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Towards a Kinship Perspective on Entrepreneurship

This paper develops a theoretical framework for analyzing the role of kinship in entrepreneurship. Kinship, we argue, is a key-ingredient of the social and cultural environment of entrepreneurs, and therefore essential in understanding how and why entrepreneurship happens. Building on qualitative research conducted among Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh, we define kinship as interpersonal ties grounded in relatedness. We distinguish different categories of kinship ties that involve different levels of relatedness and are used for different aspects of entrepreneurship, and we identify different types of reciprocity and trust as the sociocultural dynamics that buttress kinship involvement in entrepreneurship.

INTRODUCTION

In 2003 Alex Stewart introduced kinship as an important analytical tool for studying the interaction between family and business domains, in order to make family business research more attentive to family relations and dynamics. Since then, several studies have used a kinship perspective (Alsos, Carter, & Ljunggren, 2014; Karra, Tracey, & Phillips, 2006; Khavul, Bruton, & Wood, 2009; Khayesi, George, & Antonakis, 2014; Peng, 2004) indicating that a variety of “kin-like” ties (Stewart, 2010a, p. 294) can be involved in entrepreneurship, ranging from close family ties to more distant communal or ethnic ties. These studies suggest that such ties are embedded in kinship-specific norms and values that might enable or constrain entrepreneurship.

Research that adopts a kinship perspective, however, remains scarce. This is related to the fragmentation within the body of literature on kinship and entrepreneurship to date, with regard to definition (what is kinship?), theorizing (how and why do kinship dynamics affect entrepreneurship?) and focus (which aspects of entrepreneurship are affected by kinship?). We address this fragmentation with the aim to establish a kinship perspective on entrepreneurship. A kinship perspective is needed, we argue, to answer a fundamental question in entrepreneurship research: how and why does entrepreneurship happen? Entrepreneurship arguably happens through “the creation and extraction of value from an environment” (Anderson, 2000, p. 92) and, as the social science view of entrepreneurship has shown (Watson, 2013), social interactions and

cultural meanings within this environment affect entrepreneurship in many ways. In most societies kinship is the most important social institution that affects one's identity, livelihood and career (Eriksen, 2015). Kinship is thus a key ingredient of the social and cultural environment of entrepreneurs, and therefore essential in understanding entrepreneurship.

Our kinship perspective is based on qualitative field research into the role of family and ethnicity among Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurs in Cambodia's capital, Phnom Penh. We investigated businesses that were set up after the demise of the destructive Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) and discovered interesting dynamics and intersections of family and ethnic ties in the revitalization of Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurship since 1980. As a result, we firstly define kinship as interpersonal ties grounded in "relatedness" (Carsten, 2000, p. 1), ranging from blood- and marriage-based ties (within and beyond the household) to broader ties of (putative) shared ancestry, descent and (ethnic) identity. We thus demonstrate that family and ethnicity are subsets of the overarching kinship domain (cf. Stewart, 2014). Specifically, we distinguish five categories of kinship ties among the Cambodian Chinese—nuclear family, extended family, far relatives, Teochiu dialect group, and ethnic Chinese—and show that these inhere different levels of relatedness. Secondly, we adapt the work of Sahlins (1972) and Welter (2012) to theorize reciprocity and trust respectively as the sociocultural dynamics that underpin kinship involvement in entrepreneurship, and we tease out the specific types of reciprocity and trust that buttress different categories of kinship ties. Thirdly, we examine the process of entrepreneurship in a holistic manner, considering how kinship affects different aspects (e.g. connections, ideas, succession) across different phases (e.g. start-up, expansion). We ultimately argue that different categories of kinship ties involve different levels of relatedness and different types of reciprocity

and trust, and that, in extension, different aspects of entrepreneurship ask involvement of different kinship ties at various distances.

We make two contributions to the literature. First, through the development of a theoretical framework grounded in the three insights mentioned above, we revise the fragmentation within literature on kinship and entrepreneurship. Our comprehensive framework captures how and why kinship affects entrepreneurship, and can be taken forward by other studies. Second, our framework represents a potential bridge between family business and ethnic entrepreneurship studies. An interpretation of kinship as relatedness allows us to abstract the dynamics, norms and values of *both* family and ethnic ties, which diminishes the need to treat family and ethnic businesses as distinct research contexts in studying entrepreneurship. In the following section, we revisit the extant literature on kinship and entrepreneurship.

KINSHIP IN ENTREPRENEURSHIP STUDIES

Stewart has long encouraged a kinship perspective in family business and entrepreneurship studies (2003, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2014; Stewart & Hitt, 2010, 2012; Stewart, Lumpkin, & Katz, 2010; Stewart & Miner, 2011) and marked kinship as the “greatest unutilized resource for advancing the field of family business studies” (2003, p. 383). He critiques family business studies for being too business-focused while ignoring the enabling and constraining effect of family relations (Stewart 2010a, 2010b; see also Randerson, Bettinelli, Fayolle, & Anderson, 2015; Zellweger, Nason, & Nordqvist, 2012) and argues that family is a fuzzy concept that is hard to define due to contextual and cross-cultural variety (Stewart, 2003; Stewart & Miner, 2011). The concept of kinship instead directs us towards the context-specific meanings of, and social processes within, the family domain, thus avoiding ethnocentric understandings of family (Stewart & Miner, 2011; Stewart & Hitt, 2012). In his recent work, Stewart (2014) argues for the

careful examination of the interactions between kinship and business and how these affect business dealings. He details the benefits (e.g. access to resources and cheap labor) and costs (e.g. nepotism or excessive generosity) of kinship for the business (Stewart & Hitt, 2010), and identifies “sources of entrepreneurial discretion” (Stewart, 2010a, p. 291) in kinship systems (e.g. bilateral inheritance or fosterage).

Although the term “kinship-based business” (Stewart, 2003, p. 390) has not taken root in family business research (Stewart, 2014), there are two key issues of Stewart’s work that have been used in research, albeit haphazardly. First, a kinship focus allows researchers to consider a wider spectrum of relations that might be relevant in business and entrepreneurship, including, but not limited to, kinship ties within the family firm (Stewart, 2010b). Second, kinship permits an exploration of the underlying personalized and informal norms and values (the “moral order of kinship”), which are distinct from rational decision-making and formal business exchanges (the “amoral logic of the market”) (Stewart, 2003, p. 385). We discuss both issues below.

Broadly speaking, we can divide entrepreneurship studies that use kinship as an analytical tool into (1) those that use kinship to denote nuclear and extended family (Khavul et al., 2009; Khayesi et al., 2014; Cruz, Justo, & De Castro, 2012) or adopt a household focus (Alsos et al., 2014), and (2) those that move beyond the nuclear/extended family towards an interpretation that includes the wider community (Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009; Peng, 2004) or ethnic group (Iyer, 2004; Karra et al., 2006). These latter studies show the co-occurrence of family and ethnic/community ties in firm establishment and growth, and demonstrate that “extra-family relationships also mimic the ties and transactions within the family” (Iyer, 2004, p. 247). Kinship thus adds a new layer of relationships to the analysis, while discussions revolve around the costs and benefits of these relational resources for specific aspects of business or entrepreneurship.

For Stewart, however, kinship is particularly about the norms and values (the moral order) that underpin these relationships. It is precisely those studies that go furthest in their interpretation of kinship that offer an analysis of why particular kinship ties can be instrumental in business or entrepreneurship. Peng (2004), for instance, addresses the importance of enforceable trust that emerges from cultural values and repeated interaction, which encourages kin members to trade and contract in good faith, and Karra et al. (2006) stress the role of altruism, which effectively “connects the welfare of one individual to that of others” (p. 863) through norms of benevolence that constrain individual profit seeking.

Although these studies offer valuable insights, there are three major shortcomings: (1) kinship is conceptualized in a restrictive manner, (2) the sociocultural dynamics that buttress kinship involvement in entrepreneurship are poorly theorized, and (3) the analytical focus is often limited to one particular aspect of the entrepreneurial process. We discuss these shortcomings in more detail below.

First, ethnic ties are not considered expressions of kinship; kinship is set apart from “other forms of embeddedness,” including ethnicity (Stewart & Hitt, 2012, p. 72). This reveals a reliance on older-style kinship studies that define kinship through blood and marriage. New directions in kinship studies acknowledge that kinship ties can be described in other than genealogical terms (Carsten, 2000). This shift, as Stewart (2010a) notes, shows that anthropologists might have relied too much on formally recognized forms of kinship, neglecting less obvious or formal forms. Arguably, ethnicity-based enterprises are as much kinship-based businesses as blood- and marriage-based enterprises, because all operate through the kinship logic (cf. Peredo, 2003). Moving forward from this observation, an understanding of kinship as interpersonal ties grounded in “relatedness” (Carsten, 2000, p. 1) permits us to imagine a

continuum from close to distant kinship ties that includes both family members and co-ethnics. In this light, the concentric circles that “move outward from family to kin and, finally, to ethnicity” as suggested by Karra et al. (2006, p. 872) are a good starting point.

Second, a rethinking of family and ethnic ties as a continuum of kinship ties based on relatedness necessitates theorizing the underlying sociocultural dynamics along this continuum in kinship terms. Research to date refers to a variety of potential sociocultural dynamics that make up the moral order of kinship, including social obligations (Khavul et al., 2009), trust (Alsos et al., 2014; Akhter, 2015), enforceable trust (Peng, 2004), socioemotional wealth (Cruz et al., 2012), prescriptive altruism (Karra et al., 2006), reciprocity (Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009), identity and reputation (Iyer, 2004; Khayesi et al., 2014) next to general usage of such notions as commitment, solidarity, and socialization. The majority of studies, however, only make passing reference to these sociocultural dynamics. We argue that, at an aggregate level, all of these dynamics signify instances of trust and reciprocity. Moreover, what the existing literature on kinship and entrepreneurship fails to recognize is that different kinship ties inhere different *types* of reciprocity and trust. We underscore this important dimension because it explains, as we argue below, how and why different kinship ties are differently used in entrepreneurship. In developing typologies of reciprocity and trust, we draw on Sahlins’ (1972) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity, and Welter’s (2012) notion of personal versus collective trust. In doing so, we create a “thicker” understanding of “the meaning of social expectations, norms, and behavioral patterns” (Peredo, 2003, p. 397) that underpin kinship involvement in entrepreneurship.

The third shortcoming is that studies using kinship to date focus on one particular aspect of the family business or entrepreneurship, such as succession (Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009),

business growth (Alsos et al., 2014), firm expansion and agency costs (Karra et al., 2006), resource assembly (Khayesi et al., 2014), family employment (Cruz et al., 2012), transaction costs (Iyer, 2004) and opportunities (Khavul et al., 2009). Notwithstanding the important contributions of these studies, a focus on one aspect hampers a more holistic view of the various ways in which kinship is used in different aspects of entrepreneurship, and why this is the case. This calls for an integrative analysis of the multiplicity of aspects of entrepreneurship (e.g. business ideas and connections, acquiring goods or machinery, management and succession, investment and credit) across different phases (start-up, diversification and expansion). Therefore, rather than directing our analytic attention to one aspect, we focus on entrepreneurship more broadly; that is, on the activity of assembling resources (material and non-material) to develop economic opportunities by one or more individuals (see Johannisson, 2011).

To push a kinship perspective forward, we need a more comprehensive framework. As Stewart and Miner (2011) note, important questions remain unanswered, “particularly in terms of broad theory” (p. 8). The development of such a framework is hindered by fragmentation in conceptualization (which ties constitute kinship ties remains unclear), in explanations (a range of sociocultural dynamics is mentioned but poorly theorized), and in focus (studies explore only one aspect of entrepreneurship or family business). It is noteworthy that such fragmentation and the unidimensional focus is a symptom of entrepreneurship studies broadly and has long been considered problematic (Gartner, 1985). Calls are thus made to “create a systematic body of information about entrepreneurship” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 224) and to achieve “a level of understanding that transcends the results of the individual studies” (Rauch, Van Doorn, & Hulsink, 2014, p. 334). Excessive fragmentation not only hampers the maturing of the scholarly field; it also means insufficient consideration for the interrelationship between the

various aspects of the entrepreneurial process. On the basis of our research we develop a more comprehensive framework for the study of kinship in entrepreneurship.

CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

Research Context

Chinese migration to Cambodia has a long history but there was a large influx in the first half of the 20th century under French colonial rule (Willmott, 1967). The Teochiu (Chinese dialect group) established a strong network as rural and urban shopkeepers and emerged as Cambodia's leading business community at the end of the French colonial period (1863-1953). They retained this position in the post-colonial period (1953-1970) (Willmott, 1967). Ethnic Chinese firms, both large and small, relied heavily on family and ethnic ties for investments, supply, distribution, and control (e.g. Muller, 2006).

Between 1970 and 1975 Cambodia suffered a civil war followed by the communist Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1978). Connections to the outside world were cut, families displaced, the intelligentsia killed, and all private enterprise, property, commercial transactions and the use of money banned. The ethnic Chinese were persecuted for being urban dwellers, capitalists or Chinese, labels which were often conflated (Edwards, 2012). By the time the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in 1978, the country's economic and social fabric was completely shattered. During Vietnamese occupation (1979-1989) a socialist economy based on state-owned enterprises was initiated, but small-scale private enterprises were tolerated. The Vietnamese withdrew at the end of the Cold War, leaving behind a trivial but functioning economy dominated, as before the Khmer Rouge, by ethnic Chinese (Author A, 2012; Gottesman, 2003).

To avoid another civil war, the United Nations led a peace-building mission (1991-1993) followed by national elections. Subsequent elections saw the rise of Hun Sen, the current Prime

Minister, and his Cambodian People's Party (CPP). Under Hun Sen private enterprise was encouraged, the Cambodian economy opened up, and Chinese language, cultural expression and business acumen were re-appreciated (Edwards, 2012). The entrepreneurs in this study set up businesses in an environment that was characterized by insecurity, resource-scarcity and weak formal institutions on the one hand, and emerging economic opportunities and a re-appreciation of Chinese kinship on the other.

Research Methodology

Entrepreneurship is a dynamic process that entails the creation of new businesses (start-up) as well as the generation of enterprising activity within existing businesses (expansion and diversification) (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001). To investigate this process, we use a qualitative-interpretivist research methodology that explores people's behavior and the sociocultural representations thereof. Qualitative methodology is increasingly used in entrepreneurship research (Moroz & Hindle, 2012) as it is well suited to produce "fine-grained details" (Nordqvist, Hall, & Melin, 2009, p. 298) and addresses the many unanswered how and why questions (Fletcher, 2006). By moving beyond "pure" interpretivism (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013, p. 24) such an approach is also apt for theory development (Bettis, Gambardella, Helfat, & Mitchell, 2015). Exploration, discovery and emergence are key aspects of this process (Locke, 2011). Given the paucity of empirical work on entrepreneurship in Cambodia, research insights emerged while "interpreting and structuring the statements of the informants in light of both contextual factors and prior theorizing" (Nag & Gioia, 2012, p. 425).

Field Research

The first author conducted field research in Phnom Penh for twelve months, between October 2010 and December 2011, with the second author acting as supervisor from inception of

the project onwards. In line with the explorative nature of the study, the sampling aimed to include contrasting cases in terms of the age and gender of entrepreneurs, the size of their businesses, and the economic sectors in which they are active.

Initial contact with entrepreneurs was established through acquaintances and business associations in Phnom Penh. Subsequently, snowball sampling, “asking participants who have already been selected for the study to recruit other participants” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007, p. 113), was used, which introduced the researcher to business partners, family members or friends of those already interviewed. This led to a growing variety in terms of gender and economic sectors, but also created a bias towards younger generation, middle to upper class entrepreneurs, who spoke English well. This emerging bias, partly related to the researcher’s own background (a European with little command of Khmer and, at the time, in his late twenties), was resolved by approaching older generation business people through their children, and by visiting businesses with the help of a Khmer research assistant.

The main method of data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews guided by a topic list that left ample opportunity to elaborate on emerging topics. Interview topics included the business lives (company management, business network, operations, resource acquisition, new business activities) and personal lives (upbringing, education, migration, family, ethnicity) of the entrepreneurs. Interviewing owner-managers but also employees, friends, business partners and family members helped to enrich accounts of business developments through Cambodia’s turbulent times. Since families rather than individuals undertake entrepreneurship in Phnom Penh, interviews with different family members often supplemented each other. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with key informants knowledgeable on Phnom Penh’s private sector, i.e. journalists, business consultants, government officials, association leaders and

researchers. These interviews, informal conversations, on site observations, and newspapers and documents, provided contextual insight into particular business sectors, the Cambodian economy and its stakeholders, and issues of culture, society and history.

The interviews typically lasted 1.5 hours, were conducted in English or Khmer (with an interpreter) and took place in participants' offices, and sometimes in coffee shops. Interviews were taped and transcribed by the researcher or, in the case of interviews in Khmer, by a professional translation agency in Phnom Penh. For this paper, 30 participants were selected from the wider data set (see next section) as well as additional contextual information from 22 key informants (see Appendix 1 for the participants, key informants and data sources).

Data Analysis

Consistent with qualitative-interpretivist methodology, data analysis followed a “circular-spiral pattern” (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012, p. 28) by moving iteratively between empirical accounts, themes that emerged as we interpreted these accounts, and theoretical ideas to synthesize these themes. Since adequacy is critical in presenting and theorizing the experiences of participants (Gioia et al., 2013), our analysis went through several stages, from intensive reading to generating theoretical ideas. In practice these stages overlapped and were highly recursive, where we moved “through a series of analysis episodes that condense more and more data into a more and more coherent understanding of what, how and why” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 91). For reasons of clarity we describe our four analytical stages in a more linear fashion below.

The first stage was exploratory. We read and re-read transcripts and discussed interview excerpts, in search of empirical patterns where personal and sociocultural life showed interesting associations with entrepreneurship. We plotted down emerging themes (the role of upbringing in

career choice, of culture and language in business associations and networks, of close family in the search for resources, of the Teochiu in cross-border trade, and so on). Themes related to family and ethnicity dominated our discussions. Clear parallels started to emerge in how interviewees characterized family and ethnic ties; as “being close” or “being the same” in terms of upbringing, life experiences, ancestral roots or language use. Also, initial analysis seemed to suggest that different family and ethnic ties were differently employed in entrepreneurship since the 1980s. Extant literature on family business and ethnic entrepreneurship provided us few conceptual tools to theorize this empirical pattern. Encountering Stewart’s work led us to anthropological studies on kinship. This literature inspired us to use kinship as a conceptual lens to analyze the role of both family and ethnicity in entrepreneurship.

The second stage involved the creation of empirically rich cases in terms of kinship involvement. We chose businesses with roots in the post-conflict 1980s and 1990s to allow an analysis of entrepreneurship through different phases of societal and economic development since the Khmer Rouge. We created twelve cases from the wider data set, comprising businesses of different size (20-400 employees) and in different sectors (trade, production and services), all characterized by a high degree of family involvement in terms of ownership, management, and the number of generations involved. The participants are 2nd, 3rd or 4th generation migrants, mainly from Teochiu or Cambodian-Teochiu descent, and often one or more Chinese languages are spoken.

The more systematic analysis of the data—examining our earlier ideas on the role and meaning of kinship in Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurship—consisted of a descriptive and explanatory stage (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In the third (descriptive) stage we analyzed what family and ethnic ties are involved in what aspects of the entrepreneurial process. We conducted

within-case and cross-case analysis to develop both meaningful categories of kinship ties (comprised of particular family or ethnic ties) and crucial aspects of entrepreneurship. The analysis was supported by data matrices, which are useful tools to reduce large data-sets to their component parts, provide visibility to the analysis process, and hence allow for comparisons across cases (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In constructing the matrices, we drew together particular family or ethnic ties into a single category of kinship ties if these ties had similar roles in entrepreneurship (e.g. cousins and children-in-law into extended family) while, vice versa, we labeled a particular aspect of entrepreneurship in line with the role of an emerging category of kinship ties (e.g. pooling of resources for nuclear family versus acquisition of resources for extended family). Through this iterative process we arrived at five categories of kinship ties (nuclear family, extended family, far relatives, Teochiu dialect group, and regional ethnic Chinese) and a plethora of aspects of entrepreneurship related to the initiation, consolidation and expansion of business ventures (see Appendix 2).

Whereas in stage three we analyzed *how* different categories of kinship ties are used in entrepreneurship, in the fourth (explanatory) stage we moved to an understanding of *why* this specific data pattern emerged. We focused specifically on the sociocultural dynamics enacted within categories of kinship ties. Inspired by other qualitative research in organization and business studies (Courpasson, Dany, & Martí, 2014; Nag & Gioia, 2012), we systematized this stage by moving from raw data (interview excerpts) to first-order empirical categories and (theoretically informed) second-order themes and aggregate dimensions (Gioia et al., 2013). We coded transcripts manually to stay close to the contextual detail of particular cases (Discua Cruz, Howorth, & Hamilton, 2013), and sorted interview excerpts into categories by extending the descriptive matrices developed previously. Through constant comparison within and between the

accounts of interviewees, first-order categories surfaced, especially within particular categories of kinship ties. We carried out several cycles of discussion and modification of the coding scheme before, at an aggregate level, we arrived at kinship relatedness, reciprocity and trust as the theoretical building blocks that best explain kinship involvement in entrepreneurship among the Cambodian Chinese.

The analysis was conducted jointly to increase trustworthiness. During stages one and two we met face-to-face and online, using tools such as flipcharts and short case-studies to support our developing themes and define our arguments. In developing the matrices and coding (stages three and four), we mixed individual and joint analysis; e.g. we individually coded all the data on one case or an emerging category of kinship ties, and then assessed the fit of our analyses. This iterative process, further enhanced through reviewer input, refined our understanding of “what actually happens within entrepreneurial processes” (Watson, 2013, p. 415).

Figure 1 shows the data structure of our findings, including the aggregate dimensions, their underlying second-order themes, and the first-order categories that led us to identify these themes. Corresponding to the three aggregate dimensions (kinship relatedness, reciprocity and trust), the second-order themes describe particular levels of relatedness and types of reciprocity and trust. The first-order categories are elaborated in the findings section, which consists of a contextualized account and an empirical table with additional quotes (Table 1) to make transparent (Bansal & Corley, 2011) how we developed our kinship perspective from the data.

“Insert Figure 1 Here”

FINDINGS: KINSHIP IN CAMBODIAN CHINESE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In the three subsections below we present our findings and detail our inductive framework (Figure 2 below). The first subsection considers how five categories of kinship ties, each

comprised of particular family or ethnic ties and grounded in different levels of relatedness, became involved in Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurship since the Khmer Rouge. The second and third subsections respectively elaborate reciprocity and trust, the two sociocultural dynamics that we argue underpin the involvement of these categories of kinship ties. We will draw on additional literature (on kinship relatedness, reciprocity and trust) to make sense of our findings and concurrently develop our kinship perspective.

“Insert Figure 2 Here”

Kinship Relatedness

We understand kinship as interpersonal ties grounded in relatedness and in this follow new directions in kinship studies that stress negotiation and “the lived experiences of relatedness in local contexts” (Carsten, 2000, p. 1; see also Carsten, 2004; Sahlins, 2011a). Since the 1970s and 1980s, kinship increasingly came to be understood in anthropology as socioculturally constructed more than biologically given (Peletz, 2001). Kinship expresses connections between people that “carry particular weight—socially, materially, affectively” (Carsten, 2000, p. 1), and these connections “can be both about birth and bonding” (Keesing, 1990, p. 166). Kinship thus surpasses genealogy and can include co-residence, frequent interaction, narratives of ancestry, experiences of migration and discrimination, and ethnicity (e.g. Carsten, 2013; Sahlins, 2011a). In line with such an inclusive definition of kinship, our data indicate five categories of kinship ties among the Cambodian Chinese in Phnom Penh based on different levels of relatedness.

