



UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA
ESCUELA INTERNACIONAL DE DOCTORADO

From China to Spain
Chinese Immigrants in Anthropological View

Desde China a España
Inmigrantes Chinos en Perspectiva Antropológica

D. Jie Ma

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Social Anthropology

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INTRODUCTION

Under the background of international immigrants, Chinese migrants' phenomenon is more and more prominent. Chinese migration to the Americas, Australia and Europe, and more specifically to the global cities of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Toronto, Vancouver, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Milan, Rome, Tokyo, Osaka and Sydney, follows general international migration flows that are the result of capital accumulation and a strong demand for the services of unskilled workers as well as highly skilled professionals in these urban capital strongholds (Castells 1989; Sassen 1991, 1998). In this way, contemporary Chinese migration may be regarded as part of the larger world migration system.

Chinese migrants' arrival to Europe was related to the introduction of the reform and opening program of China. In Europe, Spain is one of the important migration destinations for Chinese immigrants. In Spain Chinese communities are located all over the country. The statistical data show that the number of Chinese immigrants in Europe and Spain has been raising even under the global economic crisis while the numbers of other immigrants in Spain have been decreasing. Therefore, the phenomenon of Chinese immigrants has attracted people's attention, both public and academic.

Besides these factors, there are some more reasons for me to choose the Chinese migration study as my PhD research. Since I started my PhD project in the University of Murcia (Spain) under the guidance and help of my tutor, Professor Klaus Schriewer and co-tutor Salvador Cayuela Sánchez, they introduced me the life-mode analysis which was completely new to me. After studying and continually understanding this theory, I found it very helpful and suitable on the study of Chinese migrants' case. Therefore, in this research besides the general migration theories of transnational migration, migration networks and corresponding investigation and fieldwork, the life-mode analysis and economic anthropology are also relevant and applicable to the Chinese immigrants' case.

The second reason for choosing the subject was because of my belonging to the

Chinese community and the language advantage. For making anthropological research and especially fieldwork, language is the essential skill. Sharing the same culture and mentality is very helpful for the research. The third reason was because the European society and Spanish society had very limited way to understand Chinese immigrants who are their neighbours, and this caused many misunderstandings of Chinese immigrants. As a matter of fact, Spanish society is willing to communicate with Chinese immigrants and Chinese community and they are trying to understand Chinese culture and their way of life. Unfortunately, due to many reasons from both sides, Chinese immigrants have been misunderstood in many cases, and they are often viewed as a closed and mysterious community (Nieto, 2003). Therefore this research is considered helpful for the understanding of Chinese immigrants in Spain and Europe.

There are many aspects of Chinese immigrants to research. Nevertheless in this research we will limit in some main concerns of Chinese immigrants, which are life-mode study of Chinese immigrants and their networks both for social and economic aspects. They are also the main objectives of the research, to reveal the life-mode of Chinese immigrants in Spain and how the social network and the business network are carried out among Chinese immigrants throughout the fieldwork and investigation.

To achieve these main academic purposes, this study is structured into two parts with six chapters. The first part of the study is the investigation design which focuses on the academic results of the research carried out — the state of the art. In this section, related previous results about Chinese migration are summed up and contextualised, such as Chinese migrants' distributions in Spain and Murcia and their hometown of origin known as *Qiao Xiang*. The concept of ethnicity, transnational migration, family enterprise debate, life-modes analysis and network study are further important relevant theoretical frames for the research, which are stated in the chapter as well.

On the base of the previous studies and the elaboration of objectives (second chapter) and methodology (third chapter), results of the research will be presented in the second part of the research — “Research Results”. The study of Chinese self-employed immigrants is crucial for the study, in the second part, the fourth chapter

firstly argue about wage-earners and self-employed among Chinese immigrants, and then it's crucial to reveal both wage-earner life-mode and self-employed life-mode. Referring to our on-going empirical study about Chinese self-employed immigrants we could propose to analyse the case of Chinese self-employed with the approach about the life-mode of self-employed, which was developed in the frame of the life-mode analysis. This theory contextualizes the different meanings of work among self-employed store owners and wage earners.

Since the amount of Chinese immigrants is rising and their effect is becoming stronger, especially on the economy aspect, therefore the research of their economic activities is necessary and has realistic meaning. To understand better Chinese immigrants' self-employed businesses, it's necessary to summarize different types of Chinese self-employed businesses and the characters of each type.

Besides common features of wage-earner life-mode and self-employed life-mode, we will find out new features of these two life-modes in Chinese immigrants' context, especially how Chinese self-employed mix their private life with their self-employed work. As well it is import to argue the reason why Chinese immigrants tend to become self-employed and what business strategies they adopt for their self-employed businesses. In this chapter the family enterprise debate on Chinese immigrants' business is another important aspect for an economic anthropological study on Chinese immigrants in Spain.

The questions of the next generation of Chinese immigrants should be argued as well. The young Chinese generation have better language skills and play a very important role in the family for helping family business. It's also curious to know if they like to take over the business in the future as self-employed or they are about to find other jobs like young Spanish working as wage earners?

The arguments of transnational study of Chinese immigrants are stated in the fifth chapter, the arguments include the investigation of Chinese immigrants' transnational life, so as their transnational network and business. And the concept of transnational

business leads to the concept of 'ethnic business' among Chinese immigrants. In this chapter Chinese immigrants' network, both social network and business network will be argued, the investigation shows the functions of Chinese immigrants' network and why the network is the key feature of Chinese immigrants.

The last part of the research is a solid network investigation carried out in a Chinese clothing store where I did my participant observation fieldwork. In this chapter I will introduce the concept of *purchasing group* and *opinion leader*, and most importantly how *purchasing groups* functioning among Chinese clothing stores and why the purchasing group doesn't exist in other types of Chinese immigrants' self-employed businesses. According to the data gained from the investigation, the program UCINET® will form the matrix and carry out the graph of graph theory of Chinese clothing store's business network.

PART 1. INVESTIGATION DESIGN

1. STATE OF THE ART

This chapter will introduce to the main theoretical topics related to the research about Chinese immigrants. During the process of preparation, I found out that it is necessary to start with an overview of migration from China to Europe and especially to Spain and then to take into account the questions related to cultural pattern within the world of everyday culture. Introducing the concept of life-mode analysis and the questions related to the life as migrants, which means the things regarding trans nationality and social networks.

1.1. BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE MIGRATION IN EUROPE

According to the report from Overseas Chinese Matters of the State Council, since the beginning of the 1980s when emigration from the People's Republic of China (PRC) was officially decriminalized, regular migration has amounted to at least two million Chinese migrants (Liu, 2005: 295). The trend of Chinese migration has been accelerated by the growth of Chinese economy and the international flows and exchanges in investment, trade, technology and information between China and the rest of the world (Kevin & Bin, 2013: 12).

A survey carried out by the newspaper China Daily¹ in 2014 showed the top eight immigration destinations for Chinese. The top four of them are United States, Canada, Australia and Europe. Over half the respondents, 52 percent of all surveyed chose the United States as destination for their immigration or are applying for permission. Although Canada has changed its immigration policies, the country still made it to the second spot. Nine percent of respondents voted for Australia as their ideal immigration destination. Europe turns out to be one of the favourite places for immigration as seven percent of respondents voted for it. Since new laws of European countries like Spain

¹ Top 8 immigration destinations for wealthy Chinese from China Daily, 2014-07-05.

and Portugal are trying to attract Chinese investors, the number of Chinese migrants to Europe will probably increase.

Even though the report from the journal *China Whisper*² included Singapore as the fourth immigration destination for Chinese, generally there is no big difference among the reports. Due to the reason of quality of education, pollution and food safety in mainland China, Chinese high net-worth individuals are considering emigration³. The situation of Chinese migrants has changed profoundly, as Mette Thunø stated in *Beyond Chinatown*: “unlike the colonial era when Chinese indentured or contract workers went to Southeast Asia and settled in designated Chinatowns or remote plantation and mining areas, present day migration from China is directed to developing industrialized and post-industrialized countries alike” (Thunø, 2012: 2).

European countries are Chinese migrants’ ideal destinations. Table 1 shows the distribution of Chinese immigrants’ population in Europe in the year 1998, 2008 and 2011. The data regarding these three years show that Chinese migrants population increases significantly. Most of them live in the United Kingdom. Spain was the fourth European country on the list in the year 2011, but the number increased much faster than in other European countries. As the table shows, the number of Chinese immigrants is growing rapidly in European countries, besides Spain, the number of Chinese migrants also increased a lot in Italy, Great Britain and France. As a result, Chinese shops and restaurants can be seen everywhere in these countries.

² Peter (2013): Top 10 Chinese Immigration Destinations, *China Whisper*, December 20, 2013.

³ Source: Hurun Research Institute, Immigration and the Chinese HNWI 2014 , 2014-06-06.

Country	Year		
	1998	2008	2011
United Kingdom	250,000	600,000	630,000
France	225,000	500,000	540,000
Italy	70,000	300,000	330,000
Spain	35,000	168,000	170,000
Germany	100,000	160,000	170,000
Netherlands	127,500	150,000	160,000
Ireland	10,000	60,000	70,000
Belgium	23,000	40,000	45,000
Austria	20,000	40,000	40,000
Portugal	2,700	30,000	30,000

Table 1: Distribution of the Chinese Population in Europe 1998—2011.

Source: Kevin Latham & Bin Wu (2013: 27): Chinese Immigration into The EU: New Trends, Dynamics and Implications.

Comparing with immigrants from other countries in Europe, the percentage of the Chinese immigrant population in Spain is not as large as the people from other countries, but their contribution to the national economy cannot be neglected. Spain, for example, is the number 8th largest immigrant destination, and the number of Chinese immigrants takes 3% of all the immigrants in Spain, but takes 16% of foreign enterprisers who are doing business in Spain.

1.2. CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN

The history of the very first group of Chinese immigrants who settled in Spain can be dated up to the 16th century. It was in the 1920s and 1930s when the first large wave of Chinese immigrants working as itinerant peddlers came to this country. After World War II, they branched out into the restaurant business, and later into textiles and trade. However, the vast majority of Chinese residents in Spain started arriving to the country around the 1990s.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Romania	897,203	870,258	797,054	751,208	715,136	684,532
Morocco	788,563	792,158	774,383	749,274	753,425	747,872
United Kingdom	397,892	385,179	300,286	282,120	253,928	236,669
China	177,001	181,701	186,031	191,341	199,661	207,593
Italy	191,901	192,431	180,999	179,129	181,848	189,005
Ecuador	308,174	263,498	218,883	176,247	158,070	141,582
Colombia	246,345	222,542	181,875	150,956	140,166	145,055
Bulgaria	176,411	168,997	151,579	141,880	133,427	126,997
Germany	196,878	181,900	140,511	130,505	118,979	110,378
Bolivia	186,018	173,702	150,703	126,001	115,165	102,236

Table 2: Variation of Foreign Population Resident in Spain, 2012—2015.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística: *Statisticals of registered foreign population from 2012 to 2014*. The data for Jan. 2015 is a provisional data.

The Table 2 below shows the latest data of Chinese immigrants in Spain from 2012 to 2017. As of 2012, official statistics showed 177,001 Chinese citizens resided in Spain. However, this number didn't include people from other overseas Chinese communities nor Spanish citizens of Chinese origin or descent, and unregistered Chinese immigrants

in Spain were not counted either. The official data showed that in the year 2014, the number rose up to 186,031. In only two years almost ten thousand of new Chinese immigrants landed in Spain. In the year 2015, among non-EU countries, Chinese immigrant community is just behind Morocco, to be the second largest migration country for Spain. Before 2015, Chinese immigrant community used to be smaller than communities of Ecuadorian and Colombian in the year 2012, 2013 and 2014. The number has been kept growing all the time and in the year 2017, there are 207,593 Chinese immigrants living in Spain⁴.

As shown in Table 2, among the top ten largest immigrant communities in Spain, only the number of Chinese immigrants is increasing while the numbers of other countries are decreasing in the period of economic crisis. The data of 2017 show that there are 207,593 Chinese immigrants registered in Spain. From the change of immigrants' population, we could conclude that Chinese immigrants have not been affected by the economic crisis as immigrants from other countries. It is the only national group which increased in numbers during the recent economic crisis.

⁴ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

1.3. DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN AND MURCIA

The distribution of Chinese immigrants in Spain is unbalanced. Almost 65% of Chinese immigrants are residents of the province of Madrid, Catalonia and Valencia⁵, therefore Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia as top three biggest cities of Spain are homes to the largest Chinese communities. Andalusia, Canary Islands, the Region of Murcia and other provinces share the rests of the population. Chart 1 shows the very unbalanced distribution of Chinese immigrants in the major provinces of Spain.

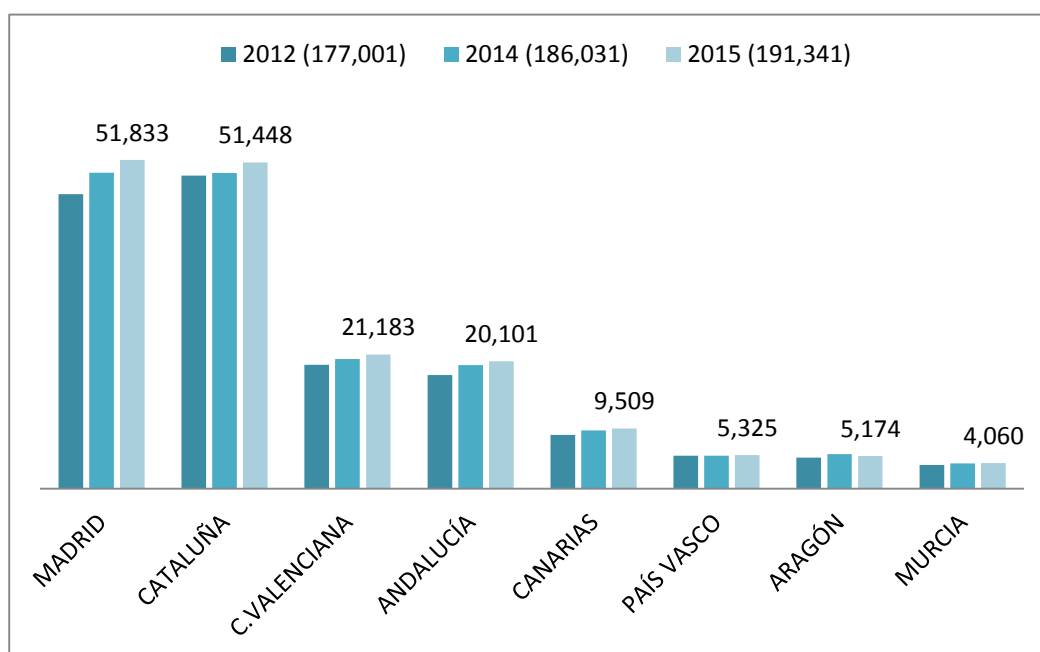


Chart 1: The Distribution of Chinese Immigrants in Spain

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística: *Statistics of registered Chinese population distributed in Spain for 2012, 2014 and 2015.*

The phenomenon that Chinese immigrants prefer to reside in major cities coincides with their occupations and business intentions. As a result, there are 49.831 legally registered Chinese immigrants in the Region of Madrid nevertheless in the Region of Murcia the number is only 3.987⁶. And this huge contrast is different from immigrants from Morocco, the official statistics state that there are 74.795 Moroccan

⁵ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

⁶ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística: *The distribution of Chinese immigrants in Spanish provinces in the year 2014.*

immigrants in the Region of Murcia and meanwhile there are 81.191⁷ registered Moroccan immigrants in the Region of Madrid. The population difference of Moroccan immigrants in Madrid and Murcia is not as much as it is to Chinese immigrants in these two cities. And the reason lies in that Murcia is an important agricultural region and Moroccan immigrants in Spain are dedicated in a considerably higher percentage to plantation and agricultural work.

Business opportunities are limited, besides the majority of Chinese immigrants are making similar businesses like running restaurants, hundred-peseta shops and groceries, so for avoiding commercial competition, Chinese immigrants would like to move to somewhere with less competition. In this situation, Chinese immigrants spread from large communities to smaller ones, in this case the region of Murcia became one of their destinations. Chart 2 shows the distribution of Chinese immigrants in the Region of Murcia. We can find that they are still willing to locate in the major cities like Murcia city (capital city of the region of Murcia) and Cartagena (the second largest city of the region of Murcia).

⁷ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística: The distribution of Moroccan immigrants in Spanish provinces in the year 2014.

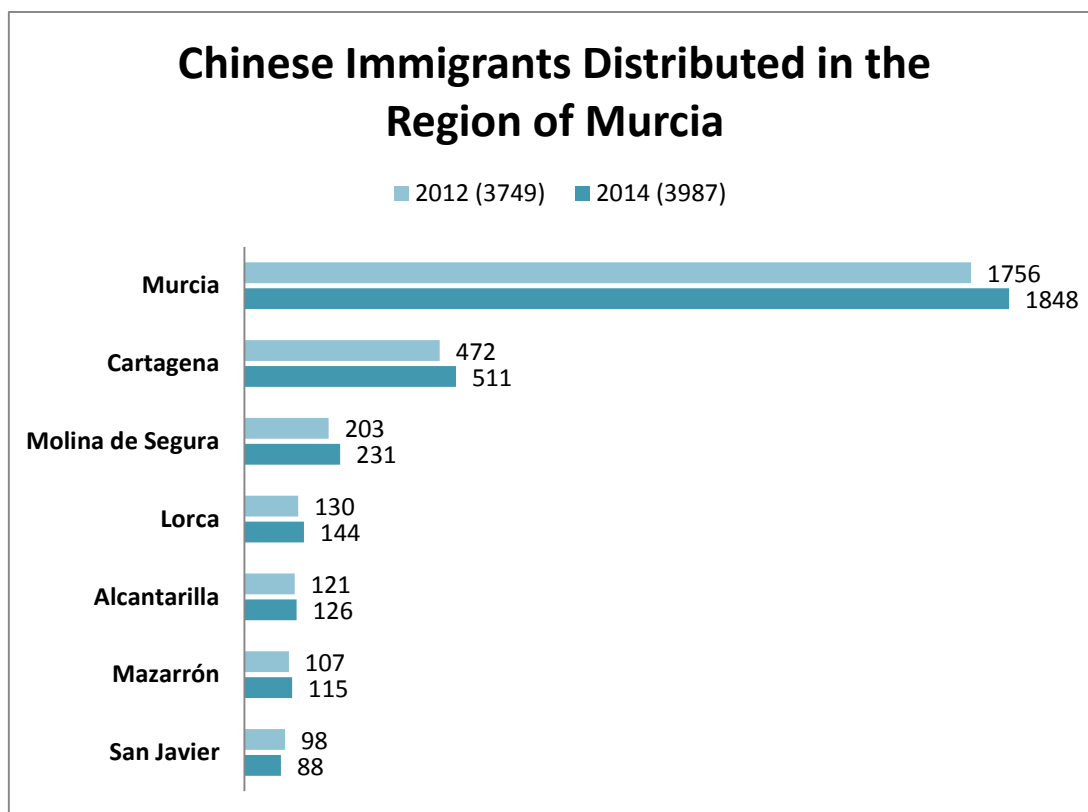


Chart 2: Chinese Immigrants Distributed in the Region of Murcia

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística: *Statistics of registered Chinese population distributed in Murcia for 2012 and 2014.*

1.4. DIFFERENT TYPES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

As a matter of fact, we have to be aware that we have been actually mentioned some different types of Chinese migrants. In many cases they are not distinguished, however to our research it's essential to differentiate them and lead to the objectives of the research. The first type of Chinese migrants is composed by the descendants of early Chinese migrants who worked as peddlers or coolies, coming with the first large wave to Spain in the 1920s and 1930s or earlier. The second type of Chinese migrants refers to those who are highly educated and skilled, they are pursuing better position and living condition abroad, and their specialities are interested by large multinational companies. They usually have a high position in the company with high responsibility and belong to the favourites of head-hunter's.

A third type of Chinese migrants is characterised by the considerable capital they own. They are small in numbers but the survey from the Spanish Statistic Institute (INE) shows that the number had steadily increased. The economic growth of China produced many wealthy Chinese entrepreneurs. A large number of them want to leave their home country. Their migration purpose is to enjoy life in foreign countries; at the same time they have very high possibilities looking for new business opportunities or investment. Many countries like United States, Canada and Australia all have corresponding policies to attract foreign investors. Chinese investors represent high percentage of the number of coming investors in these countries, and the mentioned high net-worth people in the beginning belong to this group.

To ease the economic crisis, since September of 2013, Spanish government has approved a new law for attracting foreign investors, and most of the potential investors came from Russia and China. According the survey of the Spanish leading journal *El País*, until December 2014, 530 foreign investors became Spanish residents and 490 of them came through investing in luxury real estates⁸. Chinese investors shared this

⁸ Amanda Mars (2015): El Gobierno suaviza los requisitos de los visados concedidos a inversores, *El País*. "Desde septiembre de 2013 hasta diciembre de 2014 (último dato disponible), un total de 530 extranjeros ricos han logrado la residencia en España por esta vía, que no requiere vivir en el país, y la mayoría de ellos (490) lo han hecho comprando viviendas lujo."

number together with Russian investors, Arabian investors and investors from other countries. Nevertheless, there are not as many foreign investors as expected comparing to the situation in Portugal. Portugal had attracted much more investors than Spain according to the data.

Studying abroad could also be a way to become migrant, and this could be the fourth type for Chinese immigration. As a result of education having changed into a profitable service industry, and thus opening up new channels of entry into developed countries, Chinese student migration has increased numerically (Thunø, 2012: 5). Now in China, more and more parents want to send their children abroad since they could afford expensive cost for studying abroad. Most of Chinese students go abroad under the help of local overseas education agencies. Now China has become the number one exporter of students in the world.

The fifth type is actually our main objective of the research. The people who belong to it are different from the other four types commented above and they are considered as current mainstream of Chinese migrants to Europe. They went abroad from China since 1980s, and they came to the host country for making livings and looking for fortunes. Most of them had hard work experience in the beginning and little by little changed to a better situation or started their own business. Mette Thunø (2012: 15) commented in the book that: *“in the case of Italy, Chinese migrants of the 1980s and early 1990s initially worked in garment factories performing contract work (sewing and hemming) for Italian manufacturers that later developed into the local manufacture of shoes and the production of furniture and home appliances”*.

Nowadays the situation has changed, the working conditions are much better for Chinese migrants who are working as wage-earners and many of them, through their hard work and constant effort, with the help from family members and friends, they become self-employed and own small business.

As a matter of fact, the life-modes, transnational life and network of the fifth type of Chinese migrants are supposed to be the main objectives for the research. To

distinguish different types of Chinese migrants is crucial for the study because each of them belongs to different cultural patterns and has totally different life-modes and networks.

1.5. WHERE DO THEY COME FROM—*QIAO XIANG*

Another important aspect for the research is to find out from which part of China the migrants come from. It can provide important hints regarding their networks and strategies in the migration-process. Unlike immigrants from other countries, the majority of Chinese immigrants in Europe and Spain came from only one province: Zhejiang province which is located in the east part of China. By the end of 2015 the population of Zhejiang has reached 55.39 million⁹, in the matter of fact Zhejiang has great density of population even though it is a small province compare to other provinces, it has 105.500 square kilometres area and takes only 1.1 percent of whole Chinese territory. However, in the respect of economy Zhejiang is one of the most important provinces in China.

Fujian province is located to the south of Zhejiang province, in southeast China's coastal area. Fujian has 38.06 million¹⁰ populations and 124.000 square kilometres area. Same as Zhejiang province, Fujian province is also considered as economically developed area of China. Immigrants from Fujian province formed the second largest group of Chinese immigrants in Spain, however Fujianese are still minorities compare to immigrants from Zhejiang province. Unfortunately no reliable data has been found about the percentage of Chinese migrants from Fujian province and Zhejiang province.

⁹ 2015 Statistics Bulletin of the National Economic and Social Development of Zhejiang province.

¹⁰ 2014 Statistics Bulletin of the National Economic and Social Development of Fujian province.



Map 1: Map of Zhejiang

Source: mapsof.net/map/china-zhejiang-location-map

It is an interesting cultural phenomenon that the majority of Chinese immigrants in Europe and Spain came from only these two provinces, because there are 34 provinces in China (including 23 provinces, 5 autonomous regions, 4 municipalities and 2 special administrative regions). Why the migrants come from Zhejiang province and Fujian province rather than other provinces or large cities like Beijing or Shanghai, or from some undeveloped areas of China? The study of immigrants' origins could offer many clues and information as for example their culture and economic background, motivations to migrate, their migrating process and history. In this research the study of migrants' origins in China is not the main objective, even if the connection and network between Chinese migrants abroad and their hometowns is one of its important concerns.

In Chinese context migrant sending communities are called *Qiao Xiang*. Normally *Qiao Xiang* refers to cities or counties rather than provinces. That is to say Zhejiang is not supposed to be *Qiao Xiang* for it's a province. In Zhejiang, there are several counties which are famous for sending migrants, and we found that most of *Qiao Xiang*

communities in China are located in Canton, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces. These three provinces share a same common feature which is they are all located in southeast coast of China and each of them has several well-known *Qiao Xiang* with different preferable migrant destinations. For instance, generally Japan and United States are destinations for Chinese migrants from Fujian province, migrants from Canton tend to migrate to South-east Asia and North America. As commented that most of Chinese migrants in Europe came from Zhejiang province.

In our research the most important *Qiao Xiang* are supposed to be Qingtian county and Wenzhou municipality, both of them are under jurisdiction of Zhejiang province. They are not only the most famous *Qiao Xiang* in China but also for the most of Chinese immigrants in Spain came from these two places, especially from Qingtian county.

“Chinese migration to Europe is closely linked to the Qingtian Chinese who were among the first major groups of Chinese migrating to Europe. Even today, more than 80 per cent of Qingtian migrants are still concentrated in Europe” (Thunø, 2012: 67).

According to the survey made by *Qingtian Chinese Overseas Journal*, in the year 2009, the number of overseas Qingtian migrants has reached 230,000 over more than 120 countries (Cheng, 2009). This share accounts for no less than 48 percent of the local population (480,000), and this ratio is much higher than other *Qiao Xiang* counties. In the study of Cai and Zhu (2002), it was commented that two-thirds of the Wenzhou people outside of China are residing in Western Europe, and Spain is one of their most important destinations. Researchers and journalists from China or abroad all consider Qingtian and Wenzhou as their ideal places to realize the study of Chinese migrants.

The phenomenon of concentrated migrants sending areas, *Qiao Xiang*, not only draws the attention in the academic field of migrant study but also Chinese government. In China, both government and universities have established specific centers in order to promote research on Chinese migrants. For instance, in the famous *Qiao Xiang* area Qingtian, in 2002, the Qingtian County Overseas Chinese Research Institute was established by Qingtian County government and Zhejiang Normal University in order

to promote research on the Qingtian Overseas Chinese (Thunø, 2012). Different types of publications of Chinese migrants' study and surveys from both academic field and Chinese government are keys for revealing Chinese migrants' origins and roots.

The research on *Qiao Xiang* is very meaningful for both Chinese government and Chinese migrants' researchers. Besides *Qiao Xiang* phenomenon also draws attention to foreign researchers who are dedicated in Chinese migrants study. For this research throughout the previous *Qiao Xiang* study, we could know about general migration history and the present situation of the migrants, the connection between Chinese immigrants abroad and their hometowns, their social network and the way Chinese immigrants maintain their transnational life.

1.6. THE ETHNIC GROUP OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

While Chinese immigrants' perspective is that they belong to different *Qiao Xiang*, the perception in the host country Spain is another one. The topic of 'ethnic group' of Chinese immigrants didn't catch my attention until I realized that Chinese immigrants in Spain are considered very differently as they see themselves. When Chinese immigrants arrived in Spain, their identities changed from both inside and outside. The host society perceives them as a new group of people, however they perceive themselves in a different way. Therefore the intention for writing this chapter is to explain how local Spanish society and Spanish people perceive Chinese immigrants, not specific Chinese immigrants' characters but their 'ethnicity' in general. The way Chinese immigrants perceive themselves is another objective for this chapter, how they consider themselves and each other is essential for the research because it has an impact on their cultural pattern and their way of constructing social networks.

To clarify this objective, it's necessary to introduce and utilize the theoretical frame of ethnic group and ethnic identity. Besides these two concepts it will become more important when it comes to the in-depth study of Chinese immigrants' unique pattern and activities on both cultural and economic aspects. However the debate of the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic group has always been a tough subject in the academic field. It can be stated that until present no generally accepted definition and boundary had been worked out. Nevertheless, outstanding anthropologists worked very hard on defining and setting the conceptual boundaries. The book *Ethnic groups and boundaries* (1998), written by the Norwegian anthropologist Frederik Barth is a milestone of the ethnic concept studies that made this subject much clearer. His study is profoundly instructive for the academic field because of his arguments of the creation and reproduction of ethnic identity. In Spanish literatures, researchers as Malgesini & Romero have made outstanding achievements on this subject especially on differentiating ethnic group and racial group.

1.6.1. THE ETHNIC GROUP

Approximately 5,000 ethnic groups make up the population of the earth's over 190 independent states¹¹, nevertheless the discussion about a possible definition of ethnic group has never been stopped, researchers keep on to air their views on the subject. Based on previous studies, we will have a review on some of their comments from a macroscopic and a microscopic perspective. From the macroscopic perspective, we are expected to know what ethnic group consists of, the forming conditions and requirements. One of the attempts to define ethnic group which is common and includes typical characteristics was presented by the sociologist Anthony D. Smith. He summarized the following six main attributes of ethnic group:

1. *A collective proper name*
2. *A myth of common ancestry*
3. *Shared historical memories*
4. *One or more differentiating elements of common culture*
5. *An association with a specific 'homeland'*
6. *A sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population* (D. Smith, 1991:21).

Similar criteria are known from other researchers like Frederik Barth who summarized eight criteria. Moreover he wrote: "*tribe, caste, language group, region or state all have features that make them a potentially adequate primary ethnic identity for group reference*" (Barth, 1998: 34). In Spanish literature, it is stated that the basic characteristics of ethnic groups were the common language, religion political memory, external aspect perceptible differences and daily conduct in relation to other human groups¹² (Malgesini & Romero, 2000).

¹¹ Rodriguez, Linda A: Immigrants, Ethnic Groups, and Area Studies, International Education in the New Global Era-Proceedings of a National Policy Conference.

¹² "Las características básicas de los grupos étnicos así considerados eran la comunidad de lengua, religion memoria política, diferencias perceptible de aspecto externo y conducta diaria con relación a otros grupos humanos".

Nevertheless all these criteria deal with ancestry, history connection, sharing same culture and active region, some researchers mentioned criteria like linguistic and religion. By contrast, Barth's other comments from microscopic perspective are more intuitive. He commented that a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgment. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game', and this means that "*there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity*" (Barth, 1998: 11). Besides he made another example as members of another ethnic group, implies "*recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgment of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest*" (Barth, 1998: 11).

In China, the concept ethnic group normally refers to minority groups, these two concepts are usually interchangeable in Chinese context. As known, the major nation of China takes 91.51% of the population which is called Han¹³, nevertheless China officially has 55 identified minorities distributed all over the country, which constitute 8.49% of the population. They are called 'minorities' for they are small in numbers. Minority communities are located all over the country, especially in the southwest and northwest of China. Many minorities have certain gathering areas and spheres of activities. Minority Zhuang, Hui, Mongol, Tibetan and Uyghur are gathered in their own autonomous regions under the jurisdiction of Chinese government.

It has to be pointed out that in this research, Chinese minority groups (ethnic groups) are not related with the concept of the 'ethnic group' we indicated of Chinese migrants. The previous argumentation on ethnic group was only to help us to understand better its definition and its relationship with minority groups, and it is the foundation to introduce the concept of the 'ethnic group' of Chinese migrants.

Besides the differentiation between ethnic group and minority group it is also

¹³ Data comes from the sixth China Population Census from National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China. Link of official website and data :<http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/>

necessary to distinguish ethnic group from racial group. The concept of racial group is gradually being forgotten in the academic field since it could be easily tagged on “racist” tag. Nevertheless here it could work as a reference to the concept of ethnic group. Kottak commented that: *“races are ethnic groups assumed (by members of a particular culture) to have a biological basis, but actually race is socially constructed. The races we hear about every day are cultural, or social, rather than biological categories”* (Kottak, 2000: 139). In Spanish literature, Malgesini & Romero commented that the racial group would be defined by physical, biological or phenotypic characteristics, genetically transmitted and shared by a given population (or that are attributed). In contrast, ethnic group would be defined by a set of cultural characteristics, generationally transmitted through social learning and socialization¹⁴ (Malgesini & Romero, 2000: 215). In their book they quoted Kottak’s comments in their study, *“when it is assumed that an ethnic group has a biological basis, it is called race”*¹⁵ (Malgesini & Romero, 2000: 216).

We could see that the cultural identity is the principal character and feature of ethnic group while physical and biological characters are used to describe racial groups. As Barth commented “the sharing of a common culture is generally given central importance” (Barth, 1998: 11). Cashmore argued in the same direction when he argued that ethnic group is a cultural phenomenon (Cashmore, 2002). Barth and Cashmore’s words directly pointed out ethnic groups’ cultural character which we could use to distinguish it from racial group.

¹⁴ In the same direction, Rosell Granados (2012: 53) defined: *“El grupo racial vendr á definido por aquellos rasgos físicos, biológicos o fenotípicos, transmitidos genéticamente y compartidos por una determinada población (o que le son atribuidos). En contraste, el grupo étnico se definir á por un conjunto de rasgos culturales, esto es, transmitidos generacion al mente a través del aprendizaje social y la socialización”*

¹⁵ Spanish original: “Cuando se asume que un grupo étnico tiene una base biológica, se le llamaraza.”

1.6.2. THE ETHNIC GROUP OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

The concept of the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants is actually a new invention for this research, the idea came from that with the time and development of Chinese immigrants in Spain, they themselves had formed a new social group from inside, and from outside they are perceived as ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese by the host society. Based on these two reasons I would like to call them the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants. Meanwhile it’s necessary to declare that Chinese Immigrants in Spain are not qualified to be recognized as real ethnic group as we commented above, for they don’t possess all the characteristics for being ethnic group. Besides we have to distinguish Chinese domestic ethnic groups which are called minorities with ‘the ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants, because as commented before in Chinese context ethnic groups usually refer to minority groups.

Chinese immigrants in Spain, no matter where their hometowns are in China, which ethnic group or minority group they belong to, or which language¹⁶ or dialect they speak, when they become immigrants abroad, they consider themselves as Chinese immigrants, thus being Chinese immigrant is their first character so to speak and then they distinguish themselves by mentioned factors.

At the same time, they are considered by the host country people as Chinese immigrants as well, yet this is the only character they know about Chinese immigrants because the host country people have little knowledge of mentioned factors and couldn’t differentiate Chinese immigrants by differentiating their hometowns or cultural differences.

Fredrik Barth (1998) commented that the identity of ethnic group is created and recreated. Thus in this research it’s necessary to discuss how the ‘ethnic group identity’ of Chinese immigrants has been created. To my point of view, the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants has been built from two parts, from inside and then from outside. In Chinese context, Chinese immigrants aboard are called *Hua Qiao*, which means

¹⁶ Some minorities in China have different languages.

Chinese people who live abroad. They have both Chinese identity and the identity of *Hua Qiao* at the same time, so that makes them different from domestic Chinese people or Chinese tourists to Europe. From outside, Chinese immigrants aware that even there are big differences among them, they are all considered as an ethnic group by people from host countries and from immigrants from other countries. Therefore the concept of the 'ethnic group' of Chinese immigrants is actually a creation by both themselves and perspectives from outside.

The Chinese case is not the only case among immigrants, as a study of Schriewer shows, it deals about how Spanish people perceive people from North Europe. Since there are many North Europeans in Spain, they are normally considered as a group without differentiating their countries of origin and usually Spanish people ignore if they are short time tourists or have already bought properties and have lived in Spain for years (Jiménez & Schriewer, 2008: 71-87). Schriewer's study is an efficient reference to Chinese immigrants in Spain, no matter to Spanish people or to other immigrants from other countries, Chinese Immigrants are mostly considered as someone who has hundred-peseta shops or restaurants with the character of being hard-working and unsocial, which is the same as North Europeans in Spain are mostly considered as tourists who came to enjoy the beach and nice Mediterranean weather.

North European people and Chinese immigrants who live in Spain could differentiate people from central Spain like Madrid, from Catalonia and Murcia. For the geographic and cultural closeness, it's not difficult for Spanish people to differentiate North European people either. However it's almost impossible for neither Spanish nor North European people to differentiate Chinese immigrants like if they came from north of China or south, or if they came from Qingtian or Fujian.

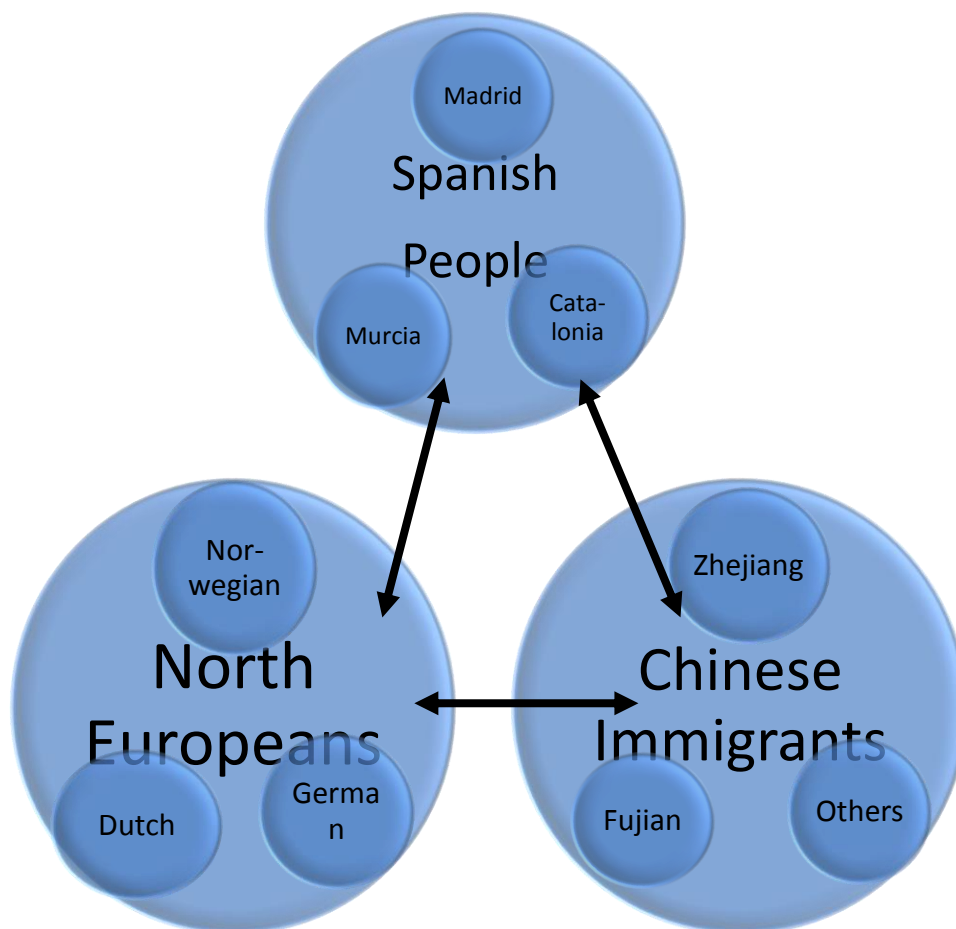


Diagram 1: Differentiation of Different Chinese Ethnic Groups.

To be concluded, we could define that the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants is developed under certain social and economic conditions in the host country, form new social and economic relations among Chinese immigrants abroad, it’s created by both themselves and host society. The concept of ‘the ethnic group of Chinese immigrants’ adds more cultural elements and it’s more specific for the study. As a matter of fact, it’s easier and more direct to call immigrants from China-Chinese immigrants, which is the same as South American immigrants, Arabic immigrants and Eastern European immigrants. These are all general collective concepts even though we know that there exist huge differences because obviously there are many countries in South America, so do in the Arabic world, each of these countries is different from each other. In the next part we will see within the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants, how people or different groups differentiate and interact with each other.

1.6.3. SUB-ETHNIC GROUPS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Generally speaking, from the point of view of host country people, Chinese immigrants are considered as the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants. However among Chinese immigrants, the Chinese identity or the identity of the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants works in a limited way, their networks actually are based on the concept of sub-groups.

As commented in the first chapter, most of Chinese immigrants in Spain came from Zhejiang province and then Fujian province. The fieldwork shows that in most cities in Spain, Chinese immigrants from Zhejiang province usually formed their own group, so did immigrants from Fujian, thus these are the two main sub-groups of the ‘ethnic group’ of Chinese immigrants, and usually people’s contacts are much stronger within the sub-group.

Actually this phenomenon is not new, on the contrary it is very common for immigrants in general. The Norwegian researcher Asle Høgmo mentioned in his research (2016) about immigrants from Pakistan and Morocco to Norway, that Pakistan immigrants in Norway feel as Pakistani, even if they are from different provinces in Pakistan, speak different languages¹⁷ and come from different Muslim societies¹⁸. Meanwhile Moroccan immigrants are mainly divided into Arabic group and Berber group (Imazighene). Related to my study, all these factors mentioned above could be reasons for forming sub-groups. There are some ‘predetermined connections’ which unite people much closer, and it’s obvious and rational that the connection is much stronger within the same sub-group.

The causes for forming sub-groups are various, it could be formed from same region, from same dialect groups¹⁹, from same minority groups, from same religious communities as mentioned above and even from large families and long-term business contacts. In Chinese immigrants’ context, family ties and hometown connection are the

¹⁷ Urdu belongs to Urdu-Hindi lingual family and Pashto belongs to Arabic lingual family.

¹⁸ Shia Muslims, Sunni Muslims and the Amadia Muslims.

¹⁹ Same region and same dialect are inseparable in most cases.

most important factors for forming sub-groups. Family ties are always the strongest and the most important relationship for Chinese immigrants, while hometown connection comes the second. The concept of *Lao Xiang* which means people came from the same hometown works out among Chinese people no matter they are in China or abroad. For instance, when two Chinese meet, generally after greetings and asking about names, in most cases the second question will be about each other's hometown. If they came from the same place they naturally start to talk in dialect and get familiar with each other much faster.

Considering region and dialect connections are the main causes of forming sub-groups for non-family members, the diagram below shows the relationship between the 'ethnic group' of Chinese migrants and its sub-groups.

