Bounded Emotionality and Polygamous Tradition in an Entrepreneurial Family Businesses in Nigeria

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Abstract
The goal of this paper is to examine bounded emotionality and polygamous tradition in an entrepreneurial family business in Nigeria. We argue that it is essential to consider culture of polygamy among family firms especially in the south west Nigeria. The multiple case method was used to provide valuable insights into entrepreneurial family businesses in Nigeria. To achieve better results, cases were drawn from diverse business sectors like merchandising, manufacturing and consultancy services among the family firms in South West, Nigeria. The paper analyses the limit of bounded emotionality, impact of nepotism and family ties in the polygamous family businesses. The findings reveal that the polygamous tradition has being in existence mostly in Africa for decades, hence, it brings some degree of sensitivity and unison to the family business. Finally, the paper demonstrates the importance of conducting further research on the concept of polygamy in Africa and tis impact on the family business.

Introduction

Family businesses are the dominant form of entrepreneurial organisation in most economies. However, most of the research in this area has been conducted in North America and European countries and less attention has been given to less developed countries such as Africa (Bruton et al., 2008, Khavul et al., 2009). Learning about the dynamics behind the management of entrepreneurial family businesses in Africa sheds light on the challenges that entrepreneurs face in this region. In this paper, we draw on prior literature to understand how entrepreneurs make decisions in polygamous family firms. In the context of Africa, we concentrate on polygamy (having several wives) and highlight how the emotions related to managing several wives and their children as employees influence the entrepreneur's decisions in the family business.

While traditional studies by economists (Coase, 1937), and consequently by entrepreneurship scholars (Schumpeter, 1996, Schumpeter, 1934), focused on maximising the utility function of the firm, recent studies have shifted the paradigm to incorporate the psychological aspects of making firm-related decisions (Jensen and Meckling, 1994). For example, the concepts of the bounded rationality and irrationality of managers are more acknowledged now (Mumby and Putnam, 1992), suggesting that, as human beings, managers' decisions are subject to their emotions, which may lead to deviations from rational actions (Simon, 1987, Simon, 1945). In the same vein, entrepreneurship scholars have studied the emotional boundedness of entrepreneurs to explain the role of emotions in the decision making of entrepreneurial firms

(e.g., Jayasinghe et al., 2008, Jayasinghe and Thomas, 2008). Emotions play an even stronger role in family businesses, where the owners and managers of the firm have to incorporate family and business issues simultaneously (Astrachan and Jaskiewicz, 2008, Zellweger and Astrachan, 2008). However, there is limited research on the role emotions play in decision making in family businesses (Astrachan and Jaskiewicz, 2008, Labaki et al., 2013, Pieper, 2010), especially in developing countries (e.g. in Africa).

Therefore, this paper attempts to identify, and provide an understanding of the nature and determination of, the "psychological" meanings and "emotionality" factors that influence entrepreneurial "rationality" in entrepreneurial family firms in these countries.

Our research contributes to the entrepreneurship and family business literature in a number of ways. First, while the mainstream literature of entrepreneurship views the entrepreneur as an economically rational person detached from emotionality (e.g., Kirzner, 1973), this research reveals situations that deviate from the accepted, dominant 'Schumpeterian legacy' in entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1934, Schumpeter, 1996). Second, the dominant literature on family businesses has been based on family firms in Western countries (Khavul et al., 2009, Smith, 2009). In most developed countries, a family is comprised of a man and a woman and their children. As a result, most of the research on family businesses and the challenges of managing and balancing family and business have been related to single family units of this form. However, in some regions of Africa having several wives is common and, as a result, managing family businesses requires not only the management of the business but also several wives and their children. Our research highlights the concept of polygamy in Africa and the necessity of conducting further research in this context (Bruton et al., 2008). The findings of this research can facilitate the development of a more nuanced theoretical foundation for the field of family businesses (Zahra, 2007). Third, we extend the notion of bounded emotionality to the literature on family businesses, where it has been applied to a lesser extent to date (Astrachan and Jaskiewicz, 2008, Labaki et al., 2013, Pieper, 2010).

This paper is organised as follows: First, we provide a background on the African context of the research. Then, we explain the theoretical framework, followed by the research methodology and findings. Finally, the data are analysed according to the defining characteristics of bounded emotionality theory, which offers some implications for managers.

The African context: Nigeria, polygamy and family businesses

Nigeria

In this paper, we focus on Nigeria, one of the most populous countries in Africa (154.7million), where almost 18% of the continent's total population reside. Nigeria is going to experience one of the highest rates of population growth and fertility in the world between now and 2050. According to a United Nations' estimate, by then, the country will be one of eight countries accommodating half of the world's population (United Nation, 2005). While, in the past, the country's development was hindered by military rules, corruption and mismanagement, the restoration of democracy and recent economic reforms have enabled Nigeria to become the third largest economy in Africa (following South Africa and Egypt) (TheRichest.org, 2011).