The smallest category of kinship ties, the nuclear family (parents and children), plays a pivotal role in the pooling of entrepreneurial resources, ownership and management, and inheres the strongest sense of relatedness, which we label *household relatedness*. The nuclear family household is the locus of business activity, often quite literally as shophouses in Phnom Penh

consist of a ground floor that is used for mercantile activity and a residence on the floors above. The close link between the business and nuclear family is self-evident for many interviewees, who agree that they “should encourage children to learn and know each product clearly when they are still young” (participant 25). A son recalls how he “grew up in a business family” so that later in life he “didn’t want to work for a boss but be a businessman” (participant 6). These and other accounts indicate that shared residence and the parent-child bond buttress the strength of household relatedness within nuclear families.

Kinship among extended family members (grandparents, parents’ siblings plus nuclear families and children’s spouses) hinges on *blood and marriage relatedness* and is strengthened through shared life experiences, growing up together and living in close proximity. Extended family members were vital in the post-conflict 1980s, when entrepreneurship was characterized by bricolage, “making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand” (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 333). Parents relied on their parents (many had owned businesses before the Khmer Rouge) or siblings to provide business connections, expertise and materials, and on younger generation extended family (cousins or children-in-law) to assist in daily operations. As one interviewee states, “we have to help out the family” (participant 6). While this dictum is predicated upon genealogical proximity, extended family members can also support each other because they tend to live nearby. Kinship residence among the Cambodian Chinese is bilocal: A married couple may choose to live near the wife’s or husband’s family, allowing a choice based on the most economically viable option.

Whereas nuclear and extended family members became involved in entrepreneurship shortly after the Khmer Rouge (early 1980s), it was only when Cambodia opened up after the Cold War (early 1990s) that connections with far relatives (family members abroad) were reestablished. As

a result of migration from South China to Cambodia, sometimes via Singapore, Ho Chi Minh or Bangkok, Cambodian Chinese have family members living in China and Southeast Asia. They also have relatives who fled the Khmer Rouge regime and now live in North America, France or Australia. These far relatives are called on for investments, novel business ideas, connections or goods, enabling the expansion and diversification of businesses. Kinship among far relatives, which is enacted through *ancestral relatedness* and notions of shared family history, is fertile ground for business partnerships. After all, “even if we are in a far relationship we are close already” (participant 30). Chinese family name associations, which form around common Chinese family names like Lee or Huang and trace their roots to a person that lived in China thousands of years ago, are a case in point. Whether shared descent is real or imagined, “Chinese think that if you have the same family name you are like siblings” (key informant 13).

The family name associations not only emphasize the reach of family ties in Chinese culture (Peng, 2004), but also point to the blurring of boundaries between family and ethnic ties. After all, the associations are based on family genealogy as much as ancestral locality in Southern China. Ambiguously situated between recognized and “metaphoric kinship” (Eriksen, 2002, p. 68), the family name associations suggest a continuum of kinship relatedness among family and ethnic ties. Kinship is thus more than ties through blood or marriage, and ethnicity can be perceived as “a form of kinship community” (Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009, p. 703).

The great majority of the ethnic Chinese that settled in Cambodia and Thailand are of Teochiu descent. The Teochiu dialect group is central to domestic as well as cross-border business exchanges of entrepreneurs. In the post-conflict 1980s, Teochiu traders from Thailand provided the Cambodian Teochiu of our study the goods and credit that enabled the revitalization of entrepreneurship in Phnom Penh. Cambodian Teochiu came to dominate the supply chains

and business associations of prominent economic sectors. Interviewees' accounts reveal a common culture, history and language that revolve around *dialect and descent relatedness*, and that smoothen Teochiu business relationships: "Teochiu give preference to doing business with other Teochiu. I don't know why, when people are Teochiu they understand each other better, they consider each other to be the same people" (participant 28).

Our last category of kinship ties, the regional ethnic Chinese (outside the Teochiu), became involved after Vietnamese withdrawal in 1989. New trading routes emerged beyond the Teochiu corridors at the Thai border. Entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh were able to go abroad and connect with ethnic Chinese suppliers or investors, and ethnic Chinese from around Asia came to explore business opportunities in Cambodia. Kinship among ethnic Chinese is fostered through *language and identity relatedness*. Cambodian Chinese sometimes speak dialects other than Teochiu, such as Cantonese, and Mandarin has become the lingua franca in business in Southeast Asia alongside English. Beyond language abilities, the symbolic articulation of Chinese identity itself enhances credibility in the eyes of business partners or customers. As a result of the dominance of the ethnic Chinese in Cambodia's economy, the notion that "doing business is an activity of the Chinese" (key informant 8) prevails in Cambodian societal discourse.

As we move from the nuclear family to the ethnic Chinese, kinship relatedness diminishes both in spatial terms (from the household to the East Asian region) and in genealogical terms (from close blood ties to ambiguous notions of ethnic identity). In Sahlins' (2011b) words, "mutuality of being among kinfolk declines in proportion to spatially and/or genealogically reckoned distance" (p. 234). In the following two subsections we build on this observation, showing that it is not merely differences in the levels of kinship relatedness, but especially

differences in the associated types of reciprocity and trust that render particular categories of kinship ties suitable for involvement in particular aspects of entrepreneurship.

“Insert Table 1 Here”

Reciprocity

Sahlins (1972) developed a typology of reciprocal relationships that occur between people that are socially and spatially more close or distant. His three ideal types (generalized, balanced and negative reciprocity) represent a “spectrum of sociability” (Sahlins, 1972, p. 196). Taken together, these indicate that norms of solidarity and obligation, something Fortes (1969) refers to as “the principle of prescriptive altruism” (p. 232), differ between kinship categories. Generalized reciprocity occurs among close kin and is the most altruistic form of reciprocity, the “pure gift” (Sahlins, 1972, p. 194), i.e. the strict accounting of debts is considered morally inappropriate. The giver may expect a return gift, but “the counter is not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality: the expectation of reciprocity is indefinite” (p. 194). Balanced reciprocity, in contrast, occurs among more distant kin, and entails a more or less immediate exchange of equally valuable goods or services. It is characterized by social norms of even-handedness and honesty, and is therefore a vehicle for “alliance contracts” and “the transformation from separate to harmonious interests” (p. 220). Negative reciprocity is practiced with “other people” and is an impersonal mode of exchange where, through “self-interested seizure” (p. 191), both parties seek to maximize their own gains. Now let us consider the role of reciprocity in our five categories of kinship ties following and adapting Sahlins’ typology.

Within nuclear families, business exchanges between parents and children are shaped by what we label *intergenerational generalized reciprocity*. This particular type of reciprocity is revealed in the tacit agreement that children help their parents run the family firm when they are

young, while parents assure the future business resources for their children (cf. Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009). This agreement implies generalized reciprocity as the exchange is prolonged and unstipulated. We added the prefix intergenerational (see Wade-Benzoni, 2002) to indicate that the exchange is between generations within nuclear families (rather than individuals).

Case 5 is a good example. Immediately after the Khmer Rouge, the mother settled with her parents and sisters near a market on the outskirts of Phnom Penh, just across a bridge that connects to the city center. Her father started producing sausage rolls, as he had done before the Khmer Rouge. His wife and daughters sold the rolls on the local market. As they started to make some profit, the family began to purchase small plots of land in the city center. Around 1990, as rumors spread that the United Nations were coming to Cambodia, and anticipating that UN personnel would need a place to stay, the family decided to build hotels on the purchased land. They first built two ovens to make bricks, and subsequently the six sisters (now married) and their husbands moved into the hotel business. Between 1990 and 2000, they built eight hotels on the land inherited from their father: one for each of the six sisters, and two more for their eldest brother and sister who had fled to Australia before the Khmer Rouge.

This case reveals the way in which, from one generation to the next, material resources are divided within nuclear families. Parents develop their business in such a way that it can be divided among their children. As a rule of thumb, “what the parents do the children do also, but after getting married we should have our own business and depend on our own” (participant 25). Parents provide the land or money for the children to initiate a venture, or create a number of viable business ventures for their children to take over. As an employee of one of the hotels (participant 12) explains:

The parents already started to think about who gets what, like this [hotel] building or the [brick] factory. We don't know which one they will give to [which child], but they always say they will look after their children. [...] I think they will build another hotel because they have three children [and only two businesses]. Parents cannot stay with you forever, but they can show you the way.

Nuclear families thus practice portfolio entrepreneurship (Carter & Ram, 2003) in the sense that, by way of succession strategy, assets and capital are transferred between established and novel businesses within the family (cf. Alsos et al., 2014).

Within extended families, similarly, there is a strong sense of loyalty and moral obligation. Yet, the type of reciprocity within extended families—*generalized reciprocity in giving “big gifts”*—suggests a lesser degree of altruism. Whereas resources (for start-up) are *pooled* within nuclear families, they are *provided* (when necessary) by extended family members. Through giving “big gifts”—including money, material resources, labor and expertise—grandparents or parents' siblings help out. The parents of case 10, for example, owe their soya sauce production company to the mother's elder brother, who had produced soya sauce before the Khmer Rouge and reestablished his company as a state enterprise “under the management of Vietnam” (research participant 26). Licensed by the Vietnamese-backed regime, he had exclusive access to raw materials and machinery imported from Vietnam, which he shared with his younger sisters so that they and their husbands could also set up soya sauce factories.

The relationship between far relatives is characterized by *generalized reciprocity in giving “small gifts”*, including importing connections, co-investments, business ideas or the accommodation of children abroad. These “small gifts” are far from trivial though. Whereas close (nuclear and extended) family circles tend to be characterized by “excessive homogeneity

and sterility of resource provision” (Anderson, Jack & Drakopoulou Dodd, 2005, p. 141), relatives abroad often provide crucial entrepreneurial resources not available otherwise. The family of case 8 (research participant 21), for example, has a niece in Hong Kong who helped her Cambodian family members to set up an importing venture:

After 1989, some relative in France came in contact with her and passed the information to us. Later we went to Hong Kong to visit. She is in the food business. She sometimes sends me samples from factories in China. If it's suitable for Cambodia, we import it. We cannot fly there ourselves to attend exhibitions and compare products and we cannot trust anyone there unless friends or relatives recommend them. She has a big network in China and she knows how to select, so she can do it.

Although crucial in opportunity development, in terms of financial, material and labor costs, the small gifts of far relatives are exceeded by the big gifts from extended family members. Altruism thus seems to diminish when kinship relatedness decreases (Karra et al., 2006), a pattern that becomes even more salient when moving from family- to ethnicity-based kinship.

Whereas family members give each other gifts, in exchanges between Teochiu both parties benefit and the obligation to reciprocate is well understood. Economic and material interests predominate over social norms of solidarity and obligation, and so generalized reciprocity makes way for balanced reciprocity. The label *generalized-cum-balanced reciprocity* is more accurate in the case of the Teochiu, however, because there is no immediate exchange of equally valuable goods or services. Rather, the exchange is prolonged, as becomes clear when considering the role of credit arrangements.