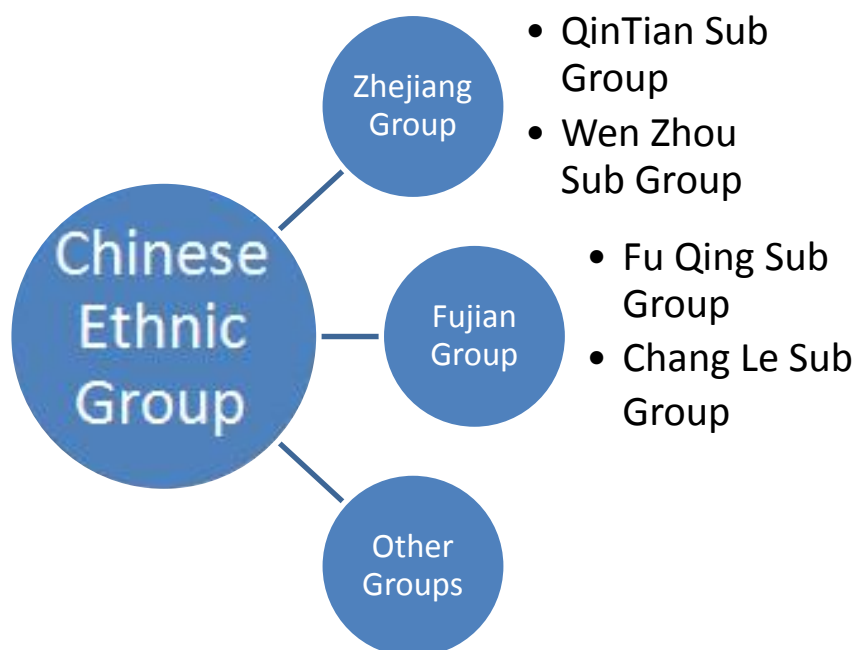


Diagram 2: Sub-groups of the ethnic group of Chinese immigrants.

There can be observed as two main sub-groups of the 'ethnic group' of Chinese immigrants, which are the sub-groups I will denominate 'Zhejiang group' and then 'Fujian group'. In 'Zhejiang group', Qingtian and Wenzhou are the two most important sub-groups. As mention before Qingtian and Wenzhou are both famous *Qiao Xiang* located in Zhejiang province, even though they are very close to each other, both of them have dialects and different cultural pattern, therefore immigrants from Qingtian

formed a sub-group while immigrants from Wenzhou formed another. It's the same to 'Fujian group' and its two sub-groups, Fuqing sub-group and Change sub-group.

It's necessary to point out that the sub-groups could be formed by many reasons or conditions, the group could be either big or small, which varies a lot, thus it's not an absolute concept. As a matter of fact, within the Wenzhou sub-group, we could find even smaller sub-groups, like people who are doing the same business can form a group, and this group could be within a same sub-group or between two sub-groups. For instance, under the Wenzhou sub-group, it's possible to have clothes selling groups and grocery groups, and it's also possible that people from Zhejiang could collaborate with someone from Fujian.

Sub groups of the ethnic group of Chinese immigrants are more specific and helpful for us to know about Chinese immigrants from inside, it is directly connected with the concept of transnational migration and network study. In later chapter we will analyse how sub-groups workout among Chinese immigrants, which is the key to understand Chinese immigrants' transnational life, their internal business (*ethnic business*) and social network.

1.7. MIGRATION STUDIES: TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND TRANSMIGRANTS

The concept of ‘ethnic-group’ of Chinese migrants deals with how Chinese are perceived by local community and in this section it is supposed to introduce a proper theoretical reflection in terms of Chinese immigrants’ daily life. Since migrants arrive in a new society and environment, they have to adapt to the new environment psychologically and culturally. And the way they accept and adapt the new environment causes researchers’ interest.

Therefore in this chapter we will include a reflection about the necessity to include Chinese migrants’ transnational life and international relations (transnational network) into the study. Migrants’ way of life in the host country is the main concern and objective in this chapter, more specifically, we are interested in how they preserve their living style from home country and how they have their life changed in the host country. We are also eager to know the way they keep connection with their home country and how they interact with their family members and friends who live in their home country.

In the last decades the concepts of transnational migration and transmigrants have achieved the status among other classical theories in migration study. We suppose they can be useful also to describe and analyse this dimension of Chinese migrants’ lifestyle in host country and their transnational network. In a way it could be considered as ‘transnational life’ in the host country. In the past, for some reasons immigrants had to abandon, forget, or cut their ties to their home country and perhaps even to their culture. The second or the third generations’ memories of transnational connections were often declined or even erased. Nowadays we can observe that transnational processes are increasingly seen as part of a broader phenomenon of globalization, marked by the demise of the nation-state and the growth of world cities that serve as key nodes of flexible capital accumulation, communication, and control (Priest, 1999: 76).

Previous research of transnational migration and transmigrants by researchers like Nina Glick Schiller (1995), Pido (1986) and Ludger Priest (1999) not only clearly

explained migrants' transnational life and their connection with their home country but also showed the cultural connotations of transnational life. For instance, in the article of Glick Schiller and her colleagues, they use their studies of migration from St. Vincent, Grenada, the Philippines, and Haiti to the U.S. to delineate some of the parameters of ethnography of transnational migration and explore the reasons for and the implications of transnational migrations (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

In the terms of transnational migration study, we could find abundant researches and studies about migration to the U.S. dated back to early European migrants migrated to the U.S. Migration studies of South American and Asian to the U.S. are supposed to be very helpful reference for our study. We found many of the previous migration studies mentioned about the migrants' contact with their home country and living a transnational life, even though researchers didn't realize or directly point out the concept of transnational migration. Pido's research (Pido, 1986) set a good example in this field, his research contains certain descriptions of migrants from Philippines continuing to maintain ties back home. We also found analogous researches about Chinese migrants (Wong, 1982) and Korean migrants (Kim, 1987). Meanwhile Metzker and his colleagues argued that many immigrants from Europe who settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century maintained family ties, sending both letters and money (Metzker, 1971). As a matter of fact, Pido, Metzker and their colleagues all described transnational migration process and characters from their point of view, and there are more examples from migration literatures to name a few.

These early studies on migrants' relations to their home country did not use the terms of transnational migration nor transmigrants. The word 'transnational' was first widely used in economic field in the 1960s, which refers to the establishment of corporate structures with established organizational bases in more than one state (Martinelli, 1982). When it comes to the context of migration study, researchers defined transnational migration as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). In this new process of migration,

immigrants are simultaneously living in more than one society so to speak.

In the study of Ludger Priest (1999), he concluded four types of migrants: the first type is 'emigración', means migrants have integrated and adopted in the host country; another type is 'remigrantes' or transitorily migrants, they become migrants because of their work or their pursuit; the third type which is similar to 'remigrantes', they become migrants because of belief like missionaries and they were sent by certain communities or organizations. The fourth type is transnational migrants.

Migrants under transnational migration process are called transnational migrants or more often transmigrants in short. The concept of 'transnational' migrants indicates migrants who live their lives across national borders and respond to the constraints and demands of two or more states. Meanwhile we could compare it with how researchers defined transmigrants. Transmigrants are migrants whose daily life depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (Basch et al., 1994). As commented, the definitions of 'transnational' migrants and transmigrants showed no differences between each other.

The increase in density, multiplicity, and importance of the transnational interconnections of immigrants is certainly made possible and sustained by transformations in the technologies of transportation and communication. However, we should notice that the tendency of today's transmigrants to maintain, build and reinforce multiple linkages with their countries of origin seems to be facilitated rather than produced by the possibility of technologically abridging time and space (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

Early migrants had limited choices to communicate with their home country. Comparing with current technologies, telephone, telegram and faxes were not convenient enough for transnational migration communications. Nowadays Internet, Webcam and various types of software for communication like Facebook[®], WhatsApp[®] and Skype[®] certainly facilitate maintaining close and immediate connection to home.

In our case, the way to maintain transnational relations between Spain and China were realized by Chinese communication software named QQ[®] and now WeChat[®] becomes more popular.

The Internet firewall between China and Spain is not supposed to be a problem. The Internet restriction in China is only to some foreign communication software like Facebook[®] and Twitter[®], nevertheless Chinese immigrants in Spain could use domestic software QQ[®] and WeChat[®] to maintain connection with their home. In advance to the results of our study it can be stated that Chinese immigrants in Spain are very satisfied with their communication software, they think it works better than Facebook[®] or any other communication software, no one complains about the internet restriction and inconvenience for communicating with home in this respect.

For catering to the needs of immigrants, some companies have special service for immigrants, like insurance companies, money transfer companies and telephone companies. These services exist in many immigrants' groups in Spain, especially for immigrants who are from China, Morocco and South America. The insurance company AXA[®] and DKV[®] all have services for immigrants to cover two months or six months when they travel to home countries. The telephone company like Orange[®] offers a mobile card called "Jazz Panda" whose main function is to make phone call to China, the charge standard is even cheaper than making local calls in Spain.

The transnational communication is never limited in "emotional" communications, but economical and commercial communication as well. Di Leonardi argued that Italians returned home to land purchased through labour abroad. The Czechs and Slovaks, Hungarians and Irish (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) were among the many immigrating populations who built strong nationalist movements in Europe from a base in the U.S. The literatures and documents from both China and abroad showed that Chinese immigrants have long history to have economical connections with their home country. This phenomenon coincides with early Chinese migrants' idea of pursuing fortune abroad. Sun Yat-sen, as the national founder of the Republic of China collected contributions and donations from Chinese migrants from the U.S. and Europe, Chinese

historians gave great regards to those migrants who did remarkable contributions for the establishment for new Republic of China (Chang, et al., 1998).

Different from majorities' migrants from Haiti sending money home, in Chinese migrants' context, capital movements between China and Spain are very active. According to different life modes, Chinese immigrants have different norms of receiving and sending money, for instance, wage-earners are generally sending money home to help their family in China, and meanwhile self-employed Chinese migrants would like to collect money from home and start business in host country. This happens more often to wage-earners when they want to be self-employed. The movement of capital gave the birth of "underground bank"²⁰ for the restriction and high commission of sending money from both sides, this phenomenon reflects the fact of strong capital movements between Spain and China.

²⁰ Underground bank: Illegal organization which helps to realize money transfer between two states.

1.8. ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY: THE DEBATE OF FAMILY ENTERPRISE

The economic sector of activities, which is so major a factor in the culture contact situation (Barth, 1998: 34). This chapter is dedicated to introduce some arguments from economical perspective in order to reveal Chinese migrants' economical life and activities. Thus the debate of family enterprise becomes essential.

In the literature within Social Sciences there is a common idea that family enterprise is the original form of any business activities. The economist David Wakefield for example argued that the family always has been the most important factor in production of commodities (Poutziouris et. al., 2008), and it is a still accepted paradigm that family enterprises are dominating the economic landscape of most major economies in the world. Two thirds of all enterprises worldwide are said to be family-owned and/or managed (Misra, 1997). Previous studies showed that family enterprise covers a great range and plays a very important role of the economical world, and the social research of economy has no doubt already been focused on family enterprise for decades.

Here when we try to find out Chinese immigrants' economical activities, and their business modes, it seems to be the most nearby to implement the theory of family enterprise. But through all the literatures of family enterprises, only a few of them refer to the business mode of Chinese immigrants abroad. In this case, should we raise a question that two thirds of all enterprises worldwide are considered to be family-owned and/or managed. But do the Chinese immigrants' shops or restaurants in host countries belong to these two thirds? With this doubt, we will carry out the investigation and research under the theoretical frame of family enterprise. Therefore in this chapter the main objective is to figure out if the Chinese immigrants' economic activities are adjusted to the definition of family enterprise and if the concept of family enterprise is appropriate to carry out the research of the Chinese immigrant's businesses.

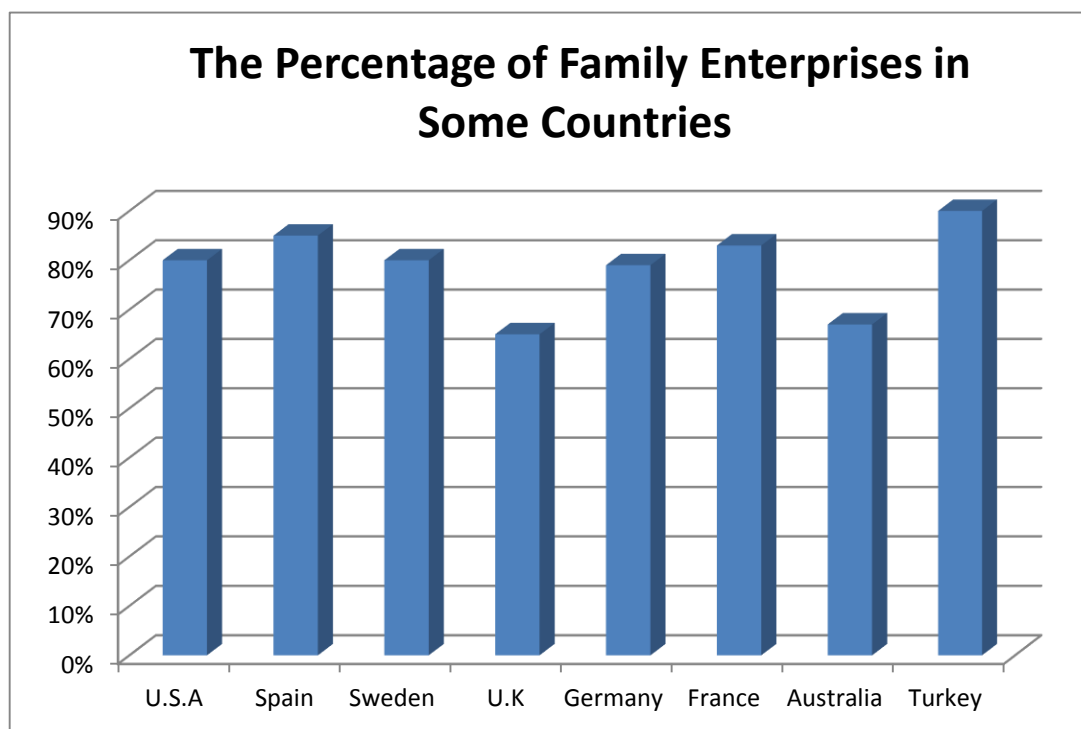


Chart 3: The Percentage of Family Enterprises in Some Countries

Source: Family Firm Institute, INC (data of Jan, 2012)

In the academic world of economy, family enterprise study is a very important branch; many research institutes were built to deal primarily with the research of family enterprises. In the English-speaking world there are some important institutes like the Family Enterprise Institute of the Pacific Lutheran University²¹, the Family Enterprise Center of Pittsburgh University²² and the Institute for Family Enterprise (IFE) at Bryant University²³. In the Spanish-speaking world there are also some remarkable ones, for example, “El Instituto de la Empresa Familiar”²⁴ known as IEF is an influential official institute in Spain of the research of family enterprise, the institute has many well-known Spanish enterprises members and researchers. In the Region of Murcia, the University of Murcia has a family enterprise research center called “Cátedra de Empresa Familiar”. In the year of 2009 the research center had an influential

²¹ Website of the center: <http://www.plu.edu/~fament> (visited 2012-03-03).

²² Website of the center: <http://www.iee.pitt.edu/special-programs/family-enterprise-center>.

²³ Website of the center: http://web.bryant.edu/business/int_fam_ent.html.

²⁴ Website of the center: <http://www.iefamiliar.com/web/es/>.

publication “The Management of Family Enterprises: General Analysis”²⁵, the centre did numerous profound researches of local family enterprises in Murcia and Spain.

In China the economic study has been a very popular subject, with the economy growth Chinese economists are paying more attention to the research of family enterprise. Some research centers for family enterprise study were established, for instance family enterprise institutes in Zhong Shan University²⁶ and Jiang Han University²⁷ together with other Universities in China dedicated to Chinese family enterprise research, and Chinese economists are enriching the research with Chinese context and experience.

The research of family enterprise has become important and popular, attracts lots of researchers who dedicate themselves into it. The reasons for this phenomenon seem to be obvious: 1. Family enterprise plays a principal role in world’s economy as commented before; 2. Theoretical guidance is very necessary to the development of family enterprise; 3. The structure and management of family enterprises seem to be quite unique and different from non-family enterprises. Through decades of researching and accumulating experience of the study, and with the effort of researchers, family enterprise research has so far five principal branches:

- *Family enterprise founders’ research* (e.g. Kelly et al., 2000; Kenyon-Rouvinez, 2001; Sorenson, 2000).
- *Family enterprise management* (e.g. Murray Weidenbaum et al., 1996; Paul Westhead et al., 2006).
- *External managers in family enterprise* (e.g. Mitchell et al., 1997).
- *Conflict within family firms* (e.g., Boles, 1996; Drozdow, 1998; Habbershon et al., 1996; Kaye, 1996; Sorenson, 1999; Kellermanns et al., 2004).

²⁵ Monreal, Juan; Sánchez, Gregorio; Meroño, Angel; Sabater, Ramón (Eds.) (2009): La gestión de las empresas familiares: un análisis integral. Ed. Thomson-Civitas, Madrid, ISBN: 9788447033348

²⁶ Website of the University: <http://home.sysu.edu.cn/zurigud/centres/RCF>

²⁷ Website of the University: <http://fzyjy.jhun.edu.cn>

- *Business succession (e.g., Cadieux et al., 2002; Davis et al., 1998; Harveston et al., 1997; Miller et al., 2003; Morris et al., 1997) (Dana, 2011: 180)²⁸.*

Even though the family enterprise is a mature subject, nevertheless regarding its definition, there is still short of consensus about the theoretical and practical definition of family enterprise. Researchers define a family firm operationally by the components of a family's involvement in the business: ownership, management, or business succession (Chrisman et al., 2003). Unfortunately, there are enormous problems in making a precise definition, because definitions reach from one hundred percent ownership over the majority of shares until the majority of control (Chua et al., 1999), or they deal with the question whether governance by the family is enough or family management of the firm would be necessary. Some studies even consider a company a family enterprise when the firm considers itself to be one (Westhead et al., 1998).

1.8.1. DEFINITIONS OF FAMILY ENTERPRISE

The definitions of family enterprise are as many as definitions of culture, great quantity but none of them can be accepted by all. Chrisman, Chua, and Sharma (1996) found 21 different definitions of family business from 250 articles about family business. When different definitions of family enterprise are applied, the percentage of family enterprise can vary from 15% to 80% (Westhead et al., 1998). Even though the ambiguity in the definition of a family enterprise is a drawback for the research, still we could find something in common among these definitions.

Schulze, Lubatkin, Dino & Buchholtz defined that family business is as an enterprise in which two or more family members own 15 percent or more of the shares, family members are employed in the business, and the family intends to retain control of the firm in the future (2001: 99-116). This definition based on three aspects is common in the English speaking world. We find similar descriptions like what Ernesto

²⁸ Dana, Leo Paul (2011): World Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship, Edward Elgar Publishing, ISBN 1849808457, 9781849808453.

J. Poza (2010) worked out. He concludes that “*we arrive at a working definition of a family business as a unique synthesis of the following:*

1. *Ownership control (15 percent or higher) by two or more members of a family or a partnership of families;*
2. *Strategic influence by family members on the management of the firm, whether by being active in management, by continuing to shape the culture, by serving as advisors or board members, or by being active shareholders;*
3. *Concern for family relationships;*
4. *The dream (or possibility) of continuity across generations” (Poza, 2010: 6)”.*

Westhead and his colleagues (2002) made the research of “*the scale and nature of family business*”, in this research we could find following arguments about family enterprise’s definition:

First, whether a single dominant family group owns more than 50% percent of the shares in a business (...). Second, whether members of an emotional kinship group’ perceive their firm as being a family business (...). Third, whether a firm is managed by members drawn from a single dominant family group (...). Fourth, whether the company had experienced an intergenerational ownership transition to a second or later generation of family members drawn from a single dominant family group owning the business” (Westhead, et al., 2002: 20).

In Spanish literature, the definition of family enterprise which is given by the Institute of Family Enterprise (El Instituto de Empresa Familiar), known as IEF, has no big difference with the previous three. The only difference lies in some details, like the percentage of the votes or ownership and how many family members should be involved in the family enterprise. Here are the criteria cited from IEF:

1. *Most votes are owned by the family member(s) who founded the company, or are owned by the person who owns or has acquired the capital of the company, or are owned by their wives, parents, child (s) or heirs of son (s).*

2. *In this respect, most of the votes can be participated directly or indirectly.*
3. *At least one representative of the family or relative involved in the management or governance of the company.*
4. *The listed companies are under the definition of family enterprise if the person who established or acquired the company (its capital), or their relatives or descendants own 25% of the voting rights entitling to social capital²⁹.*

We could notice that this definition in Spanish literature doesn't mention the succession problem concerning of family relationship. It makes sense that it doesn't mention about the succession problem because it's logical that almost all family enterprises want to make their enterprise working as long as possible, from generation to generation, or perhaps to them the succession problem is not the main concern.

²⁹ This definition is cited from the Spanish institute of family enterprise, named "el Instituto de Empresa Familiar (IEF)": "1. La mayoría de los votos son propiedad de la persona o personas de la familia que fundó o fundaron la compañía; o, son propiedad de la persona que tiene o ha adquirido el capital social de la empresa; o son propiedad de sus esposas, padres, hijo(s) o herederos del hijo(s). 2. A Este respecto, la mayoría de los votos puede ser por participación directa o indirecta. 3. Al menos un representante de la familia o pariente participa en la gestión o gobierno de la compañía. 4. A las compañías cotizadas se les aplica la definición de empresa familiar si la persona que fundó o adquirió la compañía (su capital social), o sus familiares o descendientes poseen el 25% de los derechos de voto a los que da derecho el capital social (Bueno etc., 2014:12).

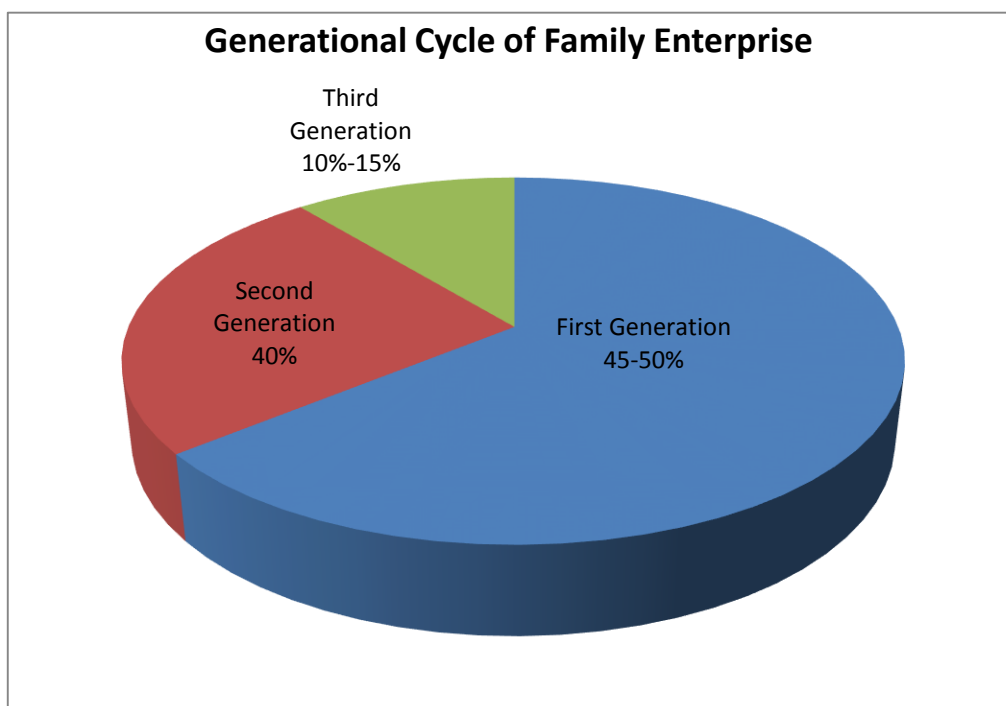


Chart 4: Generational Cycle of Family Enterprise

Source: Family Firm Institute, INC (visited in Jan. 2012).

This chart shows the succession situation of family enterprises in the USA, from this chart we could find out that most family enterprises can seldom last for three generations, in this case the succession of the enterprise is not as important as other criteria to family enterprise researchers.

1.8.2. PAN BI SHENG'S ARGUMENTATIONS OF FAMILY ENTERPRISE

In Asia, comparing to western world, there is no big difference in proportion or percentage of family enterprises in economy world. For instance, in China and Japan, the proportion of family enterprises stays in a high level. In Singapore, 80% to 90% of industrial companies are family enterprises (Lee, 2006). In Indonesia, 80% of biggest companies are owned by Chinese family enterprises³⁰ (Carney, 2007).

Since the reform and opening up, Chinese economy is experiencing rapid growth. More and more Chinese family enterprises have grown up, and began to play an

³⁰ The 3% of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia own approximately 70% of the country's businesses, controlling around 80% of the biggest companies in Indonesia.

important role in the national economy, the chart below shows the state of development of Chinese family enterprises in last ten years. The rapid growth of family enterprises has already attracted Chinese economists' attention, and they began to do research on the subject, so far lots of researches about family enterprises in Chinese context have been done by Chinese economists, accordingly Chinese publications about family enterprises are more than ever. The chart below shows the growth of listed family enterprises in China from year 2000 to 2011, in the year 2011, the number of listed family enterprises has reached 139 enterprises.

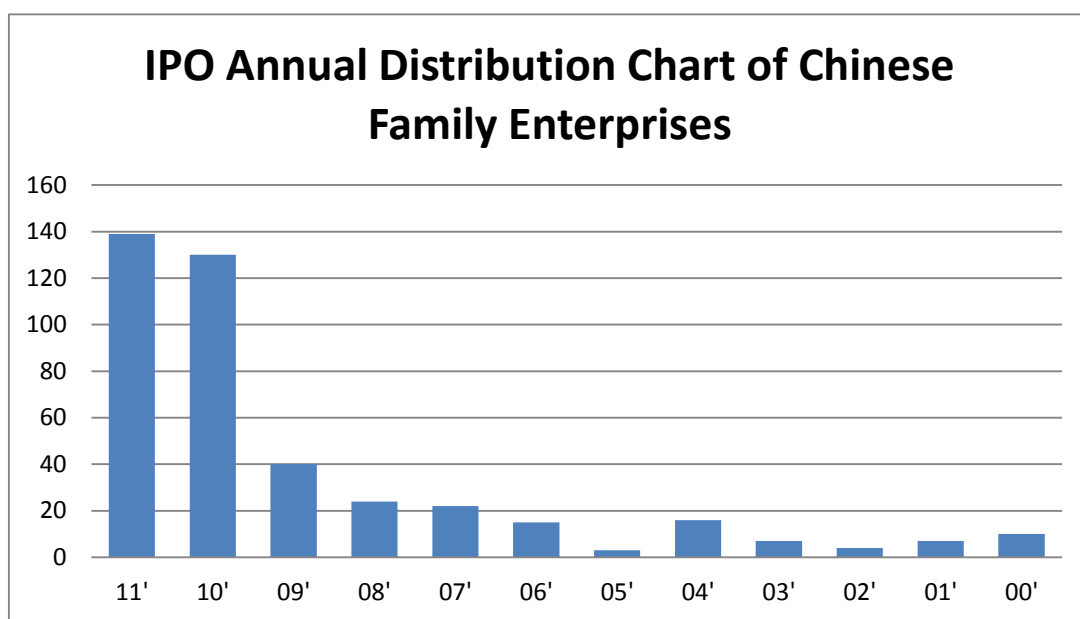


Chart 4: IPO Annual Distribution Chart of Chinese Family Enterprises

Source: Forbes china³¹.

Pan Bi Sheng is one of the most outstanding experts about family enterprise research in China. He has his own ideas about family enterprise:

When a family or some families who have close alliance relationship owns (own) all or part of the enterprise, also directly or indirectly controls the managing right of the enterprise, this kind of enterprise is family enterprise. In this definition, the ownership is its inherent basic conditions, and the control of the managing right is the main basis for differentiating developing stages of family enterprise. According to the

³¹ <http://www.forbeschina.com> (visited in March, 2012).

level of the family penetrates the enterprise and their type of relationship, the family enterprise can be divided into three types: (1) no disjunction of ownership and managing right, all mastered by the family; (2) holds incomplete ownership, but still holds main managing right; (3) holds only a part of the ownership and basically does not have managing right³² (Pan, 1998).

Actually, his concept has no big difference with other experts' concepts which we have been presented above. The main ideas are all about possession of the enterprise and the controlling ability of managing, as what he said: "*the ownership is its inherent basic conditions, and the control of the managing right is the main basis for differentiating developing stages of family enterprise*" (Pan, 1998). However, his contribution is to differentiate family enterprises with the standard of how the family penetrates enterprise and the control of the managing right. According to his theory there are three types of family enterprises. And now we are more interested in recognizing which type is more suitable to Chinese immigrants' context.

Accordingly, to the features of most Chinese immigrants' business which are small family enterprises, we suspect that the first type is more suitable, that is to say, for small family enterprises there is no disjunction of ownership and managing right, all mastered by the family. Because most of the small family enterprises are totally owned by family and managed by family as well, the ownership and managing right can't be divided. If the ownership and managing right have been divided like the third type as Pan Bi Sheng mentioned, in that case the ownership of small business enterprise will be among several shareholders, but are they within the same family or not? If they are not from same family, but from several different families, and we can't help asking whose family enterprise it will be? The question also goes to the business manage issues. If the family

³² 潘必胜 (1998): 当一个家族或数个具有紧密联盟关系的家族拥有企业全部或部分所有权, 并直接或间接掌握企业的经营权时, 这个企业就是家族企业。在这个定义中, 拥有所有权是其内在的基本条件, 而对经营权的掌握则是区分家族企业的不同发展阶段的主要依据。根据家族关系渗入企业的程度及其关系类型, 可以把家族企业分为三种类型: (1) 所有权和经营权不分离, 全由一个家族所掌握的; (2) 掌握着不完全的所有权却仍掌握主要经营权的; (3) 掌握部分所有权而基本不掌握经营权的。

basically doesn't have managing right, who carries out the enterprise management then?

In short, we can hardly image how small family enterprises will be operating under condition of the third type. Obviously the first type is more suitable to our context about small family enterprises since the third type more likely refers to big family enterprises like listed companies, or we can even doubt if the third type can be attributed to family enterprises, for we can't find any clear division between family enterprise and common enterprise or listed enterprise under the third type context.

The second type which Pan Bi Sheng has mentioned seems very interesting, it also coheres with the small family enterprise, and comparing to the first type, their difference lies only in "incomplete ownership". The owner of small family enterprises is not necessary to have 100% of ownership, like what Ernesto J. Poza (2010) said that the ownership control only need to be over 15% since the majority of economists thought it should be over 50%, either way, it doesn't need to be 100% of ownership. It's normal that the owner doesn't have complete ownership and this situation occasionally happens to small family enterprises. In this situation, the owner can have most of the ownership and the rest part can be shared with others. For instance when the owner doesn't have enough investment to start the business, he needs investment from others or from the bank, but it doesn't affect to name or classify his enterprise "family enterprise".

Accordingly to the argumentation above, now we can conclude that the second type adjusts the situation of family enterprises like the first type. But now what we have to do is to identify what kind of family enterprises suits the situation, the large ones or small ones, or both of them? Like what we have already argued before, enterprises which hold incomplete ownership, but still hold the main managing right could be small family enterprises, but also could be large family enterprises. About the small family enterprises, it has been explained, and about the grand family enterprise, listed family enterprises are the best examples, because listed family enterprises dominant the managing right without holding complete ownership of enterprises. Therefore we can also conclude that the second type suites both two different kinds of family enterprises.

1.8.3. DEFINITION DEBATE OF FAMILY ENTERPRISE

In the previous part, we have argued about different concepts and definitions of family enterprise from English speaking world, and also come down to major viewpoints from Spanish institute of family enterprise and Chinese scholar. Their definitions have many differences, but generally their emphases are very similar, and their main concerns are:

Firstly, most definitions mentioned the ownership of family enterprise, no matter how the rate changes, it's always the priority. In my opinion, this truly reflects that the scarcity of capital, that is to say, the one who owns the scarcest element who owns enterprise. Capital is the scarcest element for enterprise, but with the expansion of market and business scale, and the elevation of technology and skills, the capital doesn't seem to be the scarcest element, meanwhile the technology resources and talents resources are becoming more important and somehow begin to play more important roles in enterprise, and this tells us that capital is the most important element only in some certain stages. Thus we suppose that if we are going to define family enterprise with the criteria of ownership, we should not forget two important criteria: a) analysing the developing stage of family enterprise; b) analysing the importance of talents and technology resources to family enterprise. With these two references, it helps us to define a family enterprise more correctly.

Secondly, family members' involvement in business is the second most important topic in the definition debate. This criterion is also mentioned constantly. Actually comparing to non-family enterprise, family enterprise has strong relationship with one or several families, that is to say the family members' involvement in business is one of the most important signs to family enterprise. As demonstrated above, different definitions have their own emphasis and method to present family members' involvement. Like some researchers argued certain rate of family members need to be involved in the management while someone said that it's even not necessary for family members to be involved in the management as long as the family has main ownership. We can suppose that this idea should come from someone who considers the capital is

the most essential element. They both have reasons in certain circumstances, in my opinion, this criterion can be flexible by analysing the certain cases before defining, that is to say, the rate of family members' involvement should be flexible and changeable accordingly to the individual case. The rate is the second thing to deal with while the situation of the individual family enterprise like its scale and type is the priority to start with.

About the involvement of family members in the enterprise, one thing we should pay attention to is what Paul Westhead and his colleagues commented "*whether members of an emotional kinship group' perceive their firm as being a family business*" (Westhead, 2002), because in his idea how they perceive themselves is more important than just involving or participate. To my opinion, this emotional kinship could be the soul of family enterprise, only this component makes family members think that they work for family or work for themselves rather than just being an employee of the company.

Thirdly, business succession is also a very important criterion for defining family enterprise, almost all the definitions given before have descriptions about business succession or intergenerational ownership transition. After comparing the definitions, we find that authors are using various ways to describe business succession. Ernesto J. Poza (2010) denominates it as "*the dream (or possibility) of continuity across generations*". Other experts are more likely to make the business succession as a criterion for defining family enterprise. Should we put business succession as the criterion for defining family enterprise?

We could suppose that in a big enterprise, the owner has 100% ownership of enterprise and almost all the important managing positions are occupied by family members, but the owner didn't want to pass his enterprise to his next generation or to family member, or he went bankrupt before he passed his next generation, so here comes the question, is this still family enterprise because of the succession issue. Accordingly to the precious two criteria, the answer is positive. However if we take the business succession criterion into account, it cannot be called family enterprise even

though it has almost main features of family enterprise. Therefore based on pessimistic succession data of family enterprises and this case I may incline to Poza' idea, business succession is just a dream or reference for helping defining family enterprise.

1.8.4. THE F-PEC SCALE OF FAMILY ENTERPRISE

While the academic world of economy studies is busy disguising and solving family enterprise definition problem, there are some voices raised from the second meeting of the International Family Enterprise Academy which was held in Amsterdam in 2000. Since then on, a number of discussions have been held on this topic and researchers around the world have begun to strengthen international collaboration on the research. This new idea was dedicated to solve the definition problem of family enterprise, and this study is called the F-PEC scale of family influence.

The F-PEC scale is about the family influence on the enterprise, more specifically, in F-PEC scale system there are three important dimensions of family influence that should be considered: Power, Experience and Culture. These three dimensions, or subscales, comprise the F-PEC scale system, an index of family influence. This index enables comparisons across business concerning levels of family involvement and its effects on performance as well as other business behaviours (Astrachan, 2002). The diagram shows subscales along with their dimensions making up the F-PEC scale.

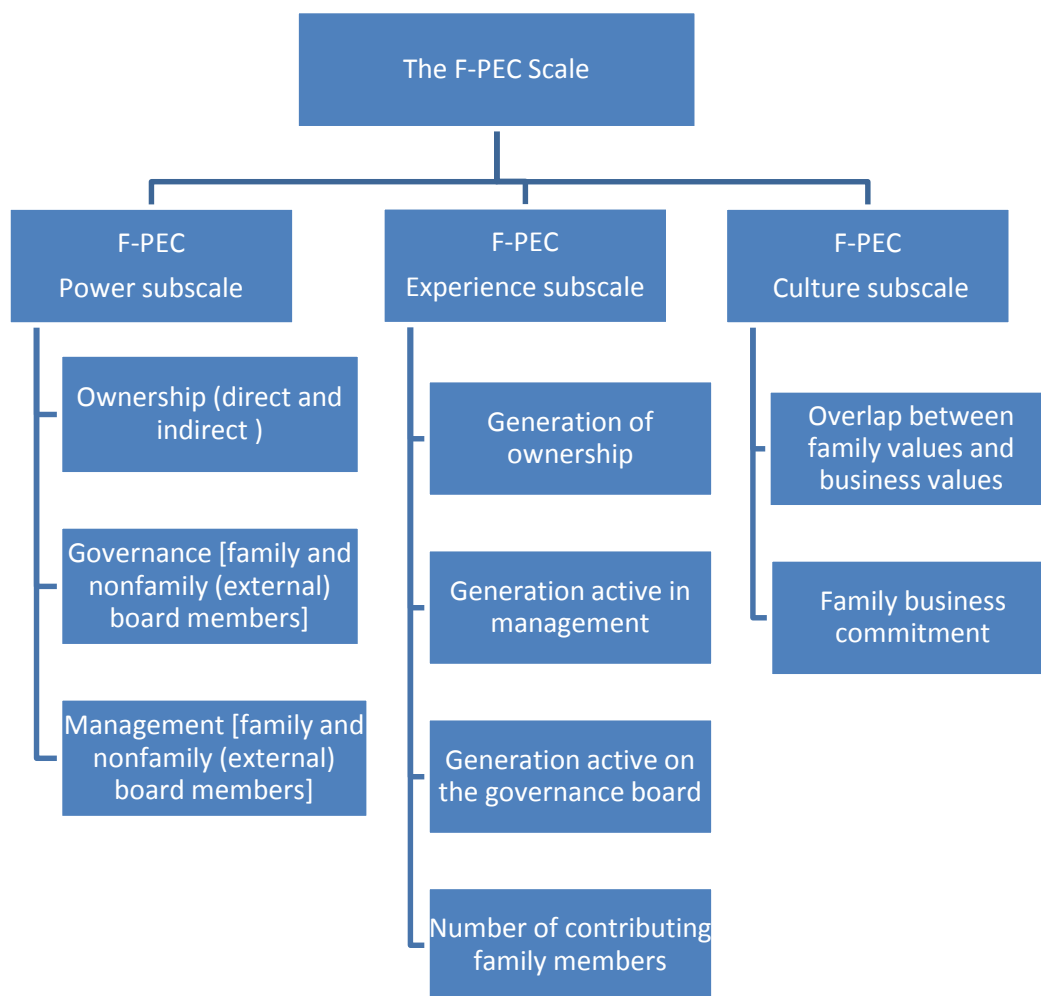


Diagram 3: The F-PEC Scale Contents.

Source: *The F-PEC scale of family influence: A proposal for solving the family business definition problem (Astrachan, et. al., 2002).*

As the research goes, in this paper, many theoretical material of family enterprise has been argued and discussed. When it comes to the F-PEC scale, it's very necessary to use a specific section to discuss and make comparison with previous family enterprise definitions we have been worked before. Its uniqueness and innovative ideas are very attractive to family enterprise researchers.

Even though many researchers believe that the F-PEC scale system provides an overall measure of family influence which can help dealing with the definition problem. Nevertheless it was built on the foundations of previous family enterprise studies, and

the main factors of the F-PEC scale are more or less the same as mainstream family enterprise definitions. Due to this reason, we are going to discuss and compare the F-PEC scale system with the previous definitions to clarify their similarities.

First of all, about the power dimension, in this part it has three subscales, ownership, governance and management. We have to face the ownership possession problem, the priority problem to be solved, according to the F-PEC scale study, the ownership can be measured and F-PEC scale provides a specific mathematical way and measurement to calculate the family influence on the enterprise, this is an innovative concept, however the core problem of family enterprise definition still remains unsolved. The main argument is not to calculate the ownership possession, but to clarify how much percentage of family ownership possession is needed for separating family enterprises from nonfamily enterprises. The new weighting system calculates the proportion of family influence on the enterprise in a better way, but what is the exact border between family enterprise and non-family enterprise? Then it comes back to the old question of family enterprise ownership proportion.

Besides measuring the ownership, F-PEC scale also measures the family influence through governance and management as the proportion of family representatives who are the members of the governance or management boards. It's a contribution to make governance and management quantified, in previous definitions we learn that some researchers thought there must be some certain proportion of family members to work as key governing or managing personnel in the enterprise while some researchers even believe that it is not really necessary, the argument also remains on the proportion problem. The F-PEC scale measures the governance and management, but still it doesn't have a fix ration to clarify the limitation between family enterprise and non-family enterprise.

The experience subscale of the F-PEC scale system discusses the family business experience subscale in relation to succession and the number of family members who contribute to the business. A number of researchers believe that family enterprise succession is a very important feature of family enterprise, like Heck and Scannelltrent

(1999) state that an enterprise can be viewed only as a family business when a transfer to the next generation is intended. Other researchers like Daily and Thompson (1994) consider that at least one generational transfer should have occurred (Poutziouris et. al., 2008: 174). But to my point of view, family business succession shouldn't be considered as criterion for defining family enterprise, the reason has already been stated earlier.

The F-PEC scale for experience subscales has four items: generation of ownership, generation active in management, generation active on the governance board and number of contributing family members. These four subscales almost include the family experience influence from all aspects, it's complete and the way of weighting family experience influence is also commendable. The only doubt is if the business experience is always positively increasing or not. Joseph H. Astrachan (2002) comments that *"all authors agree that each succession adds considerable valuable business experience to the family and the company"*, however the previous research shows that the situation of successful family enterprise succession is not very optimistic. Therefore we believe that each succession or generation adds experience to the family and company, which can't be denied and ignored, nevertheless the experience can be positive or negative, that is to say, if the business experience is positive, the enterprise will develop better and survive, but if it's negative, it will easily suffocate the enterprise.

Besides, nowadays the business environment and situation are changing fast, the old experience normally doesn't really fit the present situation, next generation doesn't need to follow old steps, they have always to adjust themselves for the new situation, like what Darwinism commented that *"only the fittest will survive"*, thus fit the new situation is the more important than following past experience, during this process, experience will be gained, but the experience can be valuable experience or bad experience which leads the enterprise a dead end.

