7 The transmission of labour commitment within families of migrant entrepreneurs in France and Spain

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7.1 Introduction

Studies into 'family businesses' have traditionally revealed the need to link home and business environments (Finch & Mason 1993), highlighting the interaction between family relations and the development of small businesses that require capital and family labour both at their initial stages and in order to survive (Baines & Wheelock 1998; Wheelock & Baines 1998). Indeed, certain authors go as far as to speak of a 'family embeddedness perspective' (Aldrich & Cliff 2003) (see review of this literature by Ram, Sanghera, Abbas, Barlow & Jones 2000; Jones & Ram 2007).

In turn, studies into 'ethnic businesses' have also acknowledged the role of the family as a kind of social capital, within the framework of the ethnic resources that migrants usually resort to when setting up a business. For example, Raijman and Tienda (2003) highlight the way in which Koreans in Chicago have a far greater tendency to open up a business than their Mexican counterparts, due to the differences in access to capital via ethnic and family sources. As Ram et al. (2001) state, most of the literature addressing the issue of the family within the framework of ethnic businesses stresses the fact that cultural differences impact on the business dynamics. Consequently, certain immigrant communities appear to benefit from greater facilities when setting up and maintaining businesses, as a result of solidarity, family ideologies or cultures that promote business activity, as in the case of South Asians (Boissevain & Grotenberg 1987; Boyd 1990; Kibria 1994; Mingione 1999; Sanders & Nee 1996; Werbner in Ram et al. 2001).

However, few studies have addressed the issue of ethnic business within the framework of immigrant household dynamics (Kibria 1994; Sanders & Nee 1996; Ram et al. 2000; Ram et al. 2001; Sanghera 2002). And even fewer have analysed the role of the second generation within family and business relations (Apitzsch 2005; Peace & Hulme 1994; Song 1997, 1999; Ram et al. 2001; Sanghera 2002). Likewise, the analysis of transnational households, from the perspective of family and business strategies, including intergenerational and gender perspectives, has received scant attention.

As pointed out by Catarino and Morokvasic (2005), the issue of

transnational households is often associated in the literature with immigrant men sending remittances to their family left behind abroad, whilst their female counterparts are mainly relegated to the reproductive role or their function as transnational mothers within the so-called global care chain. Other studies still confine transnational immigrant women to family issues, depicting them as persons developing 'maternal strategies', which consist of migrating not only on their own, but also with their children in order to protect them from the dangers they are exposed to in their home countries (Rotkirch 2005). With few exceptions (Parreñas 2001; Oso 2008), the economic contribution and commitment of transnational female-headed households is often marginalised, and their possible involvement in entrepreneurship overlooked. The economic/non-economic nature of exchanges lying within transnational families headed by immigrant women is only very rarely explored. Furthermore, literature on the transnational involvement of the second generation is limited to cultural aspects rather than economic ones. Alternatively, it points to their involvement in professional transnational activities compared with first-generation immigrants (Rusinovic 2008), and seldom considers the commitment of 'transnational children' within their parents' entrepreneurial activities.

The objective of this chapter is to shed light on the transmission of labour commitment within families of migrant entrepreneurs in France and Spain.[1] We aim to examine the factors hindering or facilitating children's commitment, as well as its nature (economic/non-economic). Our research is limited to migrant entrepreneurs and their families, and does not include a comparison with the local population. We intend to highlight several characteristics stemming from the immigration experience. We will therefore define whether family configuration related to the type of migration, as well as the possible transnational dimension of family social mobility projects, affects the nature of exchanges and commitments in the respective businesses.

Our studies, based on the biographical approach, investigated families of ethnic entrepreneurs from an intergenerational and intra-generational perspective.[2] This methodological approach is innovative; in the field of migration studies, research into families has consisted mainly of reporting either on relations between couples (bicultural couples, polygamy and forced weddings) or intergenerational relations (socialisation, cultural transmission and social mobility), seldom combining an intergenerational and intragenerational perspective. Besides, general research into the family or that focusing specifically on immigrant populations has often been limited to the study of just one of its members. Very few studies offer numerous or diverse accounts or narratives, failing to contrast the perceptions of various family members by interviewing several members of the same family. Those that have done so focused mainly on interviews

with adult children, offering intragenerationally divergent accounts – namely between siblings – relegating intergenerational accounts to a secondary level (Song 1998, 1999). Very few have explored relations between couples and generations, with sibling relations occupying only a very minor role (Aquilino 1999).[3]

We will begin by presenting some theoretical reflections related to the types of exchange. Secondly, we will discuss the nature of relationships and exchanges/circulation of goods and services in family businesses, and more particularly pose the question as to whether these are economic or non-economic. We will then provide some examples of gift/counter-gifts or economic exchanges within family businesses. Following from this, we will attempt to determine more precisely whether certain aspects of immigration affect the nature of exchanges[4] and commitments in the respective businesses. Finally, the chapter assesses the impact of children's labour and their sense of ethnic belonging. The conclusions identify various factors that influence the sense of indebtedness and commitment felt by the children of immigrant entrepreneurs.

7.2 The nature of exchange and a space for economic and non-economic relations in family businesses

The 'shift away from [...] "non-market" work in the advanced economies and towards work conducted under market-based relations' is seen as being so widespread that some scholars predict the end of non-market relations and activities (Williams 2004: 438). But non-market relations still exist, not only as remnants of traditional societies. One option, suggests Williams (2004: 444), has been to view them as 'resistance to marketization' and a source of 'human agency'.

The circulation of goods and services in families is governed by rules that differ from market logic or state logic. In his book *Le Don, la dette et l'identité: Homos donator versus homo oeconomicus*, Godbout (2000) claims that a) the market's prevailing characteristic is the principle of equivalence and profit in exchange relations, whereas b) the state's characteristics are authority, law, the quest for equality and justice and c) social networks such as the family are dominated by the notions of gift and debt. Godbout posits that in the market, there is no obligation between two partners except to honour the market contract. Conversely, in a family, each member is embedded in various interrelated relations and obligations.

As literature has shown, the family business acts as a continuum between the spheres of production and reproduction, where personal relations are a mixture of family and business matters (Baines & Wheelock 1998; Wheelock & Baines 1998). In some cases, the involvement of family members in the business can be seen as a gift, as in Mauss' perspective.

> For Mauss, a gift is any object or service, utilitarian or superfluous, transacted as part of social relations, as distinct from more purely monetary or material relations. This departs from conventional usage in that it includes labour, which can be a gift (just as it can be a commodity), although it is not normally a present. (Carrier 1991: 122)[5]

Godbout asserts that the gift serves to produce and reproduce social relations and, together with Caillé, offers the following definition that we have translated into English: 'we qualify the gift as the provision of goods or services, with no guarantee of being paid back, in order to create, sustain or recreate social relations among people' (Godbout & Caillé 1991: 32; Caillé 2005). This does not necessarily mean that people do not expect anything in return when they give something, but instead that this payback act is uncertain. From Godbout's perspective, one has to understand the meaning of the gift for people. Not only goods and services are provisioned, but they also involve the circulation of feelings such as hate and love (Godbout 2000).