Health, health care, and general living conditions in Nigeria are poor, however. Although education is free, the attendance rate for secondary school is only 29%. Lagos is Nigeria's largest city, with an estimated population of 15 million (IRN, 2012). The country is home to more than 250 ethnic groups with different languages and customs. Almost 50% of the population are Moslems, 48% are Christians and a very small minority adhere to other religions (Pew Research Center, 2009).

Polygamy

In the north of Nigeria, which is governed by Sharia Law (BBC, 2003), polygamous marriages are permitted; thus, a man is allowed to have more than one wife, provided he treats them equally (Akpan-Iquot, 2008). In a polygamous marriage, the husband usually lives with the first wife. Other wives, who are usually called "outside wives", live in other homes and the husband moves among them and supports them financially. In these families, outside wives do not expect much from their husbands in terms of companionship, personal care or commitment. Evidence shows that, when a man marries several women, the women are more dependent on each other than on their husband (Akpan-Iquot, 2008). This situation becomes more complex when polygamous wives and children become involved in the family business; this creates the grounds for bounded emotionality over rational imperatives because of the personalised systems and procedures set by the entrepreneurial husband (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, Martin et al., 1998). Thus, the strong ties between the polygamous family members, i.e. husband, several wives and children, create felt emotions within the inter-subjective limits of the large community system, which are then expressed on the basis of bounded emotionality.

Family businesses in Africa

Family businesses are understood differently by different scholars. Cruz and Nordqvist (2012) refer to them as those where the family owns at least 50% of the business. Chua et al. (1999) define them as businesses governed and/or managed with the intention to shape and pursue a vision held by a dominant coalition, where this coalition is controlled by members of the same family (or a small number of different families) in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations. Lucky et al. (2011) state that family firms are businesses that are owned and managed by either the founder or any of his children, but in most cases the eldest or first son. In this research, we adopt the latter definition to study family businesses in Nigeria.

The majority of businesses in Nigeria are family businesses (Onuoha, 2012). Oparanma (2010) examines 143 family firms in Nigeria and reports that family businesses are faced with challenges in managerial, financial, personnel, marketing, and production areas. Onuoha (2012) studies family businesses in the southeast of Nigeria and reveals that most of the businesses do not have a clear vision or mission, rarely send their employees to attend training programmes and have few educated employees. Halkias et al. (2009) focus on the role of female entrepreneurs in Nigeria. According to them, many women engage in commercial activities to supplement their family's income. Khavul et al. (2009) investigate family businesses in East Africa and report that African entrepreneurs not only use both strong family and strong community ties to establish and grow businesses, but also use strong community ties to counterbalance the obligations that strong extended family ties create. Isaacs and Friedrich (2011) point to succession as one of the biggest challenges facing family firms in South Africa. According to them, only 33% of all family businesses can manage succession from the first to the second generation and only 16% can proceed to the third generation. This could be related to the fact that most family businesses in Africa do not have any formal succession planning or governance structures in place. The situation is complicated further when more than one family member is qualified to act as the successor.

Acquaah (2011) investigates the use of managerial networking relationships with social and political entities in family firms in Ghana. Their findings show that networking with government bodies and community leaders has an inverted U-shaped relationship with the performance of family businesses. Hearn (2011) examines the effects of family ownership and influence on board structure, in businesses in the North African region. He found that the participation of family members at the board level facilitated monitoring and reduced the under-pricing of family firms that had recently undergone an initial public offering.

Previous research on family businesses and emotions

Family businesses can be identified as one of the most popular research fields for entrepreneurship scholars. As Daily and Dollinger (1992) maintain, family businesses are different from other businesses because the ownership and control of business interests can infringe on family interests, and hence conflicts can occur quite often. According to them, the challenge for family businesses is that there are two systems - the family and the business - interacting with each other, and these two systems are not necessarily compatible. They are interdependent and disorder in one of them can transmit to the other (Danes et al., 2008, Gersick et al., 1997).

In family businesses, the owner-manager plays the role of steward for the business (Miller et al., 2008) and usually exhibits altruistic behaviour towards the family members (Eddleston and Kellermanns, 2007) and attempts to maximise the family business value by considering the needs of both the business and the family. Therefore, the utility function for a family business entails the maximisation of both financial and emotional value (Astrachan and Jaskiewicz, 2008, Zellweger and Astrachan, 2008). Timmons and Spinelli (2009), for example, stress that family businesses do not act entrepreneurially all the time as they have to consider the family's lifestyle, or they may be required to offer jobs to family members.