It is considered that business culture is an important family enterprise element (Poutziouris et. al., 2008: 173). According to his perspective, a firm can be considered a family business when family and business share assumptions and values. Other

researchers define a family firm in terms of how the CEO, its managers, or its owners view the business. For example, it is reasonable to assume that owners or managers who regard their enterprise as a family business are highly likely to be attentive to issues and opinions of family members, as well as meeting the needs of family members. The F-PEC scale takes the enterprise culture into account, which makes the whole system completed, as what we have been commented earlier, cultural issues should be a part of family enterprise study, and it's very important to see how the members consider themselves.

The development of objective methods for separating family enterprise from non-family enterprise is still in its infancy (Chrisman et al., 2003). Both theoretical and empirical attempts to define family enterprise are still open for discussion, nevertheless from all the argumentations above we could learn that:

1. The definitions of family enterprises are still open for discuss, especially the proportion of main elements.
2. Most of the definitions of family enterprise are serving the large family enterprise.
3. Because the definitions are more inclined to large family enterprises, the result is it is hardly taking into account the small family enterprises.
4. The managing systems of small family enterprises and large family enterprises have huge differences, the way of how small family enterprises managing is not given enough attention.
5. In large family enterprises and small family enterprises, the family relationship is various as well.

The large family enterprises and small family enterprises have similarities, but cannot hide their huge differences. Since there are many differences between large family enterprise and small family enterprise, it's suggested to divide the family enterprise study into two parts, in this case the emphasis will focus on the study of large family enterprise while others could focus on small family enterprise which is a

weakness of family enterprise study.

It's hard to break the bottleneck of the family enterprise theory and study. During the research it's found that some researchers from Scandinavia focus on the phenomenon of small scale enterprises, commodity production which has been used in a new interpretation polite way and life mode of the owners. Their life mode theory and studying is using for social education in Scandinavia countries, this study could be a breakthrough of Chinese migrants research.

1.9. LIFE-MODE THEORY: A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRANT STUDY

An alternative way of working with the question of economic anthropology was proposed by the Scandinavian scientists who work with the *life-mode theory* as it called. The part of this anthropological theory that is interesting for the question we deal with here is based on a profound reflection on contributions within the discourses inspired by Karl Marx. The basic hypothesis of Marxist thinking is that the different societies can be analysed with help of the concept *mode of production* which on the other hand is a basic concept for dealing with the concept *social formation*. Both concepts have experienced profound changes in life-mode theory.

1.9.1. MODES OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL FORMATIONS

This chapter is about to introduce the concepts of *modes of production* and *social formation* in order to further discuss the notions of the two modes of production we call *capitalist mode of production* and *simple commodity mode of production*. Most importantly all these foreshadowing work will lead us to the concepts of different life-modes. Life-mode analysis is another perspective to modes of production, it works as a very efficient tool for us to understand Chinese immigrants' work and life in a more anthropological way.

The concept mode of production was introduced by Karl Marx who differentiated the notion of relations of production and forces of production, considering that the connection between these two factors makes us able to define different modes of production. *Forces of Production* refers to the mode of appropriation of nature, which means to the labour process in which a determinate raw material is transformed into a determinate product. The elementary factors of the labour process are the personal activity of man; the subject of work and its instrument (Marx, 2008: 178). This concept actually informs about who organizes the work-process, *Relations of Production*. Marx and Engels means the total social relationships people necessarily have to participate in order to survive, to produce and reproduce their means of life. This concept in the end

deals with the distribution and therefore with the benefits of production, who appropriates the products.

According to traditional Marxist theory, the basic social contradiction is between Forces of Production and Relations of Production. The relations between forces of production and relations of production are summarized as following two: Firstly, forces of production determine relations of production. That is to say, traditional Marxist thinking parts from the idea that there always exist relations of production which are determined by the forces of production. For instance, commonly it is supposed that stone implements a production which corresponds with the relation of production of primitive commune; Bronzes corresponds with the relation of production of slavery; Ironware corresponds with the relation of production of feudalism; machine production corresponds with the relation of capitalist production.

In this traditional Marxist thinking it is stated that changes in the development of forces of production determine the change of the relations of production. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or- this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms-with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. As Marx commented in his work: *“From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution”* (Marx, 2008: 12). This argument shows the dynamic relationship between Forces of Production and Relations of Production, nevertheless still we can't explain how simple commodity mode of production came into being and why in the United States there still existed slavery in the 19th century.

Secondly, in traditional Marxist thinking it is supposed that the relation of production reacts up on the force of production. This means when relation of production suits the status of the force of production, it plays a catalytic role, and vice-versa.

A mode of production is an articulated combination of relations and forces of production. The difference between one mode of production and another is the effect of

variation in the form of combination of the relationship and forces of production. This variation and difference between one combination and another, therefore appears capable of explaining real history effects.

Marxist scientists define social formation as complex of different modes of production. 'Social formation' is a Marxist concept which may loosely be said to correspond to the ideology notion of 'society'. It designates a complex structure of social relations, a unity of economic, ideological and in certain cases, political structural levels in which the role of the economy is determinant (Hindess & Hirst, 1975).

The relation between the concepts of mode of production and of social formation may be understood in terms of the condition of existence of particular modes of production. The concepts of the relations and the forces of production are economic concepts whose articulated combination defines a particular type of structure of economic social relations. The concept of each particular mode of production defines certain economic, ideological or political conditions that are necessary to the existence of that structure of economic social relations.

A fundamental requirement for any social theory is that it should be able to clarify the processes of social development. Similarly, the test of the concept of social formation is its ability to provide a structural history of the processes of transformation of society. Because of the logical concept structure involved, any social formation must contain more than one mode of production if this transformation analysis is to be possible. This argument coincides with what Højrup wrote in his book:

"If we imagine two social formations, each with its own mode of production, where one follows the other in a theoretical reconstruction of the historical process, the central question becomes: "How has the transition from one mode of production to the other been possible?" Since the social formation could at no time have been without a mode of production, the two modes, in order to follow one another, must at one point have co-existed within a single social formation (...). In all societies, logic forces us to consider the social formation as a complex of several modes of production. Seen from

this perspective, the coexistence of the structural parts is the central feature in the dialectics of the social formation” (Højrup, 2003: 16).

Many obvious examples can support this conclusion, the most convincing example we could find is the American Civil War, the contradict of capitalist and slavery’s mode of production caused the war, we find that there can be two main modes of production at the same time and the order of the social development from primitive society to communist has lot to discuss. Another example is from ancient China, in Chinese feudalism society existed an initial type of capitalist mode of production. In large silk factory and ceramic factory, in the big private workshop, the owner hired many workers, they had clear division of labour (Yuan, 2009). As a matter of fact, Marxist economic determinism won’t stand up according to what we have discussed so far. We believe that in the same social formation, there are always more than one mode of production coexisting.

Simple commodity mode of production is another convincing example in this concept. According to Marxist theory, there are social formations of primitive commune, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and communism, and we have reasons to believe that simple commodity mode of production existed in almost all these social formations. We could imagine that there is always somebody who works for himself like self-employed people, handicraftsmen, bakers, someone who has his own bakery or small handcraft shop, no matter it was in the past or in present time, simple commodity mode of production has been always existed and coexisted with other modes of production, though they appear in different variants according to the mix of modes of production in each social formation, because every mode of production needs specific legal, economic, ideological, political conditions.

In different social formations (societies) you can find variants of the involved modes of production. Means that if we take simple commodity production as example, it is not the same to be self-employed in a society with capitalist mode of production and in feudal mode of production. Capitalist mode of production needs a free commodity market or to be self-employed while in feudal environment guilds which

protect the autonomous are essential.

Unlike economic determinism and the determinism of forces of production, in this research, we are going to expound modes of production in another way, to introduce Højrup's theory of life-mode study. Before introducing life-mode analysis and different life-modes, it's necessary to review capitalist mode of production and simple commodity mode of production for us to continue with their corresponding life-modes.

1.9.2. CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

In the academic world, discussions about capitalism have never been stopped, from how capitalism started, its formations to its development. Outstanding researchers from different branches of disciplines did profound study on these fields, to name a few, and we found that most of their researches are concentrated on the origins and formation of capitalism and its economic sense. Before getting into the capitalist mode of production and life-modes study, first of all we are going to review some classic studies of capitalism from some of these outstanding researchers. Life-mode study will be introduced afterwards as central theme of the research. Accordingly some specific life-modes of capitalist mode of production will be introduced as well.

Regarding the origins of capitalism, we have mentioned Marx's theory in the social formation chapter, and here we are starting directly with other researchers of capitalism and their points of view. Max Weber who has quite different opinions with majority capitalist researchers, affirms in his most famous work "*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*" that capitalism emerged from the ideological structures of the religion. He proposed that ascetic Protestantism was one of the major "elective affinities" associated with the rise in the Western world of market-driven capitalism (Weber, 2003). In other words, the protestant work ethic was an important force behind the unplanned and uncoordinated mass action that influenced the development of capitalism. In his book he wrote:

"One of the fundamental elements of the spirit of modern capitalism, and not only

of that but of all modern culture: rational conduct on the basis of the idea of the calling, was born — that is what this discussion has sought to demonstrate — from the spirit of Christian asceticism” (Weber, 2003: 180).

Weber emphasised the importance of cultural influences embedded in religion as a means for understanding the genesis of capitalism (Weber, 2003), his idea is quite against Marx's *historical materialism*. Although the Asian context, like Chinese and Japanese context doesn't help to support his viewpoints, but we can at least believe that the religion and culture influence could be elements for the genesis of capitalism in Europe. Weber's emphasis on the cultural influence reminds me the anthropologist Marvin Harris who is known for his concept of *cultural materialism*, nevertheless his idea is on the contrary to Weber's theory. He amplified some Marxist core concepts as means of production and exploitation, but most importantly his cultural materialism “*is based on the simple premise that human social life is a response to the practical problems of earthly existence”* (Harris, 2001).

Another point of view was presented by Maurice Dobb (1963), whose theory had great influence in the capitalism study and has been supported by many researchers. He argues that capitalism was born from the petty mode of production as it broke free of feudal domination and as social differentiation took place within it. Social differentiation means that, in the struggle over feudal rent and in the competition of the marketplace, some people won and some people lost. Some peasants were more successful than others in their struggle with the lords and in their participation in the new market economy.

The less successful peasants lost their land and had to work for wages, this was crucial for the rise of capitalism for Dobb, as what he commented “*the transition from coercive extraction of surplus labour by the estate owners to the use of free depends on the existence of cheap labour for hire”* (Dobb, 1978: 61). The yeomen or freehold farmers were important at the dawn of capitalism. If there is no class of people who must work for a wage to live, then the old social system will survive. If there is a class of wage labourers, the old system will dissolve (Headlee, 1991: 16).

The process of capitalism, the dynamic of capital accumulation, preceded the development of the capitalist mode of production, Marx dated back to the fourteenth and fifteenth century in a few townships at the Mediterranean. As the study of capitalism as a social system is not our main interest, neither its types like state capitalism or Laissez-faire capitalism, nor its advantages or disadvantages for the social development, we need to distinguish capitalism from capitalist way of production and concentrate on the main objects, the capitalist mode of production and its related life-modes.

As mentioned before, the concept mode of production means simply ‘the distinctive way of producing’, which in the Marxist approach is defined in terms of how it is socially organized (relations of production) and how the working process is organized in a technological and a social dimension (productive forces). It demonstrates the production process and how the production process works. In general, the capitalist mode of production is characterized by private ownership of the means of production, extraction of the surplus value created in production by a class of private owners (referred to as exploitation in the view of Marx), wage-based labour, and distribution of both capital goods and consumer goods in a market-based economy (referred to as commodity production) (Marx, 2008).

The definition of the capitalist mode of production which Marx worked out in *The Capital* revolutionized the debate about economy. Before Marx, *capitalism* simply referred to the possession of capital, in its modern sense, the term capitalism originally comes from the writings of Marx (Scott, 2005). According to this work, it’s possible to summarize the essential defining characteristics of the capitalist mode of production as follows:

- Private ownership of the means of production: Ownership of different means of production makes the capitalists able to organize various kinds of producing. Opposite to wage-labours, the capitalists who own the means of production can decide how and what to produce.

- Wage labour: a defining feature of capitalism is the dependency on wage-labour for a large segment of the population; specifically, the working class who do not own capital and means of production must live by selling their labour power in exchange for a wage or salary. Workers must be free people, and we call them “employees”, the relationship between capitalists (employers) and employees is established on base of contract (Hegel, 2008).
- Capital: capitalist mode of production is based around the accumulation of capital, whereby financial capital is invested in order to realize a profit and then reinvested into further production in a continuous process of accumulation. It is the essential for starting the business.

These three characteristics make possible of capitalist mode of production come into being, however there exists the basic precondition of capitalist production— the creation of profit. The creation of profit is understood as the aim of capitalist mode of production and also is understood as the difference between exchange value and use value.

Besides the three main factors above, there are some more factors which should not be disregarded in the capitalist mode of production, which are competitive productions, market and social conditions. In human history, we see capital existed, commercial trade existed, but it did not lead necessarily to industrialization and large-scale capitalist production. We can't help to search for the answers, logic forces us to think that there must be more conditions for the emergence of the capitalist mode of production. There should be namely specific technologies of mass production, the ability to independence and trade with means of production, a legal framework promoting commerce, a physical infrastructure making the circulation of goods on a large scale possible, security for private accumulation and so forth.

History and research of capitalist production showed that although there was plenty of capital and labour available in the history, but still didn't raise productions that can be characterized as capitalist production. The barriers for the development of

capitalist markets are less a technical matter and more a social, cultural and political problem. American civil war is a very convincing example for this argument, because in that epoch both existed capitalist production and slavery, so the barrier for capitalist production is certainly not the insufficient force of production or market. Exclude others factors which historian revisionists commented like sectionalism and territorial crisis, the aim of this war is to end slavery (Williams 2006: 75), and the way of ending it is not by bottom-up revolution but by external political factors.

1.9.3. LIFE-MODES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

Capitalist mode of production needs at least two social groups: capitalists (with entrepreneurial capacity and management skills) and wage-earners (free, as Marx says in a double sense: as individuals which can sign a contract and free from possession, so they need to work to get income). The capitalist mode of production needs wage-earners who are free workers, free workers include all physical and mental human resources and management skills which are needed to carry out predefined work in the process of production products and services in the capitalist mode of production. Regarding free workers, Dobb describes the capitalist mode of production as a particular form of the appropriation of surplus labour by a class possessing economic power and privilege (Dobb, 1963). This particular form consists in the fact that the working class is forced to sell its labour power in order to support itself because it does not own means of production or means of subsistence as feudal cultivators had.

Marx describes in *The Capital* a first variant of capitalism that could be named owner capitalism. Diagram 4 shows the most important relations within it: the owner capitalism is characterized by a capitalist who provides both capital and the management that has to guarantee the creation of surplus to the enterprise. Wage-earners sell their time to the enterprise and the salary is fixed by a negotiation between employer and employees. The wage-earners have since the beginnings opted to intent to monopolize the total labour force in order to be able to exercise more pressure to the

employers. This is the logical place of solidarity among wage-earners and finally of the trade-unions.

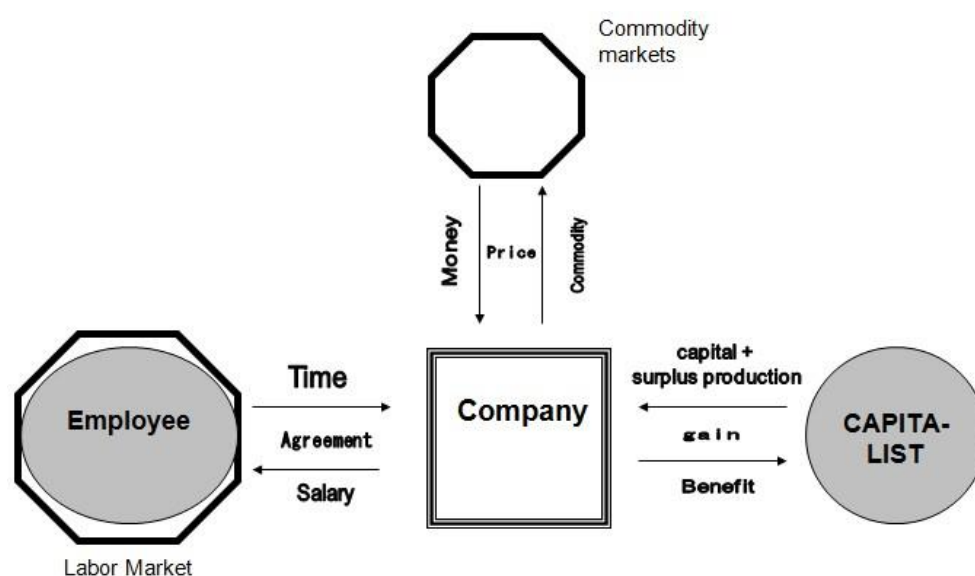


Diagram 4: Capitalist mode of production

Source: *Die strukturelle Lebens form analyse*, Klaus Schriewer (1993), the original version is in German - translated by the author.

As the Diagram 4 shows, the capitalist mode of production is structured by three main relations: a capitalist invests capital to a company and organizes the production since he owns the means of production. He could gain benefit which comes from exploitation of workers. For workers and employees, they sell their time in work and have their salary paid, in this relationship agreement is very important for both sides, because the price for working time has to be defined, but how to set a price becomes a question. Both parties (capitalist and workers) have to negotiate the payment for working time, and it should to be acceptable by all, in this case trade union appears and plays an important role in the negotiation and fight for workers' interests (Nielsen, 2016).

Marxists criticized the capitalist mode of production, because from their point of view this mode of production exploits workers and they described it even as an evil system of exploitation of men by men. The capitalists exploit the wage-labours who don't own the means of production through the economic forces that make it necessary

for the latter to work for the former, rather than by the direct force or political-military coercion used against the serfs and peasants in feudalism context. The exploitation takes the form of the workers producing more value than they receive back in wages or salary, we called it surplus value which capitalists batten on.

From the capitalist mode of production perspective, the relationship between capitalists and workers is an employer-employee relationship, and from Marxist perspective, the contradiction between the capitalists and the working class is between exploiters and exploited and is by nature antagonistic. But what does exploitation mean? If we return to *The Capital*, we can see that it is defined as the difference between what Marx denominated the use value and the exchange value, both concepts had a long history in economic and philosophical thought, dated back to the classical economics. Marx developed the concepts and put forward to the surplus value which capitalists exploit from wage-labours equals the use value minus the exchange value. In short, the profit gained by the capitalists is the difference between the value of the product made by workers and the real wage that workers receive, that is to say, capitalism bases on using the capital and means of production to exploit and gain surplus value.

The discussion of capitalist mode of production is for leading our main topic which is life-mode study, as a matter of fact, our discussion about capitalist mode of production ends with the Schriewer's (1993) diagram of capitalist mode of production.

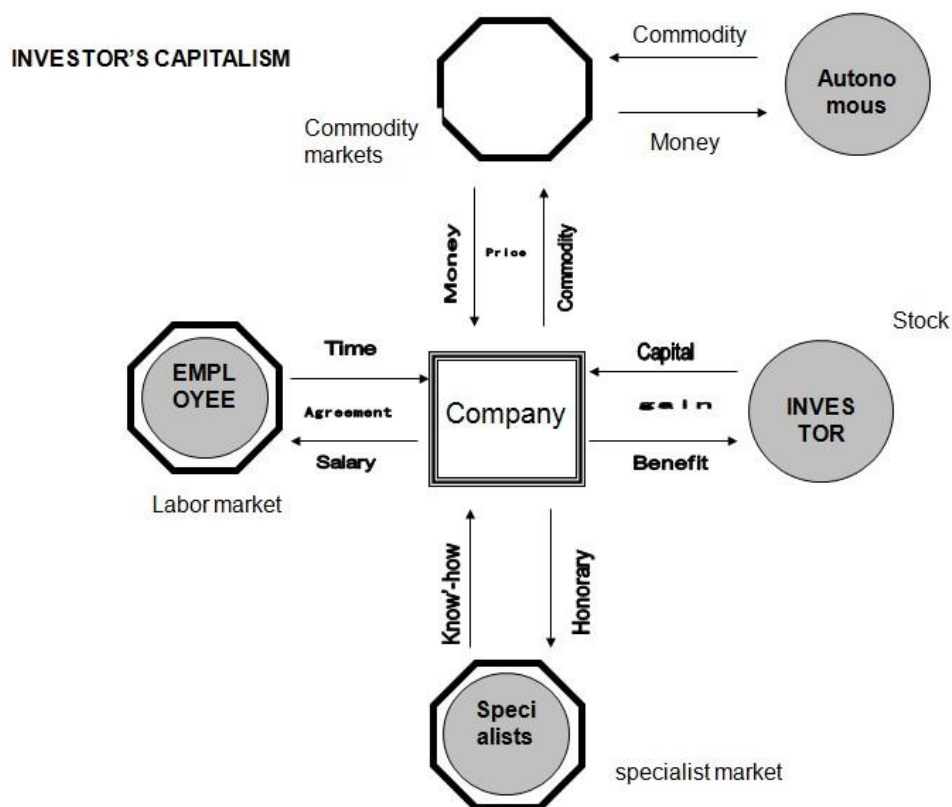


Diagram 5: Investor's capitalism and simple commodity mode of production.

Source: *Die strukturelle Lebens form analyse*, Klaus Schiewer (1993), the original version is in German translated by the author.

The diagram 5 from Schiewer (1993) introduced two new elements: on the one hand a current variant of capitalism, and on the other hand the relation to simple commodity production, besides it shows clearly the relationship of the elements in the context of capitalist mode of production and necessary conditions among them. Schiewer mentioned the 'specialists' in the diagram, which stimulates our curiosity, why they are separated from employees' section, are they employees same as wage-earners? What is the difference between the wage-earner and the specialists? All these questions lead us to next section about life-mode analysis.

In the beginning of the chapter, we commented the concept of 'social formation' and 'mode of production', which helped us to understand society as a structure of social relations. All the previous arguments and foreshadows are for introducing the life-mode concept, because life-mode study is rooted in radically different modes of production

which themselves have presupposition at all levels of the social formation. In another word, life-mode is another perspective in parallel with Marxism's classes and mode of production.

Conceptually speaking, 'society' is a complex of life-modes, each mode has its specific ideology and a life-mode specific system of practices. Having constructed the conceptual universe and life-pattern logically entailed by each specific life-mode, it is possible to use them to chart the everyday practices and ideologies of various segments of the population. The study of the life-modes made possible by certain modes of production is well suited for analysis of distinct ideological conceptions and everyday practices in a society (Højrup, 2003).

As Højrup commented in his book, the life-mode constituted by active human beings with a specific cultural consciousness, in terms of intensional logic, each life-mode concept is a terminal of the respective mode of production concept, and therefore identical with it (Højrup, 2003). This intensional identity between relations and terminals is illustrated below:

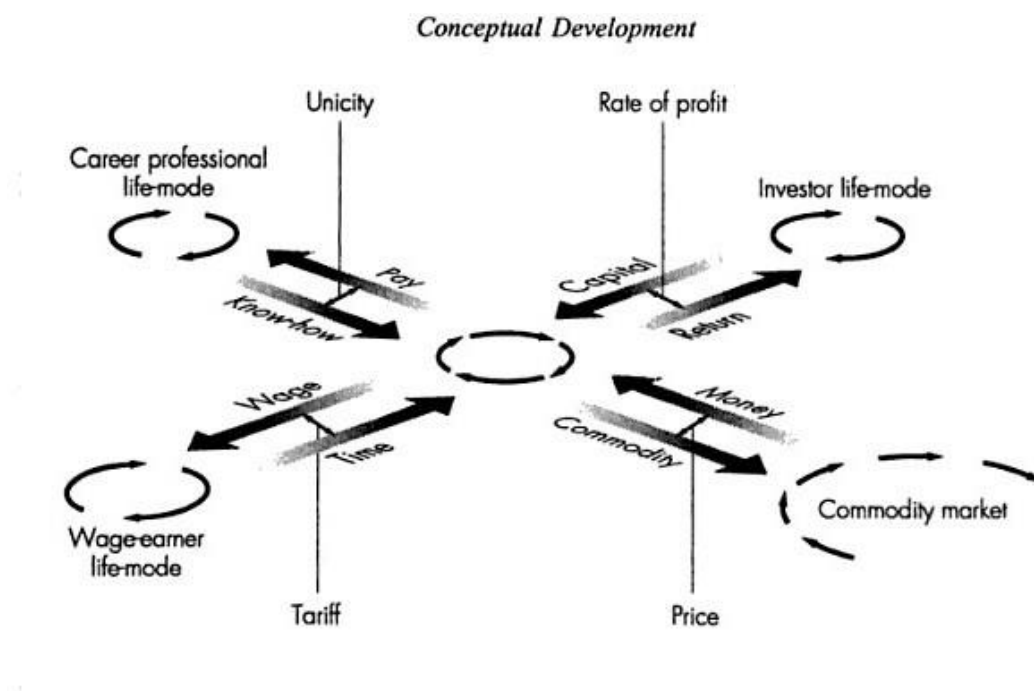


Diagram 6. Life-Mode Analysis.

Source: *State, Culture and Life-Modes*, Thomas Højrup (2003), Ashgate, Aldershot. P.119.

Now we can continue with the questions about ‘specialists’ who are career professionals shown in the diagram 5 and diagram 6. In the traditional Marxist concept of capitalist mode of production, specialists seem to be like other employees because they make no differences with other employees, they have all characters of wage-earners, and they are employees themselves. They have income like wage-earners, more or less have the same schedule of work and other characters like wage-earners. Nevertheless in life-mode theory a difference was worked out because conceptually the life mode of career professionals is deduced from the capitalist life-mode.

To have more direct view of life-mode and capitalist life-modes, in the following part, we are going to demonstrate two life-modes in capitalist mode of production, which is the life-mode of wage-earner, and life-mode of specialist.

1.9.3.1. LIFE-MODE OF WAGE-EARNERS

When one life-mode is considered from the point of view of another, it can never be perceived as it really is, nor can it be perceived in terms of those who actually live this life-mode. Rather, it is perceived as interpreted through the conceptual universe of the other life-mode. The basic character, advantages and disadvantages of each life-mode therefore appear entirely different when seen from a different life-mode. As we commented in the beginning of social formation section, life-mode analysis is an alternative way of working with the question of economic anthropology which was proposed by the Scandinavian scientists.

Life-mode analysis can be a useful theoretical tool (...) which can be used in a sceptical, critical way to help us restructure our conventional understanding of what the world is like (Højrup, 2003: 29).

We deal with the hypothesis that each mode of production can be seen as the framework for the praxis of one or several life-modes. Like in simple commodity production we can deduce the characteristics of the life-mode of self-employed people, the characteristics of wage-earners and ‘specialists’ are included in the capitalist mode

of production.

For capitalist production it is essential that the enterprise contracts people to carry out the labour to be done. Working-force is bought on the labour market. Thus there is the possibility to sell working-force to get a salary. The life-mode of wage-earners the one who works for wages receiving earning that supports the private household³³. The sale of working-force brings about the division of time, because there is a time you sell and that means where you have to follow the order of the enterprise and there is a time outside your work, which is of own disposition. Therefore the life-mode of the wage earner is founded upon a concept of work, which is conceived as the antithesis (the determinate negation) of the concept of free time. In the wage-earner life-mode, the relationship of work and free time is unity of oppositeness.

Firstly, people have to work because they are dependent on it. From the social point of view, 'work' is the mean for creating what people need for living, the mean of subsistence, broadly speaking. To wage-earners, it is the same, working is the mean for their material needs, but not the end, in this term there is no meaning in work. Some wage-earners may dislike their work, but they have to work for surviving, others may enjoy their work, either way they all love free time. However they cannot always have enjoyable free time, they have to put themselves to work.

Secondly, without work, free time loses its meaning. That is not difficult to understand if we take the involuntary unemployment as example. People who are involuntary unemployed have lots of free time, but without work they will not have any income and living guarantee (unemployment insurance is only temporary help), so it is questionable if they enjoy their free time with a peaceful mind, and there will be nothing more important to look forward to be employed again as soon as possible. At this point of view, work and free time are more united.

Besides, inversely proportional is also the feature of the relationship between work and free time. If the work at hand is nothing but drudgery, free time assumes the

³³ <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/wage+earner>.

character of pure relaxation and escape. The more loathsome the work, the more enjoyable the free time. Conversely, if work is more tolerable, free time will not appear as such a sharp contrast. This is more about psychological aspect, for instance, two wage-earners might do the same thing in their free time after all day's work, we could image the differences that one did very loathsome work while the other did very easy and comfortable job. To be concluded, the concepts of work and free time cannot exist without each other, nor can they be fused together.

The mode of dependence is characterized by the contrast between obligation and inclination. The obligatory character of work is therefore twofold: it's necessary to have work, and in the work process it is necessary to be under instructions. The wage is paid for the time spent at work and it is related to the type of work and intensity of work. The employer ensures an adequate level of work intensity which wage-earners have to follow. The work intensity which made by employer can be either heavy or tolerable, wage-earners can choose to accept or not, once both parts conclude an agreement, they will have to draft a contract and have to sign it, then both parties have to fulfil corresponding rights and obligations according to the contract.

To be able to enjoy free time according to 'inclination', one needs an income, and has to submit to the obligations of work with following employer's instructions. The concept of 'obligation' constitutes itself in absolute contrast to 'pleasure', 'inclination' and 'free time'. There could be no such thing as 'free time' except in contrast to its antithesis - 'work' (Højrup, 2003: 33). Free time is 'free' because it contrasts with 'obligation'. Work entails earning a living, but nothing motivates the specific acts of which it consists. They are strictly meaningless to the worker and having no intrinsic meaning, to earn a living in this life-mode, one must allow others to put you to work.

Unlike the life-mode of self-employed, the ideological conceptual system of wage-earners' life-mode is thus structured around a specific means-end relationship, where the end is to have an income and enjoy their free time. This conceptual system differs fundamentally from the means-end relationship in the life-mode of self-employed. The aim in this conceptual world is to sustain the own business or expand the free work.

The work in the own enterprise permits to establish the idea of a free work which does not need the opposition free time. Means and end are fused together in the life-mode of self-employed. When confronted with the necessity of raising additional income or have balance problem, self-employed people have no choice but either to change their business or develop a side-line work to maintain their business. In this case 'meaningless' waged work for wage-earners becomes meaningful pursuit for self-employed people. Therefore self-employed people could be colleagues of wage-earners when they have temporary waged work, and working with them at the same workplace. When wage-earners see their work as a means towards an end apart from that work, they will be unable to understand the self-employed, both in terms of how they think and how their life-mode really is (Højrup, 2003).

The character of work defines the character of free time. Conversely, free time is affected by which character of work is perceived. The level of expenditure is set according to the average income that work brings (Højrup, 2003). That is to say, when wage-earners who have normal work and don't have loan from the bank nor need for large investments, they usually have very pleasant free time like visiting the pub or club, watching TV or videos with family, taking a walk after dinner, organizing or attending some activities and so on. They manage to fill the free time during the week with various activities. During the weekend there is time for additional activities like going to mountains or beach, doing some shopping, cleaning, watching sport games, making or receiving visits from friends and family, etc.

However, in the case of some wage-earners who have loan from the bank for the new house on the beach, or better car, or someone wants to consume some luxury things with instalment, etc. With such an expansive free time orientation, the situation will be quite different. To high consumption wage-earners, work is no longer a mere unpleasant necessity, they would rather sacrifice some free time to put themselves to work in order to fulfil their high consumption. In this condition, wage-earners could tend to understand self-employed people, at least they will understand that self-employed people are not ergasiomania, they work from dawn to dark for make living or have high

consumption plan like them. As what Højrup commented in his book *“when the pursuit of self-employed life-mode is viewed as work, i.e. as dawn to dusk drudgery, it is perceived as analogous to one’s own overtime work to save up for down-payments on the new house or new car”* (Højrup, 2003: 36).

The reality is, the reason of self-employed people may work more than others is not because that they have high consumption expectation, but to re-establish the basis for their free work. Besides, in self-employed culture work is not ‘the bad’ but a good thing to maintain autonomy – they may work hard or hardly. And according to Højrup’s empirical studies, it shows that rural workers and other workers recruited from self-employed people are poor consumers. While high consumption wage-earners take outstanding loans for their new cars at the bank, self-employed people tend to maintain reserves and to have a positive balance on his account. In this way, they can ensure that their business can be sustained during periods of unemployment, falling prices, illness, and other unforeseen circumstances.

1.9.3.2. LIFE-MODE OF ‘SPECIALIST’

In the capitalist mode of production, and more precisely in the variant Højrup denominates investor capitalism, basically there are three corresponding life-modes, the life-mode of wage-earners which we had discussed, the life-mode of investors and the life-mode of ‘specialists’. In the developed countries like Denmark, one sixth of the total population might be characterized as belonging to the ‘specialists’ life-mode, and that of wage-earners accounts for about one-third of the Danish population (Højrup, 2003: 26). Connected with the cases from undeveloped and developing countries, we could speculate that the high-percentage of the bearers of the ‘specialist’ life-mode could be a norm to reflect the economic status of the country.

Between the life-mode of wage-earner and the life-mode of ‘specialist’, exist lots of similarities in an economical perspective. For instance, they all belong to the capitalist mode of production, they are both employees and get paid from employers,

besides most of the ‘specialist’ one time or another have experienced being wage-earner. Nevertheless our concern and interest is their differentia, their differences from cultural perspective, and more precisely from life-mode perspective.

Therefore we will keep discussing the life-mode in the capitalist mode of production, the life-mode of ‘specialist’ is the core of this section. Life-mode analysis mainly deals with people’s way of working, way of living, even more how bearers perceive themselves and perceive bearers from other life-modes, the situation of their family members will be involved as well, etc. Through comparing the life-mode of wage-earner in the previous section, it’s easier to understand the life-mode of ‘specialist’.

In Højrup’s book *State, Culture and Life-Modes* (Højrup, 2003), the life-mode of ‘specialist’ is called career-professional life-mode or life-mode 3³⁴. In our study, ‘specialist’ and career professional are supposed to be synonymous. The word ‘specialist’ was adopted from Schriewer’s book about life-mode analysis (Schriewer, 1993), and this word makes abstract concept more specific. In the early 1990th there was a discussion among scientists who work with the life-mode theory about the denomination of this life mode. Is it more adequate to use ‘specialist’ life-mode or career professional life-mode? The word ‘career’ explains better the hierarchy system of the bearers of this life-mode while ‘professional’ indicates the bearers’ professionalism. Comparatively speaking, ‘specialist’ is more specific which could prominence the bearers’ feature, their ‘unicity’. We should not try to connect our concept with the specific classes or occupations as what Højrup commented, neither prefer one expression to another for they only have different emphasis. Nevertheless in our case, more specific is more distinct and easier to be accepted.

From the diagram 5 (Schriewer, 1993), the ‘specialists’ and companies are connected with *know-how* and *honorary*, that is to say, the bearers of the ‘specialist’ life-mode offer their know-how to the company and the company reward them honorary.

³⁴ Other two life-modes supposed to be: life-mode 1 is the life-mode of self-employed, and life-mode 2 refers to the life-mode of wage-earner.

The know-how from ‘specialists’ and the honorary for them are different from time and salary concept for common wage-earners. Wage-earners sell their time and get their promised salary paid, this is the golden rule in capitalist context. However how we could value wage-earner’s time is already another topic, we can see union trade (or other collective representation of wage-earners) plays an important role for the negotiation of equivalent between time and salary.

The income of ‘specialist’ which we called honorary is different from employee’s salary, because on one hand, the honorary for ‘specialist’ are normally an enviable quantity, besides it’s not calculated by their working hours, on the other hand the honorary which is conceptually negotiated with the company in relation to the benefits the ‘specialist’ can create in the competition with other companies, which has nothing to do with the monopolizing carried out by the union trades. Envable quantity requires qualified know-how, compared to wage-earner, what ‘specialist’ can offer is much more than just offering his time, as a matter of fact, besides the bearers of ‘specialist’ life-mode offering their time, their qualification, experience, their influence of the field, and even their credibility and reputation always go with them. Those functions which may also be produced outside of their work make a great influence on their work and career. To characterize the specific input of ‘specialists’, Højrup used the word ‘unicity’.

‘Unicity’ is the most important mark of ‘specialist’, because to develop his or her career or maintain the position in hierarchies, the ‘specialist’ seeks to become irreplaceable to the firm, and this irreplaceability rests on his unique ability to produce solutions which keep the firm ahead of its competitors (Højrup, 2003:39). If such unique ability is to be reproduced and maintained, the professional’s qualification must be continually developed. If he cannot devote all his energies to maintain his qualifications, he will be overtaken by his “colleagues” or external competitors.

The clue given by Højrup of that ‘specialist’ seeks to become irreplaceable forces us to track down more about the way they work. In ‘specialist’ life-mode, the concept of work stands in sharp contrast to concepts of ‘work’ inherent in life-mode of wage-earner. For wage-earners, as we commented in the previous chapter, work merely serves

the function of achieving an income which will make it possible to live a meaningful life beyond work during their free time. Therefore work is not the pursuit of wage-earners, but the means for wage-earners to earn wages for living and enjoying free time, work is for living in short. In this sense, wages are not a product of work but are demanded as a quid pro quo for the time spent working. Nevertheless, on the contrary to wage-earners, the ‘specialists’ have to consider their work as an activity which they can fulfil themselves and develop their talents and qualifications. The bearers of the ‘specialist’ life-mode are dependent on a wage income like wage-earner as well, but the wages and free time could not become their main concern and pursuit, to them the income is for supporting their high quality life and high costly activities which are relevant for their career developing.

Here we need to note that no matter what life-modes we are describing, we should always take the social structural influence and the reproduction of corresponding culture into account. For wage-earner and ‘specialists’, their existences depend on the capitalist mode of production, without this pre-condition, wage-earners and ‘specialists’ even could not exist, to say nothing about their life-modes, and it’s also the reason why we talked about the capitalist mode of production in the first place. When the bearers of these two life-modes emerged, they became to create their culture and reproduce their culture, but once again under the pre-condition of capitalist mode of production.

The bearers of ‘specialist’ life-mode are self-realizations who need to be recognized as unique and irreplaceable. For accomplishing their goal, they are having a different life-mode from wage-earner and self-employed people. For a ‘specialist’, the division between working time and free time is fictitious. His/her involvement in work tasks is not confined to formal working hours. This is distinctly different from wage-earner’s concept “to be free is the opposite of being at work” (Højrup, 2003). Moreover, the professionality needs to use the “free time” to develop his/her qualification and to cultivate personal relationships that can aid his future career. For the ‘specialists’, wage-earners are frittering their time away, because they waste their time on treadmill in which they do not develop their qualifications or “get ahead”. It’s

even worse that they fritter away their free time on useless amusements instead of spending it purposefully on acquiring qualifications which would allow them to gradually improve their situation.

As a matter of fact, in contrast to wage-earner, which work is simply a means toward achieving an income for living and enjoyable free time, to the success-oriented 'specialist', the time spent off work tends to assume the character of a means in relation to achieve a more fulfilling career, thus for the bearers of 'specialist' life-mode, time is costly, it is never a matter of just 'passing the time', but has to be planned well in advance. And there is nothing 'free' about free time activities, they are costly and obligatory for achieving one's career goals. 'Free time' activities serve to support work goals, such as inviting colleagues home, taking them hunting, sailing or golfing, meeting them at a concert or lodge, etc. (Højrup, 2003: 40).

There exists no distinct concept of work in the 'specialist' life-mode, in this respect, similar to the life-mode of self-employed people, and in contrast with the life-mode of wage-earners. Even for free time, these two life-modes are similar as well, because self-employed people don't have clear border of working time and free time and their life-mode contains no corresponding concept of 'work' as opposed to 'non-work'. Therefore comparing to wage-earners, self-employed people make good use of their 'free time' by working for maintaining or improving their business, no matter they spend their 'free time' on routine-work or creative work, in a word they are more 'diligent' so to speak.

In 'specialist' career life, most of them have at one time or another experienced the wage-earner life-mode and had routine work experience. Even it is a temporary springboard in the career, yet this step seems very necessary and indispensable. During the work, 'specialists' devote effort to self-improvement for bringing themselves a better position and doing more creative work, throughout their effort and having struggled their way up the ladder to hierarchy, the 'specialists' become real specialists in their field and make success in their career, accompanied by comfort and leisure. Nevertheless it's difficult for 'specialists' being just satisfied with their temporal success and fulfilling, because it's contradict with their pursuit. As we have discussed

in earlier part their aim is not necessarily life comfort but challenge and looking for reaching up to the top of the hierarchy. Many cases both in China and Europe can prove this point of view. For instance, some large international companies' elites prefer to drive common car or even bicycles while many Chinese business elites eat as simple as common wage-earners and wearing cheap cloth shoes which don't match their identities at all.

These individual cases are certainly not including those who are looking for both career success and luxury life style, but at least we can conclude that for the bearers of 'specialists' life-mode, fulfilling or luxury life is just the accompaniment of their success, their careers and challenges are their perennial subjects of interest which can make them more fulfilled. Without new challenge and ambitious to climb up the hierarchy, their work will be like routine work which is not tolerable for bearers of 'specialist' life-mode.

The procedure for them to change from wage-earner life-mode to 'specialist' life-mode will be noticed easily as well. So from the point of view of wage-earners, the extra work effort of the 'specialist' can be easily understood. Those in wage-earner life-mode are blind to the fact that in the 'specialist' life-mode, the real purpose of one's efforts lies in the work itself, not in gaining free time.

Because of the character of their work and their concept of work, they have little time to spend with the family, even less to take care of them. In the 'specialist' life-mode the spouse (normally the wife) and family may play a supportive role and act like their backup and helper to support them to achieve their career goals. That is to say, in an unclear family of 'specialist' life-mode, the spouse has to devote to the other part, like the saying goes "behind every successful man, there is a woman". And this woman (man) normally plays an important role when her husband's (his wife's) career reaches a certain level.

Those of the 'specialist' life-mode are normally the white-headed men for head-hunter companies, they are specialists in their certain field, holding latest technology,

information or managing skills, they can be senior engineers or programmers, marketing directors, senior managers, high-tech products developers, network engineers, to name a few. To be freed from routine work and to display their ability and specially, bearers of 'specialist' life-mode need large-scale organizations or companies to show their talents. For instance, the headquarters of large international company with subsidiaries spread out the world need to train researchers, managers and other experts for abroad service, so they need bearers of the 'specialist' life-mode, and the company has to organize seminars more often to keep the 'specialists' ability updated. Mostly the large-scale companies could have the ability to offer them the opportunity exercise their specialty and managerial abilities.

By advancing up through or jumping to other companies, the 'specialist' delegates subordinate functions to others and assumes managing functions in which his qualification can be put to good use. His perspective is upward-oriented, towards the top of the hierarchies. As one moves up the hierarchy, work motivation seems transformed, from demands made by others to the free exercise of one's own judgment and skills. This distinction, wholly internal to the work process, gives a direction to the process of career advertisement – from work performed as obligation (execution) to work performed out of inclination (decision-making) (Højrup, 2003: 38).