In specifying the characteristics of family members' commitment and labour in family businesses, we have attempted in our research to answer questions such as: What is the basis for family members' commitment to the ethnic family business? What is the nature of this commitment? Are relations between business family members embedded in gift and counter-gift processes? How do family members perceive their commitment? Do family members present their commitment and labour as given freely or as part of a debt that must be repaid? Is there a perceived growing influence of the economy in family business relations? Are relations between business family members governed by notions of interest? Of justice and equality? Of gift and debt?

If these questions are applicable to a group of entrepreneur families, our analysis would be characterised by an attempt to identify the impact of migration on the family dynamics of small entrepreneurs, also seen from the transnational perspective. We therefore pose the question as to how migration and transnational relationships may influence family, as well as business relations and labour commitment among children. An additional factor for consideration is the way in which the children's commitment may shape ethnicity.

7.3 Examples of exchanges in family businesses: From non-economic to market relations

Based on data obtained from our field-work, we have managed to identify several types of exchange within the framework of immigrant en-

trepreneur families, dominated to a greater or lesser extent by non-economic or market relations. The intention is not to offer an exhaustive list, but instead to shed some light on the variety of cases encountered.

7.3.1 Debts and gifts

Some children perceive or present their labour in the family business as a kind of 'counter-gift' in order to repay a 'gift': their parents incurred debts in order to pay for their migration and settlement; they made sacrifices for them; they financed their children's costly education, etc. In their narratives, children either mention the sense of obligation they feel to return a 'gift' or express that their involvement is of their own free will.

Gilda's case in France exemplifies the 'having to return a gift' type. She is the second of three children. Gilda always felt that she had received less affection and care than did her elder disabled sister and younger brother. In compensation, her parents financed her expensive private higher education, which has enabled Gilda to distinguish herself from her siblings. This 'privilege' is a source of conflict between the siblings, and for Gilda, one that requires a counter-gift. Faced with parental discourse regarding the equal treatment their children have received (in terms of what has been 'given' to them), but portrayed by her siblings as the most privileged child, Gilda felt that she had to repay this 'advantage'. Instead of her brother, she therefore worked at her mother's restaurant on weekends, while completing her higher education. She considers this to be compensation for the fact that her parents financed her studies. Our informant believes that work in her mother's restaurant has installed in her a sense of labour ethics and responsibility that her brother and sister do not share. Unlike her siblings, Gilda is proud of not having resorted to her parents' social capital in order to obtain a job. Gilda likewise openly criticises her sister who, despite being married with children, continues to rely on her mother, Flores, for help with the domestic chores and financial support. Helping out in the family business – 'having to return a gift' and feeling that she has repaid or inverted a debt – has finally had an empowering effect on Gilda, giving her a sense of self-esteem. Gilda, who wishes to become independent, assures us that unlike her brother and sister, she doesn't expect anything from her parents. This reveals that after having worked in the family business, she now seeks to loosen the ties binding her to her parents.

The sense of moral obligation towards their parents and of a gift/counter-gift relation can also be detected in the discourse of several children of Spanish migrant returnees.[6] Susana's parents returned from Germany with sufficient capital to set up a business, and they opened a tapas bar in A Coruña. The help of their eldest daughter proved essential, due to the lack of stability of this small enterprise. As our informant told

us, the catering business is highly dependent on its clientele, which varies considerably during the course of the year; some months are better than others. The help of sons and daughters at the busiest times allows the family to save on having to hire a third person, whom they would have to pay all year. In Susana's case, the opening of the bar coincided with the return and the start of a new migratory process. At the time, our twelve-year-old informant was old enough to help out with the family business. Her position in the family life cycle, as well as the situation in the migratory and business life cycles (the recent return and opening of the business), meant that she was directly involved in the success of the business. Her younger brother was less involved because he was still too young to take on the type of responsibilities assumed by his elder sister. Susana's parents never asked her directly to help out with the business, but she felt obliged to lend a hand when she realised the sacrifices her parents were making for their children.

> ... you see your parents working, and in the catering business this takes up loads of time; they've been working sixteen hours a day for the last fifteen years, and you either decide to lend a hand or get out of there because you can't bear to see it. They pay for your studies. So I decided to help out. You save on having to pay an employee at the busiest times [...] My parents never force me to help out, but they come out with the typical sermon: 'Where do you think the money comes from? We feed you, where do you think those trainers come from?'

Susana is highly aware of the sacrifices her parents made when they migrated to Germany, and the harsh conditions they were forced to live under. It's possible that this feeling of indebtedness is heightened by her parents' migratory experience. Our informant's narrative reveals the way in which parents also tend to blame their children – an attitude also perceived by Song (1999) – which, in turn, heightens the children's sense of commitment.

Susana combines this feeling of obligation with a discourse expressing how family responsibilities have limited some of the choices she has had to make in her life. She had to opt for a university degree course that she could take where her parents live, so as to continue helping out in the bar; in daily life, she had less leisure and free time than her friends due to the family business. She was unable to travel abroad to complete the academics she wished to pursue, for example, Erasmus grants, language skills acquisition, postgraduate studies. It would appear that being the eldest child also heightens the sense of responsibility towards the family, a sense that, according to our informant, is not shared by her brother.

> My brother is the typical Spaniard: spoilt, materialistic, someone who lives his own life and wants everything done for him. He uses the business as an excuse for not studying; he says: 'I can't study because you make me work.' He helps out a bit, he washes the dishes, serves a couple of coffees, cleans up a bit and goes home. It's always me who's left to do most of the work.

Susana thought that her brother would eventually take over the responsibility she was forced to take on, but this sense of duty is not so strong in the youngest child of the family. As a result, Susana, even though she is currently in a work position that keeps with her qualifications, is unable to break the ties she has with the family business, and continues to work in her parents' tapas bar. The case of Beatriz and her mother, Elisa, clearly illustrates the existence of intergenerational debt and obligation chains (Bloch & Buisson 1991). Beatriz came to Galicia with her mother Elisa, at age sixteen. Elisa was the daughter of Galician emigrants. She was born in Buenos Aires, where she married and had two children, and worked in the offices of a pharmaceutical company. At age 38, her marriage broke down. This separation, combined with the severe economic crisis in Argentina, led her to migrate to Spain. She arrived in Galicia in the year 2000, accompanied by Beatriz. She worked in domestic service for four years until she was able to set up her own business, a bar-restaurant. Mother and daughter both took part in a shared migratory and business project. Elisa worked in domestic service until her daughter completed her secondary education. The fact that Elisa delayed setting up her business to enable her daughter to complete her studies constitutes a gift that generates a feeling of indebtedness in Beatriz. When Elisa then decided to set up a business, her daughter's involvement in the project for this new family business was essential. Whilst her mother was busy running the bar-restaurant, Beatriz worked in domestic service. Her salary provided a regular income for this family unit comprising mother and daughter. Beatriz also helped out with the business after work, thereby relinquishing the opportunity to find a job in keeping with her qualifications whilst the business got off the ground, a sacrifice constituting a gift for her mother. Her sense of obligation and duty towards her mother are clearly perceived from her discourse. In turn, her mother expresses a certain sense of regret that her daughter was forced to go out to work cleaning other people's homes. Yet they both employ the same argument: it was the mother who made the sacrifices whilst Beatriz was finishing her secondary education, and now it's the daughter's turn to make those sacrifices in order to keep the business going. By working in domestic service and thereby helping her mother, Beatriz is to some extent repaying her debt yet, in doing so, her mother also experiences feelings of indebtedness, as she is now, in part at least, financially dependent on her daughter.[7]

