand the factors in family firms which help and hinder their women members' leadership and entrepreneurship potential. This article, based on the authors' book *Women in Family Business Leadership Roles: Daughters on the Stage* (Edward Elgar, 2009), presents ten lessons for family firms which arise from the experience of women in family firms.

Keywords: Family business, Entrepreneurship, Leadership, Women, Learning, Familiness.

Women, Family Business and Entrepreneurship

The capacity of family firms to combine stability and continuity with innovation and rapid decision-making have long provided reassurance for those seeking sustained growth and development of regional and national economies (Allouche and Amann 1997; Anderson and Reeb 2003; Astrachan and Shanker 2003; Blondel, Rowell and Van der Heyden 2002; de Geus 1997; Kleiman 1996; La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes and Shleifer 1999; McConaughy, Matthews and Fialko 2001). As a result, researchers are seeking to understand entrepreneurship as practised by families in business (Allen and Langowitz 2003; Barnes 1988; Drozdow 1989), including the capacity of family firms to 'grow' the next generation of entrepreneurs (refs), and also the leadership roles women play in family firms (Cole 1997; Dumas 1992, 1998; Iannarelli 1993; Salganicoff 1990; Vera and Dean 2005). To try to understand both family firms' capacity to 'grow' entrepreneurs, and to find out more about the entrepreneurship experience of women in these firms, we carried out ten case studies of women in various countries who came from family firm backgrounds, examining their experience of reaching – or sometimes not quite reaching – positions of leadership in the family firm or a firm they started themselves.

Analytical Tools

To avoid considering stereotypical conceptions of women's contribution which have dogged women entrepreneurship research (Ahl 2004; Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio 2004), we analysed these women's experience using three gender-neutral analytical models. The first was Moores and Barrett's (2002) four phases of learning family business. Phase 1, 'learn business', involves leaving the family firm to gain business experience and personal discipline elsewhere. Phase 2, 'learn *our* business', means returning to the family firm and

learning its special qualities as a family firm. Phase 3, learning to lead our business, is when leaders acquire a strategic view of the firm's future and how to achieve it while maintaining its family qualities. Finally, in phase 4, leaders plan for and manage succession. They learn to *leave* the family firm.

Family firms resemble Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice by virtue of their informal, often invisible, yet highly effective ways of transmitting important knowledge. Accordingly, our second analytical tool was Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of a community of practice (CoP). We focused particularly on the learning tools of Belongingness: finding and creating an identity through the CoP. These learning tools take three forms; Engagement: working on joint projects and solving problems together; Imagination: envisaging a shared future; and Alignment: producing routines and documents which increase the firm's acceptance in the outside world.

Our third analytical tool was Curimbaba's (2002) typology of women's roles in non-CEO positions in family businesses. Curimbaba discerned three roles for family business heiresses: 'Invisibles', 'Professionals' and 'Anchors'. The *Invisible* family business woman is typically a middle child who has older brothers so that the daughters are not seen as necessary to include in the successor managerial staff. They have not been prepared for a professional career in the business and tend to care more about the job itself than the business. *Anchors* come from families with predominantly female offspring, with few men. With great visibility inside the family business, they became essential for its continuity, despite passing through phases that tend to reduce their significance. *Professionals* work in mature family companies with complex ownership structures, where a reasonable number of men, but not an overwhelming majority, also work. They typically join the family company when they can make a particular contribution to it, often to resolve some type of conflict in the family part of the system, but after that no-one intervenes to push their careers further. As a result of our analysis, we added a further role, that of *Entrepreneur*, which was necessarily omitted from Curimbaba's framework since she was concerned with family business women's contributions outside the CEO role.

The Cases

We examined the case histories of sixteen women who occupy a range of family business roles and who are at different stages in their occupancy of them. We found we had reached data saturation – the point when analysis of more firms yields no new insights – after thirteen interviews, so the analysis was carried out on these thirteen. The interviewees were drawn from twelve firms: two interviewees, Deborah and Robyn, were mother and daughter, with Robyn having succeeded Deborah in the CEO role a few years earlier. Participants and their firms came from Canada, the United States, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, as well as Australia. They included founders and non-founders (the latter included instances of father-daughter and mother-son succession), CEOs and non-CEOs. There was also considerable variety in the size, age and industry of the participants' firms. A snapshot of our sample of interviewees, categorized by founder/non-founder, and CEO/non-CEO status of the participants, appears in Table 1.