From Højrup's comments, we learn that "*each individual act of work seems to be performed under instructions at lower levels and freely chosen by the experts or managers higher up*" (Højrup, 2003: 38), therefore we learn that the 'specialist' life-mode produces a conceptual division of the idea of work into 'decision-making' versus 'execution'. There is no doubt that the 'specialist' belong to the latter one who are the decision-makers. Their life-mode is particularly characteristic of fully developed industrial and financial capitalism, only under such condition they could find their proper stage for their career.

Since the working character of the 'specialist' life-mode is 'decision-making', so that they can control and directing others, to exert their creativity or have their creativity accomplished. This is very similar to the self-employed life-mode, because the

character of self-employed life-mode is to be free from superiority and instructions, but pursuing the ‘independence’ of work, which means they decide ‘what to do’ and ‘how to do’, they are their own boss so to speak. Their work reflects their creativity, but the difference between ‘specialist’ life-mode and self-employed life-mode is that self-employed people are not only the ‘decision-makers’ but also the ‘executors’. However the ‘execution’ is not the character of the ‘specialist’ life-mode. In this perspective, to invest and establish one’s own enterprise does not seem rational if a lot of routine work goes with it. In this case, ownership of the company makes it difficult for ‘specialists’ shift from one company to another looking for a more attractive position. The relationship between ‘specialists’ and their companies is mutually beneficiary, they offer their *know-how* and awarded *honorary*, both parties need each other. If they find the company is no longer suitable, nothing prevents them to make a career hopping, it’s also a part of their strategy to climb higher and accomplish their more successful career life. Regarding this question of ‘independence’ and ‘ownership’ Højrup commented:

“Becoming independent holds no attraction for ‘specialist’ life-mode people if it means operating a small enterprise where the developer and ‘director’ have little to direct and must do much of the trivia work himself. Ownership of the enterprise where the work is demeaning is not attractive. It gives no value to independence because it has no creative character. Having their own small firm will offer to those in life-mode 3 (‘specialist’ life-mode) inadequate scope for direction, management, and the development of their talents and qualifications” (Højrup, 2003: 38).

To be summarized and concluded, in contrast to life-mode of wage-earner whose work is simply a means toward gaining wages and achieving enjoyable free time, the ‘specialist’ life-mode bearers dedicate their time, qualification, effort to achieve a more fulfilling career. Compared with the self-employed life-mode, the ‘specialist’ bearers don’t consider to achieve greater freedom by having ownership, to them ownership is a barrier, they need to work for large-scale companies to display their talents and make a switch to a better one in proper time. In the empirical world it is found that exists another type of life-mode between ‘specialist’ life-mode and wage-earner life-mode, in

next part we are going to argue the mixed life-mode in the empirical world.

1.9.3.3. THE MIXTURE OF TWO CAPITALIST LIFE-MODES

As we discussed before, one of the main feature of ‘specialist’ bearers is to avoid routine work, and for wage-earners routine work is their daily work, now we have to bring in the ‘routine work’ concept for further arguments. To define ‘routine work’ is certainly not an easy task, but we could see it from three aspects: Firstly routine work can be considered as monotonous work which make wage-earners doing simple movement in the manufacturing line all the time. This kind of routine work has been replaced in part by machines and modern technologies.

Secondly the meaning of routine work can be broader than monotonous work and has generalization, it refers the common daily work which is programmed and repeated, that is to say, people who are doing this type of routine work have to do same daily work, for instance librarians and bank stuffs who work in reception desk have to repeat their work every day, their work can be summarized as simple repeated daily work.

Thirdly, routine work has different definition for different class and bearers, for ‘specialists’, their characters make them to stay away from routine work, once they emerge the idea that their work has turned to routine work, the first thing they will think about is the head-haunting company and make career hopping.

Nevertheless no matter which life-modes belong to, people have different perceptions of routine work. For different individuals, some types of work supposed to be routine work while others have different opinion, especially for bearers of ‘specialists’ life-mode, they have broader range of routine work, and even the challengeable work for most wage-earners can be routine work to ‘specialists’. Therefore to different classes and bearers, routine work has different definitions. For ‘specialists’, their characters make them to stay away from routine work, once they emerge the idea that their work has turned to routine work for them (not routine for wage-earners), they will look forward to find another career. On the contrary, routine

work is much more tolerable for wage-earners although they have to face it every day.

Nowadays, since the simple ‘routine work’– monotonous work in the factory has been mostly replaced by modern machines, the opportunity which we could find workers doing routine work in the assembling line is getting less, which is very different from early capitalist age. For example, the modern large scale factories can produce significant amounts of commodity products every day, and to accomplish such amount in the old times requires thousands of workers working in the assembling line. However, in modern factories you find only a few workers operating the machine, most of the ‘routine work’ have been done by machines, nothing there can remind you of the ‘British textile workers’ in the early capitalist age.

Thus the workers in some way have been liberated from the routine work by modern technologies and machines, that’s why the previous chairman of China and Marxist follower Deng, Xiao Pin concluded in his work that “science and technology are the primary productive forces” (Deng, 1994: 274). With the changes of times and the development of capitalism, the current situation is not like when first time capitalism came into being, one of the distinct changes is the ‘routine work’ in assembling line (monotonous work) is disappearing, therefore the theory has to be advanced along with the times as well.



‘Manual routine work’ wage-earners
Image source: baidu images³⁵.



‘Mental work’ wage-earners

Because of the difference of social division of labor, there are many types of work,

³⁵ <http://www.jitu5.com/vector/201206/189224.html>; http://www.tutu001.com/jpg/sc_people/jpg.html.

for this study we might as well divide the wage-earner life-mode into two different life-mode types, ‘manual routine work’ wage-earner life-mode and ‘mental work’ wage-earner life-mode, the subjects of both two types can be wage-earners, and in economic aspect they have no differences. Nevertheless their differences lie in the division of labor and how it affects their life and future career, thus their life-modes should be made differences between each other as well.

As its name implies, ‘mental work’ requires the wage-earners to work mostly with their intelligence, it is the most common type of work in modern companies. With the development and constantly improvement of capitalist marketing system, it is playing a more important role. In our contest, ‘mental’ is just a concept to differentiate their type of work from ‘manual routine work’. The ‘mental work’ needs to be done by human, which is its character, even though computer and modern office equipment are indispensable, the human stuffs are never irreplaceable. Thus it requires the ‘mental work’ wage-earners to be qualified and skilled, and their work cannot be replaced by machines. On the contrary, ‘manual routine work’ wage-earners are someone less qualified, their work can be replaced by other workers or machines easily, so their work can be summarized as simple, less skilled work.

Both two concepts are relative and never absolute. It is necessary to discuss if the ‘mental work’ can be considered a kind of ‘routine work’? If we define ‘routine work’ as monotonous work which make wage-earners doing simple movement in the manufacturing line all the time, then ‘mental work’ is definitely not ‘routine work’ in this case. However according to the second aspect of routine work definition which we argued earlier, ‘mental work’ coincides with daily repeated work, as a matter of fact ‘mental work’ is a kind of routine work as well. Now the question is how we could differentiate ‘manual routine work’ and ‘mental work’.

We suppose that ‘manual routine work’ wage-earners are limited by their qualifications and lots of routine work, they have no choice to avoid it but keep doing it. They might not have opportunities to improve their situations due to complex reasons, otherwise they could be considered of having less aggressiveness and enterprising. On

the contrary, ‘mental work’ wage-earners have better fortune compared to ‘manual routine work’ wage-earners, because first of all they have better qualification and background, the type of their work make them liberated more from monotonous work so that they have opportunities to become ‘specialist’ in some way. Although they still have to face some routine work as well, their situations are much better than ‘manual routine work’ wage-earners. Besides they are supposed to be more qualified and enterprising, that is to say even they have to do lots of routine work as well, throughout their hard working and effort, it’s possible for them to be ‘specialists’, or at least they have opportunities to elevate themselves in a better position. On the other hand, ‘specialists’ are not inborn specialists, they need to experience the wage-earner life-mode before becoming a ‘specialists’. Therefore the type of their job and their qualification are crucial in this case for ‘mental work’ wage-earners to have opportunities to be ‘specialist’.

Thus to my opinion, besides investor’s life-mode, there is one more life-mode between wage-earner life-mode and ‘specialist’ life-mode. This life-mode is a branch of wage-earner life-mode and also the preparatory stage to reach ‘specialist’ life-mode, which I named it ‘striver’ life-mode.

The concept of ‘striver’ life-mode is not deduced from the structures of the capitalist mode of production but a mixture that occurs in the empirical world. The life-mode theory is a carefully developed theoretical concept while the striver is a figure that I have detected in the empirical observations. For that reason, they are two types of very different concepts. The meaning of introducing the ‘striver’ life-mode is for describing how Chinese wage-earners become self-employed store owners in the result part of the research.

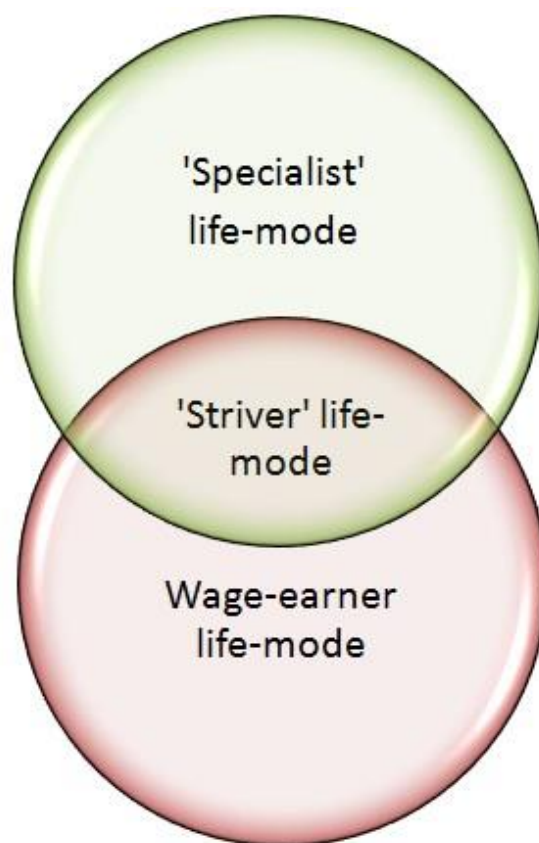


Diagram 7. The relationship between three life-modes.

It has been shown that 'striver' life-mode is between wage-earner life-mode and 'specialist' life-mode, or wage-earners who are on their way to be 'specialists' so to speak. It's the overlapping part of these two life-modes, therefore it owns the characters from both sides as well: first of all their working time is like wage-earners, normally eight hours a day; they get paid common salaries like wage-earners as well; but in their free time, 'striver' life-mode is closer to the 'specialist' life-mode, because for pursuing better position in the company or trying to be 'specialists', they have no choice but *recharge* themselves in their free time or spent their free time into social activities (promoting relations with colleagues, exchange information with friends, meeting new contacts, etc.), which means they dedicate their free time for their career like 'specialists'.

In the diagram of Schriewer (1993), we can't establish a new economical relation for 'striver' life-mode, so in economical aspect it is still belong to wage-earner life-mode, and its dual character is only referring the cultural aspect. The bearers of

‘specialist’ life-mode are always standing on the top in the social frame, like the diagram 8 shows, nevertheless in the different capitalist age, the proportion of ‘striver’ life-mode and ‘wage-earner’ life-mode is different. In the early capitalist age, factory needed lots of workers working in the assembling line, thus there are more wage-earner life-mode bearers under this condition. With the development of technology and the rise of marketing, *machine made* products have replaced *hand-made* products, more people are involved in managing and marketing, therefore there are more bearers of ‘striver’ life-mode.

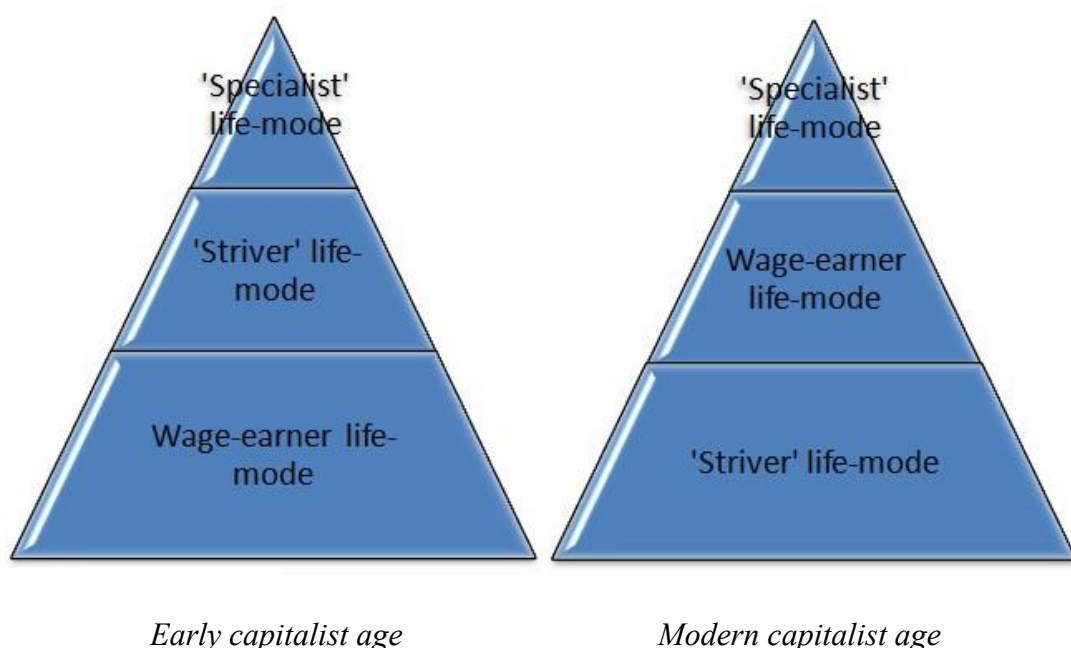


Diagram 8. Capitalist life-modes in different capitalist ages.

The debate for capitalist life-mode is open to discuss, and the life-mode theory is not static either. With the development of the capitalism and technology, the mentioned capitalist life-modes will be affected and it’s always in dynamic status. The individual bearer is also affected by many factors, their education background, social relationship and their type of work, that is to say, the life-mode theory is a complex combination regarding with many factors, social background, production force development, types of work and individual case difference. In empirical world the situation is more complicated and changeable.

1.9.4. SIMPLE COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Simple commodity production³⁶ also known as ‘petty commodity production’, is a term coined by Frederick Engels to describe productive activities under the conditions of what Marx had called the "simple exchange" of commodities, where independent producers trade their own products. The use of the word ‘simple’ does not refer to the nature of the producers or of their production, but to the relatively simple and straightforward exchange processes involved³⁷. Højrup called it “simple catching and commodity mode of production” (Højrup, 1989a).

Simple commodity production can be defined by its producers themselves owning the means of production, which means they own all the necessary production factors, including one’s own labour. In simple commodity production, no one is a proletarian, selling his or her labour to another, instead, each is self-employed. Simple commodity production also refers to a hypothetical economy used to interpret some of Karl Marx's insights about the economic laws governing the development of commodity trade (Marx, 2008).

In simple commodity production, people produce in order to maintain one’s type of life as simple commodity producer, or in other words, as self-employed, he will maintain producing even the income falls if possible. They will try to survive the fall by reducing expenditure or obtaining supplement income by starting a sideline occupation. And the producer of simple commodity production must organize and control production and take responsibility for the work being carried out well enough for the commodity or service to be of quality which will enable it to be sold. The producer is also responsible for ensuring that the commodities produced do maintain in low cost for them to have enough profit to continue. Besides, the producer usually has to think about making the business better like investing advanced tools and technology and their skills for competing with other simple commodity producers or compete with

³⁶ The original German word is Einfache Waren produktion.

³⁷ The definition of Simple Commodity Production from Wikipedia.

capitalists.

As mentioned before (in the social formation part) simple commodity production in history has been combined with other modes of production. In current societies simple commodity production is inextricably linked with capitalist mode of production. The *transformation* of simple commodity production into capitalist production based on the wage labour of employees occurred only in the last two centuries of human history, it happens when wage labour is contracted with the aim to create profit. It is preceded by the strong growth of merchant trade, supported by financiers who earn rents, profit and interest from the process. The merchants not only act as intermediary between producers and consumers, but also integrate more and more of production into a market economy. That is, more and more is produced for the purpose of market trade, Marx refers to this process as the primitive accumulation of capital.

According to Marxist theory, steam engine brought the “industrial revolution”, and the forces of production had been improved more than any previous eras. Under this condition, accumulation of capital was possible, and capitalists (who might be self-employed before) finished their primitive capital accumulation, and started to produce in capitalist mode of production and operated in capitalist way, and the capitalist mode of production started in the history stage. It is logical that capitalists want to maximize the production and minimize the cost, machines can replace handwork in many aspects, and this replacement is continually increasing by the development of technology.

To realize an in-depth study of simple commodity production, we can't continue any further without Højrup's study. Højrup did profound study on the intension of the simple commodity mode of production during the last decade. His study elaborates a theoretical model in which simple commodity production and capitalist production coexist, focus on the economic and ideological forms of articulation which make this coexistence possible and the preconditions for the transformation of these forms of articulation. His conceptual structure which describes the basic problematic of the simple commodity mode of production is essential for the study.

Højrup (2003) made up some equations to describe and explain Simple Commodity Production in a more direct way. The first equation is: $p \times q \geq \text{cost}^{38}$, which the producer's costs are simply presumed to be a function of the quantity produced, the producer has no possibility of manipulating the relation between quantity and costs.

The possibility of manipulating is developed in the next specification step, which is: $\text{cost} = r + (f \times q)^{39}$. We can see in this equation, the cost concept is divided into two parts, basic costs and unit costs. Basic costs, also called as overheads, which correspond to necessary operational equipment make production capability possible even in the condition of zero production; Unit costs are the costs per unit produced, multiplied by the quantity produced, yield the total quantity-dependent costs. In this specification step, the cost can be predictable and manipulated.

For making profit and maintaining production, the quantity delivered to market multiplied by the price must at least cover the basic reproduction costs (overheads) plus the quantity multiplied by the unit costs. According to the previous equation of the second step, which is $\text{cost} = r + (f \times q)$, the third specification step should be given as: $p \times q \geq r + (q \times f)^{40}$.

The bearers of simple commodity production which are self-employed people, have been depicted as a Janus figure who reasons both as private capitalist (who works and invests out of profit motives), and as a wage-earner (who evaluates his labour time in terms of an hourly wage). To our study, we are inclined more to cultural analysis, and in next part we will draw out this part of the life-mode theory, and discuss the life-mode of self-employed people who are corresponded to simple commodity mode of production.

³⁸ Price multiplied by quantity must cover the costs of a produced quantity.

³⁹ The costs consist of the basic reproduction costs (overhead) plus the unit cost multiplied by the quantity.

⁴⁰ Quantity multiplied by price must cover overheads plus unit cost multiplied with quantity.

1.9.5. LIFE-MODE OF SELF-EMPLOYED WITHIN SCP

Self-employed, as the name implies, refers that someone who employed himself or herself. Self-employed people are being their own employers, they work for themselves instead of working for others, realizing income throughout offering services or doing business. To be self-employed is not necessarily the same as being a business owner, many self-employed people conduct the day-to-day operations of the business, either as managers, as line workers or as both. Many freelancers are self-employed, but not all self-employed are freelancers.

The life-mode of self-employed, in particular, is perceived by those who can be understood with these theoretical terms of the way in which it contrasts with other life-modes. For instance, different with the life-mode of wage earners, whose daily activity is the division of the day into ‘working time’ versus ‘free time’. The life-mode of self-employed contains no corresponding concept of ‘work’ as opposed to ‘non-work’. This life-mode does not have any concept of work opposed to free time, since these are fused into a single concept of ‘activity’, a concept which is proposed by Højrup, who summarized the essential feature of the self-employed life-mode.

Actually, those who can be analysed with the life-mode of self-employed probably don’t really agree or even never heard of the concept of ‘activity’. What they are doing has no difference with wage-earners’ working – seen from their perspective. To them it is just simple daily work. However in an anthropological perspective it has a different meaning and sometimes it is essential for distinguishing one life-mode from the other. Self-employed people know that exist some other life-modes, either because they know people living in other life-mode, or because they may have experience of work related to another life-mode, especially like being wage earners, because life-mode of wage earners takes majority population of all life-modes. According to Højrup’s study, self-employed people would work for wages when wages were needed to supplement income from simple commodity production. This explains very well the peasant-

worker's phenomenon in China⁴¹, they need to earn extra wage to supplement the income from agriculture.

Self-employed people, as many of them work as wage-earners before, or from viewing how wage-earners work, and with their understanding about wage-earners, basically they could found that they are different from wage-earners from two aspects: the first aspect is they know that wage-earners have a fix working time, normally 8 hours a day, and after working time, it's free time which contrasts to work time, and it is free for them to arrange. The second aspect is, wage-earners are contracted, they need to work, and also they need to be put to work, either active or passive, they work for an income, therefore to them work is just a mean but never their end. They work for living better, more free time and enough income to support their enjoyment during their free time. The saying "working is for living" explains very well this argument.

"In self-employed life-mode, waged work is regarded as a means to keep the family enterprise running. Hence, the day is not divided into two kinds of time, but rather into two kinds of work: waged work, which is a necessary means of making an income, and 'free' work in the simple commodity production enterprise carried out by and for oneself. With waged work carried out for a purpose other than itself, it becomes possible to view 'activity' in terms of two aspects: As a work process and as a source of income" (Højrup, 2003: 127).

Højrup summarized that in the self-employed life-mode, the day is not divided into two kinds of time like wage-earners, but can be divided in two kinds of work, if the self-employed is obliged to supplement his income by waged work: then there is a waged work and 'free' work, it creatively distinguishes self-employed people's work from wage-earners' work.

'Activity', unlike waged work for others, to self-employed, it is not only a mean, but both mean and end. The concept of activity in life-mode of self-employed obtains

⁴¹ Chinese peasants from villages poured into cities and work as construction workers for more income since agriculture no longer covers the expenses.

meaning via its contrast with waged work in life-mode study. It is used for distinguishing the life-mode of self-employed from other life-modes. The work which self-employed people do has no difference with what wage earners do, to either part, it is just simple work, which can be drudgery or interesting, can be hard or easy, but nothing more than mental work and physical work, the only difference between them is the subjects are different, self-employed people and wage-earners.

Furthermore, there are two more factors that make self-employed people's work become 'activity' which contrasts with waged work. First factor is essential in this debate, because to work for oneself is quite different from working for others. Working for oneself can make someone working 12 hours a day in their simple commodity business without complaining, and even feel content after their work. And it is hard to imagine if the same thing happens to wage-earners. The second factor is the orientation difference, for self-employed people, activity is for maintaining their living and business, from this perspective, activity is both means and end. But to wage-earners, they work because the work can directly generate income, their main concern is their wage and free time after work.

As discussed before, working for oneself make it possible for the 'activity' in self-employed life-mode to be independent work, which how it is perceived. Self-employed people can decide what they are going to do, and how they are going to do, most importantly, they have right to decide, they can give themselves some day's holidays without doing anything or working 12 or 15 hours a day. Because they are carrying out free, independent work. Carrying out free, independent work can never happen to its opposite side, waged work, which means there is no inherent right to decide, because it is work for others and instructed by others. Waged work is perceived as dependent work, dependent on the aims and instructions of the employer, even if sometimes they can decide something about their work (depends on types of work), but basically their work is 'programmed', and it will never be as free and independent as self-employed. On the contrary, wage-earners might think that self-employed people are not as free as they do, it's probably because they always see them working during their free time.

To the people of self-employed life-mode, who own grocers or restaurants or taxi drivers, their busiest time is normally the time when wage-earners are enjoying their free time and consuming in self-employed people's business place. To wage-earners, self-employed people are working very hard without having and enjoying their free time, they could understand them working hard for living or improving their living condition, but it's unacceptable to them that they never or seldom see them having free time, even less times see them in bars or places of entertainment. Meanwhile to self-employed people, those wage-earners don't spend their 'free time' in meaningful pursuit, it must be because the people lack an enterprising spirit, are indolent, and have fallen into mere consumerism. These people fail to use what independence they have, instead spending it in a frivolous way.

Self-employed people understand that sacrificing their free time is the way how they can make money and maintain their business, and they understand that to be 'free' costs some prices. Fortunately they enjoy their free and independent work, so even they work longer than others, they could or willing to accept it.

It is a crucial aspect of this Life-Mode that the self-employed permanently look for the best strategy to survive as self-employed. Moreover, there are different ways to choose, gambling with overall-costs (including maintaining of family) and unit costs (Højrup & Schriewer, 2012). How they can do that is different in every branch and every case. Chinese self-employed have to choose for example if they rent a small or a big salesroom with the related effect on fix costs, or they can buy smaller or bigger numbers of one and the same product, with the related effects on unit costs.

In the last years there were carried out several studies regarding self-employed in Spain using the theoretical concept of self-employed life-mode. On the one hand, Salvador Cayuela Sánchez dealt with farmers cultivating grapes in southwest Spain (Cayuela Sánchez 2013, 2014, 2015). On the other hand, Gabriel López Martínez researched on self-employed fisherman (López Martínez 2012, 2015).

Salvador Cayuela describes self-employed characteristics as following:

“En el modo de producción mercantil simple, los productores autónomos son propietarios de sus medios de producción, lo que les permite conservar una gran capacidad de resistencia ante las fluctuaciones del mercado. (...) En este modelo productivo, el autónomo asume diferentes funciones -contabilidad, venta, etc. (...) Finalmente, el modo de producción mercantil simple presenta un alto grado de maleabilidad, lo que facilita esa capacidad de resistencia ante los negocios capitalistas” (Cayuela Sánchez, 2014: 340).

Cayuela states here that the fact, that self-employed are the owners of their own enterprises, provides them with certain durability in the competition with capitalist companies. Recently, Salvador Cayuela Sánchez and Klaus Schriewer published a theoretical reflection about the culture of self-employed, resuming and contextualising the life-mode approach (Cayuela Sánchez, 2017). In this publication the authors emphasize that the life-mode of self-employed has to be understood as a culture subgenus with specific characteristics related to the simple-commodity production. As we are going to show, it works as an efficient tool to understand Chinese immigrants’ work and further life in an anthropological perspective.

1.10. NETWORK STUDY: CHINESE FEATURED NETWORK

Besides the new perspective of life-mode analysis, network study is also an essential theoretical perspective for migrants' research, especially to the context of Chinese immigrants. Researchers could hardly start to do any research of Chinese migrants' social or business activities without taking into account the multiple relations and networks of a specific character among Chinese migrants. To work with this, it is not only necessary to include network theory but also it's very important to have a look on the specific Chinese featured network concept. The importance of network lies in almost all aspects of social and business life of Chinese people no matter in mainland China or abroad. To understand Chinese immigrants' network in both social and business aspects from a cultural/anthropological point of view, we will start from introducing network concept and the original form of Chinese network from mainland China.

1.10.1. SOCIAL NETWORK AND BUSINESS NETWORK

Network theory that is used in Social Sciences could be divided into two parts, social network and business network. A social network is seen as a social structure made up of a set of social actors (such as individuals or organizations) and a set of the dyadic ties between these actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Social network is useful in the social sciences to study relationships between these actors. Within this general form of network, Donckels & Lambrecht (1997) defined entrepreneurial networks (business network) as organized systems of relationships with customers, suppliers and other entrepreneurs, with relatives, external consultants and other agents or potential partners. Business network is perceived as an essential concept that can explain the organization of the contemporary economy and society and the behaviour of interconnected business actors (Todeva, 2006: 3).

Technically we could define a business network as a type of social network whose concern is on business affairs, or as a social network with business purpose. The

examples of social networks given by Furht (2010) proved the definition given above. In his research he included friendship networks, collaboration networks, co-authorship networks, and co-employees network as parts of social network. And the most important part of his comment is that he includes entertainment networks, business networks, citation networks, and hyperlink networks as parts of social network as well (Furht, 2010: 637). We could attribute collaboration networks, co-authorship networks, and co-employees network as a part of business network. Stewart Clegg's (2007) study of the importance of social network influence on inter-firm relationships for individual firms' capabilities also revealed the relationship between social network and business network (Clegg, 2007: 123).

The social capital concept could help us to understand better the relationship between social network and business network. To understand the way how social networks and business networks work out, it is useful to consider the concept of social capital. Pierre Bourdieu (2010), one of the most important theorists of social capital, defines this concept as following:

“Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu, 2010: 86).

His colleague James Coleman (1988), another important theorist of social capital, argued that social capital is one of the potential resources which one can use.

About social capital, Brush (2004) commented that it is a type of *currency* that can be earned and spent within a specified universe. This comment is very much like Coleman's comment of *potential resources*. He made an example of human capital through education and professional experience, which one can also consciously create and trade social capital. He also argued that the moral and social support that family,

friends, mentors, and acquaintances offer to an entrepreneur are social capital investment that they are making in the entrepreneur (Brush et al., 2004: 180).

Spanish researcher Miguel-Angel Galindo (2008) had similar comments about social capital, which directly pointed out the effect of social capital on both social network and business network. He argued that social capital is the goodwill which one accumulates with interaction with other members of a network whether it is a social or a business networks (Galindo, 2008: 304).

Social capital not only helps to understand both social network and business network, but also includes human capital and other types of capital and network. Business network as part of social network conceptually has two parts I may conclude: social network resources and business contacts established during the business process. That is to say, social network can be transformed to business network in some way, for instance, it's very common that sometimes someone could easily establish business contact with family members or friends or get a good business offer or opportunity, in this case social network directly or indirectly transformed to a part of one's business network. Meanwhile a durable business partner could become one's reliable friend, so that one's business network is transformed to his or her social network and becomes a part of one's social capital.

1.10.2. CHINESE FEATURED NETWORK—*GUANXI*

For Chinese self-employed immigrants there is no clear distinction between social network and business network, even though it's not exactly the same to wage-earners. What we could distinguish them is to evaluate which aspect of their network is functioning, when they use their social network to improve their business, we will consider that their social network plays the main function and assist their business, otherwise, vice versa. As a matter of fact, this research will not intend to separate business network from social network of the objective actors even though business network of Chinese self-employed immigrants takes more concern in the research.

However without understanding Chinese immigrants' social network, it will result in difficulties to understand their business network and how their social network interacts with business network. As a result, it is necessary to introduce the most important concept *Guanxi*(关系) which in Chinese culture is related to social networks. The importance of this concept as one of the most influential cultural elements in Chinese society in all times plays an extremely irreplaceable role and consequently guides Chinese people's minds and behaviours among social activities; it has also been claimed that *Guanxi* is a very essential gateway to understand and interpret Chinese social behaviours (Zhu and Hong, 2009).

Guanxi is the key to understand Chinese people's thinking pattern, interpersonal behaviour and business relationships in order to lead us to reveal Chinese networks in both their social life and business life. With China's economic growth, more and more researchers especially economic experts from both China and abroad have noticed Chinese economic phenomena and its features. Emanuela Todeva is one of the researchers who commented that the main distinction of *Guanxi* networks is their ability to grow beyond the family and to expand into economic activities within the wider community (Clegg, 2007: 256). This comment coincides with what we have commented before about the relationship between social network and business network in Chinese context, which makes it necessary to understand *Guanxi* as Chinese social network before analyzing the business network aspect.

The literal translation of the Chinese word *Guanxi* is 'relationship', in a way similar to the equation of social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), even though we kind of acknowledge the literal translation for convenience in our daily life, barely could this simple replacement of words maintain and convey the very original meaning of *Guanxi* in Chinese culture (Wang, 2013). Todeva argued that *Guanxi* networks are based on reciprocity of favors, which facilitates social exchanges supported by a mutual belief in reciprocity. *Guanxi* resembles a set of affective ties between people, linked through kinship, native place, dialect, school, workplace or sworn brotherhood (Clegg, 2007: 256).

Before start analyzing *Guanxi*, we should first take a look at its origin and its cultural and historical background. In academic field, how *Guanxi* was formed has always been an unsolved problem. Researchers attributed the cause of *Guanxi* network to some fundamental religious attitudes like Confucianism while other researchers link it with the traditional nepotism of the Chinese emperors, the corruption and particularism of the Chinese dynastic bureaucracy through the centuries, the lack of institutional support and government legal protection for business transactions and private property, the lack of sound legal system, or the distrust in it (Schak, 2000). Under the condition of emphasizing geography and blood ties in Chinese society, the Chinese networks known as *Guanxi* appear to be established to facilitate exchange of personal and knowledge based resources, for mutual benefits and for protection (Todeva, 2006: 166).

1.10.3. THE COMPARISON OF SOCIAL NETWORK BETWEEN CHINA AND WESTERN SOCIETIES

The concept of Chinese network *Guanxi* is very similar to western social exchange theory but with Chinese characteristics. It has its own norms in Chinese context which are different from western social and personal relationships. Using comparison with western social exchange norms will help us to understand better the full view of Chinese *Guanxi* network. First of all, in western societies the relationship network is normally situated on organizational level, whose management is taken as one of the strategic movements; However Chinese *Guanxi* network is always built up from and on a personal level, including the entire social, commercial and interpersonal attributes (Luo, 1997). Hence, Chinese *Guanxi* belongs to a personal movement rather than the organizational and cooperative model (Wang, 2011).

Secondly, viewing from their forms of presentation, it has been proposed that western social and personal relationships are relatively clear and open, as opposed to the more intimate and invisible Chinese *Guanxi* network (Hackley and Dong, 2001).

This characteristic of Chinese *Guanxi* network results in difficulties for those who are outside of *Guanxi* network want to be a part of it and make them feel mysterious and inaccessible. In Chinese society, building and maintaining *Guanxi* network normally requires the use of intermediaries in structuring social networks.

Thirdly, same as western societies building up interpersonal relationships on the basis of a mutual reciprocity system, Chinese *Guanxi* network follows this norm as well. The difference lies in western culture emphasizes a balanced model between giving and receiving (Homans, 1958); However in Chinese society, people would like to return twice or more than the original worth of value he or she has received before (Powell, 1990). About returning, Chinese people intend to follow the old Chinese saying *if received a drop of water (favor), you should reciprocate a fountain (of favors)*.

Fourthly, in western society it's common that reciprocation is aiming to mutually maintain the balance of interest, which follows the rule of equity and reciprocity; yet the Chinese reciprocation process seems not as instant and equitable as the one in western society (Wang, 2011). Chinese people tend to take the obligation and afterwards commitment that generated by the use of *Guanxi* for granted, and only the failure of continuously completing the obligation and responsibility of *Guanxi* would be perceived as immoral or unethical (Vanhonacker, 2004).

To Chinese people, families, relatives and close friends are most trustable in their *Guanxi* network, and it is highly recommended that people should be cautious to others outside this trustworthy *Guanxi* circle (Redding, 1990). Hwang and Hu (2004) commented as well that in Chinese society, things will be made difficult to strangers who are outside of one's *Guanxi* network. In contrast to Chinese *Guanxi*, western relationship concept does not have much indication in this regard. Generally speaking, there is no particularly outstanding distinction among different parts in the relationship (Burt, 2009).

1.10.4. THE DIFFERENTIAL MODE OF ASSOCIATION

When we look back to Chinese literatures about *Guanxi*, there are not as many publications about the origin of *Guanxi*'s formation as it should be, instead lots of literatures are published as guidance for establishing *Guanxi* network or to have it enhanced. As King (1992) commented that a good establishment and maintenance of *Guanxi* are perceived as art of relation management, so that people are eager to make their *Guanxi* network better. The most classical comment of *Guanxi* should be dated back to Fei Xiaotong (费孝通)⁴², who was the most influential sociologist and anthropologist in China, he attributed the character of *Guanxi* as *the differential mode of association* (差序格局) in his master piece *From the Soil, the Foundations of Chinese Society* published in 1947.

In this book he used two concepts to distinguish Chinese social structure and western social structure which are *the differential mode of association*(差序格局) and *organizational mode of association* (团体格局). He commented that his analogy might not appropriate but could help us see more concretely the pattern of personal relationship in social life. About his analogy of western mode, he argued that western societies are somewhat like collecting rice straw, after harvest the separate straws, the separate bundles, and finally the separate stacks all fit together to make up the whole haystack. In this way, the separately bound bundles can be stacked in an orderly way. In western society, these separate units are organizations and individuals form organizations. Each organization has its own boundaries, which clearly define those people who are members and those who are not (Fei Xiaotong, 1992: 62).

On the contrary, Fei Xiaotong defines Chinese social structure and network as different from the western one. In his book he argued that: *our pattern (Chinese pattern) is not like distinct bundles of straws (Western pattern). Rather, it is like the circle that*

⁴² Fei Xiaotong or Fei Hsiao-Tung (November 2, 1910 – April 24, 2005) was a pioneering Chinese researcher and professor of sociology and anthropology; he was also noted for his studies in the study of China's ethnic groups as well as a social activist. One of China's finest sociologists and anthropologists, his works on these subjects were instrumental in laying a solid foundation for the development of sociological and anthropological studies in China, as well as in introducing social and cultural phenomena of China to the international community. Source from Wikipedia for Fei Xiaotong.

appears on the surface of a lake when a rock is thrown into it. Everyone stands at the center of the circle produced by his or her own social influence⁴³ (translated by Gary and Zheng, 1992: 63). Fei Xiaotong (2012) describes the particularity of Chinese people's interpersonal interaction, in which the individual puts himself in the center and categorizes as well as grades other people interactively-related to him by closeness, and then applies different interactive rules into various people by categorizations and grades (Wang, 2011).

Egocentrism is the main feature of *Guanxi*, people need to extend beyond themselves in order to achieve their own interest. But even if one extends as far as possible, he is still at the center (Fei Xiaotong, 1992: 62). In the same way as Fei Xiaotong, Viewing Chinese networks as circular rather than linear may help the Westerner to understand such complexity. It can be visualized in terms of layers of relationships, with trust implicit in the central layers, which is strongly connected to family relationship. After families and relatives, the second layer should be acquaintances and then common friends. Combining with the Granovetter's 'Weak Ties' theory (Granovetter, 1973), we could use the diagram below to present 'Chinese pattern':

⁴³ “我们的社会结构本身和西洋的格局不相同的，我们的格局不是一捆一捆扎清楚的柴，而是好像把一块石头丢在水面上所发生的一圈圈推出去的波纹。每个人都是他社会影响所推出去的圈子的中心”（费孝通，2005）。

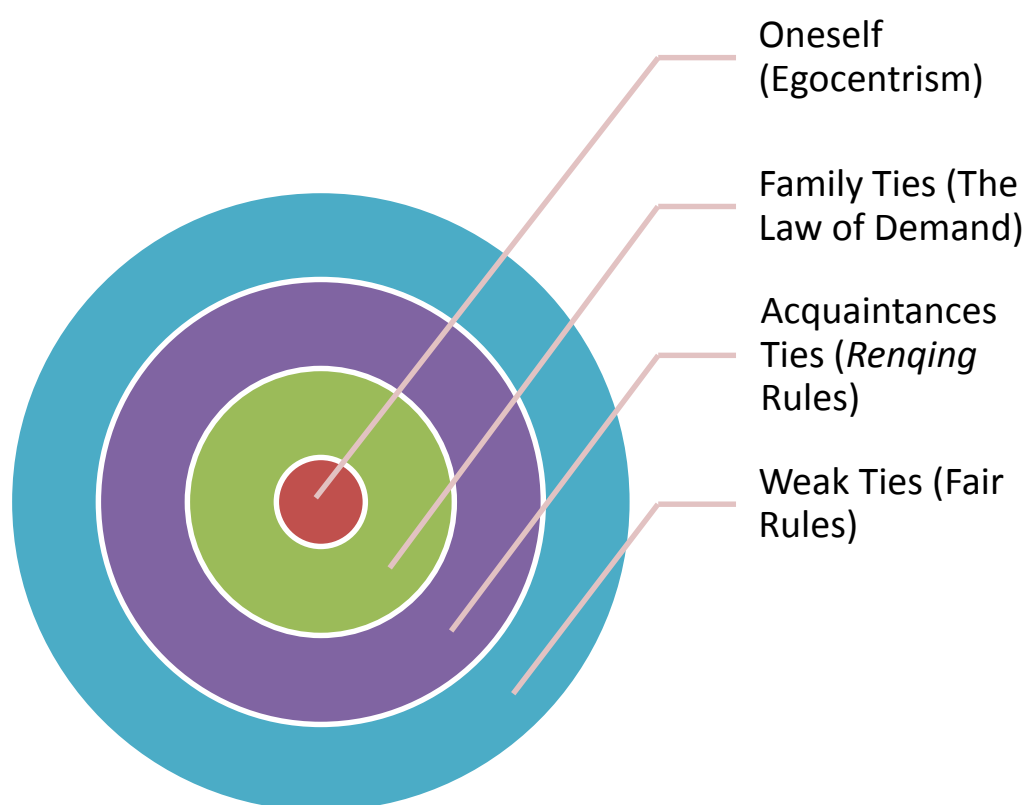


Diagram 9. Differential Mode of Association.

Luo Jiade (2007) thinks that strong ties and weak ties theory could match the organizational mode of association but it's not proper to use in the Chinese context of differential mode of association. By analysing previous studies, he divided Chinese ties into family ties, acquaintances ties and weak ties. As the diagram shows, family ties formed by families and close relatives are the strongest relationships, acquaintances ties refer to distant relatives and close friends. Weak ties are consisted of common friends.

Hwang Kwangkuo (1987), a well-known scholar from Taiwan argued that in Chinese society the norms of treating people are very different on the basis of the closeness of the relationship. An Individual will adopt different norms of social transaction to treat people with different relationships. According to Hwang Kwangkuo's theory, family ties should apply to 'the law of demand', which means one should help family members with all cost, and the cost should not be supposed to be rewarded. 'Offer what one could and takes what one needs' is the principle rule of family ties (Hwang and Hu, 2004). The key feature would appear to be that you trust

your family absolutely, your friends and acquaintances to the degree that mutual dependence has been established (Redding, 1993: 66).

The outer most layer is for weak ties which apply to 'Fair Rules', requiring social norms of behaviour in social exchange process. Bearers' relationships among weak ties are very similar to interpersonal relationships in western societies. Between family ties and weak ties, acquaintances ties play important roles of *Guanxi* network. 'Renqing Rules' is essential for acquaintances ties, the same as the concept of *Guanxi* in Chinese culture, *Renqing* is another key element which is inevitable to understand the Chinese network context, it is embedded and shaped by Chinese *Guanxi* and playing such an essential role in it.