The case of Hua Zhou in France exemplifies the type of the gift as a sign of free will and as resistance to the marketisation of society and its threat to the family. Hua is the eldest of four children; she and her sisters were regrouped in France by their parents at an early age. Hua had to assume several responsibilities such as replacing her mother in the private sphere before the opening of the establishment, taking care of her siblings, whilst the parents worked and saved in order to be able to open their own shop. As her parents have limited French language skills, she also took on the role of intermediary and translator both before and after the business opened, as well as mediating between her parents and younger siblings who only speak French. In addition, she initially showed the highest degree of commitment to the family business, representing what Song (1999) refers to as 'an integral child'. Hua does not consider working for her parents an obligation, but rather a positive action for the well-being of her siblings and a way of creating bonds within the family. She perceives her 'help' as normal and not a 'proper job', although she does employ the word 'work' in her narrative (and more specifically when she denounced her siblings' laziness to stress the idea of labour). She emphasises the perversion of monetary relations throughout her discourse. She also denounces the perversion of capitalism in the Chinese migrant community, in general and, more recently, on Mainland China. An indication of her defence of non-economic family relations appears when she interprets the difference in the way Chinese children in China and Chinese children in migration are treated. In China, the single-child policy and lack of social security make children unique and cherished persons. In migration, having several children and being able to provide them with medical care has an impact on parents' use and misuse of children's labour or involvement (i.e. being more intensive and exploitative, thereby making it comparable to real work). In the latter scenario, children are considered as a kind of 'means' or 'merchandise'. It is capitalism, exploitation, consumerism and abuse in all of its forms that Hua violently criticises. In this perspective, children help out, but they should be rewarded by being afforded respect. Hua's expectations in compensation for her labour and commitment in the family business are her family's respect for her private life.

7.3.2 Work in the business as a market relationship

Other children perceive their contribution to the ethnic business as work performed within the framework of a market relationship and this can be a source of 'misunderstanding' or mismatch in reciprocal expectations between parents and children and with regard to the nature of exchange within families. Mr. Touzani worked for several years without a real salary in a French bakery; in exchange, he was given the bakery by the French proprietor. He wanted to reproduce this kind of exchange with his son,

Afif, who is the only child living with him in France, as his other children stayed behind in Morocco. In his eyes, his child's low-paid labour will be repaid later by the transmission of the business. Afif presently rejects this idea, as the profits generated by the business tend to be invested more in the social mobility of his siblings back in the country of origin than in his own in France. He would rather establish a business relationship within the enterprise, with the assignment of a regular substantial due salary or a sum of money that would enable him to build a house in Morocco. According to Lobet (2006), who has carried out research into the transfer of family businesses in Wallonia, if, as Mauss states, the gift must be received and passed on, the company that has been inherited must necessarily be handed down to the descendents. This gift to descendents is therefore reciprocal to the ascendant family members or the giver.[8] Afif appears to be prepared to refuse this gift, thereby breaking the chain of transfer for the family business.

7.4 Intergenerational and intra-generational relationships, gender and family life cycle

Another point for consideration is that children gradually modify their perception of their labour and commitment. Children may implicitly or explicitly accept or even defend the logic of offering their labour as a gift/counter-gift within the family business. At a certain age, however, they aspire to engage in a relationship in waged labour or continue their studies. Liu-Mei, Hua's sister, recounted: 'At the beginning, it was good because I adore being in the shop, customers are always friendly, as we were little girls, people always thought we were cute little darlings.' Her elder sister's narrative also gave the impression that Liu-Mei and her younger sister were having fun in the business. She says, 'At the beginning, they came to the takeaway really just to have some fun: I come, I eat a little, there are drinks everywhere; there are *nems* [referring to a type of spring roll] everywhere. So coming to the shop was more like a game, like tasting lots of different dishes…' Yet when Liu-Mei grew up, she felt the need to have external social relations and to work part time outside the family business, claiming that the business represented a kind of millstone around her neck ('*un boulet*').

Conflicts can occur between adolescents' personal and business lives, sometimes fuelled by deception, thereby altering their perception of commitment. Hua, who was the most committed child to the family business, left home and is now secretly living with her French boyfriend for fear that her father could never accept him. She nostalgically recalled how she and her father used to spend a lot of time together, how the unique ability to speak both Chinese and French made her a precious mediator

between the family and French society. Hua served as an adhesive for the family, like the very substance her father had once spoken about when patiently explaining how to use a tube of glue to paste things together. Glue provided an apt metaphor, thus, for the intimacy they shared – father and daughter had been 'stuck' together. Yet, Hua was forced to break the relationship after her father treated her disrespectfully, showing distrust and being overly controlling of her private life. Hua suggested that she would have liked to 'glue' their relationship back together again, though she also expressed bitterness at her father's failure to achieve the ideal family social mobility: shifting from catering to restaurant ownership. Hua's negative perception is also fuelled by the fact that her father has a drinking problem. She reproaches him for using the takeaway food as a means of financing his love of gambling, thereby commodifying family relations as well as his children's sense of commitment.

Indeed, the interviews reveal several underlying or direct intergenerational conflicts, which may impact labour commitment and which appear for several reasons. Firstly, expectations may vary between parents and children regarding the latter's sense of commitment to the family business. Whilst Gilda worked for several years in her mother's restaurant to return a gift, Flores, her mother, expresses disappointment at the fact that her children – Gilda, in particular – fail to help her with the domestic chores and, like her husband, fails to provide emotional support, affection and social acknowledgement. Flores obtains the social acknowledgement she lacks in her private sphere from her restaurant, where her customers express their interest and where she has consolidated her role as *maitre*, imposing her rules of order and hygiene – something she fails to achieve in her domestic space. Flores would like Gilda, who currently works full time in her own field, to help out with the family business when she's at home (carrying out tasks such as typing and printing out the restaurant menus). In Flores' discourse, Gilda's debt does not appear to have been fully repaid, or she fails to recognise her daughter's help in the restaurant as a gift/counter-gift. Flores explains that 'Up till now, Gilda was like a bottomless sack we simply poured money into. We don't regret financing her studies, but I'd like her to realise that now she should help me out a bit, even though it's just at home…' On occasion, children perceive their commitment as work, unlike their parents, who see it as a gift (as in the case of the Touzani family).

Secondly, and as shown by Gilda's and Flores' examples, other more general disappointments appear, related to family exchanges and relations and associated with the business. Some mothers are saddened by their frustrated attempts at guaranteeing their children's social mobility, blocked by events such as failure at school, as we will see later on in the case of the mother of Ricardo, Toni and Alejandra. Some children also refuse to become involved in the family business if it fails to meet their

expectations (in the case of Hua and her parents, the lack of opportunities to upgrade from takeaway food to a restaurant, where conflict arises between Hua and her father; an absence of the formal aspects of the business, as we will see in the case of Diana and her mother; or Toni and Ricardo's failure to value the type of business their mother runs). These narratives will further reveal the children's sense of disappointment when they fail to receive a counter-gift that meets their expectations (in the case of Hua, respect for her private life).