Table 1

Participants by Founder/Non-founder, and CEO/Non-CEO Status

	Non-CEOs	CEOs
Founders	Brenda, Deborah	Jane, Ellen, Miriam, Nancy, Hannah
Non-founders	Felicity, Sue, Gloria, Cass	Robyn, Ingrid

The range of industries represented in the sample appears in Table 2.

Table 2

Industries Represented by Participants' Family Firms

Name	Industry sector
Brenda	Motor vehicle retailing
Cass	Wholesale/Retail (fruit and vegetables)
Deborah/Robyn	Personal services (home care)
Ellen	Clothing manufacturing
Felicity	Personal Services (funeral directing)
Gloria	Machinery manufacturing
Hannah	Food retailing (supermarkets)
Ingrid	Machinery manufacturing/Real estate
Jane	Publishing
Miriam	Business Services (marketing consulting)
Nancy	Business Services (management consulting)
Sue	Roof manufacturing

Note: Names of the interviewees have been disguised.

The Lessons

The results of the analyses yield ten vital lessons for family firms.

Lesson 1: Give promising women early external learning opportunities and a clear route back to the family firm.

According to Moores and Barrett's (2002) learning phases model, family firm leaders first have to go outside to learn business. For men, this usually means working in a firm in the same or a similar industry to the family firm. Some may even develop a new division of the family firm, a subsidiary, or a new firm in a related industry. Leaving the family firm is both vital as a source of learning both the technical aspects of business and the necessary personal discipline, and a threat to its continuity, since the potential leader may create a career elsewhere and never return to the family firm.

But this didn't hold for women in our sample. While women moved outside the family firm in their early careers, none gained experience in a firm in a similar industry to the one in which she eventually led (or founded) a firm or hoped to lead one. The hotel business, academic studies in history and politics, a psychology practice, the police service, working as a sewing demonstrator in a department store, are among the places our interviewees gain 'outside' experience. This means women may have less opportunity than men to learn business in an organization similar to the family firm. Moreover, women were less likely to find that the outside learning environment was a forgiving context where they could experiment and make mistakes, so they would be well-equipped to manage the family firm. Several of our interviewees who started their own firms did so because they had been discouraged from envisaging a long-term future as a leader in their original family firms. Others had absorbed a general message that business was not suitable for women or been put off returning to the

family firm by its high level of conflict. Women, like men, need early learning experiences in an outside, but related, business environment, and a clear route back to the family firm.

Lesson 2: Be wary of 'touchy-feely' stereotypes of women's management style.

The second (L2) learning phase in Moores and Barrett's model requires the potential leader to come back to the family firm to learn what makes it special, even unique. This entails the paradox of 'continuing the family firm differently': developing it in new directions while respecting and reinforcing its fundamental values. Some women in our sample take the task of 'continuing differently' much further than men had done in our earlier study. Rather than simply reinforcing the firm's fundamental philosophies with some variations in its practices, several tried to establish new values in an entirely new firm, or sought to change the existing family firm's values and practices radically. These new values were prompted by the participants' intention to create – or to restore – the 'family' nature of a family business. However 'familiness' – to borrow the so far rather nebulous term that Habbershon and Williams (1999), Habbershon *et al*. (2003) and other researchers use to characterize the unique bundle of resources capable of producing sustainable competitive advantages for family firms – manifested itself in varying ways among the family firms in our study. It sometimes meant new ventures run on 'softer' lines compared to the interviewees' original family firms, such as the CEO taking a close personal interest in staff's needs. However other, less stereotypically feminine approaches were also represented. Two participants tried to create more transparent and systematic approaches to managing their firms such as introducing computer systems, or more methodical approaches to staff recruitment – whether family or non-family. Another, against considerable opposition, radically changed the traditional cash basis of the firm's retail operations. Yet another sought to lift the performance of her father's firm by removing people she regarded as failing to meet reasonable targets. In their view, the family firms they have joined suffer from constrictive familiness (f-): its potential downside in the form of insularity, lack of transparency and nepotism. In some cases it appeared their concerns were justified; in others the women eventually modified their views and reached a compromise solution with the current leaders. In all cases, however, members of the firm were initially taken aback or confused by what they saw as an unfeminine or non family-oriented approach to management, which sometimes meant they missed the value of the initiative being undertaken.