1.10.5. THE CONCEPT OF RENQING

Renqing is a prerequisite to establish or maintain a *Guanxi* network in Chinese culture and society (King, 1991). The word *Renqing* has several implications in Chinese language. For instance, from a very fundamental and traditional level, *Renqing* indicates the personal and emotional responses of one who is facing different situations of the day-to-day life (Hwang and Hu, 2004). This implication defines *Renqing* from an emotional perspective, nevertheless it should be pointed out that *Renqing* conveys not only emotions but also social expressions, what's more important is its function in Chinese social exchange process.

The concept *Renqing* always takes place in Chinese *Guanxi* network, these two concepts could not be separated one from another. Technically *Renqing* could be understood from two aspects, its material aspect and immaterial aspect. It's very common that in Chinese culture and society, people are supposed to present gifts or sometimes directly cash (packed in red envelope) to family members, acquaintances and friends under certain circumstances like wedding celebrations and funerals. Once individual falls or gets involved in *Guanxi web*, he or she must assume the responsibility and obligation in responding to the favor (*Renqing*) from the others in the *Guanxi web*

(King, 1992). Instead calling them gifts or 'red envelope' (cash), Chinese people like to call it *Renqing* for the gift contains benefactor's emotion as well. Hwang Kwangkuo (1987) pointed out that *Renqing* could be interpreted as a resource that one could give to another person as a present in the social exchange process.

It is not difficult to understand Chinese *Guanxi* and *Renqing* system until now when *Renqing* is simply considered as gift or money, but when it comes to reveal its immaterial aspect, it becomes a bit confusing for those who have no sense of Chinese culture and *Guanxi* network. Nevertheless it's easier to introduce the *Renqing* concept by comparing it with the social exchange theory. In social exchange process, *Renqing* could be considered as 'favor' which could be a material assist and in many cases immaterial assist. Hwang Kwangkuo gave an example to explain *Renqing* from its immaterial aspect: *When someone gets into trouble or faces a difficult situation, someone in his Guanxi network should do or send a Renqing by sympathizing or offering help* (Hwang, 1987).

In this case *Renqing* mainly refers to its immaterial aspect, it could be taken as a means or medium of social exchange and resource or social capital in interpersonal transactions (Hwang and Hu, 2004). We could interpret *Renqing* as a chip or counter used in gambling as well, because once you offered a favor to someone in your network, this favor will be returned to you sooner or later. Besides, *Renqing* could be swift to the third party as well, a kindness given by one person can be repaid or given to another person (Galindo, 2008: 304).

Consisting of both abstract sentiment and concrete material, which consequently makes *Renqing* hard to measure and return, however in Chinese culture *Renqing* supposed to be returned to the benefactor when the he or she encounters a similar situation or needs assistance. Chinese culture and society obligate people to return *Renqing*, otherwise someone's reputation will be affected, it's also because that the norm of *Renqing* is originated from Confucianism which emphasizes one's responsibility and obliged people to act on certain prescribed rules of behaviour. Besides, people like to follow these norms with the particular aim of keeping harmony

and getting along with other related people in Chinese society. In this sense, *Renqing* works out as a bridge to connect and maintain nice and harmonious *Guanxi* with others.

Renqing could affect the closeness or distance of people in *Guanxi* network. Chinese people usually measure their degree of *Renqing* with the other people within *Guanxi* network in order to sense the closeness or distance between each other. The closeness in *Guanxi web* is proportional with the frequency of *Renqing* exchange, so as Blau (1964) argued that people exchange reciprocity (*Renqing*) mutually and therefore strengthens relations in turn. As a matter of fact, if someone wants to make better *Guanxi* with somebody, the most efficient way is to offer more *Renqing* no matter it is material or immaterial. There is a special Chinese word called '*La Guanxi*' which refers exactly to this phenomenon.

'*La Guanxi*' means establishing relationship/contact. It has the same meaning as English expression 'cotton up'. Besides offering *Renqing* to improve *Guanxi*, '*La Guanxi*' has another implication which refers to use someone's current contact in the *Guanxi web* to reach another contact in another *Guanxi web*. Therefore we could conclude that building and maintaining *Guanxi* requires the use of intermediaries in structuring social networks. This process is similar to play Chinese checkers, where a single move can consist of multiple hops; each piece hopped must be directly adjacent, and hops can be in any direction. It's because that there exists overlap of *Guanxi webs*, when individual steps into *Guanxi web*, you suddenly become obligatory to other people in the web, when you interact with people, at the same time your web has been connected with others' webs. It is almost impossible to get yourself out of these entangled relationships.

For instance when A encounters a problem, which only C could be helpful, but C is not in A's *Guanxi web*, so the process of '*La Guanxi*' for A is to request B's assistance because B is in the *Guanxi web* of both A and C. And then A and C could establish their direct contact because of B and add each other in their *Guanxi web*. We could also imagine that if C could help A because of B, which means B owns *Renqing* from C, and A owns *Renqing* from both B and C. In this case, A needs to return *Renqing* to both B

and C. Granovetter's weak ties' theory explained the link between A and C from another perspective (Granovetter, 1973).

Hwang revealed that the essence of '*Renqing Rules*' is 'a peer exchange', but covered with a 'sentimental veil', the essence of this peer exchange is ineffable, the benefactor could not expect immediate returns nor asking for returning him the favor. At the same time the beneficiaries should not forget the *Renqing* he owned and it's always good to mentioning it all the time to show that he remembers what he has owned (Hwang and Hu, 2004).

1.10.6. FAMILY TIES IN *GUANXI* WEB

We have argued earlier that family ties lie in the center of *Guanxi* network, so as Styles and Ambler (2003) commented that in terms of layers of relationships, with trust implicit in the central layers, which are family relationship. Almost all definitions of *Guanxi* mentioned mutual benefit, which is an essential argument for *Guanxi* network, like George A. Barnett argued that *Guanxi* connections exist only when each partner receives benefit (Barnett, 2011: 259). Combing these two arguments, we have a question which is if family ties also follow mutual benefit rules.

Obviously, Hwang's theory of family ties is contradicted with the mutual benefit feature of *Guanxi* network given by other researchers. He commented that 'the law of demand' of family ties requires no reward or benefit from close family members. So how we could recognize and understand this contradiction? From my point of view, I couldn't agree more with Hwang's point of view, it's because the Chinese culture obligate people to be very respectful to family relationships and so does Chinese culture. At the same time, we could not deny that mutual benefit is essential for *Guanxi* network either, as a matter of fact, it is obligated to make family ties a special case of *Guanxi* network.

The relationship between close family members is considered as a natural social resource, family ties are the strongest ties in *Guanxi* network. The difference between

family ties and acquaintance ties or even weak ties lies in the attitude of returning *Renqing*. For close family members *Renqing* is not supposed to be returned. For instance, the parents or brothers helped you in something, neither you nor they feel it needs to be returned, in Chinese society people don't think about *Renqing* with close family members, 'Renqing Rules' are not supposed to be used among close family members.

Families and relatives always become the most trustable parts in *Guanxi* network, sometimes the same trustworthiness could also be applicable in close friends and fellow folks. It should be pointed out that not all family members suit 'the law of demand', neither everybody in acquaintance ties follows 'Renqing Rules'. When someone helps you in something, even if he or she is a part of your family, but when sentimentally you feel that you own him or her something, which makes you obligated to return *Renqing*, in this case, this relationship should be counted as following 'Renqing Rules'. On the contrary, among acquaintance ties, some of your close friends won't expect you to return *Renqing*, this relationship is as strong as family ties and follows 'the law of demand'. In Chinese *Guanxi* network we found that the closer relationship will be, the less 'Renqing Rules' will be used.

2. OBJECTIVES

The definition of the main objective of this research parts from the fact that a lot of Chinese immigrants came to Spain and work as wage-earners and self-employed in almost all major Spanish cities as we have figured out the general information and distribution of Chinese migrants in Spain and the Region of Murcia. Throughout dissertating corresponding concepts (migration studies, economic anthropology, life-mode theories and network analysis) and taking benefits from anthropological investigations about Chinese immigrants, the main objective is to study the cultural pattern of Chinese immigrants in Spain, especially Chinese self-employed shop-owners. An important aspect of this analysis is to focus on the importance of self-employment in the culture of Chinese immigrants in Spain and their way of being self-employed.

As a matter of fact, in this research, all the foreshadowing, investigation and secondary data about Chinese immigrants in Spain and the Region of Murcia are about to reveal self-employed life-mode of these immigrants and their social and business network. These two subjects are supposed to be the main objectives of the research.

Regarding the first general objective it can be supposed that it could be the first time that life-mode theory is being used on Chinese immigrants apart from European researchers have already carried out the case studies according to the life-mode theories on different objects in Europe⁴⁴. For achieving this main objective, some related specific objectives have to be accomplished before.

The second main objective which deals with social and business network of Chinese immigrants in general and especially in the region of Murcia. It's crucial to find out how social relations are established and worked out among Chinese immigrants in this region. It has to be considered that the social network of Chinese immigrants not only exists in the migration process of Chinese immigrants but also lies in their

⁴⁴ CAYUELA SÁNCHEZ, Salvador (2013): "Estrategias de supervivencia y modo de vida de autónomo. Un análisis socio-antropológico sobre tres casos en la agricultura murciana" , en: *Gazeta de Antropología*, vol. 29. LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, Gabriel (2012): "Europe's Whims". *The Disappearance of Mediterranean Fisheries?/"Los caprichos de Europa". ¿La desaparición de la pesca en el Mediterráneo?"* en: SCHRIEWER, Klaus; HØJRUP, Thomas: *European Fisheries at a Tipping-Point/La Pesca Europea ante un Cambio Irreversible*, Murcia, Editum, pp.507-553.

economic activities and business, therefore the research will differentiate network into these two aspects and expand the discussion from these two aspects as well.

Specific Objectives

The main objectives always intersect with specific objectives. Generally specific objectives could be divided into two types, the first type should be supporting the main objectives while the other type could be an individual objective itself.

Specific objective regarding migration process is a typical individual objective for the research, it could help us to know Chinese immigrants' migration process to find out their motivations and aims. Transnational study on Chinese immigrants as another specific objective will show Chinese immigrants' transnational life between their host country and home country. The debate of family enterprise and self-employed business among Chinese immigrants draws a clear picture of the characters of Chinese immigrants' business.

Apart from these three specific objectives, according to different main subjects, for this research there are two groups of specific objectives corresponding life-mode analysis and networks.

Specific objectives regarding wage-earner life-mode and self-employed life-mode:

1. Carry out an analysis of Chinese immigrants' life-modes;
2. Differentiate the types of wage-earners among Chinese immigrants;
3. Differentiate the types of Chinese immigrants' self-employed business and related cultural pattern;
4. Research the reasons why Chinese immigrants tend to be self-employed;
5. Explain the long working hours of Chinese self-employed business;
6. Investigate Chinese self-employed business management and strategies.

Specific objectives regarding Chinese immigrants' social and business network:

1. Research social networks known as *Guanxi* and *Renqing* rules;
2. Analyse the business network of Chinese immigrants in Spain;
3. Describe the ethnic business of Chinese immigrants;
4. Carry out a network investigation of Chinese clothing store and the concept of *Purchasing Group*.

To carry out all the mentioned main objectives and specific objectives, proper and efficient methodologies are required for the research, in next chapter all relevant methodologies for this research will be presented.

3. METHODOLOGY

Both the theoretical frame work and researching methodologies are essential for social and anthropological study. Research theories aim to work as efficient tools guiding researchers and assist researchers realizing academic objectives. Meanwhile research methodologies aim to provide the adequate ways to collect data and to work out profound analysis. To accomplish the academic objectives of any researches, the research needs to be under corresponding theoretical frame and based on proper researching methodologies.

Social researches require the collection of both primary data and secondary data. Primary data is the data collected by the same researcher(s) while secondary data is the data that was collected or made by other previous researchers for their corresponding objectives. However for there were not enough corresponding secondary data for this research, collecting primary data became the most essential task.

A method is a procedure, a technique, a way of collecting information regarding the different objectives. In anthropology the combination of different methods and their application in the empirical research during longer stays is called fieldwork. In our case, the research of Chinese migrants requires sufficient fieldwork, including interviews, participant observations and their corresponding field notes. To analyze Chinese immigrants' network, the program UCINET® will work as an important software to analyze data, its details will be discussed in the network analysis section.

Collecting and analyzing secondary data is the most common methodology in almost all the anthropological studies which helps to prepare the first steps and get more general information. Secondary data analysis is also efficient and time-saving for individual research and provides wide and qualified databases. This research needs abundant secondary data includes statistics, censuses, official records and so forth. Most of secondary data came from Spanish official statistics, such as Spain's National Statistics Institute; further data were worked out by consulting Chinese official statistics and Chinese immigrants' organizations in Spain.

3.1. FIELDWORK

Fieldwork is indispensable in social and anthropological researches, so is this research of Chinese immigrants in Spain. Considering that almost all data and information of Chinese immigrants were collected from fieldwork, fieldwork definitely became the most important frame in this respect. This section is mainly dedicated to explain how the author organized the fieldwork during the research, includes doing interviews, participant observation and field notes.

Generally speaking, fieldwork is about how fieldworkers (researchers & observers) define their function, how they deal with people they meet in the field, and how they capture for later use media records of what transpired in their presence (Jackson, 1987: 3). The essential of fieldwork is usually a one-on-one activity, and sometimes it could be a group work. *Fieldworkers* access and analyze information, finally report it in ways useful to social science. The quality of researching results obtained depends on the data gathered in the field, and afterwards the process of data analysis defines the quality of the research. Thus both fieldwork and data analysis are important for any social and anthropological studies.

Marshall and Rossman (2014) commented that the investigation, personal interviews and the participant observation are the three fundamental columns of fieldwork. Fieldwork includes several rather standard techniques, all of which can be adapted for any particular setting as needed. All fieldwork techniques can be subsumed under the single heading 'Participant Observation' or under two major headings if 'Participant Observation' and 'Interviewing' are paired off to become the dynamic duo of field research (Wolcott, 2005: 152).

Fieldwork is a technical work, before to start, a thoughtful plan is an important beginning. For better fieldwork results and data, different anthropological fieldwork techniques will work as efficient tools for researchers, such as interviewing, questionnaire and intensive participant observation. My fieldwork plan basically includes three parts: the first part is making investigation on individual Chinese self-

employed immigrants in Murcia and other cities. The objective of doing fieldwork is not only to reveal their experiences and stories, more importantly to gather arguments of their point of views of their life modes, their transnational life, their social network and business network. Family enterprise topic is also important for the interview of Chinese businessmen. This is crucial for the research because most of the Chinese immigrants in Spain are self-employed and to understand their life-mode is the main concern for the research, and their network is supposed to be another main concern.

The second part of the fieldwork is about Chinese immigrants who work as wage-earners. Chinese immigrants who work as wage-earners in Spain normally work in Chinese hundred-peseta stores or Chinese restaurants. Same as Chinese self-employed people, Chinese wage-earners' life-mode and social network are the main objectives as well. Thus interviews and investigations of Chinese wage-earners are essential for the arguments of the life-mode study and network analysis. The interviewees will be interviewed according to the demand of the research, which means the process of the interview will be full of strong purposefulness. For getting more and reliable information, participant observation is necessary in this respect.

Last part of the fieldwork is focusing on Chinese students studying in Spain and the potential immigrants and their prospect. Due to the fact that most of the Chinese immigrants in Spain and Murcia came from *Qintian* country (a county in Zhejiang province in China), some fieldwork needed to be realized in China. For this part, besides doing interviews, anonymous questionnaire will be an efficient way to know their network and prospect to immigrate to Spain.

Collecting material from the fieldwork is only the beginning, transcribing, translating and analysing afterwards are as important as collecting information. The research and thesis will be written in English, and the fieldwork about Chinese immigrants could only be done in Chinese⁴⁵, that means after transcribing the fieldwork recording to text material, all the materials had to be translated to English. In this respect,

⁴⁵ A few young interviewees prefer to speak Spanish for the interview.

effective software like IBM Via Voice® and MAD® were used as helpful time-saving tools. For analyzing the questionnaire, analyzing software SPSS® was adopted for its efficiency and analyzing function.

3.2. INTERVIEWS

“The interview is a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meaning of the subjects’ everyday world” (Kvale, 2008: 7).

Making interview is one of the most efficient ways for getting information and data for social research which makes it indispensable in corresponding social researches. For my research of Chinese immigrants in Spain, most of the primary documents directly came from the interviews I made with Chinese immigrants in Murcia. Actually I started to do interviews even before I decided to choose this subject as my PhD project because I would like to know some information from them in advance to evaluate the subject, now I should say my first few interviews were valuable and encouraged me to carry out this subject.

Because of unknown factors and unpredictable situations, to carry out interviews is much more complicated than its definition:

“It is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose determined by the one party-the interviewer. It is a professional interaction, which goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (Kvale, 2008: 7).

Therefore sociologist Everett C. Hughes (1960) commented that: *“the situation and circumstances in which field observation of human behaviour is done are so various that no manual of detailed rules would serve”*.

My research needs lots of individual interviews of Chinese immigrants in Spain for they are protagonists of the research. As commented there is a big range of Chinese interviewees, they could be distinguished by their occupation like if they are shop-owners (self-employed) or workers (wage-earners), or distinguished by their working place like Chinese restaurants or Chinese hundred-peseta stores, etc. They could all be my objectives for making interviews.

Before starting to do interviews and for making the interview well planned and fruitful, an interview plan is essential. Technically, interview could be divided into closed interview (structured interview), open interview and semi-structured interview. A closed interview is characterized by a fixed set of questions, which the interviewer asks during the session. This style of interview is sometimes also referred to as a pre-structured interview, as in its pure form, it does not allow adding or deleting advantage over the open interview (Berndtsson, et al., 2007: 60).

Closed interview is like carrying out a questionnaire, the interview simply consists of the investigator going through a questionnaire in the presence of a respondent. Even though closed interview has its advantages, for instance the interviewer could control the interview, it's reliable and more efficient, however the constraints of the closed questions limit interviewees. In the beginning of my research, I intended to get as much information as possible from Chinese interviewees, thus closed interview was not suitable in the beginning. My ideal way was to make open interviews and let interviewees feel free to talk about their work and life as much as they want.

An open interview is a form of interview used in qualitative research where the researcher has limited control of the issues raised during the interview session. Even though the purpose of the interview is clear to the researcher, the specific issues to be covered during the interview session are not directed by researcher. It can be characterized as a form of interview in which 'control' is very much in the hand of the interviewees. The advantage of using this style of interviewing is that, if it can be properly mastered, the issues which are of real importance to the interviewee will be addressed (Berndtsson, et al., 2007: 60). What's more, in open interviews interviewees sometimes bring information which researchers didn't expect, therefore open interviews have possibility to inspire researchers.

My first few interviews were all open interviews which benefited me a lot, because from these interviews I gained prolific information and new ideas which I didn't expect, they were helpful and inspiring. As a Chinese student in Murcia, it's not difficult for me to make friends with local Chinese immigrants, especially someone who are at my age,

they became both my friends and my first interviewees. I simply asked them for a favor and invited them to my home or sometimes carry out interviews in their places⁴⁶ so that we could have enough time for making interview without being disturbed.

I prepared my interview well and made them feel relax to talk, when they feel relax they normally talk more naturally and sincerely, besides in this condition I could learn and observe more things from them, including some information and ideas I had not planned nor expected to know. However not after long I found open interviews became difficult to carry on, the reason was most of the interviewees don't have time for quite long open interviews and without directing the interviews and 'control', some of my interviewees didn't know what to say for most of them are very sensitive and nervous about interviews. As a result, this situation made me find an alternative way, I started to ask questions and control the interview, and my interviews were changed from open interviews to semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews have been used in a wide variety of social studies for its great advantages. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer relies on an interview guide (protocol) that includes a consistent set of questions or topics, but the interviewer is allowed more flexibility to digress and to probe based on interaction during the interview (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002: 92). The semi-structured interview attempts to understand themes of interviewees' world from their own perspective, this type of interview looks forward to gain descriptions of the interviewees' lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena. As Kvale (2008: 10) concluded:

"It comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview it has a purpose and it involves a specific approach and technique: it is semi-structured-it is neither an open every day conversation nor a closed questionnaire".

Bill Gillham (2000) commented that 'Control' is a word with negative connotation

⁴⁶ The interviewees are normally very busy in their working places and the interviews were often interrupted by clients. The most ideal place for doing interview is in their house or public places like city park or cafe.

in our day. But 'Control' in the sense of management is fundamental to skilled interviewing. Even so-called 'non-directive' interviewing constructs a direction from the material brought up by the person being interviewed. As a matter of fact, 'Control' has two sides which could not be eliminated in making skilled interviews. In my case, in the beginning less 'Control' during the interview made better result, therefore I was always trying to make my first interviews open interviews, avoided asking questions and let my interviewees feel free to talk about their life, their work and family. However, when I encountered interviewees who need questions and guidance, I started to ask them questions which I had prepared to guide and lead the interview.

Little by little I found that the semi-structured interview is more adequate method for gathering information in my research. The reasons are: Firstly, like Bill Gillham commented, face-to-face interviews are enormously time-consuming (Gillham, 2000: 9), especially open interviews normally take very long time, much more than closed interviews and semi-structured interviews. For my research normally every open interview should take more than one hour, and later it took a couple of hours to transcribe and even more it had to be translated from Chinese to English, that means it takes more than 20 hours for each open interview. It will be a huge amount of work when there are 30 open interviews, therefore comparatively the semi-structured interview is much more efficient, and there are 35 semi-structured interviews I made during the research.

Secondly, not all information gathered from interviewees in open interviews are valid and useful, that is to say, I have to spend lots of time for the open interviews and then to transcribe, translate and analyze lots of invalid and invaluable information, which is not efficient either. Relatively speaking semi-structured interview could save lots of time from dealing with unrelated information. Thirdly, it's not realistic to do many open interviews to Chinese immigrants in Spain, because most of them have very long working hours and they would rather spend more time with their work and clients or family, this makes it very difficult to do interviews with them and even harder for open interviews.

In many cases it was contradicted to make choice between open interviews and semi-structured interviews, because I wanted to achieve the goal to get more information and at the same time I had to think about the efficiency and their collaboration and condition. Therefore my strategy was: I always tried to do open interviews in the beginning and observe interviewees' responses and reaction, if the interview were not carried out well, I changed the open interview to semi-structured interview. As Bruce commented in his book that doing fieldwork requires continual seeing and continual revising (Jackson, 1987: 4). I was redesigning my fieldwork all the time for those individual interviewees are very different, and it made me have to adjust the way of doing interviews. Including different strategies, different questions and many times it was necessary to make a change in the middle of the interview.

Even though I speak Chinese language and have no difficulty in communicating with the interviewees, and every time I explained sincerely my motivation of doing interviews, still it was not easy for the Chinese migrants to accept to be interviewed. After doing most of my interviews, throughout my observation and interviewee's feedback, I summarized some reasons why they didn't like to be interviewed. As the main reason can be stated that they wanted to keep their privacy and didn't want anybody to know or disturb their life and work. This has no exception to Chinese interviewees or interviewees from other countries who don't want to share their life or work experience; Secondly, being interviewed has no meaning to their work or life, for them it's simply wasting time and they don't want to waste time because they have to take care of their business and family, even more sometimes an interview might bring them trouble.

Thirdly, during my investigation I found that mostly all Chinese communities in Spain are very sensitive about interviews. Lots of Chinese immigrants told me that it was because they have had bad experiences with some irresponsible Spanish Medias. There were a few Spanish Medias which first gained Chinese immigrants' trust and did some interviews of them, but later intentionally put bad image on them, so it was very hard for Chinese immigrants to trust neither Medias nor researchers. About this

situation, Bernard commented in his book that the interviewees come to trust you not to betray them-that is, not to use your intimate knowledge of their lives to hurt them (Bernard, 2011: 288), and it is even worse to hurt them with untrue and fabricated facts and report.

At the time I was doing interviews, there was a Chinese immigrants' demonstration happening in Madrid for protesting this kind of fabricated fact and untrue report, which made me delayed my planned interviews because at that time the word 'interview' was extremely sensitive among Chinese immigrants in Spain. This case really hurt Chinese immigrants' feeling, and did increase the difficulty of doing interviews with Chinese immigrants in Spain. Even a long time after this incident, I could still feel its influence. From then on it cost me even more to convince my interviewees to cooperate.



Photo 1: Demonstration of Chinese Immigrants in Madrid.

Source: www.tianya.cn/80821856, 26th of May, 2013.

3.3. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

“Participant observation is a structured type of research strategic method. It is accepted almost universally as the central and defining method in cultural anthropology but in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has become a common feature of qualitative research in a number of disciplines” (DeWalt, 2010: 2).

Participant observation is a widely used methodology in many disciplines, particularly cultural anthropology, sociology, education and medical research, etc. For anthropologists and social scientists, participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture (DeWalt, 2010). It is a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by social researchers who observe or take part in the activities of the people who are being studied.

Same as interview, participant observation fieldwork is the foundation of cultural anthropology (Bernard, 2011: 256). Nevertheless, because of difficulties in doing interviews and for making my research more explicit and profound, besides doing interviews, I had to carry out plenty of participant observation fieldwork as an alternative way to gain greater understanding of the relevant issues from the point of view of my interviewees.

Participant observation is one of those strategic methods, which means that it comprises lots of methods at once (Bernard, 2011: 257). Thus methods of doing participant observation could be various depending on different types of research, different research subjects and even individual researchers themselves could be the factor to influence the way of doing participant observation, all these factors make participant observation an intimate and personal experience.

For the characters of participant observation commented above, I had to plan my participant observation of Chinese immigrants with fully considering of my conditions and situation. First of all, I thought of taking good advantage of my Chinese identity

and then planning my following work. My way of making participant observation was quite different from traditional participant observation because it was actually opposite from Bernard's description of participant observation: "*people who began as your informants may become your friends as well*" (Bernard, 2011: 288). Researchers normally first start to do participant observation fieldwork and then build friendship with informants, however my strategy was first making friends with my informants and then trying to participate and immerse myself in their daily life and work, or even their social network. In this case the participant observation fieldwork could be carried out in a more natural and efficient way. The interviewees understand my intention of doing research on them and they have been very helpful to the research.

During the participant observation fieldwork, I was gathering data and information from Chinese immigrants and learning to do better participant observation fieldwork at the same time, I was adjusting all the time my way of doing it, so as Becker and Geer (1960) commented that the participant observer constantly redesigns his study as he uncovers new data. My experience was not to do participant observation with one model, being resourceful is very important in this case.

As commented, doing formal interviews was sometimes difficult, nevertheless to do participant observation fieldwork and participate in Chinese immigrants' life and work was much easier because of my belonging to the group of Chinese migrants and more importantly my strategies. My success of doing participant observation fieldwork should all attributed to those Chinese friends I made in Murcia, they are hundred-peseta shop owners, restaurant waiters, clothing shop assistants and young Chinese college students and so forth.

Those friends I made in Murcia offered me lots of opportunities to observe their life closely and participate in their work and part of their life as well. The opportunities were very valuable I should say because the information from them was provided to friends but not to investigators. During my time with them they took me as friend and a part of them rather than a researcher who was doing research on them. Their help made the participant observation taking place in totally natural way and fruitful. As a

matter of fact, another advantage was that I could compare and confirm what they told me by formal interviews with what they were really practicing in their work and life.

During my investigation I carried out my participant observation fieldwork as Bernard commented in his book: “*this was full-blown participant observation: hanging out, following people around, doing in-depth interviews, taking field notes*” (Bernard, 2011: 214). I totally immersed myself in participant observation fieldwork with my researching subjects, later I found the more I hung out with them and immerse myself in the fieldwork, the more opportunities I could have to observe their way of life and work. Throughout the ‘natural participant observation’, I got abundant information from my friends who were informants at the same, and the information was more reliable than that I gained from formal interviews.

Many experiences I could share about my participant observation and I summarized that there are two main types of participating. The first type is participating in their family affair. It included participating in their family gatherings like common family feasts or celebrations such as birthday parties or weddings. The meaning of my participation was more than just attending an event, but more importantly everything I saw and heard could be valuable, I could talk with them freely about many things which they don’t want to talk in formal interviews, and in a natural occasion and conversation I could see and hear many things which I could never get through from other ways.

In these occasions I could observe and get information of their family life, the relationship between family members and how they spend their free time, etc. For example, I could observe and compare their way of life in Spain with that in their hometown, which helped enriching the data of their transnational life. During the conversation with them, I could know about their work, like how many hours they work every day, how they organize their business and how they perceive their working time contra to their free time? This sort of information definitely enriched the information and data of life-mode study.

When they talked about how they help each other, how many of their family

members were abroad and if they were going to have more family members coming abroad, or sometimes maybe they talked about if a new family member was going to open a shop or restaurant, and how they were going to help him, by loan or not? All these conversations enhanced my knowledge of their social and business network.

The other type is to participate in their work so that I could observe better their way of work, because I knew without participating in their work, it was very difficult to have convincing information and arguments, because sometimes I doubted the information they gave in formal interviews. My strategy was trying to find opportunity to work with the interviewees, so as soon as they needed somebody to do substitute work they could contact me, for them I could help them being a substitution, but for me this could be no better opportunity for participant observation fieldwork, I always tell them my intention was to experience their work for my research, and most of them are willing to help me and giving me the opportunity. And then besides participant observation fieldwork, I started to do the interviews when they already knew me well.

I once got an opportunity to do part time job in a Chinese restaurant, they call it 'weekend job' or 'weekend substitution', because for restaurants there are always more customers at the weekends, and some of the popular Chinese restaurants need more helping hands at the weekends. This experience not only provided me lots of information about Chinese restaurant business and the way it works, but also brought me lots of new contacts which I could do interviews with those who were working with me. I had similar experience in Chinese candy stores as well, when the owner of candy shop temporarily needed somebody to help, I couldn't let the opportunity flew away. For instance, April is very busy season for candy stores with permission of selling alcohols, because in April there are important festivals, and people like to buy drinks in nearby Chinese candy stores. Especially when the *Bando de La Huerta*⁴⁷ comes, candy stores are eager to find more helping hands as bars and restaurants. Then I could take a good advantage of this opportunity to experience and explore their way of work.

⁴⁷ Bando de La Huerta: A grand festival in Murcia, celebrates on Tuesday of Easter.

Regarding hundred-peseta stores, it was difficult to find an opportunity to work there, because most of them are family based. All people who work there are usually family members; besides there are no high seasons like in restaurants or in candy-shops. Christmas is supposed to be high season for hundred-peseta stores, nevertheless they could prepare for Christmas before it comes, so they don't actually need to contract people from outside the family.

Fortunately, I found an opportunity and got the possibility to work and carry out participant observation also in a hundred-peseta shop. It was because of a good friend who has two hundred-peseta stores. His parents are working in the original shop and he works in the other one. He didn't actually need helpers because he already had somebody working for him. For getting more information about Chinese hundred-peseta stores, I visited him and his shop very often, sometimes I helped him working in the shop when he was busy or when his employee was on leave.

The best opportunity was to accompany him to do bulk purchase in Chinese warehouse district. He had to do bulk purchase in nearby Chinese warehouses every two weeks. When he needed to do bulk purchase in Chinese warehouses, I asked him if I could be his companion so that I could observe the way he did bulk purchase in the warehouses and I could have opportunities to do interviews with people of Chinese warehouses and Chinese restaurants located inside of the warehouse area, because my aim was to collect information about Chinese services offered only to Chinese immigrants. Technically speaking, I was not really participating in the work but only observing, but at least I could closely observe the way he worked and gained lots of first hand information about his shops and other hundred-peseta stores.

“Participant observation is never simply a matter of only participating and observing, it also involves making notes, asking questions, doing interviews, collecting data, drawing up lists, constructing data-bases and otherwise being active in research” (O'Reilly, 2012: 105).

During my participant observation, I did plenty of informal interviews for it is

more efficient to gain information. So as DeWalt commented that the type of 'interviewing' that is part of participant observation is usually informal and is usually more like a casual conversation among acquaintances (DeWalt, 2010: 137). The informal interviews worked very well for gaining information, its advantages are very obvious.

When I participated in Chinese immigrants' events, it seems like a gold mine for me, I observed as much as I could, at the same time I carried out informal interview. During some events I first started the conversation with my potential interviewees and anybody who could be my interviewee. In contrast to Bernard who commented that informal interviewing is characterized by a total lack of structure or control (Bernard, 2011: 156), what I did was to direct the conversations because I was interested in gaining required and concrete information and my interviewees didn't refuse to talk about these issues either. They refused to talk about something during formal interviews, but in informal interviews, there was less taboo in conversation.

As I worked as 'weekend substitution' in a Chinese restaurant and a Chinese candy shop, I did informal interviews not only to owners but also to workmates as well. My strategy was first started to build friendship, when we gradually knew each other, I started to talk with them about some topics related to my research, and in most cases they could offer me valuable information. Most of the times I told my interviewees already in the beginning of my intention and about my research, most of them could understand and try to help me with the interview, some even present me their friends for making more interviews.

Later I found out that in my informal interviews there are actually two types, one is informal interview in participant observation as I commented and the other one is what I called 'informal conversation' which happened very often during my research. The difference lies in the fact that informal interview happened during participant observation while 'informal conversation' could take place in any situation, this matches Gillham's theory about interviews, he commented that: "*you don't have to call an interview an 'interview'- you could call it a 'discussion' or a 'chat about what I'm*

interested in' or whatever phrase seems appropriate" (Gillham, 2000: 5). For instance, I intended to do some shopping in Chinese hundred-peseta stores and to have meal in Chinese restaurant, I could take the opportunity and chat with the owner or shop assistants to get information related to the research.

Anytime could be the time for having 'informal conversations', any places could be the places to do it as well. The shortcoming of these conversations is that they usually were very short and many of them were not very useful, but still sometimes it could produce some valuable information and arguments. Both types of informal interviews produced field notes.

3.4. FIELD NOTES

“Participant observation involves not only gaining access to and immersing oneself in new social worlds, but also producing written accounts and descriptions that bring versions of these worlds to others” (Emerson et al., 2001: 535).

These written accounts and descriptions are field notes. Field notes literally record the process and valuable information of participant observation, researchers need to recall conversations during the course of a day in the field, and turn it to text material afterwards.

Field notes are produced from participant observation, which are crystallization of long time participant observation fieldwork. The process of field notes begins as the researcher participates in local scenes and experiences in order to make observations that will later be written up (Wolcott, 2005). Field notes contain not only how interviewees express their points of view but also contain researchers' influence, so as Kenneth Bailey commented: *“while the field notes are about the people being studied, they also reflect and convey the ethnographer's understanding of these events”* (Bailey, 2008: 252).

After hours and hours participating, observing, communicating and doing informal interviews, researchers need to record the notes as quickly as possible of what they have observed, what they have heard from the field when their memory is still fresh. After the participant observation fieldwork, the written materials need to be transcribed, reorganized and analyzed, at this point writing field notes becomes the primary activity of participant observation.

In the beginning of my participant observation fieldwork, after the fieldwork I wrote down almost all information about the participant observation which contained lots of unrelated information and details, it consumed lots of time of transcribing and translating. As time went on, my field notes became more reflexive and more active, I started to concentrate more on relevant information and details. It was more efficient this way and much easier for making analysis afterwards. Most of my field notes were

more precise and specific as the research became more directed and focused.

In many cases it was difficult to recall all details of the participant observation, especially when there was informal interview, lots of information needed to be learnt by heart, and I found that there was always something missing. I decided to write some key words or sentences during the fieldwork to recall my memory afterwards. After the participant observation, those key words and records helped me remember most of the relevant information. I usually wrote them down on my mobile phone during the fieldwork, and I made it like I was texting someone to avoid people's attention, because I don't want them to feel that I take notes and write about them. This particular way worked out even better for informal interviews.

About informal conversation, I also took field notes as soon as I encountered some relevant information and arguments about the research, most of them are short ones, which made it more like taking fieldwork dairy than writing field notes. Some of them were very helpful which provided important arguments and some could be used for supporting corresponding arguments from previous interviews.

3.5. SECONDARY DATA

In social science research, primary data and secondary data are both keystones. Primary data collected from fieldwork has been talked about intensively earlier for its importance for the research. Nevertheless it is always indispensable and essential to use secondary data. Although secondary data was collected for some other purposes by researchers, it is still important to use secondary data for its advantages:

- i. It avoids recollecting the data which already exist for saving time and researching budget;
- ii. Secondary data from official organizations like government and institutions offer information which is impossible for researchers to collect, especially individual researchers;
- iii. Secondary data usually allows to cover a wider geographic or temporal range;
- iv. The researcher can concentrate on undiscovered fields rather than working on existing secondary data.

I started to collect related secondary data even before I decided to choose the subject, because I needed to know about the academic situation of the study of Chinese migrants in Spain and have my study proposal prepared. But unfortunately there were not as much secondary data as I expected. The data I found were only limited literatures, published articles and statistics; most of the relevant researches are case studies about Chinese immigrants in the United States of America and Southeast Asia. These case studies could hardly be my researching reference.

As a matter of fact, to gain related secondary data for the research was difficult, for there were not many studies about Chinese immigrants abroad, the studies of their life-modes and networks which my research mainly dedicated to are even less. For the limitation of secondary data in English literatures, I tried to expand the scope of searching, I was trying to find valuable secondary data from Chinese literatures and under the help of my tutor, I started to search for secondary data in Spanish literatures.

Some Spanish literatures were helpful, especially the articles about family enterprises and autonomous' business, the comments of autonomous' way of life supposed to be one the most valuable secondary data from Spanish literatures.

Previous studies about the related fields of the research were very limited, the secondary data in this research focused a lot on common sources of secondary data which were official statistics data about Chinese immigrants. For instance, Spanish government statistical centers like immigrant and labor office (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración) and Spanish commercial office offered abundant secondary data. Spain's National Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE) is offering many different kinds of statistics for the data of Chinese immigrants in Spain and in each Spanish cities. Some professional institutes and organizations like MPI (Migration Policy Institute) are very resourceful as well for providing national polices to immigrants, especially to Chinese immigrants.

Besides collecting the secondary data from the Spanish government and official organizations, data from Chinese immigrants' organization and the Chinese government is indispensable, especially the data from the government of most Chinese immigrants' hometown Qintian and Wenzhou. There are some Chinese immigrants' associations in Spain whose main office is located in Madrid, but actually they offered better help in making interviews than offering valuable related secondary data.

Technically the secondary data was not collected to answer the researcher's specific research questions and was instead collected for the purpose to be able to contextualize the study and have a wider view of migration and work from China and in Spain. Thus the way I was choosing secondary data was depending on Kothari's standards of collecting secondary data which are: 1. Reliability of data; 2. Suitability of data; 3. Adequacy of data (Kothari, 2004: 111). The secondary data should fit these characters otherwise it will not be helpful. Besides these three characters, 'timeliness' should also be a character for collecting secondary data, because researchers always need to look for the newest data and keep the research and the data updated.

3.6. METHODOLOGY OF NETWORK ANALYSIS

Social network study of Chinese immigrants is one of the main topics of the research. Besides stating social network theories and concepts, especially Chinese featured social and business networks known as *Guanxi*, to bridge the gap between theory and practice, it's necessary to introduce fundamental sociometric information representing a network as a 'graph' of 'points' and 'lines', and reveal how these can be used to develop concepts such as 'distance', 'direction' and 'density'.

Social network theory applies to a variety of levels of analysis from small groups to entire global systems. A network is a set of relationships which contain a set of objects (in mathematical terms, nodes) and a mapping or description of relations between the objects or nodes (Kadushin, 2012: 14). The final academic breakthrough to a well-developed methodology of social network analysis occurred until 1960s, and this event took place back at Harvard. The graph theory concerns:

“Sets of elements and the relations among these, the elements being termed points and the relations lines, thus, a matrix describing the relations among a group of people can be converted into a graph of points connected by lines. The graphs of graph theory – ‘graphs of networks’ - express the qualitative patterns of connection among points. Indeed, graph diagrams themselves are of secondary importance in graph theory” (Scott, 1987: 16).

The network of actual interpersonal relations among group members which represented by 'graph' could be analyzed by using the mathematical ideas of graph theory. It is necessary to be pointed out that the graph theory of network is different from the graphs of mathematics, instead a network graph is simply a set of lines connecting points. Graph theory consists of a body of mathematical axioms and formulae which describe the properties of the patterns formed by the lines (Scott, 1987). As indicated in Cartwright and Harary's research, they developed a generalization of Heider's theory of balance by use of concepts from the mathematical theory of linear graphs. In their research the points in a graph represented individuals and the lines

showed their relations with one another. The lines in a graph can be given signs (+ or -) to indicate whether they refer to 'positive' or 'negative' relations, and they can be given arrow heads to indicate the 'direction' of the relationships (Cartwright and Harary, 1956).

In this research, it's not supposed to argue different types of graph networks and details, the network graph theory is considered as a methodological way to analyze the objectives' social network. Thus it's essential to introduce social network analysis programs which allow to process data and analyze objectives' network. As John Scott commented: *"a common framework for social network analysis programs is the mathematical approach of graph theory, which provides a formal language for describing networks and their features"* (Scott, 1987: 16).

Understanding the usage of graph theory will significantly help to improve the researcher's network analyses. UCINET[®] and GRADAP[®] programs are the principal procedures in the concepts of graph theory. Although the readily accessible computer programs endeavor to keep as much of the mathematics as possible hidden from the user, nevertheless programs' data structure and management procedures require an understanding of basic graph theoretical ideas. The graph theory offers a translation of matrix data into formal concepts and theorems which can be directly related to the substantive features of social networks. Thus, a matrix describing the relations among a group of people can be converted into a graph of points connected by lines (Scott, 1987).

It is often very difficult to draw a clear and comprehensible diagram for large sets of points with complex patterns of connection, the positive aspect is in this research, it's not necessarily to make very complicated matrix and graphs to reveal Chinese immigrants' social and business network. In this research, the graphs of graph theory of network will be accomplished by UCINET[®] program for its powerful functions and convenience of using.

So far the presentation of methodological issues which includes fieldwork consisting by interviews and participant observation, collection of secondary data and

the special use of UCINET® program to analyze the social and business network among Chinese immigrants. Taking into account all these different methodological considerations, the fieldwork and the processing of the collected data made it possible to draw the results and arguments presented in the next chapter.

PART 2. RESEARCH RESULTS

4. RESEARCH RESULTS ON THE CULTURE OF WAGE-EARNERS AND SELF-EMPLOYED

The research on Chinese immigrants in Spain includes investigations of their way of living and their way of working. To Chinese immigrants, especially self-employed Chinese, in most cases their work and life are combined tightly together, both sides constitute Chinese self-employed life-mode so to speak. Throughout abundant fieldwork of Chinese immigrants in Murcia, in this chapter we are going to argue about their way of work and how their work interacts with the other aspects of their life.