Intra-generational conflicts essentially arise from issues of inequality and injustice. For example, Gilda's brother and sister focus on the lack of equality in their parents' intergenerational redistribution (their narratives describe Gilda as being in a privileged financial position within the family, as their parents have financed her expensive studies). In order to repay this debt and silence this criticism, Gilda feels obliged to work in her mother's restaurant on weekends (a counter-gift for the gift of being able to simultaneously undertake expensive courses). In turn, Afif appears to resent being the only member of the family who has not been able to continue his studies (he is the only one that continues to work in his father's business – all his siblings are studying). Conflict between siblings also arises due to their varying degrees of commitment. Although this conflict is not limited to brother-sister relations, and despite the fact that we were unable to interview a sufficiently large number of sons, the daughters of immigrant entrepreneurs seem to show a greater sense of indebtedness and a higher level of commitment as well as a greater tendency to create non-mercantile relations within the framework of the family business. These daughters (Hua and Liu-Mei, Gilda, Susana and others whose narratives are not mentioned in the text), stress the lack of commitment shown by their brothers to the family business and their scant involvement in domestic chores. Another factor that can be determined from the study of immigrant entrepreneurs, which explains the degree of the sense of indebtedness, is birth order within the family. The elder children generally appear to develop a greater sense of commitment in comparison with their younger brothers and sisters.

Beyond the intra-family dynamics, characterised essentially by relations of solidarity and competition, which may lead to a mismatch in reciprocal expectations, it seems that migration, family type and the transnational issue also play a role in the nature of intergenerational exchange and children's sense of commitment to the family businesses. The type of exchange relations established within the scope of immigrant entrepreneur families can indeed be specifically affected by the nature of the family, within the framework of the migratory process (transnational, reunited, female-headed households or nuclear families, etc.), as well as by transnational practices. We will now go on to look at the influence these factors have.

7.5 Deciphering the effects of transnationality on children's commitment to family businesses

7.5.1 The influence of transnational parenthood on the nature of children's commitment

The specificity of the Spanish case – when compared with that of France – means that far more frequently than in France, we find businesses set up by female-headed households, by women who migrated alone, sometimes leaving behind their children and/or spouse in the country of origin. For instance, women from Latin America play a particularly relevant role, due to their position as pioneers within the migratory chain. For many of these women, the setting up of a business represents the only means of escape from the labour niches traditionally reserved in Spain for immigrant women, such as domestic service. In contrast to France, strongly feminised labour immigration flows are found in Spain. Dominican immigration has traditionally been predominantly female. In 1996, women made up 77 per cent of the total number of Dominicans in Spain. Peruvian and Colombian immigration has also traditionally had a strong female component (in 2001, 61 and 60 per cent of all Peruvian and Colombian immigrants in Spain, respectively, were women), although the data available in 2008 show a greater balance between the genders; 58 per cent of Dominicans were women, 51 per cent of Peruvians and 55 per cent of Colombians (INE, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes 1996-2008).[9] In the case of Ecuadorian immigrants, these data also reveal a greater balance between the genders in 2008 (51 per cent), although the exploitation of the data for valid work permits carried out in 1995 showed that 64 per cent of the total number of Ecuadorians in possession of a work permit were women (Oso 1998: 130).[10] In France, despite the predominance of women among some flows (East Asian, America and Oceania, new EU members (INSEE 2005)) as well as the growing migration of women migrating alone – or at least their higher visibility, as increasingly pointed out by literature (Moujoud 2007; Musso 2007) – female migration still seems to be predominantly family-based. This is true even among recent flows or those who have recently acquired legal status; women who are also less likely than their male counterparts to enter the labour market a certain number of years after migrating (Algava & Bèque 2008).[11] Differences related to migration characteristics between both countries are reflected in the characteristics of ethnic business entrepreneurs. In France, the economic migration of women on their own is still not as widespread as in Spain, and it is more likely that ethnic businesses will be family businesses run by a couple or a man. What are the characteristics of relations between children and mothers in families where women are the heads of the transnational household and also in charge of a business?

Parents' difficulty in exerting authority over their children or the existence of a gradual distancing in parent-child relations was signalled in the case of transnational parenthood – mostly motherhood: in other words, the case of mothers who migrate and leave their children behind in the care of domestic servants or female family members (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997; Parreñas 2001). According to Parreñas (2004: 47), some of the children left behind in the Philippines resolve the emotional insecurity this causes them

> by viewing migration as a sacrifice to be repaid by adult children. Children who believe that their migrant mothers are struggling for the sake of the family's collective mobility, rather than leaving to live the 'good life', are less likely to feel abandoned and more likely to accept their mothers' efforts to sustain close relationships from a distance.

The narratives of the Latin American families we interviewed in Spain indicate that the pattern detected in these studies in terms of distance in parent-child relations and the difficulties these mothers experience in exerting their authority tends to be repeated in transnational households headed by a woman who emigrates, leaving her children behind in the country of origin for several years.

To what extent could transnational distance impact children's sense of commitment to the business? How does the fact that some of these children are left behind in the country of origin for considerable periods of time and separated from parents affect labour commitment? Song's study (1999) reveals that children born in Hong Kong and separated from their family may experience a greater sense of commitment towards the family business than children born in Great Britain. However, and in contrast to the findings of Song, our field-work reveals that in the case of Latin American families, children born in the country of origin do not feel a stronger sense of commitment to the family business. Indeed, quite the opposite is true. Alejandra, divorced, with one daughter, arrived in Spain in 1989. She left her daughter behind in the care of the child's grandmother – a separation that lasted two years until Alejandra was able to bring her to Spain. Following several difficult experiences in live-in domestic service, and once she had obtained her 'papers' (i.e. a legal status), she managed to get by with various cleaning jobs paid by the hour and by setting up an informal home-based business making traditional Dominican cakes and pastries. The business went well, but she was unable to obtain the permits required by the local authority in order to open her own premises (a coffee and cake shop) and thereby formalise her business activity.

Raquel, separated, and a mother of three, arrived in Spain from the Dominican Republic in 1990. After working in paid employment in the

food and beverage industry for four years, and a year following the re-grouping of her children, she managed to set up her own business, and today she is the owner of two bars.

The relationship between our interviewees and their children as well as the latter's involvement in the business is dictated, to a large extent, by the circumstances surrounding migration and 'transnational relations'. Both Alejandra and Raquel have lost authority over their offspring, who have been brought up by their grandmothers. In addition, their plans for the social mobility of their children have failed.

One of the reasons that led Alejandra to migrate to Spain was her hope that Diana, her only daughter, would be able to go to university. However, when Diana joined her mother in Spain, at the age of sixteen, she found it hard to integrate into the school system, as she was the only black person in the school. In addition to these difficulties, another factor influenced Diana's integration in Spain: getting used to living with her mother again. Although they had only been separated for two years, the mother's status as the head of the single-parent family had built up a barrier between mother and daughter prior to migration. Alejandra was forced to work outside the home all day in order to be able to support the family. This situation was then followed by her departure.

> My mother was always working and only came home to sleep. The truth is that I really grew up with my grandmother. So when I arrived in Spain I not only had problems in adapting to the country, but also in getting used to living with my mother. At the time, I hardly knew her. When she was in one country and I was in another we used to get on really well. But when we're both in the same country, we clash a lot.

