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by

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Traditions in Tension: An Ethnographic Inquiry of Luxembourg's Family-Run Hotels

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To my family,
a reminder of where I came from
and where I will return.

ABSTRACT

The suggestion that tradition plays a role in family business is a long-acknowledged but often presumed notion in family business research. As a result, studies that attempt to conceptualise tradition as a focal point remain scarce. This dissertation addresses this vacuum by examining the properties and processes that are involved in the tradition-making and tradition-maintaining of hospitality-based family businesses. Based on an ethnographic inquiry of five hotel-running families in Luxembourg, this dissertation inquires into the meanings and tensions of tradition. Drawing from a process perspective, it explores how family owner-managers receive, enact, and perpetuate the continuity of the family businesses as traditions.

Theoretically, this study contributes to two streams of literature: to the family business literature by providing a conceptual foundation for understanding tradition as process, and to the process organisation studies literature by proposing family business as an exemplar of tradition where the past is immanent in the present. Methodologically, this study attends to discourses and narratives at the national level, the industry level, and the organisational level to contextualise the family-run hotels in a wider discursive space. These multi-level analyses constitute the basis for the application of a field ethnography which attempts to explore the relationality between different modes of discourse in a chosen field: texts, talks, actions, and images. As a result, the lived narratives of five hotel-running families are produced.

This dissertation advances tradition as a root metaphor for family business and proposes three different angles of seeing the family business as tradition: family business as received tradition, family business as enacted tradition, and family business as tradition to be transmitted. In alignment with the process perspective, four dualities in the enactment of the family businesses as traditions are discussed: repetition and novelty, preservation and abandonment, being and appearing, and certainty and possibility. Ultimately, this dissertation puts into question the predominant understanding of tradition as a fixed construct argues instead that tradition's apparent unity, fixity, and stability is a result of a reflexive process which is enacted by owner-managers on a daily basis.

Keywords: family business, tradition, process, dualities, ethnography

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> To say, "I have great love for you," is meaningless. Love is not a thing that one can have, but a *process*, an inner activity that one is the subject of. I can love, I can *be* in love, but in loving, I *have* … nothing. In fact, the less I have, the more I can love. (Fromm, 1997/2008, p. 19, emphases and ellipsis original)

This doctoral dissertation is born as an outcome of the curiosity on tradition. It is also a 'labour of love'—if I may use the words—where, in the process, I have been puzzled, humbled, and awed by the seemingly innocent concept of tradition. In this section, I would like to express my acknowledgement to those who have supported me throughout the doctoral studies. First and foremost, this study is a token of gratitude for all the family businesses that I have encountered throughout the four-year research journey in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg. In particular, I am deeply indebted to Mr Carlo Cravat for introducing me to the several family-owned hotels in Luxembourg, and I am grateful also for his generosity to share some thoughts about the meaning and challenges of being a family business. To Mr André Simoncini, I am thankful to have the chance to engage in passionate conversations with him. As an admirer of culture myself, his thoughts have sparked much insight into tradition and creativity. To Mr Yannick Ruth and Mrs Diana Lodomez, I am humbled by the kindness and passion that they have shown in our brief meeting. To Mrs Bianca Streumer and Mr Ronald Streumer, I am thankful for their warm welcome in the beautiful town of Esch-sur-Sûre. And to Mr Victor Mertens, I am grateful for the eagerness to share some stories about the ups and downs of the family business.

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Rocky Adiguna
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Chapter 1

Tradition and the Family Business: An Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

In the public and scholarly discourse, there is a common presumption that family businesses are closely linked with tradition. Consider, for example, the proverb 'from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations.'[1] Having passed from one generation to another, this proverb is a tradition which is shared across the globe. In Italy, as quoted in Yanagisako (2002, p. 1), there is "il nonno fondò, i figli sviluppano, i nipoti distruggono—the grandfather founded [the firm], the sons develop it, and the grandsons destroy it." In China, there is 'fù bù guò sān dài', which is roughly translated as 'wealth does not pass beyond three generations'. Taken altogether, these sayings indicate double meaning: not only family businesses are a form of 'traditional' knowledge, but family businesses are also 'traditional' when they follow the common pattern of rise and fall within three generations.

In the scholarly discourse, the relationship between the family businesses and tradition is more complex. On the one hand, family businesses are presumed to be 'traditional' when they are reluctant to change (Chirico & Nordqvist, 2010; Hall, Melin & Nordqvist, 2001; Ward, 1997), defensive (Dyer, 1994; Johannisson & Huse, 2000), and predominantly patriarchal (Ainsworth & Cox, 2003; Kets de Vries, 1993). On the other hand, family businesses may as well be innovative when tradition is utilised as a resource for branding (Blombäck & Ramírez-Pasillas, 2012; Micelotta & Raynard, 2011), product innovation (De Massis, Frattini, Kotlar, Petruzzelli & Wright, 2016), and paradoxical thinking (Ingram, Lewis, Barton & Gartner, 2016). With tradition, family businesses thus obtain an ambiguous relationship.

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1. Also 'from clogs to clogs is only three generations.' The commonality of this form of saying in family business settings is discussed in Rau (2016) as "The Riddle of Three Generations."

At times they appear to be traditional, and at times they appear to be non-traditional.

While tradition is a recurring notion in the explanation of other aspects in family business such as innovation (Vrontis, Bresciani & Giacosa, 2016), succession (Yoo, Schenkel & Kim, 2014), marketing (Byrom & Lehman, 2009; Lee & Shin, 2014), and operations (Barry, 1989), many of its uses seem to lack a theoretical anchoring. Like 'culture', 'tradition' tends to be used as a catch-all term that ranges from basic assumptions (Dyer, 1988) and value systems (García-Álvarez & López-Sintas, 2001) to overt practices such as a particular method of doing business (Mariussen, Wheelock & Baines, 1997) and craft (Barry, 1989). In other words, tradition has been implied, mentioned, referred, and alluded to in family business studies but the question of 'what tradition is' has been fragmentarily addressed.

The ambiguity and fragmentation of the notion of tradition have resulted in a missed opportunity for the family business field to expound tradition as a fundamental concept for understanding family businesses. The present dissertation redresses this situation and takes tradition at the heart of inquiry by exploring both its theoretical underpinnings and its empirical manifestation in a family business context. Drawing from a process perspective, I argue that tradition is a powerful concept when understood as *a process through which the past and future are immanent in the present*. As a result, this dissertation offers three areas of contribution. First, it compiles the various ways tradition is referred in family business studies and traces out their theoretical roots in social sciences. Second, this dissertation proposes a deeper understanding of tradition which, through a different angle, touches upon the behavioural aspects of family business such as stewardship (Le Breton-Miller & Miller, 2009), long-term orientation (Lumpkin & Brigham, 2011), and socioemotional wealth (Berrone & Cruz, 2012). Third, by exploring tradition in its processual nature, this dissertation contributes to the growing stream of process studies in family business (see, for example, Salvato & Corbetta, 2014; Salvato & Melin, 2008).

In the remaining sections, I will introduce the reader to (1) the underlying questions of the study, (2) the angle that is taken to pursue the questions, (3) the originality of the study, (4) the context of the study, and (5) the delimitations of the study. A brief outline of the organisation of the dissertation is provided at the end of this chapter.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation asks three underlying questions to guide the inquiry into tradition in family business. Correspondingly, they are:

1. What is tradition and what does tradition refer to?
2. How does tradition manifest in the lives of the family businesses?
3. How can the stability and change of tradition in family business be explained?

The first question interrogates the ontological and epistemological foundation of what would have been a slippery concept. For practitioners, the term tradition is part of their everyday vocabulary. For researchers, the everydayness of the term tradition may have veiled the complexity and depth that lies beyond the term. The purpose of this task is to construct a conceptual framework which augments and fortifies the practical interests in tradition with philosophical underpinning. It is therefore the first task of this dissertation to examine how extant research have used the term and to critically reflect upon the current understanding.

The second question addresses the empirical reality of tradition. The purpose of this question is to pinpoint where tradition can be 'found', 'captured', and analysed. This question is informed by the framework developed in the first question but it may also destabilise the framework that has been developed. Hence the second task of this dissertation is to perform an empirical observation which does both: deductive application of the conceptual framework as well as inductive abstraction of new insights derived from the fieldwork.

The third question, in turn, seeks to explain the dynamics through which tradition is made, maintained, and changed. In line with the process perspective (Tsoukas, 2016), this question attempts to 'complexify' tradition as a process that entails both the tendency to change and the tendency to be static. As an advancement of the second question, this question addresses the stability and change of tradition both in time and in space. Thus the third task of this dissertation is to provide a set of explanation that incorporates the multitemporality and multiplicity of tradition in family business.

1.3   TRADITION AS A ROOT METAPHOR FOR FAMILY BUSINESS

In problematising the concept of tradition, I draw much of the inspiration from the literature of culture in organisation studies. Particularly, I draw a parallel with a line of research which propounds culture as a 'root metaphor' for conceptualising organisation (Smircich, 1983; Martin, 1992; Alvesson, 2013). By highlighting the similarities between two different phenomena, a root metaphor facilitates the examination of the basic assumptions of a phenomenon (Alvesson, 2013). In this dissertation, I propose that what culture has done for organisation can be imported to the family business field by construing tradition as a root metaphor for family business. In other words, family business *is* tradition.

Readers familiar with the organisation studies literature may ask why not using culture directly as a root metaphor for family business, and whether it is necessary for the tradition metaphor to be distinguished from the culture metaphor. A short response to these questions is that tradition should to be distinguished but not separated from culture. For a more elaborate argumentation, I need to unpack both the conceptual metaphors (i.e. culture vs. tradition) and the phenomenon that the metaphors purport to represent (i.e. organisation vs. family business).

Culture as a metaphor for organisation allows researchers to understand organisation as a form of human expression. As noted in Smircich (1983), this view is in contrast with the view which considers culture as a 'variable' that affects organisational outcome or performance. When culture is employed as a root metaphor, the interest is less in the input-output functions of culture in organisations and more about how, to put it broadly, human expressions construct and re-construct organisational reality. However, culture is also a surrogate term which may mean "everything and consequently nothing" (Alvesson, 2013, p. 3). This is where the notion of 'tradition' becomes more useful as a root metaphor. Tradition draws our attention more specifically to those which are 'transmitted from the past to the present' (Shils, 1981). Like culture, everything can still be seen as tradition but, unlike culture, everything is seen as tradition when the underlying interest is in its transmission.

In terms of the phenomenon that the metaphor purports to represent, I contend that family business is a specific form of organisation,

and that several similarities can be drawn between tradition (rather than culture) and family business. To illustrate, I will briefly attend three senses of meaning of tradition that correspond with family business: 'the past', 'transmission', and 'narrative'.

First, if tradition is taken to mean 'the past', then family business is also said to be 'the model of the past' (Aronoff & Ward, 1995). As a form of enterprise, family business is possibly one of the oldest forms of organisation with an embedded configuration between the family and the business. Family business is among the basic—if not primitive—organisational forms in society. *Second*, if tradition is taken to mean something which is 'transmitted' from one generation to another, then family business is also tradition in the sense that, from generation to generation, there is a creation and transfer of knowledge (Cabrera-Suárez, De Saá-Pérez & García-Almeida, 2001), values (Chrisman, Chua & Litz, 2003), and wealth (Habbershon, Williams & MacMillan, 2003). Another example of tradition as knowledge is the tradition of 'three-generation rule' presented earlier which encapsulates long-standing knowledge about family enterprise. Such knowledge becomes tradition when it is reproduced and transmitted from one generation to another. *Third*, if tradition is to be understood as 'narrative', then family business becomes tradition through the narratives that it has produced (Hamilton, 2013; Hamilton, Discua Cruz & Jack, 2017). As family business embarks in the course of its activities, stories are produced about the founding and development of the enterprise—-who the founder is, when and how the enterprise is founded, and what the key events are. A narrative about family business can also be found in the three-generation rule. The founding generation builds the enterprise, *then* the second generation expands the enterprise, *then* the third generation derails the enterprise. Epic struggle, glorious triumph, and tragic dissolution. As stories about the family business are transmitted, family business becomes tradition.

Culture is powerful metaphor for the study of organisations. But in the study of family businesses, should the field be confined with the culture metaphor? Or, are there other metaphors, in addition to culture, that may provide new insight? In this dissertation, I argue that tradition is both a concept and metaphor that yields a fruitful potential.

1.4   THREE FACETS OF FAMILY BUSINESS AS TRADITION

Building upon the view of tradition as a root metaphor and informed by the empirical observation, the originality of this dissertation rests in the offering of three facets of family business as tradition. In particular, I propose that family business can be analytically distinguished into three facets: (1) family business as received tradition, (2) family business as enacted tradition, and (3) family business as tradition to be transmitted. Each facet is outlined in the following.

The first facet, family business as received tradition, draws the attention to the transmittedness of the family business. From this angle, the existence of family business is seen as a given and completed process. From this angle also, the present generation is seen as a receiver of the family business. Understanding the givenness of the family business is key in order to understand the contextual landscape through which the present generation acts and operates. The second facet, family business as enacted tradition, takes the researcher into the actions and practices that are performed by actors in the family business. In relation to the previous facet, the transmittedness of the family business sets some preconditions for the present generation but it does not pre-determine actions. To see the family business as enacted tradition implies that actions and practices are part of the production and reproduction of tradition. Tradition is elaborated and destabilised through its enactment in the daily activities. From this angle, tradition is permeable and its boundaries are negotiated. The third point of view, family business as tradition to be transmitted, brings the focus towards the subsuming of past history and present enactment in the narratives and values that the family business seeks to transmit. From this angle, the family business turns to become tradition to be passed forward. From this angle, succession is understood not only as a transmission of the physical features of the business but also of intangible features that the family business has produced.

By proposing the family businesses as tradition, this dissertation aims to move away from the preconception of tradition either as beneficial or detrimental for a managerial purpose. Rather, tradition is the family business itself. The responsibility of the researcher, then, is less in determining the utility of tradition and more in arriving at a plane of understanding that *respects* the complexity of the family business. The implication of this metaphor is, therefore, the construing of act-

ors within a tradition as reflexive practitioners. No longer tradition is loaded with the assumption of unknowing actors enacting uninspected beliefs, but tradition is multifaceted and multilayered—at times it is the outcome of actions, at times it is the condition for actions.

1.5 LUXEMBOURG AND THE FAMILY BUSINESSES: A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Having outlined the theoretical background and the direction of the study, I will now introduce Luxembourg and its family businesses as the contextual background of the study.

Luxembourg is a tiny country in comparison to its bordering neighbours which are Germany in the east, France in the south, and Belgium in the west and north. Speaking three official languages—Luxembourgish, German, and French—Luxembourg is a culturally diverse country with a population of 576,200 inhabitants, out of which 53% are natives and 47% are foreigners (STATEC, 2016b). Despite its size, Luxembourg is one of the wealthiest countries in the world. In 2016, its GDP per capita is recorded to be the third highest in the world, surpassed only by Monaco and Liechtenstein (Trading Economics, 2017). Luxembourg is thriving but it was also struggling during the two World Wars—occupied twice by Germany before liberated by the American army in 1944. After the World War II, Luxembourg began to experience a notable economic growth that was fuelled partly by the resurgence in the steel and the construction industries. The economic boom attracted many foreign workforces to the country such as from Portugal and Italy, and Luxembourg's foreign policy has continued to attract people to come into the country (Hey, 2003). In 1970s, the steel industry was in a rapid decline due to oil crisis and overproduction (Zahlen, 2007) and, during this period, foreign investments from financially affluent countries such as Qatar began to enter the country (Learsy, 2012). Combined with the geopolitical roles that Luxembourg play in Europe, Luxembourg then emerged as one of the world's leading financial centres. Today, Luxembourg is known for its status as a tax haven, the capital of European Union (together Brussels and Strasbourg), as well as one of the headquarters of the European Commission.

Economically, family businesses play an important role in the country. A report on the Luxembourgish family businesses estim-

ates that family businesses represent 70% of the companies in the country (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2007). In 2016, Luxembourg is listed as "the most attractive country for family businesses" above the UK as second and Switzerland as third (Stiftung Familienunternehmen, 2016) and, from 2003 to 2016, family businesses are recorded as among the biggest employers in the country (STATEC, 2016a). As indicated earlier, Luxembourg was a major steel producer in the early to mid 1900s (Edwards, 1961). In this respect, ArcelorMittal is one of the biggest family-owned businesses in the industry (established in 1911 as ARBED and later merged under the ownership of the Mittal family). In the media, family businesses generally receive a favourable light. A leading business magazine in the country, *Paperjam*, has published a couple of special issues (Ducat, Gaudron, Raizer & Sorlut, 2013; Bedel, Heyde, Lalieu & Raizer, 2016) which cover the 'success stories' of Luxembourgish family businesses. News related to the dissolution of family-owned businesses are also occasionally reported (for example, see Luxembourger Wort, 2015, 2016). In addition, a number projects and events related to family business development have been carried out by several institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce (Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg, 2017), Banque de Luxembourg (Banque de Luxembourg, 2017), and Ernst & Young (EY, 2016).

1.6   DELIMITATIONS

This dissertation is a result of multiple choices made throughout the research process. Consequently, some of its conceptual and contextual delimitations need to be addressed.

1.6.1   *Conceptual delimitations*

In this dissertation, I draw inspiration from the literature on organisational culture, process organisation studies, sociology, history, and moral philosophy. As I embarked further in the study, however, it became apparent that the concept of tradition comes across as very close to the institutional theories. While I acknowledge the similarities between tradition and institutional theories, I decided not to explicitly draw upon or discuss the literature on institutional theories due to a couple of reasons. First, the potential power of tradition for insti-

tutional theories has been discussed more explicitly elsewhere (for example, see Dacin & Dacin, 2008). Second, the primary interest of this dissertation is to allow tradition to take a centre stage in the analysis of family business. The inclusion of the institutional theories may risk to overshadow the concept of tradition.

Within the family business literature, the concept of tradition is also closely related to the notion of stewardship. In this dissertation, especially later in Chapter 8, I allude to stewardship when discussing about the commitment to the continuation of tradition. However, I decided not to deal explicitly with the literature on stewardship—for the theorising at least—since the focus of this dissertation is to draw upon the literature in social science (i.e., sociology, history, and moral philosophy). Stewardship receives little mentioning in this dissertation and this is, again, a consequence of the intention of the study to allow tradition to construct its own vocabulary.

1.6.2 *Contextual delimitation*

Among the many contexts to be chosen for the study of tradition in family business, this dissertation is contextually delimited in the Luxembourgish hospitality industry. This choice is made based on a number of reasons explained below.

First, from the national level, Luxembourg is a multilingual country. The country's national language, *Lëtzebuergesch*, is symbolic to the tradition that country is trying to preserve amidst the national interest to promote its tourism sector. In this respect, tradition is not only an organisational issue but also a national one.

Second, from the industry level, the hospitality industry is both the 'face' of Luxembourg as well as an exemplar of the country's multilinguality. Hotels are one the first touching points that make the impression of the country, and the development of the hospitality industry is part of the government's strategic plan for tourism (Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 2013). Hence, attending to the hospitality industry is a promising choice to speak to the policymakers.

Third, the restriction only in one industry is motivated by the methodological choice of this dissertation to perform a field ethnography which emphasises the relationality between different entities in a single field. During fieldwork, I have made some contacts with family businesses in other industries such as winery, car and equip-

ment dealership, insurance agency, retail, and craft. However, I did not proceed further with these industries after weighing for the potential access to expand the research and their relative richness concerning tradition. Comparatively, the hospitality industry is richer in tradition since within it lies an intersection of various tradition-displaying activities such as maintenance of property, interior design, guest-host interaction, culinary offerings, and other social and cultural activities that are connected to the locality of the business.

1.7   ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is comprised of nine chapters including this introductory chapter and a concluding chapter at the end. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 are the theoretical chapters that set the foundation of the study. In Chapter 2, a brief history of the field of family business is provided and the literature that refer to tradition in family business studies are reviewed. This review results in the different categories tradition is conceptualised and used in family business studies. In Chapter 3, a reading of foundational works in the topic of tradition is performed. Scholarly works of five scholars are discussed: Shils (1981), Giddens (1994), Vansina (1985), Hobsbawm (1983) and MacIntyre (1981/2007, 1990). The result of this reading is a preliminary framework of understanding the family business as tradition. Chapter 4 discusses the methodology of the study. This chapter starts with a discussion of social reality as a process of becoming, and followed by attention to discourse as an inescapable feature of the social reality. This chapter also discusses ethnography as a stance of research engagement.

In Chapter 5, a discourse analysis is performed which contextualises the family business in a wider discursive space. Drawing from governmental publications and website archives, the chapter attends to discourses at the national level, industry level, and organisational level. The result of this chapter is the mapping of family-run hotels in Luxembourg and the discursive practices that are used in the self-presentation of the family-run hotels. The following three chapters take the reader into the narratives of five family-run hotels. Respectively, three facets of family business as tradition are discussed: family business as received tradition (Chapter 6), family business as enacted tradition (Chapter 7), and family business as tradition to be transmit-

ted (Chapter 8). A conceptual elaboration to the framework developed in Chapter 3 is provided in the second half of Chapter 8. Lastly, the final chapter advocates the notion of reflexive tradition. Conclusions are provided and questions for future research are raised.

Chapter 2

Tradition in Family Business: A Literature Review

In this chapter, I position the dissertation in the literature of family business by addressing tradition as a specific topic in family business studies.[1] The chapter is organised into three parts. It starts firstly with a brief overview of the history of the family business field. The second part reviews the studies on tradition in family business, which results in five ways tradition is referred in the literature: as a set of assumptions, as a set of practice, as a resource for organisational performance, as a barrier to organisational effectiveness, and as an organisational goal. Acknowledging these five aspects, the third part concludes the chapter with two suggestions: first, that a stronger theoretical grounding is needed to reinforce the extant literature and, second, that future studies need to focus on considering tradition as a phenomenon to be explained rather than to be assumed.

2.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FAMILY BUSINESS FIELD

As a field of research, family business studies emerged from the field of management studies. The "seedlings of family firm research," write Sharma, Melin and Nordqvist (2014, p. 2), "were sown in the early 1950s with Calder's (1953) dissertation on the problems of small manufacturing family firms". As the interest on family business research grew, the need to understand both the family systems and the business systems demands a formal institution where a principal interest in family business can be legitimised (Lansberg, 1993). This demand was responded by the establishment of the *Family Firm Institute* in 1984 and *Family Business Review* in 1988 as a research publication outlet. Throughout the 1980s, a notable wave of research in family business began to flourish such as, to mention a few, Beckhard and Dyer Jr.

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1. A paper version of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this dissertation was submitted to the 2018 Family Enterprise Research Conference (FERC) in Guadalajara, Mexico. The paper was co-authored with Prof. Denise Fletcher.

(1983), P. Davis (1983), Hollander and Elman (1988), and J. A. Davis and Tagiuri (1989). Today, there are multiple publication outlets on family business research (particularly in the US and Europe) and every year research conferences on family business research are held around the world. Taken altogether, the recent body of literature on family business represents a rich and wide variety of cross-disciplinary research with a common interest: "to build knowledge on one specific type of organisations—the family business" (Sharma et al., 2014, p. 1).

'Family business' is a subject of study that seems to be simple but profoundly complex. One of the complexities is reflected in the debate that has taken place to address the definitional problems of family business (Astrachan, Klein & Smyrnios, 2002; Chrisman, Chua & Sharma, 2005; Chua, Chrisman & Sharma, 1999; Litz, 1995; Westhead & Cowling, 1998). Among the earliest frameworks to understand family business is the three-circle model, appears in Lansberg (1988), where each circle represents the basic constituents in the family business: the family, the owners, and the managers. From another angle, Litz (1995) proposes that a basic definition of a family business should be based on the structure (i.e., the concentration of management and ownership in the family) and the intention (i.e., the extent to which its members endeavour to achieve, maintain, and/or increase family-relatedness). In a study of family firms in the UK, Westhead and Cowling (1998) highlight how the scale of family firms activity in a country is highly sensitive to the definition being used. They acknowledge four components of family business definition: (1) family involvement and perception to be a family business, (2) proportion of family ownership, (3) proportion of family members in the top management, and (4) inter-generational ownership transition (p. 34). Using these components, Westhead and Cowling (1998, p. 48) then show how, among the firms surveyed, the family firm/non-family firm proportion may fall from 79%–81% to 15% from the broadest definition (using solely the perception or ownership) to the narrowest definition (using all the components above).

Acknowledging the multiple ways to define a family business, Chrisman, Chua and Sharma (2003) question the adequacy of definitions that are based on the components of involvement. "While this approach to defining family firms may be *operationally* convenient," they write, "it is *theoretically* unsatisfactory because it then begs the question about what kind of firms classify themselves as family firms" (Chris-

man, Chua & Sharma, 2003, p. 8, original emphases). Chrisman, Chua and Sharma (2003) are alluding to the necessity to incorporate intentionality in advancing family business definition. They also point to the 'sufficiency conditions' that mark the difference between, on the one hand, the component-of-involvement approach that is based on "the belief that family involvement is sufficient to make a firm a family business" (p. 9) and, on the other hand, the essence approach that is based on "the belief that some form of family involvement is only a necessary condition" (p. 9). The 'essence' of a family business is then elaborated, which is comprised of: (1) intention to maintain family control, (2) unique, inseparable, and synergistic resources and capabilities arising from family involvement, (3) family-set vision and transgenerationality, and (4) the striving of such vision (Chrisman et al., 2003, p. 9). For Astrachan et al. (2002), the concern remains on one thing: the neglect that a "definition of *family* is often missing" (p. 46). This is to acknowledge the problems "where families and cultures differ not only across geographical boundaries, but also over time" (p. 46). Astrachan et al. (2002) then advocates a shift from the dichotomous categorisation of a family business, i.e. whether the business is family or non-family, towards a continuum of family business to allow the appreciation and comparison of family businesses.

Granted, the family business field to date has secured its legitimacy as a research domain. Family business is a contextually rich and inherently multi-level subject of study (Sirmon, 2014) and it has drawn a wide variety of fields in social sciences such as psychology, family science, law, sociology, and anthropology to better understand it (Sharma et al., 2014). To move the field forward, several calls for future research direction have been proposed (for example, Sharma, 2004; Chrisman et al., 2005; De Massis, Frattini & Lichtenthaler, 2013; Zahra & Sharma, 2004). Among these calls, I am intrigued by Zahra and Sharma (2004) who remind future research to the overdue debt of the field. They argue that, as much as scholars have borrowed from other fields in social sciences to study family business, it is 'imperative' for the family business field to 'give back' and enrich these sister disciplines (Zahra & Sharma, 2004, p. 336). In this dissertation, I respond to their call to give back by exploring the concept of tradition. As a first step, I look at the family business literature itself and examine how tradition is referred and conceptualised.

2.2   TRADITION-RELATED RESEARCH IN FAMILY BUSINESS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Tradition is longstanding notion in family business research. Usually paired with other aspects such as change and innovation, tradition is commonly argued as an important basis of family business culture and sustainability (Dyer, 1988; Handler, 1994; Carlock & Ward, 2001; Salvato, Chirico & Sharma, 2010; De Massis et al., 2016). Tradition has been picked as theme in several family business conferences: "Tradition or Entrepreneurship in the New Economy" in *FBN 11th Annual World Conference* in London, UK; "Tradition and Innovation in Family Business" in the 2015 *International Family Enterprise Research Academy* (IFERA) Annual Conference in Hamburg, Germany; and "Family Traditions and Culture: Values and Legacy in Entrepreneurial Families" in 2018 *Family Enterprise Research Conference* (FERC) in Guadalajara, Mexico. Recent calls for papers also touch upon tradition: in *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* for the special issue on "Locality and Internationalization of Family Firms" (Baù, Block, Discua Cruz & Naldi, 2017), and in *Journal of Business Ethics* for the special issue on "Values, Spirituality and Religion: Family Business and the Roots of Sustainable Ethical Behaviour" (Astrachan, Baù, Astrachan & Campopiano, 2017).

Attention to tradition seems to be enduring in family business research. However, there is little effort to compile, review, and criticise the body of research on tradition in family business. This relative absence begs the question of why is this the case. After performing a review of the literature—which I will present later—I offer two explanations to this scarcity. On the one hand, it may be caused by the subsuming of tradition under other concepts such as succession, culture, and identity. If this is the case, then tradition is hidden and not addressed as such but is already implied in them. On the other hand, tradition might be such a common term that is of little interest for scholars to review it. Unlike other more sophisticated terms that are available in family business studies such as 'socio-emotional wealth' or 'family-centered non-economic goals', the everydayness of the word 'tradition' might be at issue. Its use ranges from being a casual reference to something old, habitual, or obsolete, to a more elaborated one with specific meanings attached to it.

In any case, it is telling to see that the closeness between family

business and tradition has created an archetype of family business: 'traditional' family businesses are those which are reluctant to change, 'defensive', and 'dominated by paternalism' (Johannisson & Huse, 2000, p. 361). Of course, not all family businesses are 'traditional' even though they hold on to tradition and there are cases where family businesses are change-seeking and innovative through tradition (see, for example, Aronoff & Ward, 2011). This apparent ambiguity presents an opportunity for future research to engage with the complexities of tradition. In the next sections, I take the task to compile, review, and reflect upon the body of literature thus far produced related to tradition in family business. I will discuss first the method of retrieving and compiling the literature and then followed by the presentation of the findings.

2.2.1 *Method*

To retrieve the literature, I set out two complementary protocols: a general search and an expanded search. First, a general search was carried out through Scopus, which is preferred due to its ease of use (in comparison to Web of Science) and precision of search fields (in comparison to Google Scholar). As at November 2017, a search on Scopus with the search keywords of "family business" OR "family firm" AND "tradition" within 'Article title, Abstract, Keywords' resulted in 99 entries for all types of documents.[2] The 99 entries on the topic of tradition were then exported to a spreadsheet format to be examined regarding their relevance based on the context in which the word 'tradition' is used and/or related to family business. This screening process included: the exclusion of duplicate book chapters and papers, publications in non-social sciences (such as engineering and medicine), and papers in which tradition is mentioned not in the context of family business. This filtering process yielded relevant entries of 37 papers which are outlined in Table 2.1.

Second, an expanded search was carried out with the purpose to find the literature that are illustrative to the categories of tradition that emerge from the review. At this stage, Google Scholar is preferred since it retrieves a broader set of entries. Through this search, I ad-

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2. This number is relatively small in comparison to other topics such as "succession" which resulted in 443 entries for article-type document alone, or "culture" which resulted in 198 entries for article-type document.

ded 14 articles that most relevantly address the themes that were developed. A summary of the literature added through the expanded search is provided in Table 2.2.

2.2.2   *Categorising tradition in family business research*

Although there is no clear pattern, I found that some early studies tend to conceptualise tradition more deeply (Barry, 1989; Casson, 1999; Dyer, 1988) while some recent studies tend to instrumentalise tradition for innovation (De Massis et al., 2016; Ingram et al., 2016; Vrontis et al., 2016). In other articles, tradition is mentioned without much elaboration on the precise meaning which made it difficult to infer a meaningful theme. Yet, it is clear that there are differences in both the extent of engagement and the sense of meaning implied by the term. Hence, I found it more useful to organise the literature by focusing on exemplary articles which show the variety of emphases when tradition is referred by the authors. This process resulted in five distinct but interrelated categories of tradition in family business: (1) tradition as a set of assumptions, (2) tradition as a set of practice, (3) tradition as a resource for organisational performance, (4) tradition as a barrier to organisational effectiveness, and (5) tradition as an organisational goal. The remaining of this chapter is dedicated to elaborate on each of these categories.

TRADITION AS A SET OF ASSUMPTIONS   Tradition is often construed as a set of assumptions that are highlighted as underlying the behaviours of family business members. Dyer (1988) is one of the early scholars who incorporate tradition in the typification of cultures in the family business. He delineates four types of culture-i.e., paternalistic, laissez-faire, participative, and professional-where each type holds a different set of assumptions related to the nature of relationships, human nature, the nature of truth, the orientation towards the environment, the nature of human activity, universalism/particularism, and time. In particular, Dyer argues that tradition is strongly related to the paternalistic culture which is based on the assumptions of (1) having a time orientation towards the past, and (2) that 'truth' resides in the founder or the family of the founder. Drawing from the study of American family firms, he suggests that:

Table 2.1. List of articles with 'tradition' in article title, abstract, and keywords. Source: Scopus. (Continued on the next page)

No.	Year	Publication outlet	Author(s)	Title
1.	2017	British Food Journal	Giacosa, Ferraris, and Monge	How to strengthen the business model of an Italian family food business
2.	2017	European Journal of International Management	Scuotto, Del Giudice, Holden, and Mattiacci	Entrepreneurial settings within global family firms: Research perspectives from cross-cultural knowledge management studies
3.	2017	Journal of Co-operative Organization and Management	Moskovich and Achouch	Family home culture and management-employee relationships: Comparing two kibbutz factories
4.	2016	Academy of Management Perspectives	De Massis, Frattini, Kotlar, Petruzzelli, and Wright	Innovation through tradition: Lessons from innovative family businesses and directions for future research
5.	2016	British Food Journal	Vrontis, Bresciani, and Giacosa	Tradition and innovation in Italian wine family businesses
6.	2016	Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice	Ingram, Lewis, Barton, and Gartner	Paradoxes and Innovation in Family Firms: The Role of Paradoxical Thinking
7.	2016	Business History	Edvinsson	Standing in the shadow of the corporation: Women's contribution to Swedish family business in the early twentieth century
8.	2016	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	Kamei, Boussaguet, D'Andria, and Jourdan	The transfer of small and medium-sized Japanese family businesses to the younger generation: Narratives by student-successors
9.	2016	Journal of Economic History	Khan	Invisible Women: Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Family Firms in Nineteenth-Century France
10.	2015	Service Business	Lee and Shin	Marketing tradition-bound products through storytelling: a case study of a Japanese sake brewery
11.	2015	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	O'Gorman, Brophy, and Clinton	Teeling whiskey company: A tradition of family entrepreneurship and whiskey distilling
12.	2014	Journal of Small Business Management	Yoo, Schenkel, and Kim	Examining the impact of inherited succession identity on family firm performance
13.	2014	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	Uddin, Bose, and Ferdausi	Push and pull factors of entrepreneurs in Khulna city, Bangladesh

Table 2.1. List of articles with 'tradition' in article title, abstract, and keywords. Source: Scopus. (Continued on the next page)

No.	Year	Publication outlet	Author(s)	Title
14.	2014	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	Dodd, Theoharakis, and Bisignano	Organizational renewal in family firms
15.	2014	Asian Social Science	Abdullah, Azmi, Zin, Chee, and Yusoff	Interaction between Chinese family business and cultural differences in Malaysia
16.	2014	Europe's Journal of Psychology	Ruggieri, Pozzi, and Ripamonti	Italian family business cultures involved in the generational change
17.	2012	Corporate Communications	Blombäck and Ramírez-Pasillas	Exploring the logics of corporate brand identity formation
18.	2012	Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research	Chan and Quah	Start-up Factors for Small and Medium-sized Accommodation Businesses in Sabah, Malaysia: Push and Pull Factors
19.	2012	World Development	Zhang and Pan	Women's Entry into Self-employment in Urban China: The Role of Family in Creating Gendered Mobility Patterns
20.	2012	Business History	Yacob	Trans-generational renewal as managerial succession: The Behn Meyer story (1840-2000)
21.	2011	World Review of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development	Smith	The role of storyboards and scrapbooks in propagating entrepreneurial value in family business settings
22.	2010	Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development	Trevinyo-Rodríguez and Bontis	Family ties and emotions: A missing piece in the knowledge transfer puzzle
23.	2010	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	Pistrui, Murphy, and Deprez-Sims	The transgenerational family effect on new venture growth strategy
24.	2010	International Journal of Wine Business Research	Dufour and Steane	Building a good solid family wine business: Casella Wines
25.	2009	Marketing Intelligence and Planning	Byrom and Lehman	Coopers Brewery: Heritage and innovation within a family firm
26.	2009	International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation	Vadnjal and Letonja	Albanian businesses in Slovenia: A need, an opportunity or just a tradition?
27.	2008	Family Business Review	Lumpkin, Martin, and Vaughn	Family orientation: Individual-level influences on family firm outcomes
28.	2008	International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education	Dingus	'Our family business was education': Professional socialization among intergenerational African-American teaching families

Table 2.1. List of articles with 'tradition' in article title, abstract, and keywords. Source: Scopus. (Continued from the previous page)

No.	Year	Publication outlet	Author(s)	Title
29.	2007	Journal of Workplace Learning	Elsey and Tse	Changing the behaviour of traditional bakers in a Chinese multi-family owned food company through workplace action learning in Hong Kong
30.	2006	Management Decision	Hamilton	Narratives of enterprise as epic tragedy
31.	2005	Family Business Review	Hubler	Forgiveness as an intervention in family-owned business: A new beginning
32.	2005	Asia Pacific Business Review	Kopnina	Family matters? Recruitment methods and cultural boundaries in Singapore Chinese small and medium enterprises
33.	2004	Geoforum	Pallares-Barbera, Tulla, and Vera	Spatial loyalty and territorial embeddedness in the multi-sector clustering of the Berguedà region in Catalonia (Spain)
34.	2003	European Management Journal	Leenders and Waarts	Competitiveness and evolution of family businesses: The role of family and business orientation
35.	1998	Family Business Review	Vago	Multiple roles in serving families in business
36.	1994	American Ethnologist	Greenhalgh	De-Orientalizing the Chinese family firm
37.	1989	Family Business Review	Barry	The Development of Organization Structure in the Family Firm

[s]ome paternalistic firms tend to be oriented to the past. Carrying on the founder's and family's legacy is the primary aim of the owning family. Thus, time-worn traditions are at the center of the culture. Other paternalistic firms tend to be very present oriented. Although they maintain some traditions, they focus on current problems and needs and quickly change to meet new threats. (Dyer, 1988, p. 41)

In contrast to Dyer (1988) which discusses the underlying assumptions that are found on the *business* side of the family business, Johannisson and Huse (2000) address the cultures of the *board of directors* in the family business. In their study on Swedish small family firms, they argue that family businesses are at an 'ideological intersection' (p. 357) between the family institution as an ideology (paternalism), entrepreneurship as an ideology (entrepreneurialism), and management as

Table 2.2. List of selected articles with 'tradition' in the full text. Source: Google Scholar.

No.	Year	Publication outlet	Author(s)	Title
1.	2017	Family Business Review	Nelson and Constantinidis	Sex and Gender in Family Business Succession Research: A Review and Forward Agenda From a Social Construction Perspective
2.	2012	Family Business Review	Berrone and Cruz	Socioemotional wealth in family firms: Theoretical dimensions, assessment approaches, and agenda for future research
3.	2010	International Small Business Journal	Chirico and Nordqvist	Dynamic capabilities and trans-generational value creation in family firms: The role of organizational culture
4.	2010	Family Business Review	Parada, Nordqvist, and Gimeno	Institutionalizing the Family Business: The Role of Professional Associations in Fostering a Change of Values
5.	2007	Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	Johannisson et al.	Interstanding the industrial district: Contrasting conceptual images as a road to insight
6.	2002	Family Business Review	Koiranen	Over 100 Years of Age but Still Entrepreneurially Active in Business: Exploring the Values and Family Characteristics of Old Finnish Family Firms
7.	2001	Family Business Review	García-Álvarez and López-Sintas	A taxonomy of founders based on values: The root of family business heterogeneity
8.	2001	Family Business Review	Hall, Melin, Nordqvist	Entrepreneurship as Radical Change in the Family Business: Exploring the Role of Cultural Patterns
9.	2000	Family Business Review	Santiago	Succession experiences in Philippine family businesses
10.	2000	Entrepreneurship and Regional Development	Johannisson and Huse	Recruiting outside board members in the small family business: An ideological challenge
11.	1999	Scandinavian Economic History Review	Casson	The economics of the family firm
12.	1997	Family Business Review	Cole	Women in Family Business
13.	1997	International Studies of Management and Organization	Mariussen, Wheelock, and Baines	The family business tradition in Britain and Norway: Modernization and reinvention?
14.	1988	Family Business Review	Dyer	Culture and Continuity in Family Firms

an ideology (managerialism). A family business with paternalism ideology, they explain, is where a business is characterised by a "clan structure where the hierarchy is structured by seniority and kinship ties" (p. 359). Tradition is suggested to impose a mental restriction upon the

operations of the family firm to the extent that "everyday life becomes as important as maintaining traditions and building a future for generations to come" (p. 359). Barry (1989) adds to this view by alluding to 'traditional authority' where authority is held exclusively by the family, and this mode of authority takes precedence over the 'rational-legal' (Barry, 1989, p. 303). In Lumpkin, Martin and Vaughn (2008), tradition is described as persists through time and serves to perpetuate family beliefs which constitute what is 'right' for the family.

In the footstep of Dyer (1988), Leenders and Waarts (2003) add to the typification of family businesses by making the distinction between two dimensions which are family orientation and business orientation. Of particular interest here is the category of Family Life Tradition. Companies in this category are described as having a strong family orientation and weak business orientation. The authors argue that "these companies feel that involving family members strengthens the business in general, that children must be involved in the business at an early stage, and, preferably, that one of them should be the successor" (Leenders & Waarts, 2003, p. 689). Their findings also show that Family Life Tradition companies score the highest among other categories in terms of trust, social control, motivated employees, and atmosphere. The study also suggests that Family Life Tradition companies would not trade higher business orientation with the lost in atmosphere and harmony.

The predominant assumption and expectation that the business must be passed over from the father to his (first) son are captured by what is widely known as primogeniture. In the literature, this assumption usually comes to the fore in the context of family business succession (Barnes, 1988; Cole, 1997; Hollander & Bukowitz, 1990; Nelson & Constantinidis, 2017). As a set of assumptions, primogeniture is considered as "the most sacred family business rules" which inhibit the likelihood of women in the family to inherit and run the company (Cole, 1997, p. 355). A recent review of the literature on family business succession noted how primogeniture is often "presented as a tradition" and that this 'monolithic expectation' of the eldest son assuming control over the family business is currently being challenged and questioned (Nelson & Constantinidis, 2017, p. 226).

Another way in which tradition is construed as an assumption manifests not in the kind of rules or expectation that are held but in the degree to which values are shared among people. Defined in this

way, tradition is seen to include "recognition of a shared history and the practices that serve to connect family members to one another" (Lumpkin et al., 2008, p. 131). Shared family histories provide a sense of connectedness with the predecessors, and individuals with a strong orientation towards the family are more likely to resort to tradition to reach consensus (Lumpkin et al., 2008). In their study on an industrial region in Sweden, Lumpkin et al. (2008, p. 542) acknowledge that tradition comes hand-in-hand with religion and family to construct "a shared value basis that guides firms as commercial agents." Tradition becomes salient through the sharedness of values across multiple arenas in the region. The region, Gnosjö, is described to have a "strong tradition in business creation" and these values are further reinforced through churches, social associations, trade unions, and trade associations (Johannisson et al., 2007, pp. 542–543).

To consider tradition as shared values allow for a shift from seeing the *kind* of assumptions, rules, and expectation that are upheld, towards seeing the *sharedness* of assumption among a group of people in the business. In this way, to have a tradition does not always mean being traditional. One example given above is the use of the term 'business tradition'. Another example is shown in Aronoff and Ward (2011) where family businesses can create a 'tradition of change' by "creating and sustaining a culture in which change is the norm and everybody, not just the CEO, is encouraged to take responsibility for new ideas and their implementation" (Aronoff & Ward, 2011, p. 79). In this respect, the interest is in the endorsement of particular values to be spread and shared throughout the organisation.

TRADITION AS A SET OF PRACTICES   The notion of tradition as a set of practices refers to a particular way of doing which often involves specific techniques or procedures. Tradition as practice is closely related to tradition as a set of assumptions since one can also be an indication of the another. But they are also different in that the emphasis is more towards the enactment of tradition and, in some cases, this enactment is industry-related. For example, in a study of a UK printing industry family businesses, Barry (1989) is implicit in defining tradition as practice when he argues that "[i]n some fields, the emphasis [of family businesses] is not on running a business but in continuing a craft tradition [as] reflected in the use of such terms as master printer or master builder" (Barry, 1989, p. 298). Stressing the printing industry, Barry

highlights that "pride in craft skills often results in a far higher standard of work being produced than is required or appreciated by customers" (p. 298). As a result, 'legends regarding past achievements' are produced alongside the sense of continuity of history (p. 298). Tradition, then, is a result of the considerable time and efforts invested in the mastery of a craft, which will have some repercussions when it comes to change and technological advancements, a theme which will be discussed later.

Similar to Barry (1989) is a study by Mariussen et al. (1997) that compares the British micro businesses in the service industry and Norwegian family businesses in the fishing industry. Given the focus on tradition as a practice, for the moment I will focus on the Norwegian context. Two fishing communities in Norway were examined in the study where one is described as "dominated by the tradition of dried-fish" in contrast to the other region which is reported to have undergone "a rapid modernization process" (Mariussen et al., 1997, p. 68). For the family businesses in these communities, working in the fishing industry implies "a continuation of a way of life and identity" (p. 74). In this respect, tradition is "a gift from the father to his children [and] also a practice, a way of organizing, and a technology that [is] transferred to the next generation through a socialization in which sons and daughters work in the family business" (Mariussen et al., 1997, p. 80). By contrasting the two different industries in two different countries, Mariussen et al. (1997) acknowledge that tradition may also transcend from the continuation of practice to the continuation of values that underlie the practice. As they put it, for some actors tradition is "reflexively redefined from being a submission to the institutionalized values of old practices and organizational procedures into a dedication to the entrepreneurial values of the father" (Mariussen et al., 1997, p. 80). This insight also relates to the perspective of tradition as a set of shared values-values which are a key component of tradition as practice.

The close connection between tradition, craft, and the family business is also examined through economic theories. By highlighting the dynastic element of family firms—that is, the inter-generational relationships—Casson (1999) argues that "[d]ynastic firms are well suited to craft-based industries where the optimal scale of production is small" (p. 11). In alignment to his contemporaries in the family business field such as Lansberg (1999) and Ayres (1998), Casson

(1999) also suggests that the inter-generational relationships compel the younger generation to take stewardship responsibilities. He then draws a relation between stewardship, tradition, and methods (practices):

> The emphasis on stewardship also explains the concern with tradition within the family firm. It is not only the name of the family that needs to be maintained, but also the methods of doing business. (Casson, 1999, p. 18)

By linking together the notion of stewardship, the concern on tradition, and the continuity of practices, Casson postulates that family firms are in advantage when operating in craft-based industries where initiation, learning, and trust are at the centre of the business as opposed to science-based industries which depend highly on what he calls 'professionally-qualified people'. For him,

> [t]he advantage of the dynastic firm lies in the special training that it gives to family members, who have the opportunity to learn about all the different aspects of the production process. It is assumed that this family training is of greatest value in traditional industries, especially industries where small-scale artisan or craft production methods are dominant. Professional training, by contrast, is of greatest value in mass-production science-based industries. (Casson, 1999, p. 20)

To be noted, there are simplifications in Casson's attempt to theorise the economics of family firms. The dichotomies between craft-based industries and science-based industries, and between professional labour and family labour are among the parts that management and organisation theorists will question. Nonetheless, it is worth noting also that his analysis was performed in the context where family firms were predominantly viewed, by economists, as small and medium-sized enterprises. In this light, Casson was attempting to disentangle between the implication of size and family control as well as the presumption that all family businesses are small. Finally, his analyses are insightful not only in explaining that there is a relation between family firms, tradition, and crafts, but also that family control and dynastic motive are markers of the distinctiveness of family business.

TRADITION AS A RESOURCE FOR ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE
Tradition as a resource alludes to the instrumentality of tradition for

organisational ends. In this meaning of the term, the role of tradition is to enable the achievement of something else. To start, Greenhalgh (1994) takes an ethnological interest in family business by examining tradition in family businesses in connection with the national/regional culture. Her ethnographic study of Taiwanese family businesses challenges the predominant Orientalist assertion that Chinese rapid economic development is a natural reflection of the 'traditional Confucian culture', which is comprised of familism, collectivism, and mutual benefit. She argues instead that family firms were created as "a political construction of the family/firm head, who was pressed to build his firm out of family resources by several features of the national and global political economies" (Greenhalgh, 1994, p. 746). In particular, Greenhalgh (1994) specifies three ways the Chinese family tradition is manipulated: first, by finding a way "to attract family labour to the enterprise and employ it in a variety of tasks requiring trust" (Greenhalgh, 1994, p. 759); second, by "discouraging active resistance to the unequal distribution of resources and authority [while] dissuading those at the bottom—generally female kin—from pressing for more independence and responsibility" (p. 759); and third, by "keeping those at the top—usually male kin—from leaving" (p. 759). By addressing both the discourses at the national and the family level, Greenhalgh sheds light on how tradition is not always benign and praiseworthy, and at times it is appropriated by local actors for economic purposes. Among others, her study also highlights the gendered and generational power relations on some practices such as 'unpaid family labour' (p. 749).

In Hubler (2005), tradition is referred in terms of the family's religious values and it is highlighted as a resource for resolving family conflicts that often plague the family business. Drawing from his personal experience in consulting family businesses, Hubler (2005) devises what he calls the 'forgiveness ritual' by "ritualizing the process of forgiveness, drawing on the family's tradition of religious values and creating a ceremony that draws on the family's fundamental values of love, generosity, and sense of abundance" (Hubler, 2005, p. 96). The forgiveness ritual is espoused to have several functions which converge to induce "a healing process that allows the family to start anew in a positive way and go forward" (p. 102). In a similar vein, Lumpkin et al. (2008) argue that shared family histories provide a sense of connectedness with the predecessors, and individuals with a strong ori-

entation towards the family are more likely to resort to tradition to reach consensus.

In marketing and branding, tradition is found to be one of the resource bases for family business managers to develop marketing strategies as well as brand identity. On the one hand, Byrom and Lehman (2009) present a case study on a fifth-generation Australian brewing company and highlight the company's rich history and tradition. Expressed in terms of "having a 'traditional' feel" (Byrom & Lehman, 2009, p. 519), the feeling of tradition was created through the physical design of the products, the interior of the main administration building, and the choice of the names of products. Blombäck and Ramírez-Pasillas (2012), on the other hand, investigated brand identity formation process in select small and medium-sized family businesses in Sweden. Through a discourse analysis, they reveal three different processes for the selection and formation of corporate brand identity. Tradition, with an emphasis in history, is found to be part of the resources for managers to construct brand identity.

Tradition is also argued as a managerial resource for corporate communications. In Lee and Shin (2014), attention is given to the storytelling of a nearly 300 years old family-owned Japanese sake brewery. With a generational involvement that spans nine generations, the family business is described to be rich in history and tradition. Storytelling was found to be central in the reinvention of the sake industry as well in winning the trust of the customers. In particular, Lee and Shin (2014) argue that the customers may experience tradition through different senses such as by touching, watching, smelling, tasting, and feeling.

Departing from the resource-based view, De Massis et al. (2016) position tradition as a theoretical basis for product innovation strategy. They draw from Shils (1981) and Hibbert and Huxham (2010) and define tradition as past knowledge pertinent to both the firm itself and the territory in which the firm is located. The authors then integrate the resource-based view of the firm with the notion of dynamic capabilities of the firm to argue that long-lasting family businesses "benefit from their privileged access to past knowledge and that the innovation success of these firms can be explained by their ability to leverage tradition to develop successful new products" (De Massis et al., 2016, p. 97). Their case studies on Italian family businesses shows how tradition as past knowledge feeds into the in-

novation process through which new product functionalities and new meanings are produced. Still in the Italian context, two recent studies on five-generation-old family business in the food and wine industry show how the combination of tradition and innovation contribute to the competitive advantage of the business (Giacosa, Ferraris & Monge, 2017; Vrontis et al., 2016). In these studies, it is argued that both product innovation and process innovation are grounded in the company's respect to traditions.

TRADITION AS A BARRIER TO ORGANISATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS Tradition as a barrier refers to the inhibitive characteristics that are effected by tradition. In this sense, tradition is seen as the downside consequence of upholding or practicing a particular tradition, and of the commitment to tradition as an end or a goal for the business. Tradition, especially when it is discriminative and oppressive, is considered as a barrier when it manifests in the forms of primogeniture, patriarchy, and paternalism, which discriminate family members to assume control of the firm (Cole, 1997; Nelson & Constantinidis, 2017). In García-Álvarez and López-Sintas (2001), for example, they suggest that the limited growth of businesses whose founders value human relations, ethical orientation, and family sense are likely to be caused by family tradition. In a similar vein, Barry (1989) illustrates a a case where tradition is a barrier to technological change. By drawing connection between tradition and craft, Barry further explains how, especially in the printing industry which involves specific technologies, the emphasis on continuing tradition has a consequence if one is too attached to it.

In relation to culture, Hall et al. (2001) longitudinally examine the change process of two family businesses and found that a 'strong culture' may be evidenced in the resistance to change and that traditions can be a burden that stifles entrepreneurship. In other words, the preservation of the "traditional ways of thinking and acting" is detrimental to the continuity of the family business (Hall et al., 2001, p. 206). Chirico and Nordqvist (2010) build on Dyer (1988) and Hall et al. (2001) and take tradition as part of the paternalistic culture which contributes to family inertia. They argue that paternalism impedes the realisation of change and whilst culture and tradition are an important part in family businesses, it is equally important for them to "unlearn,

relearn and adopt new ways of thinking and doing business" (Chirico & Nordqvist, 2010, p. 500).

Lastly, Parada, Nordqvist and Gimeno (2010) draw from the institutional theory and investigate the change process of guiding values in Spanish family businesses. They found that, from time to time, values and tradition are not static—some values remain while some others change. In one of the cases, they observe that 'patriarch tradition' and 'first-born tradition'—also known as primogeniture—were abandoned in favour of new values such as 'business as patrimony' and the 'freedom to choose' (Parada et al., 2010, p. 361). Their study shows not only that some values and traditions are barriers but also that constraining traditions are abandoned for the continuity of the business and the family. Similarly, a study on a sample of Korean family firms suggests that non-first-son-inherited firms perform better than first-son-inherited firms since the former may avoid the barrier associated with 'family tradition' that are imposed on the first-son successors (Yoo et al., 2014).