Among Chinese immigrants in Spain and Europe there are Chinese wage-earners, Chinese self-employed people and a few Chinese specialists offering their talents in Spain. In our study of Chinese immigrants, Chinese self-employed and Chinese wage-earners are the main objectives since most of Chinese immigrants in Spain are belonging to these two categories. For the uniqueness of Chinese self-employed and their business, self-employed Chinese are essential for the study.

4.1. WAGE-EARNERS AMONG CHINESE MIGRANTS

Chinese immigrants who work as wage-earners constitute nearly half of Chinese immigrants. The research on cultural pattern of Chinese wage-earners is as important as the research of self-employed Chinese. Based on Life-Mode Analysis, we will argue about the life-mode of Chinese migrant contracted as employees. The empirical study shows that the employees among Chinese immigrants in Spain can be divided into three different groups:

1. Chinese immigrants without start-up capital or opportunities to have small self-employed business work as employees. This case also includes many new arrived Chinese immigrants who still have loan for coming to Spain, thus

most of them have no choice but to work as employees;

2. Some self-employed Chinese work part time as employees for auxiliary income;
3. Graduated bilingual Chinese students come to Spain and work as employee in Chinese or Spanish companies.

The first case is the most common situation for Chinese wage-earners in Spain. They are the most in numbers. The question is, if these employees can be characterised with the concept of the wage-earner life-mode. According to Højrup *“the ideological conceptual system of wage-earners’ life-mode is thus structured around a specific means-end relationship, where the end is to have an income and enjoy their free time”* (Højrup, 2003: 33). This argumentation coincides with most cases of people who are within wage-earner life-mode and supposes a strong contrast between work and free time. However, in the case of Chinese immigrants, it does not seem to fit. They have some different cultural pattern, so as one of the interviewees commented:

“I normally work nine or ten hours in the restaurant, I feel exhausted when I finish my work, and after work I have almost no free time. The regulation of my restaurant, so do other restaurants, waiters could have one day off every week, normally we choose Monday or Tuesday because there are less customers on these days. Many times I don’t know what I could do when I have holidays, I normally watch movie and talk to my families or just sleep to recover myself from the hard work”⁴⁸.

This part of field note from a Chinese wage-earner in Spain reveals the basic working situation of most Chinese migrant wage-earners in Spain. The investigation shows that Chinese employees normally work very hard in their company and in many cases they spend more than 8 hours at work every day. As the field note shows, after the work they have limited ways to spend their leisure time either. The main reason of this phenomenon is because they don’t have abundant free time after work; secondly, the investigation shows that their poor integration to the local society is another cause.

⁴⁸ Interview of Chinese restaurant employee in Murcia, WE003, 35 years old, approx.

Therefore our question is if they don't really could take advantage of their free time, what are they pursuing? The following field note may help us to understand the most common cultural pattern of Chinese wage-earners in Spain.

“The reason for me to work here is because I don't really have better opportunities. I don't have fund nor support to have my own business, besides I am still very young and having no experience, my parents don't want me to work in their shop, because their shop is small and it is not necessary to have three people working there. They want me to find a job and having my own income. This work for me is only to have an income. When I earn some money and gain some experience, I will ask my family and friends to help me to have my own shop or business”⁴⁹.

As we can see from this typical field note, for Chinese employees, in spite of pursuing an income to spend in free time they aspire to found their own business. They are actually pursuing free work instead of free time. They are contracted as employees and therefore one may tend to interpret them as with the concepts of the wage-earner life-mode, but it is more appropriate to analyse them as represents of the self-employed life-mode. Work as means is meaningless to them, the difference lies in the change of end. Therefore to them the motivation to stand the drudgery work is not the 'enjoyable free time', but to accumulate the strength which could make them turn into self-employed (which can be understood as a mean to get prestige and glory by building a big house or showing their success when they go back to their hometown in China). This phenomenon also proves the idea of to work formally as a wage earner does not mean that one culturally can be characterized as a wage earner (Schriewer, 1995).

This phenomenon is similar to the concept argued in the theoretical part, which is the concept of 'striver' life-mode. As commented the 'striver' life-mode is between wage-earner life-mode and 'specialist' life-mode, it's about wage-earners who are on their way to be 'specialists', therefore it owns the characters from both sides. But here in Chinese immigrants' case, it's found that wage-earners of Chinese immigrants in

⁴⁹ Interview of Chinese restaurant employee in Murcia, WE005, 23 years old, approx.

Spain are not interested in becoming specialist or from another perspective they don't have enough conditions to become specialists, therefore they strive to become self-employed. Along with the interview above abundant interviews proved that the 'striver' life-mode in Chinese immigrants' context is from wage-earners to self-employed instead of from wage-earners to 'specialists'.

No matter change from wage-earners to 'specialists' or from wage-earners to self-employed, the process of changing from one life-mode to another conceptually better life-mode is never easy. For Chinese wage-earners, in many cases they can not only count on themselves, but looking for financial support from family members or friends, because one can hardly start a business by oneself, as soon as he or she wants to become self-employed, his or her *Guanxi* network becomes the most important factor.

Another main group of Chinese migrant employees comes from some self-employed Chinese immigrants who are contracted in part time jobs and work as wage-earners. It seems contradicted because we just argued earlier that Chinese wage-earners are pursuing to become self-employed, however what makes self-employed Chinese working as wage-earners?

As Højrup commented:

"When confronted with the necessity of raising additional income or have balance problem, self-employed people have no choice but either to change their business or develop a sideline work to maintain their business. In this case 'meaningless' waged work for wage-earners becomes meaningful pursuit for self-employed people" (Højrup, 2003: 33).

The investigation of Chinese self-employed business shows that this situation only happens when their business doesn't work out well or they need to have more income for special purpose. This phenomenon became more common in the economic crisis period, when several of the self-employed Chinese immigrants consulted in this study had no choice but to do part time job and work as wage-earners for supplementary income.

Thus, when a self-employed is obliged to accept a waged work in another enterprise in order to maintain his/her own business, in this case, the self-employed works (formally, legally) some hours of the day as wage-earner (waged work) and after that some hours in his/her own business (free work). So as Højrup commented:

“In self-employed life-mode, waged work is regarded as a means to keep the family enterprise running. Hence, the day is not divided into two kinds of time, but rather into two kinds of work: waged work, which is a necessary means of making an income, and ‘free’ work in the simple commodity production enterprise carried out by and for oneself. With waged work carried out for a purpose other than itself, it becomes possible to view ‘activity’ in terms of two aspects: As a work process and as a source of income” (Højrup, 2003: 127).

In the fieldwork I found some cases of this mode, self-employed work part time as wage-earner. I could observe that they establish a clear border between what Højrup calls free work and waged work. The main idea can be illustrated with an interviewee of hundred-peseta store who commented:

“Nobody wants to work for others, everybody wants to be boss, if it’s not because of economic crisis, I will not work for others. It’s for the family and earn a little bit more, that what happens”⁵⁰. And about the difference between free work and waged work, he commented: “when I am in my shop, I could decide everything, I can do what I want and when I want, but working for others, you need to follow your boss’s order and you have to see boss’ face to know if he is happy about what you are doing”⁵¹.

The empirical study shows that Chinese self-employed could accept part time wage-earner work in the condition of the part time job which doesn’t affect their self-employed business. And in many cases, it is always the case that the younger generation work part time as wage-earner when other family members could look after the self-employed business, and the self-employed business is always their priority.

⁵⁰ Interview of hundred-peseta store owner in Murcia, SE 008, 26 years old, approx.

⁵¹ Interview of hundred-peseta store owner in Murcia, SE 008, 26 years old, approx.

Nowadays by the chance that the economic communication had been enhanced between China and Spain, more educated bilingual Chinese employees are required by both Spanish companies and Chinese companies who have branch in Spain. Spanish companies need bilingual Chinese employees to explore the Chinese market, and Chinese companies need them for their international developing plan. This tendency can be illustrated with the special recruitment in Shanghai Foreign Language University for Spanish language majored graduates, organized by some famous Spanish enterprises including El Corte Inglés, Inditex Group and Repsol in April 2016. This was the first time for Spanish enterprises to organize such special recruitment fair in China.

Besides traditional import and export business, international business investment and collaboration between China and Spain are taking place more often. For instance, taking advantage of Spanish potent of making graphene battery, the Chinese company CHANT invested in this new project to build a factory in the north of Murcia for producing graphene batteries. And energy companies from China invested to Spanish solar power and wind power projects. The new Spanish hydraulic turbo-generator technology is trying to find international investment from China, all these new collaborations provide opportunities to young bilingual Chinese graduates who intend to find qualified work.

Unlike ‘traditional’ wage-earners of Chinese immigrants⁵², the graduated students from Chinese universities have their special characters. The most distinct difference is: graduated students who are contracted as employees in Spain, their life-mode is much closer to what is denominated the career life-mode in Life-Mode Theory. We found that they differentiate clearly between free time and working time. Their pursuit is different, they have less intention to be self-employed. Their main aim is to reach higher in the hierarchy of the company. If some of them want to be self-employed, they are not limited in traditional Chinese immigrants’ businesses either, they are more likely to

⁵² ‘Traditional’ wage-earners of Chinese immigrants refers to Chinese immigrants who don’t have start-up fund for small business, and normally they are not educated either comparing to university students from China.

have different types of companies which are related to their professions.

Their network is different as well, most of the graduated Chinese students came to Spain alone without any family members or friends, therefore they have to establish a new social network in Spain. The investigation shows their *Guanxi* web has less interaction neither with Chinese self-employed in Spain nor with ‘transnational’ Chinese wage-earners of the first type and the second type. Their *Guanxi* web is more concentrated among Chinese graduated employees like themselves and their colleagues, no matter if their colleagues are Chinese or Spanish.

“I have been working in Spain for just one year only. Most of my friends in Spain are Chinese graduates like me, because we had similar experience in China and similar mentality as well. It’s difficult to talk with local Chinese immigrants in Spain, because they have been in Spain for many years and it’s hard for both sides to understand each other; we have limited communications with them, only when we buy something in their stores or having meal in their restaurants”⁵³.

From the field note we could see their attitudes towards earlier Chinese immigrants and their ‘selected’ *Guanxi* web. The investigation shows that they are not very clear about the future, about their settlement issue. They are not sure if they are going to stay abroad the rest of their lives or just having a working experience abroad and go back to China in a few years. Since they start to work in Spain, they put most of their enthusiasm in work and pursue to reach higher hierarchy in their companies. Therefore for this character, their life-mode matches the ‘striver’ life-mode, they are eager and able to become ‘specialists’, which is their main objective.

This brief review of Chinese migrants working and living in conditions of wage-earners shows, that they culturally cannot be characterised as wage-earners. In almost all cases they formally are wage-earners, but for the understanding of their cultural pattern, it is more appropriate to analyse them in terms of ‘strivers’ life-mode. In the case of arriving migrants, in most of the cases the aim is to become self-employed, and

⁵³ Interview of Spanish company employee in Madrid, WE 006, 24 years old, approx.

working as wage-earner is just a mean accepted for a period, therefore they are striving from wage-earners to self-employed; in the case of Chinese graduates working in Spain, they are looking forward to become ‘specialists’.

Due to this observation and taking into account that almost half of Chinese immigrants are registered as self-employed, the study of self-employed is crucial for the understanding of Chinese migration to Spain. Therefore the next chapter is dedicated to the analysis of self-employed Chinese migrants.

4.2. SELF-EMPLOYED CHINESE MIGRANTS

In Spain the prosperity of Chinese self-employed businesses has already become a unique phenomenon among all immigrants from different countries. Under the theoretical frame of Life-Mode Analysis in this chapter we are about to reveal the life-mode of self-employed Chinese immigrants in Spain. The first question to deal with is, why Chinese migrants in general incline to establish their own business when they migrate to Spain.

4.2.1. WHY CHINESE IMMIGRANTS TEND TO BE SELF-EMPLOYED

The group of Chinese immigrants stands out by a high level of self-employed, compared to other national groups of immigrants. According to the document “Membership in Social Security System”⁵⁴ from April 2017 there are at all re 97.685 registered Chinese people working officially in Spain. Less than the half (46.259) are wage-earners and some work in special contracts in agriculture, households or on the sea. This means that more than the half of this national group is self-employed. The document speaks of no less than 51.426 Chinese nationals registered as self-employed.

These Chinese self-employed are more than a third of all self-employed migrants from non-EU countries. The national group with the second number in self-employed are the Moroccans (18.646), but compared with the total number of registered Moroccans (231.120) in Social Security less than 10% of them drive their own business. Among Pakistani and Argentinean migrants, the rate of self-employed is about 25% and in all other registered groups it is significantly lower. Therefore, it can be stated that the Chinese with 50% self-employed stick out with a real outstanding rate compared to all the other national group of migrants from non-EU countries.

Considering these statistical data it is not surprising that one of the core questions for the understanding of Chinese migration is, why these Asian immigrants tend to

⁵⁴ Afiliación de extranjeros Seguridad Social. Abril 2017. Madrid: Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, pp. 14.

establish their own enterprises and how they manage them.

The reasons for Chinese immigrants to become self-employed people are from both structural factors related to the political and economic conditions and cultural factors in China and in Spain, so it is indicated to have a look on these four aspects:

The structural factors regarding the homeland, China, can be explained partly by the transformations the country experienced in the last decades. Since Deng Xiaoping started the economic transformation in 1979 and especially after the economic reform from 1992, many business opportunities came up in the new Socialist Market Economy (Harrold & Lall, 1993). Chinese people were not limited their minds in being wage-earners, they realized that being entrepreneur or self-employed in many cases could bring them more income, more liberty in work, responsibility for their own activities and all this made them deduce that being entrepreneur or self-employed would make their life better.

The statistical data from the State Administration for Industry and Commerce of the People's Republic of China show that the number of self-employed has been growing all the time since the economic reform. According to the official data, until the year 2016, in China there are 55 million registered self-employed and nearly 20 million private companies (Zhou, 2016).

Regarding the cultural pattern in China, the Amway Global Entrepreneurship Report⁵⁵ from 2016 may be of interest.⁵⁶ This document, which is only available in Mandarin, shows that in China more than 86% of interviewees have a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship.⁵⁷ This percentage is considerably higher than the global average which is about 77%. According to the report, take care of both family and career, enjoy life, realize self-worth and reach personal achievements as well as obtaining extra income are the main reasons for Chinese entrepreneurs to start-up.

⁵⁵ The Amway company collaborated with Technical University of Munich (Technische Universität München) commissioned GfK to investigate the global entrepreneurship.

⁵⁶ Source from <http://www.amway.com.cn/news/activity/201612/201612.html>.

⁵⁷ We suppose that the report does not limit to entrepreneurs in the sense of capitalists but think that it also includes self-employed.

The statistical data of self-employed in China and the Amway Report confirm the image that among Chinese people, diligence is in general considered as a good virtue to follow. May be that this is influenced by the Confucian doctrine which teaches to fully realize one's self-worth. Therefore being diligent and assiduous is perceived as a part of a good and respectable life – which can be interpreted as a parallel cultural pattern to the protestant ethics (Zhang, et al., 2012: 243). In China less industrious people are disregarded, the common opinion is that people need to work hard and to be assiduous.

Therefore, it is no surprise that China is known for its specific work-ethics. Several scholars confirm that work traditionally is related to positive connotations in Chinese culture. This perception is prevalent already in traditional rural societies, as R. David Arkush states in his analysis of proverbs of the agricultural environment. The positive value of work is expressed in proverbs like "If man works hard the land will not be lazy" (Arkush, 1984: 467). This labour-ethics from times before the civil war were adopted to new in times of socialism. As Madsen already confirms, the traditional Chinese values regarding work were not banished in socialist society but on the contrary reaffirmed in a different political context (Madsen, 1981).

In this regard the considerations of Stevan Harrell are especially illuminating, even if they already were written in 1984 (Harrell, 1985: 217), when the profound economic transformation carried out by Deng Xiaoping just had started. Harrell points out that the omnipresent stereotype of hard working Chinese is depending on a series of different conditions. According to his hypothesis, it was developed in a society based already for a long time on social mobility, which made possible that one and the related family could climb up or descend in social hierarchy.

This means that Chinese diligence is not a primordial attribute of Chinese people but a cultural pattern depending on a society that demanded commitment and offered possibilities. Harrell corroborates this idea with the observation that in big Chinese enterprises with wage-earners the attitude of hard working is not prevalent. Taking this into account, he states that:

“Chinese will work hard when they see possible long-term benefits, in terms of improved material conditions and/or security, for a group with which they identify” (Harrell, 1985: 217).

This statement invites to differentiate two aspects: the long term search for benefit and relatively security and certain altruism in favour of the group, which since long times is the family.

On the one hand, the group, Chinese people identify with, is first of all the family. The Chinese family concept perceives family as the proper unit; the individual is secondary. Chinese who live with this idea of family do not only work for the well of themselves but especially for the family and next generation. In order to fulfil this aim, they keep working hard all the time even though they already had a satisfied life. Also this feature is affirmed by Harrell:

“In no Chinese society do individuals work primarily for individual benefit. The group, of course, that has been the intended beneficiary of the entrepreneurial strategies throughout most of Chinese history has been the jia, or economic family, or in the very long run the collectivity of one's jia mates and all their potential descendants” (Harrell, 1985: 217).

On the other hand, Harrell interprets the pursuit of (material) security as a strategy based on hard labour, on activities of investment, study and even diversification of holding. Harrell assumes that Chinese people have developed an “entrepreneurial spirit” and seems to think on those capitalists who establish big companies. One can ask, if this “entrepreneurial spirit” should be understood in a wider sense, including the culture of self-employed which actually is the relevant for the majority of Chinese people. Investment in a larger scale and diversification of holdings seems to be a topic for a limited group, meanwhile the majority of people deals with more modest issues. Therefore we propose not to be that ambitious and relate the main aspects Harrell links to an “entrepreneurial spirit”, like hard working and family ties, first of all with the culture of self-employed. Perhaps some of these self-employed will have the

opportunity during their life to transform themselves in entrepreneurs with far-reaching possibilities, but the many of them do not. Nevertheless this transformation of some few indicates that there is a proximity between self-employed and entrepreneurs which is also interesting from a theoretical perspective.

If we interpret the different characteristics Harrell mentions as belonging to the culture of self-employed, we can deduce how hard work fits in as a crucial aspect in the culture of self-employed. Due to the fact, that work is the most important mean for self-employed in order to be competitive, working hard is meaningful and enables in a certain degree to build up what Harrell calls the “*hedges and defences against loss*” (Harrell, 1985: 216). In this sense, the Chinese culture fits perfectly with the possibilities in the world of self-employed.

The strong family bonds, mentioned by various authors, are another pattern, which matches perfectly with the culture of self-employed. It is not only the idea that it is meaningful to build a seminal project for the family and the perception that the individuals are of a limited importance in the context of the family as a whole that fosters the common project of a family enterprise. Also the fact, that all family-members can contribute to the project without the necessity to calculate a fix salary produces a strength for the family-project.

Besides these factors regarding conditions and culture in China, the investigation also shows that in Spain there exist objective advantages for them to be self-employed and disadvantages to be wage-earners in some extent. On the one hand, it is difficult for Chinese immigrants to become wage-earners for Spanish companies. Due to their language limitation, caused by their belonging to a completely different lingual family and different cultural background, only a few of them find work in local companies. Most of Chinese migrant wage-earners have no choice but to work for Chinese self-employed people. However in many cases, they are not willing to work for Chinese self-employed people because they normally have to work harder or longer with less income and insurance.

The development of Chinese manufacture industry and the distribution of Made in China products provide Chinese immigrants with the special opportunity to become distributors of Chinese products all over the world. Chinese economic policies have focused intensively on developing local manufacturing in small or medium-sized townships and village enterprises of inexpensive, low-quality consumer goods for domestic consumption and export (Saich, 2004: 251-253). The growth of these rural enterprises has, despite or possibly because of the adaptation to global markets in the latter part of the 1990s, generated new commercial opportunities for Chinese migrants to go abroad to both developed as well as developing countries to import and trade in inexpensive products manufactured in China (Thunø, 2012: 13).

This factor is considered as a very important advantage for Chinese immigrants comparing to immigrants from other countries. This fact is all the more important since there is a strong demand of Chinese products on the Spanish market.

Another factor is that it is not that difficult for immigrants to become a self-employed in Spain. Even if Spaniards have to cope with less bureaucratic hurdles, it is still relatively realistic for foreigners to settle down as a self-employed. Following the law Real Decreto 557/2011 the immigrants need a resident card with permission to be self-employed to establish their own business.

In the context of these promoting objective conditions, the cultural pattern of Chinese immigrants can unfold.

This idea stands out in a field note of an interviewee in Murcia who commented:

“It’s always better to have your own business than working for others, you are free when you are working for yourself, you can have better income and most importantly you can stay with your family even when you are working”⁵⁸.

This short sequence of an interview contains three different arguments which turn up among Chinese immigrants frequently. The first one deals with the concept of

⁵⁸ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 007, 45 years old.

freedom which is linked with the work in the own enterprise and the fact that there is no superior who designs your work. The second argument is related to the economic possibilities. It describes the circumstance that there is no profit for an exterior owner of the company, but all earned money (except taxes) is for the own enterprise. The third idea mentioned in the sequence and perceived as an advantage is that a self-employed can involve the family in the work. This inclusion makes it possible for the family to stay together, it does not provoke costs and, above all, it generates a common family-project. It seems that this combination of different factors promotes that Chinese immigrants tend to accept the adventure to be self-employed.

The idea of an own business, which is widely spread among Chinese immigrants, is embedded in a culture of mutual support among Chinese overseas immigrants. This idea of a certain solidarity is an observation which was made by Lin Qiyang already in 1992. She states that entrepreneurial spirit and mutual help and assistance are the two most important cultural influences for overseas Chinese immigrants to create their own career (Lin, 1992: 19-21).

This help from other Chinese is especially important regarding the economic part of the founding of a business. The necessary capital is a precondition that is required by Spanish law. However, where does the capital of Chinese immigrants come from? In most of the singular cases studied, the capital comes from other members of the own family and another part from personal savings which may be a result of an employment as wage-earner. This constellation reaffirms the strong family bond and network which provides Chinese immigrants. Therefore, to become a self-employed small business owner is perceived as the most ideal option among Chinese immigrants.

Therefore, to be self-employed small business owner is the most ideal option for Chinese immigrants. However during the investigation, we noticed another phenomenon, some Chinese wage-earners who had already accumulated sufficient capital do not dare to start new business, and the reason is because of the economic crisis. According to them they wish to become self-employed and have their own small business however they are afraid of being unsuccessful in economic crisis period, thus

they prefer to maintain working as wage-earners and wait for better timing and business opportunity.

4.2.2. THE CONCEPT OF WORK FOR CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED

These data exposed show, that among Chinese migrants it is perceived worthwhile to establish the own business. So, what do Chinese migrants think is this best option, what does it mean to work as self-employed and why is it perceived as positive?

To contribute some arguments to the answer, it may be interesting to have a look on one of the main features of the life-mode of self-employed and its empirical realization among Chinese migrants in Spain. Højrup describes the means-end relationship in the life-mode of self-employed as one of these main characteristics:

“For those in life-mode of self-employed, their aim is to sustain their business or expand their free work, they have free work instead of having free time, and their means and end are fused together in their activity” (Højrup, 2003: 127).

In this citation, Højrup states, that for self-employed it is most important to conduct their own enterprise and that his own business is related to the concept of freedom. Work in this framework is perceived as free work. In contrast to the wage-earner life-mode where freedom is linked to the sphere outside work, following Højrup, in the life-mode of self-employed freedom is connected to work. Furthermore, Højrup act on the assumption that this aim at the same time is the mean composing a whole, he denominates ‘activity’.

The empirical study of Chinese self-employed immigrants coincides with Højrup’s theory of self-employed life-mode however some Chinese self-employed businesses’ ideas and features caused the attention. These ideas are linked to ‘activity’ of self-employed people, Højrup commented: *“‘activity’, unlike waged work for others, to self-employed, it is not only means, but both means and end”* (Højrup, 2003: 127). As stated in the first part of the state of the art: *“the concept of activity in life-mode of self-*

employed obtains meaning via its contrast with waged work in life-mode study. It is used for distinguishing the life-mode of self-employed from other life-modes". The empirical study of Chinese self-employed people shows that their 'activity' as self-employed is related to a specific form of end. In the fieldwork I observed, that Chinese immigrants are trying to maintain their business as long as possible, as one interviewee commented:

*"I don't have better choice and to find another way to make a living, so all I have to do is to look after well my shop and maintain it as long as possible, even though I don't earn much but at least I am my own boss. Once you are your own boss you don't want to work for others anymore"*⁵⁹.

To Chinese self-employed immigrants, maintaining the 'activity' refers more precisely to maintain themselves as self-employed rather than maintaining a certain business, because they could change their business from one sector or place to another for the reason of having better business opportunities which could bring them more earnings or other reasons like having better business network in the new business, to name a few. The empirical study shows that when they encounter a better business opportunity, in many cases they will change to it even though in some cases they have no experience of the new business. This phenomenon happens more frequently among young Chinese generation

One of my interviewees' experience explains very well this situation, he was working with his parents in a hundred-peseta store in Murcia for many years, and then his family helped him to open another hundred-peseta store in the other side of the city. Unfortunately, because of the location and competition, his new store didn't go well. Since he got married with a Chinese lady from Barcelona, he went to live in Barcelona with her and opened a bar in Barcelona⁶⁰. His experience supports the argument of Chinese self-employed are not limited in neither one type of self-employed business

⁵⁹ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 005, 35 years old.

⁶⁰ Fieldwork dairy: Owner of hundred-peseta store CWZ-5.

nor the business experience they already have, so as another interviewee commented:

“I could change to another business as long as I could make more money than what I am doing now, and I want to work for myself instead of working for others. For me, in my age, working for others has no meaning...But in the situation of economic crisis, I had better not risk to try new business, besides my candy shop works well. I am not young anymore and I am not eager to try new business unless it bring much more earning than my candy shop, and I know it’s also risky and not that easy... My son could have opportunity to do something new, young people have their own thought and should have their own career”⁶¹.

This interviewee from a candy shop clearly expressed his idea about changing to a new business. We can see that he is willing to change to a new business but only if the new business could bring him much more fortune than his candy shop, because he knows that there must be investment for the new business and he has to bear the risk as well. During the investigation I found many Chinese self-employed don’t refuse to change the business. But they also have their worries like this interviewee, it is common in many interviews I carried out, Chinese self-employed immigrants are willing to change but in the end only a few of them make changes, and these people are already having sufficient resources like fund and business networks for the new business. As a result, to change to a new business and earning more money through is a part of Chinese self-employed immigrants’ business dream. But the reality is that most of them have no better choice or resources to change, so in the end they still have to maintain the same business.

About Chinese self-employed work, we have already commented in the chapter of state of the arts. Self-employed work can be interpreted as routine work and management work. Self-employed have to do routine work like wage-earners to maintain the business. At the same time, they need to carry out all the decision making and managerial work. Many interviews of Chinese self-employed immigrants in Murcia

⁶¹ Interview of candy shop owner in Murcia, SE 009, 40 years old.

showed both characters of self-employed work, as one interviewee commented:

“During my work I could decide if I am going to do routine work like sweeping the floor or not to sweep the floor; I could decide if I have to clean the products or to do it when I feel like doing it. For me, my work is totally autonomous work and I always feel free.....I am the boss of this store and of myself, besides doing maintaining work, I also need to manage and organize the business”⁶².

In this sequence of an interview, it becomes apparent that the self-employed themselves perceive what is stated in the theoretical frame: There is a difference between predesigned routine work and managerial work which is related to the planning of the business and its strategy for the future. In the life-mode of self-employed both parts are integrated in the daily work. Symptomatically, the interviewee gives examples from routine-work, far from describing it in all its aspects. But what is specifically interesting is that he does not explain what managerial work consists in. It is like to talk about the secrets of the own work and existence. But in order to understand the life-mode of self-employed, this is a question, which has to be deepened some more.

Chinese self-employed people don't separate their work and their family life, to fuse the work and life together is considered as the most distinct character for Chinese self-employed immigrants and also one of the main reasons for them to choose to be self-employed. In Chinese self-employed businesses both man and wife are sharing routine work and managerial work of their self-employed business, however they still have different division of work based on gender. The man is normally the one who is in charge of heavy preparation work like purchasing products from warehouse, load and unload products. Meanwhile the wife gives more attention to the family like household work and cooking. For Chinese families the accounting work of business and family is normally attributed to wife, so do Chinese self-employed immigrants.

Here comes the question, what is routine work for them and what consist their managerial work? Furthermore, who is the one in charge of doing managerial work and

⁶² Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 007, 45 years old.

who is the one who does routine work? The empirical studies show that both man and wife are decision makers and at the same time both of them have to carry out routine work. Throughout many case studies from the fieldwork, I summarized some regulations of their assignment of work in family based self-employed business:

1. The selection of business and location are the most important decisions to make, both man and wife have rights to make the decision, when one part who has more experience or family background will bring more influence to the decision making. Because of the importance of these two crucial decisions, intimate family members are usually involved in the discussion and decision making as well;

2. Both man and wife make decision about the decoration of the shop, placement of products, opening-hours, and contracting people from outside and if they want to close the shop in low season⁶³ for holidays, etc. ..., it's normally the result of negotiation between man and wife;

3. Accounting work, which is an important part of managerial work, is normally attributed to the wife. In Chinese culture, in the family woman is in charge of accounting and financing, the criteria for a good wife in Chinese culture includes the ability of managing savings, making budget and managing finances, as the Chinese saying describes: "*Man is in charge of earning money and wife has to manage it well*". In the investigation it's found that young generations are sometimes involved in accounting work since they contract Spanish accounting agency with no Chinese employees. In this case, young generation take the advantage of their language skill.

All the mentioned above are managerial work in self-employed business. Making decision about what and how many products they have to buy from the warehouse is also considered as part of the management work, however an interviewee's comment made me think that according to different types of businesses, the decision about doing bulk purchase could be management work or sometimes routine work, at least for this

⁶³ August is the month which people usually have holidays in Spain, so for Chinese self-employed business it is the lowest season of the year, some Chinese self-employed close the shop for holidays while other still keep on working.

interviewee from hundred-peseta store, his bulk purchase from warehouse has already become his routine work, as stated in his comments:

“We have been working in this shop for many years, I know exactly what I have to do and she (his wife) knows what she has to do, it has already become a custom for us.... We don't want any employee because we think we can handle it. We stay together in the shop and she leaves earlier for preparing food. Hundred peseta shop has hundreds of things, almost every week I go to the nearby warehouses to buy what we sold and my wife always prepares me a list, but sometimes I don't even need a list because I know more or less what we have sold and what we need for the shop”⁶⁴.

On the contrary, a self-employed owner of a clothing store has a completely different understanding of doing bulk purchase from the warehouse, one of a clothing store owners commented:

“My wife has much better taste of clothes, much better than me, it is always easier selling her choices than mine, so now every time I go to warehouses in Madrid, I have to take her, I know she hates four hours trip to Madrid from Murcia but we have no choice, she is the guarantee of the business”⁶⁵.

Same as sharing management work of the business, both man and wife have to share routine work as well. In their daily work both man and wife share more or less the same time of working in their store or restaurant, and usually they are staying together in the shop doing cleaning work, replacement work and selling products. As a Chinese restaurant owner commented:

“The restaurant needs more people to work, my wife and I work together in our restaurant, and we have two chefs and several waiters. My wife is in charge of the cashier and receiving clients, and I work in the kitchen.... She used to take our son to school, since my son has grown up, now it's not necessary. Now she works all day in the restaurant, she helps in the kitchen sometimes as well, as I sometimes have to be in

⁶⁴ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 002, 40 years old.

⁶⁵ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 011, 40 years old, approx.

the cashier and talk to the clients”⁶⁶.

The investigation shows that to Chinese self-employed people, they don't intentionally separate management work from routine work, to them both are just necessary work for maintaining their self-employed business. In the business both man and wife are sharing all the routine work and management work, and when there is a child, the situation changes according to the growth of the child.

4.2.3. INVOLVEMENT OF YOUNG GENERATION TO THEIR PARENTS' BUSINESS

“The future belongs to young people, they have experience studying in Spanish school, they speak better Spanish and they have more contacts with the local.... They integrated better in the local society and most importantly they think differently from the old generation”⁶⁷.

The interviewee concluded the basic situation of the young generation of Chinese immigrants⁶⁸. They speak better Spanish and they are better integrated to the Spanish society than their parents. Some of them even speak better Spanish than Chinese. Nevertheless, they are influenced by the family and Chinese cultures, family values and family influence of doing business.

In many Chinese immigrants' cases, people from the young generation involve in the business as well. They normally help their parents with family business if they don't work as wage-earners for others. Start from doing routine work, gradually they play a more and more important role in family self-employed business. With the increase of their age, they are more experienced and they have more advantages than their parents. The participant observation of a Chinese hundred-peseta store shows how the young

⁶⁶ Interview of Chinese restaurant owner in Murcia, SE 013, 45 years old.

⁶⁷ Interview of warehouse owner in Elche, SE 010, 50 years old, approx.

⁶⁸ Second or third generation of Chinese immigrants, most of them were born in Spain or came to Spain at a very young age.

generation gradually plays more and more important role in the business.

Mr. Chan owns a hundred-peseta store in the city centre of Murcia, he and his wife are maintaining the store with the help of an employee. Mr. Chan has a son. When his son was young, he just helped the parents doing routine works like uploading products from the van, placing the products and selling them. Since the son got driving license, he could drive and go to warehouse, under Mr. Chan's instruction. The son gradually learned how to do bulk purchase in warehouses as well. In this case Mr. Chan doesn't have to go to the warehouse anymore. Mr. Chan's Spanish is poor, but his son speaks very good Spanish because of the experience of being in Spanish school. Therefore, Chan wants his son to deal with all the documents work like legal and accounting issues which always make him confused⁶⁹.

Another case is from a Chinese candy shop in Murcia owned by an old couple. Since some time they just do the routine work, because they left most of the management work to their daughter. So now it's the second generation who is in charge of going to the warehouses, making orders for products and dealing with all the documents' work. At the same time the daughter stays in the shop with her parents and doing routine work as well⁷⁰.

If the business is too small for more than three stuffs, people from the young generation normally choose to find another job or even start another small self-employed business, because for them it's a kind of 'waste' to have an unnecessary labour in the shop. In this case the young generation can find a waged work or start a new business with the help of the family, so as this young interviewee commented:

"The reason for me to work here is because I don't really have better opportunities. I don't have fund nor support to have my own business, besides I am still very young and having no experience, my parents don't want me to work in their shop, because their shop is small and it is not necessary to have three people working there. They want

⁶⁹ Fieldwork dairy: Owner of hundred-peseta store CWZ-5.

⁷⁰ Fieldwork dairy: Owner of candy shop SYY.

me to find a job and having my own income. This work for me is only to have an income. When I earn some money and gain some experience, I will ask my family and friends to help me to have my own shop or business”⁷¹.

Nevertheless the investigation shows that besides following traditional Chinese immigrants’ self-employed businesses as their parents do, many young Chinese immigrants nowadays have very distinct career inclinations. Because of the economic crisis started since year 2008, like many companies and small business in Spain and Europe, Chinese restaurants and stores (hundred-peseta stores and clothing stores) encountered cold winter for business, present business status has nothing to compare with earlier. Almost hundred percent of my interviewees commented that the economic situation is the worst since they had arrived Spain. “Spanish clients are more frugal and short of money than before”, one interviewee said, “before economic crisis they come to my store (hundred-peseta store) very often and those housewives always change the brooms when they are dirty, they would rather changing a new one than to wash it, but now they would rather washing them than changing them”⁷².

Another interviewee said that in earlier times, people had to wait to pay in Chinese hundred-peseta stores and Chinese restaurants, but now those stores and restaurants are even very difficult to survive⁷³. His words are may be a bit exaggerating, but from his words we could see that traditional Chinese business like hundred-peseta stores and restaurants are not working as well as before, there young Chinese immigrants don’t want to step into the old fashion way, they are keen on new ideas of business or looking for a good job in local companies.

As young Chinese immigrants want to integrate to the host society better, working in Spanish companies is one of the most efficient ways. Now many of them prefer to work as wage-earners which shows that their ideas are changing and different for their parents. On the other hand, they are qualified and have advantages to do so, because

⁷¹ Interview of Chinese restaurant employee in Murcia, WE005, 23 years old, approx.

⁷² Interview of hundred-peseta store owner in Murcia, SE 001, 22 years old, approx.

⁷³ Fieldwork dairy: CYB-2.

their education and their language skills of both Spanish and Chinese are their advantages. The modern economic background actually needs bilingual Chinese to work for both Spanish and Chinese international companies. More and more contacts between China and Spain in economic level offers young Chinese immigrants more opportunities. Even though traditional Chinese immigrants' business like restaurants and stores are not working well, the economic rise of China brings new opportunities to Chinese immigrants in Spain and Europe.

The phenomenon that sometimes children are working/staying in the shop caused my attention. It's not an individual case, we can see this happening in Chinese self-employed business all the time. It's necessary to distinguish the young Chinese generation as commented above and children who stay in the shop, because different from young Chinese generations, children don't have participation of any decision making in the family because of their age.

During the research I found that in the case of the children are still studying in school, they can choose to do homework at home or if they are too young, in many cases their parents prefer them to do homework and stay with them in their working place. After doing their homework, their children sometimes can help the parents looking after the business which makes their parents can have a break. About this phenomenon we should hear a Chinese mother's comments:

*"I can't let him (his son) stay at home alone, we have to work until late, me and his father, and I will be very worried if he is alone at home, so for me it is better he stays with us in the shop, he can do his homework and he can play afterwards. Now he is growing very fast, and now he could even help me selling stuffs, we don't want him to be shop owner like us, and we want him to have very nice job like lawyer or dentist, but if he is not really the 'material' of studying, then it's better to work for himself"*⁷⁴.

This mother's worry explains why she wants her child being with her in her working place, if we make a comparison with wage-earners, this idea doesn't work out

⁷⁴ Interview of candy shop owner in Murcia, SE 012, 35 years old.

at all, because the company and the employer won't allow the employees to bring their children to the work. This is the feature of self-employed business which the self-employed can decide if they want the children being with them in the working place if they think it's necessary. Therefore Chinese self-employed immigrants could even look after their babies in the shop while wage-earners have to send the babies to a kindergarten.

As my point of view the real cause of this phenomenon is because of long working hours of Chinese self-employed businesses, the fact is that Chinese self-employed immigrants work much longer than wage-earners and Spanish self-employed, so they couldn't spend time with their children at home. Instead the compromise way is to be with them in the working place. In the following chapter I will argue why Chinese self-employed have long working hours.

4.2.4. LONG WORKING HOURS OF CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS

In Spain it is very common that people who talk about self-employed Chinese business, generate spontaneously association that Chinese immigrants work day and night. So did a Spanish interviewee when he commented that he could see the Chinese self-employed owners of a store near to his flat working all the time:

"I see them working before I get to work and see them working after I finish my work, sometimes when I go out at night, I still see them working. To me it's almost 24 hours service"⁷⁵.

Even if this citation may overdraw the real situation, still it is certain that Chinese self-employed in Spain generally spend many hours a day at their working place. Our observations show that their working-day is significantly longer than it is common for other social groups in the country.

Chinese self-employed people spend lots of time working comparing to wage-

⁷⁵ Fieldwork diary: Spanish interviewee -1.

earners, they could work 10 or more hours a day and they understand that sacrificing their free time is the way how they can make money and maintain their business. They have to maintain reserves and to have a positive balance on their account to avoid economic crisis and other unforeseen circumstances. They understand that to be ‘free’ costs some prices, fortunately their maintaining work is not unendurable at all, they enjoy their free and independent work and they are satisfied that they could be with the family most of the time. Thus even they work longer than wage-earners, they are willing to accept it.

Seen from the perspective of Life-Mode Analysis, this pattern is directly linked with the crucial characteristics of the life-mode of self-employed that work (in the pure version) is not bought on the labour market but introduced by the self-employed him- or herself. This means at the same time, that work is a mean without fix costs, which the self-employed has at his/her command. Cayuela Sánchez and Schriewer describe this feature in the following way:

“La fuerza de trabajo no se compra y no tiene por ello un valor de cambio y de uso; constituye tan solo el límite superior de la producción”⁷⁶.

The elevation of work is so to say the mean a self-employed has at his disposal to better the competitiveness of his/her enterprise without generating extra costs. Perhaps the Chinese immigrants in Spain represent an extreme interpretation of the use of this mean, when they consider that it is meaningful to stay in their store during long opening-hours from the morning to the late night. The prolonged opening-hours seems to fit perfectly with the temporal structure of everyday life in Spain. Using more time on work is therefore a reasonable way for Chinese self-employed in order to increase their earnings and thereby augment the possibilities to maintain their business. To extend opening-hours of a shop and to be more available compared with the competition – both other small retail shops and warehouses – is an efficient strategy for self-employed. Therefore it is not surprising that it has become a common pattern among

⁷⁶ SCHRIEWER, Klaus; CAYUELA SÁNCHEZ, Salvador: “La cultura de los “trabajadores” autónomos”, en: *Sociología del trabajo. Nueva época*, n.º 90, 2017, pp. 27-46.

immigrant self-employed shop-owners.

To this respect Aldrich commented: “Self-exploitation is a critical ethnic strategy for personal survival precisely because one can hardly do without it” (Aldrich, et al., 1981). One can question if the Chinese migrants would perceive the long working days as self-exploitation. From a theoretical point of view, which avoids to part from an ethical perspective, it is difficult to argue that the work in the own company can be considered as self-exploitation. Economic circumstances may provoke that self-employed have to invest a lot of time in order to survive, but this is not self-exploitation. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is an “ethnic strategy” based on an expanded use of time in order to be competitive and made possible by a specific type of family-support. Chinese immigrants are not the only ones who apply this strategy, it is also extended among other immigrants’ group.

Another promoting aspect of this strategy is, that most of Chinese stores are family-based and driven in common by the family-members. This means that the family-members can be with their family most of the time while they are working in the store.

Chinese immigrants understand that the existence as self-employed shop owner, that this possibility to be ‘free’, has its price. This may be one of the prior reasons that they perceive their daily work in a positive way, enjoying their free and independent work. Thus even they work longer than wage-earners, they could or they are willing to accept it.

Generally, all Chinese stores have long opening hours, but the investigation shows that there still lots of differences between different types of stores. For instance family based candy stores normally have longer working/opening hours than other stores, among all types of Chinese stores, this type is the most ‘hard-working’ one. When there is no need to pay extra to employees, candy store owners both man and wife sometimes their children could stay in their store until very late. From the interview and investigation, we found that the reason is because many clients buy drinks and snacks

at night, especially when festivals come, they have to work even until midnight, they work very hard for catering the needs of clients.