Lesson 3: Women's unconventional experience requires creating legitimacy for their leadership.

Women currently working in the family firm may be able to make a larger contribution to it using skills not closely linked to the firm's service or product. These skills may have been learned in unrelated industries or even domestic skills. However in social learning terms (Lave and Wenger 1991), these are the skills of experience rather than the skills of competence. This is a problem because in a community of practice one is only as skilled as the other members deem one to be. Other members' acknowledgement transforms mere experience into recognised competence. Likewise, for women's skills to be acknowledged as sufficient for membership, even leadership of the family firm, requires backing their experience with some form of legitimacy. The same is true for the firms women establish. Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002, p. 414) define firm legitimacy as a 'social judgment of acceptance, appropriateness, and desirability'. It is a vital resource for new ventures, as important as capital, technology, personnel, customer goodwill and networks. This is because it helps overcome the 'liability of newness' (Stinchcombe, 1965) which sinks so many not-yet-profitable ventures. Zimmerman and Zeitz point out that formal qualifications, accreditations, testimonials and so on are important in new firms that need to present themselves as legitimate players in the market. Later, profitability supplies natural legitimacy.

The women in our sample often suffered from insufficient legitimacy. As we saw, they were less likely than men in our earlier study to have gained adequate outside experience, or they

had been subtly or not so subtly removed from the list of possible successors. One had left getting a formal qualification in business until her mid-forties, and others had never gained formal qualifications in business or in a field related to the firm's industry. Even women with the 'right' qualifications – as seen from the outside – may be denied personal legitimacy inside the firm. Cass for example finds her external corporate experience ran too far against the culture of informality that characterized the family firm. Some tried to achieve institutional and personal legitimacy at the same time. Jane developed a business plan for her new publishing firm to remind herself she was a business person and to give herself confidence. Simultaneously, her mentor introduced her to important industry players and firms outside the firm. This along with her association with the mentor – himself a prominent business person – helped her gain legitimacy in the publishing industry.

The lesson for family business women themselves is that they need to know where the 'front door' to leadership is located – the formal skills that serve as indicators of competence – and whether less formal skills might be substituted for it. For example, is formal or informal learning valued in the family firm? How might women acquire informal but valuable skills by networking with other learning communities, such as other firms in the same industry? Are membership or leadership criteria valued differently in the firm for men and women and if so, how might they overcome these differences? How might they change the informal membership criteria for future members or leaders? Finally, to achieve legitimacy, women leaders in family firms should pay attention to Alignment. Alignment means making sure the community's practices are commensurate with those of the wider world (Wenger, 1991). Focussing on Alignment early in the entrepreneurial process helps both new ventures and existing corporate entities undergoing renewal achieve greater external legitimacy.

Lesson 4: Choose mentors who are 'in' but not 'of' the family firm

Research has established the value of mentorship for women with corporate leadership aspirations (Donaldson *et al*. 2000; Ensher *et al*. 2000; Ensher and Murphy 2005; Noe 1988). Lesson 2 showed the value of a mentor for establishing a female leader's legitimacy as a business person. Because family business women may have less opportunity than men to gain experience outside the family firm, mentors inside the firm may be even more important for them. Mentors may present dangers however. The academic and popular business literature indicate both advantages and disadvantages to women of having a mentor of the same or the other sex, who works in the same or a different firm, whose own corporate fortunes may decline so associating with them becomes a political hazard, and so on (Berfield 2007; Ensher and Murphy 2005). A good mentor needs adequate distance from their protégé and her firm, and yet an understanding of the detail of her situation.