The trade that emerged along the Thai-Cambodian border immediately after the Khmer Rouge was enabled by the provision of credit by Thai Teochiu. In a climate of scarcity, the traders from Phnom Penh lacked the financial capital to buy sufficient quantities of goods. The Thai traders thus offered the goods on credit, trusting that their Cambodian counterparts would repay once they had sold the goods in Phnom Penh. As the 1980s progressed, developing a strong partnership with a Thai trader became even more vital. Competition amassed as the Thai border region flocked with traders from Phnom Penh, and in order to stay competitive some entrepreneurs refocused on the import of more exclusive products. One owner-manager (case 9, participant 24) for example, befriended a Thai Teochiu from Bangkok in 1984, at a stage he was importing “all kinds of goods” including cutlery, clothes and mosquito nets. This Thai friend offered to supply him, on credit, with high-quality embroidered textiles of a kind used for making wedding dresses. According to the daughter, their shared Teochiu background facilitated the credit arrangement, impelling them to “trust each other more and know they will not cheat each other in business” (participant 25). Similar credit arrangements, which represent a “very informal contract” (participant 3), are common among Teochiu within Cambodia. Manufacturers in Phnom Penh provide credit to middlemen, who buy large quantities of goods and pay off their debt after they have sold the goods in the provinces.

Business exchanges between ethnic Chinese reveal *balanced (and sometimes negative) reciprocity* contingent upon shared (secondary) language abilities. Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurs who speak Mandarin (or Chinese dialects other than Teochiu) often manage to develop valuable business partnerships with ethnic Chinese in the region, as in case 2. In 1997, a Singaporean businessman approached the owner-manager of this mattresses trading firm and

suggested going into business together so that they could set up their own mattress factory. The son (participant 3) recalls:

He walked into my competitor's house [next-door] as well, but it didn't work out. I think because she doesn't speak [Mandarin] Chinese. She doesn't speak English either. But my mom can converse in Chinese. So they started talking and we went to Singapore.

The family built a factory and bought the machinery from the Singaporean, who also supplies them the chemicals needed for production.

In the absence of shared language abilities, however, balanced reciprocity may turn into negative reciprocity, indicating an absence of kinship relatedness. A daughter who manages the construction company set up by her father in 1990 (case 11, participant 28), for example, never learned Mandarin when growing up in Canada (where the family sought refuge in 1975) and she relates that people who speak Mandarin “have a lot of advantage from investors,” while her own experience in dealing with mainland Chinese is that “they didn't keep their promises”.

The idea that distinct sociocultural dynamics make particular categories of kinship ties suitable for involvement in particular aspects of entrepreneurship is further explored in the following subsection, in which we consider the role of trust.

Trust

Trust involves the subjective probability that an agent will behave in a way that is expected, and hence “requires a willingness to be vulnerable” (Leana & Van Buren, 1999, p. 543). In business, a high level of trust offers a safe ground for cooperation and reduces the costs of transactions (Eddleston, Chrisman, Steier, & Chua, 2010; Welter & Smallbone, 2006), such as

the costs that come with the negotiation, implementation and enforcement of contracts (Iyer, 2004). Kinship trust represents a form of “particularistic trust” that flourishes where “system trust”—trust in anonymous state, market or legal institutions of society—is wanting (Tan, Yang, & Veliyath, 2009, p. 545). We will show that such kinship trust is a nuanced combination of micro-level “personal trust” (personal relationships) and meso-level “collective trust” (community) (Welter, 2012, p. 195; see also Steier & Muethel, 2014).

The nuclear family is characterized by what we label *1st degree personal trust*, which makes nuclear family members especially suitable for management. Parents and their children fulfill crucial management tasks; they make the major decisions, control finances and stock, and contact important business partners. According to one interviewee, “people outside the [nuclear] family you cannot always trust; within the family you do not have this problem” (participant 6). Other interviewees similarly argue that employees may steal and non-family managers may “copy your business idea” (participant 11). Especially in financial matters, business owners distrust people outside the nuclear family: “They don’t want other people to know the financial situation of their company because it is the financial situation of the whole family” (key informant 21).

It should be noted that the strong sense of trust within nuclear families is reinforced by intergenerational generalized reciprocity as described previously. Arguably, the tacit agreement that parents assure the future business resources of their children also commits the latter to the family firm. Business interests within the nuclear family are highly intertwined, if not identical. This relates directly to extended family ties, which display what we call *2nd degree personal trust*. The relative absence of intertwined business interests among extended family members is the main reason for the lower degree of trust. Whereas the nuclear family sits in the heart of

company management—where the most crucial information is at stake, the most critical tasks are performed, the future is strategized, and the strongest sense of kinship relatedness is required—extended family members are mostly found in less central management positions. For example, in a rice trading company two cousins manage export processing and quality control (case 1) and in a mattresses firm a son-in-law manages factory operations (case 2), but in neither of these businesses are they involved in sensitive issues such as finances or contacting business partners.

Rather than taking up management positions, far relatives are called upon to arrange supply, identify business opportunities or co-invest in new ventures. The trust that is characteristic of nuclear and extended family ties is also present among far relatives: “We can help each other because we are in the family tree together, and we can trust each other more” (participant 30). Yet, whereas trust within nuclear and extended families takes the form of personal trust (i.e. people already know each other personally when initiating business exchanges), this is not necessarily the case among far relatives. As the label *personal-cum-collective trust* indicates, in some cases trust among far relatives is mediated by membership of a collective. This is most obvious where family name associations are involved. One of the interviewees (case 4) invited over 2000 people from around Southeast Asia and North America to Phnom Penh for the gathering of the family name association she belongs to. Family members from Singapore and Malaysia, who she met “for the first time over dinner” (participant 7) approached her asking her to become their local partner for future investments in Cambodia.

Whereas personal trust among family members is unconditional and portrayed as a given, *1st degree collective trust* among Teochiu is more process-based. It develops over time and requires regular interaction and nurturing. Moving from personal to collective trust, we are moving from familial trust that offers a “repository of resources for the venture creation process” and

“important business incubators,” to ethnic trust that offers a more “generic form of economic organization” (Steier & Muethel, 2014, p. 499-500). Indeed, as one interviewee (participant 28) narrates:

I think Teochiu Chinese are focused on trust. They say that word is gold. So if you say something, you have to commit to it, you don't need any contract or anything. Even making less money is better than cheating people.

Teochiu entrepreneurs came to dominate trade after the Khmer Rouge, acquiring goods, information, and credit through exclusive business networks and associations. The rice trade for example is “traditionally mainly Teochiu” and “if you speak to them in Teochiu dialect, you have an advantage” (key informant 15). Access to such trust-based networks was crucial: “you needed to be in this group, have connections, to get goods on credit, get information, learn from each other” (participant 15).

Whereas the Teochiu control particular economic sectors, demonstrating “institutional completeness and internal solidarity” along ethnic lines (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, p. 130), trust between entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh and regional ethnic Chinese is instead reminiscent of the notion of “calculus trust” (Discua Cruz et al., 2013, p. 23). Ethnic Chinese kinship is pragmatically articulated to “smoothen” business exchanges, but rarely involves an exchange of favors beyond the choice to do business together. What we define as *2nd degree collective trust* among the ethnic Chinese is the weakest form of trust among the categories of kinship ties, but has nevertheless been highly instrumental in gaining access to consumer goods, raw materials and machinery that was needed to diversify and expand businesses since the 1990s. Entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh forge business ties with regional ethnic Chinese by symbolically articulating Chinese identity, most notably through language use, but also by using their Chinese

names in business circles or putting up Chinese letters on their store fronts. As one participant explains: “there is credit in being Chinese” (participant 19).

DISCUSSION: TOWARDS A KINSHIP PERSPECTIVE ON ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Based on the findings explicated above, the following pattern between categories of kinship ties, their levels of relatedness and types of reciprocity and trust, and specific aspects of entrepreneurship can be identified. The nuclear family, which hinges on *household relatedness*, plays a key role in pooling resources (money, labour, property, expertise) for the start-up of new ventures, expansion and diversification; it also holds ownership and takes care of core management positions (control of finances, decision making, contacting business partners and stock-keeping). The role of the nuclear family in these aspects of the entrepreneurial process is enacted through *intergenerational generalized reciprocity* and *1st degree personal trust*; or on the basis of an unspecified (in time and amount) exchange of goods and services made possible through the closest (most intimate) form of trust.

The extended family (galvanized through *blood and marriage relatedness*, *generalized reciprocity in giving big gifts* and *2nd degree personal trust*) plays a key role in the assembly of resources (expertise, labor, connections, raw materials, machinery) and, in extension, the rationale for start-up. Extended family members provide each other with resources when necessary (rather than pool their resources), which is the main reason that they are primarily involved in the start-up phase, when few resources are available. Also, less central management positions (operations, control of value chain, managing departments or subsidiaries) are allocated to extended family members, indicating a second degree of trust compared to that between parents and children.

Far relatives support the entrepreneurial process through investments or joint ventures, supply of consumer goods and raw materials, ideas and connections for diversification, and business education of younger generations abroad. At the level of *ancestral relatedness* as expressed among far relatives, we see diminishing norms of prescriptive altruism (*generalized reciprocity in giving small gifts* instead of big gifts) and decreasing trust (*personal-cum-collective trust*, moving away from personal trust).

This is further extrapolated when we consider the Teochiu, who rely on *dialect and descent relatedness* and are called upon for the supply of consumer goods, access to sector networks and associations, and most prominently for credit arrangements. What we see is a growing expectation of a material return for the support offered, which (considering the return is sometimes prolonged) is expressed in *generalized-cum-balanced reciprocity*. Moreover, business exchanges are based on *1st degree collective trust* rooted in closeness or “sameness” in terms of language use, history and community culture, rather than lifelong personal interaction.

Finally, the ethnic Chinese draw on *language and identity relatedness* and are at the farthest end of the spectrum. Still, they are very important in the entrepreneurial process and supply consumer goods, raw materials and machinery. They also offer business ideas for expansion and diversification, as well as (trading) partnerships to develop these ideas. Business exchanges are predicated upon immediate and weighted returns to the support provided (*balanced reciprocity*), but the relationship breaks down or fails to emerge (*negative reciprocity*) when relatedness (in terms of language use or ethnic identification) is not enacted. Ethnic Chinese ties are characterized by *2nd degree collective trust*, nearing fictive or imagined kinship but nevertheless providing a crucial sense of credibility and mutual respect.

The above indicates that if we move from the narrowest to the broadest category of kinship ties (nuclear family to ethnic Chinese), we see that kinship relatedness decreases (in genealogical and spatial terms), that norms of prescriptive altruism become less pervasive (from generalized reciprocity to balanced reciprocity) and that mutual trust decreases (from personal trust to collective trust). Hence, differences in levels of kinship relatedness, as well as concomitant differences in the types of reciprocity and trust, render particular categories of kinship ties suitable for particular aspects of entrepreneurship. For the Cambodian Chinese business community in Phnom Penh, kinship provides crucial social and cultural “glue” that has facilitated entrepreneurship since the Khmer Rouge.

A kinship perspective, as Stewart (2010b, 2014) and others (Alsos et al., 2014; Karra et al., 2006; Khaysi et al., 2014; Khavul et al., 2009; Peng, 2004) have suggested, allows us to identify the role of ties outside the nuclear family and the ways in which kinship’s moral order affects the entrepreneurial process. Building on our findings, we offer a more comprehensive theoretical framework (Figure 3) than the literature has offered so far.

“Insert Figure 3 Here”

Our framework addresses the shortcomings within literature on kinship and entrepreneurship in three ways. First, while it is clear that kinship is more than blood and marriage, as evident in notions like “quasi-family” (Karra et al., 2006, p. 874) and “the next kinship level” (Iyer, 2004, p. 246), an alternative definition has hitherto not been provided. By understanding kinship as relatedness we can identify meaningful categories of family and ethnic ties that show internal coherence with respect to the level of relatedness. In the theoretical framework we explicitly leave room for additional or other categories of kinship ties and associated levels of relatedness (open-ended arrows at each end), conscious of the fact that our findings are context and culture

specific. The idea that we offer is to keep pressing for more accuracy in denoting kinship relatedness in entrepreneurship.