TRADITION AS AN ORGANISATIONAL GOAL   Apart from a set of assumptions and a set of practices, tradition is also salient in the literature as an organisational goal in family business. This category is where businesses can be said to be "driven by the family tradition" as their aspiration (Koiranen, 2002, p. 183). Construed as an end, tradition retains the meaning that is similar to legacy—i.e., tradition is something to be passed over to the next generation. This notion is suggested in Dyer (1988) where, in some paternalistic businesses, "carrying on the founder's and family's legacy is the primary aim of the owning family" (p. 41). Tradition as an end is often inseparable from tradition as a practice. To return to Barry (1989), the practice of a method implies the expectation of its continuation by the next generation. Mariussen et al. (1997) allude to this sense of meaning where the practice of a tradition is seen as the passing over of tradition as a 'gift' which, in turn, will continue to be passed over to the next generation.

In addition, some studies attribute tradition to the family's non-financial goals (Zellweger, Nason, Nordqvist & Brush, 2013). For example, tradition is incorporated in the concept of 'socioemotional wealth' (Berrone & Cruz, 2012; Gómez-Mejía et al., 2014). Firstly appears in (Gómez-Mejía & Haynes, 2007), socioemotional wealth broadly refers to the social and emotional (non-economic) aspects of

the family business that fulfill the family's affective needs including the " retention of a strong family identity [and] continuation of the family dynasty" (Berrone & Cruz, 2012, p. 262). Tradition also appears frequently in the literature as a 'commitment to' tradition (P. Davis, 1983; Lansberg & Astrachan, 1994; Santiago, 2000; Sharma & Irving, 2005). Lansberg and Astrachan (1994, p. 43), for example, propose that families with a high commitment to the business "view the firm as a continuing legacy in which the family's traditions, identity, and culture are embodied." Within this line, Santiago (2000) on his study on family businesses in the Philippines found that, when families view their business as a legacy, they are willing to "sacrifice personal concerns for the benefit of the long-term survival of the business" (p. 30). Similarly, Sharma and Irving (2005, p. 22) suggest that family business successors that are expected to assume leadership feel a sense of "obligation toward maintaining the accepted norms and family traditions". The concept of tradition as a legacy is present also in Lumpkin et al. (2008) with the development of 'family orientation'.

2.3 A WAY FORWARD IN RESEARCH ON TRADITION

'Tradition and change' is acknowledged to be part of family business dualities (Melin & Salvato, 2012) and paradoxes (Schuman, Stutz & Ward, 2010; Ingram et al., 2016). Adding to this view, in this chapter I have shown that there are five categories in which tradition is referred, interpreted, and taken into account in family business studies. While tradition is an enduring concept in family business studies, it is surprising to notice that studies that squarely and deeply address tradition remain relatively limited. To move forward, some questions can be raised such as: How does tradition emerge in the first place? Why tradition seem to exert more power in one family business and less in another? As it were, tradition has been referred in many ways, but remains largely under-theorised.

In Figure 2.1, I use the image of a tree as a metaphor to synthesise the literature and suggest the ways forward. As a heuristic device, this metaphor serves to highlight the current state of tradition-related research as well as the potential for further inquiries. First, the tree metaphor is used to show that tradition is an observable phenomenon in family business studies. In Figure 2.1, this is shown by signifying tradition as the 'tree trunk'. 'Tradition' is a phenomenon that both the

As a resource

As a set of practices

As a barrier

As a set of assumptions

As a goal

Tradition

Unexplored branches

Observable phenomenon

Contextual ground

Under-explored
theoretical roots
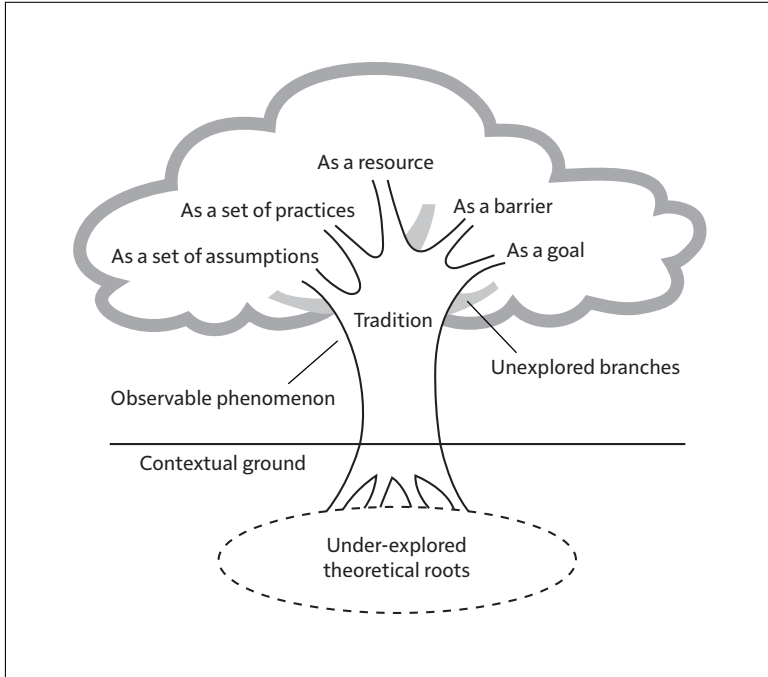
Figure 2.1. Tradition, its branches, and under-explored theoretical roots. Source: author's own elaboration.

researchers and the practitioners can see in its everyday terminology. Second, the metaphor is drawn to put into perspective that the five categories of tradition suggested in this chapter are carriers of more specific aspects that are attached to them. Tradition as a resource, for example, is a theme which includes various parts such as product and service innovation, business creation, marketing and branding strategy, and so forth. On the figure, this is represented by the 'twigs' through which finer details emerge. Third, the tree metaphor represents that there are other branches that remain unexplored and that the branches that thus far explored are part of the potentially larger area of inquiry. These unexplored areas might still be obscured partly by the limits imposed by the perspective taken by the researchers in studying the phenomenon.

Fourth, the metaphor illustrates that tradition emerges not in a contextual vacuum but as an outcome of various contextual elements.

On the figure, this contextuality is illustrated by the 'soil' on which the tree is embedded. Families, businesses, communities, regions, and nations are among the contexts that give rise to tradition. The fact that the tree is observable should remind future researchers that its observability is made possible through its embeddedness in the soil. Thus, further examination to what constitutes the 'soil' upon which tradition grows may help to explain why tradition manifests in different ways across different family businesses, noting that there is a multiplicity of family businesses around the world. Finally, the tree metaphor is to put into question the common assertion that tradition is the root of family business behaviours, cultures, and strategies. Tradition may be perceived appropriately as the root. However, while asserting that it is the root, the literature has forgotten to acknowledge that there are roots of what is construed as the root. In other words, it is the theoretical roots of tradition that are left largely unexamined. This neglect is what future research should address.

If to seek for the root is to go back in time, then P. Davis and Stern (1988)—published in the very first issue of *Family Business Review*—have hinted towards an important direction. "Traditions," they posit, "have an immediacy and a tangibility through their association with the folklore of the family" (P. Davis & Stern, 1988, pp. 81–82). To take their argument further, one can ask how does tradition then exercise such 'immediacy' and 'tangibility'? Through what means? Perhaps there are clues in this statement. Maybe future research should examine 'folkores' as one of the areas of inquiry. By examining the theoretical roots of tradition, not only to reinforce the foundation of the existing body of literature, but also to inspire future research so that the 'fruits' can enrich other fields of social science.

To conclude, I will end this chapter by offering a stance to take tradition as a *perspective* in family business research. This stance is devised as a response to the restrictions that are imposed by current ways of approaching tradition. To take one example, it has been the case to date that, as a concept, tradition is approached from the lens of innovation. That is, tradition is 'visible' for its utility in innovation. While this angle is fruitful to highlight the potential of tradition as an organisational resource, but it may as well be that this innovation-based perspective on tradition in family business restricts other insights. To overcome this limitation, I propose that a 'tradition theory' is required for tradition to stand on its own right. A new set of vocabulary—less

burdened by the researchers' expectation of tradition to be instrumental for organisational ends—needs to be devised.

There are several potentials in taking tradition as a perspective in family business research. I will outline two of them, which will be explored further in this dissertation. Firstly, tradition connects the different levels of analysis such as the individual-level, the family-level, the organisational-level, the societal-level, the industry-level, as well as the national-level. As Greenhalgh (1994) has demonstrated, by addressing tradition from a discursive point of view and relating it with the contexts through which tradition is produced, modified, and reproduced, research on tradition may illuminate the tensions and contradictions between multiple levels of analysis. Secondly, researching tradition may contribute to the stream of studies that take family business as critical social science (Fletcher, 2014). A critical stance to social science seeks to uncover the basic assumptions of a phenomenon and the concept of tradition can be a point of departure for this inquiry. To examine tradition critically means putting tradition into question not with the pretension to reject or vilify it, but with the spirit of understanding how and why tradition is possible in the first place, as well as how and why they are perpetuated.

Hence, to relate back to the tree metaphor, to take tradition as a perspective for family business research is to attend, appreciate, examine, question, and understand the various aspects that construct the phenomenon of tradition. Accordingly, this perspective comes with a caution: the explanatory power of tradition cannot be fully realised only by showing that it has a role or that tradition is present (or co-present with another phenomenon). More fundamentally, one must take one step forward (or backward) to explain how and why such presence is possible so that the 'branches' can be better understood and the 'fruits' can be enriched. Having examined the family business literature, I found that a stronger theoretical grounding to the notion of tradition is necessary. In the next chapter, I take this task and set out to find the theoretical roots of tradition.

Chapter 3

A Reading of Shils, Giddens, Vansina, Hobsbawm, and MacIntyre: Finding the Theoretical Roots of Tradition

In the previous chapter, I have reviewed the various ways tradition is referred and used in the family business scholarship. Tradition is recursive, and it manifests in multiple forms as a set of assumptions, practice, a means, a barrier, and an end in the family business. In this respect, the primary problem in the family business scholarship is less about the roles of tradition and more about the lack of attention to the definition of tradition itself. In other words, tradition has been taken in the scholarship as ontologically unproblematic. As a result, the general uses of tradition come across as arbitrary and disconnected from the larger scientific discourse such is that in social science.[1] It remains an open question *why* there has been little reflection to the theoretical basis of tradition. This neglect is surprising since a body of knowledge on the properties of tradition exists in other fields such as sociology, history, anthropology, and moral philosophy.

Presented with the above situation, this chapter seeks to de-reify the notion of 'tradition'. In doing so, this chapter aims to bridge the conceptual disconnection between what has been found in family business studies on the one hand and what has been developed and elaborated in other fields of social sciences on the other. This bridge is necessary not only because it will establish a continuity from one field to another, but also because it may strengthen the foundation of family business inquiry where tradition is a fundamental part. The present chapter explores the basic properties that are constitutive of tradition through a reading of five classic works in social science: they are Shils (1981), Giddens (1994), Vansina (1985), Hobsbawm (1983), and MacIntyre (1990, 1981/2007)—authors whose scholarly contributions have been key to the understanding of tradition in society.

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1. With few exceptions such as De Massis et al. (2016) which connects tradition to Shils (1981).

To embark on the reading, I organise the chapter as follows. First, I introduce the reader to Shils (1981) with his global view of tradition. Then I move to Giddens (1994) as he shares a sociological angle with Shils yet presents a more specific view by addressing tradition in the context of modern society. I then move to the field of history and present the works of two scholars: Vansina (1985) with his discussion on oral tradition as history and Hobsbawm (1983) with his view of tradition as 'invented' tradition. Finally, I straddle to the field of moral philosophy and explore the works of MacIntyre (1981/2007, 1990) which are reflective in construing tradition not in its spatial context but as a moral context. At the end, I conclude this chapter by proposing a distillation of these works which will be applied as a preliminary framework for the fieldwork.

3.1   EDWARD SHILS AND TRADITION

Edward Shils sets out an ambitious journey in his book *Tradition* (1981). Tackling tradition at a societal level, the book discusses tradition from back to back. It begins by outlining the various meaning of tradition and then advances to explore tradition as continuity and change from the past. Tradition endures and manifests in the forms of past objects and past practices. As 'objects', tradition is not restricted only to the physical artefacts but also include the non-physical things such as knowledge—religious knowledge, scientific knowledge—and literary texts. Shils also argues for the multiplicity of traditions. Traditions change. Part of the change occurs through factors outside of a tradition, and another part of it occurs through factors inside of a tradition. Shils then concludes his exploration of tradition by pointing out, quite strongly, a 'permanent task' to emancipate tradition in the face of modern doctrine "which treated traditions as the detritus of the forward movement of society" (Shils, 1981, p. 330).

Starting from the most basic feature, Shils defines tradition as "anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present" (p. 12). Tradition is argued to refer to "the identity of transmitted things" (p. 13) that is manifested through the sense of connectedness with what is received from the past. For Shils, to talk about tradition is "to speak of it in terms of generations" and that things handed down require at least "three generations" for them to become a 'proper' tradition (p. 15). By defining tradition as something trans-

mitted, Shils takes the view that tradition is compatible with almost any content. He writes:

> All accomplished patterns of the human mind, all patterns of belief or modes of thinking, all achieved patterns of social relationships, all technical practices, and all physical artefacts or natural objects are susceptible to becoming objects in a process of transmission; each is capable of becoming a tradition. (p. 16)

Tradition is pervasive. It includes "material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions" (p. 12). In terms of practices, it is not the actual concrete actions that are transmitted but the patterns or images of actions which they imply and the beliefs that underpin the reenactment of such patterns. Tradition entails the process of transmission from one generation to another, and this chain of transmission also presents itself as a tradition. He emphasises that tradition is not an active entity capable of producing and reproducing itself—it requires "living, knowing, desiring human beings" to enact, reenact, and modify them (Shils, 1981, pp. 15–16).

Traditions play an important role in the symbolic realm of human actions, where human's creative expression is relatively unconstrained by power and scarcity. "One great painting does not make another painting less great" (p. 162). Despite the freedom of expressing the creative power, however, "traditions of one kind or another in any field of intellectual activity are always sought out" (p. 162). Traditions draw together "minds with similar, strong propensities and they benefit from each other's constructions" (p. 163). In the search for intellectual communion, the visible works of the past allow such minds to find "prototypes of the kinds of actions they wish to perform and of works they wish to create" (p. 163). The 'piety' or 'reverence' towards the past, then, is argued more likely to be pronounced among those whose 'natural environment' is "made up of symbolic constructions symbolic constructions, who are more sensitive to things remote in time as well as in space" (p. 163).

While tradition is omnipresent, "in no society could life be lived entirely under the domination of tradition" (p. 27). Hence tradition embodies "the potentiality to be changed [and] instigates human beings to change it" (p. 213). Tradition may be regarded as self-evidently correct, but a 'critical intelligence' will strive to improve the tradi-

tion by refining it. In scientific traditions, for example, change occurs through 'correction' and 'rationalisation'. Each iteration is a refinement that stems from "a state of satisfaction with much of the tradition" (p. 215). For those who receive a tradition, some 'defects' in the tradition may be perceived immediately on its representation while some others may be seen only after long study by a person who at first did not perceive them. By pointing to the literary and artistic traditions, Shils makes the point that tradition may also be changed not by correction or rationalisation of past works, but by its execution. In this sense, it is not the replacement of works that induces change but the accumulation of a stock of works.

For Shils, correction, rationalisation, and imagination are 'internal' factors that contribute to the change in traditions. Change can also occur due to 'external' factors when "their adherents are brought or enter into the presence of other traditions" (p. 240). In this regard, Shils asserts that it is the economic, political, and military power of the proponents of the alien traditions as well as their apparent convenience, effectiveness, and superior intellectual persuasiveness that make for the change in established traditions (p. 240). By giving examples of the Western antiquity—of the Hellenistic empires, the Greek intellectual traditions, and the Roman Empire—and later the movement of Islam beyond the Arabian locality, Shils shows how traditions are spread, syncretised, and assimilated throughout the globe. Shils then elaborates his discussion on the external factors of change by making a spatial distinction between 'centre' and 'periphery' through which the process of migration—of human movements—occurs. The centre of a society may expand (or contract) "in its influence over its own peripheries" (p. 246). The centre may dominate the periphery by imposing its own institutions such as schools, churches, and "organs for the presentation of the representation and interpretation of the world" (p. 249).

Towards the end of his book, Shils suggests that mankind are inherently inclined towards traditions despite the frequent dissatisfaction towards them. In this sense, there is no end to traditions. In a contemplative passage, he states:

> Tradition have grown and changed; they have become enriched; they have been attenuated. Changing circumstances, changing interests, changing outcomes of conflicts of interests, the unresting power of reason and ima-

gination have all put strains of all sorts upon tradition. They have not themselves escaped from traditions while they were straining traditions. (p. 321)

Shils repeatedly alludes to his preference for the multiplicity of traditions. And he also acknowledges the complexities in taking such stance. To conclude, it is fair to allow Shils himself to state one of the main thrusts of his view on tradition:

> What I would like to emphasise here is that great circumspection should be exercised and that traditions should be taken into account not just as obstacles or inevitable conditions. The renunciation of tradition should be considered as a cost of a new departure; the retention of traditions should be considered as a benefit of a new departure. Not that cost-benefit analysis could ever be applied except very vaguely. I wish to stress that traditions should be considered as constituents of worthwhile life. (p. 330)

In the next reading, I shift gear from the 'grand' tradition theory of Shils (1981) into a more specific tradition theory of Giddens (1994) in the context of reflexive modernity.

3.2 ANTHONY GIDDENS AND POST-TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Anthony Giddens is well-known as a prolific author of social theories. His works have contributed to explain, among many things, the relation between structure and agency (Giddens, 1979, 1986), self-identity (Giddens, 1991), and modernity (Giddens, 1994). In this section, I focus on one of his writings entitled *Living in a Post-Traditional Society* (Giddens, 1994), a chapter in the book *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994).

In *Living in a Post-Traditional Society*, Giddens (1994) seeks to debase the view that tradition has no role in the so-called modern society. "For most of its history," he asserts, "modernity has rebuilt tradition as it has dissolved it" (p. 56). Giddens then proceeds by giving an example of the !Kung San community of the Kalahari desert, where a hunter's kill is 'disparaged' by the group members upon his return. The meat brought in is insulted, and the hunter himself is supposed to show "modesty as regards his skills and to understate his achievement" (p. 61). This exchange is continued to the next day where, upon the return of the hunting party to the village, "the members of the carrying

group loudly comment upon the ineptness of the hunter and their disappointment with him" (p. 61). Giddens takes this example to show the inaccuracy of seeing 'tradition' in 'traditional culture' in terms of its "functional conceptions of solidarity" (p. 61). To understand tradition in this manner is to misleadingly ascribe tradition as "unthinking ritual, necessary to the cohesion of simpler societies." Giddens argues this is not the case. While acknowledging that there is a 'functional angle' to insulting the meat—in a sense that it serves to the sustaining of the !Kung community—the practice of insulting the meat "does not in fact operate in a mechanical way . . . the !Kung are well aware of what is going on" (p. 62). Giddens then asserts that tradition is "about ritual and has connections with social solidarity, but it is not the mechanical following of precepts accepted in an unquestioning way" (p. 62). Giddens' stance is to reject the functionalist view that tradition is exclusively for social cohesion. "There is no necessary connection between repetition and social cohesion at all" (p. 62). Instead, he asserts that the repetitiveness of tradition is something that has to be explained rather than assumed.

For Giddens, repetition means time, and tradition is related to the 'control of time'. In this respect, tradition is:

> an orientation to the past, such that the past has a heavy influence or, more accurately put, is made to have a heavy influence, over the present. Yet clearly, in a certain sense at any rate, tradition is also about the future, since established practices are used as a way of organising future time. The future is shaped without the need to carve it out as a separate territory. Repetition, in a way that needs to be examined, reaches out to return the future to the past, while drawing on the past also to reconstruct the future. (p. 62)

Giddens acknowledges Shils (1981) by conferring that traditions are always changing and enduring. However, he also specifies that traditions are organic: "they develop and mature, or weaken and 'die'" (p. 63), and that the authenticity of a tradition "is more important in defining it as tradition than how long it lasts" (p. 63). He then glimpsed on a conundrum where the 'written tradition' may provide evidence for the long history of a tradition, 'oral tradition' tends to be construed as 'more' traditional.

After presenting the arguments that allude to tradition, Giddens then arrives at the core of the matter:

> I shall undestand 'tradition' in the following way. Tradition, I shall say, is bound up with memory; involves ritual; is connected with what I shall call a *formulaic notion of truth*; has 'guardians'; and, unlike customs, has binding force which has a combined moral and emotional content. (p. 63, emphasis original)

For him, memory is a social process that is irreducible to recall. The past is not preserved but continually reproduced and reconstructed on the basis of the present. As a social process, memory privileges older people as the repository of traditions "because they have the leisure to identify the details of these traditions in interaction with others of their age and teach them to the young" (p. 63). Tradition, he claims further, is "an organising medium of collective memory" (p. 64) whose integrity is derived from the ongoing work of interpretation "to identify the strands which bind present to past" (p. 64).

Tradition and practice are enmeshed in rituals even though rituals also need to be separated from the mundane tasks of daily activities. Rituals have to be interpreted, but its interpretation is "not normally in the hands of the lay individual" (p. 64). It is here that the power of 'guardians' comes to the fore. Guardians retain their legitimacy as 'suppliers' of interpretations given their embeddedness to the local context. Giddens then devises that guardians have full access towards 'formulaic truth', defined there as "an attribution of causal efficacy to rituals" (p. 65). In other words, truth is established not by its propositional contents but by the events caused. The importance of guardians in tradition, then, lies in their interpretative legitimacy of practice and to the extent that "they are believed to be the agents, or the essential mediators, of its causal power" (p. 65).

Giddens sees tradition as contextual in terms of the interconnection between guardians, formulaic truth, and rituals (p. 79). As a result, tradition "always discriminates between 'insider' and 'other', because participation in ritual and acceptance of formulaic truth is the condition for its existence" (p. 79). For those who are 'inside' of (or adhere to) a tradition, it provides 'ontological security' or a sense of safety and correctness. Tradition exerts such power because of the moral and emotional binding that are invested within the interpretative processes where tradition represents not only what 'is' done in society but also what 'should be' done.

As indicated earlier, Giddens understands time is a key element in

tradition. So does space. "Privileged space," he asserts, "is what sustains the differences of traditional beliefs and practices. Tradition is always in some sense rooted in contexts of origin or central places" (p. 80). Places are accorded with sacred qualities as they are believed to be a legitimate origin of a tradition. Boundaries are then drawn through culturally defined space that separates the insiders from the outsiders. Though some traditions are fuzzier in defining the boundaries, those who did not belong in the space defined 'from the start' are more susceptible to be cast as strangers. Thus, tradition is also 'a medium of identity' that confers basic trust (p. 81).

Linking back towards the notion of 'traditional society', Giddens posits that tradition "incorporates power relations and tends to naturalise them" (p. 104) and that

> the world of 'traditional society' is one of traditional *societies*, in which cultural pluralism takes the form of an extraordinary diversity of mores and customs—each of which, however, exists in privileged space. (p. 104)

The post-traditional society is a globalising society. Somewhat similar to Shils' exposition on the syncretism of different traditions, Giddens is alert to the potential clashes between different values in societies. To this end, he points out four possibilities to resolve them: through the embedding of tradition; disengagement from the hostile others; discourse or dialogue; and coercion or violence (p. 105). Giddens argues that traditions "*only persist in so far as they are made available to discursive justification* and are prepared to enter into open dialogue not only with other traditions but with alternative modes of doing things (p. 105, emphasis original)." Gender as tradition is one case in point which has undergone profound structural changes. As a conclusion, Giddens writes that the post-traditional society is an ending but also a beginning. It is a global society where "social bonds have effectively to be *made*, rather than inherited from the past … It is decentred in terms of *authorities*, but recentred in terms of opportunities and dilemmas, because focused upon new forms of interdependence" (p. 107, emphases original).

Both Shils in the previous section and Giddens in this section have shed some light on the sociological angle of tradition. In the next couple of sections, I move to the field of history and introduce the reader to Vansina (1985) and Hobsbawm (1983).

3.3   JAN VANSINA AND ORAL TRADITION

In his book *Oral Traditions as History*, Jan Vansina (1985) discusses in great detail the systematic way to approach, record, and analyse oral traditions. If Shils (1981) dedicates the book to discuss tradition in an extensive and 'encyclopaedic' manner, Vansina (1985) devotes his entire book to explicate the complexities that are attached to oral traditions for the study of history. Drawing primarily from his own fieldwork in the African communities, *Oral Traditions as History* is both conceptual and methodological. The book defines what oral traditions are and discusses the interrelation between the contents (or 'messages') of tradition and the medium through which they are produced and transmitted. Guided by the interest to explore the basic properties of tradition, in this section I will prioritise the reading on his propositions related to 'what oral tradition is' and less on his methodological expositions.

Vansina (1985) begins by pointing out that oral traditions occupy a special place as a historical source. That is, they appear only when they are told. "For fleeting moments they can be heard, but most of the time they dwell only in the minds of people" (p. xi). "They are messages," he continues, "but unwritten; their preservation entrusted to the memories of successive generations of people" (pp. xi–xii). Oral traditions embody two realms of time: they are documents of the present since they are told in the present, and they are also "expressions of *the past* at the same time" (Vansina, 1985, p. xii, emphasis original). Accordingly, traditions "must always be understood as reflecting both past and present in a single breath" (p. xii). Oral tradition is both "a process and its products" (p. 3), and messages become oral traditions as they are "transmitted beyond the generation that gave rise to them" (p. 13).

A crucial part of Vansina's definition of oral traditions is that not all oral sources are oral traditions. Again, he emphasises that "there must be transmission by word of mouth over at least a generation" (p. 28). At the same time, he also warns the reader over some potential misunderstanding of the definition. First, oral traditions do not need to be about the past. In the form of 'news', for example, oral traditions often have 'sensational values' where the main points "do *not* concern the past, but rather the present, and imply a future" (p. 4, emphasis original). Second, oral traditions are not 'just narratives' (p. 28).

Here it is informative that Vansina makes a distinction between 'narrative' as everyday language on the one hand, and 'poetry' and 'epic' as formal speech on the other. Oral traditions are taken to encompass all these categories. Third, this definition of oral tradition is pertinent to the use of historians. Consequently, scholars in other fields may devise their own definition. In sociology, "[it] might well stress common knowledge, [in linguistics,] features that distinguish the language from common dialogue … [and in folklore studies,] features of form and content that define art" (p. 28).

Oral tradition is performed for audiences. "Only performance makes the tradition perceptible and at the same time only a performance is the source of the ensuing text" (p. 34). Through its performance, oral tradition may be recorded—through various means—yet the recording of tradition is not one and the same with the 'live' performance of tradition itself. Details are lost in the record due to the limits imposed by the medium. Vansina further explains that, for most of the time, it is only in memory that oral traditions 'exists'. It is "only now and then are those parts recalled which the needs of the moment require" (p. 147). In this respect, tradition is information remembered that are "distinguished from other more recent information by the conviction that they stemmed from previous generations" (p. 147). In contrast to the written text, the existence of oral traditions implies that there is "a corpus of information in memory wholly different from a corpus of written documents" (p. 148). The corpus of remembered information is collective and "known to a community or to a society in the same way that culture is so defined" (p. 149). In this regard, traditions are "memories of memories … for each rendering they must be presented and they are then encoded again by listeners as well as by performers" (pp. 160–161).

Oral traditions derive its characteristics from the fact that they are messages. From this angle, they are similar to written documents, but they also differ in important ways. From the research point of view, Vansina argues that their status as messages should not be deemed as less important or denigrated. Especially in comparison to written sources. "Writing is a technological miracle," he exclaims (p. 119), "[i]t makes utterances permanent while not losing any of their faithfulness, even though the situation of immediate intimate communication is lost" (p. 199). This is different from oral traditions which are transient and performative. In conclusion, Vansina advocates that oral tra-

dition has a place to play in the reconstruction of the past: "[w]herever oral traditions are extant they remain an indispensable source for reconstruction [which] correct other perspectives just as much as other perspectives correct them" (p. 199).

In the next reading, I complement Vansina's specificities on 'oral' tradition and introduce the reader to Hobsbawm (1983) with his conceptualisation of tradition in the context of modern history.

3.4　ERIC HOBSBAWM AND INVENTED TRADITION

Jan Vansina's contemporary, Eric Hobsbawm (1983), introduces the reader to examine 'the invention of tradition' in the book with the same title (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Edited together with Terrence Ranger, the book is a collective work that examines the invention of tradition in various nations such as Scotland (Hugh Trevor-Roper), Wales (Prys Morgan), England (David Cannadine), India (Bernard S. Cohn), and Africa (Terrence Ranger).

Of particular interest in this dissertation is Hobsbawm's introduction to the concept of 'invented tradition' where he begins with a provocative assertion: "'Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 1). For him, the term 'invented tradition' refers to "both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period … and establishing themselves with great rapidity" (p. 1). More formally, invented tradition is defined as

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (p. 1)

After outlining his definition of tradition, Hobsbawm then proceeds to show how arbitrary the continuity of a tradition is. Among the examples that he gives is "a deliberate choice of a Gothic style for the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the British parliament" (p. 2). In such event, tradition is inserted with reference to the 'historic past'. Yet, for 'invented' traditions such continuity is largely artificial. In other words, invented traditions are "responses to novel situations

which take the form of reference to old situation, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition" (p. 2).

As a set of practices, Hobsbawm argues that tradition is to be differentiated from 'custom' that dominates 'traditional' societies. "Custom," he explains, "is what judges do; 'tradition' (in this instance invented tradition) is the wig, robe, and other formal paraphernalia and ritualised practices surrounding their substantial action" (pp. 2–3). Tradition is also different from convention or routine. Hobsbawm argues that routines are "designed to facilitate readily definable practical operations" (p. 3). They have "no significant ritual or symbolic function as such, though it may acquire it incidentally … and their functions are technical rather than ideological" (p. 3). He further specifies that routine is devised to meet the practical needs, and people who have become emotionally attached to it will resist its change. Indeed, Hobsbawm acknowledges that there is a peculiar relationship between tradition and pragmatic conventions. What is taken as tradition is not necessarily practical, and what is practical cannot immediately replace tradition. In contrast, it is when objects or practices are no longer bound by practical use that they are "liberated for full symbolic and ritual" (p. 3).

For Hobsbawm, the process of inventing traditions is "essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (p. 4). The pasts are not always neatly organised, and they are sometimes disconnected from one to another. To construe them as 'tradition', then, means inventing their continuity by appropriating extant or creating new symbols, images, and practices.

Hobsbawm's view on invented tradition is derived primarily from his observation of the industrial revolution in the Western world, a period when there was a notable break from the past and the start of the 'modern'. 'Invented tradition', then, is used in contradistinction to 'genuine tradition', which is simply defined therein as 'old ways' or 'archaic life'. Referring to the various manifestation of invented traditions such as national flags, national anthems, as well as the annual May Day, three types of invented traditions are proposed:

a) those establishing or symbolising social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimising institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main

purpose was socialisation, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour. (p. 9)

Most pronounced in Hobsbawm's introduction to invented tradition is his critical view on the notion of 'nation' and its derivatives—"nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest" (p. 13). For him, all these notions "rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative, if only because historical novelty implies innovation" (p. 13). Hobsbawm is wary towards the phenomenon of invented tradition particularly at the level of nations, and this wariness is made clear in his call:

> We should not be misled by a curious, but understandable, paradox: modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion. … And just because so much of what subjectively makes up the modern 'nation' consists of such [invented] constructs and is associated with appropriate and, in general, fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as 'national history'), the national phenomenon cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the 'invention of tradition'.

Hobsbawm's view on tradition is thus that tradition—as it is generally known—is neither neutral nor natural. This is indicated by his prudence in the repeated use of quotation marks when the term 'tradition' is invoked. Through the various discursive means—language, customs, practices, folksongs, history—traditions are invented and constructed for novel purposes (p. 6).

This reading of Hobsbawm concludes the historical angle of tradition. In the next section, I present the final reading by examining the works of MacIntyre (1990, 1981/2007) which address tradition as a moral context for virtue.

3.5   ALASDAIR MACINTYRE AND TRADITION AS MORAL CONTEXT

In moral philosophy, Alasdair MacIntyre is one of the prominent scholars to discuss the notion of tradition. In this reading, I pay attention to two of his works. The first is *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (MacIntyre, 1981/2007) where tradition is discussed in the context of virtues and the unity of a human life. The second one is *Three*

Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition
(MacIntyre, 1990) where tradition enters his exposition on moral en-
quiry through the reference of craft. MacIntyre's take on tradition is
a peculiar one compared to others discussed in this chapter. Differ-
ent from other scholars described earlier where tradition is explicitly
and formally defined, MacIntyre very rarely—at least not in a linear
way—established a definition of what tradition is. Instead, his partic-
ular take on tradition always needs to be grasped in the context where
it is used throughout the text.

There are elements in the works of MacIntyre that are related to
tradition although MacIntyre himself sometimes does not make this
explicit. In *After Virtue* (MacIntyre, 1981/2007), he reflectively writes
that

> What I am … is in key parts what I inherit, a specific past that is present
> to some degree in my present. I find myself part of a history and that is
> generally to say, whether I like it or not, whether I recognise it or not, one
> of the bearers of a tradition. (p. 221)

In the passage above, 'what tradition is' is not established but it can
be inferred that tradition is constitutive to 'what I am' as something
which is inherited. He continues:

> … practices always have histories and that at any given moment what a
> practice is depends on a mode of understanding it which has been trans-
> mitted often through many generations. (p. 221)

This time, there is no explicit mentioning of tradition but the reader
can already be grasped, especially after reading other works presented
earlier, that the transmission of things through many generations *is*
tradition. It can then be deduced, in reverse order, that tradition car-
ries with it a mode of understanding practice, which is historically con-
textualised, and manifests in the form of practices.

Traditions never exist "in isolation for larger social traditions" (p.
221). In this respect, MacIntyre criticises the view that construes tradi-
tion as an opposition to reason, and 'the stability of tradition' as an op-
position to conflict. "Both contrasts obfuscate," he argues (p. 221), be-
cause "all reasoning takes place within the context of some traditional
mode of thought" (p. 222). This implies that any opposition that tradi-
tion is thought to be—even 'reason' and 'conflict'—is made possible

through tradition. In other words, it is in tradition that there is a conception of what is good. An example is given:

> So when an institution—a university, say, or a farm, or a hospital—is the bearer of a tradition of practice or practices, its common life will be partly, but in a centrally important way, constituted by a continuous argument as to what a university is and ought to be or what good farming is or what good medicine is. (p. 222)

Consequently, MacIntyre sets forth that tradition embodies "continuities of conflict" (p. 222). For him, this amalgamation liberates tradition from the misleading contradictions thus far has been assumed.

Similar to Giddens, MacIntyre acknowledges that tradition is context-defining, especially in defining what is good. "Within a tradition the pursuit of goods extends through generations, sometimes through many generations" (p. 222). One's search for his or her good is defined by traditions of which his or her life is a part. At this point, MacIntyre introduces the connection between tradition and the notion of 'narrative embedding':

> … the history of a practice in our time is generally and characteristically embedded in and made intelligible in terms of the larger and longer history of the tradition through which the practice in its present form was conveyed to us; the history of each of our own lives is generally and characteristically embedded in and made intelligible in terms of the larger and longer histories of a number of traditions. (p. 222)

As is Giddens, MacIntyre also concurs that traditions "decay, disintegrate and disappear" (p. 221). It is here that he enjoins tradition with moral enquiry: traditions are sustained or weakened by "the exercise or the lack of exercise of the relevant virtues" (p. 223). Traditions are corrupted through the "[l]ack of justice, lack of truthfulness, lack of courage, lack of the relevant intellectual virtues" (p. 223). For him, the future of traditions is inseparable from their past in the sense that an individual cannot exercise virtue without taking the past into account.

Towards the end of *After Virtue*, it becomes more visible that tradition in MacIntyrian sense is 'the tradition of virtues'. Against the background of the modern and post-modern thoughts such as individualism, secularism, and relativism, *After Virtue* is written in as a defence to the concept of tradition and a critique to the separations of life that

are brought forward by modernity—i.e. work from leisure, private life from public. More readily, MacIntyre vindicates:

> the kind understanding of social life which the tradition of the virtues requires, a kind of understanding very different from those dominant in the culture of bureaucratic individualism. Within that culture conceptions of the virtues become marginal and the tradition of the virtues remains central only in the lives of social groups whose existence is on the margins of the central culture. (p. 225)

In *Three Rival Versions* (MacIntyre, 1990), MacIntyre further develops his advocation of tradition as moral enquiry. Therein, tradition is to be understood as one version of moral enquiry that stands in contrast with two others which are 'encyclopaedia' and 'genealogy'. The elaborated meaning of the two is of less interest in this chapter but, in brief, they are both related to the view of reason and its place in the history of philosophy. Encyclopaedia, according to MacIntyre, sees a "unified history of progress" whereas genealogy sees "a unified history of distorting and repressing function" (p. 58). For encyclopaedists, reason is independent from "the particular bonds of any particular moral and religious community" (p. 59), whilst for genealogists, reason is "the unwitting representative of particular interests, masking their drive to power by its false pretension to neutrality and disinterestedness" (p. 59).

Tradition, MacIntyre argues, is at odds with these two versions. Tradition is 'neither neutral nor disinterested' and requires 'membership in a particular type of moral community' (p. 60). As a consequence, tradition is a mode of moral enquiry where "prior commitment is required and the conclusions which emerge as enquiry progresses will of course have been partially and crucially predetermined by the nature of this initial commitment" (p. 60). It is at this point that what MacIntyre has argued in *After Virtue* can be understood:

> Living traditions, just because they continue a not-yet-completed narrative, confront a future whose determinate and determinable character, so far as it possesses any, derives from the past. (*After Virtue*, p. 223)

The future is 'predetermined' by the past through the 'initial commitment' that is necessary for tradition. To show how this is the case, MacIntyre introduces a particular example where commitment is key: the practice of craft.

In *Three Rival Versions*, MacIntyre argues that "to be adequately initiated into a craft is to be adequately initiated into a tradition" (p. 127). Moreover, in any craft, "apprentices … have to learn to apply" (p. 61). He explains further:

> That is, the apprentice has to learn, at first from his or her teachers and then in his or her continuing self-education, how to identify mistakes made by him or herself in applying the acknowledged standards, the standards recognised to be the best available so far in the history of that particular craft. (p. 62)

In a commentary to the *Three Rival Versions*, Porter (2003, p. 60) elucidates that "initiation into a tradition requires certain kinds of relationships … which are particularly apparent when we consider what is involved in becoming proficient in a craft." For MacIntyre argues that, to be proficient in a craft, one has to embody the capacity to discern the difference between 'the good' and 'the best'; between "what seems to me good and what really is good"; and between "what is good and best for me to do here and now" given my particular level of training and learning and "what is good and best as such, unqualifiedly" (p. 62)—characteristics which establish the *telos* of both apprentices and master-craftsmen.

MacIntyre acknowledges that the application of these distinctions—of differentiating between the good and the bad, and between the good and the best—is not fixed once and for all. Differences in the "materials to which [a] craft gives form, differences in the means by which form is imposed upon matter, and differences in the conceptions of the forms to be achieved" both require new ways of distinguishing as well as being the outcome in which these distinctions are applied (p. 127). An apprentice who has embodied a craft will make him or herself part of the history of that craft, and he or she will take part in shaping its future form through the process of learning and transmitting the craft. To this end, there is a direction in a craft, which is the direction towards the *telos*. He asserts:

> The authority of a master within a craft is both more and other than a matter of exemplifying the best standards so far. It is also and most importantly a matter of knowing how to go further and especially how to direct others towards going further, using what can be learned from the tradition afforded by the past to move towards the *telos* of fully perfected work. (p. 65–66)

In the remaining of *Three Rival Versions*, MacIntyre allotted the space to defend tradition vis-à-vis encyclopaedia and genealogy. Again, this debate is of less interest in this chapter and should not diminish the important lessons that emerge from the reading of MacIntyre's works and vindication of tradition. Without the pretension to reduce his philosophical exposition into generic sentences, the concept of tradition for MacIntyre can be crystallised as follows. First, tradition is inherited. It defines what I am and forces the inheritor to be a bearer of a tradition. Second, tradition defines what a practice is through the mode of understanding that is transmitted from one generation to another. Third, tradition entails the pursuit of the goods. Fourth, as a craft, tradition requires initial commitment which will predetermine, to a certain extent, its future. Lastly, the transmission of tradition occurs through the relationship that is established between a master and an apprentice, in the sense that the master is directing others towards the exercise of virtues, and the apprentice is learning to apply virtues.

3.6   TEASING OUT THE THEORETICAL ROOTS OF TRADITION

The purpose of this chapter is to find the theoretical roots to the concept of tradition. In doing so, I have stepped outside of the family business field and performed a reading of classic pieces in the neighbouring disciplines such as sociology, history, and moral philosophy. Through the reading, it is apparent that tradition is a complex phenomenon and the works of the five authors discussed in this chapter provide different yet complementary angles. In general, anything retains the potential to become tradition. Tradition pre-exists its bearers, yet it requires its bearers for it to manifest and change. Tradition is collective, appears through its performance, and lives in the memories of people. Tradition is invented and appropriated with the reference to past histories and practices to convey continuity. Tradition is contextual, controls time, discriminates space, and defines what the 'goods' are. At the crux of it, tradition is about transmission—both the process and its product—from one generation to another.

Based on the works presented in the reading, I propose that the theoretical roots of tradition can be teased out into seven properties. These are: practicity, materiality, spatiality, narrativity, authority, morality, and temporality. To make sense of these properties, I group
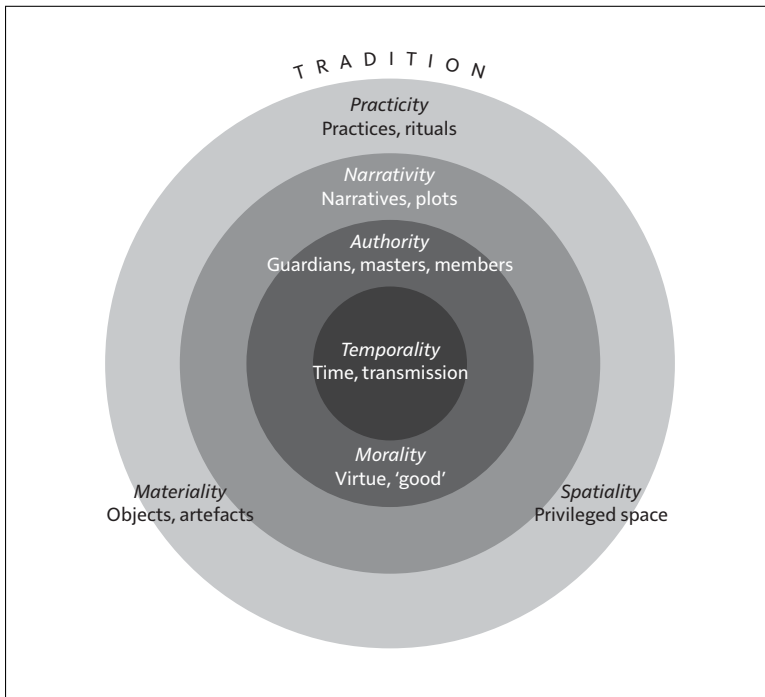
Figure 3.1. Tradition and its constituting properties. Source: author's own elaboration.

and order them in four layers of empirical 'visibility'. That is, practicity, materiality, and spatiality constitute the first layer of tradition as they are more readily visible. Narrativity, in turn, constitutes the second layer which ties together practicity, materiality, and spatiality as narratives. Authority and morality are positioned as the third layer of tradition on the basis that the visibility of the two became identifiable when the narrativity of tradition is appreciated. Finally, there is the property of temporality which represents the core of tradition— invisible but ever-present. Their relative positioning is presented in Figure 3.1. Below, I offer an elaboration.

Practicity refers to the performance and enactment of tradition. Practicity is a property through which actors *produce, utilize, and engage with* other properties such materiality and spatiality. Practicity entails repeated practices and rituals but they are also variably enacted and re-enacted in novel settings and for novel purposes. Through repeti-

tion, tradition is a move forward to the past as well as a return back to the future. Practicity allows tradition to be visible and observable as a manifestation of what would have existed only tacitly.

Materiality refers to the material manifestation and symbolisation of tradition. The materiality of tradition stems from objects and artefacts—in various size and shape—that are presented, displayed, and maintained as a representation of the past. Materiality is weaved with practicity as part of the repertoire, and it is weaved also with spatiality upon which objects are displayed and situated.

Spatiality refers to the spatial property that allows tradition to be located and demarcated. This property discriminates space in the sense that some spaces are more privileged than others. It is through its spatial property that tradition can be said to intersect with other— one can also say 'broader'—tradition. The enmeshment of spatiality with materiality and temporality make the impression of tradition to have its 'origin' both in space and in time.

Narrativity refers to the narrative quality through which tradition is transmitted. Through narrative, actions, events, practices, objects, places, are accorded their legitimacy as tradition, and through plots, other properties of tradition are connected as a coherent whole. The narrativity of tradition is both the product and the process of tradition. It allows not only the production of tradition but also its dispersion in time and space—which can be possessed and passed down within and between individuals, families, communities, and societies.

Authority refers to the power relations that are produced and embedded within a tradition. Through authority, actors are granted their status as 'guardians' when their role is connected to the production and reproduction of 'truth'. The notion of 'origins' in tradition is related to both time and space, but it also relates to actors who guard them. Within authority, there are 'masters' whose roles are connected to the provision of direction to the 'apprentices' in the process of learning the craft.

Morality refers to the ethical endowments that arise from being part of a tradition. The morality of tradition also implies the pursuit of good virtues or a sense of what is right and correct which extends through generations. Central to this property is the meaning of apprenticeship in tradition which is not only about learning and mastering the craft but also about the initiation of commitment and the capacity to discern what is 'good' as the ultimate aim toward which the

tradition is heading.

Lastly, *temporality* refers to the temporal dimension as the fundamental property of tradition. Through temporality, tradition brings together the past and the future in the present. From this property, the notion of tradition obtains its legitimacy in terms of 'generation'. Temporality is a necessary element of tradition, yet temporality alone is not sufficient for things to be considered as tradition. As the fundamental property of tradition, temporality is always embodied in other aspects which are represented here by the six preceding properties.

Note that I use the '-ity' ending as a label of each theoretical root (i.e, practicity, materiality, spatiality, and so forth). This choice is deliberate and preferred for three reasons. First, it is to give more emphasis to the 'properties' of tradition which *include* 'components'. For example, in practicity, the emphasis is in the practice-like qualities which include practices and rituals; in materiality, the objectified qualities which include objects and artefacts. Second, the choice is to allow other yet-to-be-explored components that share a similar property. In practicity, for instance, practices and rituals are the practical components of tradition but they are not exhaustive of other, larger components which share a similar property. Third, the similar ending is to remind the reader that any component of tradition is a set of interconnected properties. As an example, privileged space is a component of spatiality. Yet, embodied within is the narrativity of such space that tells a story about its emergence and transmission from one point in time to another.

3.7 THREE PERSPECTIVES OF FAMILY BUSINESS AS TRADITION

Having traversed to the neighbouring fields, I now return home to the field of family business and reconnect the theoretical roots found in this chapter with the 'tree' image presented in the previous chapter. In Figure 3.2, I present an extended version of Figure 2.1. With its 'roots' explored, the 'tree' is now seen as a set of interconnected systems. The 'roots', derived from the reading in this chapter, give rise to a body of phenomenon called 'tradition'. This body is then connected to many different 'branches' of meaning—some of which are readily visible while some others remain unexplored.

The arrival to a fuller image of the 'tree', however, gives rise to a new set of questions—and this is perhaps where I arrive to the limits
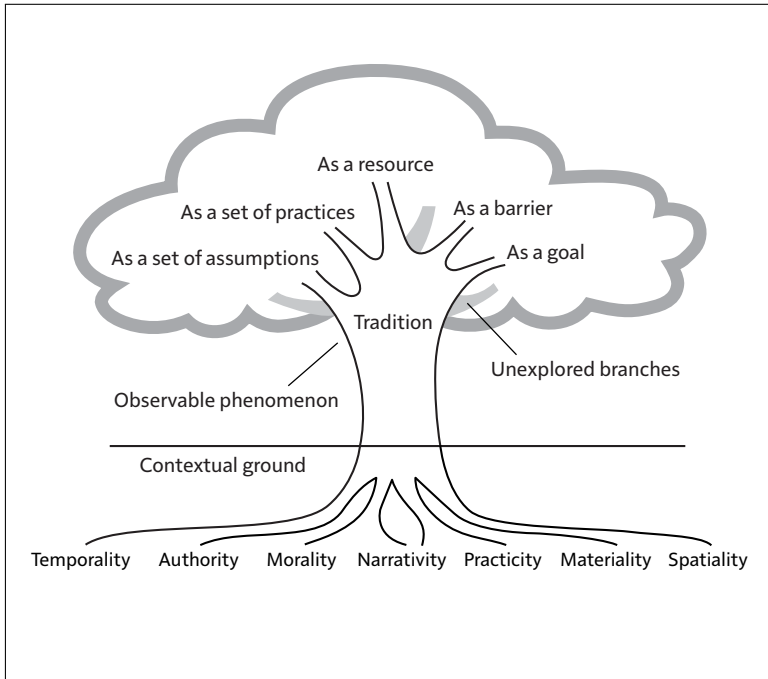
Figure 3.2. Tradition, its branches, and explored theoretical roots. Source: author's own elaboration.

of the tree image as a metaphor. I highlight two of them. First and fundamentally, I claim to be interested in process but process itself is still missing from the 'tree' image. The image offers a snapshot of the parts integrated into a whole but *how* one part makes its appearance to the image remains largely hidden. Second, while time is acknowledged, it also appears to be reduced to one of the roots rather than a generative feature for the movement of the whole body. As a snapshot, the 'tree' image may suggest to the viewer that all the parts appear more or less spontaneously. Of course, this suggestion requires further questioning. Do the parts appear simultaneously? Or is there a sequence in the production and reproduction of tradition? When the research interest is to understand tradition as process, unravelling these questions are inevitable.

As the whole body of the 'tree' is getting more visible, the task now turns to figuring out the *processes* through which the 'tree' grow. To

resolve this problem, I propose that time—as the core meaning of tradition—should transcend from being one of the roots and be the basis to explain the emergence (and change) of tradition. More concretely, I argue that tradition can be distinguished into three facets: (1) tradition as received, (2) tradition as enacted, and (3) tradition as to-be-transmitted.[2] These facets can be taken in either of the two senses: as multiple states of being (i.e. having been, being, and becoming) or multiple temporal perspectives (i.e. past, present, and future). The basic propositions of each facet are presented below:

1. *Tradition as received.* The fact that tradition exists is in itself a testimony that something—stories, identities, practices, objects, beliefs—has been transmitted. At any point in time, tradition pre-exists the people who live in the time. In this sense, tradition is received by the current generation as something that is not of their own making. The current generation has no control over what has happened in the past. Events had happened, conflicts had occurred, objects had been created, and practices had been practised. Yet, when tradition is received, it is not the events, conflicts, objects or practices as such that are received but the *narratives* about them. Even for physical objects whose presence is generally construed as human-independent, they require a narrative about their transmission to be established as tradition. In time, narratives that are produced in one generation are told, re-told, and become history that is received by the current generation as a 'fixed past'. They are fixed in the sense that the narratives are more or less stable. It is here that the current generation can be said to be the 'bearers' of tradition—in any of the forms—quite independently from their own awareness and liking of it.

2. *Tradition as enacted.* The receivedness of tradition is a precondition for actions, but it does not determine the actions of the current generation. The current generation is the bearers of tradition, but this also does not occur mechanistically. The bearing of tradition requires human agency to (re)enact and (re)perform

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2. In proposing this analytical distinction, I am inspired by Archer (1996) where she advocates the notion of 'cultural morphogenetic approach'. In brief, this approach advocates a temporal stratification of structure and agency in such a way that structure and agency do not appear simultaneously (or 'flat') but that one is, recursively, a precondition for another.

it. The living, knowing, and desiring generation allows tradition to sustain and change. Some traditions exist in memories, and they remain imperceptible until they are performed. In this respect, the appearance of tradition depends as much on its enactment and performance as its transmittedness. Repetition is key in the enactment and performance of tradition. To enact and perform tradition is to repeat a tradition. It is through repetition that continuity and change may be introduced. Continuity may also be 'imputed' to what would have been a disconnection from the past. And when continuity is imputed, people invent tradition by making reference to the past. A set of practices, for instance, are performed *as* tradition when their justification is the past. Through enactment and performance, tradition is re-lived, re-experienced, and remembered.

3. *Tradition as to-be-transmitted.* The enactment and re-enactment of tradition simultaneously destabilise and reinforce tradition. Tradition is to be transmitted in the sense that upheld beliefs, modes of understanding, enacted practices, physical objects, and other features of the world retain their potentiality to be transmitted to the next generation. In contrast to the receivedness of tradition where the past is fixed, the to-be-transmittedness of tradition is where the future is uncertain. From this point of view, tradition is fluid since the present generation is engaged in the imagining a narrative that is still to be written. In its to-be-transmittedness, there is a narrative trajectory—a direction—to be taken. The destination of this direction presents itself in many forms including the notion of what is 'good'. To transmit a tradition is to commit to a direction whose future is partially preconditioned by the past.