Our cases suggest that the best mentors for women in family business are 'in' but not 'of' the family firm. Two excellent mentors we encountered were firmly entrenched inside the firm yet had no personal career stake in it to interfere with the protégé's personal ambitions. Both had already achieved prominence over long careers and had no need to compete with the person they are mentoring. Oddly, their mentorship worked because they were not family members. Only two family members, Robyn's mother and Gloria's father, were senior enough in the firm and close enough to their protégés to know what learning experiences their daughters needed, and to give them the necessary leeway. Gloria's father let her learn how to manage risk; the large sums she spent on marketing must have caused him some concern. However, in refusing to sack a person Gloria believes is an under-performer, he also gave her a short, sharp lesson in familiness. Robyn was mentored by her mother over a period of seventeen years. While Deborah took a long time to hand on the leadership, she and Robyn were confident in Robyn's abilities when she finally did so. Less helpful founders presented as many dangers to women in family firms as some mentors in non-family business settings. Ingrid's father was capricious and created rivalries among the members of the next generation. Felicity's father set her up as head of a division but rapidly shifted his attention to new projects. Outside advisors or consultants sometimes mentored family business

women, but this only ever lasted a short time: the outsider's position in the firm was not secure enough for their advice to be available for long.

Lesson 5: Visibility and invisibility are potential leadership strategies for women.

Phase 3 of learning family business, according to the Moores and Barrett model, means learning to lead it. Women leaders in our sample either made important issues visible to everyone in the firm: opening up issues, pointing to problems, and producing, measuring and sharing results. Some combined this approach with a participative style of problem-solving or a nurturing approach to staff. Such leaders usually placed themselves in the leadership spotlight, inviting scrutiny of themselves as well as the firm's performance. However this does not work or is extremely difficult if the culture of the family firm is not receptive to such openness. If people in the firm prefer not to hear the evidence the would-be leader is putting forward, then she is unlikely to succeed. Two participants had spent years disentangling the firm's structure from the dysfunctional effect of family conflicts, and one was still engaged with this task when we interviewed her.

An alternative approach is the opposite, 'tactical invisibility': working behind the scenes using stories, ideas, and even family history to bring about change. At least two interviewees in the sample had quietly worked themselves into positions of leadership before they were recognized as such. One never allowed herself to be described as a leader, even by us, let alone members of the firm. Others worked with both visible and invisible approaches. Inside the family firm, Gloria needed to get her father to notice her performance and she did this through daring, high-risk, high-expenditure projects which could bring a major increase in revenues. The strategy worked: she created record-breaking sales and neglected no possible avenue to promote the firm. In turn she was promoted and was allocated staff to help her keep producing results. However in other respects and especially to the external world she remained deliberately invisible, promoting her father as a self-made man through the romance of his escape from China after the Long March. Where the firm founder was a close relative such as a father or a husband, aspiring family firm leaders preferred not to stress their achievements or their leadership role.

Lesson 6: Invisibility must be a tactical choice.

While lesson 5 says that women may lead through visible means, invisible means or a combination of both, there is an important qualification if invisibility is to be successful. Women need to make a *tactical choice* of invisibility – unsought invisibility leads away from leadership and entrepreneurship in the way Curimbaba characterized Invisible roles. Brenda and Deborah were able to turn being pushed into firm leadership into success. Brenda, for example, took over the leadership of the family car dealership after her husband died suddenly. Deborah started a firm only after no-one she spoke to in government was prepared to address new parents' need for home help. But the same doesn't occur when women are pushed into invisibility. Hannah, Sue and Felicity found that, despite working hard for the firm, their contributions led to their being absorbed into others' glory. The dominant strategies for learning in their firms were put in place by someone else, usually the CEO. Hannah's father maintained the boundaries of his firm to resist possible incursions from in-laws. In Sue's family firm, knowledge was defined by the firm's identity with its engineering history and its reputation for quality. The overriding strength of this identity, which focused on the current CEO, scuppered Sue's plans to shift the firm's attention towards better marketing and more transparent decision-making. Felicity's family firm was well known in the funeral business and the family name was an important part of its marketing strategies. Felicity, a third generation member, found herself heading a division prominently advertised using her first name and family name. This was a search for legitimacy as well as a competitive strategy: 'the woman's touch' was increasingly being seen as important in the funeral business. But Felicity was not consulted about having her name used and her visibility added to her lack of confidence about taking a leadership role.