Chinese hundred-peseta stores don't have such long working hours than candy stores, they normally open a bit longer than other Spanish stores but not as long as candy stores. One store owner commented that they have to wait until most of people finish their work and expect them to do some shopping in their store on their way home, so they close their store after everyone gets home, otherwise they will lose lots of business opportunities⁷⁷.

The case of candy stores and hundred-peseta stores had revealed that besides the self-employed life-mode character, clients' demand is the most important factor for them to work longer. Unlike Chinese hundred-peseta stores nor candy stores, Chinese clothing stores don't have long opening hours which is a huge difference from other Chinese self-employed businesses. Their working schedule is *normal working schedule* so to speak. Same as most Spanish stores, Chinese clothing stores are opened until 9 or 10 o'clock at night and they have normal holiday schedule as well. It's common that Chinese hundred-peseta stores and candy stores to be opened on Sundays and in many public holidays but to Chinese clothing stores, it's another case.

*"Our holiday schedule always follows 'El Corte Inglés'⁷⁸, if the biggest shopping mall of Spain is having holiday, you will see us having holiday as well"*⁷⁹.

There are two main reasons for Chinese clothing stores not having long opening hours and following normal holiday schedules. Many Chinese clothing stores are big, and according to clothing store interviewees, the Spanish law doesn't allow stores with more than 150 square meters to open on Sundays and holidays. Thus some big Chinese stores cannot open in public holidays and they follow big local shopping malls' schedule. Another reason is Spanish customers are not accustomed to do shopping on

⁷⁷ Fieldwork dairy: Owner of hundred-peseta store CWZ-3.

⁷⁸ El Corte Inglés: The name of the most popular shopping mall in Spain, located in almost all major cities in Spain.

⁷⁹ Interview of clothing store employee in Murcia, WE 001, 30 years old, approx.

Sundays or holidays, to them Sundays and holidays are for families and for relaxing but not for shopping. Due to these two reasons, most of the Chinese clothing stores no matter over 150 square meters or not are closed on Sundays and public holidays. The investigation shows that even though the Chinese clothing shop is closed on Sundays, sometimes the owners take advantage of this time to do bulk purchase in Chinese warehouses.

No matter what kind of store it is, if the store has employees, the owner will always have to consider the labor cost, when the labor cost is high they would rather follow regular working hour otherwise they have to pay double or even triple to employees. The result coincides with the investigation, stores with employees have much higher percentage to have regular working hour than non-employee stores.

As a result, the phenomenon of long working hours among Chinese self-employed is influenced by multiple aspects especially the fact that the use of work is the most important mean for self-employed. The general Chinese culture, types of stores, demands of clients and Spanish regulations are further aspects to take into account. The next chapter will deepen this specification linked to different types of stores.

4.2.5. CHINESE IMMIGRANTS' SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS

“Barriers to entry into such markets are generally low-the setting up of small businesses, say a grocery store or a hand laundry, requires little start-up capital, small labour size and very little technical know-how or training” (Chan, 2005: 116).

The argumentation of Chan reveals the conveniences to start self-employed business. For migrants who are not very qualified and normally have limited job opportunities, thus to be self-employed is the most ideal solution, and that is one reason why migrants keen on to be self-employed. Besides the mentioned reasons, in Chinese migrants' context, Chinese featured network (both social network and business network) and Chinese manufacture industry are considered as important factors as well. Chinese self-employed business is a general concept. The best carriers of Chinese self-employed

businesses are Chinese self-employed stores and restaurants. Therefore as a matter of fact, to understand Chinese stores is an important step for our further study.

Typical Chinese stores could be divided into Chinese warehouse, hundred-peseta store, candy store, accessories store, clothing store and Chinese restaurant, these six types are traditional Chinese self-employed business in Spain. Nowadays as the market demands, Chinese nail shop, travel agencies and mobile phone service centres become popular business options for Chinese immigrants in Spain as well, especially for the young generation. Besides Chinese immigrants' businesses have extended in law and accounting office, logistics industry and even in agriculture.



Photo 2: Chinese mobile accessories store in Murcia

Image source: Ma Jie

According to the size and function of the store, those traditional types could have some subdivisions, for instance warehouse can be divided into clothing warehouse and warehouse for household products. Clothing stores can be divided into fashion clothing store and clothing store for children, etc... But, what is important here is to characterise the six main types of stores.

-CHINESE WAREHOUSE

Chinese warehouses normally are located outside of the city centre and it is almost impossible to find one warehouse alone but almost the situation is that several or many warehouses form a warehouse centre for obtaining an *aggregation effect*. In this case the Chinese warehouse centre could become well-known and popular for corresponding buyers (Chinese self-employed store owners) and these buyers prefer one-stop shopping which means they could do bulk purchasing of all they need in the same warehouse centre. In this respect Chinese warehouse centres are very different from retail business stores, because the Chinese self-employed store owners always intent to find a place which has no other Chinese stores nearby, as one Chinese interviewee commented:

*“We would like to have our stores far away from other Chinese stores or avoid them to open a new store near us, obviously it’s because of competition. But the fact is you can never avoid this happening”*⁸⁰.

On the contrary to Chinese warehouse centre, it’s the opposite, we can see the difference from another citation of the interviewee: *“the warehouse centre is always far from the city and you can find many Chinese warehouses there, it’s very convenient for us this way, we can do bulk purchase in one place instead of going many places”*⁸¹.

Chinese warehouses and Chinese stores are combined tightly with each, the function of warehouses is to offer Chinese stores products imported from China and individual Chinese stores need low price products from Chinese warehouses to be more competitive. In a word warehouses do wholesale business and stores are in charge of retail business. For retail business, self-employed owners do bulk purchasing in Chinese warehouses but never directly from China, the reasons are: 1. Looking for reliable factories in China and maintaining relationships with them needs time and constant trips between Spain and China; 2. It is necessary to have sufficient fund

⁸⁰ Interview of hundred-peseta storeowner in Murcia, SE 001, 22 years old, approx.

⁸¹ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 007, 45 years old, approx.

because buying directly from factories has quantity limitation, normally at least whole containers; 3. The varieties of products are considered to be the most essential reason. Besides owners of warehouses have to undertake the risk of the transportation and the bureaucracy difficulties from the Spanish custom. Therefore for individual store, it always costs a lot more to import products directly from China.

Chinese warehouses are resources for almost all types of Chinese self-employed businesses in Spain, hundred-peseta stores, clothing stores, electronic stores, Chinese restaurants and even food stores, etc. The individual self-employed business owner has to know very well which warehouse district is the nearest and has more competitive products and more importantly which warehouse owner is in the *Guanxi web*, as soon as their *Guanxi* is strong enough, the warehouse could grant the client some credit, this also happens between Chinese factories to credible Chinese warehouses abroad. In this case the self-employed owner can have even less start-up for the business.

According to the survey, there exist two classes in Chinese warehouses, the *first hand* wholesale and *second hand* wholesale. The first hand wholesale warehouses have direct contact with Chinese factories, so that they could import large quantities of products directly from China. The second hand wholesale warehouses collect products from first hand wholesale warehouses with less quantity. The reason of the existence of these two classes is because of the different purchasing quantity regulation, because the individual self-employed business store can't buy very large quantities directly from the first hand wholesale warehouses⁸².

In Spain there are several big warehouse centres for Chinese immigrants, the biggest and most famous ones are located in district "Fuenlabrada" in Madrid and "Badalona" in Barcelona. In Murcia the Chinese warehouses are located in "Beniaján", most of the warehouses here are second hand warehouses selling products from first hand warehouses. Near Murcia the largest warehouse district is located in Elche; Elche is one of the largest shoe distribution centres in whole Europe and also famous for

⁸² Fieldwork diary: Owner of Chinese clothing store in Murcia.

Chinese warehouses.

All these districts for Chinese warehouses have different types of warehouses for clothing, household products, accessories, toys and so forth. In present, these warehouses are not only favoured among Chinese storeowners; some Spanish storeowners are looking for nice products in Chinese warehouse districts as well.



Photo 3: Chinese Warehouse district Fuenlabrada in Madrid

Image source: Ma Jie

An interview described the present situation of the Chinese warehouses as below:

“It’s always busy in Chinese warehouse centres, when Spanish economy was strong, the containers from China could be distributed directly without entering the warehouse, it was the golden time for “Made in China” products and for those owners of Chinese warehouses and hundred-peseta stores. Products are very cheap and a lot cheaper than you find in Spanish supermarkets, that’s why local clients like to shop in Chinese hundred-peseta stores. But now (economy crisis) both Chinese warehouses and stores encounter an economic depression”⁸³.

⁸³ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 005, 35 years old.

-CHINESE HUNDRED-PESETA STORE

The name of hundred-peseta store comes from its Spanish name ‘*Todo a Cien*’, which means all stuffs selling in the store cost more or less a hundred pesetas (previous Spanish currency). In Spain, Chinese hundred-peseta store is the most common and popular business among all types of Chinese self-employed businesses. Throughout interviews and investigation, there are some reasons for hundred-peseta store became the most popular business for Chinese immigrants in Spain. Firstly it’s easy to start the business, the investment of hundred-peseta store is not high; secondly it’s easy to manage the business, most of hundred-peseta stores are man and wife stores without any employees, comparing to restaurant, it’s not even necessary to have a cook or invest for indoor decoration; thirdly they do bulk purchase from Chinese warehouses which could benefit from price advantage; besides all mentioned reasons, varieties of household and daily necessities could guarantee them certain market and customers.



Photo 4: Hundred-peseta store in Murcia city

Image source: Ma Jie

The main products of Chinese hundred-peseta stores are household items, stationary and simple adornments/decorations for house and festivals like Christmas and Halloween. The key strategies of hundred-peseta stores are to be convenient and have more variety of items because the existence of hundred-peseta stores are for bringing convenience to customers especially to housewives. The items in the store need to be as more various as possible so that customers could find basically almost everything for household or daily use. In this case it needs to be big, because customers would like to go to big one for more varieties and options. Long working schedule is their another success secret, the long working schedule of Chinese self-employed businesses will be argued afterwards.

-CHINESE CLOTHING STORE

Chinese clothing stores are not as popular as Chinese restaurants or hundred-peseta stores, but still clothing business is a traditional business for Chinese immigrants. Taking the advantage of Chinese manufactory of clothing, many Chinese immigrants in Spain opened clothing warehouses and stores. Comparing to Chinese restaurants and hundred-peseta stores, Chinese clothing stores are less in numbers, nevertheless because of the price and quality are very competitive, Chinese clothing stores become popular in Spain.

Chinese clothing stores basically have two types, the most popular type is the fashion clothing store for young and middle-aged people (especially for females), while the other type is especially for children. The similarities for both types are selling cheap items imported from China with nice quality and having great varieties of items. Except the target customers are different, the differences between these two types are minors, the investigation shows that some Chinese clothing storeowners have both clothing stores for adults and children. Meanwhile successful clothing store-owners intend to establish their own brand and franchised stores.

On the contrary of many Chinese hundred-peseta stores opened in community

hood, Chinese clothing stores always have to be opened in a better location with high flows of customers. “*Nobody likes to do clothes shopping in back alleys*”, said one Chinese clothing store owner, “*customers can buy daily stuffs in hundred-peseta stores if it’s near to where they live for convenience, but we cannot expect them to visit our stores if we are not in a good location*”⁸⁴. As a matter of fact, it’s more important to choose a good location for clothing stores and the owner normally has to pay more for the good location and interior decoration, and the investment is comparatively higher and it requires the owner to have nice fashion taste as well.

The strategies of selling are quite different between Chinese clothing stores and hundred-peseta stores for instance, because for Chinese clothing stores or any other clothing stores, the owner’s taste of fashion and marketing are the essential aspects, otherwise serious backlog will occur, when backlog occurs the owner has to handle them with less earnings or even without any earnings so that they could avoid the backlog of clothes because they know fashion has *shelf life*, the longer backlog remains the less earnings they could have. To Chinese hundred-peseta stores, the backlog of goods happens sometimes as well, but it doesn’t really affect them as much as to clothing stores, for most of items in hundred-peseta stores don’t have *shelf life*. So as one interviewee commented that he sometimes storages unsold Christmas products and sells them when next Christmas approaches⁸⁵.

In Murcia City, without taking into account the clothing stores for children, Chinese clothing stores can be subdivided into two types, one can be called *Fashion clothing store* while the other is *Huge clothing store*. *Fashion stores* have much better decoration from both inside and outside, selections they have are more modern and fashionable. These stores usually have nice window display⁸⁶ and beautiful lights’ effects, which make them look like popular clothing stores like Zara and H&M, and customers can buy fashion clothes in these stores with cheaper price.

⁸⁴ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 011, 40 years old, approx.

⁸⁵ Fieldwork diary: Owner of hundred-peseta store in Murcia.

⁸⁶ In many cases, Chinese clothing store owners hire local Spanish window display designers to attract Spanish customers.



Photo 5: Chinese clothing store in Murcia city

Image source: Ma Jie

Unlike *Fashion stores*, *Huge clothing stores* are like mini clothing warehouses, and the city centre is not ideal for having huge space, but they are not far from the business centre either, because store owners of this type are looking forward to find cheaper place for reducing the cost. However due to the reason that it's still retail business, the stores should not be very far either. They are very big or even huge with simple decoration and window display, the simple furnishing and decoration of this type of store have nothing to compare with *Fashion clothing stores*; however *Huge clothing stores* have its way to survive, the secret is to be huge and have more options and most importantly cheap and attractive price. Customers come to this type of store for varieties of clothes and of course competitive price is the main attraction, in this case, fashion and shopping environment are the second things for the owner and customers to consider.

For all types of Chinese stores, the location is crucial for Chinese clothing stores, “the location is crucial for us and other clothing stores, much more important than

hundred-peseta stores. For this store I found a good designer and it cost me a fortune to design and decorate my store, but it's worthy, now I'm very satisfied with the design and decoration, I think that customers feel the same”⁸⁷.

- CHINESE CANDY STORE AND ACCESSORIES STORE

Candy store and accessories store are very common and popular businesses for Chinese immigrants in Spain. Same as hundred-peseta store, candy store is also one of the most common business ways, which could be found in Murcia already in the 1990s. Accessories stores in contrast is a newer type. The scale of candy store and accessories store uses to be small, much smaller than hundred-peseta stores. As a matter of fact, its small scale is even easier to start the business and the operation is less complicated as well.



Photo 6: Chinese Candy store in Murcia city

Image source: Ma Jie

⁸⁷ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 011, 40 years old, approx.

Chinese candy stores are greater in numbers than other types of Chinese stores for its advantages. They are normally small in size because it's not necessary to have big stores, which have higher cost of rent. Good location with many daily passengers and bringing convenience to clients are essential for them, so the understanding of good location varies according to the different types of stores. Candy stores do not only sell candy or sweets, but also soft drinks, alcohols, beers and different types of snacks. Many Chinese candy stores offer phone recharge service or instant food, to name a few side-line products.

In Murcia most of candy stores are 'pure' Chinese candy stores but there also exist mixed candy stores. Mixed candy store refers to those hundred-peseta stores, which have candy shelves section and drinks section. For taking advantage of good location of some hundred-peseta stores and attracting more customers, many hundred-peseta stores make a special area to sell candies, drinks and snacks. This type is what I called the mixture of candy store and hundred-peseta store. The investigation shows that this type of hundred-peseta stores generally has very nice location and high-flows of people.

Accessories store as its name implies is specialized for women's accessories including fancy watches, handbags, necklaces, rings, eyewear, etc. For accessories stores good location is as important as clothing stores. Many Chinese clothing stores sell accessories as well, but young customers like to choose accessories in specialized accessories stores for having more varieties options. During the investigation, I found that the size of accessories stores is more random than other types of Chinese stores, most of accessories stores are small, but there are also some medium-sized and big Chinese accessories stores.

The investigation shows that candy stores prefer the location near supermarkets or business centres while accessories store like to be near to clothing stores and shopping malls.

- CHINESE RESTAURANT

Chinese restaurant is supposed to be the earliest self-employed business type for Chinese immigrants in Spain. Nevertheless it's different from mentioned Chinese immigrants' self-employed business because restaurant business belongs to restaurant industry (service industry), and all other mentioned businesses belong to selling and retail industry.

Chinese gastronomy is world famous; its reputation is a guarantee of clients. For early Chinese immigrants in Spain, choose to start the self-employed career with opening a Chinese restaurant was a very wise decision because the economy was strong and Chinese food and restaurant were very popular. During the fieldwork, one interviewee commented about the situation of Chinese restaurants in Spain:

“Chinese restaurants used to be very popular many years ago in Spain, all restaurants owners in Murcia and Spain gained lots of money, however because of the crisis and maybe local people changed their taste, Chinese restaurant industry is now struggling. Chinese restaurant is considered as low class food because many Chinese restaurant owners don't really cook well nor manage the restaurant well”⁸⁸.

As the interviewee commented, the investigation shows that Chinese restaurant industry in Spain has lost its pride, and the reasons are coming from both external and internal sides. The economic crisis and the change of taste could be external factors. The internal factors can be attributed to: 1. Old-fashioned decoration of the restaurant; 2. Disordered management; 3. Less creative food making; 4. Less control of food quality and hygiene.

⁸⁸ Interview of hundred-peseta shop owner in Murcia, SE 015, 45 years old, approx.



Photo 7: Chinese traditional restaurant in Murcia city

Image source: Ma Jie

Besides local media's negative report makes the situation even worse. On the contrary, well organized Chinese buffet restaurant also known as “Wok” became popular for its competitive price in the crisis era and great varieties of food options. In Murcia City, the Chinese restaurant Casa Jardín is one of the earliest Chinese traditional restaurant, the second generation of the owner opened the Chinese buffet restaurant instead of opening a traditional one. According to the owner, the Chinese buffet restaurant now works much better than the traditional Chinese restaurant.

According to the interviews of Chinese restaurant owners, for developing traditional Chinese restaurants, it is necessary to have a revolution and change its old image. Many Chinese restaurant self-employed owners have already realized the problem and they are already on the way to make a change. Many old traditional Chinese restaurants had changed to modernized Chinese restaurants with delicate food and elegant environment, and the food is not only limited to Chinese gastronomy, but also with other popular Asian food from Japan, Korea and Vietnam. This new type is

popular among both Chinese and Spanish clients. It is considered to be a nice breakthrough of Chinese restaurant industry in Spain. The photo below shows a modernized Chinese restaurant in Murcia.



Photo 8: Modernized Chinese restaurant in Denia (Alicante)

Image source: Ma Jie

In Spain Japanese food Sushi is very popular, besides many Sushi restaurants in major Spanish cities, you can also find Sushi section in big supermarkets like Carrefour and the supermarket in El Corte Inglés. In Murcia city alone there are more or less 15 Sushi restaurants, but only two or three of them are Japanese owners, four or five of them are Spanish owners, and the rest of them are Chinese owners. The Chinese Sushi restaurant owners are mainly focused on Sushi buffet restaurants.

4.2.6. CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

All mentioned types of Chinese immigrants' business are family based and self-employed business. They are sharing some common features and strategies. For instance having variety of products, bringing convenience for customers and doing bulk purchase from Chinese warehouses for gaining competitive prices are their common features.

Besides their common features, each of them has their own business strategies which differentiate one from the others. For instance, candy shop is an exception for doing bulk purchase from Chinese warehouses. The investigation shows that Chinese candy shops collaborate more with Spanish wholesaler of snacks and drinks. During the research, the most distinct business strategy between clothing stores and hundred-peseta stores is the placement of products. The clothing stores will sometimes change the location of the clothes, the owners of clothing store put the clothes which they want to sell most in the prominent location of the store, then they will change them from time to time. This phenomenon happens to candy stores as well, the owners put the products which soon be expired in a better place to sell⁸⁹. However this selling strategy doesn't work out for the hundred-peseta stores, the reason is because it's easier for frequent clients to find what they need in short time among hundreds of products.

As commented, the differences among Chinese immigrants' self-employed business are only limited in the different business strategies, their essential business and management model has no differences. The diagram in Crespo's article (Crespo, 1996: 180) shows the general process of small business model. Based on this reference, we will argue how Chinese immigrants manage their self-employed businesses.

⁸⁹ The candy store owners normally packet soon expired candy in small packages and sell them with cheaper price.

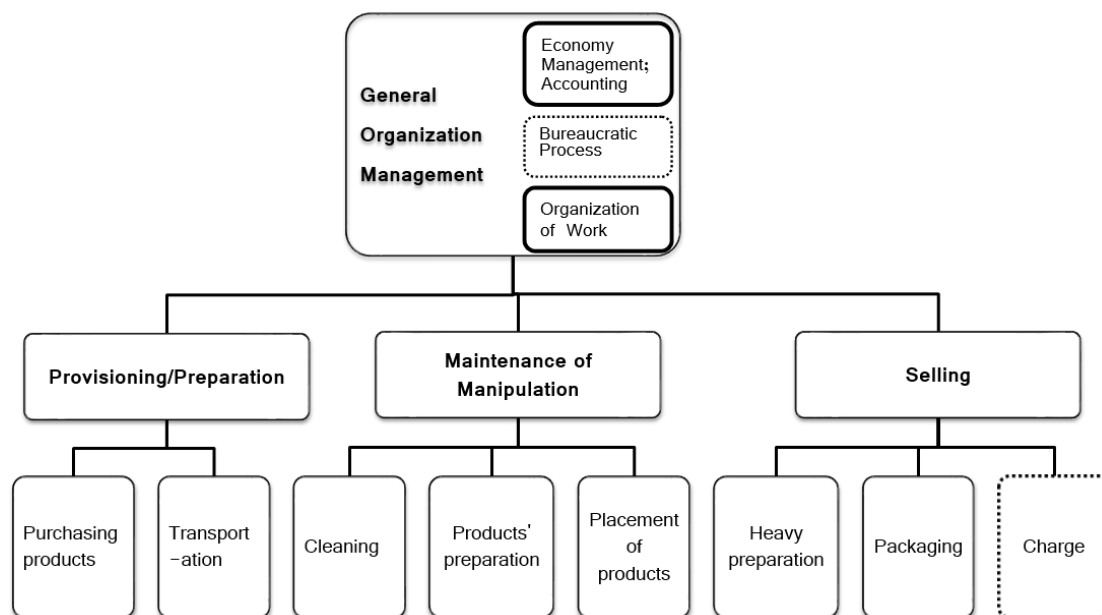


Diagram 10. Self-employed Business Management.

The investigation shows Chinese self-employed owners are the owners and employees at the same time, coincides with the typical character of self-employed life-mode. They are the investors and organizers of the business, who are in charge of economy management, organization of work and a part of accounting work. Most of the accounting work is realized by professional accounting agencies, and bureaucratic work could be carried out by law agencies. These agencies are perceived as very helpful for facilitating them in the respect of accounting and bureaucratic work. They fill the vacancy of Chinese immigrants' limited knowledge of local bureaucratic process and accounting regulations.

At the same time they have to carry out preparation work like purchasing products and doing transportation work. Business maintenance like cleaning work and placement of products together with selling are the most drudgery and time consuming work. It's the most classical Chinese self-employed business mode without employees. When they have employees, the employees are mostly dedicated to do cleaning work, placement of products and sometimes selling. We haven't found any case that employees are in charge of purchasing products because this part of the work is always carried out by the Chinese self-employed shop-owners.

4.2.7. BUSINESSLOCATION AND COMPETITION

The business location is essential to almost all types of Chinese self-employed businesses, and the location issue could cause competition within the same business type. As commented, clothing store, accessories store and hundred-peseta store have high requirement of good location with high flows of people, but to candy stores and restaurants it is comparatively less important. Chinese warehouses are a special case, because warehouses are gathered in the warehouse centre, thus there are basically no location options to choose. The diagram shows the order of requirement of good location.



Diagram 11. The Requirement of Good Location of Self-employed Businesses.

Good location not only refers to business centre or main street, but also refers to nearby environment especially business environment. When there are two similar stores in the same place, vicious competition will occur. As one hundred-peseta storeowner commented that two hundred-peseta stores are very closed to each other is a business taboo, but still we can see it happening all the time⁹⁰. This occurs to almost all Chinese businesses however the situation of Chinese hundred-peseta store is the worst.

An example: I did an interview near a beach city named *Cabo Roig*, in the main street of *Cabo Roig* there are several Chinese hundred-peseta stores, the closest distance between two hundred-peseta stores is only street wide and two stores are facing each

⁹⁰ Interview of hundred-peseta store owner in Murcia, SE 005, 35 years old, approx.

other. The owner of one of them told me that his store is the first one in this place, and the owner of the other store across the street is a good friend of his son, but he never imagined that he opened another hundred-peseta store just in front of his store which is even bigger than his⁹¹, as already commented being big and having more varieties of products is the strategy for hundred-peseta stores. The interviewee was complaining about it all the time during the interview, he is very angry about the *vicious* behaviour and the worst part is his opponent learned experiences from him.

To avoid vicious competition, Chinese self-employed immigrants follow some rules: same type stores (hundred-peseta stores and candy stores) can be opened in the beginning of the street, in the middle of the street and at the end of the street, this is the bottom line which can be accepted; two similar stores cannot be opened too close to each other, otherwise it will be considered as an ‘provocation act’, in this case vicious competition cannot be avoided, and it is harmful for both sides. The investigation shows that in Murcia the worse competition among Chinese businesses lies in clothing stores; the reason is obvious that everybody wants to open clothing shop in the city centre. And the result is in the business centre of Murcia, three Chinese clothing shops are very close to each other, the owner of one of these three shops commented that:

“I was the first one who opened Chinese clothing shop in the city centre, and now there are three, because of them I have less clients and earnings. I am sure they have less profit as well, because we have to reduce the profit to ingratiate clients”⁹².

Commercial centres and hot tourist sites on the beach are battle fields for Chinese restaurants. No one would make any concession for lowering the price and gaining more clients. The competition is even worse during the economic crisis. In the most famous commercial centre of Murcia city, there are three Chinese buffet restaurants. Between the nearest two there are only less than 100 meters, and the other one stands no more than 500 meters away from them. All the owners complained about the vicious competition and economic crisis, one of the self-employed owners of restaurant I

⁹¹ Fieldwork diary: Owner of hundred-peseta store in Cabo Roig -1.

⁹² Fieldwork diary: Owner of clothing store in Murcia.

interviewed had already decided to leave the battle and was looking for other business opportunities.

4.2.8. FAMILY ENTERPRISE DEBATE ON CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS

The difficulty of uncertain family enterprise definitions and limited data on smaller family firms are barriers to carry out the research data on Chinese immigrants' small family business study are even less. We found studies of Chinese immigrants' economic activities in Asian countries, in Lee's study of Chinese family enterprises in Asia, he commented: "*Chinese family companies control a proportion of Asia's economic wealth that is larger than their relative share in population*" (Lee, 2006). It's because in Asia Chinese family enterprises are much stronger and better developed than Chinese family enterprises in Spain and Europe.

"A very large number of firms around the world are of small size, and these are run by families. Despite this evidence, so far the literature on family firms has focused on large, publicly traded companies, mainly because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable data on smaller firms" (Cucculelli & Micucci, 2008).

What Cucculelli and Micucci state in this citation is, in spite of the fact, that a big number of family firms are of small size, research activities commonly deal with large companies. This may be related with the definitions of family business, which in a wide range focus bigger companies.

Taking this into account, throughout the investigation of different types of Chinese businesses, we are eager to figure out what business type coincides with Chinese immigrants' businesses. Can Chinese immigrants' economic activity be characterised as self-employed family business? Or are they family (bigger) enterprises which can be described as capitalist business? In this section the character of Chinese immigrants' business as one of the objectives for the research becomes the main concern.

The empirical study shows that Chinese immigrants' businesses are mainly concentrated in Chinese restaurant, hundred-peseta store, candy shop and clothing shop. Even though Chinese warehouse is considered as a special case, there exist many differences among these types of Chinese immigrants' businesses. They are fundamentally different in scales of business, business management and employment situation. For instance, Chinese candy shops are mostly man and wife shop with no employees; bigger hundred-peseta stores have a few employees and huge Chinese warehouses are no smaller than famous furniture chain store IKEA or Leroy Merlin, who have huge warehouses, thousands of products and numerous employees.

In the first part of the research, we have argued about the definitions of family enterprise and self-employed family business, and now we are going to find out which type is more relevant to Chinese immigrants' businesses. Do they all belong to one type or do they combine characters from both sides? I will start with using the family enterprise definition and the F-PEC scale to argue if Chinese immigrants' businesses are family businesses.

First of all, the possession of family enterprise is the most essential criterion, from the definitions of family enterprise we argued in the first chapter, we learn that family enterprise researchers insist that ownership or shares should be at least 15% (Poza, 2010: 6), this percentage of the ownership control is the lowest we know so far. About the Chinese cases, most of Chinese immigrants' shops or restaurants are totally owned by the owner. In some cases, the investment or ownership belong to more than one nuclear family, nevertheless the ownership is always within the wider family and among family members. Even though some scholars argued that the share or ownership should be more than 50% (Westhead, et al., 2002: 20), the empirical study shows that most of the Chinese family enterprises were completely possessed by family and the ownership is far more than 50%.

Secondly, to family enterprise it's indispensable that family members are involved in managing. Astrachan, Klein & Smyrnios (2002: 45) even point out that: "*we should distinguish family enterprise from non-family enterprise from the family members'*

involvement and influence to the enterprise". No matter if the family members are employed or just active shareholders, we can always see family members' shadows in the family enterprise. This criterion coincides with the Chinese immigrants' case as well. Throughout the fieldwork, we learn that Chinese immigrants' shops or restaurants are mainly managed by family members, most of the cases are only managed by nuclear family, without any employees. In Chinese immigrants' case, family members are shareholders, at the same time labour forces as well.

The third topic is about the succession problem. Intergenerational ownership transition is very important to the family enterprise. Melin, Nordqvist & Sharma (2013: 474) indicated that continuity across generations is a very important symbol of family enterprises. To this point, the Chinese immigrants' cases are very different by the change of time and situation. Generally their shops and restaurants are passed from one generation to the next, but nowadays the reality is not all the next generations want to continue the family business. Young Chinese want to have their own careers and realize their dreams. Not all of them are satisfied by following their parents' footprints.

The fourth criterion is quite different from the previous three. It's not an objective criterion such as the percentage of ownership or how the enterprise is managed. However it's something very subjective and emotional, it's about how the owners of the enterprise consider themselves. The external defining criterions summarized by researchers play the main roles, but still we need to stand in owners' position and know about their thoughts and attitudes. Whether members of an emotional kinship group perceive their firm as being a family business (Gassonet al, 1988), or as Ernesto J. Poza (2010, 22) commented: "*concern for family relationships, both indicate the importance of the emotional aspect for defining family enterprise, some researchers called this families*". Considering the Chinese cases, throughout the interviews and fieldwork, Chinese migrants perceive their business as family business, and their reasons are: 1. the investment for business comes from the family (from elder generation or other family members). 2. The family members are involved in the business. The employees are all family members sometimes even including minor family members. 3. The

management of business is based on family as well. However we also heard different voices from interviewees.

According to the definition of family enterprise, the family enterprise concept suits Chinese immigrants' businesses. However, the empirical study shows different conclusion: 70% interviewees of Chinese immigrants denied their business as family enterprise, and all of these 70% interviewees are man and wife shop owners who have less than 3 employees. Most of this type of businesses is candy shops and small scaled hundred-peseta stores. According to interviewees, the main reason lies in they don't consider themselves running an enterprise.

“My hundred-peseta store has more than 300 square meters, I have two employees working in the store. Although I have all documents registered as a company and a store, I had never thought that I am running an enterprise. I just work for myself. I have employees because I need them to place the products and clean the store. I would rather not have any employees if I can work all by myself and my wife”⁹³.

Another interviewee of candy shop commented that: *“our business is just small man and wife family business, it's not even an enterprise, in my opinion our business has nothing to do with enterprise”⁹⁴*. All the interviewees acknowledged that their business is family based business and managed by family members, however to them it's not a family enterprise. Therefore the division of family enterprise and self-employed family business becomes essential for our research.

⁹³ Interview of hundred-peseta store owner in Murcia, SE 002, 40 years old, approx.

⁹⁴ Interview of candy shop owner in Murcia, SE 005, 35 years old, approx.

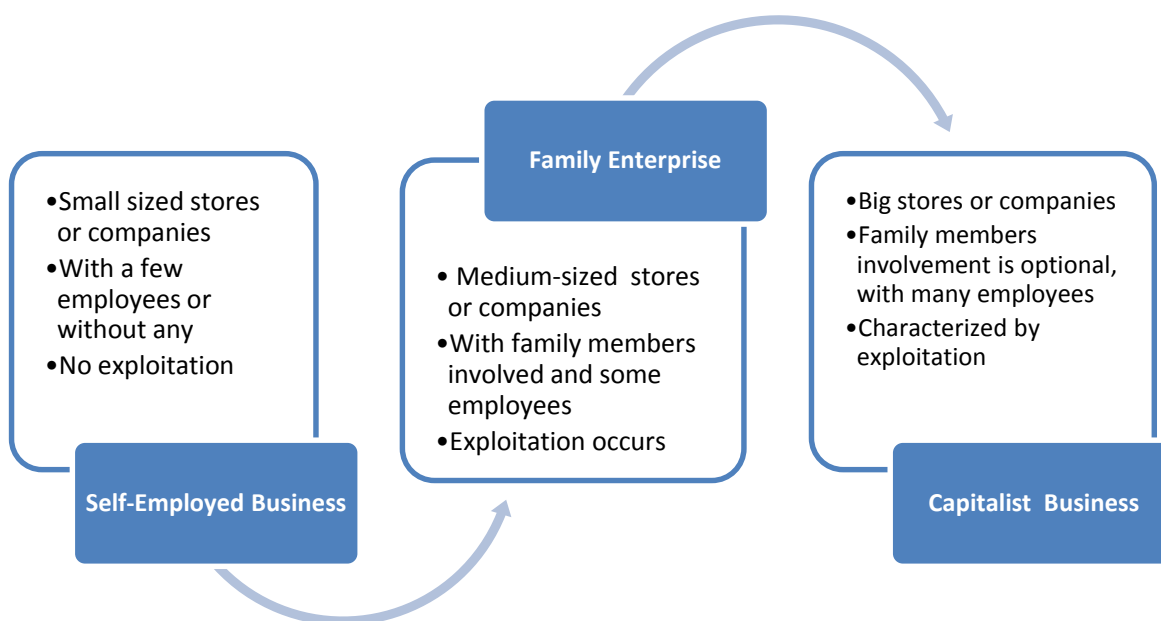


Diagram 12. The Differences Among Self-employed Businesses, Family Enterprise and Capitalist Business.

This diagram shows the characters of each type of business, it could help us to understand better the differences among self-employed family business, family enterprise and capitalist business. Each type has different characters: the scale of business, employment situation and exploitation situation. Exploitation is the character of capitalist business and it occurs in large scale of family enterprise with numerous employees as well, it describes the production of plus value from the point of view of the wage-earners. We have to be aware that the diagram shows the ideal modes of the three business types, now combining the fieldwork and investigation, we will reveal how it reflects in Chinese immigrants' context.

Among Chinese immigrants' business, exist capitalist business, most of Chinese immigrants' capitalist business are concentrated in building industry, hotel industry and new energy industry. Huge Chinese warehouses and chain warehouses or stores often can be considered as capitalist companies, but culturally there are still more family enterprise elements in them, therefore they could be analysed in both family enterprise business and capitalist companies. Capitalist business is neither the main stream of

Chinese immigrants' business nor the objective for the research. Therefore we will concentrate in the argumentations of self-employed business and family business of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

The empirical study shows that almost all Chinese business owners consider their business as self-employed business, from small man and wife business to huge warehouses with many employees. Secondly, small business owners firmly denied that their business can be seen as family enterprise even though the characters of their business suit the criterion of being family enterprise.

Thirdly, for bigger business owners, they believe their business has features from both self-employed business and family enterprise, although most of them haven't really thought about family enterprise concept. Family enterprise needs family members involved in the business and employees are necessary as well, because the enterprise character has to be considered as an enterprise within the frame of family. According to the research, the owners who have more than 5 employees are more likely to confirm their business is family enterprise, those who have less than 5 employees wouldn't like to consider their business as enterprise nor family enterprise. As a result, in Chinese immigrants' context, the division between self-employed family business and family enterprise lies in the business scale, numbers of employees and business management.

For Chinese immigrants those having big import and export companies or numerous chain stores or huge warehouses still consider their business as self-employed business. This phenomenon is unique, so do they prefer to call their business family business rather than family enterprise. To my understanding of Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants in Spain, they call their business family business instead of family enterprise showed that their business has more family influence (*families*) in the enterprise. Perhaps this emic perception is related to Confucian roots, as Sorenson and Yan state:

“Confucianism and its morals remain with Chinese business families when they

immigrate around the world. Studies indicate these values have a positive influence on business performance and family climate” (Sorenson & Yan, 2006: 235).

Chinese culture and Confucianism emphasis family. Family is the basic social unit and extremely important in the Chinese context. Family influence reflects widely in many aspects, and family business is one of the aspects. According to Chinese family business owners, employees are means for maintaining their business but not for exploiting them, their end is always to be self-employed and benefit the family⁹⁵.

The management of Chinese immigrants’ family enterprises are different from common family enterprise as well, which proves that in Chinese family enterprises context, Chinese featured family influence plays the essential role, in a word, it’s more family-like than enterprise-like. The management of small shops and big enterprise has no distinct difference, and among Chinese immigrants’ companies, informal and family-like managing strategy is the most common solution. More precisely they are using the way of managing the family to manage the enterprise.

4.2.9. DEVELOPING STRATEGIES OF CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS

To realize business development, the most common way is to integrate more capital and employees, adopt more advanced business management and so forth. However the Chinese immigrants’ case is a contradiction, in most cases the development of Chinese immigrants’ business has two features: 1. Invest new business for other family members; 2. Dividing the business rather than integrating. For Chinese immigrants’ business, being huge is not the best solution. Their business development is put in practise in a specific, Chinese immigrants featured way.

Because of the limitation of business choices and the features of Chinese self-employed businesses, it’s difficult for most of Chinese immigrants to develop their

⁹⁵ Fieldwork diary: Owner of Chinese warehouse in Madrid.

business to a stronger company. We could understand their ideas of business development and strategy throughout the fieldwork.

“I have had my shop for more than 5 years, my shop has a very good location and the nearby neighbours visit my shop very often, the business goes very well..., I never think about making my shop bigger or having another shop, because my business needs to be looked after all by myself, my son could have another shop when he grows up and now I would like to have my brother coming to Spain and help them to have their shop and business”⁹⁶.

As a representative opinion of small shop owners, the interviewee of a candy shop in Murcia shared his idea of his business development plan.

As a matter of fact, it's very difficult for small candy shops or hundred-peseta stores to develop, because it's not realistic for them to have a branch shop. When they are eager to develop their business, besides other investment solutions, the most common solution is to help the family member or friend having another small business. This solution exists in bigger Chinese immigrants' business as well, as a warehouse owner declared:

“My warehouse is huge as you can see, I don't know in which way I could develop my business, I have many family members helping me, I sometimes encourage them to have their own business related with what I am doing. Because, in that case, they can buy products in my warehouse and sell them in their shop. So in the end they could work for themselves and we can help each other better, we both could be developed”⁹⁷.

The warehouse owner wants to make a collaboration chain within the family members, he thinks it's always better for the family members working for themselves than working for him. Therefore he wants to divide his business rather than integrating it. Usually he invests the main part to the new business for his family members. When the collaboration chain is formed, they could make more profit even though his business

⁹⁶ Interview of candy shop store owner in Murcia, SE 006, 40 years old, approx.

⁹⁷ Interview of warehouse owner in Elche, SE 010, 50 years old, approx.

scale remains the same, in fact the business development has been realized by forming more direct distribute terminals and collaboration chains. The business development has been realized in another way, under this mode, the Chinese immigrants' small range monopoly business could be possible.

4.2.10. INFORMAL STRATEGIES OF CHINESE SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS

For Chinese self-employed business, family influence and personal strategy play essential roles in the business management. As personal strategy is the most common strategy for small business, for Chinese immigrants' self-employed family business, this strategy works out in Chinese featured way, because it happens only within Chinese ethnic group. The personal strategy is based on the personal social network, self-employed owners' personal *Guanxi* web directly defines the potential of one's personal strategy. Personal strategy widely used in many aspects of the business, search for commercial place to start the business, find reliable warehouse to do bulk purchase and recruitment as well.

In most medium-sized and large-scale stores of Chinese immigrants in Spain, we found both Chinese employees and non-Chinese employees working as wage-earners. Non-Chinese employees are normally Spanish employees and immigrants from other countries, most of them are from South America. The way Chinese self-employed owners recruit and manage employees caused my attention. Are the Chinese employees recruited by personal strategy? What strategy do they use for recruiting Spanish employees? With the doubts, in this part we are going to investigate how the personal strategy works out in Chinese self-employed business recruitment.

Starting analysing the recruitment issues of Chinese stores as a part of small business (el pequeño comercio), we should first take a review of Paloma Gómez Crespo's concept about personal strategy and formal strategy on this field. According to Gómez Crespo's proposal, the small self-employed business with 1-2 employees

usually looks for employees within the ethnic group and therefore it is called personal strategy. To the small business with 3-9 employees, formal strategy will be carried out. The most common case is a mixture of both personal strategy and formal strategy (Gómez Crespo, 1996).

The investigation of Chinese immigrants' self-employed business shows that the employment situation of Chinese stores coincides in many respects with Gómez Crespo's concept. For Chinese stores as Gómez Crespo described the recruitment follows both ways, and the personal strategy is always the primary choice, then formal strategy becomes an auxiliary way. The size of stores is directly related to the way of recruitment, family-run stores take high percentage of all Chinese businesses, and the most common way for a small store is the owner works as the business founder, organizer and shop assistant at the same time. The man and wife are both working in the store with slightly different division of work, thus it's not necessary to raise expense for having employees. Due to some reasons like the wife has to give birth or one of the couple has to travel, when they have to employ somebody the personal strategy could be the only solution. They will choose someone from the family members, starting from the closed relatives and then friends. Their personal contacts are essential in this case, as commented *Guanxi* network works out among Chinese no matter they are in China or abroad.

To medium-sized Chinese self-employed business, more employees are needed and it makes personal strategy limited to find enough employees, in this case they have to use formal strategy. Because of those advantages of personal strategy for small business (Gómez Crespo, 1996: 184), small business owners prefer personal strategy more than formal strategy, but the medium size or big stores have no choice but to use formal strategy as an alternative way. Nevertheless there are some exceptions, for instance some of Chinese stores like clothing stores need more local employees than Chinese employees, therefore formal strategy becomes more important than personal strategy.