In this dissertation, I implement the three facets explained earlier as *three perspectives to understand the family business as tradition*.[3] This idea is illustrated in Figure 3.3. In the figure, time is depicted more explicitly as lines that connect the past, the present, and the future. In each line, one part of it is solid while another part is dashed. This is to represent the different temporal emphases of each facet of tradition. To be noted, the three perspectives of family business as tradi-

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3. In using the term 'perspectives', I am influenced by Martin (1992) and her coinage of the 'three perspectives' of culture.
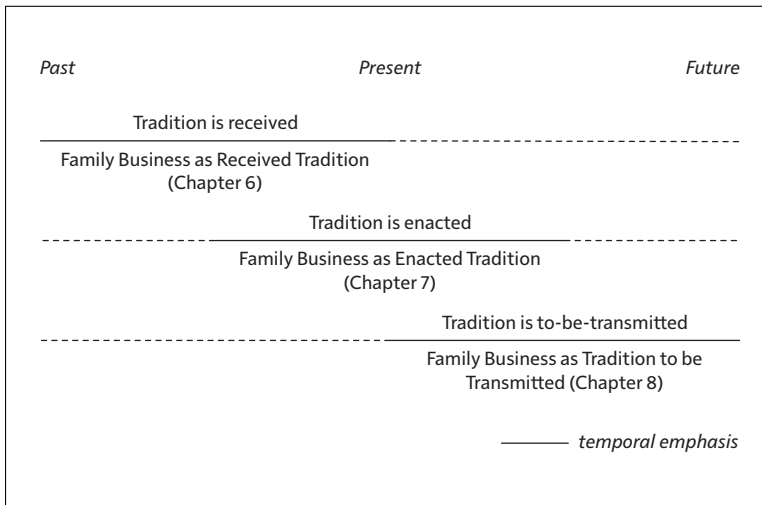
Figure 3.3. Three perspectives of family business as tradition.

tion offered here are not to be taken as separate social realities but as an analytical distinction of a single social reality, i.e. the family business. In other words, it is not that one exists independently from another. Rather, one perspective touches upon another in a different way. This is why the solid line is drawn from past to present (tradition is received), around the present (tradition is enacted), and from present to future (tradition is to-be-transmitted). Respectively, they are reflected in Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8. I present a brief outline of their application in this dissertation below.

In Chapter 6, I set out to understand the family business as a received tradition. From this angle, family businesses are traditions as they are transmitted from the past. They have emerged and developed from a certain point of time in the past, and they are received by the current generation in charge of the business. In Chapter 7, I take the enactedness of tradition to refer to the day-to-day enactment of the family business. To be a family business is to enact a set of beliefs and practices in virtue of its being as a family business. It is from this angle that what is received from the past is negotiated. And it is through this angle also that tension and contention in the family business are elucidated. Then in Chapter 8, I take the to-be-transmittedness of tradition to refer to the possibility and uncertainty that is faced by the fam-

ily business to continue into the future. From this angle, the family business is in the process of becoming tradition—of becoming something to be passed over to the next generation.

The present chapter sets the foundation for this dissertation. The foundation, however rudimentary, has been built to connect the field of family business with other fields where tradition is a key concept. Granted, in my search for the theoretical 'roots' of tradition, they are not exhaustive. There are more works other than, and that emerge from, the works prioritised in this chapter. As Vansina (1985) has argued earlier, in each field there is a particular way in which tradition is applied and understood. More efforts need to be taken to unravel the potential and depth of tradition as a concept for family business studies. This dissertation, as a research journey into tradition in family business, is one attempt to do so.

In the next chapter, I will hold the discussion on tradition and turn to the methodology of the dissertation as a transition point from theory to fieldwork.

Methodology: Philosophical Standpoint, Research Processes, and Analytical Approaches

Before moving ahead, I deem it necessary to prompt a warning. While this dissertation may be *read* as a linear progression from theory to empirics, the process of *practising* research is closer to an oscillation between the two. This contrast between the presentation of research and the practice of research is alluded to in Kaplan (1964/1998) as the difference between 'reconstructed logic' and 'logic-in-use'. A reconstructed logic reconstructs the scientific practice in its idealised and purified form (Kaplan, 1964/1998, pp. 10–11). This dissertation, as a case in point, is reconstructed from its actual practice and restructured in a linear flow: it begins with an introduction (as a general orientation), then followed by theoretical frameworks (as a body of literature that frames the study), methodology, empirical findings (as an output of the inquiry), discussions (as an abstraction of the inquiry), and ends with conclusions (as an outcome of the inquiry). However, as most researchers can attest, the practice of research rarely follow the same trajectory. The path of research is non-linear—if not chaotic. Along the research journey, surprises emerge and disrupt the trajectory. Methods that were chosen should be dropped. Theories that were proposed should be revised and reconsidered.

If research processes are messy, then some questions are pertinent: How can the less orderly be made orderly? How do coincidences turn to become necessities? How is aspiration reconciled with execution? This chapter on methodology serves to disclose these tensions. More deeply, this chapter discusses research methodology as processes that stand at the crossroads of two sets of relationships: between knowledge production and knowledge consumption on the one hand, and between the researcher and the researched on the other. As the first set of relationships, knowledge production and knowledge consumption correspond to the organising nature of research that seeks for

patterns, similarities, consistencies, and principles. In this case, the researcher's role is not invisible. Through involvement in the field, a researcher 'generates' the empirical material.[1] A researcher then 'describes' what that empirical material is at a chosen angle. A researcher then goes further not only to describe but also to 'organise' reality into consumable knowledge. The two are necessary and interdependent: knowledge production without consumption is useless, knowledge consumption without production is empty. The second set of relationships is the relation between the researcher and the researched. Here also, the researcher is not detached from what is researched. The researcher is a curious, often naive, actor who is immersed with a certain phenomenon. A researcher brings along pre-conceptions to the researched and the very contact between the researcher and the researched shape further conceptions. Access and trust are continuously negotiated and what is negotiated affects the subsequent steps in the research.

As a methodological reflection, this chapter renders the presence of the researcher explicit. Choices that are made along the research journey—including the 'whys' and the 'hows'—are given a more centre stage in the reflection. In Figure 4.1, I illustrate the blueprint of the methodology utilised in this dissertation. The blueprint is comprised of four parts, and each will be discussed respectively in this chapter. The first part is the underlying ontology (the nature of reality) of the social reality as process. In this first part, I will elaborate on the choice to see the complex nature of social reality as 'open systems' whose future is 'unknowable'. The second part is the epistemology (the way reality is known) of the dissertation. In this respect, I chose ethnography as a stance of research engagement to generate the empirical material. In discussing ethnography, I also take a wider meaning of ethnography as a stance of engagement with theory, fieldwork, and writing. Next, the third part is the processes of generating the empirical ma-

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1. I favour the use of the term 'empirical material' rather than 'data' to accord with the qualitative tradition and at the same time to distinguish it from the quantitative tradition. As Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 5) point out in reference to Becker (1998, p. 2), a qualitative researcher is a "maker of quilts" who "uses the aesthetic and material tools of his or her craft, deploying whatever strategies, methods and empirical materials are at hand." In my view, the analogy of researchers as craftsmen are insightful. To produce a craft (research, thesis, report, etc.), a qualitative researcher fashions the material at hand through the help of various tools. Every material is unique and the tools that are applied to the material result in the transformation of material into a usable, appreciable, and consumable knowledge.
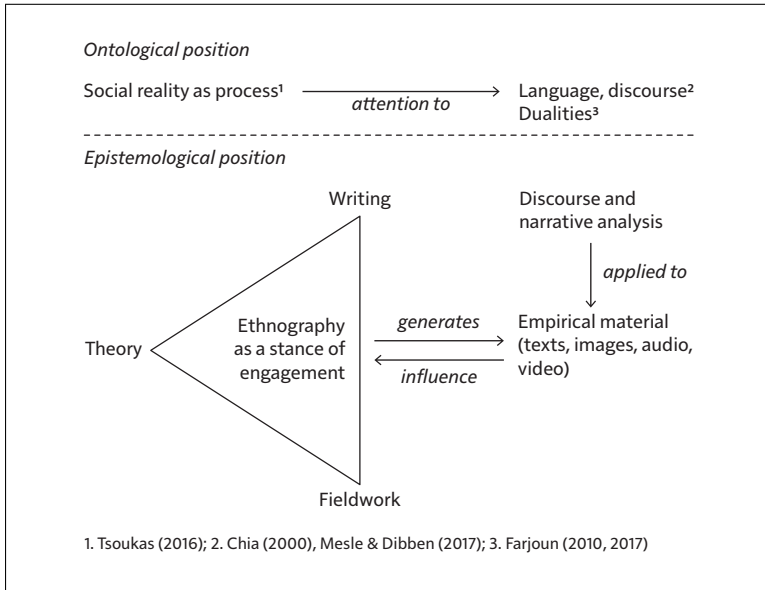
Figure 4.1. Methodological blueprint of the dissertation.

terial and how the generation of the empirical material influence the direction of the study. In particular, I disclose the processes of getting access into the field, navigating the field, and writing the research. Finally, the fourth part is the use of discourse and narrative approaches to analyse the empirical material. Collected as texts, images, audio, and video, the empirical material are forms of discourses and narratives which represent the social reality. In this part, I will discuss the analytical processes which underpin Chapter 5 to Chapter 8.

4.1 SOCIAL REALITY AS A PROCESS OF BECOMING

Science is a social activity to inquire into reality (Bhaskar, 2000). Defined in this way, any scientific inquiry is immediately faced with two fundamental questions: (1) What kind of reality does one seek to examine? And (2) What kind of activities does one undertake to examine it? The first question is ontology, the second is epistemology. The question of 'what is reality' is possibly one of the oldest questions recorded in the human history. Philosophers—from the ancient to the modern, from the West to the East—have devoted their thoughts to

address this peculiar question. 'Reality', Heidegger (1962/2008) posits, is something that human beings have an average grasp on but in which they struggle, philosophically, upon deeper examination. Reality is blatantly self-evident yet eternally elusive, banal yet irreducibly profound.

The history of science has recorded that there are many ways to define reality. For the purpose of discussion here, specific attention is given to the ontological distinction between closed systems (or closed world) and open systems (or open world). Simply defined, closed systems are systems "in which all the components of the system are established independently and are known to be correct" (Oreskes, Shrader-Frechette & Belitz, 1994, p. 642). It is also called as a 'predictable machine' with regularities where, its input, output, and function are unambiguously defined (von Foerster, 1984). Open systems, in contrast, are systems "in which the operative processes are incompletely understood" (Oreskes et al., 1994). In other words, open systems are unpredictable in a sense that the components in the systems are interdependent and never fully known. In this light, scholars have pointed out the resemblance of social realities with open systems where there are no invariant empirical regularities (Bhaskar, 1998). From a sociological point of view, Archer (1998, p. 190) puts it another way by stressing that, in societies, there are "*intrinsic* sources of openness, which ontologically preclude closure" (emphasis original). Archer's argument is echoed in Tsoukas (2016) where he speaks of the non-closedness of the world in term of 'open-world ontology'. An open-world ontology assumes that the world is "always in a process of becoming, of turning to something different. … The future is open, unknowable in principle, and it always holds the possibility of nontrivial surprise" (Tsoukas, 2016, p. 17).

Complexity, unpredictability, and a state of becoming something else are among the hallmarks of process ontology (Chia, 2002; Langley & Tsoukas, 2017; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Chia (2002) eloquently puts it that a process view takes the stance to understand flux as reality, and organisations are understood as 'temporarily stabilised event-clusters'. Change is immanent in organisation (Chia, 2002; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Organisation, therefore, is "not a thing but a generic social technology for arresting, fixing, stabilising and regularising what would otherwise be a wild, amorphous, and hence unlivable world" (Chia, 2002, p. 867). The implications of a process ontology

are counter-intuitive for those who are not familiar with the world-view. "It is thus organisation that is the exception, and hence that is what requires analysis and explanation, not change" (Chia, 2002, p. 866). A process ontology understands organisation as a 'world-making' activity where people creatively participate in the social construction of reality from flux into events, things, and situations (Chia, 2002).

The immanence of change on the one hand and the stabilising tendency of organisation on the other shed light to language as one of the inevitable aspects of the construction of social reality. Language, or discourse, plays a role in "differentiating, fixing, naming, labelling, classifying and relating" of lived experience (Chia, 2000, p. 513). These discursive processes construct a 'livable world' for people to act upon them. Language is a recurring issue not only in the ways it shapes the social reality but also in the operation of process philosophy itself. In their introduction to Alfred North Whitehead's process philosophy, Mesle and Dibben (2017) use the English language as an example to show how language is fundamentally "oriented around 'substance' thinking rather than process thinking" (Mesle & Dibben, 2017, p. 29). They explain:

> Consider the phrase, *the wind blows*. Martha Feldman shared this marvellous example at the 6th International PROS Symposium. What is the wind but the blowing? Yet, English treats wind as a static, unchanging thing existing apart from the processes that we all know constitute it. (p. 30)

Substance thinking—the general assumptions of an enduring self as separate from the processes that constitute it—has contributed to the advancement of modern science. This term of thinking has facilitated human beings to make reality more 'graspable'. Under substance thinking, reality is freezable, examinable, manipulable, and exchangeable, all which obscures the fact that reality is continuously moving and becoming something else. In 'the wind blows', to take the example above, the wind is construed as a stable subject that is ready to perform a verb that is attached to it, the blowing. However, this subject-verb separation forgets that it is the movement of the wind that constitutes the wind. As we can see, even to explain it in this way assumes the very separability between the wind and its movement—although they are philosophically enmeshed into one reality! This is then why the simpli-

fications that are entailed in the use of language have left us "trapped, boxed in, thinking, and speaking in categories and grammar shaped by a long history of substance philosophy" (Mesle & Dibben, 2017, p. 30). The problem of language is one philosophical issue discussed by Whitehead and this is also a recurrent problem for other process philosophers such as Henri Bergson (Muldoon, 2006) and Gilles Deleuze (Lecercle, 2002). Besides language, there are other issues in process philosophy which are not the focus of the present chapter such as 'experience', 'heterogeneity', and 'temporality' (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017, pp. 4–6).

Tsoukas (2016) aptly puts it that a complex world requires complex theorising. In this regard, he concludes, the aim of social science is not to predict the world but to explain and remind agents of what they already do and may do. Process philosophy (or ontology, or perspective) is one way to embark on this journey to explain complexity. This is also the path that is taken in this dissertation—the path where the complex and continuously changing nature of reality is appreciated, not bypassed, by choosing ethnography as a stance of research engagement.

4.2   ETHNOGRAPHY AS A STANCE OF RESEARCH ENGAGEMENT

The word ethnography typically evokes an image of a researcher with a notepad in hand who stays in a remote place with indigenous people to write about their culture. While this has been the tradition in cultural anthropology, ethnography can take many forms in different fields. Ethnography may be performed single-sited or multi-sited (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Marcus, 1995) and carried out through several visits to the site up to many years of living in the site (Rist, 1980). Ethnographic studies can be more practically-oriented such as in product design and development (Jordan, 2013; Wasson, 2000) or more critically-oriented with a primary interest in social justice (Madison, 2012; J. Thomas, 1993). Then there are different settings of study that range from, among others, community ethnography (Newman, 1997), organisational and workplace ethnography (Zickar & Carter, 2010), to 'netnography' which studies online communities (Kozinets, 2010). In the field of organisation and management studies, exemplars of ethnographic studies exists such as Henry Mintzberg's study on managerial work (Mintzberg, 1973), John Van

Maanen's study on a police organisation (Van Maanen, 1975), Sylvia Junko Yanagisako's study on family firms in the silk industry (Yanagisako, 2002), and Gideon Kunda's and Joanne Martin's study on an American high-tech company (Kunda, 2006; Martin, 1992).

Along with the multiplicity of ethnographic studies, ethnography is defined in many ways. Formally, ethnography is "a holistic outlook in research to gain a comprehensive and complete picture about a culture or a social group" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 18). It is "a methodology; an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing experience, culture, society and material and sensory environments" (Pink, 2013, p. 34). Ethnography is also understood as

> a style of social science writing which draws upon the writer's close observation of and involvement with people in a particular social setting and relates the words spoken and the practices observed or experienced to the overall cultural framework within which they occurred. (Watson, 2010, pp. 205–206)

Doing ethnography calls for a degree of reflexivity which "recognises the centrality of the subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge" (Pink, 2013, p. 35). This recognition of the researcher in the production of knowledge is discussed in Van Maanen (2011) with a focus on the 'authorial voice' of ethnography. At its minimum, he explains, the writing of ethnographic research must include:

> (1) the assumed relationship between culture and behaviour (the observed); (2) the experiences of the fieldworker (the observer); (3) the representational style selected to join the observer and the observed (the tale); and (4) the role of the reader engaged in the active reconstruction of the tale (the audience). (Van Maanen, 2011, p. xv)

Van Maanen (2011) then distinguishes between three styles (or 'tales' as he terms it) of ethnographic writing based on how the author 'appears' in the text: realist tales, confessional tales, and impressionist tales. A realist account of culture is the most familiar and common form of ethnographic writing. A realist tale is narrated in a "dispassionate, third-person voice" and results in "an author-proclaimed description and something of an explanation for certain specific, bounded, observed (or nearly observed) cultural practices" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 45). A confessional tale, on the other hand,

is characterised by its highly personalised style and results in "an attempt to explicitly demystify fieldwork or participant-observation by showing how the technique is practiced in the field" (p. 74). In a confessional form of ethnographic writing fieldworkers are "somewhat nervous about the looseness and open-ended nature of their work". Worries and discomfort are apparent in the tensions of presenting fieldwork as something "more than personal document" but "not fully safe for science". Then there are impressionist tales whose characteristics are the use of "words, metaphors, phrasings, imagery, and most critically, the expansive recall of fieldwork experience." These elements, told in the first person, results in "a tightly focused, vibrant, exact, but necessarily imaginative rendering of fieldwork." Put side by side, it is tempting to think of the three styles as evolutionary, yet Van Mannen asserts that each of these styles still has their place in social science and that there are other kinds of tales beyond the three.

There have been several movements to distinguishing a 'special kind' of ethnography. One variant of interest here is a version that Matthew Desmond (2014) calls 'relational ethnography'. Drawing from his own ethnographies and others', he emphasises relational ethnography as the shifts to study "fields rather than places, boundaries rather than bounded groups, processes rather than processed people and cultural conflict rather than group culture" (Desmond, 2014, p. 549). In particular, relational ethnography takes as its objects of analysis

> neither a bounded group defined by members' shared social attributes nor a location delimited by the boundaries of a particular neighbourhood or the walls of an organization but rather processes involving configurations of relations among different actors or institutions. (Desmond, 2014, p. 547)

By taking "processes themselves as the fundamental units of analysis" (p. 565), relational ethnography is not, he argues, driven by "the logic of comparison, as is the multisited ethnography of sociology," its aim is not "to understand if a certain group or community is peculiar vis-à-vis their counterparts in other contexts" (p. 554). Rather, relational ethnography is "designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions [that come to support] the argument of the ethnography (Marcus, 1998, p. 90)" (Desmond, 2014, p. 554). These elements imply that the 'relationality' in relational ethnography necessitates at least

two different actors that occupy different positions within the social space and are tied together in a "relationship of mutual dependence or struggle" (Desmond, 2014, p. 554).

Desmond's ethnographic approach has drawn some criticisms, most recently by Michael Burawoy (2017). Through a close reading of Desmond's two ethnographic works (see Desmond, 2007, 2016), Burawoy (2017) highlights the inconsistencies between what is claimed in Desmond's 'relational ethnography manifesto' and Desmond's actual practice of ethnography . One of the points that Burawoy raises is the critique that Desmond's relational turn "is anything but novel … Ethnography is always relational whether those relations are discovered empirically to produce "theory" tabula rasa or whether relations are constructed theoretically before they are explored empirically" (Burawoy, 2017, p. 266). For Burawoy, Desmond's rejection of both prior theory and case comparison inhibit the examination of various relations instead of rendering them visible. As a result, the wider forces that make the relations possible are neglected. Burawoy then advocates the distinction between two types of relational ethnography, empiricist transactional ethnography—the one that Desmond uses—and an analytical structural ethnography—the one that Burawoy himself endorses—that relies on prior theory and comparative logic. The former uses grounded theory as a source of theory, and the latter uses what he calls Extended Case Method or 'reflexive ethnography' (Burawoy, 1998, 2009).

Arguably, the debate between Desmond and Burawoy is a tip of the iceberg of the complexities that are involved in doing ethnography. Underneath their argumentations are the contention between transactional ethnography, structural ethnography, and substantialist ethnography—a debate which are long-standing and not of the main interest in this dissertation. Without belabouring into the fine details of the debate, I take some learning from the debate and construe ethnography more generally as a stance of research engagement in three senses: engagement with fieldwork, engagement with theory, and engagement with writing. The first stance corresponds to the idea of relational ethnography, the second stance incorporates the argument on the use of prior theory, while the last stance corresponds to the authorial voice in which the fieldwork is written.

As a stance of engagement with fieldwork, I am mainly influenced by two ethnographers, namely Desmond (2014) with his interests in

processes, relationality, and the field, and Pink (2013) with her visual ethnography approach. By visiting different actors in the same field, i.e. the field of tourism and hospitality industry, I aim to reveal the relations between the family and the business, between the business and the industry, and between the family business and the country. As a stance of engagement with the field, ethnography is also taken in this study to mean that the researcher is positioned as part of the field itself, even though the researcher occupies a different position than the object of the study. In-depth semi-structured interview is used as the main tool to generate the empirical material and, following Pink (2013), this is combined with visual methods to 'capture' the nuance of the field and to evoke contextualised responses by the informants. Following Watson (2010), this dissertation strives to be reflexive by acknowledging the position of the researcher for the interpretation and production of knowledge in the field's cultural context.

As a stance of engagement with theory, I take ethnography as both a research process to generate theory and a research process which is guided by theory. In the early stage, I carried out fieldwork with loosely defined theory and was preoccupied more with getting into the field of family business. While this has generated some theoretical themes, the result was a broad assortment of cases which are difficult to synthesise. In the later stage, one theme that became central (tradition) was worked on backwards. That is, as soon as I sensed the strong presence of 'tradition' in the empirical material, I began to seek for its theoretical foundation. From this point onwards, subsequent fieldwork was performed through acknowledgement of prior theory. In other words, theory is used as a foundation for the selection of an object of analysis (in this case, family-run *hotels*) and fieldwork is conducted to amend or improve prior theory (Burawoy, 1998). In this dissertation, the working theory on tradition sets the justification for the selection of fieldwork. Although the process is not linear and straightforward, I chose to focus on the hospitality industry because this industry infuses together property ownership, human services, and crafts—elements which are representative of tradition.

Lastly, as a stance of engagement with writing, I employ a combination of the three forms of ethnographic writing as delineated in Van Maanen (2011). Leaning towards confessional tales, I openly disclose my hesitation, discomfort, and worry during the fieldwork. Throughout the dissertation, the reader will discover my naivety as well as how

unintended happenings come to 'make sense' as I proceeded further in the journey. Later in the analysis chapters, I also gravitate towards impressionist tales by telling stories, metaphors, and imageries. Inspired by Pink (2013), I use imagery as a medium and to present to the reader how space and objects are imbued with significance as tradition.

In the following section, I move to discuss the processes during fieldwork. The section starts with a confessional account of getting into the field and followed by a discussion on how the fieldwork is made sense as a process to experience strangeness. At the end of the fieldwork discussion, I show the changes of the research direction that this dissertation had undergone.

4.3   FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH PROCESS

4.3.1   *Entering the field*

On Wednesday evening of February 4, 2015, I received an e-mail that marks the start of the fieldwork:

> Thank you very much for your interest. I would like to inform you that only companies can join the Paperjam Club. As a student, we have the pleasure to propose you exceptionally to register to the event as our guest.

This e-mail is a response to my request to attend an event organised by Paperjam, a Luxembourgish business magazine. The title of the event was "10×6 Family Business: From Generation to Generation." It was a business-exclusive event where ten speakers talked for about six minutes on a chosen theme (hence ten times six). This time, the theme corresponds to the magazine's special issue on family business succession that was published two years earlier. It was a privilege to be allowed to attend the event without being a business member of the club.

A month later, on the afternoon of March 18, I was hand-cutting a bundle of leaflets. The leaflets were a bunch of A5-sized research proposals that I planned to distribute during the Paperjam event in the evening. When I arrived at the venue, however, I had to reconsider the plan. To my estimate, there were about one hundred people in the building. This number was way more than the leaflets that I had prepared—only around 20 or 25. I was about to give the leaflets away randomly to some guests but then I abandoned the idea. Why would I

give it to some but not to others? How could I know if a person was the right one to receive? I second-guessed, perhaps, as I thought that such move would seem to be a sporadic attempt and ineffective. Also, I did not know how many of them were family business owners. My initial plan did not work out; I had to find another way to get myself noticed.

As I went to the front desk to register my attendance, the receptionist gave me a badge with my details written on it: *Rocky Adiguna, University of Luxembourg*. With the badge on my chest, I felt lonely yet excited. I was coming as a non-business participant, yet I could not suppress the enthusiasm of sitting together with family business practitioners. I proceeded to the darkened main hall and sat down in the middle row. Notes and recorder were in hand, and the talk started shortly afterwards. Eight speakers presented the stories of their family business. Two speakers, one from Banque Degroof and one from PricewaterhouseCoopers, presented their advice on the importance of corporate governance and family communication. The presentations were spoken mostly in French; one presentation was spoken in English. I took notes on any messages I could comprehend with my limited French.

I recomposed my posture as the talk was about to end. There was a round of applause when the session ended. However, it was not until the people rose up that I realised that there was no interactive session. Again, I had to adjust my expectation. I was planning to raise a couple of questions for a double purpose: to elicit some information from the talk, and—perhaps more primarily—to get myself noticed in the room. Then it dawned on me as to why there was a 'networking dinner' in the agenda. The whole purpose of this event was to interact *after* the talk. The absence of an interactive session means that I had to approach these people directly. I fretted. Making a cold salesman pitch is a kind of encounter I dreaded the most.

As the guests moved from the main hall to the reception hall, I was strategising how should I approach my targets. I was scanning around the room to find any speakers who seemed to be approachable. Some speakers remained in the main hall but they were occupied. I stayed in the main hall to wait and then walked to the dining area. I was standing alone, disconnected amid this so-called 'networking' dinner. I picked some finger foods and straddled from one corner to another with eyes vying for vacant speakers or speakers who appeared to end their conversation.

Finally, the moment came—a brief 'in-between moment' right after a dialogue was adjourned and before another interaction started. In that narrow time window, I slipped in and halted the trajectory of the person that I had been following. I introduced myself. He stopped and listened. Despite my wavering voice, he seemed to take me seriously and escorted me towards the entrance door at the perimeter of the dining hall. "It's too loud!" said he, referring to the noisy dining hall. It was still noisy at this spot, but we did not need to force power to our voice. I took this as a token of respect from him. I repeated my introduction and presented my intention of approaching him. His manner was elegant yet down-to-earth. Without hesitation, he shared his e-mail address and offered me to make an appointment to talk more about my research project. His name is Mr Carlo Cravat, the fourth-generation manager of Grand Hotel Cravat, a hotel in the centre of Luxembourg. That evening was the moment I entered into the Luxembourgish family businesses.

4.3.2   *Fieldwork as a process to experience strangeness*

In entering into a new 'culture', ethnographers often speak about the notion of *strangers*—both when the ethnographers are living with strangers and when the ethnographers are strangers to the group of people (Geertz, 1973). In my experience, doing fieldwork was to experience the different sides of strangeness. My status as a student, for example, gave me the privilege to attend the Paperjam event. However, as an American-born, Indonesian-origin student who performed a study in Luxembourg, I also feel as if I am a stranger trying to study something that is not of 'my world'. Luxembourg is a trilingual country that speaks French, German, and Luxembourgish. Street signs, instructions, and official documents are mostly written in French. German is well-spoken by native Luxembourgers. Luxembourgish, or *Lëtzebuergesch*, has many similarities to German and most likely to be heard in Luxembourg's public and governmental offices such as public schools, municipality centres (Bierger-Center), and public transports (bus drivers, train conductors). Then there is a widely spoken yet unofficial language of Portuguese in some parts of Luxembourg. If to be part of the world is to speak its language(s), then Luxembourg is not of my world in a sense that I did not speak any of these languages. At some occasions, not speaking the language means having a limited

verbal expression and being left out in conversations.

Fortunately, Luxembourg is open towards English though not everyone is comfortable in using it. The language sets me apart as a stranger, but I also become 'at home' through it. English is used as a lingua franca in many institutions including the University of Luxembourg. Shopkeepers, bartenders, waitresses, butchers, and hairdressers are willing to speak in English. I speak to my son in English. These daily uses of English provided me with a sense of acceptance and belonging. Although, there was a moment when I took my son to a nearby café and I, perhaps due to my posture and appearance, was mistaken as a refugee by a senior citizen.

To be a stranger is to let in and tolerate some prejudices. "Who am I to study something that is so different from me?" is one of the questions that arises whenever my request for a talk or an interview is not responded to. I am not one of 'them' in any cultural sense except being a curious human. With no shared history, I am a stranger to them as they are strangers to me. Many ethnographic studies leverage on the cultural similarities that the ethnographers have with the context of study (community, location, language) and it is equally tempting to blame the barrier of access to anything that one does not possess. But along with the difficulties, there are privileges of *not* being one of 'them'. Being a stranger means being able to see what is, for them, less strange. Some of the mundane such as the uses of honorific, the customs, and the gestures of the body are among the practices that are normalised by people who have been long in the culture. To be a stranger is to be forgiven for the naivety of asking questions and the clumsy choice of words. To be a stranger is to let others know about my history, where I come from, what my origin is, and what my purpose in being here is. In other words, to be a stranger is a reciprocal process: to see and be seen, to tolerate and be tolerated, to know and be known.

Retrospectively, I see the first year of my study in Luxembourg as a sense-making period of being a stranger to the culture. Nonetheless, I enjoyed being a stranger as I found it inspiring to read how often a culture is studied by a person who has no cultural connection to the country being studied. To mention a few, Clifford Geertz is an American who studied Balinese cock-fighting in Indonesia, Claude Lévi-Strauss is a French who studied Japanese culture, and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako is a Japanese American who studied culture in Italian family businesses. Once an outsider of a culture, they could articulate what was

largely tacit and unproblematic. Their contrasts bring forth insights. As a stranger, I found these strands of work comforting.

To carry out a fieldwork on family business is to peel through the layers that surround it. Language, as I have mentioned earlier, is part of the cultural layer at the national/societal level. Beneath it is the industry-level and firm-level layers. With so many family businesses operate in every industry, it can be daunting to choose which one to focus on. Imagine that you are a newcomer in the country and just arrived at Luxembourg's Findel airport. You take public transport to go to the city centre, and you would most likely see Sales-Lentz (founded in 1948) or Emile Weber (founded in 1875) operating the buses. You get off in the city centre 30 minutes later, and you can go for a coffee and some pastries in Oberweis (founded in 1964) or, if you prefer a smaller and homier space, Café Knopes (founded in 1936). Then you are in the mood for browsing some books, and you can walk to Ernster bookstore (founded in 1889) located very close to the Grand Ducal Palace. It is time for lunch and your appetite calls for French cuisine, then you can go to Café Français (established in 1920s) in one of the squares. Or maybe you would rather have a salad, then you would probably see Moutarderie de Luxembourg (founded in 1922) among the selection of dressings. You need to buy some groceries, then Cactus supermarkets (founded in 1900) are within reach across the city. You take another bus for sightseeing, then you would see, in almost every corner of Luxembourg-city, many construction sites operated by family-owned construction companies such as Perrard (founded in 1900), Reckinger (founded in 1911), and Constantini (founded in 1975). The sky gets darker and you need a place to stay in the city centre. Then you can choose between the simple and modern-looking Hotel Simoncini (founded in 2008) in the city square or the historical and vintage-style Grand Hotel Cravat (founded in 1895) just across the iconic Golden Lady monument. These are among the multitude family-owned businesses that one may encounter during a day's trip in Luxembourg.

The heterogeneity of family businesses can be disorienting as well. My first contact with the family-manager of Grand Hotel Cravat was followed by a couple of appointments: one with the family-manager of a car dealership and one with the family-owner of a book retailer. While it is valid that they are all family businesses, family businesses are always nested in a particular industry (or multiple industries). In

addition, each family business has its contour of problems, and each industry also engenders its own narratives. For instance, the hotel in the hospitality industry is faced with the challenge to regain the occupancy rate after the 2008 financial crisis. The car dealer in the dealership industry was less concerned about industry dynamics and more focused on consolidating the governance of the group after the death of the founders. The book retailer in the bookselling industry is faced with the issue of having a small number of players and the looming threats of the national market from online retailers (such as Amazon) and other big brick-and-mortar retailers from France and Germany. In my contact with the owners of a winemaking company and an insurance agency, the family is still an important topic, but each business was also very different one to the other. One relies on land, production, distribution, and marketing while the other is dependent on services, laws, regulations, and insurance companies. The family has a different contour of attachment towards the business in each industry.

A more delicate layer than the industry- and/or firm-level layer is the family-level layer. The central influence of the family in the business is well-known in family business research (Chua et al., 1999; Klein, Astrachan & Smyrnios, 2005; Lansberg & Astrachan, 1994), and it remains a challenge to examine the 'interior' of the family in the business. The family layer is delicate since to inquire into it is to touch upon sensitive issues such as ownership distribution, the involvement of family members, family relations, family history, and succession. Emotions are a prominent theme as well since hope, fear, joy, and anger are enmeshed in the stories that people tell about the family. During the fieldwork, I found it best to tap into the family dimension by asking the family member to tell stories about the family business. Stories about the founding of the business, for example, are often revered as a humble yet epic beginning of the family's journey. Stories about business successions evoke tensions and negotiation between older and younger generations. It is also worth noting that the subtle issues are not only about what and how family stories are told. How the researcher listens to stories is also part of the delicacy. Stories, with all their subjectivities, need to be appreciated as truth. Stories that are produced and narrated by people are not less true than stories produced elsewhere—they are social facts that are produced and reproduced. In fact, it is by telling and listening to histories that a stranger may become less of a stranger.

Table 4.1. Sources for the generation of empirical material.

Enterprise	No. of visits	Period of observation	Secondary data sources[1]
Grand Hotel Cravat	7	March 2015 to September 2016	Company website Recorded presentation (duration 6:38) Magazine and newspaper articles TripAdvisor website
Hotel Français Hotel Simoncini Galerie Simoncini	9 2 1	September 2017 to February 2018	Company websites Available transcripts Magazine and newspaper articles
Hotel Empire	3	September 2017 to February 2018	Company website Owner's personal archives
Hotel de la Sûre	1	September 2017	Company website Company marketing materials (brochures, pamphlets) Newspaper articles and TV channels
Château d'Urspelt	2	September 2017	YouTube clips Company website Company videos Magazine and newspaper articles TripAdvisor website

1. Selected sources are reported in the reference list.

Fieldwork is a continuous negotiation of presence in the field. Within it lies a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched. As it occurred to me, the field was a host for my presence and I was a guest to its pre-existence. As a guest, my presence was temporary and always at the mercy of the hosts. The hosts retain the power to let me in and, at any time, they have the right to cut me off. Trust was built through every interaction even though every interaction does not guarantee further trust. From a transactional point of view, I did not have anything practical to offer. I was there only to learn and listen. But this was also a privilege. As a student, I was seen as harmless. They felt safe, or so I felt it, in sharing their thoughts. It was a privilege to have experienced being in an ambivalent position when I was expressly told not to include a particular piece of information that had just been given. To be in the know, but not able to share what is known. In Table 4.1 and Table 4.2, I present the summaries of the empirical material produced and used in this dissertation.

In retrospect, I notice that many parts of the fieldwork journey are

Table 4.2. Interview informants.

Informant(s)	Position	Generation	Enterprise	No. of interviews	Total duration
Carlo Cravat	Owner-manager	4th	Grand Hotel Cravat	6	5h 55m
André Simoncini	Owner-manager	1st	Hotel Français Hotel Simoncini Galerie Simoncini	2	1h 45m
Victor Mertens	Owner-manager	3rd	Hotel Empire	1	1h 17m
Bianca Streumer	Owner-manager	2nd	Hotel de la Sûre	1	46m
Yannick Ruth and Diana Lodomez	Owner-manager	2nd	Château d'Urspelt	1	1h 21m

made possible only through the very sense of strangeness. I was uncomfortable in being a stranger, but I also found strangeness alluring. Strangeness seduces people to the vague promise of knowing. When coupled with prejudice and insecurity, strangeness may turn into hostility. But when coupled with tolerance and sincerity, strangeness may turn into compassion and empathy.

4.3.3   *From a stranger to a member: Addressing ethics in fieldwork*

Ethical concerns such as informed consent, confidentiality, exploitation, protection of informants, and 'giving something back' underpin every ethnographic research (Fetterman, 2010; Pink, 2013). In this study, informed consent is negotiated informally rather than formally. This choice was taken for a couple of reasons. First, considering the context of my interaction with the family business managers, I wanted to establish trust slowly through talk and personal interactions rather than through the 'force' of a formal document. Second, I view that a formal act of 'signing' of a consent document in this particular situation might symbolically undermine the power of the family business managers as hosts to my presence. The fact that they are willing to open their doors to my presence should be respected. And for me as a guest, there is a moral responsibility to act accordingly—to enter their space with respect and leave their space with respect. If anything, it should have been the hosts who force the guest to sign an agreement not to misuse or abuse any material which are collected from the interaction. Yet, none of these formalities happen, and both parties trust each other's good intention.

Hence, my responsibility was, and still is, to be as accountable as possible towards the participants. In each encounter (and pre-encounter through e-mail), I repeatedly explained the purpose of the research and why they are chosen for this specific research. Permission and consent were asked in several phases of encounter: from making an appointment for an interview, recording the conversation, taking photographs of the business, to the possibility of having further interaction. During fieldwork, I have been able to secure repeated contacts with family business managers, but every request for permission had to be treated as if it was the first. In other words, informal consent is not set once and for all and should not be taken for granted. Every encounter is a gift that the participants grant to the researcher.

As I engaged more with the family business managers, I began to feel less as a stranger and more as a member. But what does becoming a member mean? To me, this means a sense of obligation in at least two forms: accountability and indebtedness. To be accountable to the participants means to protect their identity and integrity. At one point, I was considering to pseudonymise the participants and the businesses. But then I realised the difficulty of doing so especially when the empirical material are related to prominent figures in the country, and include not only texts derived from multiple sources but also images which imply the spatial and the visual identities of the businesses. With these difficulties, I then decided not to use pseudonyms and, instead, use their real names. The implication of this decision was an increased 'burden' to present the empirical material in a way that is both truthful and respectful.

With indebtedness, what I felt was more of a commitment to 'give something back'. This commitment grew stronger when one of the participants asked me to make something out from the conversation which may be useful for the next generation of his family business. At this point, what was initially a form of obligation became a duty to be accomplished. As a result, I published an early version of the doctoral dissertation in a book format. Through an online self-publishing platform, Blurb[2], I produced a limited copy of the book and distributed them to the family business managers. I took this 'giving moment' not only as a chance to present the main findings of the study, but also as a possibility for the family business managers to react to the study. Un-

2. www.blurb.co.uk.

til this passage is written, the book was received positively and none of the participants expressed an objection.

4.3.4   *Stumbling, noticing, and reorienting*

As much as research is a glorious story of discovery, serendipity, and triumph, it is also a mundane journey of stumbling, noticing, and re-orienting. During nearly four years of study, this thesis had undergone several (re)directions. I categorise these changes into three phases, which are summarised in Figure 4.2. The first phase is characterised by a wide theoretical choice on organisational culture and an aspiration to perform visual ethnography. The priority for the first phase was less on the narrow commitment of theory but more in securing access to the field, and to allow the field to inform the theoretical choice. Hence, instead of being the focus of study, organisational culture was chosen as a generic term to guide my attention towards the relations between actors, practice, objects, and discourse. The plan was to capture these relations through the generation and analysis of visual elements such as photographs and videos. Luxembourg was chosen as an empirical context. This choice was partly motivated by the fact that, despite frequent reference to the importance and high proportion of family businesses in Luxembourg (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2007; Stiftung Familienunternehmen, 2016), scholarly studies on Luxembourgish family businesses are still rare. The aim of choosing Luxembourg was then to conduct a fine-grained study on family business in a Luxembourgish context that may inform not only academicians but also practitioners and policy-makers alike.

I stumbled. Empirically, as I embarked to negotiate access to family businesses, I could not proceed further than talking to the family owners or managers. Language and confidentiality issues often became a point of concern when I asked for the possibility and permission to observe the company. Theoretically, while organisational culture allowed some degree of flexibility, it also inhibited my analysis. When attending conferences, for example, I could not provide a satisfying answer to a basic question such as "what is your research question?" I found it difficult to communicate a research idea with such a broad theoretical choice. At one point, I was experimenting with a social theory of cultural change developed by Margaret Archer (1996) called the cultural morphogenetic approach to be applied in an organ-
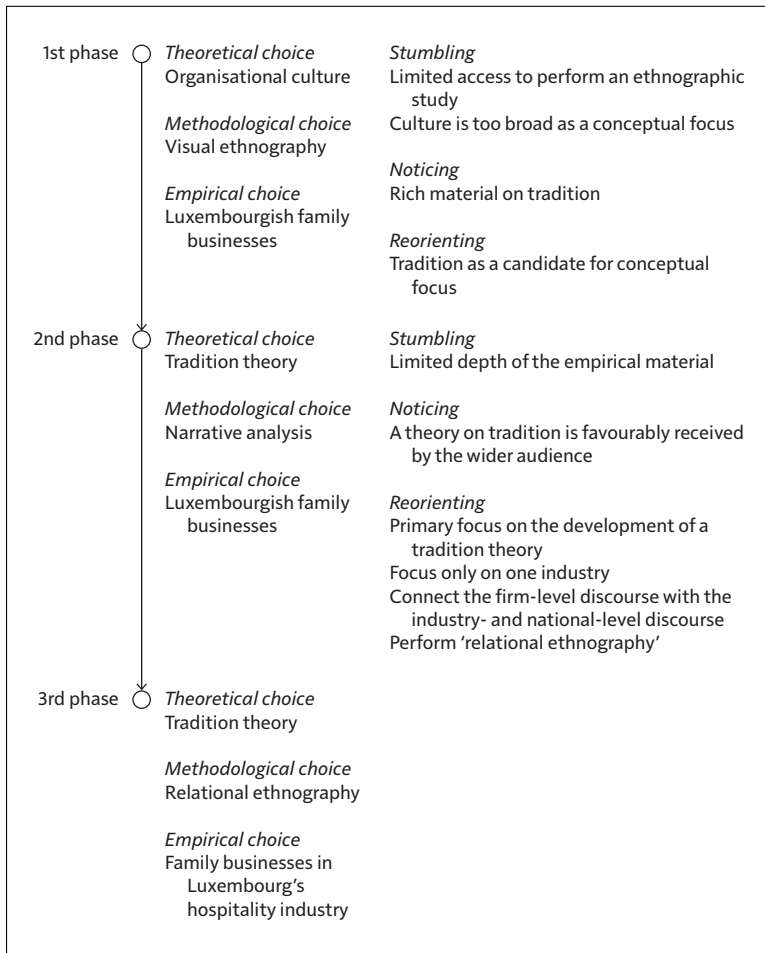
1st phase ○	*Theoretical choice* Organisational culture	*Stumbling* Limited access to perform an ethnographic study
	Methodological choice Visual ethnography	Culture is too broad as a conceptual focus
	Empirical choice Luxembourgish family businesses	*Noticing* Rich material on tradition *Reorienting* Tradition as a candidate for conceptual focus
2nd phase ○	*Theoretical choice* Tradition theory	*Stumbling* Limited depth of the empirical material
	Methodological choice Narrative analysis	*Noticing* A theory on tradition is favourably received by the wider audience
	Empirical choice Luxembourgish family businesses	*Reorienting* Primary focus on the development of a tradition theory Focus only on one industry Connect the firm-level discourse with the industry- and national-level discourse Perform 'relational ethnography'
3rd phase ○	*Theoretical choice* Tradition theory	
	Methodological choice Relational ethnography	
	Empirical choice Family businesses in Luxembourg's hospitality industry	

Figure 4.2. Phases, choices, and processes in the writing of the dissertation.

isational context. However, I was not able to convince my colleagues as to why such approach is valuable for the study of family business. These were signs that I had to change the way I looked at the empirical material. The use of the concept of 'culture' had restricted me to see something new.

I noticed that the tradition-related parts of the empirical material received favourable feedback. Among other 'cases' that I have collec-

ted, the hotel case was the richest in tradition. I presented the hotel case for a conference in 2016 at the *12th EIASM Family Firm Management Research*, Zwolle, the Netherlands. Pictures and stories about the hotel seemed to capture the audience's interest. This reaction signalled that I should focus more on tradition and reorient my theoretical focus towards it. As a result, I began to explore the literature on tradition in organisation studies as well as in other fields of social science such as sociology, anthropology, history, and philosophy. Later in the year, coincidentally after attending the 2016 *International Family Enterprise Research Academy* conference with a theme of narrative, I switched my methodology from an ethnographic study to a narrative approach.

The result of the reorientation was the beginning of the second phase. At this stage, I began to develop what I call 'tradition theory'. The use of narrative approach took a more central stage. I began to draw the conceptual relations between tradition as narrative and narrative as tradition. Luxembourgish family businesses remained unchanged as an empirical context. The development of the second phase culminated in January 2017 with the submission of a paper for the *77th Academy of Management Annual Meeting* in Atlanta, Georgia, US. The paper was accepted as a discussion paper—meaning that the paper was considered as an early-stage and will benefit from roundtable discussions. During the conference, I was put in a group of papers that touch upon the issue of narrative, identity, and tradition. I received constructive comments to the three concepts that are argued in the paper which are tradition, dignity, and narrative. The response towards tradition and narrative was positive. The response on dignity, however, received mixed feedback.

The 2017 *Academy of Management* conference was formative in general. But it was not until later after the conference that I noticed the fundamental shortcomings of my study. The different cases that I had collected were inadequately connected, not equally rich, and spread across different industries. This realisation resulted in several decisions: tradition would remain the main topic of the study; focus only on one industry rather than maintaining an assortment of different industries; examine the relations between companies; and examine the relations between the national-level, industry-level, and organisational-level. These reorientations set the beginning of the final phase with a more focused theoretical choice on tradition and a

narrower empirical context of the hospitality industry.

In the next section, I move to discuss the analytical and interpretive approaches of the dissertation. I start by highlighting the significance of 'language' in social reality and then discussing discourse and narrative as approaches to interpret and analyse the empirical material.

4.4 DISCOURSE AND NARRATIVE AS APPROACHES OF ANALYSIS

Some scholars call the turn of the twenty-first century as the 'linguistic-turn' in social sciences (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000a; Czarniawska, 2004; Harré, 2005). One of the central tenets of this turn is the growing acknowledgement of language as an inescapable medium for the interpretation and understanding of social reality (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000a). Language is pervasive in a way that it permeates nearly every process that is entailed within reality construction—processes that include imagination, communication, negotiation, and action (Ricoeur, 1978). Things do not present themselves without an interpretation from those who see them. "If we desire a record of uninterpreted experience," explains Whitehead (1978, p. 15) in his seminal book *Process and Reality*, "we must ask a stone to record its autobiography. Every scientific memoir in its record of the 'facts' is shot through and through with interpretation". In the linguistic-turn, language as a focus of inquiry is no longer confined in philosophy, or linguistics, or literary studies. Instead, the attention to language has enriched a wider field of social science such as psychology, sociology, economics, organisation studies, and entrepreneurship.

In this dissertation, the attention to language is given through grasping its two methodological applications: discourse and narrative analyses. Discourse and narrative are two heterogeneous approaches of inquiry that are different yet partly overlapping (Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015). In the following, a brief account of each approach will be given.

4.4.1 *Discourse analysis*

The wide varieties of discourse analysis cannot be understated. Gill (2000) highlights that there are not least than 57 forms of discourse analysis and provides three categories based on their broad theoret-

ical traditions. The first category of discourse analysis is often called critical linguistics, social semiotics, or critical language studies. This category takes an explicit interest in the relationship between language and politics, and it has close affinities with linguistics, semiotics, and structuralist analysis. The second category, she continues, includes those that are influenced by speech-act theory, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis. Different from the previous category, this category stresses the functional or action orientation of discourse and its locus of interest is the organisation of social interaction. The third category takes discourse in its post-structuralist sense. Studies in this category challenge the idea of 'the unified, coherent subject' that has been deeply entrenched in the Western philosophy. A common example (and an exemplar) of studies in this category is the work of Michel Foucault.

Similar to Gill, Potter (2004) points out four 'species' of discourse analysis based on their disciplinary origins. In linguistics, he starts, discourse analysis has been used "to work on the way sentences and utterances cohere into discourse" (Potter, 2004, p. 201). In cognitive psychology, it has been related to "the way mental scripts and schemas are used to make sense of narrative" (p. 201). In socio-linguistics, the focus has been to make a model of discourse structure in a whole range of different interaction settings. In post-structuralism and literary theory, the attention is less concerned about discourse as specific interaction and more about how a discourse constitutes objects and subjects (an example given was in medical discourse where a specific disease constitutes a factual object and 'doctor' is a particular individual with knowledge and authority).

Alvesson and Kärreman (2000b) acknowledge the varieties in discourse studies. They propose that discourse studies can be understood by mapping them across two dimensions: formative range and discourse/meaning relation. The formative range of discourse refers to the range of contextual interest, which ranges from micro-discourse, meso-discourse, Grand-Discourse, and Mega-Discourse (note the capitals). Micro-discourse, for example, takes interest in close range with emphases on local and situational context whereas Mega-Discourse addresses the "big issues and not the delicacies and nuances that might embed them" (p. 1134). The dimension of discourse/meaning relation, however, is more complex. First, it denotes the extent to which discourse and meaning are temporally and at-

tached. For example, some discourse may have transient meanings and while others are more enduring. Second, it refers to the extent to which discourse is coupled with its meaning at another level. For the latter, some discourse may have meanings that are relatively independent of the wider cultural norms while others and may have implications concerning the structuring of human actions. Altogether, the discourse/meaning relation ranges from overlapping, tightly coupled, loosely coupled, or uncoupled.

4.4.2 *Narrative analysis*

As mentioned earlier, there are overlaps between discourse and narrative. Narrative is similar to discourse when it refers to any spoken or written account—both are essentially language in use. Discourse is also similar to narrative in a sense that the latter can be seen as a subset of the former (Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2007; Genette, 1980; Polkinghorne, 1988). In this regard, narrative is one genre of discourse among others (which may lead to some confusion when a combinatory term such as 'narrative discourse' is used). Nonetheless, narrative has developed its own set of theoretical foundations. Czarniawska (2004) highlights one of these foundations that narrative can be understood as a 'mode of knowing', which is related to the organisation of human experience and the assumption of intentionality of human action. Narrative in this sense is what a moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre calls 'narrative unity', "which links birth to life to death as narrative beginning to middle to end" (MacIntyre, 1981/2007, p. 205), and variants of this perspective have also been developed in psychology (Bruner, 1986, 1991) and phenomenology (Ricoeur, 1986, 1988). An example of narrative as a mode of knowing is vividly illustrated in Hardy (1968):

> we dream in narrative, day-dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate and love by narrative. In order really to live, we make up stories about ourselves and others, about the personal as well as the social past and future. (p. 5)

More formally, Polkinghorne (1988, p. 13) defines narrative as "the kind of organisational scheme expressed in story form." He further specifies that narrative may refer to the process of making a story as

well as stories as the results of the process itself. Correspondingly, Czarniawska (1998) outlines that a narrative is comprised of three basic elements: an original state of affairs, an action or an event, and the consequent state of affairs. Yet, merely having a list of these three elements are not sufficient to form a narrative. "For them to become a narrative," Czarniawska (1998, p. 2) adds, "they require a plot, that is, some way to bring them into a meaningful whole" (emphasis original). Plot is a central feature in narrative. For Polkinghorne (1988, p. 19), a plot has a function to "weave together a complex of events to make a single story" for without it, each event "would appear as discontinuous and separate, and its meaning would be limited to its categorical identification or its spatiotemporal location." For Ricoeur (1986), a plot is a 'synthesis' which

> unifies components as widely divergent as circumstances encountered whilst un-sought, agents of actions and those who passively undergo them, accidental confrontations or expected ones, interactions which place the actors in relations ranging from conflict to cooperation, means that are well-attuned to ends or less so, and, finally, results that were not willed; gathering up all those factors into a single story turns the plot into a unity ... (p. 122)

Both discourse and narrative analyses lay claim that they are more than 'just' a method. Doing a discourse analysis is said to bring with it a 'complete package' that coherently integrates the philosophical standpoints and the techniques used to analyse the empirical material (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 4). The same goes to narrative inquiry. From the ways narratives are collected, read, analysed, and written, there are sets of stances and techniques that a researcher needs to choose (Czarniawska, 2004). I will discuss the collection of narratives later, and here I will focus on the reading and analysis of narratives.

In the ways narratives are read—in other words, to construe narratives as 'texts'—a close relationship can be drawn between narrative and hermeneutics. Czarniawska (2004) borrows the 'hermeneutic triad' developed by Paul Hernadi (1987) to explain three analytical phases of reading: explication or standing under the text, explanation or standing over the text, and exploration or standing in for the text. Firstly, reading as explication is to ask the question 'what does this text say?'. To stand under the text, she explains, is to assume humility before the text and the duty of a researcher is to re-tell the story

respectfully and responsibly. Next, reading as explanation is to ask the question 'why and how does this text say what it says?'. To stand over the text is to assume control over the text by explaining it. In this phase, Czarniawska acknowledges three modes of explanation (i.e. subjectivist, objectivist, and constructivist) in order to interrogate the texts. "One can ask: what are the reasons (motives) behind this text? Which are the causes that formed this text? How is this text read and by whom?" (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 68). Thirdly, reading as exploration is to ask the question 'what does this text mean to me?'. As Czarniawska noted, reading in this phase is closer to writing than reading. Exploration is where the researchers stand in for the author and become the author by bringing in "their lives and preoccupations into the text" (p. 61). Regardless of the mode of explanation used, exploration is where the stance of the researcher comes to the fore and becomes explicit.