Proposition 7: Women and men manage succession in similar ways.

Phase 4 of learning family business leadership means dealing with family business's classic dilemma: succession. Family business leaders must manage the paradox of leading in anticipation of the time when they will no longer be leaders, and work out how to manage their relationship with the family firm after their retirement. Few of our interviewees had had to deal with this stage: only Brenda and Deborah had truly moved through it. They had long since overcome their early internal legitimacy problems and did not hesitate to determine how firm ownership would be transferred to the next generation. Their experience of succession, good and bad, closely resembled the learning experience of men in our earlier study: they experienced similar problems and reached for much the same solutions. Brenda, for example, adopted an ambassadorial role in the business her son took over. Moreover, as she was a well known figure in the business community by the time she retired, a fact helped by the fact that she is female, she kept the firm in the public eye. An ambassadorial role was typical of the strategies we observed in our earlier sample of male leaders and the approach Brenda took was yet another variation on her previous 'make it visible' strategy.

Lesson 8: Women use the full range of learning strategies to develop the family firm.

We compared when our participants did their individual learning with the general learning strategies that predominated in their family firms. The results suggest that no single way of managing a learning community is the key to managing its learning; women use the full range. Belongingness strategies are important for many. They include Engagement, or working on projects together to further firm learning as Brenda and Robyn did. Deborah and Nancy preferred Imagination: projecting their idea of how their firms might be in the future and using this to unite the firm's members. Gloria, who packaged her father's romantic life-story, imagined a new vision of the past. Alignment approaches were also prominent. Jane, Cass, Nancy and Ingrid tried to create an internal sense of shared purpose and a professional approach to management to bring their firms into line with the wider corporate world.

A community's boundaries and its identity also mattered. Miriam led less by creating Belongingness than by managing her firm's boundaries. This meant keeping them closed enough to maintain the firm's separate identity, but permeable enough to allow members to come and go as the firm's skill requirements demanded. Cass could not create real Belongingness only by aligning the firm with standard business practices, Her plans for running the firm along more contemporary corporate lines created alienation among the staff rather than a sense of belonging. She needed to work through her husband, the focus of the firm's identity.

Lesson 9: Women need a home base, a reminder about where they have been, and support for their multiple identities.

Our study showed three things that women developing family firms need as individuals. First, they need a home base. Wenger (1991) pointed out that members of learning communities need a clearly defined home base for members to experience knowing as a form of social competence. Our results suggest this applies equally to women in family businesses. Several of our interviewees had established a home base for their firm – separate premises and no client referrals through the family firm – to separate it from the original family business. This proved that their business, with its different values, style and knowledge, had a viable separate existence. For some it countered their disappointment at being excluded from a senior role in the original family firm.

Second, women need a reminder about where they have been and how they have come to their present position to be assured of their own competence. They need a sense of their

‘learning trajectory’ (Lave and Wenger 1991). Rather than being something static, a healthy identity in a community of practice allows its members to bring the past and the future into the experience of the present. Like the business plan Jane keeps in a desk drawer and looks at from time to time, a learning trajectory shows how much you and the community have learnt together. Women in family business often lack this evidence, due to their more haphazard path into the firm and the uncertainties about their competence being recognized.