Second, we theorize the sociocultural dynamics—reciprocity and trust—that buttress kinship involvement in entrepreneurship. Current literature is hampered by a lack of clarity on what these sociocultural dynamics are and how they “function” in everyday entrepreneurial activity. Our findings suggest that reciprocity and trust are kinship’s core organizing principles (see also Eddleston et al., 2010; Janjuha-Jivraj & Spence, 2009; Steier & Muethel, 2014; Wade-Benzoni, 2002) and it seems that other norms and values are subsumed by reciprocity and trust. Altruism, for example, can be considered the “foundation of the notion of reciprocity” (Dousset, 2013, p. 4), while trust implies notions such as integrity, solidarity and emotional bonding (Discua Cruz et al., 2013; Welter, 2012). Moreover, our findings urge a nuancing of the typologies of reciprocity (from generalized to balanced) and trust (from personal to collective). This latter aspect is entirely missing in accounts on the role of kinship in entrepreneurship. Again, and contingent upon levels of kinship relatedness in other research contexts, the framework allows for additional nuances of reciprocity and trust.

Third, we identify the specific aspects of entrepreneurship in which kinship ties are involved. As shown above, literature to date generally focuses on one aspect only (e.g. succession, business growth or employment) and it is, perhaps, exactly this partiality in empirical focus that forecloses a richer understanding of kinship in entrepreneurship. In contrast, our framework considers kinship in a wide range of business-related aspects, from management to trading partnerships and from the start-up to diversification. This yields the insight that kinship is used in manifold ways throughout the entrepreneurial process.

The above culminates in a comprehensive theoretical framework that provides an unambiguous definition of kinship as grounded in relatedness, articulates the precise sociocultural dynamics of reciprocity and trust, and considers the aspects of entrepreneurship connected to each category of kinship ties. In developing the framework, we make two contributions to the literature. First, our framework adjusts the fragmentation within the literature and more holistically captures the complexities and scope of kinship involvements in entrepreneurship. Our framework is an answer to long-heard critiques of fragmentation, one-dimensionality and lack of integration (Gartner, 1985; Rauch et al., 2014) in entrepreneurship studies in general, and on kinship and entrepreneurship in particular. It is comprehensive (Randerson et al., 2015) and incorporates detailed data on kinship (Stewart & Hitt, 2012). Kinship is a key-ingredient in the social and cultural environment of entrepreneurs, and is therefore crucial to provide a better understanding of “when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved” (Welter, 2011, p. 166). Because kinship is “a human universal” (Eriksen, 2015, p. 152), there is scope to extend research into a wide variety of societal settings. Our framework serves as a vehicle for a kinship perspective on entrepreneurship to reach its full potential.

The theoretical framework also offers a second contribution, namely a potential bridge between family business and ethnic entrepreneurship research. The focus on interpersonal ties grounded in relatedness reveals dynamics of reciprocity and trust that underpin *both* family and ethnic ties, which diminishes the need to treat the family and ethnic group as different research contexts in studying entrepreneurship. However, ethnicity, acknowledged as a prominent feature in today’s societies, is largely neglected in family firm research (Harris, 2009) while, vice versa, family dynamics remain unexplored in ethnic minority businesses (Ram, Abbas, Sanghera,

Barlow, & Jones, 2001). This divide is curious considering that as arenas of social interaction and cultural meaning, the domains of family and ethnicity are highly intertwined. Norms and values within ethnic groups affect entrepreneurial activities or modes of business organization among family firms (Chrisman, Chua, & Steier, 2002), while the family is a critical “mediating institution” for these norms and values, and is “core to social networks within ethnic groups” (Danes, Lee, Stafford, & Heck, 2008, p. 231-232). In both fields, the assumption of bounded groupings has been criticized for failing to expose actual relations and dynamics among family members and co-ethnics. Within family business studies, for instance, it is recently argued that there is “limited attention to the family relations and dynamics that undergird [...] family business issues” (Morris & Kellermanns, 2013, p. 379). In ethnic entrepreneurship studies, the idea of the homogeneous ethnic group that represents a pool of labor, resources and connections for entrepreneurs has been criticized on the basis that ethnic boundaries are ambiguous and permeable, especially a number of generations after migration (Author B & Author A, 2013). Particularly when the primary interest is in the entrepreneurial process itself, a kinship perspective offers a promising opportunity to bridge family and ethnic business research.

Our framework is the starting point of a kinship perspective on entrepreneurship and we suggest two areas for further research. First, there is a need to get a fuller understanding of the manifestations of kinship relatedness. Different categories of family and ethnic ties will likely surface in other entrepreneurship contexts, and alternative forms of kinship relatedness may be found that are, for instance, based on adoption, modern fertility technologies, spirituality or community (Carsten, 2004; Gamson, 2015; Khayesi et al., 2014; Peredo, 2003). Future studies will have to determine how, in these research contexts, factors including “time, place, age, and interpersonal dynamics” (Steier & Muethel, 2014, p. 510) affect the enactment of trust and

reciprocity through kinship relatedness and how these enable or constrain entrepreneurship, and the extent to which our emergent typologies of reciprocity and trust are analytically valuable.

Second, using kinship to bridge the fields of family business and ethnic entrepreneurship studies needs further consideration. An analytic focus on either the family or ethnic group is evidently too narrow, whereas a kinship perspective, through an investigation of the multiple appearances of relatedness and their sociocultural dynamics, goes beyond reified understandings of family or ethnic firms. On the basis of our research, we propose a research agenda that resonates Stewart's (2010b) dictum to think of "businesses with significant kinship involvements' and leave as an empirical matter just exactly what these are" (p. 233). This more open-ended approach, as our study shows, urges researchers to depart from the activity of entrepreneurship, and only then consider the role of family and ethnic ties in this activity (cf. Stewart, 2010b; Storti, 2014). The further pursuit of this research agenda will highlight the interdependencies between family, ethnic and business contexts, and is therefore a stepping-stone to cross-fertilization between family business and ethnic entrepreneurship studies.

CONCLUSION

We set out to address and revise the fragmentation within literature on kinship and entrepreneurship in order to advance a kinship perspective on entrepreneurship. Kinship is a key-ingredient of the environment in which entrepreneurs set up and consolidate businesses, and hence crucial in answering the core question of how and why entrepreneurship happens. As we have shown, entrepreneurship happens through the enactment of kinship, and does so in intricate ways. Based on the case of Cambodian Chinese entrepreneurs in Phnom Penh, our findings indicate that kinship involvement in entrepreneurship is grounded in relatedness, reciprocity and trust. We hold that different categories of kinship ties—comprised of particular family or ethnic

ties—inhere different levels of relatedness and different types of reciprocity and trust, and that, therefore, different kinship ties play different roles in the entrepreneurial process. Our theoretical framework is applicable and adaptable to other research contexts and will hopefully inspire future empirical and conceptual insights at the interface of kinship and entrepreneurship.