Moving from reading textual narratives to analysing oral narratives (note the subtle shift from narrative as text to narrative as talk), Riessman (2005) outlined four approaches of analysis. The first is thematic analysis which focuses more on the 'what' is said than 'how' it is said. Thematic analysis, she explains, is close to what grounded theorists do where conceptual groupings are inductively created from the many stories that are collected. The second approach is structural analysis where the emphasis is more on the 'how' a narrative is told. It treats language seriously concerning the function of a clause in the overall narrative. The third approach according to Riessman is interactional analysis. This approach emphasises the "dialogic process between both the teller and the listener" to show that narratives are not only produced one-sidedly by teller but the listener also participated in the conversation (Riessman, 2005, p. 4). Without neglecting the form and the content, interactional analysis focuses on the co-construction of story and meaning. Lastly, the fourth approach is performative analysis. This approach takes a stage/drama metaphor to understand storytelling as performance that involves and persuades an audience through language and gesture. It is more into "doing", Riessman (2005) underlines, rather than merely telling the stories.

4.4.3   *Analysing and interpreting the empirical material*

In this dissertation, discourse and narrative analyses are employed at different chapters. In Chapter 5, I applied discourse analysis as a contextualisation to the study on family-run hotels. In the chapter, I follow Alvesson and Kärreman (2000b) and pay attention to 'Mega Discourse' at the national level, 'Grand Discourse' at the industry level, and 'meso-discourse' at the organisational level. In relation to the conceptual interests in family business and tradition, this chapter aims to explore the discursive space where family business and tradition are a part rather than focussing exclusively on how the concept of tradition is used at multiple levels. Thus, in reading Chapter 5, the reader will find a broader constellation of discourse and it is only at the end that 'tradition' is found as one of the discursive themes. A more detailed description of the method is provided in the respective chapter.

In Chapter 7 to Chapter 8, I performed narrative analysis to make sense of the narratives of five family-run hotels. Following Czarniawska's (2004) advice, I interpret the texts through Hernadi's (1987) triadic process: standing under the text (asking what does the text say), standing over the text (asking why and how the text is said), and standing in for the text (asking what does the text means to me). In accordance to Riessman (2005), I also performed a performative analysis in order to develop categories where the narratives appear not in the form of texts but images and videos. During the category development process, I was partly informed by the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 (with the seven properties of tradition) but I also created new categories which were later made sense as properties of tradition. Hence the analytical process was iterative and entailed constant comparison between theories, empirical material, and categories. A summary of the empirical material used for the narrative analysis is provided in Chapter 6.

This chapter is the border between theory and the empirical material. Throughout, I have disclosed the ontological, epistemological, and ethical concerns which underpin the dissertation. In the next chapter, I will contextualise the study by situating the family-run hotels in a wider discursive space.

Chapter 5

Nation Branding, Tourism, and the Hospitality Industry:
Contextualising the Luxembourgish Family-Run Hotels

In the following quote, one of the hotel managers whom I interviewed commented on the dynamics of the national tourism sector:

> … Luxembourg is a nice place to come, to stay for two or three days, two nights to visit. I mean we have some nice spots in the country - here in the city, or up in the north, in Vianden and so on. The problem is that Luxembourg has always been doing so well until 2008 … so, since 2008 since we had this big crisis also in Luxembourg, of course suddenly people say, 'Hey, what is the Ministry of Tourism doing?' … So, the political will was to get this machine again to work.

In this chapter, I am inspired by the above statement and set out to explore the discursive contexts in which the family-run hotels are situated. Drawing primarily from internet archives, I examine what Alvesson and Kärreman (2000b) call 'Mega Discourse', 'Grand Discourse', and 'meso-discourse'. Respectively, I take these three levels of discourse as the national level, the industry level, and the organisational level. In alignment with the study's interest in relationality, the purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to have a more nuanced understanding on the contextual landscape of family-run hotels, and (2) to map out the interrelations that connect different actors in the same field.

Accordingly, this chapter is organised in the following order. First, I start with a brief overview of Luxembourg and then proceed to highlight 'nation branding' as an emerging discourse at the national level. Second, based on internet archives, I carry out an industry-level analysis which reveals the ongoing movement to reorganise the national tourism industry. Third, I turn my attention to the organisational-level discourse and analyse the websites of family-owned hotels.[1] In

1. In this chapter, I refer to 'family-owned hotels' to include a group of hotels that
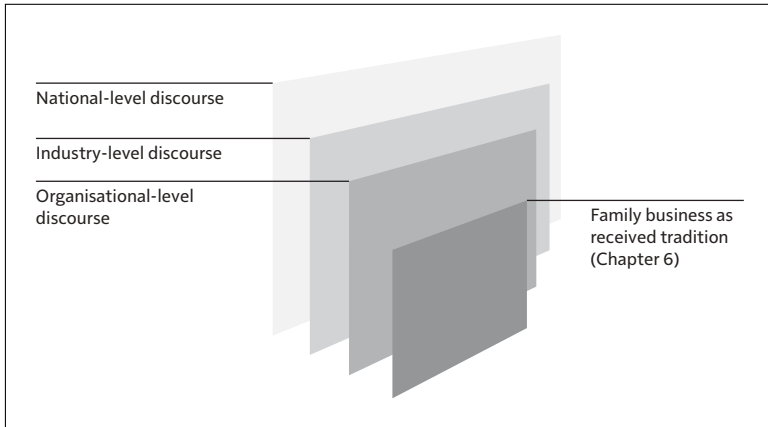
Figure 5.1. Layers of discourse at three levels of analysis.

Figure 5.1, I illustrate the relative positioning of the three sections of this chapter. The different shades of grey on each layer indicate the degree of analytical focus related to family-owned and family-run hotels. To remind the reader, the primary aim of this chapter is to examine how *family-run hotels* are situated in a wider discursive field rather than how *tradition* is used at different levels. Readers specifically interested in the topic of tradition are invited to proceed to the end of this chapter where tradition is found as one of the discursive themes in the website presentation of family-run hotels.

5.1   LUXEMBOURG: A COUNTRY IN SEARCH OF A NEW NARRATIVE

5.1.1   *Tiny and partly unknown*

Luxembourg is a country with 576,200 inhabitants, from which 53% are natives and 47% are foreigners (STATEC, 2016b). Along with this demographic mixture, language is an important cultural device in Luxembourgish society. Luxembourg has its own language, *Lëtzebuergesch*, yet French is used as its administrative language and German is well spoken throughout the country. Péporté, Kmec, Majerus and Margue (2010, p. 7) reported on their study on Luxembourg's cul-

are owned but not managed by the family *and* a group of hotels that are owned and managed by the family. When I use the term 'family-run hotels', this refers exclusively to a group hotels that are both owned and managed by the family.

tural history that the historical inflow of migrants have introduced other languages such as Portuguese and Italian. They noted also that Luxembourgers' national-ethnic identity has been discursively depicted as under threat. Various discourses from 'demographic suicide', 'ethnic impoverishment', to a recommendation to increase the 'natural reproduction rates' and the 'reduction of immigration rates' represent the deep anxiety as well as the political standpoints to 'rescue' Luxembourg's national identity (Péporté et al., 2010).

On its official tourism website, Luxembourg presents itself with a humble introduction: "The Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg is a tiny, partly unknown country in the heart of Europe, bordered by Germany, Belgium and France" (Visit Luxembourg, 2017a). Luxembourg, or more precisely, *the Grand-Duchy* of Luxembourg is rightly a tiny country, and its status today is inseparable from the past that it has with the bigger countries that surround it. Formed as a Grand-Duchy after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Luxembourg's history lies in a complex intermingling with the kingdom of the Netherlands, the kingdom of France, and the kingdom of Prussia. Luxembourg used to be one of the provinces of the Netherlands and, from the 17th to the 19th century, Luxembourg's territory was gradually partitioned— three-fourth of its land has been handed over to the current Germany, Belgium, and France. The status and recognition of Luxembourg as a Grand-Duchy also presents a historical significance. One official government report states that "[t]he formation of an autonomous state of Luxembourg was the fruit of a long process which began at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and continued until at least in 1890, when the personal union with the Netherlands ended" (Thewes, 2011). The 'Grand-Duchy' status of Luxembourg is a fruit of intricate and negotiated processes. Yet, what was then a fruit has turned into a seed through which Luxembourg now prides itself as "the only Grand-Duchy in the world" (Visit Luxembourg, 2017a).

The struggle from the unknown to the known is a recurring theme for the Grand-Duchy. Being 'tiny' and 'partly unknown', Luxembourg takes more prominent roles on the global stage by the mid of the 20th century onwards. The growth of its steel industry throughout the end of 1800 and early 1900 was followed by its participations in the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, which became the European Economic Community in 1957, and later the European Union (EU) in 1993. The signing of the Schengen Agreement in 1985,

named after a village in the south of Luxembourg, was iconic for Luxembourg as an active player that promotes free movement of individuals and trade between EU countries. Luxembourg has built its reputation as a strong advocate of European political and economic integration which, in turn, paves a way to greater access to markets. This strategic geopolitical positioning makes Luxembourg to be seen as "at once influential and nonthreatening" (Hey, 2003, p. 78).

5.1.2   *Emergence of nation branding discourse*

As much as Luxembourg contributes to the free movement of individuals and goods within the EU, its popularity remains obscure for most people abroad. Luxembourg is occasionally considered as "a hypothetical city situated in Germany" (Augsburger, 2012) or Liechtenstein (personal experience) and, when it is known, the country is stereotyped as a centre for financial institutions. These misunderstandings have evoked some country-level efforts to 'organise' the national image. The movement to organise the image of Luxembourg can be traced back to May 17, 2011, when a public event was held to debate the necessity to promote not only of Luxembourg's national tourism but also its neighbouring regions—also called the Greater Region.[2] The debate featured several speakers related to the tourism industry and one of them was André Simoncini, a Luxembourgish hotelier which is also taken in this study as one of five the family-run hotels in focus. As noted in the following official transcript, he advocated that the marketing concept needs to be reconsidered:

> André Simoncini thinks that the question of the marketing concept has to be changed: "First and foremost, we should focus on social cohesion in the Greater Region and it is not made by business, tourism or culture but by people." Culture and business not the end in itself but means for the purpose of integrating a society. The international image of the Greater Region depends, of course, on the originality and diversity of cultural offerings, but this must be based on an authentic social foundation – the "social machine" feeds the cultural offer, not the other way round: "Children, young people, working people live in the Greater Region and older people in different cities and villages - real coexistence and cultural ex-

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2. The Greater Region is an area that is comprised of Luxembourg and its neighbouring regions such as Rhineland-Palatinate (Germany), Saarland (Germany), Lorraine (France), and Wallonia (Belgium).

change within the Greater Region must first be established, the inner cities revived, and then we would have a strong backbone for our marketing concept." This should then emphasise the specifics of each part of the Greater Region and not levelling out like a steam roller. "It should make the Greater Region understandable in its ambiguity. We are international and at the same time culturally diverse and independent!" (Gréng Stëftung, 2011, p. 3)

At the end of February 2012, the Luxembourg Chamber of Commerce held a round table with a theme "Luxembourg Seen from Abroad." As reported in one article, the event invited several public figures which include entrepreneur, business owner, banker, and artist to discuss how the country "wants to be liked and respected" (Evans, 2012, p. 6). Still in the same report, the GfK Nation Brands Index was cited to point out that Luxembourg is "less well known than Singapore and is liked about as much as Belgium." Different voices were present. Philippe Depoorter from the Banque de Luxembourg expressed that "we should be proud of our internationally known fund industry" while correcting that "the tax haven image is 15-20 years out of date." George Lentz from Brasserie Nationale highlighted 'the country's manufacturing capacity' such as steel, satellites, and beer. In turn, musician and actor Serge Tonnar responded by saying that "we say 'we want to remain what we are' but we don't know what we are. We need to understand what we are and what we want to sell, and then cultivate that" (Evans, 2012, p. 6).

A string of events that occurred after the 2012 round table point to the growing discourse that the country needs to work on a coherent message. In 2013, 'nation branding' became a recurrent topic that government officials spoke in the media. Then in 2014, the Nation Branding Committee by the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and the Ministry of the Economy was launched. This development showed a signal that Luxembourg wanted a concerted effort to manage (and also to rectify) its image beyond the stereotyping of the country as a financial centre where the rich and multinational companies may avoid paying taxes—an image that was already present even before Luxembourg was hit by the LuxLeaks financial scandal at the end of 2014. In other words, a new narrative needed to be told.

The creation of the Nation Branding Committee marked the increasing priority of nation branding in the national agenda and one of its first tasks of was to determine 'who we are'. Batches of surveys

were carried out to include the many constituents of Luxembourg society. The first stage of the survey, conducted in Autumn 2014, was directed towards residents and cross-border workers. Afterwards, a website (nationbranding.lu) was launched in January 2015 to allow the wider public to voice their view on Luxembourg. The website asked visitors to do five things: to characterise Luxembourg in 140 characters, to upload a picture that represents the unique character of Luxembourg, to answer a questionnaire, to freely discuss the different aspects of Luxembourg, and to provide suggestions for Luxembourg image. This nation-wide effort to define 'who we are' has drawn the attention of local and international media. Luxembourger Wort, for example, provided a special coverage on the nation branding theme. Outside of Luxembourg, The New York Times asked why the nation branding initiative did not happen earlier (Barthelemy, 2015). This question was responded by Luxembourg's Secretary of State of Economy Francine Closener: "We only started doing this now, because we didn't think it was necessary for a long time ... It wasn't very important to us if we were known in the world and why—because we were doing fine."

In August 2015, the Nation Branding Committee published the official Luxembourg country profile. On the behalf of the Committee, the country profile guideline was produced through a collaboration between a German communication agency Concept X and Luxembourgish agencies COMED and TNS Ilres. The document—claimed to be produced "through a participatory process", "according to scientific methods", and "involving both the general public and a wide variety of actors of Luxembourg society"—outlines the definition of the Luxembourg brand and what the brand aims to achieve. A summary of the Luxembourg brand's structure is shown in Figure 5.2.

The guideline defines Luxembourg to carry three values: *reliability*, *dynamism*, and *openness*. Firstly, Luxembourg is reliable and this refers to the stability offered by the political system of constitutional monarchy, the respect for human rights, and the economic stability. Stability in terms of mentality and infrastructure is also pointed out:

> The country's stability is also reflected in the mentality of its citizens. They nurture their traditions as well as their national language, "Lëtzebuergesch". Luxembourg's inhabitants have their feet firmly planted on the ground and support the country's development with great realism and common sense, by focusing on the quality and sustainability of the solu-
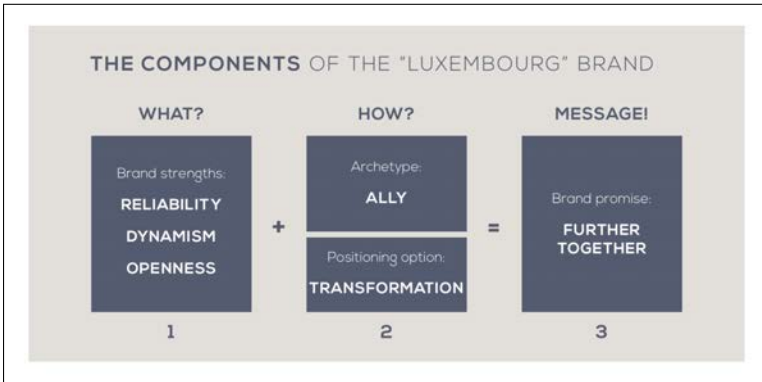
Figure 5.2. The "Luxembourg" brand structure. Source: Nation Branding Committee (2015, p. 6).

tions implemented. The quality of public infrastructure bears witness to this commitment to excellence. (Nation Branding Committee, 2015, p. 2)

Secondly, Luxembourg is dynamic and this refers to the country's historical progression. The Grand-Duchy has evolved "from an agricultural country first of all to an industrial state and later to a strong financial centre" (Nation Branding Committee, 2015, p. 2). The dynamism of the country also stresses on the country's commitment to innovation in several areas such as information and communication technologies, the satellite industry, and a supportive ecosystem for entrepreneurs. Culturally, the country's dynamism is claimed to rest on "the country's unique and very specific way of taking action," that is, "[t]he "Luxembourg way of doing things" is characterised by pragmatism, an ability to adapt and a commitment to constant improvement" (p. 3). Lastly, Luxembourg is open, which refers to the country being "welcoming towards people from different origins and cultures and displays open-mindedness to new and innovative ideas" (p. 3). The openness of the country is reflected in its role in the creation of the EU and as a "mediator in Europe and the world" (p. 3). Luxembourg is claimed as a multicultural country and a "true melting pot of nationalities, cultures and languages" (p. 3). "A mirror," that is, where "integration [is] lived on a daily basis" (p. 3). Openness is also defined in terms of movements of goods and services where the country serves as a logistics hub as well as European headquarters for global compan-

ies.

Borrowing from Carl Gustav Jung's psychology theory of archetypes, the guideline argues further that the three values are best delivered through the model of an ally. Ally is one of the archetypes (12 in total) which reflects a personality that relies on the "openness to embark on relationships and alliances, and the reliability to confidently make them grow" (Nation Branding Committee, 2015, p. 8). As a brand, Luxembourg is positioned to be used as a trigger for transformation, i.e. "a positive change at the level of the user himself and/or his situation or his environment" (p. 9). Transformation is argued as an "expression of dynamism"—the last of the three values—to emphasise "the transformative power of the country" (p. 9). The three values of the brand (reliability, dynamism, and openness), the personality of the brand (ally), and the positioning of the brand (transformative) are constructed to convey a promise: "further together". More precisely, the guideline promises that "those who take Luxembourg on as an "ally" will go further, since they will enter into an alliance that brings benefits to both parties" (p. 11). The guideline is concluded by asserting that the promise must be "communicated intelligently so as to be credible and to trigger an action in favour of the brand" (p. 11) and endorsing that 'storytelling' is a "highly useful way of efficiently conveying this message" (p. 11).

The creation of the country profile was followed by a project to translate the three values into a concrete visual identity. The project called Creathon—a word play of "creativity marathon"—was held in March 4 and 5, 2016. It started with an open submission for the general public and resulted in the selection of 40 people from various background sectors. Creathon was then held in places that symbolise creativity and culture: Nyuko, a business incubator; LUCA (Luxembourg Center for Architecture); and CarréRotondes, a cultural space. The two-day event produced six projects that were taken forward as inputs for further work by professional communication agencies. In a press release, Francine Closener expressed her reaction:

> I'm delighted about the quality and the originality of the projects that we just discovered. The Creathon is an original initiative that allowed people from different backgrounds to imagine together how to represent the personality of our country. It's exactly that inclusive and multidisciplinary approach which differentiates our undertaking from that of the other countries. (Interdepartmental and Interinstitutional Nation Branding Com-

Figure 5.3. Luxembourg's visual identity. Source: Inspiring Luxembourg (2016b, p. 7).

mittee, 2016)

5.1.3 *A visual identity*

In October 10, 2016, Luxembourg's new visual identity was publicly presented. The identity is centred on the use of "the symbol X" that is composed of "four red and blue arrows, whose double alignment underlines the mutual exchange" (Inspiring Luxembourg, 2016a). The logo, also referred as "the Signature", is accompanied with a slogan: "Let's Make It Happen." The slogan is an invitation "to each and everyone … to use the many possibilities offered by our country for both their own and the shared successes" (Inspiring Luxembourg, 2016a). An excerpt to the guideline of the new logo and slogan can be seen in Figure 5.3.

The launching of the new country profile and visual identity was both applauded and criticised. An article in *Paperjam* by Jean-Michel Gaudron (2016), for instance, highlights the debate surrounding the nation branding process. The article features a conversation with two prominent figures, Sasha Baillie, the Chair of the Nation Branding

Committee, and Raoul Thill, an independent communication consultant. In the following excerpt, Sasha Baillie and Raoul Thill exchange their views on the challenges that remain:

> Sasha Baillie: We are very satisfied, because the reactions have been rather positive in the media. What impressed us most were the requests for the use of the visual signature. We have received over a hundred. That is the principle: we have sent the country an invitation to take this visual and make use of it, each of us being ambassador of Luxembourg. These requests come from all sectors, especially sport: many federations and clubs want to use this visual in their presentations and their dress. It's great because we see sport as one of the vehicles for transmitting our message and it is also about a younger and more dynamic audience. … It is not true that the government did everything on its own. This Nation Branding Committee, which we now call Inspiring Luxembourg, is not composed solely of representatives of the public sector. But we are aware that the process is very complex and it is certainly not yet completed.
>
> Raoul Thill: I notice all the same that there is no euphoric feeling, a real questioning of identity. Again, the discussions took place in a too limited circle. It might be necessary to take a bus and go talk to all the villages of the country? More targeted primary schools? We are in a process of change, but people do not necessarily understand the change. We must find this new model so people took things in hand and enter the debate with a positive attitude. But there is great art and we all agree that it is difficult. (Gaudron, 2016)

In the social media such as Twitter and Facebook, public reaction to the new identity are also visible. Since its launching, the "Let's make it happen" tagline is mentioned favourably in events and activities held in Luxembourg, while there is also a voice that raises the tagline's ambiguity: "Luxembourg – Let's make it happen. So has Luxembourg … not happened yet?".

The launching of the country's visual identity in October 2016 concludes the task of the Nation Branding Committee. In the presentation, seven priorities are outlined based on the "promotion of Luxembourg as a host country for foreign investment, as an exporting country and as a tourist, cultural and commercial destination" (Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 2013, p. 35, translated from the original in French). This event marks the transition from discourse production to discourse dissemination, a task whose mission is embodied in a newly established organising body in the

tourism sector: Luxembourg for Tourism.

5.2   A REORGANISATION OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

This section shows how the power created through the nation branding discourse is subsumed in the creation of a governmental body to reorganise the tourism industry.

5.2.1   *Emergence of 'Luxembourg for Tourism'*

Luxembourg for Tourism (LFT) was formed in December 15, 2015 as an Economic Interest Group (EIG) funded wholly by the Ministry of Economy. As an EIG, LFT becomes one among the few government-backed EIGs to pursue the country's national interests such as Luxinnovation for business investment and innovation, LERAS (Luxembourg European Research and Administration Support) for academic research, and Luxembourg Expo 2020 Dubai for tourism. The creation of LFT is claimed to allow "greater organisational flexibility and collaboration of stakeholders around their common interests" (Le gouvernement du grand-duché du Luxembourg, 2015). Also in its official website, LFT takes the role to 'define' and 'implement' "the national marketing strategy to enhance the country's international image and reputation as a tourist destination" (Luxembourg for Tourism, 2017).

In a press release dated January 8, 2016, LFT announced the appointment of Romain Weber, a hotelier and a member of the Board of Directors of Horesca Luxembourg, as the president of LFT. The release—published in major media such as Paperjam, L'Essentiel, Chronicle, Jeudi, RTL and Luxembourger Wort—highlights the appointment as a sign of "professionalisation" of the sector and a representation of "the entrepreneurial spirit". In the English version published in The Luxembourg Chronicle (2016), LFT is stated to take over the "the tasks and staff of the ONT" and is governed by a managing council composed of representatives from Horesca, Chamber of Commerce, the regional tourist offices, the City of Luxembourg, Luxembourg-City Tourist Office, and the State. The press release ends by stating that the new president wants "bring together all stakeholders to agree on the same medium and long term goals" (The Luxembourg Chronicle, 2016). From another source, an official govern-

mental report shows that ONT's former director Anne Hoffmann continues her role as the managing director of LFT.

5.2.2   *Archival analysis of websites*

Among other promotional activities, a particular focus is given to the website since, in today's digital era, the Internet is one of the first contact points for people to obtain information. Creation and maintenance of a website is a deliberate process. It does not occur 'on its own' and, instead, it occurs through layers of decision making processes. Secondly, in the tourism sector where most of its target markets are people from abroad, a website presentation of a country is formative to a country's first impression. LFT claims to be the first to adopt Luxembourg's new visual identity through its website, which signifies the importance of website presentation in its promotional strategy. The results of the archival analysis confirmed that it was only recently that Luxembourg became more aware of the need to coherently manage its image and the national tourism sector.

    In performing the archival analysis of visitluxembourg.com, I utilised the web service provided by Internet Archive public library. Internet Archive is a non-profit library that has been archiving the Internet since its founding in 1996. A web service to retrieve web history was accessed through a platform called *Wayback Machine* (https://archive.org/web/). The protocol of the web archive search is detailed in the following.

    First, preliminary search was made by inputting visitluxembourg.com in the search field (see Figure 5.4). Results of the search was then traced back by visiting the earliest record dates. From there, a sample of website on the following month and year was visited to identify whether changes had occurred. In the case where changes have been found, a narrower sample of websites were selected (from monthly to weekly to daily, if available) to pinpoint the exact date of change. Occasionally, the web archive was redirected to another website—this is when other websites such as ont.lu and visitluxembourg.lu were found. In the discovery of a new website (for example, ont.lu), a similar protocol was repeated to the corresponding website (that is, by inputting the website in the search field, visiting the earliest record date, selecting a sample, etc.). The exploration process of the web archive is illustrated in Figure 5.5.
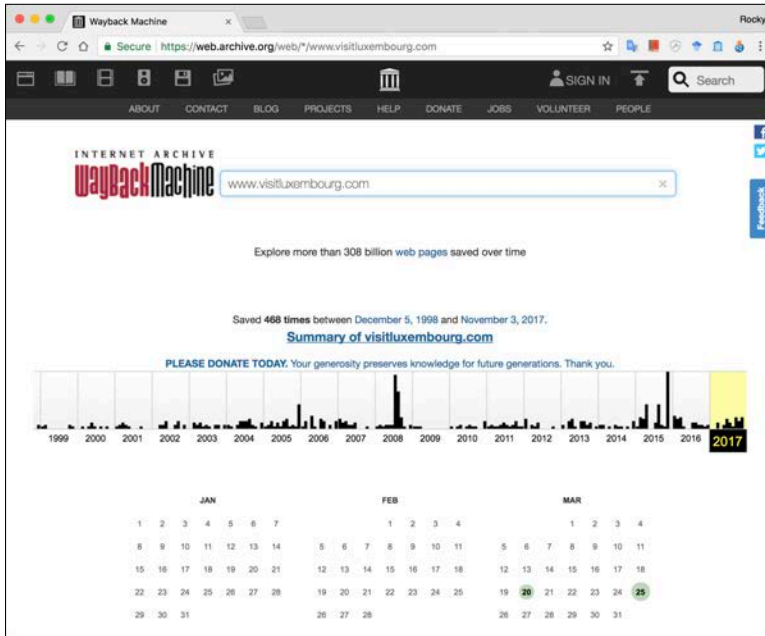
Figure 5.4. Search result of the Visit Luxembourg website on "WayBack Machine".

Figure 5.5. Archive exploration process.

5.2.3   *Three periods of national tourism*

The history of Luxembourg national tourism websites can be categorised into three periods: *fragmentation*, *convergence*, and *consolidation*. The first period (from 1998 to 2012) is characterised by fragmentation. The earliest records of Luxembourg's tourism websites can be found in 1998. The first is www.luxembourg.co.uk, a web-

Figure 5.6. Earliest record of Visit Luxembourg website (dated 1998-12-05).

site published by the Luxembourg Tourist Office in London in June 1998. Then two other websites appeared in December 1998: www.ont.lu by the Luxembourg National Tourist Office (ONT) and www.visitluxembourg.com by the Luxembourg National Tourist Office in New York. These websites operated separately although in each website there is a reference to another. The content that they offer are more or less similar with sections on history, culture, and traditions; activities and leisure; and events.

In the first iteration of visitluxembourg.com, the main page displays a photograph of a family with a background of Luxembourg's landscape (see Figure 5.6). On the header, there is a character whose name can be found in the ont.lu 1998 archive as Siggy, which bears "the name of Siegfried, Count of the Ardennes, who founded Luxembourg around the year 963". In 2002, visitluxembourg.com displayed an article written by an American citizen for The New York Times. The article, entitled *Luxembourg Grand Duchy, Small Treasure*, tells the story of why Luxembourg remains "a bit of a secret". Until the end of 2004, there are minor changes in the display of texts but the website remains largely the same.
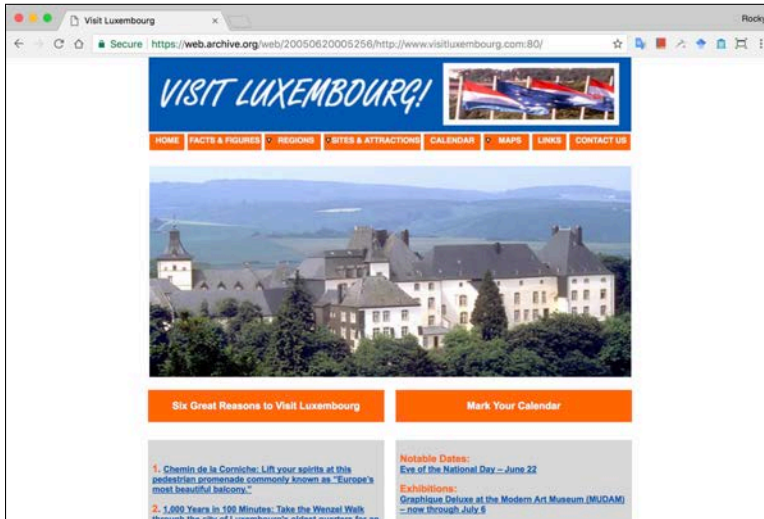
Figure 5.7. Web archive of www.visitluxembourg.com (dated 2005-06-20).

By the end of 2002, visitluxembourg.lu appears. Different from its .com sibling, visitluxembourg.lu was maintained by ONT and the Ministry of Tourism Luxembourg. As noted earlier, ONT already has its own website since 1998 and the design of visitluxembourg.lu in 2002 is a duplication of ont.lu. This duplication continued for a couple of years until April 2004 when the visitluxembourg.lu was no longer active and access to it was redirected to ont.lu.

Significant change occurred in June 2005 where visitluxembourg.com appeared with a new design and layout. The Siggy character is gone and replaced by the display of "Visit Luxembourg" title for the first time. As shown in Figure 5.7, photographs are given more prominence in the front-stage and they are accompanied with articles on "Six Great Reasons to Visit Luxembourg". Also for the first time, the website introduces the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg logotype at the bottom of the homepage. The website was still managed by Luxembourg National Tourist Office in the United States. In parallel, the www.ont.lu website is completely redesigned (see Figure 5.8) and the Grand-Duchy logotype is presented on the top of the page. In the meantime, the visitluxembourg.lu is reactivated and remained a duplicate of ont.lu.
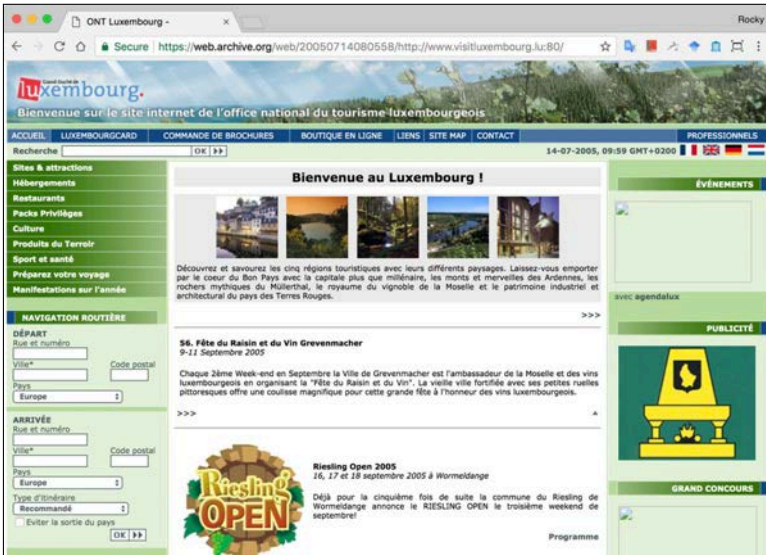
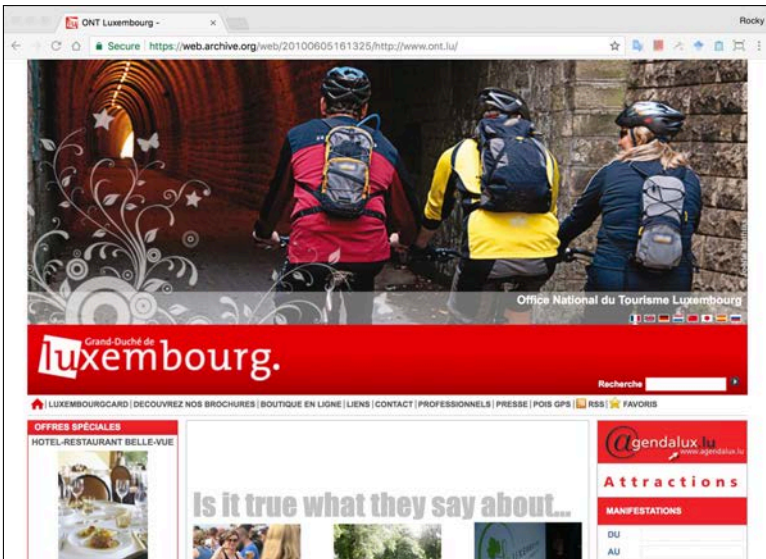*Figure 5.8.* Website archive of www.visitluxembourg.lu (dated 2005-07-14).

Figure 5.9. Web archive of www.ont.lu (dated 2010-06-05).

At this point, there were three national tourism websites that operated in parallel: visitluxembourg.com by the office in New York, and visitluxembourg.lu and ont.lu by ONT and the Ministry of Tourism Luxembourg. From June 2005 to May 2012, the display and layout of the visitluxembourg.com website remained unchanged. In the same time period, the ont.lu and visitluxembourg.lu websites have undergone a couple of changes (and both websites remained identical). In the 2010 snapshot of ont.lu (see Figure 5.9), Grand-Duchy logotype is given more prominence in size and placed underneath the photograph.

The second period (from 2013 to 2016) is convergence. In January 2013, all the three websites (ont.lu, visitluxembourg.lu, luxembourg.co.uk) converge. This convergence signifies an integration in the way Luxembourg is presenting its national tourism. By 2013, every access to visitluxembourg.lu, ont.lu, and luxemboug.co.uk is redirected to visitluxembourg.com/en. The Grand-Duchy logotype is preserved and moved up to accompany the navigation panel. As shown in Figure 5.10, a new tourism slogan is devised: "Discover the Unexpected Luxembourg." This period marks the enrichment of the content of the website, among them is the mentioning of family-run hotels within the "Eat & Sleep" webpage.

The third period (from 2017 onwards) is consolidation. The establishment of LFT in the end of 2015 and its reinforcement in the beginning of 2016 has showed some results by January 2017. The new website (see Figure 5.11) embodies Luxembourg's new visual identity by integrating the "symbol X" in the Visit Luxembourg title. The blue and red colours are used as an accent throughout the website. The slogan, now modified into "Live Your Unexpected Luxembourg", was set in a matching typography to the Visit Luxembourg title—less prominent than previous version and more visually coherent with the overall theme and feel of the website. While LFT preserves many of the contents from the 2013 version, the 2017 version reinforces the direction that the national tourism is taking: the move towards promoting Luxembourg as a country for "business tourism", more specifically the MICE cluster (Meetings, Incentives, Congresses, and Events). This move is made more visible through a clearer integration of "Meetings & Congress" menu to in the homepage—a link for a dedicated page to guide visitors to organise events in Luxembourg.

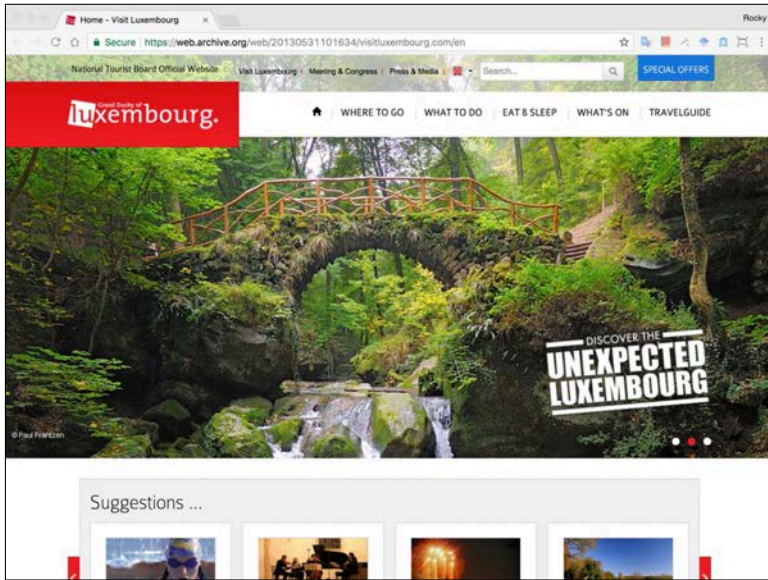Contents related to traditions are available under the section on

Figure 5.10. Web archive of visitluxembourg.com/en (dated 2013-05-31).

"Art and Culture" and "Local Products" although some others are scattered within the "Blog" section. Related to art and culture, traditions refer to the practices and events performed annually such as "Dräikinneksdag (Epiphany), Liichtmëssdag (Glowing lanterns), Oxen dances and tie stumps during Carnival, Buergsonndeg (Burn the Cross), Klibberen (roughly: going rattling) on Easter, Émaischen (pottery fair), Meekränz (May wreaths), Geenzefest (gorse festival) on Whit Monday, Sprangpressessioun (Dancing procession in Echternach), Léiffrawëschdag (harvest Festival) in the Moselle region" (Luxembourg National Tourist Office, 2015) as well as "the glorious annual Schueberfouer fun fair – one of Luxembourg's oldest surviving traditions" (Luxembourg National Tourist Office, 2017). Traditions also refer to the 'gastronomic specialities and recipes' such as the national dish "Judd mat Gaardebounen" or 'Smoked Collar of Pork with Broad Beans'. A family-owned hotel-restaurant Béierhaascht is also highlighted within the gastronomic section as a representation of Luxembourg's culinary tradition.

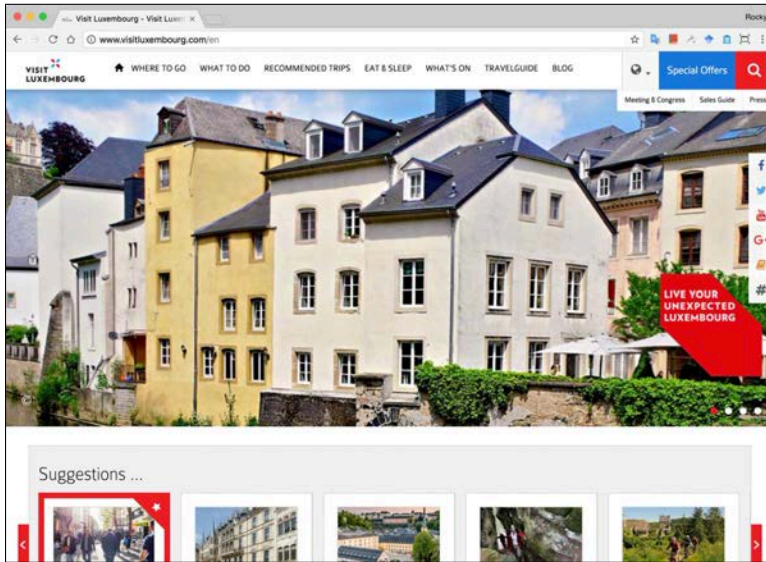In continuation to the previous period, the current website pro-

Figure 5.11. Recent snapshot of Visit Luxembourg website (retrieved 2017-09-28).

motes "small family-run hotels" in juxtaposition with "boutique hotel" and "business hotel" within the "Eat & Sleep" section. Information about hotels and restaurants are provided more comprehensively with a short description of each business and an interactive map underneath to show its location. A selection of "press trips"—i.e. trips organised around a particular theme for the press—are given more prominence with the aim to promote the country as well as LFT's partners such as tour operators and hotels.

In summary, the "professionalisation" promised by the creation of LFT is reflected in how the website has been developed. Integration between Luxembourg's visual identity to the tourism sector is visible, although other aspects of the nation branding such as the country values (open, dynamic, and reliable) and the slogan (Let's Make It Happen) remain obscure. By centring its promotion upon the discovery of the "Unexpected Luxembourg", the website now provides a comprehensive and professional-looking information for visitors who want to experience the country.

Up to this point, it appears that there is alignment between

the national-level discourse of Luxembourg as an ally-seeking country that promises 'dynamism', 'reliability', and 'openness', and the industry-level discourse which promotes Luxembourg as a destination for discovery and tourism. In the next section, I move one level down to the organisational level to explore how discourse is produced by the family-owned hotels through their websites.

5.3   INTRODUCING LUXEMBOURG'S FAMILY-OWNED HOTELS

According to the Visit Luxembourg website, Luxembourg's tourism territory is commonly divided into four regions: Ardennes, Müllerthal, Guttland, Moselle, Luxembourg, and Red Rocks (see Figure 5.12).
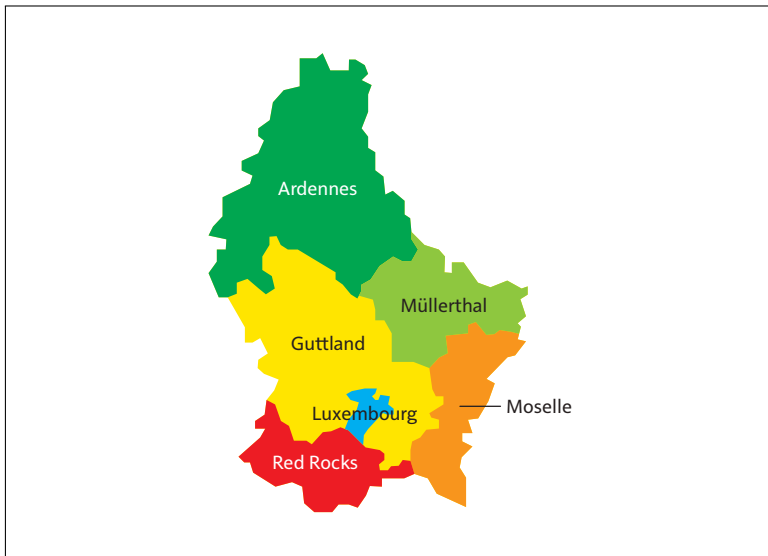

Figure 5.12. Map of Luxembourg's tourism regions.

The northern part of Luxembourg is called Ardennes which features castles, lake, and scenic nature. Then moving to the northeastern part is a region called Müllerthal. This region is also referred as Luxembourg's "Little Switzerland" due to the contour of the landscape, and the long trekking trails that resemble those in Switzerland. Then the centre and the western part is called Guttland. In the

Visit Luxembourg website, the Guttland region is also described as the place where "antiquity" and "modernity" coexist:

> Just outside the city of Luxembourg, the visitors will find an enchanting setting of charming villages with old farm houses, imposing castles and beautiful natural landscapes. The region offers a calm and peaceful environment, despite it being located at the geographic centre of the country. Hundreds of kilometres of hiking and cycling trails meander through the untouched landscapes. The historic heritage is ubiquitous, whether in the Valley of the Seven Castles, on the many Gallo-Roman sites or in the rural museums. At the same time, antiquity and modernity go hand in hand in the Guttland region, which is shown by the plethora of regional innovative and sustainable projects. (Visit Luxembourg, 2017b)

Next, the capital Luxembourg-City represents a region on its own (although other sources also consider the capital as a part of Guttland). Many of Luxembourg's iconic points of interest are located in the capital, among them are the European Commission offices, the Pont Adolphe bridge, the Golden Lady monument, casemates, the Grand-Ducal Palace, and the Old Town. Then to the south is a region called the Red Rocks which is famous for its steel industries. Lastly, to the east is a region called Moselle. This region is well-known for its vineyards and wineries.

With the country's interest to present an image that is 'dynamic', 'reliable', and 'open', hotels are an important part of the tourism industry. This is not only because they are 'used' in the country's promotional contents, but also because in each region they are involved in the production of discourse related to the hospitality of the country. In this section, I focus my attention to family-owned hotels and explore how they present themselves in their website. In contrast to the national and industry level where discourse production was centrally organised by the governmental bodies, at the organisational level discourse is characterised by diversity and multiplicity.

This section is hence organised in two parts. In the first part, I discuss the method to retrieve and organise the websites of family-owned hotels in Luxembourg. Three phases were involved in the method: database compilation, website retrieval, and coding process. In the second part, I present the main findings of the analysis: two dimensions of family-owned hotels' website presentation, and four discursive acts in their website presentation. Previous studies have carried out

a discourse analysis on the websites of family businesses (see Botero, Thomas, Graves & Fediuk, 2013; Micelotta & Raynard, 2011). Adding to this line of research, this section contributes to explore the discursive presentation of family businesses in the hospitality industry.

5.3.1   *Method*

COMPILING A DATABASE OF FAMILY-OWNED HOTELS   The first phase of the inquiry was to compile a database which allows the distinction between family-owned and non family-owned hotels. To carry out this task, I drew from four website sources: www.hotels.lu, www.visitluxembourg.com, www.editus.lu, and legilux.public.lu. Hotels.lu is a website under the administration of Horesca Luxembourg, a national federation of hotels, restaurants, and cafés. The website provides information of all hotels in Luxembourg with a short description on the number of rooms, address, and contact details. As described earlier, visitluxembourg.com is a website that is managed by LFT. Similar to hotels.lu, visitluxembourg.com provides a comprehensive information on all hotels in Luxembourg. The two websites, however, are not always in synchrony. There are cases where hotels that are recorded in one source is not recorded in another. To a lesser extent, I also added some hotels which I observed to be existing in the field but not listed in the two websites.

Next, hotels that were compiled need to be verified. They were double-checked by searching them both in www.editus.lu, a business directory website similar to Yellow Pages, and in their own website. In editus.lu, information about the owner and/or manager can be found and these details were then added to the master list. There was a number of cases where the hotels do not have a website. In this case, a verification of the hotel relies on other websites (e.g. visitmoselle.lu and mullerthal.lu). At this stage, an early indication was made whether or not a hotel is family-managed.

Afterwards, I verified the legal ownership of the hotels through the Legilux registry. To distinguish between the family business and the non-family business, I leaned towards the definition of family business implemented in Westhead and Cowling (1998, p. 34)—in reference to Donckels and Fröhlich (2016, p. 152)—where "Family members in one family own 60% or more of the equity in the business." Through the verification process, hotels that failed to meet the cri-

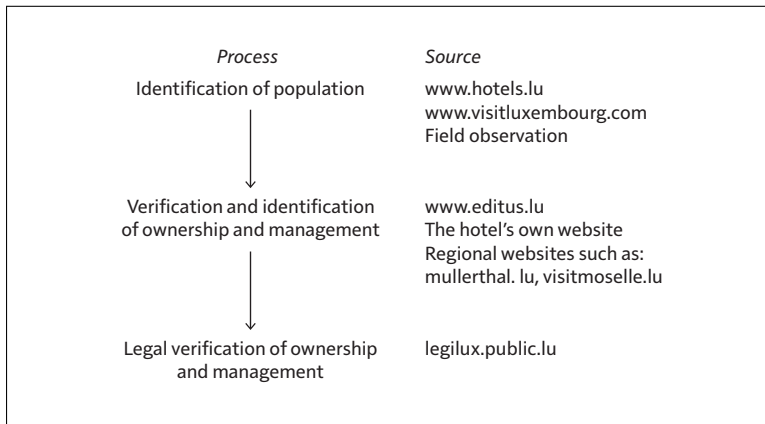| Process	Source
Identification of population	www.hotels.lu www.visitluxembourg.com Field observation
Verification and identification of ownership and management	www.editus.lu The hotel's own website Regional websites such as: mullerthal. lu, visitmoselle.lu
Legal verification of ownership and management	legilux.public.lu

Figure 5.13. Data compilation protocol.

teria were marked as non-family businesses. The verification through Legilux concluded the status of the hotel either as a family or a non-family business. The data compilation process is illustrated in Figure 5.13. From the database, I found that there are 172 active hotels in Luxembourg and, out of these, 93 (54%) are family-owned.

WEBSITE RETRIEVAL   The second step was to access the websites of each family-owned hotels. This process resulted in the retrieval of 88 websites (out of 93 active family-owned hotels, 5 hotels do not have an official website). A total of 874 screenshots were collected where, in each website, between six to ten screenshots were taken. The list of 88 family-owned hotels with available website is presented in Table 5.1.

CODING   The third step was to conduct the analysis in accordance to the inductive process proposed by Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013). From the collection of screenshots, 'data analysis' was carried out through 'initial data coding' which maintains the actual words used in the website—this is also referred as an analysis using "informant-centric terms and codes" (Gioia et al., 2013, p. 18). The screenshots were compiled and analysed in a qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. This first-order coding was followed with a second-order thematic abstraction to organise similar concepts found in the first-order coding. For example, the first-order concepts of 'location', 'facilities', and 'services' were grouped as part of the second-order theme

Table 5.1. List of family-owned hotels with valid official websites. (Continued on the next page)

No.	Name	Region	Rooms	Owning family
1	Hotel Domaine du Moulin d'Asselborn	Ardennes	15	Nilles-Funck family
2	Auberge du Chateau Bigonville	Ardennes	4	Koeune family
3	Hotel St Fiacre	Ardennes	20	Mathieu-Feidt family
4	Hotel du Moulin	Ardennes	12	Kremer family
5	Hotel-Restaurant du Commerce	Ardennes	48	Gindt family
6	Hotel Koener	Ardennes	50	Koener family
7	Golf-Hotel Le Claravallis	Ardennes	25	Gillen family
8	Boutique Hotel des Nations	Ardennes	28	Winkin family
9	Hotel-Restaurant St. Hubert	Ardennes	21	Peudevin family
10	Hotel Restaurant Auberge Eislecker-Stuff	Ardennes	8	Costa family
11	Hotel-Restaurant Beau-Séjour	Ardennes	11	Perdigao family
12	Hotel du Parc	Ardennes	40	Michels family
13	Auberge de la Sûre	Ardennes	9	Rammelt family
14	Hotel-Restaurant Dahm	Ardennes	25	Junker-Dahm family
15	Hotel Beau Site	Ardennes	18	Thilges family
16	Hotel-Restaurant le Postillon	Ardennes	20	Conrad family
17	Hotel de la Sûre	Ardennes	23	Streumer family
18	Hotel Braas	Ardennes	14	Braas family
19	Hotel Lanners	Ardennes	10	Lanners family
20	Hotel-Restaurant Reiff	Ardennes	11	Reiff-Graf family
21	Hotel-Restaurant des Ardennes	Ardennes	19	Borgstijn family
22	Hotel Restaurant Hatz	Ardennes	16	Klein family
23	Hôtel du Château de Larochette	Ardennes	23	Marques family
24	Auberge op der Bleech	Ardennes	9	Celotto family
25	Sporthotel Leweck	Ardennes	51	Leweck family
26	Hotel-Restaurant Pommerloch	Ardennes	8	Wit family
27	B&B Pommerloch	Ardennes	18	Wit family
28	Hotel-Restaurant Manoir Kasselslay	Ardennes	6	Popelaars family
29	Château d'Urspelt	Ardennes	53	Lodomez family
30	Hostellerie-Restaurant Nagel	Ardennes	17	Nagel family
31	Hotel-Restaurant Belle-Vue	Ardennes	54	Petry family
32	Hotel-Restaurant Petry	Ardennes	27	Petry family
33	Hotel-Restaurant Victor Hugo	Ardennes	20	Kraus-Petry family
34	Hotel Heintz	Ardennes	30	Ewert-Fischer family
35	Hotel Auberge Aal Veinen "Beim Hunn"	Ardennes	9	Hahn-Kremer family
36	Grand Hotel Vianden	Ardennes	57	Peverelli family
37	Hotel Restaurant Keup	Ardennes	25	Keup family
38	Hotel du Vieux Chateau	Ardennes	8	Thillens-Kremer family
39	Hotel-Restaurant Bernini	Guttland	28	Locorotondo family
40	Hotel De La Gaichel	Guttland	17	Gaul-Guillou family
41	Hotel-Restaurant Parmentier	Guttland	11	Pütz family
42	Hotel Jacoby - Restaurant De Bräiläffel	Guttland	13	Jacoby family
43	Hotel-Restaurant Re'ser Stuff	Guttland	20	Philipp-Birukoff family
44	Hotel Le Dany / Restaurant Bivius	Guttland	20	Pierucci family
45	Hotel-Restaurant Olivier	Guttland	50	Bahbout family
46	Mandarina Hotel	Guttland		Scholtes family
47	Alvisse Parc Hotel	Lux-city	325	Alvisse family
48	Hotel Restaurant Il Piccolo Mondo	Lux-city	12	Pizzolante family
49	Maho Rive Droite	Lux-city	7	Hobscheit family
50	Hotel-Brasserie-Restaurant Français	Lux-city	21	Simoncini family
51	Hotel Simoncini	Lux-city	36	Simoncini family

Table 5.1. List of family-owned hotels with valid official websites. (Continued from the previous page)

No.	Name	Region	Rooms	Owning family
52	Grand Hotel Cravat	Lux-city	60	Cravat family
53	Hotel-Restaurant Parc Beaux Arts	Lux-city	11	Goeres family
54	Hotel-Restaurant Parc Belle-Vue	Lux-city	64	Goeres family
55	Hotel-Restaurant Parc Plaza	Lux-city	89	Goeres family
56	Hotel-Restaurant Parc Belair	Lux-city	58	Goeres family
57	Hotel Central Molitor	Lux-city	36	Shepherd family
58	Appartamento-Ristorante Italia	Lux-city	8	Antognoli family
59	Hotel-Pizzeria Bella Napoli	Lux-city	14	Balestri family
60	Hotel Empire	Lux-city	35	Mertens family
61	Hotel-Restaurant Sieweburen	Lux-city	14	Ewen family
62	Auberge Hostellerie des Pêcheurs	Moselle	9	Hang family
63	Hotel-Restaurant Domaine la Forêt	Moselle	10	Wallerich family
64	Hotel des Vignes - Restaurant du Pressoir	Moselle	24	Oswald, Schreder, and Bungert family
65	Hotel de l'Ecluse - Restaurant PIER29	Moselle	35	Albert family
66	Auberge-Restaurant du Château	Moselle	7	Forette family
67	Hotel-Restaurant Meyer	Müllerthal	28	Meyer-Gierten family
68	Hotel-Restaurant Perekop	Müllerthal	22	Schuster family
69	Hotel-Restaurant Kinnen	Müllerthal	25	Kinnen family
70	Hotel Scharff	Müllerthal	21	Scharff family
71	Hotel-Restaurant Au Vieux Moulin	Müllerthal	11	Bouillat family
72	Hotel-Restaurant Eden au Lac	Müllerthal	54	Binsfeld family
73	Grand Hotel Restaurant Echternach	Müllerthal	28	Conzemius family
74	Hotel de la Sûre	Müllerthal	27	Knepper family
75	Romantik Hotel Bel-Air, Sport & Wellness	Müllerthal	38	Hein family
76	Hotel-Restaurant Brimer	Müllerthal	28	Brimer family
77	Hotel-Restaurant Le Cigalon	Müllerthal	11	Stoque-Kunnert family
78	Hotel-Restaurant de la Station	Müllerthal	20	Hoss family
79	Hotel-Restaurant Gruber	Müllerthal	18	Gruber family
80	Hotel-Restaurant Dimmer	Müllerthal	29	Dimmer family
81	Hotel-Restaurant Beierhaascht	Red Rocks	30	Meyer family
82	Hotel-Restaurant Gulliver	Red Rocks	70	Monte family
83	Hotel Restaurant Carpini	Red Rocks	25	Carpini family
84	Hotel-Restaurant Cottage	Red Rocks	45	Mengin family
85	Hosteria Gusto	Red Rocks	6	Pitasi family
86	Hotel-Restaurant The Seven Hotel	Red Rocks	14	Schroeder family
87	Hotel de la Frontiere	Red Rocks	18	Diderrich family
88	Hotel Restaurant Le Presbytere	Red Rocks	10	Kayser family

'idealising'. In the next step, I differ slightly from Gioia et al. (2013) by *not* aggregating the second-order themes into 'theoretical dimensions'. Rather, I constructed a secondary second-order themes which are more general than the primary second-order. This choice was taken because the interest of the analysis was simply to capture the differences in the presentation of the family-owned hotels rather than searching for theoretical dimensions. The secondary second-order themes are not theoretical dimensions since there is no causal relationship between the primary second-order themes and the secondary

Table 5.2. Data structure for the analysis of hotel websites.