Third, the original family firm or a woman’s own firm need to support her multiple identities. Lave and Wenger say that healthy learning communities support their members’ various identities: ‘one ought to be able to sustain one’s identity as a waitress, a theatre fan and a parent as well as a member of a learning community’ (Lave and Wenger 1991). Many commentators have reflected on the ‘double burden’ of women’s domestic responsibilities, which they carry in addition to their professional roles. However something even more complex and difficult happens for some family business women. The meaning of their role in the family business may change when they have children. As Felicity finds out, and as Nancy, Hannah and even Miriam fear to some extent, they may be perceived as important primarily because they have produced the firm’s next generation rather than because they contribute to the family business in their own right. Healthy family firms allow women to sustain their role in the firm independently of their role as mothers. Indeed real flexibility can facilitate the development of multiple identities for family business women. Nevertheless, as Dugan *et al*. (2008) point out, even flexibility must be handled with care and wisdom. While it ‘sounds like the perfect solution to so many issues of work/life balance it is not always the answer family businesses look for. In fact it’s pretty complicated […] it can raise some thorny issues…’ (p. 49). Marilyn Carlson Nelson, writing in her mid 60s about herself as she was at the age of 28, said: ‘What I know now is that women can actually come pretty close to having it all, but you just can’t have it all every day. It may need to be sequenced’ (cited in Dugan *et al*. 2008, p. 57).

Lesson 10: Anchors and Professionals, but not Invisibles, may become Entrepreneurs.

Our case studies suggest that Curimbaba’s typology of women’s roles in family firms helps predict which women may take on entrepreneurial roles. First, our findings showed that Anchors are as likely as Professionals to become Entrepreneurs. Brenda and Robyn, neither of them founders, spent a long period as Anchors, doing unexciting jobs that were nevertheless indispensable to their family firm’s operations. Gloria, Cass and Ingrid, also non-founders, took a Professional view of their role in the family firm when they entered it. They remained highly aware of their market value, maintained an exit strategy and avoided merging their personal goals with those of the firm. Nevertheless all five eventually took on entrepreneurial roles. This is surprising – we would expect Professionals to have an advantage. After all Curimbaba (2002) suggests Professionals are more connected with the ‘real world’ of business. They enter the family firm to pursue a personal opportunity and, having entered it, keep a close eye on their value in the marketplace. Finally, they are always concerned to find the ‘right’ or ‘most meritorious’ solutions to problems, without regard to organizational politics. In contrast, Anchors appear less alert to their personal value to the family firm. They tend to ‘just be there’, never completely overlooked but sometimes taken for granted.