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Figure 1: Data Structure

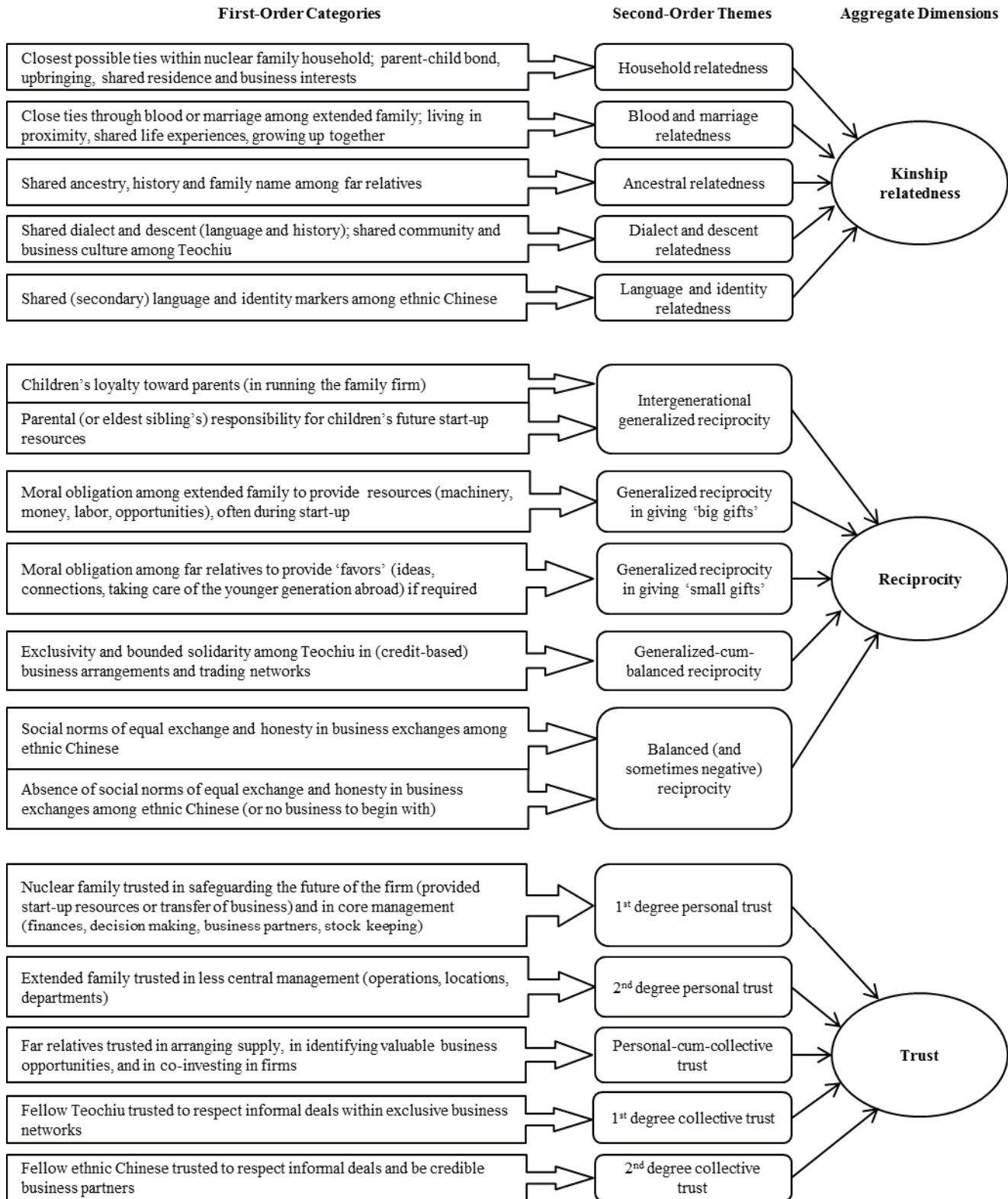


Figure 2. Inductive Framework: Kinship in Cambodian Chinese Entrepreneurship

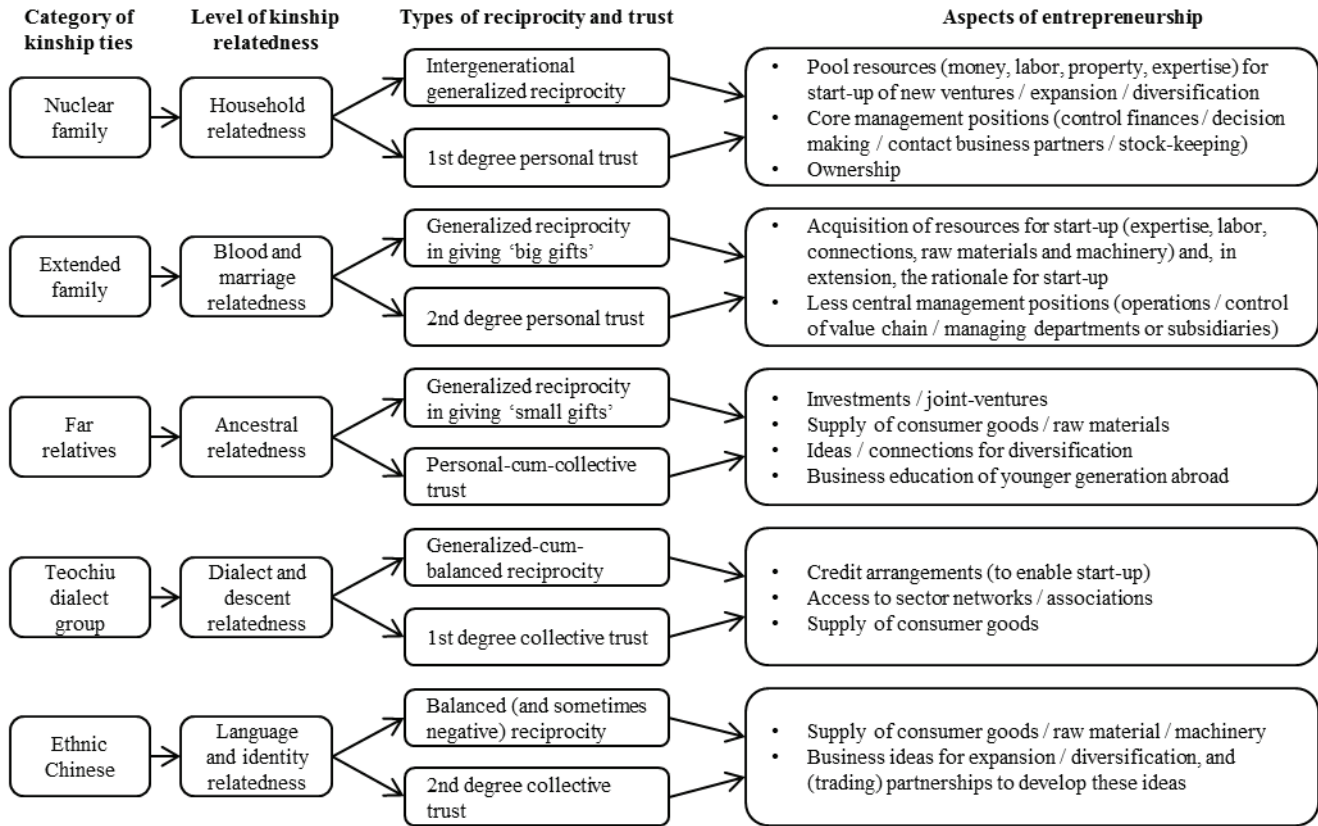


Figure 3. Theoretical Framework: A Kinship Perspective on Entrepreneurship

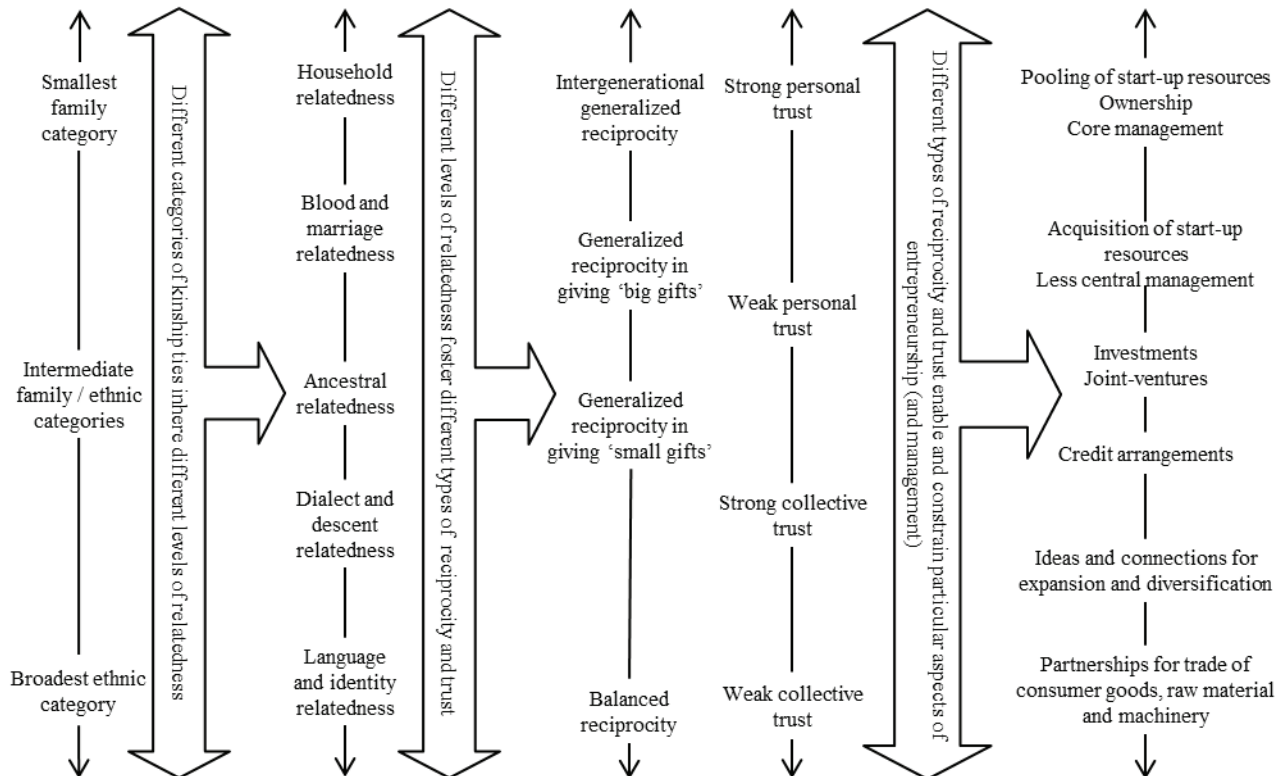


TABLE 1
Representative Quotes Underlying Second-Order Themes

First-Order Categories	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate dimensions
<p>Closest possible ties within nuclear family household; parent-child bond, upbringing, shared residence and business interests</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Household relatedness</p> <p>I feel I learned a lot from my family; the way to deal with the customer, selling to the customer, being friendly. They [his parents] may not know rules for management or marketing strategies, but what they do know is that you have to be honest with your partner, don't cheat, be polite with your customers, the way to speak. You can cheat one time, but the next time they don't come back. They know this, and it is a good experience. (Key informant 21)</p> <p>We don't like working for other people. Why work for other people when you can be your own boss? That's the way I think as well, I was brought up like that. I've always had the mentality that I don't want to work for other people. [...] If you're raised in a Chinese family, you are definitely raised to be a businessman. You're not raised to be working class. You can go and ask everyone here in Cambodia. Your parents instill that into your brain. That's what they do. (Participant 2)</p> <p>Me and my brother, we grew up in this business and we have a really strong passion for rice; we really want to expand it. So we work very hard for it. Even if it's 12 o'clock midnight, if it's related to business tasks, we still wake up and talk on the phone. (Participant 1)</p>	<p style="font-size: 2em;">}</p> <p>Kinship relatedness</p>
<p>Close ties through blood or marriage among extended family; living in proximity, shared life experiences, growing up together</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Blood and marriage relatedness</p> <p>That's why we [five cousins] make very good partners, because we all grew up together, we all went to school together and we all trust each other. [...] They never question me like 'why did you spend money on this or that?' Our relationship matters. (Participant 4)</p> <p>Everybody came out of the Khmer Rouge [labor camps], and a lot of people went to the countryside to do farming. But my mom and grandma wanted to stay here in the city. So my father had to come too. Only my father came to the city, his brothers and sisters stayed in the countryside. My father now has a better life here, and he takes care of all of them. Some of our cousins come to Phnom Penh to study and they stay at our house. Some of them now have the business also. (Participant 6)</p> <p>They [his wife, her parents and siblings] moved from the countryside to Phnom Penh after [the Khmer Rouge]. During Vietnamese occupation they made sausage rolls to sell. They made quite good money and so he [his father-in-law] bought plots of land in the city center. [...] Later [when his father-in-law had passed away] my wife's elder sisters and their husbands built hotels on the land. My wife is the youngest, so we learned how to run the hotel business from them [before they built their own hotel]. Now, the hotels are separate but we are still members of the big family. We still discuss and talk business, share information. Yeah, we work together. (Participant 10)</p>	
<p>Shared ancestry, history and family name among far relatives</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Ancestral relatedness</p> <p>The Chinese have a special thinking. For example, if we both have a Chinese name like Lee, we think we are brothers already, so we can do more business [often in the context of family name associations]. And there are a lot of Southeast Asian Chinese who have the same family name. (Key informant 8)</p> <p>My father was a technician; engineering or painting cars or do whatever. My mother was a journalist. So I'm not from the business background and I don't think I was born to do business because I like art. But still, maybe I have my blood from my great-great-grandfather who was a businessman. (Participant 19)</p>	
<p>Shared dialect and descent (language and history); shared community and business culture among Teochiu</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Dialect and descent relatedness</p> <p>It's helpful [to have a Chinese background] because of the Teochiu from Thailand, Singapore, or Malaysia; we understand each other. Teochiu they trust each other more. There is a saying in Chinese, something like; 'if you're the same people, even if you beat each other to death it's no problem'. (Participant 28)</p> <p>Whether you are here, in Bangkok or in Hong Kong, if you are in danger and you shout for help in Teochiu, you get help. You are a brother so people help. [...] Okay, one secret. When you come to talk business and you speak Teochiu, people like you more because we think we are closer, more related. (Key informant 22)</p> <p>The mind is born to think about money, it's about culture or something in the blood. We [the Cambodian Chinese] work very hard and used to live under very hard conditions, fighting to survive. The Teochiu idea; rather be the head of the cock than the tail of the cow. Even though I sell noodle on the roadside I am still the boss of that kiosk. (Participant 19)</p> <p>The dialect associations [which run a school and temple, and of which the Teochiu is the biggest in Phnom Penh] have nothing to do with business, but they are linked with business in the sense that they depend on donations from business people. Wealthy business people donate large sums of money to assure the wellbeing of the associations. It's like a cultural obligation. They do not get funding from the government. Cambodian Chinese still find them important vehicles for transmitting Chinese culture and language to the next generation, and especially to assure good education for their children. (Key informant 4)</p>	
<p>Shared (secondary) language and identity markers among ethnic Chinese</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Language and identity relatedness</p> <p>When we talk about business, if you have a Chinese background also, or half Cambodian and half Chinese, I think it is more easy. Like in Olympic or Orusey market [two large indoor markets], if you can speak Chinese I think it is very good for you. They like to speak Chinese, to show their experience. When they see the guy with the Chinese background they always support. (Participant 16)</p> <p>They [regional ethnic Chinese] think like; Chinese, same people, it's better. We can speak the [Mandarin] language if we want to; anyway it's easier to understand each other. Because I'm Chinese they feel they need to help me. Like the school [that he set up], when I started, someone else also wanted to buy the master-franchise for Phnom Penh [from a Singaporean Chinese businessman], but he was not Chinese. I think I also got it because my appearance is Chinese. (Participant 20)</p> <p>There is benefit from speaking Chinese because all over the world so many people with a Chinese background are businesspeople. I think Chinese will become the second language after English for business, also in Cambodia. And speaking the same language creates a feeling of friendship easier. (Key informant 10)</p> <p>That's true, anywhere you go right now around the world, you'll see Chinese opening their own businesses. Even me, my grandparents are from China and I don't speak Chinese, but for my business I did put up Chinese letters [on the store front]. People here, when they see Chinese letters they think 'oh, he can be trusted more than others'. (Key informant 22)</p>	