First-order concepts	Primary second-order themes	Secondary second-order themes

Location
Facilities
Services
Staff
Certifications
Online reviews
Regional and governmental associations
Professional associations
Hotel groups
	Idealising
	  Presentation of offerings being practical, useful, comforting, and relaxing
	Legitimising
	  Presentation of legitimacy through a reference and display of authoritative bodies
		Dimension 1: Explicit vs. non-explicit family ownership and/or management
		Dimension 2: Simple vs. extended narrative elaboration

New and renewal Technology in-use Presence in the social media Sophistication of the website	Modernising Presentation of things being new and dynamic	
Age and oldness Preservation History Family Materiality Spatiality Practices Aesthetic experience	Traditionising Presentation of things being preserved and timeless	

second-order themes.

Table 5.2 shows the data structure as a result of the coding process. I will present each of the second-order themes in the next couple of sections starting from the secondary (more general) to the primary (more specific).

5.3.2 *Two dimensions of family-owned hotels' website presentation*

From the more general level, I found that the websites presented by family-owned hotels in Luxembourg can be differed across two dimensions: the presence of family ownership/management (either explicit or non-explicit), and the elaboration of the narrative (either simple or extended). These dimensions can be visualised as a two-by-two matrix as shown in Figure 5.14. Out of 88 family-owned hotels, most hotels (54) are explicit in showing that they are family-run and/or family-

Figure 5.14. Modes of website presentation of family-owned hotels.

owned while some others (34) are not disclosing any family involvement. In terms of narrative elaboration, the majority of them (59) are presenting simple narrative and fewer (29) are more extended. In the following, each combination is discussed.

NON-EXPLICIT FAMILY OWNERSHIP/MANAGEMENT AND SIMPLE NARRATIVE ELABORATION   In this mode, involvement of the family in the management is either hidden or implicit. The family name may appear in the name of the hotel, but there is no official claim whether the family actually manages or owns the business. The narrative is considered simple when sentences in the website convey basic information about the hotel. I use the term 'simple' to capture a range of narratives which are, on the one end, inadequate and insufficient (with almost no storying element) and, on the other hand, brief and sufficient (with basic information and minimum storying). Narratives that are brief focus on the usefulness of the hotel while narratives that are insufficient left an impression that the hotel is less professional. Stories that are told with simple narrative are mostly related to the pragmatic benefits of the hotel with very little to no historical reference.

An example of this mode is a website of Central Molitor Hotel as shown in Figure 5.15. Central Molitor Hotel is a family-owned and
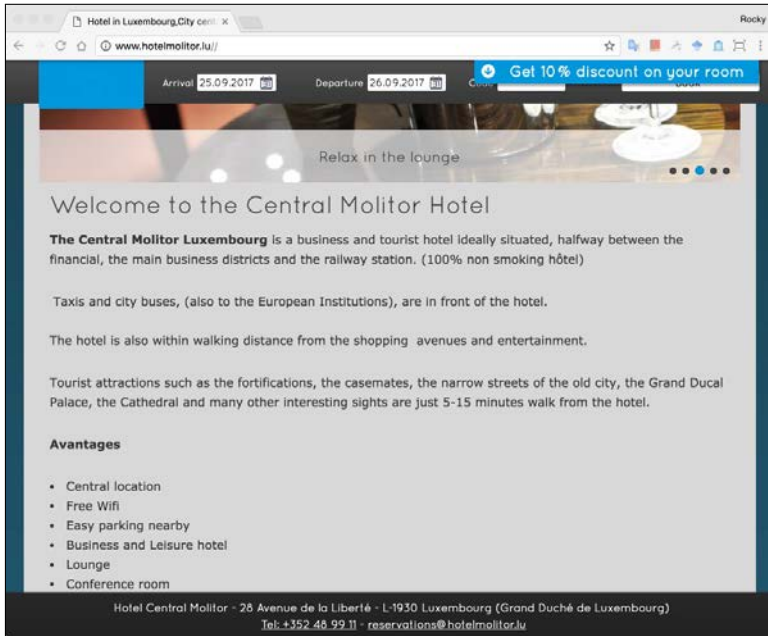
Figure 5.15. Hotel Central Molitor, Luxembourg-city.

managed hotel located in the city centre. However, while 'Molitor' may suggest the family-owner of the hotel, but it is actually owned by the Shepherd family. This information is not visible in the website and ownership details needs to be retrieved through Legilux. A scrutiny to the Legilux registries reveals that the current manager is the wife of the owner.

EXPLICIT FAMILY OWNERSHIP/MANAGEMENT AND SIMPLE NARRATIVE ELABORATION   Websites in this mode are characterised by an explicit claim of family ownership and/or management of the hotel. The narratives remain simple in the sense that they tell simple stories. Different from the previous mode which is 'faceless', in this mode there is a 'face' that can be held accountable for the hotels' operations.

One example of a website in this mode is the website of Hotel-Restaurant Lanners (see Figure 5.16. The hotel's homepage illustrates a mode of presentation that is explicit in family management and basic in narrative. Facts, offerings, and actions are conjoined together
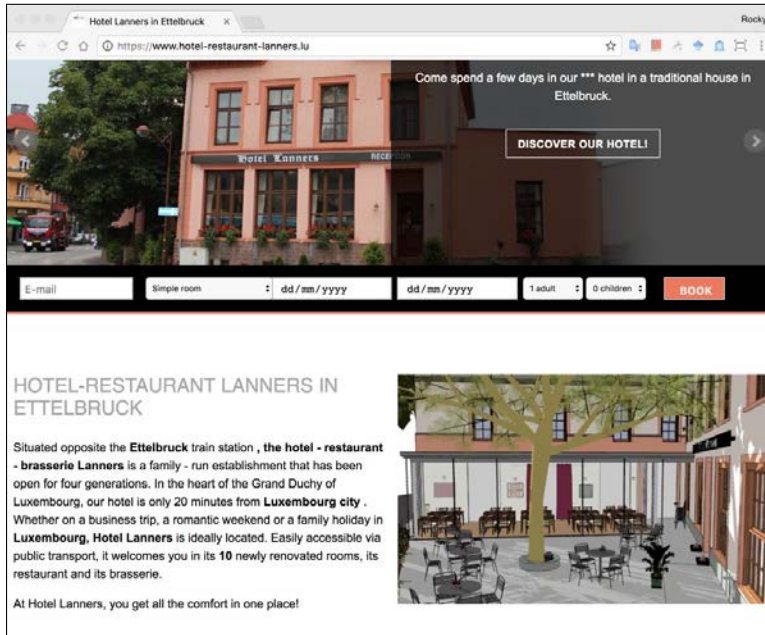
Figure 5.16. Hotel-Restaurant Lanners, Ettelbruck (originally in French, translated by Google).

with a simple plot. The hotel's situatedness (in the opposite of the Ettelbruck train station) provides the context. Lanners is then introduced not just a hotel, but a "family-run establishment [company] that has been open for four generations." The location is further reinforced by plotting it as "ideally located and accessible via public transport." Hotel Lanners' newly renovated rooms, restaurants, and brasserie are connected with an action through which the hotel 'welcomes' the guests in its new facilities.

NON-EXPLICIT FAMILY OWNERSHIP/MANAGEMENT AND EXTENDED NARRATIVE ELABORATION Websites with no explicit family ownership/management and extended narratives are the least among other modes. Despite not showing the family involvement in the business, websites in this mode usually construct an elaborated narrative by telling stories about the offering of the hotels and/or restaurants. An example for this mode is a website of The Seven Hotel - Bosque
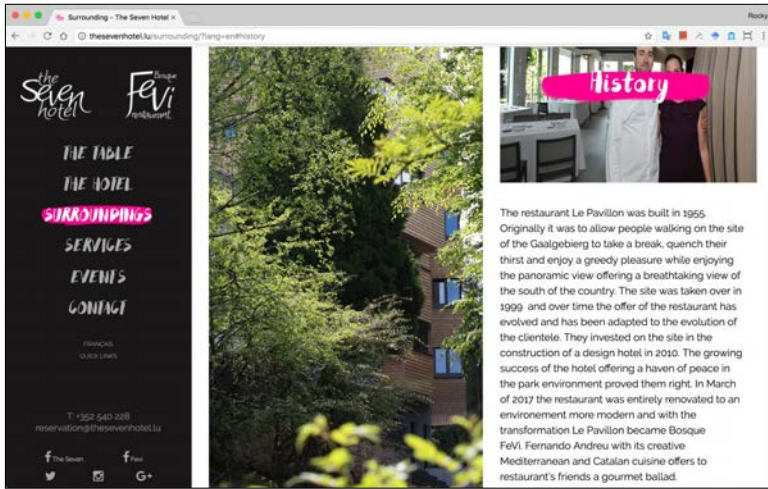
Figure 5.17. The Seven Hotel, Esch-sur-Alzette.

FeVi Restaurant. In the website, there is no explicit indication of family ownership or management. Nonetheless, The Seven Hotel is extended in its narrative. It explores the history of the restaurant and the actor behind the restaurant (see Figure 5.17). Not only that, also in the same page, the hotel-restaurant elaborately narrates its location:

> Located in the middle of the Gaalgebierg Municipal Park, The Seven Hotel is the ideal place for family, business or romantic stays. Only ten kilometers from Luxembourg City, you will find the serenity of a preserved nature, far from the hustle and bustle of the city. All of the flower gardens and forest trails combined with our high-end infrastructure will make your stay a timeless break.

The narrative above, as one example, is extended as it connects the location with the different purposes that it may serve ('ideal place for family, business or romantic stays') and invokes particular emotional sensations ('you will find serenity', 'make your stay a timeless break').

EXPLICIT FAMILY OWNERSHIP/MANAGEMENT AND EXTENDED NARRATIVE ELABORATION   In this mode, websites are both explicit in showing the family involvement and their narratives are extended. Websites in this mode are more likely to disclose the family history and they proudly associate the family business with tradition. Among
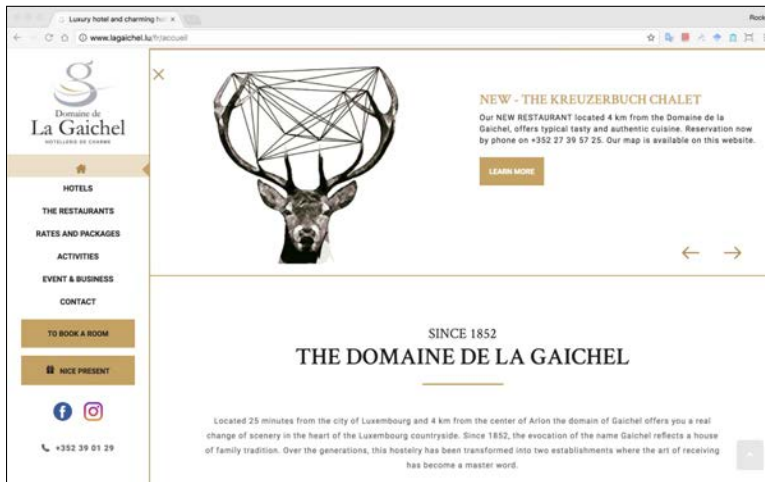
Figure 5.18. Domaine de La Gaichel, Gaichel. Homepage (originally in French, translated by Google).

others, the extendedness of the narratives is often drawn from the intertwinement between the family and the hotel, the location of the hotel, the history of particular objects in the hotel, and the nuance given through the evocation of different senses and emotions.

An example of this mode is a website by Domaine de La Gaichel. As can be seen in Figure 5.18, the hotel's offerings such as the new restaurant and the location of the hotel (house) are elaborately narrated. In Figure 5.19, the hotel's history is narrated in much detail. Transitions from one generation to another are presented in a more nuanced manner.

5.3.3   *Four discursive acts of family-owned hotels' website presentation*

Within each group of the matrix developed earlier, I found that there are four recurring themes which coalesce around the way the contents try to convey a message to the audience. I call these themes as 'discursive acts' which are *idealising*, *legitimising*, *modernising*, and *traditionising*. They are explained in the following.

First, idealising refers to the discursive act of presenting things being ideal, practical, useful, and comforting. The act of idealising occurs when it is signified in the website through the use of signifiers
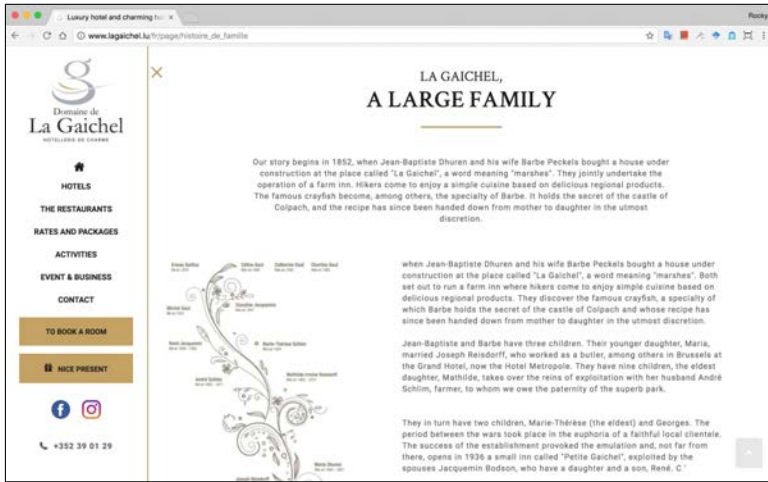
Figure 5.19. Domaine de La Gaichel, Gaichel. Family history (originally in French, translated by Google).

such as location, facilities, service and staff. Idealising is mostly, although not always, the common denominator of website presentation. Idealising is not merely presenting a list of offerings but it provides an 'official interpretation' of how offerings can be useful to the guests.

The many objects that are idealised can be grouped into four main offerings: location, facilities, services, and staff. To use the previous example of Hotel Lanners in Ettelbruck, the hotel presents itself as "20 minutes" away from Luxembourg-city and that it is "located in the heart of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg." The hotel's location is then explicitly idealised: "Whether on a business trip, a romantic weekend or a family holiday in Luxembourg, Hotel Lanners is ideally located." Hotel-Restaurant Gulliver in Bascharage provides an example of idealising based on the facility and staff. The hotel asserts the following:

> Our rooms offer top-of-the range comfort in a family setting. This finds its expression in a warm-hearted reception by our multilingual staff and in our desire to show you the best of our region has to offer.

In this case, "top-of-the range comfort in a family setting" is the idealising act that is applied on the rooms as one part of the hotel's facilities. This "comfort" is then connected to "a warm-hearted reception

by our multilingual staff" to evoke an ideal image of its staff. Service is also idealised in "our desire to show you the best of our region has to offer."

Second, legitimising refers to the reference to and display of other institutions. As a plot, legitimising connects elements that signify legitimacy such as certifications, online reviews, regional-governmental associations, professional associations, and hotel groups. Different from the idealising plot that tends to be self-proclaiming, the legitimising plot tends to present others' opinion, acknowledgement, and authorisation as a representation of legitimacy. The display of and reference to "Certificate of Excellence" from TripAdvisor or reviews from Booking.com, for example, signify that the hotel's reputation has been trusted by a larger number of visitors. Then there are references to other certifications related to environmental compliance such as EcoLabel and SuperDrecksKëscht that signify legitimacy. Legitimising also occurs through a reference to regional brands such as "Ardenne", a cross-border regional brand that includes the northern Luxembourg, part of Belgium, and part of France; and "Région Mullerthal" for the eastern Luxembourg. A reference to Horesca, on the other hand, signifies a legitimising act based network associations, which is also implied through reference of hotel groups such as Worldhotels, Logis, and Golden Tulip.

Third, modernising refers to the assertion of things being modern, new, innovative, or state-of-the-art. Modernising mostly appears in the context of the establishment and renewal of facilities, the display and assertion that technology is in use, the presence in the social media (such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube), and the sophistication of the website presentation itself. While it is used sometimes as a contrast from tradition, modernising also appears to be applied to tradition itself. This juxtaposition is exemplified by Hotel Meyer in Beaufort:

[Webpage title] In the change of time

[Subtitle] Calm and relaxation

[Content] Over the course of the time, the building was regularly renovated to surpass the expectations of our guests could again and again [sic]. It has always been taken care to ensure that the modernisations follow the tradition and the charm of this time honored building.

It is explicit in the narrative above that the hotel presents itself as con-

tinuously renewed. Yet, the emphasis on 'modernisation' is not direc-
ted to the opposition of tradition but to the reinforcement of tradi-
tion.

Lastly, traditionising refers to the presentation of things being pre-
served and timeless. It is to be noted, however, while traditionising
entails the assertion of things as traditional but it is more precise
to say that traditionising is where things are presented as tradition-
like. This distinction points to the subtle difference between the re-
stricted meaning of 'traditional' as things being old-fashioned, long-
established, and habitual, and 'tradition-like' as things having the di-
mensions of tradition, which are temporality, narrativity, material-
ity, spatiality, actoriality, practices, objects, and aesthetic experiences.
This specificity is also why the term traditionising is preferred to the
term traditionalising.

Traditionising occurs through different dimensions and all dimen-
sions are interconnected. For example, when a hotel claims that it pos-
sesses "the oldest working lift in Luxembourg" (Grand Hotel Cravat),
traditionising is related to the temporality dimension (the oldest)
and object dimension (lift). Similarly, temporality and object are en-
meshed when a hotel presents that "This *ancient water-mill* has crossed
all the historic periods of the present Grand Duchy *since 1036*" (Hotel-
Restaurant Domain du Moulin d'Asselborn, my emphases). Tradition-
ising through materiality is signified when the selection of material is
given prominence to convey 'family ambience' such as the following
presentation by Béierhaascht:

> The special setting of our brewery-restaurant is filled with a family and
> rural atmosphere. This family ambience and the Luxembourgish cuisine
> make the success of the Béierhaascht. Wood and stone materials are the
> dominant elements of the construction and the furniture.

In the above quote, Béierhaascht reinforces the traditionising act by
instilling the material aspect of its building and objects in the build-
ing. The words 'Wood and stone' are used to convey a sense of pastness
which relates to tradition.

Collectively, the four discursive acts indicate that despite the vary-
ing degree of explicitness of family management/ownership and elab-
oratedness of the narratives, there are similarities in the way the con-
tents are connected together. On the one hand, there are modernising
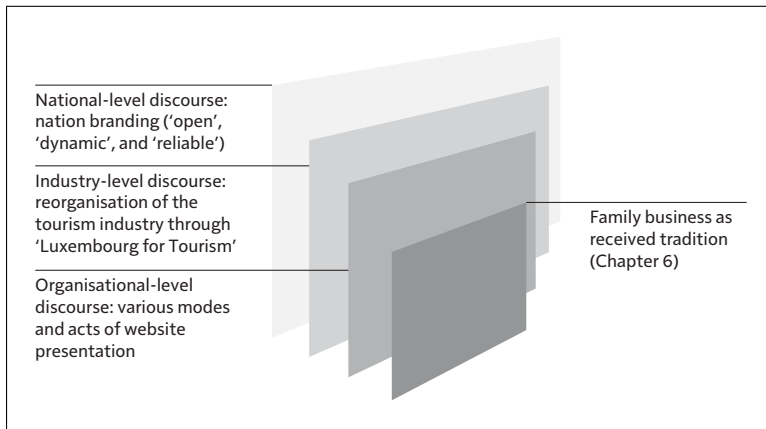and traditionising which coexist and the tension between the two en-

Figure 5.20. Layers of discourse at three levels of analysis: A summary.

riches the narratives of the website presentation. On the other hand, there are idealising and legitimising which may occur without making reference to things being modern or traditional, yet this does not close the possibility that modernising and traditionising are used to legitimate and idealise the hotel.

5.4   LOOKING BACK AT THE THREE LEVELS OF DISCOURSE

The attention to discourses in this chapter has revealed a variety of discourses from the national level to the organisational level. To summarise, these findings are illustrated in Figure 5.20. At the national level, a salient discourse is related to the notion of 'nation branding'. At this level, the government is a potent organiser of discourse which endorses the image of Luxembourg as an 'open', 'dynamic', and 'reliable' country. In turn, the movement at the national level trickles down to the industry level where, supported by the government, a new body to oversee the national tourism industry was founded. The body, called 'Luxembourg for Tourism', has a purpose to align the tourism industry with the national agenda.

At the organisational level, I found that family-owned hotels refer to tourism to narrativise their websites. Nonetheless, I also found that family-owned hotels are not entirely in tune with the renewal efforts by the governmental bodies. Instead of using the discourse pro-

duced by the government (such as the new Luxembourg brand, logo, and the three values), some websites prominently present the region where they operate such as Ardennes, Müllerthal, and Moselle. In other words, it is not 'nation branding' which is apparent in their websites, but 'region branding'.

By contextualising the family-owned hotels in a wider discursive space, I hope to have introduced some nuances on the dynamics that occur at the national and industry level. On a subtler note, there is a trace of the term 'tradition' being used across the three levels. At the national level, tradition is related to 'who we are' in the discourse on nation branding in which the national language serves as a common ground. At the industry level, tradition appears as ritual practices and events, which are presented in the interest to attract people to visit and experience the country. At the organisational level, tradition takes a more explicit appearance as one of the discursive acts. In the next chapter, I will bring tradition back to the centre stage by examining the narratives of five family-run hotels and how family business is lived as received tradition.

Chapter 6

Family Business as Received Tradition

To inquire into tradition is to embark on an experiential enterprise. The various sensory faculties are called for to grasp what has been taken for granted in the daily life as 'tradition'. Things that are seen, heard, touched, smelled, and tasted are all interwoven to construct the perception of tradition. It is intriguing to realise that, already, there are pre-conceptions of what counts as traditional and what does not. In some places that I have visited, there was an inescapable impression of tradition and traditionality whereas in some others such impression was less readily perceivable. Tradition is observable by those who are outside of a tradition, and this also means that tradition is something that can be projected—either deliberately or coincidentally—by those who are inside of the tradition. Yet, projection through sensory faculties is only one part. Another part is the emotional projection through stories infused with nostalgia, dramatical turns of events, and the mundanity of everyday life.

To guide the inquiry into tradition, I take the simple definition of tradition as transmitted things from the past (Shils, 1981). This definition is preferred since it allows, as a starting point, the decoupling of 'tradition' from the 'traditional'. It thus frees tradition from the various presumptions that are commonly attached to it. This definition is both obscuring and enabling. It is obscuring since everything then becomes tradition. On the other hand, it is also enabling since its broadness allows the viewing of other things that may not be construed intuitively as tradition. A limit, then, is necessary. Taking Shils (1981) as a point of departure, the limit is set by taking the angle of seeing *family business as tradition*. From this point of view, the family business and all the components that are attached to it—the stories, the objects, the people, the activities, the vision, the dream—are seen as a form of continuation from the past. The family businesses are in a state of being received by the current generation. To see the family businesses as re-

ceived traditions is, therefore, to put more emphasis in the received-ness of the family businesses.

In this chapter, I will bring the reader to attend the intersection of two kinds of beginning: the beginning of my entrance to the family businesses, and the beginning of the family business itself. The narratives that are recorded here are derived mainly from my interview with the family managers. This began, normally, by asking the history of the family business. While it is natural to start a conversation with the question of 'how did it begin', there are other reasons for the choice to do so. First, this question is expected. Hence to talk about it is a 'warming-up' that prepares both the researcher and the informant for further interactions. Second, it allows the informant to decide how the story will be delivered. Should the family history be disclosed? If so, how brief or extensive should it be disclosed? It is through this question that the informant may choose on the inclusion or omission, and whether further information will be given or withheld. Third, *to ask* about history is a window for the researcher to enter the family business, and *to answer* the question about history is a token of trust given by the informant to the researcher.

As a continuation from the previous chapter, this chapter takes a closer look at the narratives that are produced by five family-run hotels beyond their digital representation on the internet. The present chapter examines the pastness of each family-run hotel by looking at it as a 'stabilised' entity. This stabilised view lays the ground for the next chapter which focuses on the presentness of the family business as a dynamic entity. By emphasising the receivedness of the family business, this chapter asks fundamentally how tradition is brought and made available to the present generation.

From this chapter onwards, I will draw my analysis from five family-run hotels. They are (1) Grand Hotel Cravat, (2) Hotel de la Sûre, (3) Hotel Empire, (4) Hotel Français and Hotel Simoncini, and (5) Château d'Urspelt. An overview of the family businesses is provided in Table 6.1. Before I introduce the story of each hotel, I will briefly discuss the reasons why these family-run hotels are selected. Grand Hotel Cravat is chosen because it represents an old and upper class family business. Grand Hotel Cravat is one of the legendary hotels for the Luxembourgish people. Hotel de la Sûre is chosen because it represents a family business which has an active role in promoting and developing the locality. Hotel Empire is selected because

Table 6.1. Summary of the five family-run hotels under study.

Enterprise	Location	Year founded	No. of rooms	Owning family
Grand Hotel Cravat	Luxembourg-city	1895	60	Cravat family
Hotel de la Sûre	Esch-sur-Sûre	1970	23	Streumer-Van der Aar family
Hotel Empire	Luxembourg-gare	1957	35	Mertens family
Hotel Français	Luxembourg-city	1958	22	Simoncini family
Hotel Simoncini	Luxembourg-city	2008	35	
Château d'Urspelt	Urspelt	2008	55	Lodomez family

it represents an old and affordable hotel. Hotel Français and Hotel Simoncini are chosen because they represent two distinct approaches in hotel operations. Hotel Français is maintained as a continuation of a hotel ran by another family whereas Hotel Simoncini is established as a 'proof of concept' that fuses together a hotel with an art gallery. Finally, Château d'Urspelt is selected because it is the only hotel in the country which was rebuilt from an abandoned castle. Collectively, they represent a diverse set of family-run hotels where the concept of tradition is potentially rich.

6.1   GRAND HOTEL CRAVAT

In Chapter 4, I have described that my entry to the Luxembourgish family businesses started with Grand Hotel Cravat. Currently in its fourth generation, Grand Hotel Cravat is located in the city centre of Luxembourg-city. The country's iconic Golden Lady monument, or locally known as *Gëlle Fra*, is placed just across the street from the hotel. I was sitting in the hotel's lobby when Mr Carlo Cravat, the current manager, came and greeted me. I raised to shake his hand and, shortly afterwards, we were seated at the bar *Le Trianon* by the window. The Golden Lady monument stood visibly across the window, towering as if we were overseen by it.

When asked about the beginning of the family business, Mr Cravat narrated:

> So we started in 1895. So my great grandparent - um - they had an idea to launch a restaurant. Don't ask me how really this worked out because I was not there. But my great grandmother, she was a cook. And my great grandfather, he was actually in the restaurant. That was already very awk-

ward because normally, the girls are in the restaurant and the boy is stand-
ing behind the pans and the pots. So that was, for these days, we must
think one hundred and twenty years back where the women even did not
have yet the right to vote. So, the whole idea was kept up by a woman. That
was already very - future-visioned, let's call it like this. It worked out fine -
and they had time to have one child. So, that was also maybe their luck to
just have one child. Because when you just have one child you don't have
to share the heritage. So, that's the positive point, of course, when you are
a good boy, or a good child. You take over the family business. And well,
my grandfather - so he took it over. I don't know if they had discussions or
not [over the succession process]. I cannot tell you.

So, again, he got married - with my grandmother. She was a very strong
woman. When I say a strong woman, that means in all the aspects. So she
was also a leader figure. Um - she helped him very much building up the
two new buildings - so the one in the middle where we have now where
the brasserie is, and one here. This building is from 1956. So it was bought
bits by bits, when we had money we bought a new part. So you must think
that we have this part in the middle that was not belonging to us. And then
again, so people who that was staying here had to go out to street and go
in the other. So, it was a little bit strange but in these days there were not
really many big hotels. So we were in the leading position, size-wise and
quality-wise. And, in '65 when my grandparents [are in charge] they had
two children, so my father and my aunt. And of course, as we say, when
you have two children and that means that somewhere you have to share.

The beginning of Grand Hotel Cravat is a story of an entrepreneur-
ial family. Emerged from a restaurant business—with the initial con-
figuration of a woman in charge of the kitchen—it grew and became
a hotel-restaurant business. Along its history, Grand Hotel Cravat is
described to have hosted several post-World War figures such as the
American General Omar Bradley, war correspondent Ernest Hem-
ingway, and, during the Cold War, "three American astronauts who
had walked on the moon" (B. Thomas, 2014). Mr Cravat was alert to
the complexity of business succession. In the account above, he com-
mented on the first succession that "maybe their luck to just have one
child." This is in contrast with the end of the account where he hinted
towards the intricacies of the second business succession: "they had
two children, so my father and my aunt … when you have two children
[it means that] somewhere you have to share." The aunt was not willing
to be part of the family business and demanded the share of the busi-
ness. As it goes with the Luxembourgish civil law in succession where

each descendant is entitled to equal portions (Ministère d'État, 2016, Art. 745), the consequence was that the family had to pay the amount of the share to the aunt—this had left the family with a substantial financial load.

With regard to Mr Cravat's involvement in the business, he conceded:

> Um, that was very - special, let's say. I was - I was not really keen in coming in hotel business. I am very - strict person with myself and with the others. And I always wanted to join the army.

Through the disclosure of the wish to join the army, he alluded to what he did know, which was his own (un)intentionality in entering the family business. He continued:

> You know, the Luxembourgish army is not like any big army – you are not really in danger in getting killed in any war. It's more like a big boys scouts - a group. But, it's interesting, it's well-paid. It's, um, you can be retired at the age of 55. I mean, they were in that time that this was a very attractive job. And - I like, cars, guns, I like, all these kind of - I shoot since the age of 16. So, I'm quite interested in these things. And that was always my - my wish to do this. And my father somehow, he - succeeded in making me change. Uh, because he said - 'Ah, you're gonna have a nice life, you will see the world, you can travel, you will meet many people, you will see nice hotels, nice countries, open your - your, your vision,' and so on, and so on, and so on. And I thought, yes, if I stay my whole life in Luxembourg, maybe that's not going to be really - for my deep inside - it will not be enough. So I - I took the decision to go to the hotel school in Lausanne and do the four years in Lausanne and start as good as possible - and my job. So I went to Asia, I went to Hong Kong - um, because I still believe that - future lies in Asia, somehow.

His further elaboration reveals how intentionality was negotiated and 'made sense'. In the account above, Mr Cravat's initial wish was reconciled with the father's wish for the son to run the business, which constructs the business succession narrative from the third generation to the fourth generation. The outcome of this reconciliation was his departure to Switzerland and later to Hong Kong. The latter was particularly formative to his work ethic in the hospitality business. To make sense of the meaning of running a family business, he frequently 'borrowed' the Asian values and way of life such as "first we make friendship then we do business" and "you don't have to lose face".

He returned to Luxembourg at the age of 26 and then started to work for the family business. The father had passed away in 2003, leaving behind his wife, daughter, and son. Since then, Mr Cravat's mother has been owning the majority of ownership while Mr Cravat himself has been in charge as a general manager. Mr Cravat's sister, however, is not involved in the ownership nor the management of the business.

Mr Cravat expressed that among the intricacies of running a family business is the historical and emotional bearings on its governance. In his own words:

> … they were talking about the governance during the presentation [at the night of the Paperjam event] – so you must see what kind of governance that is the right one for your company. And that is – every company, as it is an independent company, is different. You cannot take – okay, I take this governance and - pfft! - we do that. That's not possible. You can look at some ideas to make up your mind what you want to do. But in the END, you must decide. You must decide with your head and with your heart.

> *Rocky: That's difficult.*

> The heart is the most difficult one.

> *Rocky: Emotion, yeah.*

> Because the emotional part - [long pause] [exhales] - can make you lose a lot of money. … And that is why I say, in family business very often the sentimental part is the one that is difficult – we have been doing like this – for three generations! Why should I change now? Times are changing, you must change. And that is the most important. That is one of the real points where many family business fail. Because they are not reactive enough. Not reactive enough to the attacks of outside. To the changes.

Since 2008 until 2014, the family was deciding whether to continue the restaurant or stopping it. The continuous support that the restaurant had enjoyed was disrupted when the global financial crisis struck in 2008. Business travels became much shorter, and the hotel's occupancy rate dropped significantly. This situation made it difficult for the family to maintain the financial support to the restaurant. Several moves had been taken such as shortening the opening hours and shutting down the operations during the low season. These measures did not make a favourable difference. Mr Cravat admitted that with these strategies the hotel had once incurred an even greater loss. It was after exhausting nearly all the options for cost-saving that one alternative dawned on Mr Cravat to entirely stop the restaurant. He proposed

this idea to his mother and was responded with resistance. The family has been keeping the restaurant running for three generations and to get rid of it was unprecedented. As indicated in the account above, it took the family six years to come to a definite conclusion. The restaurant was shut entirely by 31 December 2014.

In March 2015, few months after the official closure of the restaurant, a public announcement was made that the restaurant will be reopened. Another family business, which was also a hotel-restaurant business, had expressed an interest to open a restaurant in Grand Hotel Cravat's premises. It was Mr Laurent Roder and Mrs Romaine Roder who had committed to a partnership with Grand Hotel Cravat to continue the family tradition. This collaboration was a new chapter in the history of the two hotels. In an article for *Paperjam*, Mr Cravat stated:

> Roder and Cravat is the alliance of two Luxembourgish families from the hotel industry to make the traditions alive - the tradition of the brasserie within the hotel and the tradition of the classical brasserie. (Clarinval, 2015)

The official news of their partnership came out in March 2015, but it was since October 2014 that the two families had started the conversation. When asked about their initial contact, Mr Cravat recalled:

> … when we took the decision in the family that we would stop with the F&B[1] on the 31st of December, my first official - speech I did concerning that [matter] was at - at the gala dinner of the Euro-Toques. Euro-Toques is an European Union of chef cooks and I have been member of this for a long time. And the - the president is a good friend of mine and I said, 'Listen, I would like to give a very important message on your gala dinner. Give me the possibility to do that.' He said, 'Of course. This is a real news. And maybe you can help chef cooks while looking for a new restaurant to get the opportunity to contact you directly after the dinner. And maybe find a new spot to go on with their job.' So, we agreed to what I would say and when I would say, and so on and so on, and - on the gala dinner there was a gentleman who was selling wine and - he had heard from that family that was looking for a restaurant, and that's how we came together. He called me a week later and he said, 'Mr Cravat I think I found your future partner.' I said, 'It cannot be.' And, yes, that was.

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1. F&B stands for 'food and beverage', or the restaurant.

Figure 6.1. Grand Hotel Cravat. Source: author's own photograph.

The collaboration began with much optimism. Throughout the year, strategic meetings were routinely held to align the vision of the two families. One and a half year later, however, the three-generation-old Hotel-Brasserie Roder filed their bankruptcy and exited the business. This was not expected by Mr Cravat—nor did he was informed of its coming. The sudden (re)closure has made him more wary of taking an external party on board. For more than a year since then, the restaurant has been left vacant. From the outset, Grand Hotel Cravat (shown in Figure 6.1) seemed to be stable and unchanging. Yet, from the inside, Grand Hotel Cravat is also a narrative of deliberate stabilising in the face of constant tensions.

6.2   HOTEL DE LA SÛRE

The oral history that is recounted at Grand Hotel Cravat stands in contrast with the textual history at Hotel de la Sûre. Upon my visit, the history was presented with a paper detailing the chronology of the business. An excerpt of the first 30 years of the hotel's history is shown in Table 6.2 (available also through its website). Started out in 1969 as a hotel bought by a Dutch contractor Mr Ben Streumer, the hotel has undergone multiple transformation and change in the course of two

generations.

Table 6.2. The history of Hotel de la Sûre. Source: Hotel de la Sûre's own website.

1969–1970	restoration of the hotel.
1971	opening of the discotheque.
1972	closing of the discotheque.
1978	purchase of the appendix Rue de la Poste.
1979–1980	construction in this building.
1980	opening of the appendix, increasing the capacity of the hotel of 11 rooms and making it pass to 20 rooms.
1986	purchase of the Building industry SCHOUG behind the hotel and restoration of the brewery.
1987	opening of the new restaurant COMTE GODEFROY.
1989	opening of the appendix rooms behind the hotel.
1990	opening new reception.
1990–1994	Ronald assembles the national team of the cooks of Luxembourg, gains the 7th world place over 38 countries.
1992	the reception being a very important thing, creation of a new reception.
1994	complete renewal of the Brasserie - Bar.
1995	renewal of the hotel and hall entries.
1996	renewal of all the rooms in appendix Rue de la Poste.
1998	Total renewal of the "coffee-brewery", the terrace "Am Schlassgaart" and the entries of the hotel.
Start 1999	restorations of the hotel rooms (Standard C).
2000	Creation of the Wellness room: Shower, hammam, sauna and jacuzzi.

Geographically, Hotel de la Sûre is located in Esch-sur-Sûre, a small village in the Ardennes region of Luxembourg. With rivers, forests, and castles, the Ardennes region is unique in its nature and medieval atmosphere. The landscape of Esch-sur-Sûre is surrounded by the meander of River Sûre, which gently separates the village from the forested area. Upon my visit, I had the impression of the village as an old, calm, and tightly-knit neighbourhood. With a population of 364 inhabitants (Esch-sur-Sûre, 2015), I can imagine that people in the village know who's who rather well. The village is hilly, and at the epicentre of the hill sits a castle that is open for public visits. Hotel de la Sûre is situated in adjacent to the castle.

I had scheduled an appointment to have an interview with Mr Ronald Streumer, the family manager of Hotel de la Sûre. Having arrived earlier than the schedule, I had a chance to observe the surrounding be-

fore an uphill walk to the hotel. Walking up, the hotel lies at the corner of the bend right behind the church. I entered the hotel at 14.00, and right in front of me I saw a tall man standing with glasses hanging on his neck. I had the impression that he must be Mr Streumer, but I was unsure—and he was occupied in a conversation with a man in a suit. So I decided to find a place to sit and wait in the reception area. The two men went away, and the lady at the reception desk was busy in a phone call. I waited until the lady ended the call before I approached her to prompt my intention. She fielded another call. There were some conversations, possibly a little negotiation. Shortly after, the lady hung up the phone and began to introduce herself as the sister of Mr Streumer, Mrs Bianca Streumer. She explained further that the interview would be done with her on behalf of his brother. I nodded. She then prepared some materials, papers, brochures, leaflets, and booklets, before we both left the reception area. We moved to the restaurant *Comte Godefroy* and sat on one of the tables.

In the beginning, I was presented with a printout of the hotel's chronological history, which I took as an answer to my question of the history of the family business. Then we conversed about her involvement in the business. Different from the previous case of Mr Cravat who openly said that he had a different wish, Mrs Streumer's account did not show any contention in her involvement in the business. Her entry into the business seemed to be a 'natural' process. She started:

> I am the child of the owners, so I grew up here in the hotel. And then, yes, even then after that I have been at the hotel school here in Diekirch and then I studied for service, management, kitchen, and then later in the holidays I was working here, and then later I was working in France, in Corsica, I stayed there. Even after all these that we have been at school we need to make an internship of three months. First to start here in Luxembourg and then later you can go outside of Luxembourg.

Running the company together with her brother, the siblings divided the roles by ascribing the sister to be in charge for the back-office while the brother is in charge more on the restaurant. However, as the business is embedded with the family, the question of 'role' also seemed to be absurd. I asked:

> *Rocky: What was your first role in the hotel?*
>
> Uh - pffh - when I was a child, I was doing a washing up, I was helping the clients, I sold ice cream … later I helped sometimes in the kitchen, later in

the service. Yes. Everything. Everything, yeah.

Rocky: … and now, what is your responsibility?

My responsibility is the reception, the personnel, all the area of the personnel, the contracts. Human resource. Also accounting, and then the reception service.

Rocky: … and your brother, he is -

He does the kitchen, and then – to buy the food. The supplies. I do more back-office. Yeah.

In the media, Mr Ronald Streumer had been featured in several TV programmes—both Luxembourg-based or foreign. As a chef, Mr Streumer was filmed in one programme preparing and sharing a recipe of a traditional dish. As a hotel manager, he was featured in the coverage of the hotel's reputation as the country's first 'book hotel', i.e. a hotel where books can be found in almost every corner. Also, on a recent visit by a South Korean TV programme, he was featured to show around the hospitality and beauty of the hotel and the village. Conversely, the role of Mrs Bianca Streumer has been less visible. In a coverage by a German TV media, Mr Streumer described his role as the 'locomotive that can be difficult to brake and often tried to go through the wall' while his sister was described as the 'Kehrmaschine' or the sweeper 'which sweeps away the openings' in the back of the business (VOX, 2016).

As one of the oldest hotels in Esch-sur-Sûre, Hotel de la Sûre (shown in Figure 6.2) has a strong connection to the local communities. In 2010, the hotel—in collaboration with the local community—was the opening of the shop *Em de Séi a Méi*, a shop to display and sell local products, artisanal gifts, and antiquities. One of the residents described the hotel as 'long in the tooth' with notable influence in the area. In the recent construction of the *Rock Spa* in 2014, it was said that some of the residents were involved to witness the digging process as it happened near the rocks of the castle. Lastly, the hotel has been a gathering place for motorbikers. Aligning with the two siblings' passion in motorbiking, the hotel provides various services and facilities for motorbikers such as touring track, motorbike garage, and motorbike bathroom.

Figure 6.2. Hotel de la Sûre. Source: author's own photograph.

6.3   HOTEL EMPIRE

If the founding history of Grand Hotel Cravat was told orally and the history of Hotel de la Sûre was told textually, it was in Hotel Empire that the telling of the history was told in combination with some visual elements. Hotel Empire is located in the Central Station area (locally known as Place de la Gare or Luxembourg-Gare) in Luxembourg-city. Standing squarely at the opposite of the station, Hotel Empire is one of the few surviving hotels that were established at the main street. The hotel is surrounded by the buildings of multinational banks such as Société Générale (France) and ING (the Netherlands). Other hotels, usually smaller in size, are also present but they are located further away from the main street. The history of Hotel Empire spans more than 100 years, yet its chronological list is much shorter than Hotel de la Sûre's (see Table 6.3). Different from Grand Hotel Cravat and Hotel de la Sûre which are founded as a single-sited business of the family, Hotel Empire emerged from the family's businesses around the hotel.

I met with Mr Victor Mertens who represents the fourth-generation of the family business. As per usual, the first touching point after getting into the hotel is the receptionist, where I prompted my purpose of visit. I was told to wait and then I sat in the lobby. The re-

Table 6.3. The history of Hotel Empire. Source: Hotel Empire's own website.

1900	Already at the beginning of the past century, the family (great-grandmother and grandparents) opened different gastronomic facilities (Hölze Bud, Mosella, Ems) near the Place de la Gare.
1939	Mr. Egide Mertens purchased the property where now the hotel Empire stands.
1945	Opening of a pub on the property.
1957	Construction of the hotel Empire.
1963	Mr. Josy Mertens and his wife took over the management of the hotel.
1986	Julien and Victor Mertens took over the management of the hotel.
1992	Beginning of the rebuiling and modernization of the hotel.
2000–2015	Complete renovation of hotel rooms, of which now 40% are superior rooms.
2018	Opening in February of a new restaurant with lounge area on the 1st floor.

ceptionist area was relatively small compared to Grand Hotel Cravat. There were sofas in front of the entrance and a beverage dispenser on one corner. Near the entrance door, I saw some promotional material from the Luxembourg City Tourism Office, and I picked a couple of them to flip around—the ride of the Petrusse train and the City Sightseeing bus, among others. A moment later, Mr Mertens arrived. After short greetings, we both went up to the first floor to the breakfast area.

It was a sunny morning, and we sat near the window. The room was warm and bright and, apart from us, there were not many people in the room. At around 10 in the morning, the breakfast hour has just ended. Mr Mertens performed some courtesies to make me comfortable. He left his seat and returned with a plate of two mini-croissants and poured orange juice in my glass. As he composed himself in his seat, I introduced myself again. Typically, I would have continued by asking the history of the business and then asking the involvement of the person in charge. This time, however, I thought I would do it in reverse order. I began the conversation by asking about his involvement in the hotel.

Similar to Mr Cravat, for Mr Mertens, it was not his initial intention to join the family business:

> Well, at the beginning I did not want to go to – [the business]. I wanted to study something else. We are three brothers. And, uh - one brother, he worked always in the hotel. From the beginning he was in the reception. And then when my parents retired, so he was alone, and I don't know how it came but I was involved also in the hotel. … my brother always worked already before in the reception when my parents were still here. And when they retired, he continued. But it's difficult when you are alone. Because we are open 365 days here, and 24 hours. Until I am involved also and till today we make it only with the two, you know. But our wives don't – they have other works. They are not involved in the hotel.

Mr Mertens had wished to continue his study in literature. His involvement in the business started gradually and seemed to be induced by the intention to help his older brother. The youngest brother is not involved in the business as he is a practising doctor. I later learned that one of Mr Mertens' son is already involved in the business with the setting up and maintenance of the hotel's website.

The visual history of Hotel Empire came to surface when I asked about the history of the hotel. Mr Mertens had with him a thick folder containing archives of, among others, newspaper articles, renovation plan, and old photos. As a response to my question, he paused, opened his folder, and took some pictures out. He handed the photographs to my view. While my eyes were fixed on the photos, he explained:

> At the beginning it was just a restaurant. It was my grandparents who bought the place here. And it was before the World War. In 1940. They have to wait after the war. They have built here in the same place [pointing towards the picture]
>
> *Rocky: This is the corner [of the street where the hotel is currently located].*
>
> That's the corner, yes, where the hotel is. Empire. Yeah.
>
> *Rocky: Empire. So, only one floor [at the time].*
>
> Yeah. It was directly after the World War in '45, '46 they built this. But before they had already another – Ems restaurant, which was here [pointing towards the restaurant]. They had already [a restaurant]
>
> *Rocky: So, it's a bit away from this [hotel].*
>
> They spent some money they have kept it during the war, so that after the war they could build that. And then in 1957, they've built - uh - [flipping through the photographs] - yeah, here you see also [showing another photograph]. The other hotel [in the area] was already built. The President. And here was [our hotel] - the small - [indicating to Hotel Empire]

Rocky: I see. There were many hotels before, like hotel Kontz, hotel Excelsior …

Yeah, yeah, there were plenty!

I was able to closely relate to the history of the Gare area since this is my neighbourhood. This place is where I have been living since 2014 when I started the PhD. Therefore, when Mr Mertens showed me the photographs, the immediate impression that struck me was how different the scenery was sixty years ago. As I saw it in the picture, the Gare area used to be populated with many hotels and restaurants—big and small. In contrast to today, there has been a noticeable transformation in the area. Multiple hotels and restaurants were replaced with a couple of office buildings. In early 2017, I read on the news the bankruptcy of Mercure Grand Hotel Alfa, which was located only three buildings away from Hotel Empire. Hotel Alfa was one of the biggest hotels in the proximity and, with its sudden demise, there are only three hotels left on the same street: Hotel Empire and two others which are Best Western Hotel International and City Hotel.

Hotel Empire (shown in Figure 6.3) is a story of an enduring family business. Different from Grand Hotel Cravat which has retained a reputation as a luxury hotel, there is a strong sense of practicalities in Hotel Empire. Despite the family's early history in the restaurant business, the current identity of the hotel seems to be less dependent on its past. At the moment, the hotel operates a small pizzeria on the ground floor, which helped the hotel during low seasons. The interior and the rooms of the hotel are designed in with the impression of practicality. They provide what the guests need. The breakfast area in the first floor was the only room where I can see some reminiscence of the past. Some old photographs, a vintage piano in the middle of the room, and a couple of other old acoustic instruments were displayed. Mr Mertens stated that this is the oldest room in the hotel, and a plan is already set to renovate the room with an entirely new look by January 2018.

6.4   HOTEL FRANÇAIS AND HOTEL SIMONCINI

Families made their way to the business through a different entrance. Grand Hotel Cravat was founded as a restaurant and had grown into a hotel-restaurant business. Hotel de la Sûre was established from the beginning as a hotel and had expanded with the establishment of the

Figure 6.3. Hotel Empire. Source: author's own photograph.

restaurant and spa facilities. Hotel Empire emerged from several restaurants to become a hotel with several buildings. In all these cases, the business was passed over from one generation to another within the same family.

Nonetheless, it is not always the case that the business is transmitted to the same family. This was the case for Hotel Français. Hotel Français is originated from Café Français that dates back to 1920s. As stated in its official website, it was in 1958 that Hotel Français was built under the ownership of Michaely family and, in 1968, the ownership was transferred to Mr André Simoncini to continue the business. If other hotels described earlier are a multi-generational business within the same family, Hotel Français is a multi-generational business of different families.

In Hotel Français, Mr Andre Simoncini was given the privilege to have bought the business as part of the will of another family. He recounted:

> You know, this hotel we have – had this hotel only on a contract for more than 27 years. And even – [long pause] – even 30 years I had this contract. I was not the owner. And I had very short contracts, for 5 years each time. So it was very difficult in the management because I was not able to invest

– for a long term. And in the meantime, the owner was saying to me, the lady, "when I will die you can – my daughters, I have given the instruction that they have to sell it to you." And so 15 years ago I was able to buy it. You know, I was able to buy it.

Hotel and Café Français (shown in Figure 6.4) is situated in one of the squares in Luxembourg-city called Place d'Armes. It is three minutes walk from Grand Hotel Cravat. The building is neighbouring with Café de Paris and a fast food restaurant Quick. Historically, Café Français have existed, together with Café de Paris, as early as 1939. With such a long presence, Café and Hotel Français is described to have a unique identity in the society. He explained:

> I have, of course, made a very big change of the hotel, and the result is - the structure, let's say like that, the structure and the activity which we have contributed to introduce in the 'collective unconscious', you know. In this sense, this hotel, or the café, I'm running it now for more than 44 years, has had a very big impact. Because I was not the man which is just making business, I was, through my shops here, sharing friendships and social relations with the Luxembourg persons or the foreigner, and I think that's the typical aspect of a family management … So there is not only element to earn, but an element to make happy others and to share.

Unlike other family managers presented earlier, Mr Simoncini did not have formal training in the hotel business. Nor did he live witnessing his parents managing a hotel. Quite unrelated to the hospitality business, he used to work for NATO, and he was—and still is—a writer. He recalled:

> I was working for NATO. And uh - you know, as I was also a young man, I was writing but for long period, for more than four years, I was not writing anymore. But in the meantime, I was - I want to be independent. Independent. Because I had this feeling for creation. And of course, I had no money at all. But in the meantime, I was saying with money I would be able to secure my family and in the meantime I will be able to be independent, and I might be in the position to do - to create more. And then I bought a house, and I had a collection of books and of etchings, and I was opening that - without having the pretension to make something very important. And a person came confirming that it was a gallery. So I was very shocked. And then I was learning my job. And step by step, I have made my - uh - I have built a concept. And I had in Switzerland the director of a museum. Which was very nice with me. And he gave me, in two weeks, a

Figure 6.4. Café and Hotel Français. Source: author's own photograph.

> lesson for two years university. Yes, he was making a very wonderful synthesis. And he was also a director of a broadcast [company]. He was very nice with me. He made a wonderful opening and then, afterwards, step by step I have made my evolution.

In 1981, several years after becoming an hotelier, Mr Simoncini had opened an art gallery named Galerie Simoncini. It used to be located in 20 rue Louvigny in the city centre and had moved to 6 rue de Notre Dame, where I met Mr Simoncini for the first time.