At the age of eighteen, and on completion of her secondary education, Diana decided to go back to the Dominican Republic, against the wishes of her mother. 'I think I went back because I didn't want to be with my mother,' she said. She met a boy whom she married just two weeks later, thereby putting an end to her mother's plans for the upward social mobility of her daughter through education. She went on to have two children. A financial crisis brought her back to Spain, forcing her to leave her husband and children behind and turning into a transnational wife and mother herself.

> I hope that my children will be able to study here in Europe [...] before I got married, I would never have come back to Spain on my own. But when you've got children, you have to think about them. Just like my mother did, history is repeating itself. My mother came over here, and suffered terribly at having to leave me behind. Perhaps God is now making me pay for the things I did.

Diana is currently working as a paid employee in a telephone booth business. She doesn't want to work in her mother's business due to its precarious and informal nature. If her mother managed to open a coffee shop, then she would be willing to work there serving the customers. However, she has no desire to work informally decorating cakes, and on her days off she prefers to rest rather than help her mother with her cake business. Furthermore, Diana is reluctant to join her mother's business because this time she is in Spain with a business and family migratory project of her own: to regroup with her husband and, between them, to save up in order to bring over their children and set up their own business.

The relationship between Raquel and her seventeen- and eighteen-year-old children (the youngest is eleven and therefore still at school) is even more conflictive than Alejandra and Diana's. Raquel's entire life revolves around her bar. She has no particularly happy memories, especially ever since she was joined by her children. She claims that it would have been better if they had never come to Spain, due to the type of relationship this situation has generated.

Ricardo and Toni arrived in Madrid, aged twelve and thirteen. As in the case of Diana, they had difficulties integrating into school life.

> The kids called us 'niggers', so we would hit them so they really would have something to call us, those fucking niggers [...]. So we started skiving off and getting kicked out. In the end we left school.

Today neither Ricardo nor Toni study or work, nor do they offer their mother the help she expects with the domestic chores.

> I've done nothing for the last year, just hung around. Housework is for women, we're male chauvinists.

Contrary to their mother's wishes, our interviewees refuse to work in the bar.

> My mother is really mean, she doesn't give us anything, buy us any clothes or anything; that's why we don't want to help out with the business. We used to work, when I was twelve, but not anymore.

Ricardo and Toni believe they have just three choices for their future. The first is to go back to the Dominican Republic.

> If my mum sent me 300 or 400 euros a month, bought me a house and a car then I'd go back. I'd be able to live like a king, lend people money, buy a gun and make sure I got my money.

The second option is to migrate to the United States, where their father, who left them when the eldest was just a year old and the youngest hadn't even been born, now lives. The third option is for their mother to set them up in a clothing store.

> My mother should set up a clothes store for me and then I'd do all right. The best thing is to have your own business, be your own boss. I don't want anyone fucking me about and telling me what to do. That way I could go to the States to buy clothes to sell here.[12]

We can observe that the experiences of Alejandra's and Raquel's children share certain similarities. Difficulties in integrating into school life on arrival in Spain at a critical age (between twelve and sixteen), plus a rebellious attitude towards their mothers – the heads of transnational households who have failed to maintain their authority and whose expectations for the social mobility of their children have been frustrated. Families are affected by the physical separation and the barriers that are built up as a result of separation over a period of time, due to the many hours their mothers, as heads of single-parent households, are forced to spend working outside the home. The result is that Raquel's and Alejandra's children feel no sense of obligation towards their parents and consequently fail to compensate their mothers' efforts by helping them out with the business.

The case of Beatriz, Elisa's daughter, differs considerably from that of Ricardo and Toni. She accompanied her mother when she migrated from Argentina, and at no time have they been separated. As discussed earlier, Beatriz feels indebted to her mother and obliged to help with the family business by working in domestic service as repayment for the latter's efforts to finance her studies in Spain. Their joint migration added to Beatriz's sense of commitment, who sees the business as part of a joint strategy for the family's upward social mobility.

This leads us to pose a series of hypotheses. Firstly, the possibility that transnational maternity and its related problems (loss of authority and control over children), heightened by the lack of time single mothers who are also entrepreneurs are able to devote to their children, leads to the loss of a sense of duty and obligation children feel towards their parents. Children therefore become less involved in the family business and their sense of obligation and duty towards their mothers is far less developed.

Secondly, and as Parreñas points out, in the case of lone female migrants, transnational motherhood requires children to assume non-traditional gender roles within their families. She argues that unlike the descendents of male migrants, the children of migrant women are 'caught within an "ideological stall" in the societal acceptance of female-headed transnational households', to the extent that the family 'does not fit the

traditional nuclear household model' (Parreñas 2004: 49-50). As various research projects have shown, a moralising discourse regarding female migration has appeared in countries, such as Ecuador and the Philippines, with a high percentage of lone female migrants, stigmatising long-distance motherhood and migrant children (Parreñas 2004; Pedone 2006). A second hypothesis is that some of the children of these lone female migrants could be influenced by this moralising discourse, thereby heightening their sense of abandonment and leading to a weaker sense of duty and obligation towards their parents.

Consequently, the children of single-mother entrepreneurs who have experienced transnational maternity would only agree to getting involved in the family businesses if they respond to an attractive business model (a coffee shop for Diana and a US clothing store for Raquel's children). Yet they are not prepared to sacrifice their status or their individual projects for the family business. Their emotional ties and the authority their mothers can exert over them have been affected by two issues: the first is the physical separation (transnational motherhood); and the second is the barriers built up as a result of the limited time single-mother entrepreneur heads of households are able to devote to their families.

We should nevertheless state that while parents may have experienced difficulties in exerting their authority over children and a gradual distancing in parent-child relations due to transnational parenthood (most of the time motherhood – where mothers have migrated and left their children behind in the care of domestic servants or female members of the family (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997)), similar cases can also be found amongst parents running their own businesses who, due to a lack of time, transfer part of their reproductive work to an elder child. Similar cases of gradual distancing or absence of relations between parents and children can also be found amongst former Chinese split families and immigrant parents who, due to a lack of time, transferred part of the reproductive and care work to an elder child, albeit with varying consequences in terms of the children's sense of duty towards the family business. In France, Liu-Mei was raised by her elder sister, Hua, and hardly ever saw her parents – who, as already mentioned, were working hard to save up for their business. Liu-Mei, who is far more committed to the family business than her younger sister, and her brother, explained that through her involvement, she came to know, love and respect her parents whilst working in the takeaway food venue (i.e. the family binding aspect of family business), which is maybe less the case of the other younger siblings. Unlike the previous cases, despite the geographic separation and transnational childhood at early ages, the feeling of abandonment and the sense of loss of duty amongst children seems attenuated, as exemplified by Liu-Mei and Hua's case history. In this example we could also point to a number of explanatory hypotheses. For example, Liu-Mei stresses the sacrifice

made by her parents (who did not abide by the single-child policy), who were prepared to go into debt in order to regroup her, Hua and her younger sister, who arrived in France as a baby. Our informant also highlights the difficulties she experienced in communicating with her parents before the business opened: apart from Hua, parents and children do not speak the same language. These factors, which are absent in the case of Latin American immigrants, together with a clearly stronger sense of criticism directed against transnational Latin American mothers, could explain the lower degree of commitment their children feel. As we have seen, some children of immigrants do not feel obliged or committed to work in their parents' business and are only willing to do so if it fits in with their personal projects for social mobility. This indicates that the nature of the exchange is also affected by the type of social mobility project, in turn, influenced by the transnational dimension, which forms the context for these businesses.