Emotions are understood as being positive or negative (Watson and Tellegen, 1985). Positive emotions are pleasant and include happiness and satisfaction; negative emotions include sadness and hostility (Watson and Tellegen, 1985). Researchers' findings suggest that individuals' emotions influence their judgment by serving as a source of information about their environment (Kitamura, 2005).

The role of emotions in entrepreneurial decision making has been studied by a few researchers (Stanley, 2010, Shane and Khurana, 2003). Shane and Khurana (2003), for example, found that entrepreneurs attempting to build a new firm are strongly influenced by their emotions. Stanley (2010) refers to divergent emotional experiences of family and nonfamily firms to explain differences in their respective risk-taking behaviour. Emotions have a stronger impact in family firms where there is a relationship involved between the family and the business (Timmons and Spinelli, 2009, Zellweger and Astrachan, 2008), specifically, where the emotions experienced in the family affect the decisions made in the business and vice versa.

Jayasinghe et al. (2008) argue that, in contrast to the Schumpeterian perspective which views the entrepreneur as a rational person, the entrepreneur's behaviour is in fact affected by their emotions, which may result in "substantively rational" decisions. Grounded on structuration theory (Giddens, 1979) and bounded emotionality theory (Putnam and Mumby, 1993), they explain that the "work feelings" of an entrepreneur are dependent on and also affected by his/her "emotions" stemming from his/her personal background and social/family life. These emotions thus shape the "practical consciousness" and tacit knowledge of an entrepreneur and play a critical role in his/her non-conscious decision making when he/she interacts with others (Jayasinghe et al., 2008, p.249). In particular, Jayasinghe and Thomas' (2008) case study in Sri Lanka provides some useful evidence on how the psychological meanings and moral factors of rural social structures affect micro-entrepreneurship in developing countries.

In the next section of the paper, we explain the bounded emotionality theory upon which this study is built.

Theoretical framework: Bounded emotionality

This research employs the concept of bounded emotionality (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, Putnam and Mumby, 1993). Jayasinghe et al. (2008) and Jayasinghe and Thomas (2008) were the first to adopt this framework (which derived from organisational studies on emotionality) to examine and try to understand entrepreneurial behaviour and practices in developing countries. As defined by Mumby and Putnam (1992, p.474), bounded emotionality is "an alternative mode of organising in which nurturance, caring, community, supportiveness, and interrelatedness are fused with individual responsibility to shape organizational experiences". In contrast with the bounded rationality perspective, which views the entrepreneur as a person who makes rational and calculative self-interest decisions, the advocates of bounded emotionality state that the former perspective disguises the emotional attachments and unconscious motivations of entrepreneurs that may lead to "substantively rational" decisions.

In contrast to Schumpeterian rationality, entrepreneurial decisions based on "substantive rationality" emphasise the degree to which decision making is subject to the ends and needs of specific social groups, and also the institutional environment with which they interact (Weber, 1947). Therefore, the bounded emotionality perspective provides a better understanding of how the family life of an entrepreneur may impact on their business decisions or vice versa.

The concept of bounded emotionality has mainly been used by scholars in organisational studies (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, Putnam and Mumby, 1993). Mumby and Putnam (1992, p.471) define work-related emotions as "feelings, sensations, and affective responses to organisational situations" and explain that emotions are bounded voluntarily to protect interpersonal relationships, while rationality is bounded because of the limited ability of human beings to process information. They understand bounded emotionality through its six defining characteristics as consisting of inter-subjective limitations, tolerance of ambiguity, a heterarchy of goals and values, integrated self-identity and authenticity, community and spontaneously emergent feelings (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, pp. 474-476).

Inter-subjective limitations refer to the emotional limitations in a relationship. In contrast to the rationality approach, bounded emotionality acknowledges that each person's decision making is constrained by his/her emotional attachments. This should be taken into account when attempting to understand a person's organisational experiences. In addition, other organisational members should tailor their behaviours, taking these limitations into consideration.

In bounded rationality, individuals are expected to behave according to rules and systems, so as to reduce organisational uncertainty. According to this approach, the same specified emotions are used in one's relationships with everyone and in every context, and the organisational members use the rules and systems to help them respond to environmental changes. However, bounded emotionality allows for the existence of contradictory feelings that may not necessarily lead to the same decisions and behaviours when interacting with different people. This illustrates *tolerance of ambiguity,* which facilitates the formation of organisational structures that recognise divergent and even contradictory positions among organisational members.