My first encounter with Mr André Simoncini occurred when I attended one of the gallery openings in Galerie Simoncini. Periodically, the gallery showcases various artists' work such as paintings, engravings, and sculptures. In one evening, there was a public invitation to attend the launching of an exposition after the summer break. I went to the gallery to observe, and also hoping that I would meet with Mr Simoncini. And I saw him, in his formal attire, a person in his early 70s warmly greeted the invitees in the gallery. If there was a sign of age, I did not see except the wrinkles on his eyes which accompanied his smile. I approached him, and we both exchanged some words. Mr Simoncini is a well-known person in Luxembourg not only in the business scene but in the cultural and political scene. With the estab-

lishment of the gallery and a publishing company *Editions Simoncini*, he has earned a reputation not only as an hotelier but also as a gallerist as well as a literary publisher. His name is mentioned in the scholarly work of Kieffer (1991) as one of the immigrant poets who shaped Luxembourg's literary tradition. He used to be a politician and, together with his son, he is still well connected with the administration in voicing his concept on city development.

Galerie Simoncini is located three-minute walk to the south from Hotel Français. Spatially, Galerie Simoncini cohabits the same space with a hotel with the same name, Hotel Simoncini. Hotel Simoncini was the second hotel that Mr Simoncini had purchased after Hotel Français—a significant decision that had helped him to sustain the operation of the family business. He conferred:

> So in the meantime, the family hotel which I bought afterwards we have made the renewal, and in the meantime I was seeing that this is very difficult to keep an hotel of 22 rooms running. Because the charging is more, and I was looking for another hotel for even 30 rooms. A small hotel. Then I had a chance, 11 years ago, to have a look on this hotel, and I bought it, and I made the renewal. You know, and with the two hotels together, I have now, I'm making an economy of scales, you know, which give me a chance to carry on with my activities.
>
> *Rocky: Okay. So before it was quite difficult for you?*
>
> It was working but in the meantime, I was seeing that it might be a good thing to – so I made a major effort to buy that.

In contrast to Hotel Français which is neat but retained some of its historical elements, the lobby of Hotel Simoncini is a minimalist, monochrome-toned hotel. The walls and ceiling are painted in white, and each of the corners is accentuated with white lighting. The floor is grey, and it blends well with the darker shade of grey of the reception desk. In its opposite, there are two pairs of white sofas placed alongside the wall. Two large panels of glass are set as the windows which makes it visible for the pedestrian to see through and for the guests to see outside. Contemporary art artefacts are evident in this hotel—from red paintings to black sculptures—thus giving an accent to the plain and simplistic atmosphere of the lobby. As a final touch, the monochromatic tone is given life with a sprinkle of green from the plants. The lobby is not big, but it feels spacious since half of it is left as an empty space. The hotel's design language is repeated in the gal-

Figure 6.5. Hotel and Galerie Simoncini. Source: author's own photograph.

lery: white paint, large glass windows along the wall, and ample space to display the artworks.

Hotel Simoncini (shown in Figure 6.5) is a space for experimentation. Mr Simoncini believes that a family business plays a vital role in the development of the city. By juxtaposing an hotel and an art gallery—as well as its favourable reception by the public and the guests—the family business is a 'proof of concept' of the belief that the city should adopt an approach that embraces diversity and multiplicity.

6.5   CHÂTEAU D'URSPELT

Moving to the north-end of Luxembourg, there lies a castle hotel called Château d'Urspelt. The hotel is currently managed by a husband-and-wife, Mr Yannick Ruth and Mrs Diana Lodomez. In operation since 2008, the castle-hotel seems to be run by the first-generation family founders. However, its status as a family business is more appropriately understood in relation to the business of Mrs Diana Lodomez's father, Mr Freddy Lodomez, in the construction industry. The beginning of the castle-hotel was chronicled by the

general manager, Mr Ruth:

> So, we're married. Our father, he is a self-made man, really. Who is specialised in real estate development. So we are coming, our family, we live in Belgium. We live just across the border - sixty kilometres away, which is very convenient it's not too far. And our father has been active in real estate development first in Belgium, then for - I will say, specific reasons - to Luxembourg. Now he's approaching - 72, today, yeah. And he has made all this career, all this business projects in Luxembourg, first starting in individual houses, and then it turns to - I will say - more apartment development. So small flats and - building of six or sixteen units. And he made - uh - gently, his path through Luxembourg development and he approached an anniversary of his company. So the company, as we are located in both countries, he has two different companies. There is one in Belgium, so a Belgium company, and a Luxembourg company.

> He approached, I think it was 25 years anniversary of his first company in Belgium, and he went to one castle in the neighbourhood to rent it for an event. He organised big party with all his team, all his friends, all his contacts, all the facilitators of the development. He celebrated something very big.

> [Mrs Lodomez] and his dream was to rebuild a castle. Yes.

> *Rocky: I see.*

> [Mr Ruth] So he was already dreaming about a castle, and he wanted to have a castle just as a rent, because he liked it - the spirit of building. Two years later, I think it's two years later, Diana, yes the second anniversary of his second company in Luxembourg. Same age, 25 years old. And he said, "What will I do, I have to celebrate another time." He went to the closest castle, which is the castle of Clervaux, the city hall of Clervaux. And he went to the mayor, we were close to the mayor due to this real estate development. He said, "May I rent your castle for organising this party?" And the mayor was, I would say, a challenging guy. He said, "Ah you don't have to rent this one, I can show you your next castle." He [the father] said, "Do you have any castle?" "Ah, I have an idea, I can show you something maybe you'll be interested." That's it. Then he drove - with the mayor - and he approached this place. It was really really damaged, really really in bad state. And there was a small forest, which now disappeared but the building was, I will say, hidden behind the trees. And he fell in love - with the place. And he decided to buy it over - to start rebuilding. That's the end of my explanation but that's the really really beginning of the story of the castle. Because it started with this moment when the mayor drove him here.

To go to Urspelt, I had to take a train from Luxembourg-city to Clervaux and to be continued with a 10-minute bus ride from the Clervaux station to Urspelt. Stepping out from the Clervaux train station, I could already feel the presence of Lodomez family. Several construction vans with a decal F. LODOMEZ CONSTRUCTION were parked on the side of the street adjacent to the station—and a couple more on my way to Urspelt. My bus stopped right in front of the castle. Stepping down, I observed that the castle is situated on a hilly side of the area, which is obviously typical since castles are most likely to be found on the top of the hill. The surrounding neighbourhood was quiet and peaceful. The loudest noise that I could hear at that afternoon was the humming engine of the cars that come and go intermittently. When there were no vehicles around, it was the chirping of the birds that ornate the air—and the buzzing of the bee that just approached me.

I proceeded to the main gate and found the reception building on the right. I pushed through the wooden door and I was entering, quite literally, a place where the medieval is in coexistence with the digital. Starting from the door, the automatic door closer did not use the standard hydraulic or spring system but a thick rope with one end attached to the top of the door and another end tied to a pendulum as a counterweight. I walked further towards the reception and found a robot assistant—a little black-and-white human-like robot—that recognises and greets people who look at it. I was escorted to the seating area with chairs and fireplace. It was there where I met with Mr Yannick Ruth and Mrs Lodomez for the first time.

In the account above, Mr Ruth began the narrative by mentioning "the spirit of building" to describe the passion of the father. This passion is also found as the espoused values or 'corporate culture'. Therein it is stated:

> Modernity has its roots: the tradition! Its strength lies in the values that have proved their worth.
>
> For F. LODOMEZ CONSTRUCTIONS, building is a state of mind. It is presented through our various activities, with as a point of support the quality. And the human at the centre. For more than 25 years!
>
> Its strengths? Flexibility, integration of all stages of construction, sense of work, experience. Of course. But at F. LODOMEZ CONSTRUCTIONS, corporate culture holds an equally important place. With the shared will to privilege the human relations, the conviviality, the soul of artisan … It

is that also, the Strength of the Tradition! (F. Lodomez Constructions, 2017)[2]

In contrast with other hotels narrated earlier which maintained the continuity of the business within the family (and between families), Château d'Urspelt emerged as a new business entity. The receivedness of it as tradition comes not through the inter-generational succession but through the revival of things from the past. The castle, which was previously hidden and abandoned, was found by the family. The castle was 'given' by the local mayor and 'received' by the Lodomez family to be bought and rebuilt. However, while the physical feature of the castle was in the family's disposition, they were not, at least in the beginning, in possession of its narrative. As a result, there was a narrative void between the beginning of the castle itself and the 'founding' of the castle by the Lodomez family. This void was filled by what Mr Ruth explained in his account earlier: "That's the end of my explanation but that's the really really beginning of the story of the castle. Because it started with this moment when the mayor drove him here."

In the hotel's official website (Château d'Urspelt, 2017), the narrative beginning of the castle is now part of the narrative of the hotel:

> The origins of the chateau date back more than 300 years. Over three centuries the building has seen its share of vicissitudes and long court cases between its previous owners. This was the case right up until 1862 when a certain Armand Bouvier became its master and started carrying out important renovation work on it. He paid particular attention to the gardens, which still retain their overall original design today. In particular, he is to be thanked for the wonderful path lined with elms. This exceptional tree has now become a rarity in the region.

> The chateau suffered a great deal of damage during the Second World War. Requisitioned by the Germans, this almost sacred institution became their local command post for the north of Luxemburg. At the height of the Battle of Ardennes, it was abandoned to US soldiers (26th Inf "Yan-

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2. La modernité a ses racines : la tradition ! Sa force, elle la puise dans les valeurs qui ont fait leur preuve.

Pour F. LODOMEZ CONSTRUCTIONS, construire est un état d'esprit. Il se décline au travers de nos différentes activités, avec comme point d'appui la qualité. Et l'humain au centre. Depuis plus de 25 ans !

Ses points forts ? Souplesse, intégration de toutes les étapes de construction, sens du travail, expérience. Bien sûr. Mais chez F. LODOMEZ CONSTRUCTIONS, la culture d'entreprise tient une place tout aussi importante. Avec la volonté partagée de privilégier le savoir-être, la convivialité, l'âme d'artisan … C'est ça aussi, la Force de la Tradition !

kee Division") who settled in for the harsh winter of 1944. To keep themselves warm, these soldiers were to tear down and burn part of its precious woodwork.

Neglected from that time on, the chateau gradually began to disappear behind overgrown vegetation and be forgotten by the local people.

But this was only until a certain day in 2005 when Mr Freddy Lodomez, an entrepreneur with a passion for restoration and national heritage, literally fell in love with the chateau and decided to acquire it and bring it back to its former glory. He aimed to achieve a happy alchemy of past and present, authentic and modern, comfort and practicality.

For three years, about a hundred craftsmen worked non-stop, with the greatest respect for local traditions and what remained of the existing building, to return the chateau to its former beauty and splendour.

Mrs Lodomez has been heavily involved in the rebuilding project since 2005. As the project grew, her husband, who at the time worked in a security industry, was called to help. After a while, the magnitude of the project has forced the husband to quit his former employer and committed full time for the castle project. In 2008, the revival was completed and the grand opening of the castle was responded favourably. It has attracted media attention and the castle was awarded as national heritage site by the government of Luxembourg. Since then, the growing demand from its guests have driven the rapid expansion of the castle. New facilities such as rooms, kitchens, and bar have been built to accommodate the demand—and more facilities, including a helicopter landing pad, are on the way to be built. With all these additions, Château d'Urspelt (shown in Figure 6.6) is at the same time traditional and modern.

6.6   RECEIVING THE ROOTS OF TRADITION

In this chapter, the narrative beginning of five family-owned hotels has been introduced. Placed side by side, their narratives indicate two processes: the process of becoming a family business and the process of being a family business. As a process of becoming, narrative is the crystallisation of the becoming of the family business. It provides a relatively stable point of origin that serves to explain how the family entered the business as well as how the business becomes one with the family. Events long gone, actions long performed, and intentions long shared are entwined in a narrative. For the family, narrative is a point

Figure 6.6. Château d'Urspelt. Source: author's own photograph.

of contact to the past which appears in a range of forms that is more or less complex. The enumeration of the year(s), actor(s), and action(s) is one of the simpler forms. A chronicle that is nuanced with a plot is a more complex one. In any of the forms, however, it is apparent that *narrativity* as one of the roots of tradition is received and re-told through a combination of the oral, the textual, and the visual medium.

As past events, the narrative beginnings of the family businesses presented earlier are unchangeable past processes. They are unchangeable in a sense the becoming of the family business has now turned into the being of a family business. In this light, the present is a product of such past processes. Through narrative, then, the present is made sense as a continuity from the past. For the current generation who are in charge of the business, the narratives of past events serve to relive past experience, to connect with the predecessors, and to guide the way forward. Corresponding to the second point, it is here that narratives represent the being of the family business—the narrative beginning defines who they *are*.

Family business is received in the present as a tradition through its *temporality*, *spatiality*, and *materiality*. In this respect, the exterior imagery of the hotels (Figure 6.1 until Figure 6.6) are presented purposively. On the one hand, these images represent how, looking from

a distance, family business as tradition is received as a fixed thing. Through time, family business produces its own narratives often with a recursive reference with time itself—"we started in 1895", "it was directly after the World War in '45, '46 they built this", "we have had this hotel only on a contract for more than 27 years." In space, the physical existence of the family business represents the location of tradition. Tradition is demarcated by the boundary of the business' physical existence. It is 'there' that we can find tradition. On the other hand, the exterior view of the family business is to suggest that the fixity of tradition from the outset hides the dynamics that are ongoing, in a varying degree of tension, from the inside. The present chapter has been dedicated to introduce the former.

At the beginning of this chapter, I set out by taking the view of tradition as transmitted things. After introducing the narrative beginning of the five family-run hotels, I further specify that while tradition *appears* in transmitted things, it also *emerges* through the transmission of things. In this light, the transmitted-ness of things in their finished and unchangeable sense are the outcome of the transmission. This view also implies that the appearance of things in the current generation is made possible through the fact that they have undergone the process of transmission. As a consequence, things that are not transmitted—forgotten stories, untold events, undisclosed intentions, unrealised actions—did not pass through a transmission process and hence they are inaccessible in the present as tradition.

Having introduced the five family businesses, I will then take the reader further to move from viewing tradition in its receivedness towards viewing tradition in its enactedness in the next chapter. Some indications of the latter have appeared in this chapter. That is, owner-managers are not passive recipients of tradition but they are also active enactors of tradition in virtue of continuing what has been received. This chapter has been about examining the apparent fixity of the family businesses where they are seen as stable and unchanging entities. In the next chapter, I go deeper to the narratives of the five family-owned hotels and shift towards the view that traditions are not only received but they are also actively performed.

Chapter 7

Family Business as Enacted Tradition

Whether the current owner-managers have witnessed the founding of the business or they are separated several generations away from the founding of the business, the pre-existence of the family businesses sets the context for current actions. The previous chapter has been focused on the pre-existence of the family businesses as traditions by looking at their transmittedness. In this chapter, a stance is taken to see how things that have been transmitted to the present become the arena on which the family businesses are enacted as traditions. In line with Vansina (1985), this chapter takes the point of view that family businesses are traditions not only because they are received but also because they are performed. Human agency is necessary for the appearance of tradition since, as noted by Shils (1981, pp. 14–15), "only living, knowing, desiring human beings" can enact and modify traditions. Accordingly, the five family-run hotels introduced earlier will be abstracted based on the enactment process that they represent.

In order to flesh out the enactment process, I draw from the dualities/dialectics perspective (Farjoun, 2010, 2017) which views 'interpenetration of opposites' (Farjoun, 2017, p. 95) as one of the foundational principles of the ontology of process. Within this perspective, stability and change "feed one another diachronically" (Farjoun, 2010, p. 214), and they are "contradictory but also mutually enabling" (Farjoun, 2010, p. 202). From this angle, four dualities of enactment are revealed: (1) repetition and novelty, (2) preservation and abandonment, (3) being and appearing, and (4) certainty and possibility. Collectively, these dualities represent four dissimilar tensions of stability and change that unfold in the enactment of the family businesses as tradition. There is a specific sense of meaning in each duality which is briefly explained as follows.

The first duality is repetition and novelty. Repetition points to the recursive practices that are enacted periodically. Novelty, on the other

Table 7.1. Dualities in the enactment of the family business as tradition.

Duality	Manifestation
Repetition and novelty	Performing for an outsider
	Performing with an outsider
Preservation and abandonment	Keeping the narrative identity
	Enduring the local transformation
	Reviving the abandoned heritage
Being and appearing	Being younger, appearing older
	Being older, appearing younger
Certainty and possibility	As a dialogue between generations
	As a long-term approach for experimentation

hand, is to be understood as the emergence of unfamiliar experience that is in contrast to the familiarity and predictability of repetition. Repetition and novelty, hence, is a tension between re-enacting past practices and introducing the new, which is initiated, performed, and guarded by actors with authority. The second duality is preservation and abandonment. To preserve is to maintain the presence of something, to keep it alive, and to protect its existence. Abandonment, on the other hand, is to get rid of something, to cease its preservation, and to neglect and discontinue its existence. Preservation and abandonment, then, refers to the continuity of existence—both in time and in space—as well as the continuity of the narrative. The third duality is being and appearing. This duality addresses the possible dissociation between what things are and what things seem to be. Being is used specifically to denote the life cycle of the family business whereas appearing is to refer to the material appearance of the family business. Finally, the last duality is certainty and possibility. Certainty alludes to the tendency to stabilise flux whereas possibility refers to the tendency to allow dynamics. Certainty relates to the need for safety whereas possibility relates to the need for experimentation. Certainty weeds away multiplicity whereas possibility invites diversity. A summary of this chapter is provided in Table 7.1.

As a note, in each form of dualities I am using the conjunction of *and* rather than *or* to emphasise that both aspects always appear as a tension. Of course, for a tension to occur requires at least two forces. But as dualities, they are binary but not mutually exclusive. There is an inter-containment between the two, in the sense that one can always be found in another. The two 'poles' can also be understood either as

two interpenetrating forces, or as a movement from one pole to another. As manifestations of enactment, their presence are always ongoing and oscillating. Each of these four dualities will be discussed shortly.

7.1 REPETITION AND NOVELTY

The first duality is repetition and novelty. As suggested earlier, repetition is used here to refer to the repetition of practice in the daily operation of the business. Repetition can also be understood as routine given the predictability of the practices to be re-enacted in the future. In this sense, repeated practices become a routine. But repetition is also a looser term than routine in the sense that re-enacted practices do not necessarily entail a strict sequence or procedure (although they could be based on it). Novelty, on the other hand, refers to the newness of the situation where practices are repeated. Repetition stabilises practices whereas novelty destabilises them.

Repetition and novelty are an enduring tension in the enactment of the family businesses as tradition. Through repetition and novelty, a distinction is made between those who are inside of a tradition and those who are outside of a tradition. Through repetition and novelty also, authority and practicity is contested, modified, and reinforced. In this regard, I argue that the duality of repetition and novelty manifests as *performances*.[1] More specifically, repetition and novelty manifest in two kinds of performance: (1) the performance of the family business *for* an outsider, and (2) the performance of the family business *with* an outsider.

7.1.1 *Performing for an outsider*

It was Tuesday, April 28, 2015. That morning was my second visit to Grand Hotel Cravat. Unlike the first meeting where the hotel was calm and quiet, this time the hotel was busy. The staff were bustling in the lobby while I sat across the reception desk and waited for Mr Cravat. A few moments later, he appeared, and I was then escorted to the bar. We sat on the spot where we previously talked: by the window with the

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1. Here, I view performance as one form of manifestation of enactment. Following Riessman (2005), I use the term performance to allude to the enactment of practices in its drama/stage metaphor (i.e. performed by actors, on a stage, for an audience).

view of the Golden Lady monument. He opened the conversation by explaining what was happening:

> … you know, for two weeks, it's every year, the pilgrims from the whole country plus the part of France, Belgium, and Germany that used to belong to the [Grand] Duchy of Luxembourg are coming for welfare to the Cathedral – and then afterwards they go either for lunch here, or the go the restaurant, and some are having cocktails and I have one event, small event of 40 people that will come here just to have aperitif with some different snacks and – uh – voilà. So that's, I just want to make sure that everybody – knows everything. Salvatore [Mr Cravat's hand is gesturing towards the staff behind me], he knows, he has been with me for many, many years. But as the cook is a new team, um – so they must be aware that – I – must be sharp. When I ask for 11 o'clock, it's 11 o'clock, and it's not 11.20. So that is, uh – and as I don't know this guy so well – um – so I prefer to be a little bit more under pressure.

> *Rocky: [laughter]*

> So that Salvatore is not under pressure.

> *Rocky: Relax.*

> Voilà. Oh, Salvatore is anyway much more relax than I am. That is very good.

Practices have histories and what practices are need to be understood from the larger tradition that gives rise to them. I later learned that Mr Cravat was referring to a Luxembourgish tradition called 'Oktav'. Held on the third Sunday after Easter, Oktav is an annual pilgrimage in the honour of the Virgin Mary that dates back to the 17th century. According to the city's promotional content, during Oktav, the pilgrims walk from the outskirts of the city to the Cathedral while praying (Braun, 2007). Grand Hotel Cravat is located in the proximity to the Cathedral (for about 150 metres away), and it has been hosting some of the pilgrims to drink and enjoy some food after their visit to the Cathedral. For the pilgrims, Oktav is a tradition of pilgrimage to the Cathedral; but for the hotel, it is a tradition to serve the pilgrims.

As a tradition, the practice of serving the pilgrims are repetitive. But this does not mean that there is no novelty in the repetition. Mr Cravat knows well what to do for this occasion. This was something that has been performed in the past and will continue to be performed in the future. Nonetheless, he was under pressure about *how* it will be performed. There is something novel in the performance of practice.

In this regard, the contrast between 'the new cook' and Salvatore is illustrative. Salvatore is a senior staff in the hotel. Through time, he has established a history of the practices in the hotel. The shared history between him and Mr Cravat allows the predictability of what and how the practice should be performed. The new cook, on the other hand, has no history, and in the absence of a shared history, surveillance becomes necessary.

In this staff-manager relationship, Mr Cravat is the guardian of the tradition. The shared history between the staff and the manager gives the staff a privilege of trust. Meanwhile, the shared history between the staff and the manager also reinforces the authority of the manager as the guardian. As a consequence, the staff is allowed to be 'more relaxed' since his authority is relatively limited whereas the manager has more stake in the performance of the practices since he has to guard that novelty does not deviate from what is expected.

Repetition requires an authority to ensure its consistency. Authority both controls and legitimises novelty as part of the repetition. In the following account, the novelty is controlled in the practice of 'late check-out'.

> I said to my staff, 'Late check-out? Very easy. 12 o'clock is check out time. Somebody wants to stay at 1 or 2 o'clock. You see what he pays, you can say it's fine. If we don't need the room - till 6 o'clock we have time to do it. Somebody asks until 4 o'clock. You charge 10 Euros an hour. So that makes, 4 hours, 40 Euros. The guest would be more than happy to pay it because he can stay in his room. So you gave him 'OK'.' Ah, of course you have guest who want to have everything for free. But then you can - you can say, 'Then I have to ask my manager.' And even [if you] don't see me, you can put in a reduction of 50% – and then say, 'Mr Cravat, give you – reduction of 50%, hoping that everything is nice and happy, and then, oops, see you next time.' So he still will be happy, because he got something. But he still has to pay. And next time he knows it is not for granted.

With no predetermined time, late check-out is a practice in its potential repetition. It has happened in the past, and it may occur in the future. But late check-out is also a novel practice in the sense that it deviates from the 'normal' check-out. In the presence of such novelty, Mr Cravat acts as the guardian of a tradition whose role is to provide a legitimate interpretation of the situation. His 'formulaic truth'—to borrow from Giddens (1994)—is the (arbitrary) rules to charge 10 Euros per hour, and the 50% fee reduction. The presence of a novel situation

in the course of repetitive practices is both an arena to destabilise established norms as well as to reinforce the legitimacy of tradition. In the case above, the concession of 50% reduction is not only a performance of tradition but also a power display by the hotel.

The day-to-day operation is the arena where novelty appears. It is through the daily enactment of practices that repetition is challenged and contested. Among the ways contestation manifests is in online hotel booking and review platforms. In the following review on quoted from TripAdvisor, some of the practices performed at Grand Hotel Cravat are disputed:

> "Nothing grand about this!"
>
> 1 of 5 stars | Reviewed December 15, 2015
>
> We just checked out of this property. I would say you should stay here only if location is a matter of life & death for you. It has a great location but everything else about this hotel - the front desk staff, the rooms, the amenities is downright appalling!
>
> It is by far the worst Grand property we have ever stayed in.
>
> Let me start with the front desk staff. We checked in on a Sunday evening. The front desk guy almost behaved like he was doing us a favor by allowing a room. He gave us an extremely shabby room which was so tiny that after two of us and our two suitcases, there was barely any room to move around. After a firm insistence from me that he change our room, he very reluctantly offered another room.
>
> The room was now decent in terms of space. But there are hardly any amenities in the room - forget bathroom slippers, there was not even a shower cap in the bathroom! And the bathroom was a yucky worn out dark blue one which I immediate put out of sight!
>
> We then left the room and came back only much later (around 10 pm)
>
> As we retired we realized our bed (which was two single beds) was creaking. I didn't sleep all night! Next morning we left the room with a request to the front desk to look into the matter.
>
> Imagine our horror when we came back around 5 pm to realize no action has been taken. The front desk then tried 2–3 options but they were unable to fix the bed. And guess what was their solution - to offer to move us back into the small pigeonhole of a room offered initially!!
>
> By this time I was really upset. When I went to the front desk to see what they were proposing to compensate us for the inconvenience the guy started talking in a raised voice saying he doesn't know what else he can do!!!

He then offered a bigger room on a lower floor which we refused! Because of his attitude!!

I will only say stay here if you are idea of a good hotel is having an extra toilet roll in your bathroom!!

In this account, the practices in focus are the check-in and room change. If the earlier case illustrates the practice of late check-out, in this case, it is the practice of late check-in. A novel situation emerged when the guest checked-in in the evening, entered the room, and claimed to be dissatisfied with the room. The request to change the room was granted by the staff, yet her dissatisfaction persisted. Another room was offered as she asked for compensation, which was then refused.

To this review, Mr Cravat responded by choosing not to take the debate further:

Dear Mrs —,

I thank you for the time you took to do these comments and I presume you needed more time to write them than the time you spent in my hotel. Luckily for us we have not many guests like you. We wish you all the best as I will not argue on your risen topics. I have more then enough positive comments that will rebalance your personal opinion.

Best regards and happy New Year,

Carlo Cravat

In a glance, such response is a display of authority and, in effect, may seem to show arrogance. However, it is when the role of Mr Cravat as a guardian is understood that his response can be seen as a consequence of the interpretation of a novel situation. In the following, Mr Cravat has made it clear to the staff that, first, there is a 'final aim' to the repetition of practice, and that, second, a novel condition may set a precedent for a particular kind of practice to be performed:

Last week, we had a meeting with the whole staff of front desk. So we talked about many things, and I said the final aim for you is to try to please as much as possible the guest. But! - there is always one but - you have guests that you can never please. Then, I give you even - I allow you to tell the guest we are sorry, we are not good enough for you, we call you now a taxi, and we - you can drive to the hotel of your choice. We pay you the taxi, but you leave.

Some examples that are mentioned earlier have been the cases where the response to a novel situation had resulted in an 'unpleasant ending' between the hotel and the guests. In the following, the intervention to novelty had resulted in both the reinforcement of authority of the hotel as well as the winning of the trust from the guest:

> We were doing a room, breaking down tiles, it was a lot of noise. He [the guest] was on the second floor and we were working on the fifth floor. So I mean there was really quite a distance, but he was annoyed. Every fifteen minutes he called [asking] when will we stop with the noise. And then one moment I said, 'Now I'm fed up. Now tell the guest that I, the general manager, proprietor, would like to talk.' So we sat in the lobby. And he was drunk. He was drunk, he was completely drunk. And his wife was in the room and she was drunk too. So his wife was arguing with him and he was fed up and, okay, he told me all this story, I let him speak. And then I told him what we were doing and that around 4.30 in the afternoon anyway the workers will stop. Yes, but he was - he wanted compensation. I said, 'Okay'. I looked at him, and I said, 'What kind of compensation do you want?' And he looked at me. And he was starting talking, I said, 'Excuse me sir, I don't want to talk for an hour with you. What - I don't give you the room for free, because the workers will stop at 4.30, I tell you that. Now that you have been - not well, complaining, you want a compensation. Tell me what you want for a compensation?' I was so proactive that he could not answer. And I suggested him then to have a few drinks in the bar, and to have two pieces of cake. And he was happy. The day after, Rocky, he came to see my staff he has been yelling at and everything. And he gave his apologies. He said, 'I think I had drunk yesterday one or two glasses too much and I was a little bit upset. And I had no reason to be.'

A novel situation emerged when the guest seemed to exceed a certain threshold in voicing his complaint. As a guardian, Mr Cravat exercised his authority by sitting down with the guest to talk about the matter. Formulaic truth is produced. The guest's demand for a 'free room' is responded with a counter-offer by suggesting him to have 'a few drinks' and 'two pieces of cake'. Not only formulaic truth is produced, but this also becomes a favour from the guardian that turns out to reinforce his authority. Favour-giving is performed in exchange for trust and loyalty. In one way or another, the day-to-day practice that is repeatedly performed in a hotel business is the practice of serving the guests. As tradition, practices that are performed reproduce the power relation between the guardian, the members of a tradition, and those

who are outside of a tradition. Not only that tradition separates new members from the old (recall the 'new cook team' and Salvatore), it also separates members from non-members (the hotel staff as the provider and the guests as the users). The guardian—as an actor bestowed with authority and position—plays an important role in the intervention and interpretation of novelty: he or she maintains the stability of repetition and ensures the legitimacy of its performance.

7.1.2   *Performing with an outsider*

The duality of repetition and novelty manifests not only as a performance between the members of a tradition *for* an audience, but it is also a performance enacted by the members of a tradition *with* the audience. For the latter, the audience—which are those outside of a tradition—are not passive recipients, but they are constitutive in the production of novel practices. The general difference between the two should be noted. If in the performance for an outsider tradition seems 'impenetrable', in the performance with an outsider tradition seems to be open and permeable. To illustrate how these are performed, I will draw from the performed practices in Hotel de la Sûre.

In 2009, Hotel de la Sûre launched a campaign to promote the hotel as 'Luxembourg's First Book-Hotel', that is, a hotel that has the most collection of books. In an excerpt from a local newspaper, Mrs Bianca Streumer recalls how the initiative began:

> The idea was born of a bet with her friends at the Hotel Ziegelhütte in Germany. "We both had a library in our hotel, but nothing very transcendent. Being passionate about reading, we set ourselves the challenge of collecting the most books in a year. Subsequently, we stored the books accumulated throughout the hotel, and the idea came to lend them to visitors," says the owner of the hotel. (Romain, 2010)

This 'book-hotel' practice is novel since it has never been done before in the history of the family business. The practice began as a joint initiative with another family-run hotel in the Rhineland-Palatinate region of Germany, Gutshof Ziegelhütte. This promotional campaign was enacted by attaching a sticker to a collection of books that are spread throughout the hotel. The hotel claims to have a collection of no less than 5,000 books and, during my visit, I was shown that some of the books were stacked on the side of the corridor as well as near the

stairs. There is also a library on the first floor where the books are or-
ganised based on genre and language. Included in the campaign was
policy to allow the guest to to exchange two books with one book to be
taken back home. Mrs Streumer explained the process:

Figure 7.1. Hotel de la Sûre as the 1st Book-Hotel of Luxembourg.
Source: author's own photograph.

> People are reading this one [Mrs Streumer takes a book and opens the
> page], and then they say 'aah' and then they see also the books everywhere,
> and then they say, 'Oh, you want to have more?' And then we say yes, and
> then they bring it here. And then we put in a sticker, and then we distrib-
> ute the books in all over the world. And sometimes people came and say,
> 'I was looking for a long time for this book and now I found it here.' So,
> normally they bring two books and get one back. And that's how you get
> many, many, many, many.

The actual application of the sticker is shown in Figure 7.1. This
initiative is a collaborative practice with the audience since it involves
the guests in order to expand not only the collection of books but
also, through the process, the public awareness of the hotel itself. Mrs
Streumer then demonstrated:

> So we get this one - you know, [points to the sticker] this one in the book,
> so if people take this with them, the book - so it is sponsored by - and that's

a good publication for us, you know. So this one, and all the books we put it [the sticker] in. And we get now the books in German, in French, in English, yeah, different languages.

For the outsider, the display of the books is also part of the performance when I was taken for a tour in the hotel. As she uttered:

[while giving a tour] - and up here you got the roof - and then you see everywhere books, books, books - [continues to walk along the corridor] - and then here we have - also books -

The performative aspect of tradition takes a more literal meaning when it is filmed. In the following, the village where Hotel de la Sûre is located, Esch-sur-Sûre, was filmed by an outsider of a tradition. Available for public viewing from the hotel's website, the footage is part of a TV programme produced by a South Korean TV station, EBS. In the footage, Mr Ronald Streumer is featured as a representation of the village. For 9 minutes and 20 seconds, the footage shows how the repetition of practice and the novelty of the situation are collaboratively used as a performance. The snapshots and description of the footage are shown in Figure 7.2 to Figure 7.4. Each of these parts will be discussed.

In Part 1 (Figure 7.2), the footage begins with a contextualisation of Esch-sur-Sûre, both in terms of its geographical coordinate and its surrounding landscape. The staticity of the landscape is then contrasted with the movement of a car, which leads into the introductory shot of Mr Streumer as an authority in the locality. The scene of him driving a car and of escorting the reporter to an uncommon place shows that Mr Streumer, as the guardian, knows well how to navigate the terrain (also note the chef attire that is in contrast with the surrounding). Then the reporter was led to a scenic spot to present the village. As an introduction to the village, this spot is a 'proper angle', provided by the guardian, to see the geographic feature of locality. At the end of Part 1, the demographic feature is highlighted. With the village in the background, Mr Streumer claims that there are 287 inhabitants in the village. As a performance, the visual positioning of Mr Streumer, the reporter, and the village represent the guardian, the outsider, and the tradition which is in the custody of the guardian. Through the interaction with the reporter, the guardian is giving an interpretation to make sense of the tradition.

Opening shot: the map of Luxembourg and the route taken from Luxembourg-city to Esch-sur-Sûre.

Establish shot: the surrounding of Esch-sur-Sûre.

A car enters the frame.

The car gets into a forest.

Introduction of Mr Ronald Streumer.

Mr Streumer and the reporter walk up the hill.

Mr Streumer shows the panorama of Esch-sur-Sûre.

Aerial shot: Introduction of Esch-sur-Sûre.

Mr Streumer explains that the population of the village is not more than 287 inhabitants.

Mr Streumer takes the reporter for a tour around the village.

Figure 7.2. A reportage of Esch-sur-Sûre: Part 1 of 3. Source: https://youtu.be/1Fnlcvy7Iq8

The reporter is taken for a walk to the local gift shop.

They pass through a narrow alley.

They arrive at the shop, Em de Séi a Méi. The building is in the background.

The reporter enters the antique section of the shop.

A display of the antiques and locally made products.

Close-up shot of the products.

A shopkeeper demonstrates the use of handmill for beer production.

The reporter tries the handmill herself.

Close-up shot of antique jewelries.

The reporter thanks the shopkeeper.

Figure 7.3. A reportage of Esch-sur-Sûre: Part 2 of 3.

Mr Streumer and the reporter leave the shop.

Mr Streumer invites the reporter for a motorcycle ride tour around the village.

The reporter is seated on the side of the motorcycle.

Mr Streumer puts on a goggle-mask.

Mr Streumer drives the motorcycle away from the shop.

The camera follows Mr Streumer's movement from behind.

Mr Streumer honks the horn and greets the people on the street.

Mr Streumer greets another neighbour.

The tour takes the viewer around the neighbourhood, crosses the river, and returns to Em de Séi a Méi.

Closing shot: an aerial view of the village.

Figure 7.4. A reportage of Esch-sur-Sûre: Part 3 of 3.

In Part 2 (Figure 7.3), Mr Streumer then takes the reporter for a walk to a local antique shop, Em de Séi a Méi. Here again, there is a display of knowledge and authority as the guardian navigates through the terrain (as he leads the reporter through the streets and alleys). Upon arrival, the reporter was led to enter the shop and presented with a selection of antiques at one section of the shop. In Part 3, a series of performances occur inside the shop: the display of the products, the interaction with the shopkeeper, and the demonstration of the use of the product. A relation that is not immediately visible, however, is between Part 1 where the guardian is introducing the village as a whole—along with a proper framing to view it—and Part 2 where the guardian takes the outsider to a shop that was founded by the guardian. This sequence shows the extent of influence and authority of the guardian over the territory.

In Part 3 (Figure 7.4), a pattern of repetition starts to emerge. The escorting practice in Part 1 (with a car, through the forest) is repeated in Part 2 (walk through the streets). In Part 3, the guardian once again performs the escorting practice with a different mode: a motorcycle ride. The seating of the reporter and the wearing of the goggle-mask by Mr Streumer are again a reinforcement of the power relation. The guardian decides the mode of introduction for those who are outside of a tradition. This is followed by a sequence of a tour around the village which symbolises control and influence over the territory. Streets were travelled, neighbours were nicely greeted. The performance is then concluded with the return of the tour back to the shop. The aerial view of the village at the end of the footage is the re-packing of the tradition as a self-contained and spatially-bounded entity.

The performance of escorting, touring, and introducing is a repeated practice enacted by the guardian and triggered by the presence of an outsider. In the footage, this was enacted by Mr Streumer. But it also occurred elsewhere whenever the guardian allows the outsider to experience a particular privileged space. During my own encounter with Hotel de la Sûre, this was enacted by the sister; Château d'Urspelt by the husband-and-wife; Hotel Empire by Mr Mertens; Grand Hotel Cravat by Mr Cravat; and Hotel Simoncini and Français by Mr Simoncini. Through such practice, not only that outsiders are allowed to enter the privileged space of a tradition, they are also supplied with a point of view, or an angle, to 'properly' interpret the tradition. Note that I am bracketing the word 'proper' to stress that a guardian has the

power to define what is proper. For outsiders (and also for the members), to enter (and be kept) into a tradition is to accept such 'proper' interpretation.

7.2   PRESERVATION AND ABANDONMENT

The duality of preservation and abandonment is referred here to denote the continuity and discontinuity of the presence of things from the past. To relate to the previous duality, preservation and abandonment can also be seen as an outcome of repetition and novelty. Repetition implies preservation, whereas novelty may result in abandonment. However, the reverse is also valid. Preservation may ensue from novelty, and abandonment may befall from repetition. But if repetition and novelty tend to occur at the level of practice, preservation and abandonment are more likely to show at the level of process. Narrative identity is one example. A narrative identity is preserved, not repeated. Practice is repeated, not preserved. The outcome of repeated (or novel) practices may manifest in the preservation or abandonment of a narrative identity.

The duality of preservation and abandonment may occur either as two opposing forces, or as a trajectory from one force to another. Collectively, the tension between the two is generative for the narrative continuity of the family businesses. Empirically, this tension is found to manifest in at least three ways: (1) keeping the narrative identity, (2) enduring the local transformation, and (3) reviving the abandoned heritage. Each of these forms are discussed as follows.

7.2.1   *Keeping the narrative identity*

In Grand Hotel Cravat, the keeping of a narrative identity is a salient theme since the moment I stepped into the hotel. Founded in 1895 as a restaurant, the question of preservation and abandonment emerged when the hotel was faced with the situation to continue or discontinue the operation of the restaurant. Having operated for more than 100 years, the restaurant was a symbol not only of the founding of the business, but also as the beginning of the family journey. Its preservation has been key for the family's identity. Mr Cravat made it explicit that:

> … the aim [of the family] is to have somebody at the F&B [food and beverage section]. Because if I stop F&B, then I have what you said before, then

I have lost part of my business. But as long as I have another partner who does that until a certain moment, it's fine. If I put now in the brasserie a shop with clothes, then I lost something. Because then I lost part of my identity.

Similarly, the preservation of the restaurant is also what Mr Cravat's mother tried to defend when she was faced with the situation where the continuity of the hotel was endangered during the financial crisis. The abandonment of the restaurant was perceived to jeopardise the symbolic existence of the family even though clinging to it will endanger the actual existence of the family business. Mr Cravat recounted:

> … when 2008 there was a crisis, of course the figures of the hotel dropped. And the hotel suddenly, we had a hole in the bucket. And - money was - flushing out. So we had to take a decision and uh - it lasts - six years before we took the real decision, and that is where I am in the point and said, 'I want to stop now. I want to stop this haemorrhage. We are killing ourselves.' And that's where we decided to take partners on the boat for the F&B part, so we rent out the restaurant and we keep everything under the control [of the family].

For the older generation, the tension to preserve or abandon the restaurant is responded differently. Mr Cravat recalled that:

> … she [the mother] said, 'It has always been like this why should we change? We have to work, then, more. We have to change something but I don't want to get rid of something.'

The family has taken six years to come to a definite solution for the tension. A middle way was devised: to *abandon* the activity of the restaurant, but to *preserve* the identity of the space as a restaurant. It is not an option for the family to continue the restaurant by itself, nor it is an option to replace the space with other business activities (such as 'shop with clothes'). Hence, what is seen as a threat for identity is not change itself but its abandonment. As told already in the previous chapter, it was eventful that shortly after the hotel announced the closure, another family business was interested to open a restaurant in the vacant space. This partnership has prolonged the operation of the restaurant (although with a different name) for another 1.5 years until the middle of 2016. The space was then left vacant until the end of 2017,

where the hotel had decided on the new tenant to occupy the restaurant.

Apart from its restaurant, Grand Hotel Cravat has been able to preserve not only its existence but also the 'feel' of the existence through its artefact:

> It's difficult to change and that's always why I say, we have to evaluate but we do not have to do revolutions. Because that is too brutal. And I feel it with my guests, that many guests say, "Mr Cravat, it's nice that you are still existing." Of course, this is not the newest hotel. Of course we could invest a lot of money. Of course it would be fantastic if I had the money. But, the atmosphere, the style, is, nearly in Luxembourg, unique. And that is a point that you have to decide, "Do I want to be like all the other sheep? Or do I want to stick out a little bit?" - maybe not at a hundred percent what others make perfectly, but I am able to attract a certain amount of people that are much more comfortable in my cocoon that is not perfect, but that is more related to what they are expecting, and to what they feel - cocooned.

There is a deliberate choice in the preservation of materiality. Objects, or artefacts, within the hotel are kept and they are tightly linked with how the current generation wants the hotel to be emotionally identified by the guests. This is suggested by the following:

> I have still a typewriter in my office. And he said, 'What the f- are you doing with this typewriter? You have the - you have your computer. You have not work with this machine any more. How often do you switch it on?' I said, 'Maybe once or twice a year.' 'Yeah, but why don't you throw it away?' I said, 'Because it has always been there!'

> *Rocky: [laughter]*

> If I leave it there, it does not hurt you. And [for] me, it comforts me. Now, that is a little thing. But that explains that we are sticking to things. I mean, for example in this - bar. The woods, the wallpaper, the chairs, they have been there since 1953. Okay, these curtains are still the - the -

> *Rocky: Original?*

> Yes! I mean you must imagine that. They are still fine. And when you change it. It will be different. And that is what people are looking for nowadays. To get back to this original, traditional things. But, of course, if I have changed this bar it will be much more beneficial. I don't need any rentability of this place. This place is a harbour of tranquillity for my guest. But you must have enough money somewhere else to cover this luxury. To

have in the city centre about 80 square metres doing nothing with it. Everybody tells me, 'Do something with this! You losing money!' I said, no this is comfort. This is luxury.

Rocky: People may see that this is, like, idle - it can be utilised in another way -

Yes, yes, yes. But I don't want that. I want - you see - I have other guests, but this morning it's quiet, but - normally I have some little working groups here and there and they - they work with the computer, they are happy, maybe they drink coffee or not.

Rocky: It feels nice, yeah, it feels good.

It feels nice! And that is something where I can fight against big groups. Because you will not find back that in big groups. Yes, in the very big groups. ShangriLa, Peninsula, these oriental Asian companies where again this - this family - idea, this luxury, this cocooning, this - is in their education. But in Europe, America - [pfft!] they don't have that. It's cold large lobbies where you sit there.

Rocky: It's cold -

It's cold. You are not - you don't feel cosy.

Mr Cravat was making a reference to the materiality around the *Le Trianon* bar where we had the conversation. Figure 7.5 shows the arrangement of the bar. The preservation of the woods, the wallpaper, and the chairs since 1953 are deliberate. They are preserved to convey a particular identity of the hotel that is, in his own words, "nearly in Luxembourg, unique." Other material objects are preserved as well. As can be seen in the figure, the old fireplace at the right is preserved in contrast with the digital flat screen monitor at the centre of the picture.

Preservation is an ongoing process, and Grand Hotel Cravat is by no means flawlessly preserved. At times, I observed that some lights were flickering, some rugs deteriorated, and the sofas produced a distinct—although not unpleasant—scent. Mr Cravat was aware of this. He knew well which parts of the lighting require treatments as he himself took the technician around the hotel and showed him the parts to be fixed or replaced. Amidst the heavy financial pressure to operate the hotel, Mr Cravat is adamant to retain the business in the family. In an interview with *Paperjam*, he makes the allusion to literary work *The Last of the Mohicans*:

Figure 7.5. The Trianon Bar, Grand Hotel Cravat. Source: author's own photograph.

I am a bit like the Last of the Mohicans who resist because I do not want to be a rich rentier who betrayed the three generations before me that have built this place.[2] (Clarinval, 2014)

2. «Je suis un peu le dernier des Mohicans qui résiste parce que je ne veux pas être

To preserve something is to stand in for something. *The Last of the Mohicans* is an American novel (also with film adaptations) written by James Fenimore Cooper (1826). Taking the stage of America in the 1800s, the novel is a narrative of an indigenous tribe who struggle to preserve their existence in the midst of colonists invasion. The connection that is made between the struggle of preservation and the literary work brings to light that within the struggle of preservation there is an element of narrative identity. For those in charge of the family business, the duality of preservation and abandonment is translated to the following questions: What kind of story will this generation represent? What kind of story do I seek to write?

7.2.2 *Enduring the local transformation*

The duality of preservation and abandonment is evident in Hotel Empire when it had endured the heavy transformation of the neighbourhood. In January 2008, Mr Victor Mertens was startled to find that his hotel was featured in the front page of a newspaper *Le Quotidien*. "The Station to be Disrupted," says the headline. As he read the newspaper further, he came to realise that there will be a massive construction project in the opposite of the train station area. Had it not because of the newspaper, which he had kept as an archive (see Figure 7.6), Mr Mertens would not have been aware of the construction plan despite his hotel being situated in the neighbourhood.

It was later that he was involved in the negotiation with the developer of the project. By then, Hotel Empire was about to be bought. Mr Mertens recalled:

> … we had - very - difficult years, some years ago, no. Because all the buildings around, they were - new buildings - I can show you a photo, and we were asked to sell our hotel.
>
> *Rocky: Really?*
>
> Yeah, yeah, yeah. Because all the houses were sold, no.
>
> *Rocky: Who bought them - who asked?*
>
> [laughter] I show you a photo, some years ago - and it was very - [Mr Mertens takes a photo from his archive and lays it down on the table]
>
> *Rocky: Okay. So.*

un riche rentier qui a trahi les trois générations qui avant moi ont construit cet établissement.»

Figure 7.6. Hotel Empire featured on the headline 'The Station to be Disrupted'. Source: Mr Mertens' personal archive.

So, we were the only house [chuckles]. And all - and there was a big hole, no [pointing towards the centre of the picture] - and it was a very difficult period during three, four years, no.

Rocky: So, what year was it? 2011?

It has to be 2010, 2011 I think yes. There was another hotel just here, Hotel President. [Mr Mertens point to another photo]

Rocky: Before? Okay, I see.

And there were restaurants. They were sold, and afterwards it was a company - a developer - they bought this house, Valsheim, Ems, then afterwards they also asked for the President, and it is also sold, and all the houses here they were sold.

Rocky: Really.

And there was much pressure to us also to sell. And we asked, 'Okay, but - we agree but - give us - when you make a new building, give us a part to integrate in the new building.' Of course, we want to stay here. Because now we have apparthotels [apartment-hotel]. And because they offered us to go - I don't know - to the Oesling, in the north of the country. But, what do we do there, no? [chuckles] I don't know.

Rocky: Right. [laughter]

And so, I said it's not possible, no. They offered also to pay us something, but it was not so - we have to pay taxes and, afterwards, we have lost our work. We have no - so we said, 'No, we can't do it.' And they didn't agree also to integrate, because - they also make a new building. So, we would have to stop to say yes, and then afterwards - but it was not possible. Many discussions between us - but - uh - so finally we - it was a very difficult period but - now we are glad to make it like this because now it's better. New buildings around, no? There is a bank and there is a restaurant Vapiano. So, now it's good but there was - because we didn't close it [during the construction period]. For the guests, it was also difficult. There was also noise. Vibrations. And um - yes, it was very, very difficult [laughter].

In this excerpt, Mr Mertens was recounting the period when the hotel had endured the heavy construction project that took place around the hotel. One of the photos that Mr Mertens was referring to in the excerpt is shown in Figure 7.7. From this figure, it can be seen how Hotel Empire is left alone in the block. The move of the developer to buy the hotel made sense because Hotel Empire occupies a strategic position at the corner of the junction. Incentives were proposed for the Mertens family to let go of the property, yet these were refused. With no agreement reached between the two parties, the construction project began and Hotel Empire had to endure the disturbance that was caused by the project.

External dynamics do play a role in the tension between preservation and abandonment. Changes in the environment, physically and economically, exert tension to the apparent stability of things. In the account above, this external dynamics were induced by the move to take over a particular space where Hotel Empire is a part. In contrast with Grand Hotel Cravat, there is no explicit claim in Hotel Empire where the preservation of the building is tied to the identity of the family business. Instead, the decision not to sell seems to be a 'rational' cost-and-benefit analysis noting that, when things turned to get better after the construction was completed, a reference was made to the

Figure 7.7. Demolition of the neighbouring building. Source: Mr Mertens' personal archive.

economic potential that is generated from the new buildings.

A recent dynamic in the neighbourhood occurred in the beginning of 2017 where a four-star Mercure Grand Hotel Alfa suddenly went bankrupt. To this event, he commented:

> On short-term, it's good for us because we have some more guests. But

on the long-term, it's not good because, you know, it's closed. It's - uh - not good for our guests, no, for everything is closed. Because already the building afterwards there was a bank, it's closed since many years. And it very degenerating. It's not good for our guests too. So, on short-term it's good we get some guest more, but on the long term it's not good for the *quartier*, no, for the surrounding, for the area. So, we prefer that other hotels are here.

As a property-based business, hotels are dependent, among others, on the attractiveness of the surrounding neighbourhood. This account expresses a long-term concern over the locality where the business is situated. The closure of the neighbouring hotel is beneficial for Hotel Empire in the short-term. Yet, if the surrounding area continues to degenerate, Hotel Empire is at risk to face an unfavourable situation: to have a preserved business in an abandoned neighbourhood.

7.2.3 *Reviving the abandoned heritage*

The third kind of process that manifests from the duality of preservation and abandonment is exemplified by Château d'Urspelt. In this hotel, preservation and abandonment take the form as a trajectory *from* abandonment *to* preservation. One case will be discussed here where the husband-and-wife owner-managers—Mr Yannick Ruth and Mrs Diana Lodomez—commented, reacted, and reflected on the documentary footage about the revival of the castle. The footage was firstly shown during one of my visits to the hotel. Different from the earlier footage of Esch-sur-Sûre, this footage is a slideshow of photos that runs for 14 minutes and 25 seconds. As such, there is no dialogue nor interaction that is performed in the footage. In the following, I present the footage which is synchronised with the conversation that we had during the viewing. The footage is broken down into seven parts from Figure 7.8 to Figure 7.14 (my own voice is written in italic).

In Part 1 (Figure 7.8), the documentary begins with a slogan "vivre ç'est transformer"—'to live is to transform'. This opening tells what will be told throughout the footage: a transformation of the castle from its abandonment to its preservation. Then this is followed with a sequence of photos showing the castle in its early condition in 2005. I interjected my impression upon watching the slideshow—"It must needed a lot of imagination to make it life again." This was replied by an assertion to the slogan presented in the opening, "That's the exact

Rocky: I see, transform -
Mr Ruth: Yeah, life is transforming.
I see.

[Mellow piano music starts]
Mrs Lodomez: It was when we bought the castle.

Mrs Lodomez: Yes, it was like that -

Ah, it was - - crazy [laughter]
Yeah, yeah, it was -
Mr Ruth: Yes, yes.

Mrs Lodomez: Yes, it was - the roof

I imagine, it must need a lot of imagination to make it life again. From something that was dead, to make it alive -

Mr Ruth: Yes, yes, yes. That's - that's - the exact rule, to make it alive again. That was, now we have meeting rooms there - it was raining inside.

Mrs Lodomez: It's - everything was destroyed.

The restaurant.

Mr Ruth and Mrs Lodomez: This is the reception.

Mrs Lodomez: The suite.

Mr Ruth: So we have to do all the floors, because it was so -

Right.
Mrs Lodomez: The entrance -
Yeah, yeah.

Okay, renaissance.
Mrs Lodomez: Yes. [Mrs Lodomez answers a call and left the room]

Figure 7.8. Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 1 of 7. Source: http://dai.ly/x2jzwaa
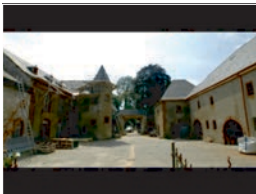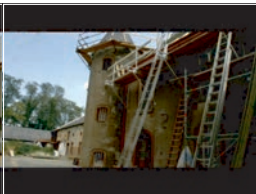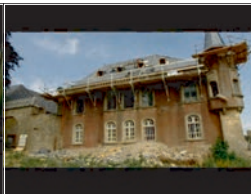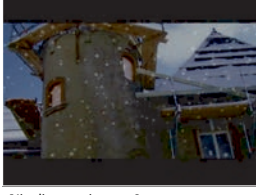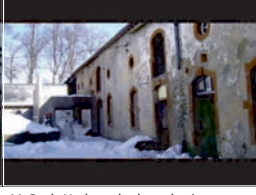
It's already clean.
Mr Ruth: Yeah, it has already been cleaned -

\- and - we started - yeah

So, in this year you're already involved?
Mr Ruth: No, I came in -

\- the year afterwards. Yeah I was following the project but not in the business.