7.6 The transnational dimension within the framework of family social mobility projects and the nature of exchanges

Another factor to consider when analysing the nature of children's commitment to the family business is the transnational dimension of social mobility. Indeed, when compared with those of their non-migrant counterparts, one of the most striking characteristics of immigrant enterprises is that the family's social mobility must be understood within the framework of at least two social spaces (the country of origin and the host country). This aspect occasionally means that the dispersed family (transnational households) benefits from the business in a different manner. Cases may occur whereby some children in the host country are required to occupy a non-mercantile position in the family business, working free of charge or with modest earnings in order to keep the enterprise going and ensure the social mobility of a transnational family. This follows for the above-mentioned case of Afif, of Moroccan origin, who worked for many years in his father's business without receiving a real salary. His father's intention was for his son to inherit the store. On the one hand, Afif was proud that his father wanted him to take over his bakery; he felt his commitment was recognised as he is the only child working in his father's business. On the other hand, he would have rather received money to build his house in Morocco. Probably, Afif felt slightly pressured to make a sacrifice; several times throughout his interview he expressed bitterness at not being able to pursue his studies, unlike his siblings. Thanks to the profits generated by the business in France, his brothers were able to receive an education and their insertion into the education system allowed them to plan their social mobility in the country

of origin, outside the confines of the family business. Yet for Afif, creating a career for himself in France through education is more complex, due to his greater difficulties in integrating into the educational system in comparison with his brothers in Morocco (the French education system is much more demanding, according to him). It is quite possible that faced with his siblings' acquisition of cultural capital as well as social capital through their education in Morocco, Afif would have liked to be able to build financial capital and therefore show off his own achievements thanks to a regularly salary. Afif is therefore not satisfied with the gift-for-gift relation, as it fails to conform to his personal desire for social mobility. Consequently, he currently rejects the idea of inheriting the business.

7.7 The impact of children's labour and commitment on their sense of ethnic belonging

One might ask whether helping out, or a greater commitment, may provide an ethnic community with a sense of belonging and cultural identity, as posited by Song (1999).

In the Zhou family in France, Hua explained that her youngest sister was reluctant to work in the family business. In her narrative, Hua made a distinction between Chinese children and Chinese-European children. Implicitly, she distinguishes between 'us' – the 'good' or 'real' Chinese – and 'them' or 'the others' who are not completely Chinese (such as her youngest sister). And she mentioned the importance of helping out in the family shop in order to establish a good reputation within the Chinese community, an outlook that Song (1999) has already pointed out. Hua's views are a reminder of Song's in terms of some young Chinese seeing their labour commitment as being part of their Chinese identity, while its absence is a sign of the westernisation of these young Chinese people. So through this example and others, it seems that Hua constructs her ethnicity in relation to her participation in the business (she is not 'Chinese-European'). Talking about her youngest sister, Hua claims that:

> She did not want to work at the caterer's! Not at all! I told her: 'Had I said the same thing as you say now, had I not gone to work, would we have made it this far? Being well-off now, having a house, speaking correct French, being fed properly, having a good reputation within the Chinese community? Do you really think we would have made it? Without everyone working hard in the first place?' My sister told me: 'Yes, but we are in France and not in China, we do not act like the Chinese. Here, children do not work.' She is OK, my sister, she has a good attitude, but she often speaks like the... the European Chinese. [...]. Their mentality is very bad. They do not

> understand the value of money, of work, of respect. [...]. Because they have been alienated by the European mentality.

The impact of children's labour and commitment on their sense of ethnic belonging is not limited to Chinese families. For instance, Gilda, the child of Portuguese immigrants who helped out in her mother's business, also explained that her feeling of obligation and commitment was part of her Portuguese culture, which implies the importance of honouring one's debts (just as it is important to keep religious promises). So someone who would not submit to the obligation is implicitly not considered a 'good Portuguese person'. It has already been suggested that among the transnational families interviewed, some of the Latin American children left behind, who were reunited after living for several years with their grandparents, were less committed to the family business and were eager to go back to the country of their birth. In this case, we could conclude that ethnicity is not built up through involvement in the family business and a sense of commitment to the family, as in Hua's case, but instead through the quest for greater contact with the country of origin.

Diana, as already mentioned, decided to return to the Dominican Republic when she turned eighteen, acting against the wishes of her mother. Although her discourse does not include an explicit rejection of Spain, it does explain the difficulties she experienced integrating into school life. When she arrived in Madrid, and as a result of the lesser presence of Latin American immigrants, it was hard to reproduce her ethnicity in Spain, due to a lack of ethnic community spaces (Dominican bars, discos, etc.). This, together with the problems she experienced in getting used to living with her mother, plus her teenaged rebelliousness, drove her to return to her country of origin.

> I didn't fit in at school, the standard of English and maths was really high. I went from being a model pupil to bottom of the class [...] When I arrived here, in 1992, there weren't as many Latins as now. Now when you go out you'll meet five to ten Dominicans. Here, in this area, most of the residents are of Latin American origin. I was the only black girl at my school, it was really hard, and even though I spoke Spanish, I didn't talk like they did, which isolated me, making me feel really terrible [...]. The fact that I was seventeen also made it worse; ever since I was small, my mother has been the head of the household, but she was always out at work, so I spent all my time with my grandmother [in reference to the period before she came to Spain]. It wasn't so much a question of getting used to the country, but to my mother. She was like a stranger to me [...]. I was at a silly age and I didn't want to live with my mother, it was like an act of rebellion.

For Toni and Ricardo, Spain was a disappointment right from the start, as they had thought it would be like the US. As discussed earlier, they had always wanted to live there, where their father resided, considering it more attractive in terms of the fashions and its being a multicultural melting pot. In Spain, as stated above, they experienced educational failures and sometimes racial prejudice, such as being labelled 'niggers', and also got into trouble with the police. All these factors may have influenced their professional and migratory projects. As mentioned earlier, they would like their mother to set up a clothing shop for them, so they can travel to the US to buy merchandise and sell it in Spain. It would appear that the identity of these informants, who are attracted to rap culture, is more the result of their contact with American values than their Dominican ethnicity.

Guillermo, after remaining in the Dominican Republic with his grandmother for several years, failed to adapt to life in Spain and experienced problems at school. In order to overcome these migratory difficulties, he resorted to a 'transnational lifestyle', travelling at least once a year to his country of origin. However, his work as a paid employee in several Spanish companies prevented his spending more than one month a year in the Dominican Republic, which meant that he was continually changing jobs. He decided to get involved in the family businesses (a Dominican and an Ecuadorian restaurant), which provided him the flexibility he needed. Thanks to the family's workshift system, the various family members could spend longer periods in the Dominican Republic. However, Guillermo believes that the catering sector is 'really hard work', and he managed to convince his mother to finance a business in his country of origin (a cybercafé with video consoles), thereby enabling him to spend longer periods in the Dominican Republic. This is an alternative form of reproducing ethnicity different from those described above.[13]

It is clear that the relation between labour commitment to the family business and the reproduction of ethnicity is not lineal. Whilst certain children of immigrants (such as Gilda and Hua), see their involvement in the family business as a way of affirming their ethnicity, others (Diana, Toni and Ricardo), reject the idea of working in their parents' companies, opting instead to build up their identity through greater contact with the country of origin or other countries (e.g. US). A third group (as exemplified by Guillermo) set up businesses in their place of birth, thereby enabling them to spend longer time in contact with their 'roots'.