Emotional boundedness acknowledges that there is no single set of accepted values that take precedence over others. Instead, it respects that each individual person has his/her own perspective on the values that should be considered when communicating. While, in the bounded rationality perspective, hierarchical goals and values present a set of universal values that should be obeyed, the *heterarchy of goals and values* in bounded emotionality accepts that decision making relies on goals and values that are arranged in a heterarchy rather than a hierarchy. In this kind of management approach, the entrepreneur allows different values and goals to co-exist, and this leads to a workplace where all members can feel secure and achieve their goals. While bounded emotionality gives room for individual emotions and values, it attempts to preserve the *integrated self-identity* of the organisation's members. In this perspective, individuals are encouraged to express themselves genuinely in their organisations, without feeling a need to falsely state emotions due to work pressures. At the same time, they should understand and respect that the organisation is a place of "linked fates".

Bounded emotionality also gives priority to *community building*. The idea of there being a community between all the members of an organisation is used to promote integrated self-identities. Emotions are used to create a sense of connectedness and solidarity, alongside freedom and diversity. Finally, bounded emotionality allows for the *emergence of work feelings* through organisational tasks and social activities, rather than these being assigned and controlled by the organisation's management.

Applying "bounded emotionality" theory to a Body Shop case study, Martin et al. (1998) reveal the ways in which the employees fragment and compose themselves with overlapping and nested identities, in a context-specific manner, reflecting a diversity of emotional preferences, rather than an "integrated self-identity and authenticity" as is argued by Mumby and Putnam (1992). Martin and Knopoff's (1998) study further reflects that the enactment of bounded emotionality is constrained by the operation of market forces, that is competitors and labour market conditions, as well as by the organisation's size and growth. However, it can be enhanced in any organisation by the existence of a number of facilitating factors, including the presence of more women in the organisational hierarchy, as was seen in their Body Shop case.

Martin and Knopoff's (1998) findings justify the use of bounded emotionality theory in our case study, as we find the active involvement of more women, in particular the owners' wives and children, in various organisational positions in African polygamous family businesses. It is further supported by the suggestion of Jayasinghe and Thomas (2008) that bounded emotionality has obvious relevance to understanding the nature and behaviour of ethnic entrepreneurship and family businesses.

Research methodology

This study is conducted using the qualitative method (Bryman and Bell, 2007), a research strategy that usually emphasises words rather than quantifications in the collection and analysis of data. In this study, qualitative research enables us to use and collect a variety of empirical materials, such as case studies, personal experiences, interviews, self-examination, life history, observations, interaction and visual texts, which describe organisational routines and problematic moments in the individual participants' lives (Neuman, 2006).

The multiple case study approach was used as it closely links empirical observations with existing theories (Yin, 2009). In addition, it reduces researcher bias and increases the chances of building empirically valid theories (Eisenhardt, 1989, Siggelkow, 2007). It systematically analyses complex causal links that take into consideration numerous different factors (Yin, 2009). Another advantage of the multiple case study approach is that it can reveal differences and similarities among the cases and provide a broader picture (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007, Stake, 2005). In order to select cases that would provide valuable insights into entrepreneurial family businesses in Nigeria, purposive sampling was used and priority was given to diverse cases that would reveal more information than average or similar cases (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). As a result, four company cases of businesses working in merchandising, manufacturing and consultancy services were selected from among the family firms in the Yoruba community in Nigeria. An overview of the selected companies and their activities is provided in Table 1.

Table 1 - Description of selected family firms

Description	Case A	Case B	Case C	Case D
Name and core business	Chemist And Supermarket	Printing and Publishing	Bakery and Fast Food	Financial Consultancy
Country of origin/ region/ culture	Nigeria/South West/Yoruba tribe	Nigeria/South West/Yoruba tribe	Nigeria/South West/Yoruba tribe	Nigeria/South West/Yoruba tribe
Year of foundation	1972	2007	1997	2001
Ownership structure	Family ownership	Family ownership	Family ownership	Family ownership
Number of wives and children	2 wives and 5 children	2 wives and 3 children	3 wives and 7 children	3 wives and 4 children
Number of employees	26	7	17	16
Gross profits of the company in 2016	4.8 mllion naira	1.2 million naira	1.8 million naira	2.6 million naira

Data collection and analysis

Data regarding the case studies were collected from multiple sources. Information was gathered from reports published by organisations, such as the CIA World Fact Book, Nigerian newspapers and magazines, websites, and articles in academic journals. In addition to the secondary data, sixteen interviews were conducted with members of the immediate family who worked for the firms and relatives working with them at the firm, in order to substantiate and complete the information gathered to answer the research questions. The semi-structured interview technique was employed, with an interview guide sent to the participants a few days in advance. Face-to-face interviews took place between June and August 2012, eleven in English and four in Yoruba, lasting between 65 and 90 minutes with an average duration of 75 minutes. The interview guide was developed in English and then translated into Yoruba (the language of the community) for those participants unfamiliar with English. For the accuracy of the study, and for transparency, an educated person was also invited to translate the English into the Yoruba language. Some of the participants were interviewed more than once. Permission to conduct the interviews was obtained in advance through connections, from family relatives and friends. This was based on the secretive nature of the culture on any matter relating to the family, especially polygamy, traditional beliefs and the level of civilisation in the community. Only a few educated interviewees allowed the researcher to record the interviews; the others refused. Therefore, the interviewer took notes when interviewing the latter.