This is the floor -
This one?
Mr Ruth: Yeah. This is upstairs.

This is also -

We did cover everything all the time with pictures, so this was the first step, really early step.

Because we finished this window, we did part of the castle first.

This is the next one, we have done the restaurant. Now it's the yard, which is there.

[Jingling music starts]
It's Christmas -
Mr Ruth: Yeah, winter time. [chuckles]
Winter time is coming.

Mr Ruth: Yeah, we had rough winter sometimes. Yeah. We are nearly in the highest point of Luxembourg, I think it's fifty meters highest.

Right.
Mr Ruth: And this part was the stables, the last one - used to be -

\- then we have converted all these parts for the first rooms.
I see, I see.

[Mrs Lodomez returns]
Mrs Lodomez: It's here.
This one? [laughter]
Mr Ruth: That's this one! Yeah - that's right.

Mr Ruth: and - we started - yeah

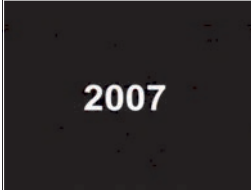*Figure 7.9.* Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 2 of 7.

Mrs Lodomez: It's the sales office -

Where we have the rooms now.
Mr Ruth: Yeah.

Mrs Lodomez: After, we can make a small tour, so we can -
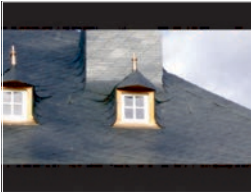*Rocky: Yeah, yeah -*

[Upbeat music starts]

Wow, it's already having shape.

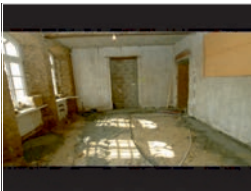*Already new.*
Mrs Lodomez: Yes, now -

So, the materials, how did you get it?
Mrs Lodomez: Aah -

Yes, we imagined every details. I looked in the brochure, I went to other castles, I met different families with castles [laughter] -

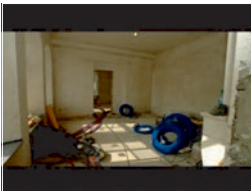- and we chose the colours, every detail - [laughter] - aah, it was -

So, you're involved also in the design of the castle?
Mrs Lodomez: Yes, it was - yes.

I think it looks good.
[laughter] It is -
Mr Ruth: I think we did a good job [laughter]

Yeah, this is one of the meeting rooms.

Mrs Lodomez: Suite.
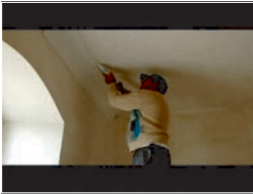Mr Ruth: Suite. The largest room.

Mrs Lodomez: I think, in this job - it's just a lot of people. Because it's very difficult to - to have good people, to have a -

Mr Ruth: Yeah, human resource. That's the really, I have to - demanding -
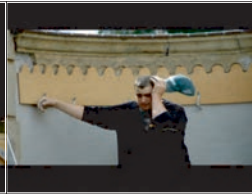
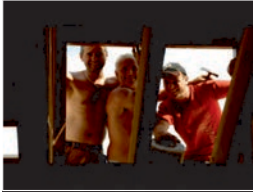*Figure 7.10.* Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 3 of 7.

Mrs Lodomez: Crazy, huh?
Right. T-they don't have any experience before to rebuild a castle?

Mrs Lodomez: No!
So it's their first -
Mrs Lodomez: Yes their first [laughter]

Mr Ruth: Yes.

I cannot imagine the stress -

Mrs Lodomez: It was like hell!
Everyday -
Mrs Lodomez: I didn't sleep - I was like that -

I lose ten kilos - in one year.
Mr Ruth: Now we start - we finish it.

Ah, I see. New paint.

Mrs Lodomez: Because it was so crazy. It was every minute, finding ideas, finding people to come -

- and I was not very good at communication at this moment - so, created internet website -
Yeah - everything - okay -

Mrs Lodomez: - I - I - pffffhh - it was so difficult for me and, after, I - I asked Yannick, please help. Three years alone.

Mr Ruth: This is the bar -
Mrs Lodomez: Yes, the bar.
Okay.
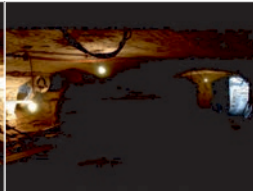
Mr Ruth: It was the smallest machine that we can bring close to the doors -
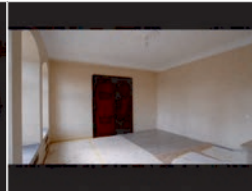
- it was really very small - so we have to take - [Mrs Lodomez speaks to Mr Ruth in French]

Mr Ruth: Sorry, that was just the first step - first treatment to the basement - to finish it. And it was now a bar.

Mr Ruth: Now it's the suite.

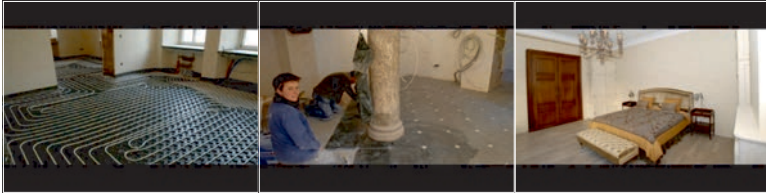*Figure 7.11.* Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 4 of 7.

We are so much involved in the daily business that - for my - my eyes, I need to see it again -

- as it helps me to see - and checking back all - how hard we have done since then -
I see.

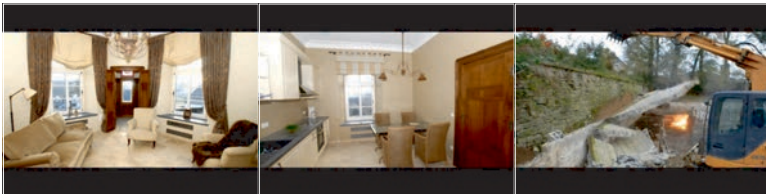Mr Ruth: - a lot of emotion, huh - to see it -
Mrs Lodomez: [laughter]

A lot of emotion -
Mr Ruth: Yes, it was two years at least I didn't watch it again.

And this pillar, is a former piece of another castle.
Oh, you -

Mr Ruth: No, no, it was here before when this one was built. This castle was already built in the former ruins of another one.

That's the only piece, yeah.
Right, right.

Mrs Lodomez: That's so beautiful for us.
Mr Ruth: Now it's changed, this kitchen has been removed.

Yes, it was where we have now the park. It was uh -
Mr Ruth: It was a very, very old farming building that really looked like -

Mrs Lodomez: We burned. [laughter]
Okay, right. You have to destroy them.
Mr Ruth: - that we have - yeah, because it was very unsafe.

Mr Ruth: I came, yeah, at the beginning of the year?

Mrs Lodomez: Yannick is coming -

Ufff!
[laughter] - and you were pregnant in this year?

Mrs Lodomez: Yes, I was pregnant -

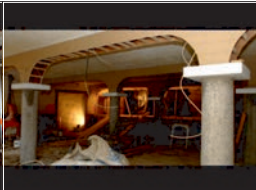*Figure 7.12.* Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 5 of 7.
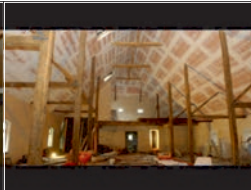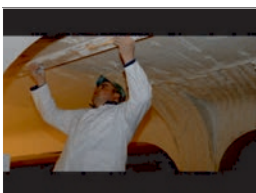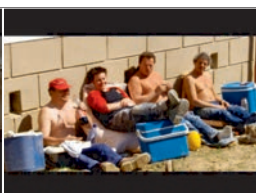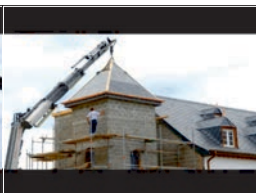
- and one part of the work, I was in the hospital, so I didn't see -

- when I went up [to the castle] it was nothing was there, and when I came back, wow it was finished!

Mrs Lodomez: That was the gala room. I was not there! I was in the hospital.

[laughter]

Mrs Lodomez: The stress was too hard, the baby wanted to come [out]! Then the doctor said, 'Finished, now you stay here!' But it was difficult -

- the baby - the castle - to combine - the stress - pfffhhh!

Twenty five weddings were sold - we had to organise -
Mr Ruth: Yeah, we started to put it in the market at the end of the construction -

- so we started to do a lot of contracts - twenty five - the first season -

- and people just came at this stage to sign and said, 'When will you be ready?' We will, we will.

Mrs Lodomez: Someday, I was the only woman with sixty men. Sixty men! It was crazy! And - pffhh - we arrived.

Yeah, yeah, yeah -

Mrs Lodomez: But, the motivation was so good. The -
Mr Ruth: Yeah, it was a beautiful product.

Mrs Lodomez: The feeling. Everybody was really alive, and it was so - wonderful. It's - difficult, no, because -

- the people here so - 'Aah, we have too much.' I say, 'What? What? What have we made?'

Figure 7.13. Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 6 of 7.

'And you, for two rooms more - to push. Hey, come on!' Pfffh!

Yeah, yeah, yeah -

This one, yeah.
Mrs Lodomez: Yes, it's here.

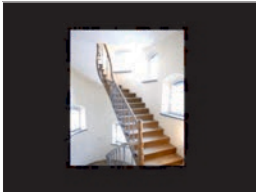So the same people were building the castle -
Mrs Lodomez: Yes
- so they sometimes felt exhausted - very tired, like - it doesn't end

Mr Ruth: Yes -
Losing the motivation, sometimes -
Mr Ruth: It takes thirty months, in total. Thirty huh?

Mrs Lodomez: Trente deux -
Mr Ruth: Thirty two.
Mrs Lodomez: Thirty two months. Yes.

- and after, one year, to make the twenty six rooms more. Because when we manage the hotel with Yannick, we -

- we understood that it was not possible to continue like that. We need more rooms. Yes, because it was difficult with the financial part to arrive - so -

Mr Ruth: It's Freddy.
Mrs Lodomez: It's my father. It's his birthday today.
[laughter]

So, all the decisions, you decide?
Mrs Lodomez: Yes, with Yannick.
And your father, does he have a vision about -
Mrs Lodomez: He will come for coffee -

Mr Ruth: Yeah, basically we decide all the three of us -
Mrs Lodomez: At the beginning -
Mr Ruth: For the construction-speaking -

- for the activity it's just Diana and me, we - also have shared a vision of where we wanted to go in this space -

- the first question was, are we going to make an hotel or not? That was the first, really, really tricky part.
I see, I see.
[Video ends]

Figure 7.14. Transformation of Château d'Urspelt: Part 7 of 7.

rule, to make it live again." Afterwards, a series of photos display different parts of the castle which were abandoned.

Proceeding to the next year, the castle and its surrounding were cleaned and the groundwork for the rebuilding began to be laid down. Year 2006 w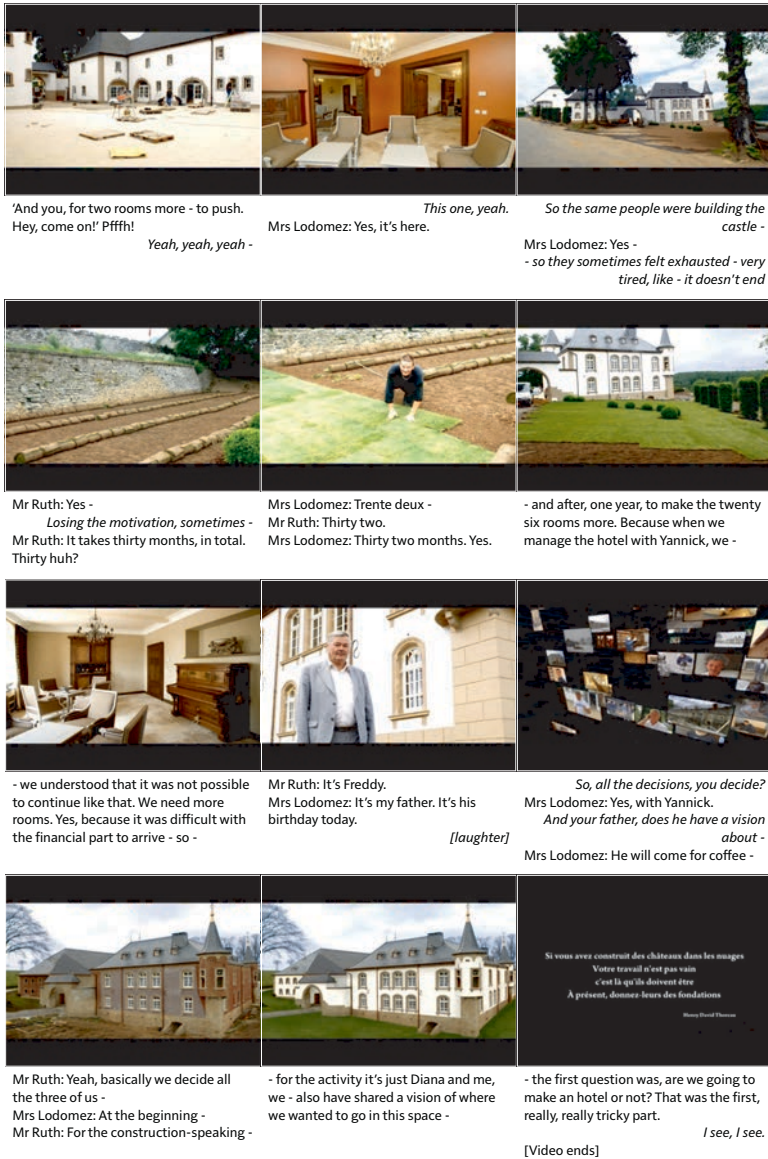as started by a display of a signboard stating the rebirth of the castle. The footage continues to show the progress of the different parts. Meanwhile, Mr Ruth and Mrs Lodomez supplied an interpretation on the photos—where they are located and what they now become. Entering the year 2007, in Part 3 (Figure 7.10) and Part 4 (Figure 7.11), the castle has shown some improvements in the shape. The roofs were redone, the windows were refitted. At this point, I took the chance to ask how did they obtain the material for the reconstruction. This prompt then opened up a discussion about Mrs Lodomez's involvement in the rebuilding process:

> Yes, we imagined every details. I looked in the brochure, I went to other castles, I met different families with castles [laughter] - and we chose the colours, every detail - [laughter] - aah, it was -
>
> *Rocky: So, you're involved also in the design of the castle?*
>
> Yes, it was - yes. I think it looks good.
>
> *Rocky: [laughter] It is -*
>
> [Mr Ruth] I think we did a good job [laughter]

This interchange reveals the extent to which Mrs Lodomez was involved in the revival of the castle. As the footage continues, she stressed how the scale of the project requires a demanding amount of labour, both in quantity and quality. From Part 4 onwards, some human subjects are displayed. Having noticed this transition, I probed to ask how stressful the project had been for the people—and for herself. Her struggle was then revealed, "It was like hell!" The compounding difficulties had prompted her to ask for the help of her husband, Mr Ruth. In Part 5 (Figure 7.12), Mr Ruth expressed how the moment of re-watching of the video was a moment of reflection. A lot of emotion was involved and, as the couple were very much engaged in the day-to-day operation, the moment helped him to pause and reconnect with the beginning of the journey. The conversation then shifted back to the physical transformation of the castle. A story was told that one of the pillars was taken from the ruin of another castle in the same place. This is followed with a sequence of the demolition of the wall and the burning of an old shed.

The footage moved to year 2008. This year was the year when Mr Ruth joined the business full-time. Mrs Lodomez interjected a sign of relief, after previously emphasised the intense pressure in managing the entire process. Prior to the viewing of the footage, I learned from Mr Ruth that Mrs Lodomez was pregnant during the final phase of the reconstruction. Hence, at this point I made a prompt about her pregnancy. In Part 6 (Figure 7.13), she expressed the continuous tension that she had experienced. All seems to culminate at this year when she had to juggle between two births: accomplishing the reconstruction of the castle on the one hand, and expecting the birth of the baby on the other. Mr Ruth took over the day-to-day management of the project during his wife's absence, while constantly informing her that daily progress of the project. The construction industry is a heavily male-dominant industry. As the leader of the project, it was a challenge for Mrs Lodomez to motivate the employees, including in the last miles of the project. Yet, it was the positive feeling of accomplishing the journey that was cherished.

As the footage comes to an end, in Part 7 (Figure 7.14), a sequence of beautification of the castle was shown. Wild plants were removed and replaced with a carpet of grass. Rooms were neatly displayed, elegant and ready. Mr Ruth commented that they 26 more rooms were added in the following year. Lastly, the picture of Mr Freddy Lodomez, the father as well as the originator of the project, was shown. This was followed by a collage of photos which constitute the image of the castle. As a climax, a before-after transformation of the castle was shown. The screen went dark and appeared a quote from Henry David Thoreau, "If you have built castles in the clouds, your work is not in vain; that's where they have to be. Now give them some foundation."

In 2008, the castle was acknowledged by the Luxembourgish government as a national heritage. Château d'Urspelt is an example of how preservation and abandonment may as well appear in a family business with no long history. In comparison to Grand Hotel Cravat and Hotel Empire, for instance, whose histories amount to more than one century, Château d'Urspelt is a newborn family business. Yet, the tension to move away from abandonment to preservation does ensue when the family has set their intention to 'give life' to things from the past. The footage—and the commentary of it—has shed some light to the revival process. There are deliberate choices of design and materiality in the course of preservation. The process was arduous, and at

times there is no easy choice between the family and the business.

7.3   BEING AND APPEARING

The third duality in the way the family businesses are enacted is being and appearing. Many meanings can be attached to these two terms. Here, I specify here that 'being' is used to denote the life-cycle of the family business—hence being young(er) or old(er)—whereas 'appearing' refers to the material appearance of the family business—hence appearing young(er) or old(er). Being is related to the people who run the business, whereas appearing is related to the material representation of the business itself. A contrast between the being and appearing is produced when (1) the family business is being younger and appearing older, and (2) being older and appearing younger. Each will be examined in the following.

7.3.1   *Being younger, appearing older*

The duality of being young and appearing old is exemplified by Château d'Urspelt. The family business is being young since it is early in the life-cycle. The founding generation is still present even though he is not involved in the daily operation of the business. The second generation is also young in the sense that they—Mrs Lodomez and her husband—are establishing a new business that emerged from the father's business. In another sense, Château d'Urspelt is also young because the managers are relatively young compared to other family owners and managers discussed in this study. The castle-hotel was revived not more than 10 years ago. Yet, while being a newly founded family business, the castle-hotel takes the appearance of the old (of course, the architectural form of 'castle' itself is a representation of the past).

The castle appears to be old, yet it is also new. It is a castle whose history dates back to 1862, yet it is also a new castle—heavily renovated, reimagined, and reappropriated for today's needs and demands. The vigour of the castle can be sensed by the commitment that the husband-and-wife has put in managing and developing the hotel. When I walked around the castle, I can see that the castle is an imagined old. And that also gives an impression of lightness in spite of the castle's long history. The castle, somehow, also feels synthetic. 'Old'

Figure 7.15. One of the rooms in Château d'Urspelt. Source: archive of Château d'Urspelt.

and 'new' in here are not a state of being, but a concept of appearance. The result of the two is an intriguing juxtaposition: something that appears to be old, but everything is new.

Each presence of materiality is a site of performance. In the Superior Room where I stayed, I had the impression of luxury through the combination of spaciousness and the vintage-style interior design (see Figure 7.15). Latest technologies are discreetly installed such as fiber optic Internet connectivity and widescreen Smart TV. Old appearance is shown by the ornate furnitures. The tables, chairs, and cupboard are made of white-painted wood with a finish that convey deliberate fadedness (see Figure 7.16). The bathroom is another site of performance. The flooring is parquet and the floor-to-wall bathroom tiles are made of marble. The bathtub is another performance of the old and the new. The plain white tub is attached with a valve and two pairs of animal-shaped legs on each side.

Another site of performance is in the uses of technology that contrast the new and the old in the castle. In Figure 7.17, charging spots for electric vehicles are displayed. The newness of the electric chargers are placed in contrast with the wooden posts whereupon the chargers are attached. The recentness of the solar cell is placed side by side with the

Figure 7.16. Deliberate fadedness of the chair and the table. Source: author's own photograph.

pastness of the wood. In Figure 7.18, the main door is displayed to use an old door closer technology. The top of the door is tied to a rope that is weighed on the other side. Right in the opposite of the main door, a robot assistant is displayed to stand in front of an old clock. Taken al-

Figure 7.17. Electric vehicles chargers attached on wooden posts. Source: author's own photograph.

together, the display of the old produces the impression of luxury; the availability of the new gives the impression of practicality.

The perceived disjunction between appearing and being is also contested by the guests through online review platforms. To refer to TripAdvisor as one of the leading platforms, Château d'Urspelt receives a rating of 4.0 out of 5.0.[3] As an illustration, I take here one extreme example that points to how the appearance of the hotel is experienced by the guest.

"What a disappointment this Château d'Urspelt"

1 of 5 stars | Reviewed December 9, 2016

Château d'Urspelt is the bling-bling project of promoter Freddy [...], who is probably here for a Donald Trump version from Luxembourg. Unfortunately, the castle is not up to its 4 stars and this especially because of poor service. But let's see in detail:

- a cold welcome upon arrival. No gesture towards the customers for a possible early registration. The impression of being just a number

3. As per 25 December 2017, the hotel has collected 651 reviews. Out of these, 49% is 'Excellent'; 32% is 'Very good'; 13% is 'Average'; 5% is 'Poor'; and 1% is 'Terrible'. Source: https://www.tripadvisor.com

Figure 7.18. Display and use of old technology. Source: author's own photograph.

will continue for the entire stay ...
- low quality fixtures, e.g. mirror in the plastic bathroom claim wood, worthy of a 2-star establishment
- the sound insulation in the new part of the castle is non-existent.

when your neighbour is taking a shower, you have the impression that water is flowing from your ceiling. we wonder if this is the standard Lodomez Constructions.

- In the restaurant, staff is largely insufficient to serve the large number of customers. waiting time between the dish and dessert: + 1 hour. (and we were not an exception)
- the breakfast room was packed on Sunday morning, noisy atmosphere, buffet rundown and still staff totally overwhelmed by their tasks
- We booked a romantic getaway with a bottle of crémant included. it was not on the other hand when we arrived. At the check-out we were told that you had to take it from the minibar! At this price, better stay at home and use his fridge …

Conclusion: We had a good weekend around Urspelt and Clervaux, but will not go back to the castle.

In addition to the performance of the services, a number of appearance-related points were raised by the disappointed guest: the hotel as 'the bling-bling project', 'mirror in the plastic bathroom claim wood', and the 'non-existent sound insulation'. The review was responded directly by Mr Ruth.

Dear —,

Thank you for your recent stay!

We are delighted to welcome you to the listed site of Château d'Urspelt.

On behalf of our dedicated team, I am sorry to read that, despite our best efforts, it has not been 100% satisfactory.

The satisfaction of our guests is and remains our number 1 priority, thank you for sharing your feelings on all the sites you have used.

All of our staff thank you for helping us to continually improve our services and benefits.

I am also at your disposal to bring you if necessary all the details useful for your next stay in the Luxembourg Ardennes.

Be equally sure that, despite having spent four years reviving the Château d'Urspelt from its ruins, Mr. Freddy Lodomez still has no political ambition in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Best regards from the Château d'Urspelt,

Yannick Ruth
General Manager
Château d'Urspelt SA

In the response, the appearing of the hotel is supplied with an interpretation of the being. As a guardian, Mr Ruth reassures that the hotel is putting the 'satisfaction of our guest' as 'our number 1 priority'. Also, the guardian shows a gesture of thankfulness and willingness to listen. While accepting the criticism and expressing an apology, Mr Ruth also defends that what appears to be a 'bling-bling project' in the revival of the castle should not be interpreted as a political ambition.

7.3.2 *Being older, appearing younger*

In contrast to Château d'Urspelt as a young family business that takes the appearance of the old, Hotel Simoncini is performed as an old family business that takes the appearance of the young. After a 2-year period of extensive renovation, Hotel Simoncini was established in 2008 as a replacement of what is formerly Hotel Schintgen. There is a similarity between Château d'Urspelt and Hotel Simoncini: both began their operation in 2008. In this sense, both can be said as a young family business. However, Hotel Simoncini is older than Château d'Urspelt when the family members who manage the business are taken into account. The family who runs Hotel Simoncini, the Simoncini family, is relatively older in the business life-cycle. Prior to Hotel Simoncini, the family have been managing Hotel and Café Français for more than 40 years. Mr Simoncini's two sons are involved in the management of the business, and so does his wife. In Château d'Urspelt, on the other hand, the Lodomez family has just begun the life-cycle in the hotel industry from the moment the castle is established.

In Hotel Simoncini, the appearance of youngness manifests in its visual representations—the logotype and the logo of the hotel, the design of the interior, the artefacts displayed in the hotel, and the way the artefacts are positioned in the hotel. There is a sense of recency, nowness, and newness that are produced through the display of these elements. I will discuss each in the following and, by way of contrast, make a comparison with Château d'Urspelt.

The first element is the logotype (the textual representation) and the logo (the graphical, non-textual representation) of the business. In Figure 7.19, Hotel Simoncini uses the logotype in the form of a modern sans-serif typeface.[4] Set in all lower case letters (stylised 'hotel si-

4. In typography, one of the ways to categorise typefaces—also commonly known

moncini'), the logotype produces a sense of lightness and playfulness. In addition, a graphical element is positioned in the middle of the logotype which forms a logo of the business. The graphical element takes the form of an abstract curved line, flowing with no sharp edges. The red colour of the logo seems to convey boldness, yet its shapeless curve seems to say that it is fluid, unfinished, and malleable. The youngness of Hotel Simoncini is in contrast with the logotype of Château d'Urspelt which uses a serif typeface (see Figure 7.20). Most notable is the cursive 'd'U' in the logotype which is followed by an all capital letters 'RSPELT'. The logotype of Hotel Simoncini stands on its own without additional detail whereas in Château d'Urspelt there is a display of stars, the founding family, and the founding date of the castle. The former makes the hotel appear recent, and the latter makes the hotel appear old.

Figure 7.19. Logotype and logo display of Hotel Simoncini. Source: author's own photograph.

as 'fonts'—is to distinguish between serif and sans-serif (i.e. 'without' serif). Serif denotes the ornamental finish of a letter. Some examples of a serif typeface include common fonts such as Times New Roman, Georgia, Garamond, Baskerville, etc. Examples for a sans-serif typeface are Arial, Helvetica, Avenir, Calibri, etc. Although they are always open for interpretation, the usage of a serif typeface commonly gives an impression of 'traditional' whereas a sans-serif typeface is commonly used to give the impression of 'modern'.

Figure 7.20. Logotype and logo display of Château d'Urspelt. Source: author's own photograph.

Getting into the lobby of the hotel, Hotel Simoncini presents itself with a simple and minimalist interior design (see Figure 7.21). Utilisation of space and objects acts to represent appearance. In Hotel Simoncini, space is tight, and objects are placed in close correspondence to their function. The minimal presentation of objects makes the lobby feel roomy, and also produces an impression of practicality. Colours also play a role. The monochromatic tone that dominates the lobby makes it feel simple and young. In Figure 7.22, there is a display of two contemporary art objects. On the top is a pendulum-like artwork set in white which blends with the surrounding element. On the bottom is an artwork set in red which stands in contrast to the surrounding but in coherence with the logo of the hotel.

As a place where first encounters occur between the guests and the hotel, the lobby is a strategic site for the display of appearance. It is in the lobby that the guests derive one of their first impressions. In Hotel Simoncini, the decorative elements are presented and positioned to reinforce the message of youngness and practicality. The impression is very different in the waiting area of Château d'Urspelt (see Figure 7.23), where space and objects are utilised to convey the meaning of oldness and luxury. The decorative elements between the two hotels are different. Instead of empty spaces and monochromatic colours, space is tightly filled with objects, and earth-toned colours are used.

Figure 7.21. The lobby of Hotel Simoncini. Source: author's own photograph.

Instead of displaying abstract objects, there are chandeliers, paintings, piano, wooden chairs, candles, lanterns, and a fireplace.

'Young' and 'old' are relative terms and, as such, their use does not imply whether one is better than another. Rather, they are alternatives which the managing families may take in the presentation of their business. In the examples given earlier, the relatively younger Lodomez family has chosen to re-enact the presentation of the old whereas the relatively older Simoncini family has chosen to present the hotel as contemporary. There is another example that I will show, which illustrates when a relatively old family is currently appearing old but is in the process of becoming new. This is the case of Hotel Empire.

In Hotel Empire, a plan is on the way to renew the appearance of the restaurant. The family manager, Mr Victor Mertens, claimed:

> We have a big project. I can show you here also for - that's in January next year - renovating the hotel [Mr Mertens takes a large floor plan sheet from his folder] Yeah, so we have a big plan. That's all - the first floor. Because it's - the oldest rooms were renovated and here we have always the old windows and everything, and we are putting everything out. And completely renovated. Here you see there is a plan for a hotel bar, in the side, that is open - all day. Because now it is only open for breakfast. Before, my par-

Figure 7.22. Display of contemporary arts in the lobby. Source: author's own photograph.

ents had a restaurant here. But [now] - we use it only for breakfast. Because we make downstairs a small take-out pizza. Now, it's a bit - it's a pity [for the restaurant] because it's open only two hours a day, no. Yeah. And the guests have nothing to sit down - so, it [the new restaurant] will be open

Figure 7.23. Waiting area at the Château d'Urspelt. Source: author's own photograph.

all day. And it will be completely new. Renovated. [Mr Mertens points to a section of the plan] It will be an open kitchen, so you can see inside the kitchen, yeah. And - uh - here is the bar.

Rocky: Okay. [I examine the layout of the new restaurant] The guests can sit over here, by the windows.

Well, now it has changed a little bit - we will make here a lounge. It will be here - to be used everyday. Here [Mr Mertens points to the centre part of the planned restaurant] is the old Hammond organ, because my father - he played, always, Hammond organ. It's still there.

Rocky: Ah, okay, okay. You will put the organ in the middle [of the restaurant].

So we don't know if it's possible to incorporate it. Yeah. It will be completely, also the kitchen - completely renovated. Yeah.

Rocky: - and there is a separate room here to [partition the restaurant]

We can separate it. If we need room, we can. But it's - normally it's open. And so it will be used, during the morning for breakfast. At lunchtime, it's also open. And in the evening for the guests from the hotel. They can sit in the bar.

Rocky: Right, right. For this room, how old is this restaurant - or bar?

This building is - uh - nearly sixty - exactly sixty years. It was built in '57, yes. '57.

Rocky: Sixty years. Right, right. Quite old.

And we have to renovate all the time, yeah. But this part wasn't renovated.

Rocky: This one is maybe the oldest [room] -

Yeah, yeah. [chuckles]

Looking at the floor plan, I got the impression of the new restaurant to be completely different from that at the current state during my visit. Several new features are mentioned in the upcoming restaurant: 'open kitchen', 'lounge area', and 'bar'. The interior design is contemporary but not in the sense of all-glass and industrial. The flooring will be parqueted, and the tables, chairs, and sofas will follow the earthy tone of the floor. From the floor plan alone, I did not get an immediate impression of the hotel trying to maintain or display some 'oldness' until Mr Mertens explained that there would be an 'old Hammond organ' to be placed at the centre of the restaurant. And, even so, Mr Mertens quickly added that he is unsure about it. The organ is currently displayed at the entrance of the restaurant (see Figure 7.24).

Collectively, these examples show that there are many sites where appearances are performed. Château d'Urspelt and Hotel Simoncini are among the clear illustration of hotels that take 'old' or 'young' as a concept of appearance. Both are results of a complete transformation from what used to be old sites. Yet, while both are in operation since 2008, they may appear older or younger than the actual date of establishment. Not all hotels, however, have the luxury of building a concept of appearance from scratch. This is especially the case in a family-run hotel such as Hotel Empire that has maintained the building since the founding of the business. Built in 1957, the restaurant is the oldest site for the 'big project' whose design language is not as 'young' and minimalist as Hotel Simoncini yet not as 'old' and grandeur as Château d'Urspelt.

7.4 CERTAINTY AND POSSIBILITY

The fourth duality in the enactment of the family businesses as tradition is certainty and possibility. Certainty alludes to the tendency to exclude differences whereas possibility refers to the tendency to allow differences. Certainty attempts to simplify whereas possibility at-

Figure 7.24. The display of a Hammond organ in the restaurant area of Hotel Empire. Source: author's own photograph.

tempts to complexify. Certainty weeds away multiplicity whereas possibility invites diversity. Certainty looks at the past whereas possibility looks at the future. In this study, the duality of certainty and possibility is exhibited in two forms: (1) as a dialogue between generations, and (2) as a long-term approach for experimentation. Each will be dis-

cussed in more detail as follows.

7.4.1 *As a dialogue between generations*

The duality of certainty and possibility manifests as a dialogue between generations in the family business when inter-generational interaction and conflicts are understood in terms of their stabilising and destabilising tendencies. Having been involved in the business for an extended period, the older generation tends to ensure certainty and predictability over possibility. On the other hand, with less historicity with the business, the younger generation tends to seek for (new) possibilities against the background of what has been certain. In giving an illustration of how this occurs, I will draw primarily from my conversation with Mr Carlo Cravat, the family manager of Grand Hotel Cravat.

In the following, Mr Cravat was reflecting about the negotiation process that is related to the decision to stop the family restaurant. It is here that the duality of certainty and possibility appears as a dialogue between generations.

> Yes, we had a lot of negotiations and - you know, we are like, a little bit, the farmers. There is one boss. And he takes the decision. If the decision is good or bad, he takes the decision. And that has always been like this. And for the last years, that was my mother, and she said it has always been like this why should we change. We have to work, then, more. We have to change something but I don't want to get rid of something. And - that is - that is the problem I told you. And - so, the negotiations - I tried to do it as - professional as possible because when you talk to that person, it's not only the owner, but it's your parent.

> *Rocky: That's true.*

> It's your mother. Or your father. And that is double the difficulty. Because when you say as a manager to your owner - 'Excuse me sir, this is rubbish. We cannot go on like this.' You take the decision, that's it. But I cannot tell that to my mother. I cannot say to my mother, 'This is rubbish what you say.' I mean, then I must be a little bit more - politically correct. And then this is difficult, because you are not on the level where you can - do a discussion. It's always one is there and one is there [Mr Cravat is making a hand gesture to show different heights]. Different levels. Because of the education, because of parents - uh, parents and child. I mean you cannot have a discussion adult-adult. I mean, if we take psychology now the - *analyse transactionnelle* [transactional analysis] if you have adult-adult or

> child-parent then - it's always child-parent. It's always child-parent, you
> can never - or, the child goes up - and says, 'Now that's it. Now, you listen.'
> And then the parent suddenly becomes the child. But then again, you are
> not at the right level. And that is what is very difficult in - in family busi-
> nesses - where they all have been working, or still working in the company.
> You never have a real discussion.

At first, Mr Cravat was using the 'farmers' metaphor to highlight the
hierarchical decision-making process in the business. Then such hier-
archy is then compounded when he emphasised that the person who
owns the business is 'not only the owner' but 'your parent'. The cer-
tainty that is represented by the older generation is prompted when
the mother insists on maintaining the business as 'it has always been'.
The possibility—which is represented by the younger generation—is
implicit within the mother's reaction. It is the possibility that the res-
taurant will be shut down.

Grand Hotel Cravat is an example of how, in a family business, au-
thority is centred in the family members. When multiple generations
are involved in the business, however, authority is unequally distrib-
uted between the older and the younger generation. The generational
difference in the hierarchy of the family is carried over to the busi-
ness. As a consequence, the relational hierarchy—of 'child-parent'—
will always loom throughout any dialogue between the two genera-
tions. From the excerpt above, Mr Cravat is aware of the difficulty in
expressing disagreement towards the older generation. In the follow-
ing, Mr Cravat recounted a debate that he had with his late father.

> I do remember - uh - very - intense discussions because it was - I did not un-
> derstand him any more and he did not understand me. That is what we call
> 'generation conflict'. And - I mean, it's important to listen to the old gener-
> ations because they have more knowledge, they have the years of knowing
> what happened, experience, but the young generations know what is go-
> ing on outside. So if you are smart enough to combine, and if the young
> generation is smart enough to listen to the old generation and vice versa,
> then you get a good team.

As part of their experience and accumulated knowledge, the older gen-
eration tends to (re)assure certainty. The younger generation, as part
of their alertness to the external environment, may have sensed some-
thing new—a possibility—that is not acknowledged by the older gen-
eration. Both, however, may not be willing to listen to each other (for

which a dialogue will not occur). In this case, explaining one's world-view is a challenge for each generation. Mr Cravat continues with an example:

> Take, for example the very easy subject to discuss, social laws. Even during my father's management time, people had to work 44 hours. Um - but maybe work 47 hours or 48 hours. And then one week maybe they work a little bit less, but it was like, okay, when there is a work we have to work. When we are off, then the boss gives you a half a day off supplement. So that was more like, I decide when my workers can be free. Okay, if you understand what I [mean] - So I decide on your life. If I think you must work then you must work. If I think that you must be free then I give you a free then you go off. Nowadays, this is not working any more like this. Nowadays, you have 40 hours, you have the rules, you have the unions, you have law, you have all these things. Though the - the point of being your father, deciding if you can be off or if you have to be working, is gone. Or is much less. So, trying to explain that to my father, was very hard. And he could not understand it. Because, he said, 'But we have been doing that now for three generations.' I said, 'Yes, but papa, nowadays there is socialist and the unions and everybody was pushing on that and they are copying from the French, and so on and so on. It is Europe, it is - pfff - what do I know? It is like that. You cannot go against the laws.' 'I decide in my house what I want to do. I have always been deciding what I want to do.' Then comes the grenade when you say, 'I'm sorry, you are wrong. Law is law. You must go for it.' And - so, that is for example a very typical discussion where you cannot tell the old generation 'you are right'. There you are wrong, you are completely wrong.

In this example, a regulation change that occurs outside of the family business is captured by the younger generation. This change was then communicated to the older generation. The response was the reassuring of certainty based on what the family business has been practising in the past. The father said, 'But we have been doing that now for three generations.' The younger generation, with a common interest to continue the business, is compelled to express his disagreement to the older generation. When both generations are willing to sustain the business, what has been possible needs to be weighed in against what has been certain.

The possibility that is represented by the younger generation may also appear as naïvety. It this in this case that the older generation, through the experience that has been gained from years of running

the business, may act as a stabilising force in the daily practice of the family business. In the following, Mr Cravat gives an example of this situation.

> … other discussion is where guests were yelling and shouting and, for example, I said, 'Oh yeah, the guest is always right,' and my father said, 'The guest is right. Yes, until a certain extent. If you know the staff has been working well, and they have not done any mistake, then you must stick behind your staff. And tell the guest, I am very sorry sir, we are not good enough for you. You must leave.'

In this dialogue, the role is reversed between the two generations. The younger generation clings to the certainty that 'the guest is always right' whereas the older generation puts forward the possibility that such 'rule' may not apply when the father said, 'The guest is right. Yes, until a certain extent.' It is here that the certainty of the rule is destabilised by the possibility of the situation.

A respectful relationship between generations is critical in transforming the tension between certainty and possibility as a productive force in the family business. The excerpts between Mr Cravat and his father above have exemplified that each generation needs to be willing to listen and learn from another. In the following conversation, a respectful relationship also means that one generation cannot force other (subsequent) generations to do the same.

> I cannot decide for the others [family members]. I can implement it for the others to have the chance -
>
> *Rocky: Yes. That is the opening of the chance.*
>
> Voila! I cannot do more! I cannot do more. That's what I always said to my mother, we can prepare the path, afterwards, how the path of each member of the family will be, we cannot decide. We will not be there any more. And that is very hard when you say that to the old generations. They say, 'Yes, but if they destroy it [the business] and if they sell it?' You cannot change it. You will not be there any more. This is not of our decisions any more. [They say,] 'We have to do something for keeping it.' I said, 'We cannot.'
>
> *Rocky: So, the responsibility for you and - those who are living at the present time is to keep it - so there is a chance in the future -*
>
> Voila! We have to keep it, and we have to prepare it, the case the next generation wants to go on with it, has the chance to go.
>
> *Rocky: Has a chance. Yes.*

Voila. If you give it already to the next generation with few millions of debts, then there is no chance. If you give a clean company to the next generation, and you say you just have to work in it and you have to go and it's fine, then it's good. Always considering what is going on outside. I mean if there is a war outside or what do I know, then it's - but then everything collapse. And then, you still have, even if the building is destroyed, afterwards you still have the land. Apart if you are expropriated or you are killed, or what do I know. But I mean, let's try to keep a certain normal - normal thing huh?

In this string of conversation, certainty and possibility manifest in two ways. First, in the first half of the excerpt, Mr Cravat was hinting towards the impossibility of assuring certainty for the generations to come. The worry of the mother, 'but if they destroy it and if they sell it', is expressed as a tendency to ascertain the continuation of the business. 'We have to do something for keeping it,' is responded with, 'We cannot', which again destabilise the certainty that is sought after. Second, in the second half of the excerpt, Mr Cravat took a perspective that the certainty of keeping the business in the family is not to force the next generation to continue, but to give them a chance *in case* 'the case the next generation wants to go on with it.' In other words, certainty is turned from eliminating possibility to become carrying out a responsibility that may allow possibility.

The older generation is both a symbol for and a provider of certainty for the younger generation. The younger generation, on the other hand, is a symbol for possibility—the newness of the younger generation should not be expected to provide certainty and safety, for this is not the nature of the young. Inter-generational learning occurs when the possibility of the younger generation is nurtured by the stability of the older generation. In turn, the duality of certainty and possibility may open up new ways to sustain the collective enterprise. Nonetheless, the coexistence certainty and possibility may also move the enterprise towards the opposite direction. When certainty is inappropriately imposed to weed out possibility, the younger generation is not given a chance to develop, and the older generation mistakes an absence of possibility for certainty. As a result, the collective enterprise is at risk to be impoverished.

7.4.2 *As a long-term approach for experimentation*

The duality of certainty and possibility also manifests, secondly, as a long-term approach to experimentation.[5] Reflecting upon his engagement in the commercial, cultural, and political scene, Mr Simoncini explicates how an approach to family business can be defined not only as a form of an economic enterprise but also as a concept to advocate a dialogue between multiple actors. To recall, Mr Simoncini is the owner-manager of four enterprises: Hotel and Café Français, Hotel Simoncini, Galerie Simoncini (art gallery), and Editions Simoncini (publishing house). Hotel and Café Français are operated as a continuation of the business formerly owned by another family. This continuation—along with his daily engagement with the people in the locality—is claimed to contribute to the social integration in the city. Hotel and Galerie Simoncini, on the other hand, are operated as an experimentation of a political concept where the commercial may stand in symbiosis with the cultural. His involvement in the commercial, cultural, and political arenas has allowed him to draw several points of reflection where the enactment of a family business may transcend to other arenas, such as city organisation, as an emancipatory act.

To start, Mr Simoncini is concerned about the recently introduced regulation posed by the government towards the hotel industry. For instance, the new regulation has made it mandatory that a specific type of room needs to be fitted with a specific dimension of bed. Mr Simoncini argues that not only this rule is incompatible with the infrastructure of Hotel Français—which is an old building that cannot be easily reconfigured—but it also neglects the variety of forms that are represented by the family businesses. In a letter sent to the Ministry of Economy of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, he insists that rules and regulations that do not take into account the complexity of family businesses may be detrimental to the society. My role as a family business researcher is referred in the letter to show that, among others, family businesses play a distinctive role in the society. More precisely, he writes:

> I have an appointment this afternoon with a student from the University of Luxembourg preparing a doctoral thesis on family businesses. I

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5. As a note, this form of enactment is derived mainly from the conversation with Mr André Simoncini where I had the chance to have an extended interaction.

will not miss to insist on their burdens and their constraints but also on their duties and their vocation to perpetuate their activities. They resist the "franchising" and over-standardisation of entire areas of commercial space and, beyond their commercial vocation, represent an essential asset for sociability and have a significant place in the 'collective unconscious'.[6]

In this account, family businesses are positioned in the wider context of city organisation. A tension arises between 'the government' as the organiser of the city and 'the family businesses' as the subject of the organisation. The former exercises 'standardisation' while the latter resist such homogenising force that potentially rules out diversity. The former is a representation of 'certainty', and the latter is a representation of 'possibility'.

Mr Simoncini is particularly concerned about the widespread franchising of the surrounding 'commercial space'. Witnessing the closure of smaller shops which were replaced by global brands, he contends that family-run businesses are a representation of the identity of the city. More importantly than being an economic entity, they play a role also in fostering the social integration between people. Using Hotel and Café Français as an example, he explains:

> … [Hotel Français] is not old-fashioned but it is very traditional. Traditional - hotel or restaurant. Traditional on a place which is a popular place. This *place d'Armes* [a square in the city centre], with the terrace, is a major popular place. And this popular aspect - I have respected in a very positive way, to be a place on which we can share, the simple person with other toff persons, and you can put - what we call it in French - for me it's very important this sort of concept of *brassage*. *Brassage*, to make join all the persons, you know. For instance, in my café somebody is coming for having a coffee. I am so happy, that another person which is coming and he have a good big meal. You know. That is a typical business for a place like - here. And here - there is only Rabelais [a neighbouring restaurant], which is in the private hands, and we are in private hands. And also there now on the En Cercle, but he is a new one. Yes, he is the new one, but, in the meantime I am here now the oldest - oldest man, huh. And definitely we are the only owner which is really running his own business.

This account illustrates the diminishing of possibility when fran-

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chising businesses take over the 'commercial space' in the area (the place d'Armes square). By contrasting the common person and the more affluent one, the family business is symbolised as providing the possibility for the intermingling of two different social class.

Departing from the role that the family businesses play in the cultural context of the city, Mr Simoncini was experimenting, through the establishment of Hotel Simoncini and Galerie Simoncini, that both business and culture may coexist and reinforce each other. He contends:

> Simoncini Hotel was … a real experiment, because I bought there from one owner, the hotel, this part, and the other one I bought the shop which was downstairs. And then I joined the two. And then we made a very, very big change. This hotel has been completely [changed] - even the stairs have been completely destroyed and it has been made new. And we have made something which, once again, I think an investor would never do. I have made an experiment in trying to make - to realise a structure of a hotel with a gallery together. And to try to make an osmosis, you know.

The result of this experiment is a proof of concept that there is a similarity between approaching a family business and approaching culture (used here to denote humans' artistic expression). For Mr Simoncini, both enterprises are a long-term activity:

> The building of a family enterprise is a long term [act]. And, of course, there you are not in a consideration of the speculation how to make a marketing, and try to make money … so [it is] this long term [act] which can justify most of the enterprise which is done by family or small business. And on the culture, you know, so as I think that it must be, if you are working in this sense, it is also a social act. I was insisting last time that the business, and the activity of the family business, is a social act in the organisation of the city. And, at the very moment, it is - I am fighting against the administration, I told you last time, for more than 40 years - I was against the whole chunk of what they were doing, and now I am right. … So, it's a long term - and - the culture, you're not considering culture, or art, as a business, as a marketing. Also, culture is something which is on the long term. It must be interested in the long term, and in this sense, I was - and my approach which I have made was really to see culture as an investment on which I'm trying to find the reality of the long term.
>
> *Rocky: Long term reality.*
>
> Yes. And now, this weekend, we were in the Hall Victor Hugo, and there we have made a justification, for instance, for the part of our gallery - that

the result of the work which you have done in the long term could be a justification [for the building of a family enterprise].

Rocky: What was the reaction?

It was very positive. Very, very positive. And, you know, in culture you need to - to go further - try to discover, to feel what could happen, you know. To be - to have - to make a prospect, but in the meantime you must respect from where you are coming. You know, I think this is - and then you can build a concept, on the long term, on which you need to have a forum. You need to have a forum. And the forum, you can only get it if you are able to respect from where you are coming, where you are. That's the basis of the forum. The generation which is living now, the past generation, and try to have a dynamic approach to go further.

Several issues are touched upon in this excerpt. First is the long-term approach that is required for both family business and culture. Second is the tension between possibility and certainty. There is an imperative for culture 'to go further', 'to discover', and 'to make a prospect'—in other words, to seek for possibility—while simultaneously respecting 'where you are coming'—i.e. to take into account its certainty. Mr Simoncini did not make it explicit that the same is the case for family business, but I will take the leap that he is also alluding to how a family business should be approached: to respect the certainty of where the family business is coming from (i.e. its origin) while at the same time trying to explore where the family business may be heading (which is still a possibility). In this account, Mr Simoncini was referring to the event in the 'Hall Victor Hugo' called *Luxembourg Art Week 2017*. The event, held from the 9th to the 11th of November 2017, featured Galerie Simoncini as one of the galleries from around Europe.

For Mr Simoncini, to build a family enterprise is not (only) in consideration of profit but it is also a long-term activity that promotes social interaction. From this angle, there is a shift of focus from the business per se towards the city where the businesses are located. From this angle also, the question is not any longer how businesses may make a profit, but how the city may provide a space that provides alternatives. The notion of culture becomes important as one of the ways where alternatives are generated. It is here that a justification of existence, either for a family business or a cultural enterprise, is no longer in the hands of the economic benefit, but in the construction of a forum that allows social interaction. He contends:

> … in the dynamic of construction, you have - I think you have the phenomenon of extrapolation. In statistics, in mathematics, for instance, you have the - um - how do you call that - [Mr Simoncini takes a pen and a paper and draws an illustration] this is the past, huh, and, there is the present. And then this past is the dynamic of the environment - and you are trying to prospect where you are going, you must work on the extrapolation. And I think this model must be worked out. From a political point of view, for culture - because who is doing culture for the next generation? Not one man. It's the society.

Here also, extrapolation is another term for experimentation. To extrapolate is to imagine the possibility of things that may happen in the future, which is derived from the certainty of things that have happened in the past. Towards the end, Mr Simoncini poses a rhetoric: 'who is doing culture for the next generation? Not one man. It's the society'. On a lesser scale, I argue that a similar argument can also be applied to the family business: who is doing family business for the next generation? Not one person, but the family.

Thus far, the similarity between the approach to culture and family business has converged in the view that both are an incremental and evolutionary process. I was probing whether a radical change—a revolution—is advisable in both doing culture and family business.

> *Rocky: Do you think revolution is necessary?*
>
> No, no, no. Evolution, never revolution. Because they all go again into very emotional and irrational approaches. But evolution is made step by step, you know. And I think and that the society - you have - a city like Luxembourg on which you have a lot of - um - nationalities and other functions, is also the matrix of the complexity. And [in] the organisation of a city, you need to respect the complexity. The big mistake is that you are trying to simplify the complexity. This is an horrible thing because there you are just reacting with rules, new laws, and all these, and you must keep the complexity - it must be kept on. Very, very important, eh, the complexity. And the complexity is definitely also the basis of a real and efficient social act and, in the meantime, is the basis to make a true culture work. Because if you want to make good cultural work, you need to comfort and to respect the antagonism - and the contradictions. And on this basis, you are also creating a sort of emulation. Because I think the evolution is also something that might be very rational, but it is also a matter of experiment.
>
> *Rocky: I see. Trying things and then failing.*

> You must try, try, try, try, try. And then you have of course, according to different options which you are taking, you might find somebody which is able to have - to shake a hand with you, and find the part of the solution, which I don't know and you don't know. So, it's very important to keep this on.

Most prominent in this account is the suggestion that complexity needs to be respected, not simplified. Complexity needs to be embraced, not simplified by reactionary 'rules' and 'new laws'. Mr Simoncini then alludes to the stance that differences are necessary. 'Complexity,' in his words, 'is the basis of a real and efficient social act'. Respectful 'antagonism' and 'contradictions' are argued as constitutive for 'true culture work'.

Both certainty and possibility are necessary for experimentation. Certainty without possibility is tyranny, while possibility without certainty is fragile. For Mr Simoncini, the interdependence between the two may result in a concept of governance where the bigger structures need to be in the position of support for the smaller structures. He maintains:

> …you must be careful when you are negotiating, that you can keep and try to protect the small structures. You know, an evolution from the economical point of view or from a cultural point of view, you are not doing it from the big - and then to the small. But you make it from the small to the big. You know. This is on the very small structure which you must feel, how to - uh - it's like a flower. [Mr Simoncini draws an illustration] We have the small bud, we are putting it in, and if we know how to manage, the flower will come out. And I think - but in the meantime you must have a reflection, to anticipate and to create a structure, making that the big part cannot destroy the plant, you know. So you must fit out how to manage these. And this is I think a sort of political technology - know-how that you must work out. And in the meantime, there is no reason to destroy the initiative of the big. You need some also. I don't want to be an utopist. But in the meantime, the big one must be in the position of respect to the small.

Two forces are contrasted in this account: the 'big' structures—those with a higher authority in the city such as the government and large-sized businesses—and the 'small' structures—those with a lesser authority such as small- and medium-sized enterprises. Mr Simoncini then uses a metaphor of a flower to make the point that between the big (the certain) and the small (the possible) are in mutual dependence. What is needed is not how one may dominate another, but how cer-

tainty may provide stability which gives space for possibility to blossom.

To close, the mutual dependence between certainty and possibility means that a respectful relationship needs to be established between those who are involved in the experimentation. For Mr Simoncini, one of the ways to do so is by taking the opponent as an intelligent partner.

> I think, you must take, in culture, you must take the partner as an intelligent partner. Respect, and also give him a chance to conceptualise. And the conceptualisation, you need to give him also - a constructive - a dynamic element in the end. To make a real thought on it. Not only to say, to try to manipulate and say pap, pap, pap, pap - it doesn't work like that. There must be this courage, there must be a vision behind. There must be a vision - then you have also a sort of transcendence. And then - there is the mechanism of conceptualisation - to try to make your own choice. You know, I think good culture is a big democracy in which you must give alternatives. You must give alternatives in culture. It's very important.