7.8 Conclusion

To conclude, we would like to recap several of the issues discussed in our chapter.

1. What is the nature of children's commitment to the family business and how do family members present their commitment? The interviews with the children of immigrant entrepreneurs and their parents have revealed the existence of a debt that must be repaid, as in the case of Gilda, Susana, Beatriz and her mother. Secondly, children may perceive a growing influence of money in the family business relations and understand it as a threat to the relationships. Commitment is therefore seen as a gift given freely, as a means of preventing social relations from degenerating into a mere business transaction, as shown by Hua's involvement in the family business. Thirdly, some children of immigrant entrepreneurs perceive their contribution to the ethnic business as work performed within the framework of a market relationship, and seek to establish a business relationship within the enterprise, with the assignment of a due and regular substantial salary or a sum of money, as in the case of Afif.

2. What lies behind the family members' commitment to the ethnic family business? It should be stressed that within the framework of the 'circulation of aid' (which we have opted to term 'commitment'), the giver is 'guided by the needs of the received' (Godbout 2000). In other words, and as discussed by Song (1999), children's commitment is based on their sense of being needed by their parents. Hua, Beatriz and Susana are examples of this: regardless of whether or not they feel obliged to give a gift,[14] they strongly feel that their commitment is – or has been – necessary, thereby strengthening their involvement in the family business.

According to Song (1999), 'integral children' (those who are more committed to the family business, acting as mediators for their parents and carrying out domestic chores) are more perceptive to the fact that their contribution is important for the survival of the family unit. Opinions regarding the usefulness of their contribution vary considerably amongst those we interviewed. Gilda, for instance, does not believe that her work is responsible for the success of her father's taxi and her mother's restaurant, nor does she consider her involvement in her mother's business absolutely essential. Instead, her commitment is the result of a sense of obligation to repay her parents with a counter-gift, within a context where she is seen to occupy a privileged position amongst several givers and receivers (her brother and sister).

The narratives also confirm that labour commitment is influenced by the family life cycle, gender, the siblings' position within the family and intra-family conflict. Indeed, education, insertion on the labour market in accordance with the qualifications obtained, as well as other situations the children encounter during their life cycle (personal relations, etc.), may impact their involvement in the business and lead to a lesser degree of participation. In addition, daughters and elder children seem to be more committed to the family business and domestic chores than the sons and

other brothers and sisters. The individual's position in terms of the life cycle articulated with the migratory and business cycles may provide an explanation for why some children of immigrant entrepreneurs tend to work harder and become more involved in the family business. The children's degree of participation is greater if they are of working age (life cycle) precisely at the time the decision is made to set up, convert or purchase a new business (migratory cycle), which, during its early days (business cycle), may incur debts and require family labour to face financial implications. On the other hand, a drop in commercial activity due to fiercer competition may reduce the need for children to become involved in the family business. In their narratives, the children clearly stated that these factors affect their perception of the degree of commitment to the family business required.

The intergenerational conflicts reflected in our informants' narratives and that impact on the degree of labour commitment generally arise as a result of differences in the reciprocal expectations of parents and children regarding the latter's commitment to the family business. The children consider, for instance, this commitment to come in the form of labour, though for the parents it is a gift (as in the case of the Touzani family). Other more general disappointments are also observed, such as those concerning family relations and associated with the business, if this fails to meet their expectations (i.e. the children of migrants fail to value the family business).

3. How do the concepts of justice and equality affect the gift? These concepts appear particularly in the event of inter and intra generational conflicts. As Godbout (2000) discussed, these concepts are most visible when there is one giver and various receivers, or vice versa, rather than just one giver and one receiver. Examples include conflicts associated with intergenerational gifts (in the cases of Gilda and Afif and their brothers and sisters), or varying degrees of commitment to the family business expressed by brothers and sisters.

4. How do transnational relations affect children's commitment to the family business? The extent and nature of commitment, together with the social construction of ethnicity through commitment, are affected by transnational relations. Within the migratory context, the type of family would explain, to a certain extent, the degree of the sense of commitment to entrepreneur parents and the business. Within Chinese families, regrouped children tend to consider working in the family business as a form of 'family bonding', whilst in Latin American families we have seen that parents' authority over their children is less in the case of those families separated by long distances (transnational female-headed households), as is their children's degree of involvement and commitment

towards the business. The issue of abandonment appears in the narratives, whereby children are separated from their mothers for several years. If, as Godbout and Caillé claim (1991), the gift serves to create, sustain or recreate social relations between people, we could then pose the question as to whether the refusal of some of these adult children to become involved in the family business is a deliberate means of not establishing or re-establishing this 'family bonding'. The lower degree of commitment shown by the children of transnational mothers may also be due to the moralising discourse that criticises migrant mothers who leave their children behind in the country of origin, in contrast to family migration, which can be more easily understood within the framework of family strategies for social mobility, such as the migration-business projects of certain Chinese families.

5. How does this sense of commitment fit in with family and/or individual social mobility projects, namely with the place the family business occupies in the career plans of the immigrants' children? Indeed, if the business forms part of their professional plans, the children will tend to accept non-mercantile relations, working without a salary on the understanding, if not expectation, that they will either inherit the business or develop their career in the business. However, if the children believe their future career lies outside the business, they will be less likely to help out. Their motivation to become involved in a non-mercantile relation will then only be motivated by accepting the idea that their labour is aimed at family mobility or by a sense of indebtedness towards their parents, and will essentially be based on the factors discussed above. If the business is not part of their professional plans, the commitment is indeed more positively experienced if their labour is aimed at repaying or inverting a debt and indirectly serves their own project (such as enabling them to study).

It must also be said that business-based family social mobility projects can lead to controversial situations. The transnational element (social mobility in the country of origin) is of vital importance here. When children see their unpaid or low-paid work in the business represents a tool for the social mobility of their siblings in the country of origin rather than for themselves, they may begin to question the gift-for-gift relation, and demand that their involvement in the enterprise be placed on a proper business footing. Children who experienced a transnational childhood are more likely to be committed when the business serves their transnational projects (shuttling between countries or setting up a business in the country of origin).

Finally, if, as literature has indicated, it is true that for some children of immigrant entrepreneurs involvement in the family business strengthens their ethnic identity, it's equally true that others refuse to work

in the business and reconstruct their identity by returning to their country of origin or seeking contact with third countries such as the US. Setting up a business in their place of birth is another means of strengthening ethnicity as well as transnational lifestyle. Thanks to these businesses, certain immigrant families set up a work rotation system that enables them to travel more often to their country of origin than salaried employees, thereby further consolidating transnational practices.