Thematic analysis and pattern matching was used to analyse the data. This is a method of qualitative analysis based on participants' conceptions of actual communication episodes; the themes are identified based on recurrence, repetition and forcefulness (Yin, 2009). It is a process that involves working with raw data to identify and interpret key ideas or themes. Bryman (2008) argues that thematic analysis is ideally suited to getting a clear picture of the content of a text. The defining characteristics of bounded emotionality theory (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, Putnam and Mumby, 1993) were used as the theoretical lens for the thematic analysis.

The Cases: Polygamous family businesses from Nigeria

Case A: Chemist and Supermarket

The founder was born into a polygamous family with five wives and 26 children in 1954 in the Yoruba community, in Nigeria. The company was established in 1972 in Lagos as a supermarket, and registered in 1975 with the Nigerian Corporate Affairs Commission. Another branch of the firm was formed in 1982. The company was licensed to run a chemist along with the supermarket in 2004 after fulfilling the necessary requirements for selling medicines by employing a pharmacist. The company has 26 employees. The founder (the husband) married his first wife (born in 1956) in 1976, and his second (born in 1960) in 1984.

The second wife was an employee of the company before marrying the founder, and she retained her position as an accountant afterwards. It should be mentioned that the company was already registered under the names of the founder and the first wife, as directors and owners of the business, before the founder married for the second time.

Case B: Printing and Publishing Company

The founder and the first wife established the business together before the founder married his second wife. The first wife, who works for a bank, took a three-year loan of N550,000.00 (£2,115) from her organisation with monthly repayments being taken from her salary. The husband also contributed his personal savings of N400,000.00 (£1,538) to register the company. The registered directors are the husband, the first wife and her son.

The company has four permanent members of staff and three casual workers. The founder has two wives, who are both still working in different occupations but planning to join the business in the future. The second wife is working for the Local Government Secretariat. The second marriage occurred one year after the establishment of the company. She was a divorcee but, as a friend, gave the founder lots of moral and financial support when needed and introduced him to many of his customers. The first wife was born in 1974 and the second in 1972.

The ownership of a family business created a crisis when the founder married the second wife. However, since neither wife was working for the company and they did not live together, the husband was able to control the situation. However, he is planning to make both the second wife and her first child directors because of her contributions to the success of the company. Culturally, the husband has the power to decide on economic and financial decisions but he sometimes takes the wives' views into account, and carefully scrutinises them and tries to harmonise them for his final decision.

Case C: Bakery and Fast Food

This business started in 1997 when the first wife sold her shares in her late father's property (N110,000 equal to £431) to give to her husband to start a business. The husband started a bakery but was faced with many challenges from competitors. This led him to diversify into the fast food business, including products such as meat pies, chicken pies, fish rolls, and cakes that used the same flours as were used in the bread. As a result, the first wife was put in charge of the bakery business while the husband concentrated on fast foods. The company has seventeen employees, six in the bakery, and five and six respectively in the two fast food operations.

The husband comes from a polygamous family of four wives and has himself married three times. The first wife was born in 1962, the second in 1968 and the third in 1973, and the founder married them in 1988, 1997 and 2002, respectively, the last when the business was already growing. He has seven children. The first wife still manages the bakery section, the second and third the two fast food sections, and the founder's first two children are management staff. The founder decided to involve his wives and children because he believed that this would make the business more successful financially.

All managing directors (husband and wives) of the company participate in the economic and financial decisions of the business under the leadership of the husband (the founder), in order to encourage innovation and development. This is unique to the husband's management style as the culture in fact recognises men as superior over women so business decisions are usually made by the husband, with some contributions from other family members.

Managing several wives has not been easy for this founder, however. For example, there was a serious conflict among two of the wives when they were working together in the bakery before the two fast food eateries were established. The first wife's rules/decisions were not always followed adequately, and occasionally, both wives abandoned their responsibilities when the husband was not around. This problem was partially resolved by changing their schedules so that they worked at different times.

Case D: Management and Financial Consultancy

The management and financial consultancy was established in 2001 before the husband married his second wife in 2003. The idea to establish the firm was born out of entrepreneurial spirit and the determination to be self-reliant after the founder retires from a paid job. The man now has three wives, and four children and all of the wives are participating in the operations of the firm according to their professions. The first wife is a managing consultant, the second an auditor and the third a lawyer, while a cousin serves as company secretary. The first son is studying accounting at university and occasionally participates in auditing services for the company in order to acquire knowledge.