Continued

TABLE 1
Continued

First-Order Categories	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate dimensions
Intergenerational generalized reciprocity		
Children's loyalty toward parents (in running the family firm)	<p>In a Cambodian Chinese family you have to respect the elderly. My father, sometimes he's not taking the best decision and you keep on saying 'no, this is not the way'. But he would say 'this is the way it's going to be'. (Participant 28)</p> <p>I was in Japan for five years. I don't really consider myself as running away during that time, because I had to do it anyway for study. But then I was also applying for jobs in Japan. Actually I got a job offer in Japan two years after I came back. I really wanted that job but I couldn't take it. Sort of obligation towards my parents [to work in the family firm]. (Participant 3)</p>	}
Parental (or eldest sibling's) responsibility for children's future start-up resources	<p>We opened a [bakery] shop for my sister because of my mom's opinion, and mine also. [...] I am the big brother so I am responsible for the younger [siblings];. For my brother [who started his own business] also; my mom bought his house and we gave him family money [to set up his business]. (Participant 17)</p> <p>It depends on my parents. I think my sister and my brother-in-law expect me to take over everything [from their parents]. They would walk away I think. Of course they would have shares in the company, but they want to go into real estate. Me too. My parents have already planted the seeds for us. They've got the land and everything. They invested in land, quite a bit. All we need to do is creating a project. (Participant 3)</p>	
Generalized reciprocity in giving 'big gifts'		
Moral obligation among extended family to provide resources (machinery, money, labor, opportunities), often during start-up	<p>If we get married, we [siblings in general] will have our own [nuclear] family and separate to build up our own company. So we can't stay together, but we help each other. [...] Like my brother-in-law, he already had a lot of money but we [his wife and him] only had little money. So I started a small business [in the same line of business] and got some techniques and machines from him. Now, when I lack products he helps me, and when he lacks products I help him. (Participant 26)</p> <p>Everyone among our family members can join it if they have time. [...] The business of tourism goes up and down, so [me and my brothers] decided to find something else because now some of my nephews graduate from universities. They'll be coming down here so I have to find the new business for them to look after. (Participant 22)</p>	}
Moral obligation among far relatives to provide 'favors' (ideas, connections, taking care of the younger generation abroad) if required	<p>In 1992 Cambodia was not safe. They [the government] wanted to catch men to go into the army. My mom didn't want that so she sent my [eldest] brother to Thailand; we have a lot of relatives in Thailand. They are really far relatives; their grandma and my grandma are sisters. One moved from China to Thailand and one to Cambodia. Before, my grandma helped her a lot with her family; provide food to everybody. They are thankful to my grandma and let my brother stay with them, so my mom sent him there. He stayed with our relatives for like 6 months. [...] They have good businesses and a good life over there, in Bangkok. They connected him with the factory. They know a lot of business people right, so it's easier. And after that he started to import. (Participant 6)</p> <p>Two of my aunts live in Australia, they moved there after Pol Pot [after the Khmer Rouge regime]. My parents and other aunts could not go because they had to look after my grandparents. [...] After I finish high school here I go there for study and stay with them. (Participant 14)</p>	
Generalized-cum-balanced reciprocity		
Exclusivity and bounded solidarity among Teochiu in (credit-based) business arrangements and trading networks	<p>They [his parents] are using money to build up the market. That's how it's been working here for 20 years. If you don't have the ability to give your customer credit, you never get enough of them. Some of our customers, the [Teochiu-owned] retail shops that we supply to [which buy mattresses that they produce], have been owing us the same amount of money for ten years. [...] But even though they owe us a certain amount of money, they do get things from us every day. If you think about it, the cycle isn't that bad, the turnover isn't that bad. [...] It's a way to keep them coming back as well. They owe us money, but they are going to get supplies from us. It's a very informal contract. (Participant 3)</p> <p>The rice trade in any country here, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, is owned by ethnic Chinese, traditionally mainly Teochiu. You go to the Thai rice association; they are all Thai Chinese. Every member is Thai Chinese. If you speak to them Teochiu dialect, you have an advantage. (Key informant 15)</p> <p>I think all the businesspeople here were Teochiu [after the Khmer Rouge], and still. It's more or less a closed network within Cambodia ... maybe not so closed anymore, but they give preference to people who are also Teochiu. (Participant 30)</p>	} Reciprocity
Balanced (and sometimes negative) reciprocity		
Social norms of equal exchange and honesty in business exchanges among ethnic Chinese	<p>My wife can speak Chinese, it helps quite a lot. I cannot go alone when I have to go to China. I cannot tell the taxi where to go. And the salesmen, if you want to buy from wholesalers in China, if you cannot speak Chinese, you cannot bargain the price. One time I meet some guy, we bought the same product, but we asked in Chinese so our price was lower than the guy who just pressed the calculator to bargain. When we speak Chinese they feel that we are the same. (Key informant 21)</p> <p>I learned a lot from the Taiwanese guy [his former employer], all the tricks in business, the Chinese mentality, the way to work. And when I speak Chinese with them, it is a strength. When there are Malaysian Chinese I speak Cantonese with them. It feels closer, like friends. They say, 'okay, you are a Chinese man', that's the word they use. 'We are all Chinese men, so I will not cheat you'. (Participant 19)</p>	}
Absence of social norms of equal exchange and honesty in business exchanges among ethnic Chinese (or no business to begin with)	<p>Chinese language is more important now because more and more Chinese from mainland China are doing business [in Cambodia]. Yes and no [regarding the question whether it beneficial to have Chinese background]. Yes for those that can do business with them because have the relationship and speak [Mandarin] Chinese, but not for us. We don't have any connection to China. We import from Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, not China. (Participant 11)</p> <p>My cousin learned Chinese; she speaks fluently. Her parents were more focused on not losing the Chinese roots. My parents didn't see much importance, or they did but they didn't want to push us. At home we spoke Khmer and French already [growing up in Canada]. But maybe I will learn Chinese now, for business. The China market is huge and there is a lot of potential. [...] It may have helped if we [her family members and her] would speak Mandarin, but we don't. People who do have a lot of advantage from investors. [...] We've done some business with Chinese [from mainland China], but they didn't keep their promises. (Participant 28)</p>	

Continued

TABLE 1
Continued

First-Order Categories	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate dimensions
Nuclear family trusted in safeguarding the future of the firm (provided start-up resources or transfer of business) and in core management (finances, decision making, business partners, stock-keeping)	<p style="text-align: center;">1st degree personal trust</p> <p>It has been the traditional business that we have to transfer to the next generation. [...] For Chinese, the son must receive the business from the old generation and control the business because he is easy to trust. (Participant 26)</p> <p>Nowadays I have sufficient capital, and I know many customers, I can order the products for selling, so I cannot stop it. We should encourage them [her children] to learn and take over this business. Like my mother and me. When she started this business, I had to know each product clearly. I will do the same to allow my children to understand when they are still young. They are very young, so I do not know what they are interested in, but if they accept this business it is good for them. (Participant 25)</p> <p>For my parents it feels safe [that she and her brother are co-managing]. When we were studying [in the U.S.], the business was expanding and it was getting out of control because they didn't hire other people to help them. They got very tired, they needed us to come back. [...] They know how to run the business but they don't trust outsiders. Before they didn't have any record in the computer. Now we hire an accountant only for the entries, but I still compile the finale balance report. (Participant 1)</p> <p>It has a lot to do with trust. The main problem is that the older generations [...] don't want to discuss the financial situation to anyone that is an outsider [to the nuclear family]. That's why they don't want to hire an outside accountant. (Participant 3)</p> <p>In finances or importing things or managing the warehouse, my dad does not let people outside the [nuclear] family control. But managing a store [operations] is okay for an outsider to do. (Participant 15)</p>	
Extended family trusted in less central management (operations, locations, departments)	<p style="text-align: center;">2nd degree personal trust</p> <p>Because of my mom's opinion, we don't want to open more [bakery] shops yet. She is afraid I cannot control it. I would open a few more shops, but she doesn't want it because we have to get people from outside the family... she is afraid for me. You know, if you cannot control it, workers steal. But in the future we open more shops, this year for my [younger] brother, and after that I will open one in Sihanoukville [a city in the South of Cambodia]. We bought land there already, I think next year we will build the building. That one is for my cousin [to manage]. (Participant 17)</p> <p>Business owners get a headache sometimes from hiring family in the companies; they have to pay them more, and sometimes they are hard to manage. They say: 'I am the boss' nephew, you cannot touch me'. Some try to avoid working with family, but still, few people here trust outsiders. (Key informant 7)</p> <p>They [his parents] rather keep it [informal] like this than discussing their financial situation with other people, the outsiders. They barely discuss the financial situation with their own children. [...] I think I have the most information among my siblings. One thing is that I am single, I'm not married yet, so if they tell me the in-laws [one of whom manages the factory operations] are not involved ... the greed! (Participant 3)</p>	
Far relatives trusted in arranging supply, in identifying valuable business opportunities, and in co-investing in firms	<p style="text-align: center;">Personal-cum-collective trust</p> <p>He [his great-uncle from China] owns an import-export company. We order at him and he has all the suppliers listed, so we don't need to keep track of all the suppliers. [...] It helps a lot because we can always trust him. We know that he would never inflate the price. Of course there is commission but you just know that the price will always be quite fair. If it's an outsider you never know, if it is family you can trust them easily. [...] They [his parents and great-uncle] hate paperwork. Doing contracts among family is a big no-no for the Chinese families in Cambodia. They think that if you do that kind of thing it's a sign that you don't trust each other. (Participant 3)</p> <p>Around the world the [the members of her family name association are] very rich. Now that they have seen Cambodia [during an annual meeting of the association], they will come back to invest. I already had three calls from Malaysia and Singapore. They know now Cambodian ladies are true, genuine. (Participant 7)</p> <p>Family name association have indeed revitalized very much. It is a way for Chinese in the region to strengthen their ties to the Cambodian Chinese. Family is the main vehicle for trust right. [...] Certainly these associations function as business networks as well. (Key informant 6)</p>	Trust
Fellow Teochiu trusted to respect informal deals within exclusive business networks	<p style="text-align: center;">1st degree collective trust</p> <p>If you say to your business partner 'I'll sell you at this price', even though the price has gone up high, you have to commit to it. Even though you haven't signed. That's the way Teochiu are. (Participant 28)</p> <p>My father worked together with his brothers [in the 1980s], they were importing cloths and other things from Thailand. Only a small group did the trading [...] It was a Teochiu group because Teochiu trust Teochiu, and they are in Thailand, Singapore, around Southeast Asia. My father told me that if you were in business and didn't speak Teochew, people would look down on you. (Participant 15)</p> <p>Sometimes I go to the coffee shop and there are local [Teochiu] Chinese people talking business, they just wear shorts with the short sleeve shirt or whatever. I can hear them discuss. One guy is low in cash and asks 'can I borrow your money? Can you lend me \$US 400,000? Three weeks and I will return it to you with the usual interest percentage'. Another guy takes the motorbike, disappears for 15 minutes and comes back. 'Here is your money.' No contract! Just a kind of trust in his word. This is how it works in business here. I'm not saying that it's the way you should do business, but it's the way these people function, especially the older generation. (Key informant 15)</p>	
Fellow ethnic Chinese trusted to respect informal deals and be credible business partners	<p style="text-align: center;">2nd degree collective trust</p> <p>Because everywhere in Asia you meet Chinese people. It is the biggest business population. When we know they are Chinese and they know we are Chinese, you know ... the feeling is different. The trust is there. There is just more trust. It is easier and we don't have to worry about paperwork. [...] Just shake hands and that means the deal is done. That's the way Chinese people do business. The times have changed, the people have changed, but still among the Chinese people there is more trust. I still prefer to shake hands and then the deal is done, that gives both parties more trust and abilities on the business side. (Participant 18)</p> <p>It's helping me understand the mind faster. When you talk business with somebody with a Chinese background, it's like you actually understand very quickly where he wants to go [...] It basically is a kind of a code of honor. When you give your word, you must stick to it. Don't screw up! Just a kind of trust in your word (Key informant 15)</p>	