The manner to engage in contradiction is implied in this account. Respect is shown not by manipulation and 'shooting down' the opponent, but by giving the opponent a constructive feedback and a 'chance to conceptualise' his or her own thoughts. Criticism is posed not for the sake of opposition, but because there is an underlying 'vision' to construct an alternative. In other words, the production of alternatives requires time and independent thinking. This excerpt corroborates Mr Simoncini's earlier argument that the building of a family enterprise is a long-term approach.

7.5 MAKING SENSE OF THE ENACTMENT OF THE FAMILY BUSINESS AS TRADITION

To reiterate, four forms of dualities in the enactment of the family business as tradition have been presented. Respectively, they are (1) repetition and novelty, (2) preservation and abandonment, (3) being and appearing, and (4) certainty and possibility. Before going further, I deem it necessary to pause and reflect how these tensions can be made sense as part of the enactment of the family business as tradition—having in mind the interconnection between this chapter and the previous chapter.

Most fundamental is to understand the key difference between received tradition and enacted tradition. In received tradition, the family businesses are seen as traditions in virtue of their transmittedness from the past. The previous chapter was about how stories are received from the past generations and how such stories are told by the present generation. In enacted tradition, by contrast, the family businesses are seen as traditions in virtue of their daily enactment in the present. In enacted tradition, the present generation not only receive stories, but they also (re)produce them as a continuation of the past. The consequence of this view is that, to some extent, family businesses are also performances.

What does it mean when the family businesses are seen as performances? For one, it implies that, like traditions, family businesses require living human beings to perform them. In performance, there are roles that are played, practices that are enacted, actors who perform the practices, objects that are displayed, stories that are told, stages that are set, and morals that are implied. To recall that one of the basic features of tradition is its transmission (Shils, 1981; Vansina, 1985), then these performative elements *are* traditions *when* their uses imply transmission from the past.

Drawing from the dualities/dialectics perspective (Farjoun, 2010, 2017), I have fleshed out the 'Grand Duality' of continuity and discontinuity into four forms of dualities. On the one hand, repetition, preservation, being, and certainty are the different shades of continuity. On the other hand, novelty, abandonment, appearing, and possibility, are the different shades of discontinuity. These are illustrated in Figure 7.25.
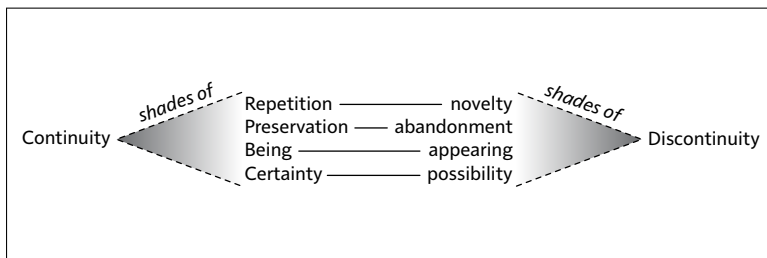

Figure 7.25. Forms of tension between continuity and discontinuity. Source: author's own elaboration.

The roots of tradition explored in Chapter 3—temporality, authority, morality, narrativity, practicity, materiality, and spatiality—made their appearance within each duality. In repetition and novelty, the roots of authority, practicity, materiality, and spatiality are more salient in the performance of the family businesses as traditions. The examples of 'Oktav', 'late check-in', and 'late check-out' at Grand Hotel Cravat show that repetitive practices produce a shared history which reinforces the authority of the family manager as the guardian of the tradition. Novel situations emerge within each repetition and, as a response to novelty, the guardian produces 'formulaic truth' as a proper interpretation for the tradition members. The examples of the practice of 'book-hotel' and the 'village tour' footage which feature Hotel de la Sûre show that novelty may induce repetition, and, from the analysis of the footage, that repeated practices and repeated use of materiality may signify authority over a particular space. There is a spatial boundary in a tradition, and that to enter such space an outsider needs the permission of the guardian.

In preservation and abandonment, narrativity, materiality, and spatiality are more pronounced. Several examples are presented. At Grand Hotel Cravat, there is a tension to preserve its narrative identity while abandoning the operation of the historical restaurant. At Hotel Empire, there is a tension to preserve the physical building and the site where the hotel is situated in the face of the transformation of the surrounding locality. And, at Château d'Urspelt, there is a tension to revive the abandoned castle—which includes the material, the spatial, and the narrative elements that are attached to it. In preservation and abandonment, narrative continuity is negotiated; and the material presence and space where they are presented are justified.

The duality of being and appearing gives prominence to the root of materiality and spatiality. By experiencing the hotels, I show how Château d'Urspelt utilises materiality to project an appearance of the old while at the same time being young. Technologies are among the representation of materiality. The presence of the digital and the analogue influence the perception of traditionality. In contrast, Hotel Simoncini projects youngness not through technologies but arts. Simple, minimalist design which is combined with the display of contemporary arts produce an impression of recentness and fluidity. Spaces, in combination with objects and the material of the objects, are utilised differently to project oldness or youngness. Candles, chan-

deliers, wooden chairs, and wooden piano are among the representation of the old; metal, glass, and neon lamp are among the representation of the young.

Lastly, in the tension between certainty and possibility, the roots of authority, temporality, and morality are more predominant. Revisiting the narratives of Grand Hotel Cravat, certainty and possibility manifest as a dialogue between two authorities—between the younger generation and the older generation. Authority is contested through, on the one hand, the tendency to stabilise uncertainty and, on the other hand, the tendency to explore possibility. Family members have different temporal historicity with the business, which influences their inclination towards certainty and possibility. In the narratives of Mr Simoncini and his enterprises (which include hotels and an art gallery), certainty and possibility manifest as a long-term approach for experimentation. Therein, the dynamics that occur in the family business transcend the confines of organisation towards the sphere of city organisation. Authority is contested not any longer between generations but between the regulator and the regulated. Temporality is implied in the long-term orientation that is required in the production of alternatives. Above all, the duality of certainty and possibility is turned into a productive tension to sustain the collective enterprise when it is underlaid by a respectful relationship—a morality—between the two opposing authorities.

In Figure 7.26, I illustrate the connection between the four dualities and the seven roots of tradition in a triangular relation. At the top and the bottom of the figure, there is the 'Grand Duality' of continuity and discontinuity. In between, there are four dualities which are linked, in a different configuration, with the various roots of tradition. These roots are 'sites' where each of the four dualities emerges. In turn, these 'roots' interweave and conjoin to construct the phenomenon of tradition.

In the previous chapter, I have argued that family businesses are traditions by examining their receivedness. In this chapter, I have argued that family businesses are traditions by examining their enactedness. In the next chapter, I will put forward the argument that family businesses are in the process of becoming traditions by examining their *to-be-transmitted*ness.
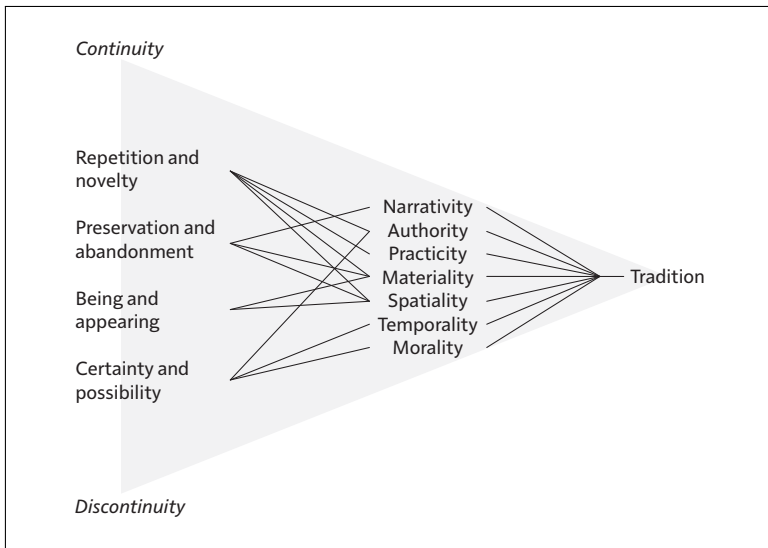
Figure 7.26. 'Grand Duality', the four dualities, and the roots of tradition.

Chapter 8

Family Business as Tradition to be Transmitted

This chapter is the last of the trilogy of tradition as a root metaphor for understanding family business. Conceptually, this chapter combines the view of Shils (1981, p. 16) that "[a]ll accomplished patterns of the human mind, all patterns of belief or modes of thinking, all achieved patterns of social relationships, all technical practices, and all physical artefacts or natural objects are susceptible to becoming objects in a process of transmission; each is capable of *becoming* a tradition" (my emphasis), with the view of MacIntyre (1990) that, within a tradition, there is a pursuance of goods that extend through generations. Adding to these arguments, I argue that while patterns of belief, patterns of social relationships, technical practices, and physical objects retain their potentiality of becoming a tradition, they do not become traditions by themselves. Yes, human agency is necessary—but human agency alone is also insufficient. There are 'forces' that 'propel' actors to commit themselves to the continuity of traditions.

It is to be acknowledged that the performance of the family businesses as traditions are inseparable from the becoming of the family businesses as traditions. Through performance, not only traditions are rendered visible, but their visibility, observability, and experiencability also make them transmissible. Yet, there are processes that occur from 'visibility' to 'transmissibility'. One of these processes is the emergence of, to quote MacIntyre (1990, p. 60), "prior commitment." The previous chapter has been about how traditions are made visible through performances. In this chapter, I will discuss how traditions obtain the tendency to be transmitted through the emergence of forces that give rise to the commitment to traditions. This study reveals three of such forces: which are obligation, duty, and dignity. These are described as follows.

Collectively, obligation and duty are used here as terms that allude to the urgency to accomplish something. Dignity, on the other hand,

is used here as a term that alludes to the recognition and appreciation of self-worth (not self-importance). Other, deeper meanings to these three terms are available although the fine detail of the philosophical differences between them is beyond the scope of this chapter. One that is insightful for the present discussion is Brandt (1964) which specifies that 'obligation' refers to, among others, "what a person ought to do in virtue of his having promised or of his having accepted a benefaction" (p. 386), while 'duty' refers to, among others, "tasks associated with occupancy of an office or station in some organisation" (p. 387). For dignity, among the available perspectives to define it, I lean towards the view proposed in Rosen (2012) where dignity is linked with mutual respect. "Dignity requires respectfulness" (Rosen, 2012, p. 62), both *from* others as well as *towards* others.

Before going further to show how obligation, duty, and dignity appear in the empirical material, several challenges in tapping into these subtle concepts need to be spelt out. Empirically, duty, obligation, and dignity are often difficult to pin down in their explicit form. Unlike 'tradition' where it is a common word in a daily life, it is less likely that actors speak, in an explicit verbal expression, about duty, obligation, and dignity. Consequently, to sense the presence of the latter calls for a charitable interpretation of the *way* actors speak about the former. As conceptual cues, duty and obligation are implied when there is a sense of 'having to do' and 'having to accomplish' in actors' sense-making process of being and living as a family business. Dignity is implied when the commitment to carry out what has to be done and what has to be accomplished is threatened, questioned, or destabilised. Furthermore, not only an explicit use of duty, obligation, and dignity is difficult to pin down, to isolate the three concepts is also a difficult task. One is often implied by another, and one can be re-interpreted as another.

Taking into account the complexity in presenting and analysing the three concepts, in the following section I will show and discuss how obligation, duty, and dignity are implied in the way traditions are talked about. Different from the previous chapters where each section is neatly grouped under a separate heading, for this chapter I will present the three concepts altogether. A string of excerpts will be presented one after another in companion with the interpretation of each. As a note to the reader, the examples that I will present in this chapter will be based almost exclusively on the conversation that I had

with Mr Cravat and, to a lesser degree, Mr Simoncini. This is done so because of the limitations in the empirical material, where I was unable to engage in a more prolonged interaction with other informants. Hence this exclusivity, while restrictive, should not be taken as my unwillingness to include other voices. I will discuss more about this limitations later in Chapter 9.

8.1 OBLIGATION, DUTY, AND DIGNITY AS FORCES OF TRANSMISSION

It is through narrative that family businesses are received as traditions, and it is through narrative also that they will be transmitted as traditions. A vivid illustration of the use of narrative as a sign of commitment in the continuation of tradition is shown in the accounts of Mr Cravat. To start, I will revisit a short excerpt that has been presented earlier in Chapter 7.

> I am a bit like the Last of the Mohicans who resist because I do not want to be a rich rentier who betrayed the three generations before me that have built this place.

In this account, Mr Cravat refers to another narrative—the Last of the Mohicans—to show his commitment to the family business. As a metaphor, 'the Last of the Mohicans' is a significant narrative. It depicts an epic struggle of survival (and eventual demise) of a dignified American Indian tribe 'Mohicans' in the midst of a colonial invasion. Mr Cravat's mentioning of 'a bit' in the beginning is perhaps to stress the survival and not the demise. The use of the metaphor implies that there is dignity in the commitment of Mr Cravat to sustain the continuity of the family business—the commitment should not be devalued. This is then followed by an assertion that he does not want to 'betray' the generations that have built the place. The commitment not to betray is another way of saying that there is an obligation, in virtue of receiving the family business as a 'benefaction', for Mr Cravat to maintain the continuity of the family business and to pass it over to the next generations in the way that he has received it in the first place.

The sense of obligation to keep the business in the possession of the family is corroborated in the following account where Mr Cravat is projecting the long-term vision of the family.

> As long as we are in, we try to keep the same things we did. Once we are

not any more managing it, and we are just looking at it as a capital, then of course we want to have the return of capital. Then we are in a completely different world. - [inhales] - Where we still must look is what is the aim. The aim is to keep the capital. So even if, I look now very, very far away, even if for one generation we are just trying to keep the capital, and one day there is a generation that comes and said, 'I would like to start again to do hotel business.' Well, the capital is there! Go! Go! Yala! Do whatever you think what do you want to do. As long as then the family agrees with your idea, why not?

Rocky: Yes. Right. I mean, this is very forward - I mean -

Oh, yes. I am thinking now two, three generations -

In this account, Mr Cravat begins by specifying the general plot that 'as long as we are in [the management of the business]', the family will try to keep 'the same things' as they were in the past. An alternative plot is then introduced—'once we are not any more managing it [the business]'—which is followed by the consequence where the family will demand the return of capital. A commentary on the alternative plot is provided: 'Then we are in a completely different world.' The pause and inhale that occur afterwards signify the heaviness of imagining such a plot, which is in contrast to the previously stated commitment 'to keep the same things we did'. What follows is an explicit statement of the obligation of the family, which is 'to keep the capital'. At this point, a contrast can be made between obligation and duty. In the previous excerpt where Mr Cravat mentioned that he does not want to be 'a rich rentier who betrayed the three generations' before him, it is an *obligation* that emerges on him to be performed *for the past generations*. In the present excerpt where he mentioned that 'even if for one generation we are just trying to keep the capital, and one day there is a generation that comes and said, 'I would like to start again to do hotel business.' Well, the capital is there! Go!', it is a *duty* that emerges on the family to be performed *for the upcoming generations*. In other words, obligation is to be performed for the benefactors; duty is to be performed for those who will potentially benefit from the position that is occupied by the performer.

In the following, Mr Cravat sensed a duty to educate aspiring hoteliers in the country. Having been a hotelier for more than 25 years, he conferred:

I feel I have responsibility to give my message to the younger generations

so that they are ready if they want to step into their father's businesses, or start a new business, or whatever.

When this account was given, Mr Cravat had been involved as a speaker in a hotel school in Diekirch, in the north of Luxembourg. This account illustrates that duty emerges as a sense 'to give'. He said, 'I feel I have *responsibility to give* my message *to the younger generations*' (my emphasis). Responsibility is a duty to be performed, and the object of the performance is the 'younger generations'. Different from the 'previous generations' who have given benefits to the present actor, the 'younger generations' have not performed any benefits for the present actor. The benefit of the latter remains in its potentiality whereas the benefit of the former has been a reality. Duty is carried out to those whose benefits are not yet realised. Obligation is carried out to those whose benefits have been realised. Therefore, the above excerpt can be read as 'I feel I have the duty to give my message to the younger generations'. Yet, what is the 'message' about? This is a part where the notion of dignity comes in.

In the following account, Mr Cravat explains what message that he has to convey.

> … they should definitely know and be told that hotel business is not only a job. It is also, as you say, it is also human job. It's like being a - I don't want to say that we are like doctors, but - like the doctors, sometimes you have this medical part and then you have this psychological part. I mean, you can be a damn good doctor on the medical part and a lousy psychologist, [but then] some patients will not come back. Because they will say, 'Okay maybe he's good in medical - but I still don't feel well.' You can have a doctor that is less good in medical and better in psychology, and the patient will say, 'I prefer to see him, he listens to me, he gives me good advice' - 'Still suffering, but at least I feel better when I leave him.' So that's what I mean, you must find this balance between the human part and the business part.

A sense of value and worth in the profession is implicit in this excerpt. Dignity is implied because to be a hotelier is 'not only a job'. Dignity makes the profession 'more' than a job since dignity is a reference to the worth of human being. In the excerpt, this worth is derived from the sense of respect towards others that is demanded by the profession. A metaphor of 'doctors' is used to make the point that a balance between technical proficiency and emotional sensitivity is required in

the profession. In other words, a hotelier is dignified when he or she dignifies the 'human part'.

There is dignity in the commitment to a tradition. The previous examples have shown that tradition can manifest in the form of the family business as well as the profession. Dignity in the continuation of a tradition is also implied when the actor is aware of the narrative trajectory of the family enterprise. Mr Cravat reflects upon the meaning of being a family business:

> I say that - [if] the father has started, and the son goes on with it, and then afterwards there is no successor, it's a pity - but it's not a tragedy. If you have four generations or five generations that have been working in the same business where so many people have been growing up in these walls, in these place, it is different. And you know nothing else than this. So that is for me, it is a big difference, a big difference.

This account makes a contrast between two narrative trajectories: the first is explicit and the second one is implicit. The first narrative trajectory is, 'the father has started, and the son goes on with it, and then afterwards there is no successor, it's a pity - but not a tragedy'. It is a narrative (albeit an imaginary one) of a family enterprise of which the ending will be 'a pity'. The second narrative trajectory is implicit in the following phrase, 'but it's not a tragedy'. What constitutes a 'tragedy' is given in the next sentence, where 'you have four generations or five generations that have been working in these walls, in these place' *and* there is no continuity. The worth of the continuity of the family enterprise is what constitutes the dignity of the family business. In this regard, dignity is a mode of commitment to slip through the grip of a tragic ending.

Duty and dignity that arise in the family business can also intertwine in a string of narrative in the form of an allegory. This is illustrated in the following.

> It's like in the animal life. The young wolf was always to show the old wolf that he is the strongest. To a certain moment the old wolf will always beat the young wolf because he will have the experience and he will be able to put them on the back. But there will be one moment where the old wolf will be so old that, even with the experience, it will not be able any more to win against the young wolf because the young wolf will not have only the force, but he will have gained of experience. But then [there] will be already another young that will attack the - the still young wolf, and they will - and

life goes on. And the very old wolf will look at it and say, 'Ck! Man, you get the coins back from your bill!' [laughter] I mean, if you are smart enough as old wolf to understand, when is the time to step back and say, 'Listen, if you need me, you know where my cave is, and you can and get me and ask me, and you do whatever you want to do with my experience and my idea, and if you don't want it, you must go for your life.' And that is also like that in a family business. You don't have this story of wolves in big companies - Yes, you have the wolves. I want to eat you to get your job. But that's not the same final aim. It's not to do it to improve the company. It's to get your job, to get your money. That's it.

This account is given by Mr Cravat in his reflection on the meaning of being a family business. The first part of this allegory of the 'wolves' is related to the duty that the older generation has towards the younger generation. In the beginning, the background is set where 'The young wolf was always to show [to] the old wolf that he is the strongest' and 'to a certain moment the old wolf will always beat the young wolf because he will have the experience'. This setting depicts two kinds of tendency: the tendency of the younger generation to prove his or her worth to the older generation, and the tendency of the older generation to take control of the family enterprise as part of his or her obligation and duty. The power struggle between the young and the old continues to a point where the young is mature enough in 'experience', and the old is 'so old' and has diminished in 'force'. At this point, the role is switched. The younger generation is not any longer proving the worth to the older generation but now carrying out the duty to nurture the next generation that will 'attack the still young wolf'. Through these interactions, the role of the older generation is transmitted to the next generation. The expression, 'Man, you get the coins back from your bill!' emphasises the transmission of the role as well as the recursivity of the narrative in the family business setting. There is a duty that the older generation will continue to play, and knowing 'when is the time to step back' is part of the duty of the older generation to give authority to the younger generation.

The second part of this allegory is related to the dignity of living as a family business. To operate as a family business contains values that are both worthy to be lived and worthy to be transmitted. This sense of worth is signified by the contrast between two 'kinds' of wolves. Mr Cravat said, 'You don't have this story of wolves in big companies - Yes, you have the wolves. I want to eat you to get your job. But that's not the

same final aim. It's not to do it to improve the company. It's to get your job, to get your money. That's it.' The sudden shift from 'you don't have' to 'yes, you have' marks the shift of meaning from 'wolves' as a story of a caring family to 'wolves' as a story of self-interest. Dignity is implied through this contrast. The former is dignified because it respects the human relations—of the older generation being selfless—whereas the latter is not dignified because it disrespects the human relations—of the people being selfish.

In another occasion, dignity as having an emphasis on the respect of human beings occurs through the contrast between the financial and the non-financial aspect of operating as a family business. This is exemplified in the following account of Mr Cravat about 'money'.

> Money, you know, money - you don't talk about it. You have it, you don't talk about it. You don't have it, you don't even talk about it. It's - money is something we must have in our societal system. But that's not the point. The point is to make people happy. If people are happy, they pay everything. There's no problem. And then suddenly they call it quality. Because they are happy. What is quality? Quality is when somebody comes, he had a nice day, he had a good food, he had a nice service - and everything, [and then] he said, 'Bye-bye, see you next time. Oh, by the way, I have to pay.'

This excerpt talks about how the financial aspect is valued (or devalued) in the social interaction of the business. It begins with a de-emphasis on money, '… you don't talk about it … money is something we must have … but that's not the point,' and followed with an emphasis on the emotional, 'the point is to make people happy'. This statement is then corroborated by an assertion that the financial aspect will follow once the non-financial aspect is taken care of: 'if people are happy, they pay everything.' Dignity is implied in the following sentence about 'quality'. 'What is quality? Quality is when somebody comes, he had a nice day, he had a good food, he had a nice service - and everything, [and then] he said, 'Bye-bye, see you next time. Oh, by the way, I have to pay.' In other words, there is a sense of worth in the family business *when* they can subjugate the financial aspect in favour of the emotional/human relation aspect. Dignity is the quality of having the mutual satisfaction of the respect of human being.

Dignity as being able to subjugate the financial below the non-financial is also implied the following account with a metaphor of a

'tailor'. Mr Cravat continues:

> … for example - go to the other example, a tailor. Nowadays you can go in a shop, you go you buy a suit, 500 Euros, you got a nice suit. So, why for God's sake, tell me, people are spending up to ten thousand Euros for a normal three-piece suit at a tailor? Who's wrong, the person who pays 500 Euros, apart from looking at the financial thing. What is the difference between the person who is buying 500 Euros that is very happy, and the person who is buying for ten thousand Euros - and that will be also happy but will have paid 9,500 Euros more, for the same suit. Not for the same suit, but - for having a suit on the shoulders and the trousers on. And there is, of course, the social recognition. But, with the tailor, there will be the personal recognition, there will be the pampering, there will be the thing, 'I take care of you, human being. I have been doing that all my life and I do whatever I can to please you and to satisfy you.' And that is what is a big difference between these two things.

Similar to the earlier example with 'doctors', in this example a comparison is being made between two types of 'tailors'. Two extreme price-points are put forward as a prompt to make the point that, while both tailors may satisfy the need of the customers, prices are seen in different ways. On the one hand, there are customers who are 'happy' because of the price. On the other hand, there are customers who are 'happy' because of the 'pampering', the dedication, and respect shown by the tailor: 'I take care of you, human being. I have been doing that all my life and I do whatever I can do to please you and satisfy you.' From this angle, price is, in turn, only a consequence of the satisfaction and care that is experienced by the customers. Once again, the dignity of the profession is implied. It emerges when the financial concern is ordered as secondary whilst the non-financial concern is ordered as primary.

The reflexivity of traditions—that is, the ability for traditions to question what is being re-produced and why is it re-produced—is reflected through the emergence of obligation, duty, and dignity. Through these forces, the commitment to and the perpetuation of traditions are not an unthinking behaviour enacted by actors. Rather, the continuity of traditions is a result of an ongoing questioning and internal dialogue of what to be passed over to the next generation and what to be changed from the past generation. This reflexive process is illustrated in the following account of Mr Cravat.

What I will not do what my father did is to - to make - to make this job or
this situation - to put it on a higher level, to say this is wonderful, this is all
crystal and all gold, and no trouble, and everything. My children are very
close to me. And they see what I work, how I work, how long I work - how
I feel after the work, that I have positive days, less positive days. And, so
my two daughters for example, they are definitely not interested. The eld-
est one is studying mathematics in Brussels. And the second daughter she
would like to go and study medicine and later become a surgeon. So they
are not interested from far or close to the discussion. The only one who is
[interested] - for the moment, is my son, he is sixteen - he is interested in
cooking.

Mr Cravat begins his account with a reflective statement, 'What I will
not do what my father did is …'. Recall that, in Chapter 5, Mr Cravat
was persuaded by his father to be involved in the family business with
some promises about the ideal life of being a hotelier. This was what
the father did to Mr Cravat, and this is what Mr Cravat 'will not do'
towards his children. After having realised and experienced the grav-
ity of the commitment that is effected by assuming the position, he
will not 'put it [the position, the job, the role] on a higher level, to say
this is wonderful, this is all crystal and all gold, and no trouble, and
everything.' Mr Cravat then refers to his children and their potential-
ity of becoming a successor. The two daughters are unlikely to become
one whereas the son has shown some signs of interest. As I probed fur-
ther, he elaborated by relating the son's interest in cooking with the
great-grandmother.

Rocky: Cooking?

Cooking. So like - his great grandmother. So, when we go back, for ex-
ample, me - I hate cooking. So, somewhere the genes of the ancestors -
somewhere - come back. And I think that he - um, he might have this feel-
ing or this positive idea of good food, preparing good food, enjoying good
food - he loves to eat - but he also loves to work with nice material and nice
products and - really you see in his eyes that he - he can feel it. And that
is very nice. So, but, again I want him to do first high school, have his *bac-
calaureate*. And then later he can decide where he wants to go. I talked to
him and I said, 'Do you want to go to Lausanne?' And he said, 'No, this is to
me too theoretical, too administrative. I would prefer hotel school where
I go more down to the basics. Service, kitchen, reception, front desk, back
office, but less managerial positions.' Because he says, 'A good manager
must know what a steward, cleaner, dishwasher cleaner thinks.' What we

still were taught at school - that for the dishwasher what is important is his working tool. And that can be a simple sponge. A good sponge can make his life much easier. Happier. But if you are sitting in your nice tower and you don't know what the basic things and needs, you are a wrong manager. You are maybe a super financial guy, but you will not have good quality of service. Because the pots will not be cleaned properly, the cook will receive dirty pots. He will not be happy with the dishwasher, he will not be happy to prepare good food. The guest will not be happy because the food will not be at the quality level it should be. And so on, and so on, and the finance will not be happy because the figure will not be right. But, why will the figures not be right? Because of this damn sponge! Okay!?

A comparison is made between the great-grandmother, Mr Cravat himself, and his son. Having no interest in cooking, Mr Cravat sensed that 'the genes of the ancestors' come back in the (potentially) fifth generation of the family business. More specifically, the son's interest in cooking is shown through his 'positive idea of good food, preparing good food, enjoying good food … he also loves to work with nice material and nice products.' The account then moves towards a dialogue about where the son will go in the future, which opens up a series of narrative about what constitutes 'a good manager'. Here again, there is a contrast between two kinds of managers. One is 'a good manager' who knows 'what a steward, cleaner, dishwasher thinks', and another is 'a super financial guy' who may not have 'good quality of service'. At the core of their difference is the manager's knowledge (or ignorance) of 'a simple sponge' as an important 'working tool'. In a glance, the manager's knowledge of the sponge is an interesting plot as it triggers a chain of reaction which moves the story from the cleaning of the pots to the financial figures—from the mundane to the strategic. Upon closer examination, however, there is more in the 'sponge story' than just a plot. Within this plot, there is an assertion of dignity. A commentary is immediately given to interpret the story that is just presented.

I mean, we have to go back to the basics. And, that is, in our business - of course, when you manage a hotel of 600 rooms, you cannot. The one who is financial officer - he does not need to know about a sponge. He must know that a sponge costs 3 cents. But what he will be doing with this sponge is - is none of his business. But an hotelier, somebody who wants to take over a family business, must know that. He must be sensible to these kinds of things. He must be sensible to a vacuum cleaner that makes funny

noise. Why is the machine making funny noise? Is it breaking down? Is the bag full of dust? Where is the trouble? And that is what makes so interesting family business, hotels, or - you must be sensitive to everything in your company. Because it's your company. It's your money. You are the financial officer but you are also the person in charge of buying stuff. And if something goes wrong, it goes wrong into your pocket. So that is a very big difference. That's why at the very end I said - we are always more motivated to produce good quality, to produce happiness than large groups. Because large groups have other - of course they have their aims. But the people who tried to achieve these aims - they tried to do something, if it works it works, if it doesn't work they get fired. That's it.

The commentary implies that not all managers need to know about a simple working tool. In a family business, such knowledge becomes unique. It dignifies a hotelier, or 'somebody who wants to take over a family business', in virtue of the level of sensitivity that is demanded by the profession/position. That is, 'He must be sensible to a vacuum cleaner that makes funny noise. Why is the machine making funny noise? Is it breaking down? Is the bag full of dust? Where is the trouble?' The dual role of the owner-manager as 'the financial officer' as well as 'the person in charge of buying stuff' is highlighted. Furthermore, not only that attention to detail is required in being an owner-manager, but this also means that the person who will manage a family business is expected to care also about the *people* who perform 'simple' tasks. In the account, this is expressed by the commitment that 'we are always more motivated to produce good quality, to produce happiness than large groups'. There is dignity in 'producing happiness', as it relates to the ordering of priority on people—to interact with them with care and respect—over the financial aspect of the business.

To this point, from the examples that have been presented, the argument is set that obligation, duty, and dignity are forces that propel the transmission of traditions. By 'propelling', I mean that these forces exercise their power towards actors and compel them with a commitment towards traditions. The accounts of Mr Cravat above have shown how obligation, duty, and dignity emerge within the family business. To close this section, there is one more example that I will present to add to the argument that obligation, duty, and dignity are forces of transmission that emerge not only from the older generation to the younger generation in a context of a single organisation but also in a wider context of a city organisation. This account is given by Mr

Simoncini.

> … my opinion is that the political and the economical authority must make effort to comfort this sort of approach of family business because - they are not reacting - in an opportunistic way. You know. And they are able even to try to face some difficulties to keep it, huh. And in the high-tech management, if it doesn't work, you just throw it away. You know. And so with private business you can grow up stability of the economical field. And this is very important, even in a city, to comfort the *inconscient collectif*. Because, you are coming back ten years, after ten years you are away, you are coming back, everything has changed. And it must be recognised. You must recognise the city. In this sense, it is a major part of the identity - the economical identity of the city. And of course, there you have a major part which [the family businesses] can play. And it must be encouraged by the - government.

In this excerpt, Mr Simoncini was commenting upon the diminishing presence of small and medium-sized family-run businesses in the country, especially in Luxembourg-city. The excerpt is related to Chapter 6, at the end of it, where Mr Simoncini is concerned about the growing dominance of 'franchising businesses' that threatens the identity of the city. In this account, justification is made to the worth of the family businesses. Mr Simoncini expressed that family businesses are not 'reacting in an opportunistic way' and 'try to face some difficulties to keep it'. This is then contrasted with another form of management—in this case, a 'high-tech management' which is also popular in the country—where 'if it doesn't work, you just throw it away'. Further, Mr Simoncini made a link that the family businesses are indispensable for the 'collective unconscious' that mark the unique identity of the city in the long-term. He added, 'Because, … after ten years you are away [from the city], [and] you are coming back, everything has changed. And it must be recognised. You must recognise the city'. To give more nuance, it is to be acknowledged that this account is given in the face of a rapid transformation that is currently happening in Luxembourg-city, especially in the centre of the city where Mr Simoncini's hotels are located. It is against this background that the continued presence of the family businesses is asserted to have 'a major part' for the recognition of the city—not in terms of the profit made, but in terms of the cultural and social role.

To close, the distinction and similarity between obligation, duty, and dignity should now be apparent. Obligation is a feature that

emerges from the receiving of a benefaction, and it is performed for those who have given the benefaction. Duty is a feature that emerges from the occupancy of a particular role and position, and it is performed for those whose benefits remain in potentiality. Dignity, in turn, is both a sense of self-worth as well as a sense of respect towards other human beings that is instilled when a particular mode of being is under threat or requires justification. Altogether, these features exercise their power on actors who have received traditions, and they represent the forces of the transmission of traditions.

8.2   TRADITION AS PROCESS: A CONCEPTUAL ELABORATION

In Chapter 3, I have constructed a rudimentary conceptual framework to guide the inquiry into traditions. This framework is then applied as a lens to examine the family-run hotels in Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and the present chapter. Throughout these chapters, new light has been shed, and several insights have appeared. In this section, as a final part of the trilogy of the analysis of traditions, I will incorporate to the initial conceptual framework what has been learned so far about the three facets of tradition—i.e. tradition as received, tradition as enacted, and tradition as to-be-transmitted. The result is a conceptual elaboration that depicts and describes tradition as process. A new model of imagining tradition is proposed, which I hope to be helpful for grasping and understanding some fractions of the complexity of tradition. The model is illustrated in Figure 8.1 and the graphical elements that constitute the model will be discussed as follows.

The model of tradition as process takes the form of a line that moves in a spiralling loop. Tradition is depicted as a continuous curved line (as opposed to other visual forms such as 'jagged lines' or 'boxes') to represent at least two meanings. Firstly, the line portrays the seemingly simple form of tradition. From a distance, tradition seems to be unitary and unproblematic. Its presence is everywhere, yet it is not everywhere that its presence is made explicit. As a simple line, it is the basic shape that constructs bigger, more complex shapes. As an unproblematic phenomenon, tradition often recedes to the background and 'masked' by other forms of manifestation. Second, the line is curved and continuous which represent the fluidity and continuity of tradition. The line is cyclical yet returning at a different beginning. This loop is to take into account the recursivity of tradition, where
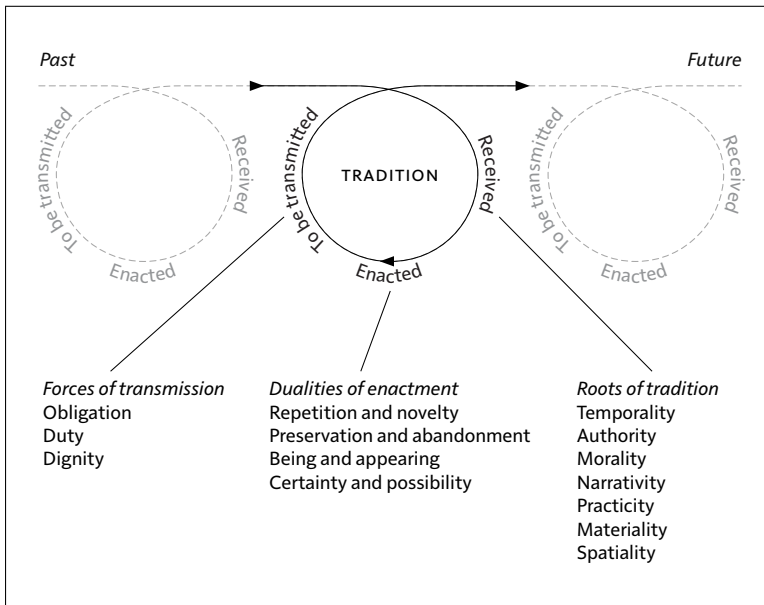
Figure 8.1. A spiralling loop model of tradition as process. Source: author's own elaboration.

what is received is enacted, and what is enacted is, in turn, becoming a tradition to be transmitted to the next generation. The cycle is similar, yet every cycle is different.

The next element in the model is the three circles and the arrows. The three (imperfect) circles are distinguished by their opacity; one is bold, and the other two are more translucent. Their opacity denotes their relative positioning in terms of time. At the one end is the 'past' and at the other end is the 'future'. The 'present', however, is not made explicit in the model. Time is fluid and, along with it, the 'present' is perhaps one of the most elusive concepts about time. If the present is to mean 'now' or 'at this particular juncture', then it immediately becomes the past because the moment that has been pinned down has escaped our grip. In contrast, both past and future are more readily definable. The past is that which has passed, and the future is that which will come. The translucence of the past and future in the figure is to convey that both are always contained in the present although they are less explicit.

The arrows indicate both the direction of time and the process of tradition. The process of tradition moves in a repeated sequence of received, enacted, and transmission. The position of the arrows also contains meaning. The two arrows on the upper line illustrate the trajectory of time whilst the arrow on the lower line illustrates the transformation process of tradition. The backwards-facing arrow on the circle is also to convey that, through the transformation process, the reproduction of tradition is both a move 'back' in time while moving 'forward' to the future. It is through the enactment of tradition that repetition connects the past and the future. It is through the preservation of tradition that the past can be made to appear in the present.

If one sets to think of a linear time, then one can imagine that the transmission of something should occur *before* the receiving of something; and, in turn, the receiving of something should occur *before* it becomes something to be transmitted. Yet, transmission never happens in a vacuum. In any point of time, there is always something 'ready-made' that is taken for granted. This is one of the features of tradition where tradition pre-exists the present generation regardless of their liking or awareness of it. The ever-presence of tradition as prior to the present generation is the reason why the processes of tradition in the model are presented in such specific order: first it is received, then it is enacted, and then it is to-be-transmitted.

Finally, there is the textual element in the model at the bottom of the figure which corresponds to the properties of tradition that are revealed throughout the chapters. To read it from the right, firstly, there are the roots of tradition. The 'roots' metaphor symbolises tradition as a phenomenon that is formed through the interweaving of several properties. Through this study, it is proposed that the properties jointly 'produce' the phenomenon that is commonly called as tradition. These roots can also be construed as the 'location' where the phenomenon of tradition can be found. Secondly, there are the dualities in the enactment of tradition. Four sets of duality are revealed in this study which are repetition and novelty, preservation and abandonment, being and appearing, and certainty and possibility. These dualities represent the ongoing oscillation and tension between continuity and discontinuity in tradition. Thirdly, there are forces that drive the transmission of tradition. Three forces have been discussed in this chapter, which are obligation, duty, and dignity. As a whole, however, these processes should not be seen as philosophically separate. Yes,

they are analytically distinct. But the process of experiencing tradition cannot be atomistically spliced and sanitised. The dualities within tradition cannot be isolated from one to another. The weight and heaviness that arise from the commitment to a tradition cannot be separated from the stability that emerges through it.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Final Reflections

Throughout this study, I have taken the journey to inquire into traditions in a family business context. Starting from the curious relationship between tradition and family business, this study has attempted to develop a conceptual framework that allows tradition to be placed at the centre of the inquiry. Five family-run hotels in Luxembourg were examined, and their narratives reveal that tradition is multifaceted and multilayered. In Chapter 2, the literature of family business studies were reviewed to get a grasp of how tradition is referred, positioned, and understood in the literature. This review revealed the various ways in which tradition is referred to: (1) as a set of assumptions, (2) as a set of practices, (3) as a resource for organisational performance, (4) as a barrier to organisational effectiveness, and (5) as an organisational goal. A tree metaphor was then used to argue that these five aspects are the branches of the observable phenomenon that is commonly seen as tradition. What remains under-represented, in the literature, are attempts at providing theoretical roots for tradition as a concept. This is responded in Chapter 3 which attempts to build a bridge between family business studies and other fields in the social sciences. The reading of select works in sociology, history, and moral philosophy resulted in a conceptual framework which provides three directions to approach family business as tradition: (1) family business as received tradition, (2) family business as enacted tradition, and (3) family business as tradition to be transmitted.

In Chapter 4, I have discussed the methodology used for the study as well as the different turns and adjustments that were made during the research process. Ontologically, this study adopts a processual perspective which views change as an underlying reality. This ontological choice determines the kind of theorising that is subsequently pursued through the fieldwork. In Chapter 5, I attempted to get a broader understanding of the Luxembourgish family-run hotels by making a con-

nection to the discourse at the national and industry levels. At the national level, several initiatives had been carried out to construct an image of Luxembourg as an 'open', 'dynamic', and 'reliable' country. Visual identity and slogans were created, and they have been adopted by strategic governmental bodies related to the promotion of the country. One of these bodies is in the tourism industry, where a new organising body—Luxembourg for Tourism—was formed. At the organisational level, an examination of the hotel industry reveals that half of the hotels in Luxembourg are family-owned and/or family-run. Collectively, they engage in discourse production related to idealising, legitimising, modernising, and traditionising.

The next three chapters correspond to the three ways of approaching tradition developed in Chapter 3. In Chapter 6, an emphasis was given to see the family businesses as received traditions. From this angle, the narratives of five family-run hotels were introduced. This revealed that, as traditions, the family businesses were received differently: as a continuation of the family's past enterprise, as a revival of past heritage, and as a transmission between one family to another. In Chapter 7, emphasis was given to the enactedness of the family businesses as tradition. This focus unravelled how the roots of tradition become salient in family business. Four dualities were discussed: (1) repetition and novelty, (2) preservation and abandonment, (3) being and appearing, and (4) certainty and possibility. Lastly, in Chapter 8, the family businesses were examined as traditions to be transmitted. As a result, I proposed a conceptual elaboration which ties together the receivedness of tradition, the enactedness of tradition, and the becomingness of tradition in a single string, looping and shapeshifting as time passes.

9.1 TOWARDS THE MULTIPLICITY AND REFLEXIVITY OF TRADITION

Overall, this ethnographic inquiry of Luxembourg's family-run hotels is a preliminary step in the appreciation of tradition. Its aim is to give space to tradition to stand on its own feet as a theoretical lens. To this end, this study of traditions in a family business context has shed some light on the multiplicity and reflexivity of tradition. Tradition is a complex phenomenon that is hidden behind its simplicity. From a distance, tradition seems to be fixed, static, and immovable. Yet, it

is this apparent stability that veils its underlying beauty. Through tradition, time seems to become static. Through tradition, space is accorded its immovability. Through tradition, people are initiated to becoming its guardians. Their position and authority exert control over the continuity of things as a tradition. Through tradition, practices are repeated even though those who enact them are always changing. Through tradition, there is a communion between the present generation and those who had preceded them. Through tradition, the past and future become a moral burden that add weight to the lightness of the present. And finally, through tradition, narratives live on—from one generation to another, from one place to another.

The multiplicity of the concept of tradition raises an awareness that tradition may as well be reflexive. In accordance with a process perspective, what appears to be a non-change from the outset may not be caused by the obliviousness of the people to what is happening in and around the family business. On the reverse, what seems to be non-change might as well be a result of a reflexive enactment of tradition whose preservation is inextricably linked with the identity and dignity of the guardians. Those who uphold tradition know well what can or cannot be changed, and why a particular form of tradition needs to be preserved and others abandoned and replaced. What needs to be explained further, therefore, is how non-change can be a source of family business sustainability? Now, 'sustainability' may not always mean continuous financial growth. Sustainability may also mean the role that family businesses play in fostering social integration in the locality where they are situated.

Through this study, not only the concept of tradition gets appreciated but also family business is shown as a tradition-rich 'site' of research. If the concept of tradition is to be taken seriously for the enrichment of the social sciences, I am resolute to advocate that one of the contributions that the family business field can make to other fields is through a further elaboration of the concept of tradition. Recall that, for Shils (1981), to speak about tradition is to speak about generations. In the light of this, family business is a context where the notion of generation is at its strongest. Family business, by definition, entails inter-generationality and thus it is inseparable from tradition. And the entanglement between family business and tradition may as well be more intricate than what is initially thought. Tradition becomes possible through the presence of the family, and the family members act

in virtue of pre-established traditions. At times traditions are the outcome of actions, at times they are the condition for actions.

The multiplicity of tradition implies several consequences related to research on family business as well as the practice of family business and related areas. To begin firstly with the implication for family business research, one has to be more careful when the labels of 'tradition' and 'traditional' are used. Their meanings are various so that when some aspects of the family business are described as 'tradition' or 'traditional', the intended meaning of such ascription needs to be adequately specified. Without any elaboration, the reference of family business (or aspects in the family business) as 'traditional' becomes unclear—if not meaningless. Which quality of tradition is actually implied? This, however, is not 'just' a grammatical imperative. Neither am I nitpicking that tradition has to be explained every time. Language constructs the mode of understanding the world, and if the uses of language can be further specified and its limitation rendered visible, perhaps the result is a richer way to account for a particular phenomenon. There are times where simplification is necessary, but there are times where simple terms cloud, obfuscate, and hide underlying arguments. The task of the researcher is to find a balance between these tensions.

For practice, this study on Luxembourg's family-run hotels informs policymakers that there is a role that family businesses play in society that goes beyond the economic aspect. Family businesses are important in a society not only because they employ people, generate profit, and pay taxes. Family businesses are important also because they are discourse-producing and tradition-maintaining. They produce discourse through their embeddedness in the cultural and social substrate of society. They maintain tradition through the continuity that they endeavour to realise. In the face of these, the promotion of Luxembourg as 'open', 'dynamic', and 'reliable' should not result in the perpetuation of discourse that family-run hotels are less open, less dynamic, and less reliable. The political will to re-brand the country's narrative (including its derivative in the reorganisation of the tourism industry) may devise a better integration between the governmental and business spheres by appreciating family-run hotels as the source of narratives, hence increasing not only the economic appeal of the country but also the cultural and the social.

9.2   LIMITATIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Before I leave the reader with some final reflections and self-critique in relation to the notion of tradition, I will highlight several limitations that are pertinent to this study. Additionally, I also indicate some areas for future research for researchers interested in the topic of tradition and/or family business.

9.2.1   *Limitations*

First, in this study, I claim to have performed an ethnographic study. But this claim is of course open for debate. The relatively short period of 'fieldwork', the limited assortment of empirical material, and the varying depth of access to multiple voices of informants are limitations which restrict the breadth of examples that I can present in the study. *Second*, as a consequence of the focus in tradition, other notions in this dissertation are left under-elaborated. Stewardship, for example, can be sensed throughout the study but I did not make further discussion on the relations between stewardship and tradition. *Third*, in the attempt to contextualise the family business in a wider discursive space, I have only scratched the surface of the discourses and missed the potential to expand on tradition as a multi-level concept.

9.2.2   *Areas for future research*

DUALITIES AND PARADOXES IN FAMILY BUSINESS RESEARCH
This dissertation has tapped upon several forms of duality in family business by examining how tradition is enacted. Future research may take inspiration from this study and focus on exploring other forms dualities (Melin & Salvato, 2012, for example, see) or paradoxes (Schuman et al., 2010; Ingram et al., 2016, for example, see) to attain a richer explanation to what is generally considered as 'continuity' and 'change'.

MORAL AND ETHICAL DIMENSIONS IN FAMILY BUSINESS RESEARCH   Among the seven roots of tradition discussed in this dissertation, the root of morality is still under-explored. Morality is elusive, and this study has argued that there is a sense of *dignity*, *duty*, and *obligation* that they have to enact. Yet, a stronger conceptual grounding is still required to allow a deeper explanation to these moral-related

aspects of tradition. Future research may utilise tradition as a conceptual lens to explore further into how the moral dimension of family business can be understood. For example, one can ask in what way does dignity, duty, and obligation explain the continuity and discontinuity of tradition?

TRADITION AS MULTI-LEVEL DISCOURSE   This study has touched upon the topic of nation branding, but it does not go deeper into how tradition is used for the nation branding programme. If nation branding is seen as a concerted effort to deliberately construct and manage the image of the country, then tradition can be one form of discourse that allows multiple actors to come together for a dialogue. Future research may examine the connection between tradition and the localities to open up the debate of what can be defined as tradition, how it is invented, perpetuated, and changed.

EXPLORING TRADITION IN OTHER CONTEXTS   Future research may inquire into tradition by attending other industries where the notion of tradition is presumably rich such as craft, winemaking, and restaurant. Attention to these industries may illuminate and/or elaborate other processes which are not captured in this study. As an example, in Luxembourg there is an initiative from the governmental bodies to brand products that are designed, produced, and manufactured in Luxembourg as 'Made in Luxembourg'. While its aim is to distinguish Luxembourgish products in the international market, but therein tradition is implied as something that is related to 'origin'. As a comparison, other 'Made in' variants such as 'Made in Germany', 'Made in Japan', or 'Made in Sweden' is discursively used to convey a particular tradition from that particular location—which may entail quality, design language, or both. From a discourse point of view, future research may address how tradition is received, preserved, and invented through the perpetuation of similar initiatives.

9.3   MIS-UNDERSTANDING TRADITION: A SELF-CRITIQUE TO THE PRACTICE OF SCIENCE

To write a study is to construct a mirror to the self. Following this axiom, I believe that any knowledge and insight that emerge from a study must eventually be reflected back to those who perform the study. The

writer is never free from what is written, and this is especially the case for a paradigmatic study (as opposed to a pragmatic study) which seeks for a novel way of seeing things. Therein, the writer is shaped by the writing as much as the writing is given shape by the writer. The new paradigm that arises from the study, if any, should become a mirror that poses a critique not only to the area of the study (where the writer is writing) but also to the very practice of writing the study itself. If a functioning mirror is that which allows its spectators to correct their misperception, I will then address how the understanding of tradition produced through this dissertation is reflected back as a self-critique to the misunderstanding of tradition.

There are many ways that tradition can be misunderstood. One of the ways that I want to reflect on this is in the misunderstanding of tradition as the opposite of rationality. As a self-critique, an appropriate location to see how this is happening—before even looking 'outside' to the 'field'—is to take a look at the scientific community itself. A scientific community is a group of people whose practice is claimed to operate based on (scientific) rationality. The narratives of Copernicus and Galileo in the 16th and 17th centuries are illustrative in showing how rationality emerged to take centre stage in opposition to tradition. Within this opposition, science is construed as a movement to debase tradition. Tradition is an area which science seeks to 'illuminate'. Science is the new that takes over the old—i.e. tradition.

Paradoxically, when science claims to move away *from* tradition, it is at the same time moving *towards* tradition. In several centuries, different modes of rationality have been established. Research methodology is one example. To take a rough simplification, research methodology is fractured into two big traditions: qualitative tradition and quantitative tradition. Within the qualitative tradition, there are many traditions relating to how a qualitative research should be undertaken—each with its guardians and 'formulaic truth' of what is proper and not proper as a qualitative study. Here also it can be seen how past generations are made to live in the present as well as how the guardians of the traditions exert their influence in maintaining the coherence and continuity of their tradition.

It could be that the presence of tradition is at its strongest in the scientific community. To illustrate, I will examine my position as a doc-

toral student who operates in a scholarly tradition.[1] When a student writes a research proposal, the worth of his idea is partly determined by how the student acknowledges the past generations of a particular tradition. In this case, such 'particular tradition' can be in the form of a theoretical lens, research methods, field of research, or other bodies of knowledge that have been established. When he fails to demonstrate what is expected by the guardians—here the role is played by the supervisors or other senior scholars—the student is at risk to be rejected by that particular tradition. On the contrary, when the student abides by what he is expected to do *as* a student, he is permitted to stay in a tradition. However, as part of the practices of scholarly tradition, the student is also expected to contribute something new to the body of knowledge. Hence he is faced with the situation to do both: to abide by certain ways of practising in the scholarly tradition while, at the same time, find a way to give something new to that tradition. It is here that novelty is potentially introduced—by a new generation who are at the beginning of a tradition. In the scientific community, they are called as 'emerging scholars'.

The membership of the student in a tradition is always negotiated. His status as a member of a tradition is legitimised by the guardians although he is relatively free to choose the tradition that he wants to be part of. When the student goes away for a conference, he sees that there are many traditions, and a member of one tradition may as well be a member of other traditions. Through exposure to various traditions, the student begins to notice that the 'truth' upheld highly in one tradition can be viewed as problematic by another tradition, and vice versa. The initiation of the doctoral student into a tradition culminates, ritualistically, on the day of the dissertation defence. Therein, a group of guardians are brought together to assess the value of the intellectual work as well as to decide, at the end of it, whether the student in question has potential in taking the tradition further. When successful, the end of a student's initiation is the beginning of his position as a guardian of a tradition.

Therefore, as it turns out, tradition is not the opposite of rationality. What was initially thought of as something whose project is to 'break free' from tradition, now becomes something that cannot be free of tradition. As it turns out, there is nothing paradoxical about

1. As this is primarily a personal reflection to interrogate my own position, the use of 'he' is not intended as a gender bias.

the co-existence of the two, and one is not a replacement for the other. Hence nothing is surprising when, within a rational enterprise, which may take shape as 'science', 'business', or other, tradition is found again and again.[2] The relative positioning between the two does not exist in a single continuum where more rationality means less traditionality. Instead, they represent two different continua, each with their own gradients.

It is not the intention of this critique to lament on tradition in its bleak totality. Rather, this reflection is to show that, within tradition, reflexivity is not lost, and that tradition *can* be misunderstood when it is inappropriately separated from other concepts. More strongly, this is also to say that scientific rationality should not be used as a justification for its domination and colonisation over tradition. This is to say that the enlightenment that science claims to bring should not be translated as an entitlement to a particular privilege; that the exploration, expansion, and enrichment of knowledge should not be pursued to impose one's superiority over others, but to elevate the capacity of understanding others. Ultimately, if there is only one message to be taken from this study, then it is my plead that tradition should not be assumed as a description of things, but as *processes* of how things work.

2. To be reminded, rationality is a conceptual template, its position may as well be filled by other concepts that are commonly thought of as rational-based such as 'modernity', 'innovation', 'change', etc.

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