The company has three offices within the city, all operated under the same name. The first wife works at the head office, the second in a separate auditing office and the third in a law office, while the husband oversees all three offices. There are sixteen members of staff, three in the law office, two in the auditor's office and eight at the head office.

The founder has been able to resolve crises among the wives diplomatically, through his closeness to the first wife and her children, rapport and a sense of humour, which has made them quick to forgive any offences and cooperate with the other wives in the business. The husband has learned very well that, if his wives are ignored or not given the required attention, they will collaborate to create tension which may negatively affect the business.

Case analysis and discussion

In this section, we will analyse the bounds of bounded emotionality in the abovementioned polygamous family businesses. The mixture of emotional and rational imperatives was quite evident in the interviews with the owners and family employees (e.g. wives) at all of the cases selected for the study. Our interview findings included many quotes expressing a wide range of emotional topics, such as family bonds, respect for the husband, caring wives and collective happiness, as well as grievances and conflicts between the wives. We will now analyse these issues using the six bounded emotionality characteristics proposed by Mumby and Putnam (1992) and Putnam and Mumby (1993).

Inter-subjective limitations

Based on the theoretical lenses of Mumby and Putnam (1992) and Putnam and Mumby (1993), the individuals in organisations differ in their expression of individual emotions. This has been clearly evidenced in the above cases of African family businesses, as the wives and husbands expressed very different emotional preferences and styles of interaction, such as the wives' expressions of their emotions regarding their husbands and others, and the husbands 'treatment of their wives in regards to business decisions. For instance, the first wife of the owner of the Chemist and Supermarket said:

"It was a very tough experience when my husband married a staff-member of the company as his second wife. Though I was informed of his reasons for marrying her, it was not that easy. I have to cope because my husband has already made me realise that she is not going to be staying with us and she will be useful for the business development. I transfer the love I have for him to our business".

Our evidence suggests that the husbands, wives and their children involved in these polygamous family businesses arrange their task-related interactions in order to suit the others' emotional preferences and limitations. Even though they are married to the same husband, the wives attempt to control and hide their feelings of dissonance. For example, although the first wife is unhappy with the situation, she has control of the family business and knows that this is important for the long-term future benefit and survival of her family and the business. We observed that the interpersonal working relationships with their husbands and the other wives in the work environment had almost become a natural habit. One owner stated:

"My wives' relationships are cordial, especially in relation to the business. We are much more concerned with business affairs than marital affairs. The first wife has superiority over the second wife. In my culture, the first wife is the most recognised and officially considered as the real wife, while the second or other wives are regarded as assistants and subordinates to the first wife. Based on this understanding, everyone knows her boundary".

However, our findings further reveal that there was a degree of sensitivity shown by the wives for their husbands, and in their businesses they had managed to establish common business values even though all had their different priorities and personal values. As the owner of the Bakery and Fast Food said:

"There will be competition to succeed or sustain whatever under the control of each wife, and secondly, every one of them wants to impress her husband through necessary support to the home and the business, and thirdly, they will not want to subject themselves to any financial mess or any disgraceful attitude that culture does not demand".

Tolerance of ambiguity

The above quote in the last paragraph also reflects the tolerance of ambiguity in the work place in African polygamous family businesses. As the evidence suggests, the husbands and wives involved in these Nigerian polygamous family businesses recognise each other's emotions and feelings and often express their motivation to benefit the family and ensure business survival and growth. The husbands appear to understand the feelings of all their wives, while the second and third wives understand the roles their husband and his first wife play in the business. Mumby and Putnam (1992) argue that this tolerance of ambiguity is created when employees experience contradictory feelings and demands from situations that require interaction and support from other actors. Reviewing the succession planning, the owner of the Bakery and Fast Food business continued:

"I and my wives are collectively responsible for working towards the succession of the family firm, which is why we are grooming our children to be educated and entrepreneurial from childhood, to become our successors in the business".

Our interviewees also showed us that, during some family conflict situations, such as between two wives, the tolerance of ambiguity helped those involved to settle their disputes without damaging their personal and business relationships. Reflecting both rational and emotional imperatives, the first wife of the Bakery and Fast Food business made the following comment:

"No woman wants to share her husband, no matter how caring or responsible he is, but for a family business, the onus is on the husband. If he does it well the business will stand; otherwise, it will crash".

The first wife of the owner of Chemist and Supermarket stated:

"The company belongs to the family and presently I'm in charge because my husband is now a politician; he does not have time to stay with us like before, therefore, he is retiring partially. My husband's second wife works along with me harmoniously. We have rivalry. It is unavoidable but understanding and maturity matter most. God knows who will take over from my husband but as far as I'm concerned, the business belongs to the family".