APPENDIX 1

Participants, key informants and data sources

Participants	Relationship within/to the owning family	Position / role within family business(es)	Case	Data sources
1	Daughter	In charge of operations and administration	1	3 formal interviews, a tour at premises, newspaper/internet documents on company/sector
2	Son	In charge of ICT		
3	Son	General manager	2	2 formal interviews, a few observations / informal conversations on shop floor
4	Friend of son	n/a		
5	Sister	Factory manager	3	2 formal interviews, 2 tours at premises and 2 informal conversations at business events, internet documents on companies
6	Brother	Factory manager		
7	Mother	MD of importing firm and owner-manager of other firms	4	2 formal interviews, a tour at premises, numerous informal conversations at social event, newspaper/internet documents on entrepreneur and companies
8	Employee (Malaysian professional manager, not family)	Chief Financial Officer		
9	Business partner of mother (Australian, not family)	n/a		
10	Father	Owner-manager of hotel	5	5 formal interviews, numerous observations / informal conversations at company premises
11	Mother's brother-in-law	n/a		
12	Employee (not family)	n/a (works in hotel of mother's sister)		
13	Employee (not family)	Customer service		
14	Mother's niece	n/a		
15	Son	Runs one of the stores	6	2 formal interviews, a tour at premises, newspaper/internet documents on company/sector
16	Friend of son (not family)	n/a		
17	Son	Runs the main shop	7	5 formal interviews, numerous observations / informal conversations on shop floor
18	Son	n/a (runs his own business)		
19	Friend and business partner of son	n/a		
20	Family friend	n/a		
21	Brother	Runs part of the business	8	3 formal interviews, 2 tours at premises, newspaper/internet documents on companies
22	Brother	Runs part of the business		
23	Brother's son	Runs part of the business		
24	Father	Owner-manager	9	3 formal interviews, numerous observations / informal conversations on shop floor
25	Daughter	Runs one of the two locations		
26	Father	Owner-manager	10	1 formal interview, tour at premises, informal conversation at business event
27	Father	Chairman and CEO	11	2 formal interviews, tour at premises, numerous informal conversations in local pub, newspaper/internet documents on entrepreneur and companies
28	Daughter	Runs umbrella firm		
29	Friend of father (Dutch national, not family)	n/a		
30	Father	Owner-manager	12	1 formal interview, tour at premises, a few observations / informal conversations on shop floor
Key informants				
	Occupation			
1	Principle of a Chinese School			
2	Journalist at Chinese language newspaper			
3	Textile sector consultant			
4	Journalist at Chinese language newspaper			
5	Former dentist, and Chinese community insider			
6	Historian (French national)			
7	Government official, and business consultant			
8	Economist at an international financial institution			
9	Economist at Cambodian research institute			
10	Official at private sector representative body			
11	Official at Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy			
12	Official at Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy			
13	Official at Cambodian Stock Exchange			
14	Official at government economic think tank			
15	Rice sector representative, and consultant			
16	Official dealing with private sector investment			
17	Economist at international donor agency			
18	Sales executive at a logistics company from mainland China			
19	Legal consultant (American national)			
20	Researcher at government economic think tank			
21	Business association president			
22	Cambodian American investor (who fled the Khmer Rouge)			

APPENDIX 2

The Role of Kinship in Cambodian Chinese Entrepreneurship

Case	Nuclear family	Extended family	Far relatives	Teochiu dialect group	Ethnic Chinese
1	Parents' money (which father made as a medical doctor in the 1980s) and shop house to set up a rice-trading house in 1994. Move to rice export (to US and EU) in 2009 enabled by children's studies in the US (knowledge of formal contracting and English language). Father is CEO, mother manages supply, son ICT, daughter operations & admin. Parents are owners.	Grandparents were rural rice millers; parents used their connections and experience in the rice-trading sector. Two cousins manage export processing & quality control.	n/a	Suppliers are Teochiu rice millers from the Cambodian provinces; they also provided credit during the start-up phase.	Packaging material bought from Vietnamese Chinese. Reprocessing machines imported from China.
2	Parents' money (made from producing and selling rice wine in the 1980s) and shop house to set up a mattresses retail shop in 1987 and mattresses factory in 1997. Parents are owners and 'background managers', one son general manager; other son mechanic, two daughters do sales in the shop.	Son-in-law manages factory operations.	Great-uncle in China is the main supplier of raw materials (since 1997).	n/a	Parents started buying mattresses from Vietnamese Chinese middlemen in 1987. Move from import/retail to production was enabled by a Singaporean Chinese (from who they bought machinery and chemicals).
3	Parents' money (made from running a convenience store in the 1980s) to set up a food importing business in 1990. Rice cracker and jelly sweets factories set up early 2000s enabled by eldest son's network of local buyers and daughter's experience in production. Eldest brother manages import; sister the rice cracker factory; eldest and youngest brothers the jelly factory; father fixes the machines. Eldest brother and sister are owners.	A cousin co-invested in (and co-owns) the jelly sweets factory, and they rented factory land (for cheap) from another cousin.	The children of a great-aunt in Bangkok (where the eldest brother lived for a while) provided contacts for importing nuts and candy in 1990s.	Eldest son bought nuts and candy (for import) directly at factories in Bangkok, owned by Thai Teochiu.	Packaging material and raw materials bought from Chinese and Vietnamese Chinese suppliers.
4	Mother used the money made from producing and selling rice wine as start-up capital to venture into petty trade in the 1980s. Mother manages and owns most firms (including businesses in import and wholesale of commodities (1983>), hotel, real-estate development, logistics, producing drinking water (1996>)). Son in high management position in import business.	In 1980-83, mother produced and sold rice wine together with her mother and siblings. Mother's sister currently manages one subsidiary.	Mother is in contact with Malaysian and Singaporean members of her family name association who want to invest in projects.	Mother ventured into trade between the South coast, where a Singaporean Teochiu delivered goods by boat, and Phnom Penh. In the 1994, mother teamed with him to distribute alcoholic beverages. He provided credit for start-up phase (and owns the firm). Also, diversification enabled through mother's prominent position within the local (largely Teochiu) business elite.	Professional (ethnic Chinese) managers from Malaysia hired for various positions. Import connections with ethnic Chinese around Southeast Asia.
5	Hotel construction (1998) partly financed by father's savings (from when he worked as a hotel employee). Parents own and manage their hotel (children are still young), as well as another hotel across the street that is owned by an elder sister who lives in Australia.	Hotel construction enabled by money, labor and bricks from mother's siblings (two of whom own brick factories), and by land inherited from mother's father (who produced sausages in the 1980s and had bought plots of land in the city).	Children will in due time go to Australia to live with their aunt or uncle (who fled the Khmer Rouge) and pursue business-related studies.	Suppliers of cleaning products (which they import since 2001) include Thai Teochiu.	Suppliers of cleaning products include ethnic Chinese from Singapore and Malaysia.
6	Parents money (made from petty trade) and shop house to set up computer store in 2000. Involvement of their children in management enabled them to open a second and third store (in 2004 and 2011). Parents are owners, manage the main store and arrange import; daughter and son run the second and third store.	In 1980s, father and his brothers imported commodities at the Thai border, sharing their connections to (Thai Teochiu) suppliers.	n/a	Thai Teochiu supplied commodities and credit during the start-up phase, and in 2000 enabled father to start focusing on the import of computers.	Parents approached suppliers from Singapore and China to diversify their assortment of computers.
7	Father's savings (made from the casino business at the Thai border) used by mother to buy a shop house and set up a bakery in 1986 (together with uncle). Mother is owner and 'background manager' (father and uncle are deceased), eldest son runs the main shop, daughter runs second shop (which they opened in 2009). Import raw materials through younger son's logistics company.	Uncle's and mother's experience in food production and shop keeping (they and their parents produced ice cream before the Khmer Rouge). Two cousins are shop floor managers.	n/a	n/a	The contacts of a younger son with ethnic Chinese in Malaysia used to import machinery and raw materials.

Continued

APPENDIX 2
Continued

Case	Nuclear family	Extended family	Far relatives	Teochiu dialect group	Ethnic Chinese
8	Eldest son headed the state's photo department in 1980s and two younger sons were also employed there. In 1989-92 they bought the photo department (which they rebuild into a photo shop, hotel, and traveling agency) from money made in commodities trade. The three brothers (who co-own the firms) had learned photography from their father (who was photographer before the Khmer Rouge). Now, eldest brother is government official but informally heading the family firms, two younger brothers manage the companies.	Money from extended family members to buy the state's photo department (which was a state enterprise under communist rule in the 1980s). Various family members (spouses, a sister-in-law, the eldest brother's son, and a cousin) help manage the different companies.	They set up the music school and food products import venture in the 2000s with investment from and connections of a niece in Hong Kong.	Commodities import in 1989-92 through Thai Teochiu, who also provided credit. (The brothers bought commodities at the Thai border not for the Cambodian market but for resale at the Vietnamese border).	n/a
9	They used the money made on the import of cheap commodities (early 1980s) to start trading in the more expensive silk and embroidery textile and rent a market stall in a Phnom Penh indoor-market in 1988. Involvement of children in management enabled the expansion from one to two locations (in different indoor markets) in 1995. Father and son run the business at one market, mother and daughter at another. Parents are owners.	Parents 'inherited' connections in domestic silk trade from grandparents (who were rural silk weavers before the Khmer Rouge).	Father visits embroidery textile producers (which as opposed to silk is not produced in Cambodia) in France and Italy on invitation of a relative in France.	Silk suppliers are Cambodian Teochiu from the provinces. Embroidery suppliers are Thai Teochiu. In 1988, father befriended a Thai Teochiu who provided connections (to producers in Bangkok) and credit to start focusing on the import of textile.	They diversified their assortment of embroidery textile by linking up with suppliers from China (and France and Italy).
10	Father made some money on commodities trade at the Thai border in 1980-82, and set up a soya sauce factory in the mid-1980s. Father is MD and owner, son runs the factory.	Most start-up resources (land, raw materials, machinery) provided by mother's brother (who ran the only state-owned soya sauce factory in the 1980s), and allowed them access to his exclusive supply of raw materials from Vietnam. Daughter-in-law helps with Chinese (Mandarin) language transactions.	n/a	Credit provided by Thai Teochiu traders when trading commodities.	Suppliers of raw materials are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. Product improvement through the import of machinery and raw material from Thailand and China.
11	Father's experience in construction and parents' money (made in Canada, where the family sought refuge in 1975) was used to set up a construction firm in Phnom Penh in 1990, and later also a trading firm, land bank, real-estate firm and karaoke bar. Children's knowledge of formal contracting and the English and French languages (from studies in Canada) enabled them to acquire construction contracts from Western investors and donors. Father is chairman / CEO; daughter runs construction firm; four other children each run a subsidiary firm. Parents are owners.	Expertise in construction and connections within Phnom Penh's elite 'inherited' from grandfather (who had owned a construction firm before the Khmer Rouge).	n/a	Suppliers of construction materials were mainly Teochiu from Thailand at first.	Ethnic Chinese from around Southeast Asia supply construction materials and contract them for construction projects.
12	Parents' used money they received at their wedding as start-up capital, and father's expertise in IT, to open a computer repair workshop in 2002. Parents now own and run two computer repair and retail stores (children are still young).	Used the ground floor of grandparents' house as the first workshop/ store. They rent the building of their second outlet (opened in 2011) from a cousin (for cheap).	n/a	n/a	Suppliers of computers are ethnic Chinese from Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong (regular suppliers among them sometimes provide credit).
Pattern across the cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pool resources (money, labor, property, expertise) for start-up of new ventures / expansion / diversification Core management positions (control finances / decision making / contact business partners / stock-keeping) Ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acquisition of resources for start-up (expertise, labor, connections, raw materials and machinery) and, in extension, the rationale for start-up Less central management positions (operations / control of value chain / managing departments or subsidiaries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investments / joint-ventures Supply of consumer goods / raw materials Ideas / connections for diversification Business education of younger generation abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Credit arrangements (to enable start-up) Access to sector networks / associations Supply of consumer goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supply of consumer goods / raw material / machinery Business ideas for expansion / diversification, and (trading) partnerships to develop these ideas

Note: The "pattern across the cases" that emerges in this table mirrors the "aspects of entrepreneurship" column in our inductive framework (Figure 2).