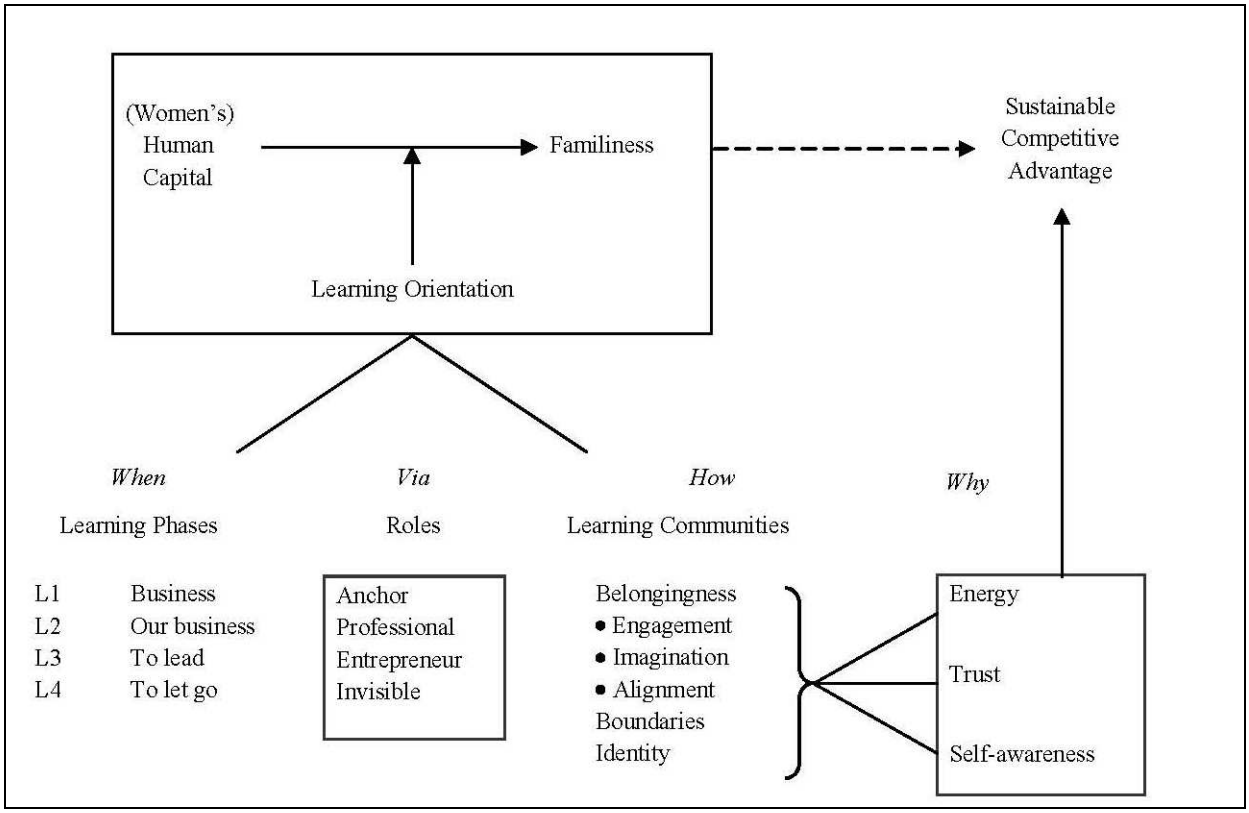
But it is less surprising when we consider why some Professionals in our sample originally entered the family firm. Ingrid, an obvious Professional in Curimbaba’s terms, entered the family firm primarily to solve a problem within its family system rather than its business system. As a result her leadership agenda – to create a smoothly functioning firm with a strategic plan and a viable vision for the future – was repeatedly postponed. Robyn, by contrast, entered her mother’s firm to work out her life direction – and found it by working out solutions to the firm’s operational problems. As a typical Anchor she quietly worked on this and developed a comprehensive and strategic understanding of the firm while her sisters

were being assessed for their leadership potential and found wanting. Ingrid, in contrast, because she had to spend so much time dealing with family problems in the system, was still coming to grips with its business side many years after she entered the firm.

Putting It All Together

Putting all ten lessons together tells us that understanding how women learn entrepreneurial leadership in family firms gives us a way of understanding entrepreneurial leadership in general and the special qualities of family firms. This is indicated in Figure 1 below. Women in family firms, like men, learn at various stages (When), and through the operation of community of practice dimensions (How), as they fulfil roles as Entrepreneurs, Anchors, Professionals or Invisibles, depending on the timing and content of their learning. Women of the controlling family in family firms nurture members' learning – and their own learning – when the family business encourages Belongingness dimensions (Engagement, Imagination and Alignment), and also when the firm achieves a healthy sense of its boundaries and its identity. These dimensions contribute to the firm's levels of energy, trust and self-awareness.

Figure 1.



Source: Barrett and Moores (2009 p. 172)

Taken as a group the ten lessons also show there are more useful and valid research tasks than trying to identify inherently 'male' or 'female' approaches to leadership and entrepreneurship. Some family business women in our sample used so-called 'female' management styles to deal with their firm's issues; others tackled similar problems using more conventional, apparently 'male' approaches. Other studies of entrepreneurial women and men are making similar findings. Some women's experiences were consistent with trying to overcome well-known structural barriers to individual advancement. However just as often getting to leadership meant devising a personal way of doing things which brought the participant and her organization into a closer, more communal relationship. So we need to continue investigating how leadership and entrepreneurship play out within organizational *communities* – not just how these roles present themselves as the personal dramas of

individual women and men. Finally, the lessons show that constrictive familiness may present some special problems for women, but many women in our sample had developed special solutions to it. These solutions, though developed by women, may not be limited to them and their firms. Several theorists have suggested non-family firms should cultivate family firms' familiness as a source of competitive advantage. So the solutions women in our sample devised to achieve their leadership and entrepreneurship roles may present new insights for male-led firms as well.

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