Community building

The quote in the previous paragraph also shows the strong feeling of "community" (Mumby and Putnam, 1992, Putnam and Mumby, 1993) between the owners and their wives in many polygamous family businesses in Nigeria. Even though wives and children in polygamous families who work for their family businesses do not explicitly discuss their family issues at work, their positions and emotional relations within the family have led them to protect their community relations.

Their affection for each other as members of the same family helped them to become a close knit group in the work place. The owner of the Chemist and Supermarket stated:

"My wives have a sense of belonging to the business. I discuss most of the business plans with them to get their advice before carrying them out. They have a strong voice in the decision making but they are risk averse so I will still carry on with some issues which I believe they will be fearful of supporting".

This statement reflects the feeling of community in the Nigerian polygamous family businesses and how the family voices and emotions overlap with the entrepreneurial and business values. The owner continued:

"My immediate family members strongly believe they are stakeholders and the business is our means of livelihood. Therefore, they will not want the business to die. The extended family members will see the business as an opportunity to enrich themselves".

Emphasising the close connection between the polygamous family and business values, he went on to say that *"the polygamous family is an organisation itself and once it can be controlled successfully, the business also will be sustained".*

Confirming the above, the owner of the Printing and Publishing Company stated,

"A family business cannot be separated from the family culture. The word 'family' has a strong influence on the family firm because the [family members] are cultural stakeholders, either by regulation or not".

These excerpts from the interviews show how the emotionality driven by the traditional polygamous family culture in Nigeria encourages the owners and employees (wives and children) of family businesses to form strongly bonded intimate communities, creating a group of employees who are involved deeply with each other and are committed passionately to the work they do.

Heterarchy of goals and values

We observed that the husbands and their different wives reflected different and often contradictory values, even though they were all working towards the success of the business. There were many instances where we found the wives, as employees, to represent quite contradictory goals and values compared to other wives and their husband. For example, the owner of the Chemist Supermarket said:

"It is obvious that every human being is selfish and insatiable. My first wife didn't want a rival and still could not do every aspect of domestic and business duties, while the second wife also claimed equality with her as a wife, forgetting that there is a difference between an official wife and an arranged wife. While my first wife is officially married, and registered as a co-owner of the business, my second wife was arranged for a business deal. The second wife was insubordinate at the beginning of the marriage, didn't want to submit totally to the authority of my first wife, but later she understood why she should be cautious and respectful".

The second wife of the owner of the Management and Financial Consultancy remarked:

"I am the second wife of the family and an auditor of the firm. I observe polygamy as a formal association of people with different interests so the business can work successfully. [There are no] similar personal objectives in business as every human being is self-interested, but [we] work towards the common objective of the business to achieve [our] personal goals. My marital relationship is fair but I married for business not for love".

These pieces of evidence suggest that the owners and wives (as employees) in Nigerian polygamous family businesses reflect more individuated and less generalised ways of respecting a heterarchy of personal and business values in line with their family positions, i.e. first or second wife, and the responsibilities of the business, i.e. company directorship and personal circumstances. This reconfirms the argument of Mumby and Putnam (1992) that "no one set of values take precedence over all others".

Integrated self-identity and authenticity

Mumby and Putnam (1992) and Putnam and Mumby (1993) also suggest that, when looking through bounded emotionality in the work place there should not be any falsely stated emotions, thus all should express their natural emotions. We observed something similar in the polygamous family businesses as we were told that everybody, including husband, wives and children, would meet during dinner, and debate business issues openly, expressing their natural emotions to one another. Sometimes, their conversations would cross the boundaries between business and family and create sensitivity to other persons' subjective states. The owner of the Chemist and Supermarket remarked:

"When it comes to business, we put family aside, but occasionally the second wife arrogates power to herself by acting without consultation which could lead to crisis between them but the first wife is a rational person who always thinks of the future of the business and remembers where it was started".

The owner of the Management and Financial Consultancy said:

"There is a sense of belonging and effective networking among the family members regarding the business happenings. The business unites my wives as it belongs to all of us, so they don't do anything that will bring it down. My first wife always wants peace and harmony because she has more at stake than others. There was a managerial role crisis when my first wife joined the company in 2005 after her retirement from the service but it was resolved through dialogue and understanding".

Even though it is difficult for rational businesses to reinforce a sense of integrated self- identity we found that the historically established polygamous family tradition in Nigeria has managed to institutionalise such feelings of authenticity among the husbands (owners) and wives and children (employees) within this context. The following statement made by the owner of the Management and Financial Consultancy shows the difficulty of creating authenticity in a polygamous family business:

"You have to be too caring and closer to the first wife and her children, frequent rapports and fun so that she will not have much time to think of your offences and other wives. If you ignore her, she and her children will not give you piece of mind. For example, I and my first wife are holding the head office and she is the managing consultant while the other wives are distant. Women criticise each other regularly buta husband must be good listener and rational in decision making".