To conclude, in order to define the intergenerational arrangements taking place within ethnic family businesses, it seems relevant to consider the difference between parents' and children's accounts of help exchange and children's commitment as well as siblings' accounts of help exchange and their respective sense of commitment. Furthermore, notions of justice, equality and the marketisation of family relationships are, in addition to the notion of debt and gift, elements for consideration in determining the degree and type of commitment children feel towards migrant family businesses. Sibling and intergenerational relationships, the children's position in the family life cycle, as well as the situation in the migratory and business life cycles, type of migrant families (transnational or reunited), the child's career plans and, presumably, gender may all explain the nature of exchange within the family business (gift/countergift, market relations or even absence of commitment). Notably, transnational relations, as well as representations around lone female migrants and long-distance motherhood, together with the emotional proximity between family members, may influence children's sense of commitment to the family business.

Notes

1 This chapter is based on the results of two field-work projects respectively carried out in France and Spain. One was part of a research project entitled The Chances of the Second Generation in Families of Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Intergenerational and Gender Aspects of Quality of Life Processes (known in short as Ethnogeneration), involving project partners in Germany, the UK, Denmark, Greece and France (as well as cooperating projects in Switzerland and Spain). Ethnogeneration research was funded by the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Commmission. The international scientific coordinator was Ursula Apitzsch at Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt am Main. Both based at Université de Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, Mirjana Morokvasic coordinated the French component of this research and Christine Catarino conducted the interviews. The Spanish research consisted of two projects: the first was financed by the Ministry of Education and Research (SEJ2004-07750, Oso 2007) and was conducted in cooperation with the Ethnogeneration project; the second was financed by the Ministry of Science and Innovation (SEJ2007-63179, Oso 2009), with the financial help of the Consellería de Educacíon e Ordenación Universitaria, Xunta de Galicia (Axuda para a consolidación e a estructuración de unidades de

investigación competitivas do Sistema Universitario de Galicia 2011-CN2011/030-ESOMI-Equipo de Investigación en Sociología de las Migraciones Internacionales). The French results are available in Morokvasic and Catarino (2005).

2 Whenever possible, biographical interviews were conducted with different members of the same families (parents and children but also siblings) and with both sexes from different generations (parents and their children).

3 In France, we investigated 22 families of diverse national backgrounds – Chinese, Portuguese, Italian, Algerian and Moroccan – via 39 formal interviews and about ten informal discussions. In Spain, we investigated 36 families via 104 interviewed persons who were from several migrant groups: Chinese, Moroccans and people from Latin America (notably, Argentina and Venezuela) including return migrants (Spanish migrants, returnees and descendants of Spanish migrants from Latin America and Europe). Several researchers participated in this study, namely, Laura Oso, who directed the project, Natalia Ribas, Amelia Sáiz, Angeles Ramírez, Irene López, Marta Carballo, María Villares and Raquel Albela. In this chapter, we focus on a number of those cases, mainly concerning families from Latin America. The interviews with Latin American migrants and returnees whose cases are presented here were conducted by Raquel Albela, Marta Carballo, María Villares and Laura Oso.

4 Note that authors, such as Testart (2007), propose distinguishing between 'exchange' and 'gift', assuming that a gift cannot become assimilated into an exchange, not even a non-economic one. The author criticises Mauss' description of the triple obligation intrinsic in a gift: giving, receiving and returning. According to Testart, if reciprocity is the condition of any exchange, it can never be requested in the form of a gift (although reciprocity may be expected and even solicited). There is therefore no obligation to reciprocate a gift, which can never be equated with an exchange. Without ignoring these theoretical debates, for pragmatic reasons, we use the word 'exchange' throughout the chapter to refer inclusively to a gift instead of using a more neutral expression such as the 'circulation of goods and services'.

5 Authors' translation.

6 'Migrant returnees' refers to Spaniards who emigrated to Europe or Latin America but have now returned to Spain.

7 The interviews with Elisa and Beatriz were conducted by María Villares.

8 Lobet is interested in the breakdown of such transfers.

9 Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), http://www.ine.es.

10 The early years of the twenty-first century have seen the increasing masculinisation of Latin American immigration in Spain. By this, we refer to the fact that although there are still more women than men in this group, the gender gap has shrunk, thus reflecting how female pioneers have gradually regrouped males. The result is a shift from a clearly feminised migration to a more family-oriented one (Oso & Catarino forthcoming).

11 Women migrating on their own would merely represent 18 per cent of the migrant women according to the DREES survey Parcours et Profils des Migrants Récemment Arrivés ou Régularisés en France, as presented in Algava and Bèque (2008).

12 The interviews with Raquel, Toni and Ricardo were conducted by Marta Carballo.

13 The interviews with Guillermo and his family were conducted by Raquel Albela.

14 As already mentioned, Hua's discourse reveals a sense of commitment that is removed from feelings of obligation.

Annex

Table 7.1 *On children's commitment, life project and type of migration*

Name	*Commitment*	*Role of the business in the project*	*Type of migration*
Gilda	Committed, feeling of obligation (having to repay a debt) but positive experience	Business is not part of personal project; though resents working in the business, it enabled her to invert her debt and realise her project of studying	Family migration, not transnational
Susana	Committed, feeling of obligation (having to repay a debt), positive experience but less so than Gilda's. On the one hand, feels obliged to pay her parents back for all the sacrifices they made for the family and to provide her with an education. However, working in the business has limited her education options (choice of degree, completing her studies abroad, etc.)	Business is not part of personal project, which is to work in her profession, though it is considered a professional safety net at the least	Family migration, not transnational
Beatriz	Commited, performs waged domestic work to sustain her mother's business project and helps out in the business to repay a debt (her mother worked as a domestic worker so as to pay her education)	Espoused idea of being committed to realise her mother's personal project (to set up and maintain a business)	Family migration (composed of mother and daughter with a son abroad)
Hua	Committed, her commitment was perceived positively as a resistance to the marketisation of society and its threat to the family relationships; however, a change in her personal circumstances changed her family's perception of her for the worse	Wanted the business to be aimed at the family's well-being; personal project espoused what she perceived as that of the family's, though felt disappointed because her father did not transform the takeaway venue into a restaurant and expectations of her private life being respected went unfulfilled	Family migration, former transnational fragmented family and with an initial distance between children and parents due to parents' lack of time
Hua's sister Liu-Mei	Less committed than Hua, although felt an obligation to help out and initially saw her commitment as family bonding	Personal project is to study; there is no real connection between personal and family projects	Family migration, formerly transnational fragmented family and with an initial distance between children and parents due to parents' lack of time

Table 7.1 *continued*

Name	*Commitment*	*Role of the business in the project*	*Type of migration*
Afif	Committed, now perceives his commitment less positively	Business is aimed at the family's well-being abroad; feels frustrated and would like to impose an economic relationship with his father	Transnational
Diana	No commitment, no feeling of obligation	Aspires to work as a salaried employee so as to reunite her own family (like her mother, she became a transnational female-headed household)	Transnational motherhood, formerly fragmented family
Tony and Ricardo	No commitment, no feeling of obligation	Personal projects to set up their own business differ from their mother's project	Transnational motherhood, formerly fragmented family
Guillermo	Committed	Business as a family project enabled travel to his country of origin (the family members run the business on a shift rotation basis) and allowed him to carry out personal project of setting up a business in the Dominican Republic	Transnational, formerly fragmented family

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