Spontaneously emergent work feelings

As suggested by Mumby and Putnam (1992) and Putnam and Mumby (1993), work feelings should appear naturally through everyday tasks and should not be assigned. Feelings can and should emerge in a way that is not controlled by the organisation's management or appointed for the organisation's benefit. This has been thoroughly evidenced in the family business cases in our study. The wives expressed more emotional reasons for their involvement in the business than their husbands (the owners of businesses) did, whereas the husbands relied more on the skills and contributions that their wives could bring to the business. The owner of the Management and Financial Consultancy commented:

"All my wives are involved in the business. My second wife was the first partner in the business before we married in 2004 and she is an auditor of the company by profession. My first wife joined the company as managing consultant when she retired from the education service board in 2005, while my third wife is a legal practitioner and legal adviser of the company".

On the other hand, a strong emphasis was placed, in all of the businesses, on informal subjective assessments of wives' and children's performances, rather than on the more formal evaluation procedures that are used in other businesses. For instance, the owners/husbands use their personal judgment and emotional feelings to measure their wives' performance. The owner of the Chemist and Supermarket stated:

"My second wife is very dutiful and hardworking like my first wife. I observed that she would be very resourceful and help the development of the business if I married her. More so, I wished to retain her in the business permanently because she was young, educated and promising".

We observed many examples of the owners/husbands letting their work-related feelings emerge spontaneously without any hesitation, even if it might create opposing reactions and resistance from other wives. The owner of the Chemist and Supermarket continued:

"We all live together but my second wife is in a separate apartment of the building but the whole family dines together at the weekend only. My second wife always joins us when there is an important issue to be discussed regarding the business but usually I and my first wife do much of the discussion. When it comes to accounting and branch matters, we call her for contributions".

As Mumby and Putnam (1992) stated, this creates a feminist pattern and position of work relations as it fosters a caring community and invites the expression of spontaneously emergent work feelings. However, none of these members take their negotiations to a disruptive level as every one of them wishes to preserve their functional/business rules and the continuity of the family business.

Conclusion

This paper has focussed on an issue that challenges the dominant "Schumpeterian legacy" in entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1934, Schumpeter, 1996). It has analysed the impersonal criteria that entrepreneurial owners might use to make decisions and the restraints on emotional expression by the owners and female employees (polygamous wives of the owners) in polygamous family businesses in Nigeria. Using the bounded emotionality theory (Martin et al., 1998, Putnam and Mumby, 1993, Mumby and Putnam, 1992), the paper has attempted to understand the defining characteristics of their emotional expressions and the resultant "substantively rational" entrepreneurial behaviours they display.

The paper supports the findings in Martin et al.'s (1998) Body Shop case study and also the findings of Jayasinghe and Thomas' (2008) micro-entrepreneurship case study. In particular, it extends the concept of bounded emotionality to the literature on family businesses, and as we reported has been under-researched to date (Astrachan and Jaskiewicz, 2008, Labaki et al., 2013, Pieper, 2010). The paper's findings thus indicate that, because of the presence of a relatively high proportion of female employees, in particular the owners' wives, in various organisational positions, the Nigerian polygamous family business context reflects a high level of bounded emotionality rather than Schumpeterian (Schumpeter, 1934) rational business imperatives, e.g. a heterarchy of goals and values, and community building.

The presence of six defining bounded emotionality characteristics, such as community feelings (e.g. feelings for one's family), and tolerance of ambiguity (e.g. compromising personal rivalries) creates a unique form of "substantive rationalities" (Weber, 1947). The owners/husbands of polygamous families attempt to organise their rational business values and practices in such a way that is consistent with the values, ends and needs of their polygamous wives and children, e.g. putting their wives in various organisational roles, or holding business meetings during dinner. Moreover, the traditional polygamous family traditions and the relatively strong ideological commitments to family and business activities by the polygamous wives and children create "emotionally tied labour relations", such as respect and acceptance of the husband's entrepreneurial decisions and tasks without much debate.

The paper also extends the entrepreneurship literature through its findings from a less developed country (LDC) context, as the dominant literature on family businesses has been based on family firms in Western countries (Khavul et al., 2009, Smith, 2009). Thus, the findings of this paper reflect the usefulness of bounded emotionality theory for understanding the emotional imperatives within closely tied family businesses in developing economies (also see Jayasinghe and Thomas, 2008, Jayasinghe et al., 2008). Finally, the paper demonstrates the importance of conducting further research on the concept of polygamy in Africa (Bruton et al., 2008) in order to develop a more nuanced theoretical foundation and policy making in the field of family business and rural economic development (Zahra, 2007).

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