Throughout the investigation, it is found that Chinese store owners no matter what

size of their business are, they are following some basic rules for contracting employees:

1. The family member is always the first choice, if there are enough family members for business, they won't find employees outside of the family except when they need specialist who has particular abilities which none of their family members have;
2. Any Chinese immigrant who has contact (*Guanxi*) directly with the owner or indirectly with the owner (through family members or friends) could be the second choice. In this case, personal *Guanxi* web plays a very important role;
3. After the family members, friends or employees from the *Guanxi* web, anyone who has abundant experience of working will be employed. For instance in clothing stores they need experienced sellers and employee who knows how to make nice window display for the shop;
4. Immigrants from other country are favoured (except in Chinese clothing shop), especially employees who are from South America, because according to the fieldwork, they are perceived as working hard and not tending to protest when they have hard work or work a bit longer;

Except the fourth rule, all the three rules coincide with Gómez Crespo's small business research, there are some similar comments about the recruitment strategy in her article (Gómez Crespo, 1996).

The personal strategy is always with the family members and friends and it's always within the Chinese ethnic group, however for maintaining a large store requires more employees, they have no choice but to use formal strategy to find employees. In Gómez Crespo's study, it's considered that only under the conditions of couldn't find ethnic employees or with the growth of business, they have to use the formal strategy (Gómez Crespo, 1996: 184). The investigation of self-employed owners matches her study on this aspect as well. For having more employees, the self-employed owner has to do advertisement. In the empirical study we found their advertisement is not on local newspapers or job centre, but putting an announcement on the window of the store, it's

very simple and seems to work out well.

“Many people send me their resumes, especially during the Crisis, many unemployed young people are looking for jobs. I only need to put an announcement in the store’s window, and there will be people who are interested. Now I have been received many resumes since last announcement, I always keep those resumes so that I could find a substitute very quickly if someone in my store takes vacations or wants to resign”⁹⁸.

Another self-employed store owner commented: *“If a poster works out for recruiting, why they have to cost money to do advertisements? For the small business they are maintaining, they have to reduce as much cost as possible”⁹⁹.*

A common phenomenon in Chinese stores is that the most trusted employees or the most important ones are from Chinese ethnic group. Taking a Chinese clothing store as an example, I did profound participative observation in this clothing store. There are several Chinese employees and Spanish employees working in the store, the two Chinese employees working in the store are the most important ones, who are a Chinese man and a Chinese girl. The Chinese girl works as shop assistant but also helps the store owners to translate sometimes. One of her jobs is to do document work and deal with the accounting agency and law agency. The owner relies on her on document work because she speaks good Spanish and has lots of experience.

The other Chinese who works as ‘warehouse keeper’ plays an important role in the store. He is not only in charge of the warehouse but also at the same time responsible for other stores of the same owner because the owner has several clothing stores and he is responsible for taking care of all his boss’s stores. More importantly he is in charge of collecting daily turnovers, which needs lots of trust from the owner because the ‘warehouse keeper’ is not a family member of the owner.

About non-family important ethnic employees, Gómez Crespo (1996) commented

⁹⁸ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 003, 40 years old, approx.

⁹⁹ Fieldwork diary: Owner of hundred-peseta store in Cabo Roig -2.

that one has to work for many years and be almost integrated to the family¹⁰⁰. And the investigation shows that there are some more reasons for Chinese self-employed business owners to trust their ethnic employees:

1. Within the Chinese ethnic group, the store owner and the employee know each other well, Chinese employee was introduced by the acquaintance of the owner, and they are reliable to store owners.
2. Ethnic employees are more stable, because they don't change jobs very often and normally have long-time contract.
3. It is easier for them to communicate with each other because they speak the same language (Chinese mandarin or dialect) and share the same cultural background.
4. They can work longer than non-ethnic employees¹⁰¹ (Gómez Crespo, 1996: 183), besides they are perceived to be more responsible.

Same as Gómez Crespo's investigation and concept, Chinese self-employed business are using both personal strategy and formal strategy for recruiting employees. The small business feature of recruitment matches the small self-employed business, these two studies are basically the same on the recruitment issue and other issues of organizing the business and daily work, they are describing the same type of business from two different angles. Therefore we could conclude that Gómez Crespo's study of small business and coincides with Chinese self-employed business.

To carry out personal strategy, in their respect, network is the essential factor. In the following chapter, we will firstly argue about Chinese immigrants' transnational life

¹⁰⁰ En el caso de la mano de obra no familiar suele tratarse de relaciones muy estrechas entre empresario y trabajadores y, normalmente, suele dar es cuando se trata de un encargado que lleva muchos años trabajando en la empresa y ha desarrollado una relación de plena confianza (casifamiliar) con su patron.

¹⁰¹ Una cuestión importante es la de los tiempo de trabajo. El pequeño comerciante se caracteriza porque la jornada laboral de 8 horas se alarga, fundamentalmente entre los titulares y sus familiares, a 10 y 12 horas...
(An important question is that of the working time. The small business are characterized of more than the 8 hours daily working, mainly between the owners and their families , until 10 and 12 hours)

and then concentrate on the investigation of Chinese immigrants' network, both their social network and business network, especially how their network embedded in their transnational life and self-employed business.

5. RESEARCH ON CHINESE MIGRANTS TRANSNATIONAL LIFE AND NETWORKS

Same as the Life-mode analysis of Chinese self-employed in Spain, Chinese migrants' transnational life and network especially their self-employed business network are also our main concerns in this research. This chapter will present the main theoretical topics related to the research about Chinese immigrants. During the process of thesis's preparation, I found out that it is necessary to start with an overview of Chinese migrants' transnational life and then to take into account questions related to cultural pattern within the world of everyday culture, the questions related to the life as migrants which means the things regarding transnationality and social networks. Therefore this chapter will deal firstly with the question of Chinese immigrants' transnational life and network, Chinese immigrants' self-employed business network and Chinese immigrants' ethnic business and network.

5.1. CHINESE MIGRANTS' TRANSNATIONAL LIFE

The transnational processes are increasingly seen as part of a broader phenomenon of globalization, in this process of migration migrants are simultaneously living in more than one society. As to Chinese immigrants in Spain, their transnational life is a part of objectives for the research. According to the transnational theory, we are going to reveal how Chinese immigrants' transnational life really is and what is the difference between Chinese immigrants and immigrants from other countries in respect of their transnational lives?

In the transnational processes, mentality plays an important role for immigrants to choose to have transnational life. Chinese immigrants are loyal to their culture, and they are willing to maintain their customs and culture even though the second generation of Chinese immigrants who were born in Spain have less intention to do so. It's because that young Chinese immigrants have less connection and communication with their country of origin and their life is quite different from their parents'.

Besides the mentality and intention, about the objective conditions for Chinese immigrants to maintain their customs and culture, the investigation shows that Chinese immigrants' solid network in the host country is the most important factor for them to keep their traditions and culture. The strong family connection and network of Chinese immigrants made it easy for Chinese immigrants stay with their families and establish their network in the host country. In this case they are not alone in the host country but always with family members and friends. On the other hand, their poor integration to host country is another reason for them to maintain their 'Chinese circle' and living in the transnational life.

The transnational life of Chinese immigrants is reflected in their daily life, such as how is their network in host country, the communication with home countries or even the type of food they usually have and the preference of TV programs. In our case the way to maintain transnational relations between Spain and China were realized by Chinese communication software named QQ[®] and now WeChat[®] becomes more popular.

The internet firewalls between China and Spain is not supposed to be a problem, the internet restriction in China is only to some certain communication software like Facebook[®] and Twitter[®], nevertheless Chinese immigrants in Spain could use domestic software QQ[®] and WeChat[®] to maintain their connections with their home. As a matter of fact Chinese immigrants in Spain are very satisfied with their communication software, they think it works better than Facebook[®] or any other communication software, no one complains about the internet restriction and inconvenience for communicating with home in this respect.

For catering to the needs of immigrants' transnational life, some companies have special service for immigrants, like insurance companies, money transfer companies and telephone companies. These services exist in many immigrants' groups in Spain, especially for immigrants who are from China, Morocco and South America. The insurance company AXA[®] and DKV[®] all have services for immigrants to cover two months or six months when they travel to home countries. The telephone company like

orange offers a mobile card called “Jazz Panda” whose main function is to make phone call to China, the charge standard is even cheaper than making local calls in Spain.

Different from other migrants sending money home, in Chinese migrants’ context, capital movements between China and Spain are very active. According to different life modes, Chinese immigrants have different norms of receiving and sending money, for instance, wage-earners are generally sending money home to help their family in China, and meanwhile self-employed Chinese migrants would like to collected money from home and start business in host country. This happens more often to wage-earners when they want to be self-employed. The movement of capital gave the birth of “underground bank”¹⁰² for the restriction and high commission of sending money from both sides, this phenomenon reflects the constant movements of capital between Spain and China.

Chinese cuisine is very different from western one, which requires special seasonings and sources. The investigation proves that Chinese immigrants can’t live without Chinese food even though they have lived abroad for many years. Chinese immigrants in Spain eat Chinese food almost every day, they normally cook at home or go to Chinese restaurants. Sometimes they eat Spanish food or other western food, but not many times a year. Young Chinese eat more western food than elder generation, either can they avoid being fans of fast food like McDonald® or KFC®.

The Chinese food importation makes it easy for Chinese immigrants cook Chinese food in Spain. In Spain, the Chinese food stores have great varieties of stuffs for cooking Chinese food, different kinds of noodles, rice, seasonings, special cooking sources and even snacks. Imported Chinese drinks and frozen food from China are also available. Besides, some Chinese immigrants rent local farm land to plant Chinese vegetables like Chinese cabbages and leeks, they also have factories to make Tofu¹⁰³ and distribute it all over Spain. Chinese immigrants try to enrich their dining table and

¹⁰² Underground bank: An illegal organization which helps immigrants realizing money transfer home.

¹⁰³ Tofu, also known as bean curd, is a food made by coagulating soy milk and then pressing the resulting curds into soft white blocks (Explanation of Tofu from Wikipedia).

eliminate at least the difference of eating.

They seldom watch local television programs, only young Chinese with better Spanish watch local TV programs and Spanish dubbed movies. The majority of Chinese immigrants watch Chinese TV programs through installing TV satellite receiver or Internet. In the investigation it's found that in most of Chinese stores, the owners normally have laptop to watch Chinese TV programs or series on line when they are not busy.

It becomes more and more convenient for Chinese immigrants to travel back to China, the price of round trip ticket from Spain to China is much cheaper than before, which makes them can easily afford the ticket to visit their families in China. However since many Chinese immigrants have all the family members abroad (in Spain or other countries) they seldom go back home, only when they still have direct family members in China or for some particular reasons. For young Chinese immigrants, sometimes they have to visit China for their identity card or other documents, their parents encourage them to visit their homeland and families living in China.

In many cases parents want the young generation to learn Chinese when they are young because Chinese immigrants are afraid that their children are totally westernized and cannot speak Chinese. In many cities in Spain exist Chinese language schools especially for Chinese immigrants' children. I did the investigation in one of them which located in Murcia city. The school owner is Chinese and the school only opens on the weekends when children are free from ordinary school. They teach Chinese to only children, no adults found in the school.

Traditional Chinese medicine and physiotherapy are important to Chinese people's health care, so as to Chinese immigrants abroad. Before Chinese immigrants in Spain were only limited in bringing some herbs and Chinese medicines from their home country, however nowadays, there are several special hospitals for traditional Chinese medicine and physiotherapy established in major Spanish cities. According to the news, the biggest traditional Chinese medicine hospital will be established in Barcelona with

80 million Euros of investment¹⁰⁴. This brings lots of convenience and benefits to Chinese immigrants, makes their transnational life more complete compare to other migrant groups in this respect.

To be concluded with all the conditions for realizing transnational life, according to the investigation Chinese immigrants had carried out well their transnational life in the host country, they are actually living both in Spain and ‘China’. Chinese gathering areas in major Spanish cities like Madrid and Barcelona provide fine conditions to carry out Chinese immigrants’ transnational life even better, Usera district in Madrid is the most representative ‘Chinatown’ in Spain.

¹⁰⁴ Polo, Jose (2017): “ La Medicina China Prepara en l’Hospitalet Su Aterrizaje Europeo”, *LA VANGUARDIA*. <http://www.lavanguardia.com/local/baix-llobregat/20171003/431762919690/centro-europeo-de-medicina-tradicional-china-zhang-xiangyong.html>, visited in 2017-11-05.

5.2. TRANSNATIONAL NETWORK OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Chinese migrants' transnational network is essential for their social and business network, it is indispensable in the study of transnational migrants especially in the respect of migrants' labour and economic connection between home country and host country¹⁰⁵ (Priest, 1999: 14). Glick Schiller and her colleagues (1995) argued that migration and the establishment of transnational networks are strategies to insure that a household is able to retain what it has in terms of resources and social position. Furthermore, he argued that family networks, across political and economic borders, provide the possibility for individual survival and at times social mobility in contexts of vulnerability and subordination to world capitalism both at home and abroad (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

Ludger Priest (1999) argued that family networks represent more than half of the most important sources on the corresponding employment opportunity. Besides relatives and cronies, the group of friends is the second most important source of information¹⁰⁶. Many literatures showed that well extended family networks have long been used in many migration countries to provide access to resources. Transnational network has broader innovation than family and business network, migrants could establish various networks of different fields between home and host country. The research of Glick Schiller (1995) of Filipino transmigrants in the U.S. indicated that Filipino transmigrants have built a dense network of linkages with hundreds of organizations that stage religious, cultural, and social events in the Philippines as well as in the U.S.

Some of the organizations established by migrants could work as bridge to link the two countries, most of them are helpful for enhancing the communication and

¹⁰⁵ "Todo indica que hay fuerzas sociales transnacional es muy importantes y dura deras que hacen que una parte considerable de los migrantes tiende su vida familiar y de empleo entre 'la región de su origen' y 'la región de llegada'".

¹⁰⁶ Ludger Priest (1999B, 22): "La migración laboral empieza entre tejido en las redes familiares: representan mas que la mitad de las fuentes mas importantes sobre la oportunidad concreta del empleo correspondiente. Aparte de los familiares y compadres, el grupo de los amigos es el segundo más importante como fuente de información".

understanding between each other. In our case the investigation shows that Chinese immigrants in Spain have similar organizations built for realizing transnational communication and network. For instance *Tong Xiang Hui* and Overseas Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Spain are the two most well-known Chinese immigrants' organizations.

5.3. CHINESE MIGRANTS' TRANSNATIONAL BUSINESS

Transnational life requires transnational business, and in many cases transnational business is mutual. Settled immigrants are able to generate their own internal market for cultural specific cuisines, products and objects (Sassen-Koob, 1985). Schiller (1995) commented that the most successful migrant business usually arises in the very interstices created by transnationalism, for example, shipping and air cargo companies, import-export firms, labor contractors and money transfer agencies or underground bank. However, in some respect underground bank reveals migrants' well connected transnational network even though it is illegal. At the same time the businesses facilitate the deepening of transnational social relations. Many literatures described transmigrants' transnational business, most of them mentioned migrants' food stores, money transfer agencies and call shop for making transnational phone calls and so forth.

In Spain Chinese immigrants are labelled as hardworking entrepreneurs whose most businesses are transnational or related to transnational business. Taking advantage of Chinese manufacturing industry, Chinese immigrants distribute "Made in China" products all over the world, import and export business is a very typical transnational business for Chinese migrants. For Chinese migrants, Chinese food is indispensable, Chinese cooking products like noodles and different types of sources are available in Chinese food stores in Spain. Almost all middle sized Spanish cities have special Chinese food stores. In these stores, it's easy to find most of Chinese cooking sources, noodles and even frozen food imported from China.

As mentioned transnational business involves many aspects, besides those traditional transnational business options, during the research one of the interviewees shared a case about distributing facial masks made by traditional Chinese medicine in Spain. Some Chinese immigrants in Italy import traditional Chinese medical cosmetic products and distribute them in Italy, at the same time they are looking for Chinese distributors in other European countries like Spain, Portugal and France. My interviewee contacted them and became their distributor in Murcia and her clients who are interested in this type of product are all Chinese immigrants from Murcia and other

nearby cities.

Their way of distributing the products is very unique as well. They only distribute and sell them by the communication software WeChat®. WeChat® is very powerful communication software and it is the most popular one among Chinese, it has photo display function so that people could take advantage of this function to display photos of products, it has another powerful function which is it can receive money transfer and pay someone as well. This particular case conveys the information of modern transnational business based on new technologies and besides it is 'multi' transnational business.

As commented transnational business is mutual, for Chinese immigrants in Spain many of them are looking for competitive Spanish products and intending to export them to China. Spanish red wine and olive oil are their preferable options. They export them by themselves or work as agencies for Spanish companies to open Chinese market. Since the economic growth of China, Chinese migrants no more limit their mind in traditional business like import and export business, they never stop looking for new ways to extend transnational business.

Nowadays young Chinese immigrants in Europe found a new transnational business way which is working as purchasing agencies or autonomous. Their work is just to help their clients from China buy luxury stuffs or milk powder in Europe and then mail them to China, in this case they could earn commission. It works very well because of the high luxury tax in China makes luxury stuffs are much more expensive, and the quality of European milk powder is more trustworthy. For the easy accessibility and flexibility, some Chinese wage-earners are making it their sideline job. Still the communication software plays a very important role which makes transnational advertisement and communication possible.

The new Spanish immigration law (Ley 14/2013)¹⁰⁷ for attracting foreign

¹⁰⁷ http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/normativa/nacional/movilidad_internacional/documentos/ley_14_2013_consolidada.pdf.

investors would form a new group of Chinese transmigrants in Spain because they are different from early Chinese immigrants who came for fortune. Throughout the transnational investment the investors could get Spanish residence card. Chinese immigrants in Spain have already felt this is an opportunity to have agencies and offer possible services to the new investors from China. The same transnational business happens to Russian migrants and British migrants for there are also many investors or retired people from these two countries.

In next Chapter we will concentrate on Chinese immigrants' self-employed businesses with corresponding investigations and interviews of each type to reveal their self-employed work and management, their corresponding business strategies and network as well.

5.4. BUSINESS NETWORK OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

As commented Chinese immigrants' businesses are mostly self-employed small businesses based on individual unclear families, therefore Chinese immigrants' business network have characteristics from both self-employed small business network and family business network. Todeva argued that:

“Small business entrepreneurial networks are driven by self-employed agents, and rely much more on resources outside the family and represent a dispersed type of structural network configuration, while family business networks are based on family employment with all subsequent aspects of risk-taking, flexibility, self-financing and control” (Todeva, 2006: 164).

However, the research on small business and entrepreneurship actually usually does not distinguish between small business networks and family business network (Barnett, 2011: 262). To Chinese immigrants in Spain, this character is more obvious, their self-employed small business equals family business, and so does the corresponding network. Running a small business and being self-employed is a way of life and a source of legitimacy that goes beyond rational economic choices and behaviour. Small entrepreneurial firms use network relationships primarily to complement their own limited resources (Todeva, 2006: 161). We could found that most of their network relationships come from their family members and friends, which belong to their social network.

Understanding social network of Chinese immigrants which is known as *Guanxi* helps us to understand how their business network works. As commented for Chinese immigrants, their social network and business network are tightly combined with each other therefore the distinction between them is very limited. According to Stewart Clegg:

“Chinese business networks are very similar and closely related to other Asian business networks (such as Japanese zaibatsu and keiretsu, the Korean chaebol), but very distinct from European and North-American collaborative business relationship”

(Clegg, 2007: 252).

The origin of Chinese immigrants' business network could be dated back to the twelfth century when Chinese migration and immigration to other countries started. A wide variety of families controlled business networks built by Chinese immigrants emerged in Asia over the history of the region. As a result, with the Chinese emigration tide, the concept of Chinese business network has been applied firstly to countries like Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand. The same situation happened in North America and Europe later on with the Chinese emigration tide to these two continents. Nowadays Chinese investors and immigrants are looking forward to search opportunities in South America and Africa, and they have already established business network in these two continents.

The immigration process for Chinese immigrants was not easy or smooth, the literature acknowledges that *"hostility, racial scape-goating, lack of institutional safeguards, and distrust triggered the establishment of overseas Chinese networks"* (Todeva, 2006: 169). So as Chan, Kwokbun commented in his book *"immigrants, on the basis of ethnicity or race, suffer from blocked opportunity or, simply, a racial disadvantage"* (Chan, 2005: 114). Another researcher Li suggests that Chinese immigrants are facing racial discrimination, which has left them being peripheral to the legal system and other social institutions. They are forced to mobilize social, cultural and financial capital within their own communities, acting as a safeguard and protection for their interests (Li, 2000).

The history of Chinese immigrants and researchers' arguments above shows that the situation for Chinese immigrants was not optimistic, even now still exist many barriers for Chinese immigrants. According to the research of four business attitudes proposed for entrepreneurial business networks (Barnett, 2011: 261), it revealed that the survival and security attitudes type is more typical for Chinese immigrants' self-employed business. This type of attitude refers that relationships provide for living for the family and for the owner. The other three types are also important for business networks, which are: business-intrinsic attitude, where relationships provide

satisfaction with the ownership and with the running of the business; intrinsic-creative attitude, where the business gives pride in creativity; achievement-oriented attitude, where the business satisfies the need to seek new challenges.

However, with strong adaptability and depending on Chinese characteristic *Guanxi* network in both social and business aspects, Chinese immigrants are turning disadvantage into an advantage; blocked opportunity opens up new, alternative opportunities (Chan, 2005: 114). The *Guanxi* network relationships established among Chinese immigrants are crucial for their survival abroad, it is important for gathering capital, for sharing information, contacts and resources, for obtaining business advice and technical support, also for reducing business risks and so forth.

During this process we should not forget that the rapid growth of Chinese manufacturing industry is the objective condition for the process. Therefore we could find that there exists Chinese business network between their home country China and host country Spain, so as Stewart Clegg argued that:

“Chinese business networks has developed three main streams of argumentation related to different regional phenomena, business networks formed by overseas Chinese immigrants; business networks in the mainland China, and Chinese business networks across the region that connect overseas with mainland Chinese communities” (Clegg, 2007: 253).

5.5. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE BUSINESS NETWORK

As we focus on business network formed by Chinese immigrants, the business network between China and overseas should be included as well for the inseparable business connection between mainland China and overseas Chinese immigrants.

The study of business network in mainland China helps us to get a general idea of the origin form of Chinese business network. In some respects, Chinese immigrants' business work completely followed the original Chinese business network rules from mainland China, the empirical study has already proved this point of view. Therefore in order to identify some of the fundamental principles that apply to Chinese business networks, first of all we should make a review of the origins of Chinese business network in mainland China and find out the characteristics of Chinese business network.

In the previous chapter, we have argued about Fei Xiaotong's theory about *the differential mode of association*, from his research we know that Chinese people value and emphasize a lot family relationship, the family relationship is the strongest and the most important social network for Chinese. As a matter of fact, for Chinese immigrants, most business network comes from their social networks, because Chinese business networks are embedded into family bonds and kinship ties, so as Clegg commented:

“Chinese business networks have always been portrait as community networks where multiple families coordinate their business and investment activities through informal associations and community relationships” (Clegg, 2007: 253).

Beside family members, Chinese immigrants' social network also includes their friends, *Tong Xiang* (people come from the same hometown), old classmates and etc. All these contacts could be transformed to their business network. No matter in mainland China or abroad, same as Chinese social network, *Guanxi* concept and *Renqing Rules* suit Chinese business network. Stewart Clegg's empirical study shows that Chinese network members are connected by informal relationships, where there is high interdependency within business networks, and finally the favouritism prevails over economic rationale (Clegg, 2007).

As commented in the first chapter, *Renqing* rules always works with *Guanxi* network, different practices of collaboration and mutual favoritism exist amongst Chinese business networks, and researching these practices is essential to our understanding of Chinese business network (Clegg, 2007: 253). The mutual favoritism follows *Renqing* rules, and we could find lots of examples for using of *Renqing* rules in Chinese immigrants' business network. In Chinese social network, a kindness given by one person can be repaid or given to another person (Garlindo, 2008: 304).

In Chinese business network, a business favour also considered as a *Renqing* which should be repaid or given to another, and the forms of repayment could be various. An interviewee's comment is very supportive on this respect, he commented:

*“Besides my family, I got lots of help from my best friends, it's not only money they lent me but also they helped me in many aspects, I own them great Renqing and I am sure I will return to them or their family one day when they need me”*¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁸ Interview of candy store owner in Murcia, SE 03, 36 years old, approx.

5.6. ETHNIC BUSINESS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

“Ethnic business people can maximize efficiency and profit by engaging in a strategy of self-exploitation: working longer, unsocial hours, offering year-long and personalized service and lowering prices” (Chan, 2005: 116).

Ethnic business has been interpreted in different ways from different aspects. The concept of Chinese immigrants’ ethnic business is very helpful for understanding Chinese immigrants’ business network for its uniqueness comparing to other immigrants’ group. Chinese immigrants abroad usually comprise autonomous agents that are linked to each other via various formal and informal contracts, who share information and design collective strategies (Todeva, 2006: 161). Todeva’s comments could be considered as the function of ethnic business is to seize the opportunity to market ethnic commodities and gradually start to control a protected, captive market. From a cultural aspect, Aldrich wrote that: *“ethnic businesses provide group members with the means for escaping minority status and gaining entry into the bourgeoisie”* (Aldrich et al., 1987: 191).

From my point of view, Chinese ethnic business is a highly developed form of *Guanxi* network among Chinese immigrants, so as Stewart Clegg commented: *“Their interpersonal relationships have evolved in a variety of institutional forms, facilitating social exchange based on a mutual belief in reciprocity and facilitating financial transactions”* (Clegg, 2007: 260). As commented in the first chapter the ethnicity of Chinese immigrants is ‘manufactured’ by both themselves and the host society, and the ethnicity could be ‘reproduced’ as well. Facing more complicated situation and difficulties in the host country, Chinese immigrants need to be more united in both social and business aspects.

Chinese ethnic business abroad mostly depends on various divisions of work in host countries, without complex divisions of work it will not be possible for Chinese immigrants to form ethnic business, because the ethnic business could hardly survive with single division of work. For instance in Spain, in some business like hundred-

peseta stores and clothing stores, we found that only the customers are Spanish, and before the products reach the ultimate Spanish clients, the manufacture, the transport, the distribution and retail sales are all done by Chinese in China and in Spain, and all the producing and selling lines are within Chinese ethnic business circle.

This circle mainly refers to Chinese immigrants abroad in this research, however it necessarily to include their business contacts in mainland China as well for Chinese ethnic business is featured by Chinese people rather than geographical scope. This also explains the difference between transnational business and ethnic business, that is to say transnational business is actually a part of ethnic business, it refers to commercial transactions as located within a transnational space that spans national borders while ethnic business refers to all kinds of Chinese migrants' business no matter it's transnational or not.

5.7. ETHNIC BUSINESS NETWORK AND ETHNIC SERVICE

The common structure of Chinese self-employed business in Spain caused my attention because it's different from the local self-employed business. In some respects, the production capacity of Chinese industry and export business support the formation of Chinese ethnic business abroad. The empirical research shows that there are two links of Chinese self-employed business in Spain: the first link is ethnic business link, and the second link is external business link. Ethnic business specially refers to the business within the ethnic group without having any contact with external parties, the investigation of Chinese self-employed business in Spain shows that all the procedures before selling products to public belong to ethnic business.

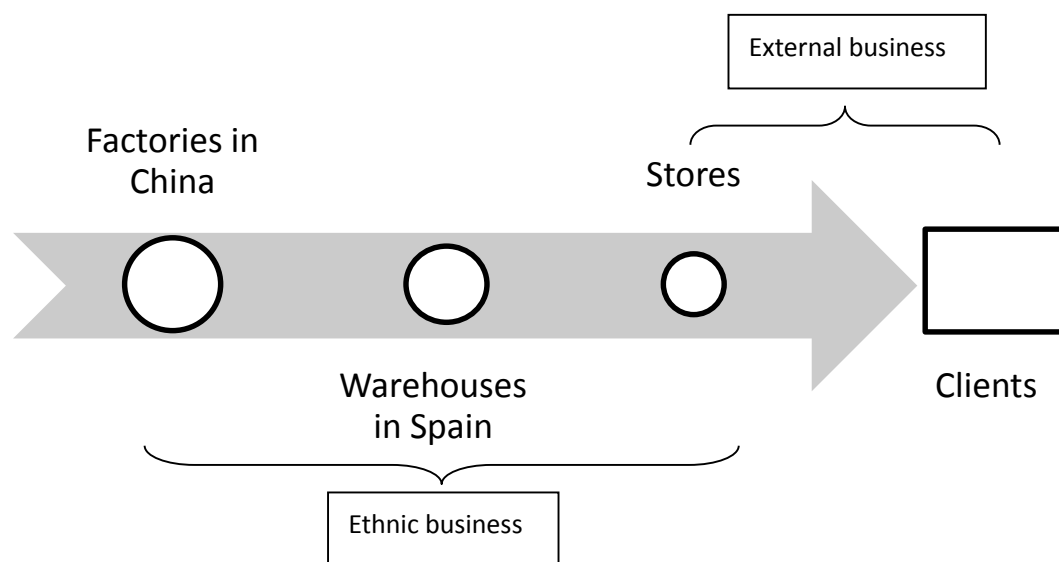


Diagram 13. Ethnic Business and External Business.

Like the diagram shows, for most of Chinese stores the first step of the business is to import products from China to Spain, both two parties the supplier Chinese factory and the receiver Chinese warehouse in Spain belong to Chinese ethnic group and the business accomplished within the ethnic group, so we call it ethnic business; the second step is about the Chinese warehouses selling products to individual Chinese stores, it is still ethnic business because no external party involves; starting from the third step which is the store sells to the public, it becomes the external business for the external

party (Spanish client) enters the business chain, therefore Chinese ethnic business ends until this step. As if the client is also Chinese immigrant, like the Chinese food store whose clients are mostly Chinese, in this case the complete chain is considered as ethnic business.

Ethnic service is a form of ethnic business, which refers to the service providers and receivers are the same time Chinese immigrants abroad. Ethnic services are mostly concentrated in Chinese warehouse district for the high immigrants' population density. Chinese restaurants inside of the warehouse district are the most common ones and so are the other services like accounting service or transporting services. Unlike Chinese restaurants located in the city, Chinese restaurants in warehouse districts are different for the objective customers are different, they are Chinese warehouse owners and store owners. Another phenomenon in Chinese warehouse district is: a few self-employed Chinese without any store could find a way to make a living in warehouse district by selling Chinese steamed bread or pancakes as breakfast in the morning or make other typical Chinese snacks or food to sell, and these are not registered business.

Ethnic services exist not only in the Chinese warehouse districts but also in many big Spanish cities where Chinese immigrants are gathered. Chinese food store is the most typical type. Chinese food store is a kind of store which only offers Chinese and Asian food, condiments and tableware. Even though some non-Chinese clients who favour Chinese food or condiments do shopping in Chinese food store, the majority of clients are Chinese immigrants. The investigation shows that many Chinese food stores have advertising and information exchanging function within the Chinese ethnic group, for instance house renting advertisement and job advertisement placed in Chinese food stores work out very well among Chinese ethnic group in Spain. It is considered as a part of their informal strategy.

Ethnic service also exists in other immigrants' group in Spain, the butcher's shop for Moroccan immigrants is the best example. 'Halal meat' which means the animal was killed in Islamic way therefore for Moroccan immigrants they always need their own butcher's shops. During the investigation we found that in Moroccan butcher's

shop, many Moroccan products like special seasonings and dry fruits are on sale as well. Same as Chinese food store, the butcher's shop is an ideal place for ethnic products and advertisement.

In big Spanish cities like Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia there are several Chinese food stores which are specialized in Chinese and Asian food and condiments, but in other cities with less Chinese immigrant's population the normal situation is some Chinese candy stores play the role of selling Chinese food and condiments. These kinds of stores have two characters, the character of candy store for local Spanish customers and the other character of selling Chinese food and exchanging information among Chinese immigrants.

For many Spanish cities like Murcia, which don't have enough Chinese immigrants for specialized Chinese food store, the two-character candy store seems a very smart alternative way. The fieldwork shows that in Murcia City there are two candy stores which sell Chinese food and condiments, both of them locate in the city centre and each of them has advertising board filled with all kinds of advertisements only for Chinese immigrants.

Around Murcia there are some medium-sized warehouse centres, the nearest one is located in Beniaján and the other one is located in Elche (district of Alicante). In these two warehouse districts most of the warehouses are for household items and clothes, some of them are huge with at least 2000 or 3000 square meters. During the interview of these two Chinese warehouse districts, I paid a lot of attention to ethnic services in these two warehouse districts. The following sequence of an interview was made with one Chinese restaurant owner in the warehouse district of Elche. The restaurant is a big one comparing to most of Chinese restaurants in Murcia City, it's also an old one with eight big round tables placed in the centre and some other simple furniture.

The owner told me that *“there are always many Chinese store owners who come here from nearby cities, like Murcia City, Elche, and some small tourist towns near the beach, they come to do bulk purchasing because Elche is one of the biggest Chinese*

products distribution centres in the southwest of Spain. After their purchasing, they usually come to my restaurant to have lunch in the middle of the day. For offering them a quick lunch, the restaurant offers Chinese buffet so that they can have quick lunch and continue their purchasing and work”¹⁰⁹.

Chinese ‘paper work’ agency is another type of ethnic service, it offers services mainly to Chinese self-employed business owners who need accountant service. The ‘paper work’ agency also applies or renews Chinese immigrants’ Spanish residence cards and offers other consultant services as well. In Murcia the most famous one were owned by Chinese sisters, and people call their company ‘Chinese sisters agency’. According to them, more than thirty percent of self-employed Chinese in Murcia are their clients. They gained their reputation because of their professional work and experience. However the Chinese ‘paper work’ agencies are facing serious competitions now and the competitions come from famous local Spanish accountant agencies, who are recruiting Chinese employees who speak both Chinese and Spanish for attracting Chinese self-employed clients.

Most of Chinese businesses in Spain are ethnic business. Nevertheless there are some exceptions as well. For instance, candy stores are not ethnic business. If we analyse the business procedures of candy stores as we did to other stores before, we will find that candy stores do bulk purchase from Spanish candy warehouse and their clients are mostly local customers, there exists neither ethnic parties nor ethnic businesses in the whole business chain.

Same as candy stores of Chinese immigrants, some services providing stores of Chinese immigrants are not belonging to ethnic business either. Nowadays manicure shops become popular and many Chinese immigrants opened manicure shops as a new business way, they offer services for manicuring and decorating women’s nails. Even though parts of materials they use are imported from China, still it cannot be classified to ethnic business because almost all their clients are local customers instead of Chinese

¹⁰⁹ Interview of Chinese restaurant owner in Elche, SE 021, 45 years old, approx.

customers and this type of business relies on offering services instead of selling products, selling products is just sideline business.

6. NETWORK INVESTIGATION OF CHINESE CLOTHING STORE

Chinese featured network exists in almost every aspect of Chinese immigrants' living and working. It is one of the most significant features of Chinese immigrants in Spain and all over the world. Especially in an economic aspect, it works out in almost all types of Chinese businesses. As we commented in the previous chapter, network study is an important key to understand Chinese immigrants and their business which should never be neglected in the context of Chinese immigrants study.

In the previous chapter we have discussed about Chinese immigrants' business network and Chinese ethnic business. As a matter of fact, the focus on ethnic belonging in the business network is the most outstanding feature of Chinese immigrants' networks. Thus we could even conclude that ethnic business is the specific embodiment of Chinese immigrants' business network. The dissertation of ethnic business represents also the general situation of Chinese business network in Spain. This chapter will focus on the specific attributes of business network within the field of Chinese clothing stores due to the fact that it differs from other types of Chinese self-employed businesses.

Among all Chinese clothing stores in Murcia, during the investigation I chose one typical Chinese fashion clothes store as my case study objective. The reason for choosing this store is because this store is a very typical and representative Chinese clothing store, besides lots of interviews and participant observation fieldwork had been done with both the owner and shop assistants, the first-hand resources are more resourceful than other Chinese clothing stores.

The Chinese clothing store, which I did wide investigation and participant observation fieldwork locates in a main street of the city center in Murcia, only needs five minutes' walk from the historical center and city commercial landmark *El Corte Ingés*. This clothing store is a medium-sized store which has approximately 230 square meters, it had been well decorated from both inside and outside. The store requires at least six employees working in the store as shop assistants whose main job is selling and sorting clothes and accessories. Shop assistants are mostly Spanish employees, and

some of them are Chinese employees. Shop assistants are always females, besides shop assistants one Chinese young man works in the small warehouse behind the store and his colleagues call him ‘warehouse keeper’.

The owners are a couple from Wencheng city in Zhejiang province. As commented earlier Wencheng city is a well-known *Qiao Xiang* in China. Both, man and wife are working in the store as managers and sometimes they substitute shop assistants and cashiers. The store owners’ main work is to manage the business and employees, they take turns to do bulk purchase from Chinese warehouses in Madrid every two or three weeks according to different business seasons. Still they have to do routine work sometimes, especially during the high shopping seasons or when there are not enough employees. They have a driver working for them as well, the driver was from South America at the time I was doing the participant observation. A driver is very necessary for their store because they need someone drives them to Madrid and brought clothes from warehouse district in Madrid to Murcia. In normal days the driver works with the ‘warehouse keeper’ to assort clothes and put price labels on them.

The driver always complains about the bad payment which equals nothing to his hard work, he complains:

“Driving them to Madrid is not an easy job, I have to wake up at 6 o’clock in the morning and take boss to warehouse district in Madrid, and it normally happens on Sunday when nobody works. I have to wait the whole day and load all the bags and boxes filled with clothes in the van and unload them when we get back to Murcia, I never get back home before 12 o’clock at night after the long day working...The worst thing is they don’t pay me nothing extra for my extra working hours and working on holidays. Nobody can do this job, nobody could bear it, I have to talk to the boss, if they don’t pay me as I should earn, I will leave this place without having any second thought”¹¹⁰.

¹¹⁰ Interview of clothing store employee (from South America) in Murcia, WE 002, 30 years old, approx.

The owners of the store have other three similar clothing stores in Murcia, one of them located in other districts of the city, and one located in a small town close to Murcia City called Molina de Segura, their latest store located in the second biggest city in the region of Murcia, Cartagena. The most successful one is located in the city center, which has been already introduced earlier. Its success depends on its competitive location and products. Attractive store window displays and interior decoration are advantages as well. According to the owner he would always like to expand his business when he sees good opportunities, so after his neighbor failed and closed the shop, he rented the place which is right beside his most successful store. Soon he opened another store with the same decoration of his old store and recruited more shop assistants for the new store. He made the new store a specialized store selling man's clothes while his old store is specialized for women's clothes. And now the owner has two big adjacent stores with the same name and style, this makes them look like a big clothes store instead of two individual ones. Both of the stores take advantage of the good location and mature management so the new store works out as well as the old one.

The owner is very satisfied with his store location and the plan of his business expansion, he commented:

*"I feel that I am very fortunate to have this location, it's my most successful store because of its good location and of course our hard work as well. Now my neighbor has gone, I can't wait to take over his place and expand my store.... I am very careful with the new investment and expansion for the reason of economic crisis, but I don't hesitate to open a new store next to my most successful one, because I know it will work well"*¹¹¹.

All the four stores are similar from one to the other, basically they don't differ from big fashion shopping stores like ZARA® or H&M®. The only difference is the sizes of their stores are smaller. The clothes are all imported from China with very competitive prices. In all these four stores, most of the shop assistants are Spanish

¹¹¹ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 003, 40 years old, approx.

employees, sometimes they have shop assistants from South American or Eastern Europe countries, but every store at least needs one or two Chinese shop assistants. According to the owner, it is because it's easier to communicate and manage the work by using Chinese employees. Considering his poor Spanish, Chinese store assistants who speak both Chinese and fluent Spanish should work as both shop assistant and bridge between employers and non-Chinese employees.

The first interview was made with the warehouse keeper working in the small warehouse behind the store. I was working with him during the participant observation fieldwork and he was the first one I was familiar with. He is a young Chinese immigrant from Fujian province and a village near the capital city Fu Zhou. He came to Murcia in the year 2009 and now it has been almost nine years since he first arrived in Spain. The reason for him to come to Spain was because of his mother, who firstly came to Spain. Now she is working in another city in the northern part of Spain. He came to Spain after his mother with the help of his mother and other family members, and the immigration process cost him lots of work and money as well.

“I wished to go to the USA much more than coming to Spain, I can make more money there and many of my friends, schoolmates and workmates found a way to go to the USA and they are now working there, they told me that the USA is the best option for migration, the salary and welfare. In Europe there are more Chinese from Zhejiang province but in the USA it's the world for us Fujianese. However unfortunately I couldn't go to the USA and the reason for me to be in Murcia was because it was much easier and cheaper to get documents to work in Spain”¹¹².

He had always been working in this Chinese clothing store since he arrived, unlike many Chinese self-employed immigrants or even his mother¹¹³, he had never changed his job since he came to Murcia. Besides the interview he told me privately that he had a long term contract with his boss, and perhaps this long term contract helped him to

¹¹² Interview of clothing store employee in Murcia, WE 001, 30 years old, approx.

¹¹³ According to him, his mother works as baby-sitter in another Spanish city and sometimes changes her working places from one family to another.

get the permission and visa to be able to work in Spain. Therefore he was limited to change his job even though he often complains that he works more and much longer than others but not get paid well. After many years working in the shop, his boss finally raised his salary and he also got a kind of freedom to change his job if he wants to; however, it seems that they have some unknown protocols between him and his boss.

On this respect his Chinese colleagues are different, because they are just normal employees with normal working contract. Unlike him, they only work 8 hours a day and they don't need to work on holidays, because sometimes the owner wants him to work on holidays without paying any extra salary. He sees his colleagues change their jobs from one to the other, but it doesn't seem like something will be happen to him. However he has some *benefits* as well, for instance his boss pays for his lunch according to their agreements and in the end of the year, his boss gives him extra money for his contribution to the store.

6.1. PURCHASING GROUP NETWORK AND OPINION LEADER

Chinese clothing store is not very representative but very well explained how Chinese business network works. To know and understand better how this Chinese clothing store works, he is no doubt a very helpful interviewee for the study and the key to lead us to know about the store and other Chinese clothing stores, because besides his boss he is the only one who knows all the processes and strategies of the store and Chinese clothing business. He gave me lots of information about the store he is working in and helped me to understand the Chinese clothing store's network as well. For instance here is his comments about how his boss does bulk purchase in Madrid and introduced me the concept of *purchasing group*:

“My boss purchases lots of clothes and now shoes and bags from Chinese warehouses located in Madrid, Fuenlabrada, as any Chinese immigrants who lives in Spain knows. It's the center of Chinese warehouses and the clothes are much cheaper and with great varieties of styles, my boss could always find what he likes there. He always goes with other clothing store owners to do bulk purchase together, and these

owners are his family members and his close friends who have clothing stores in other cities”¹¹⁴.

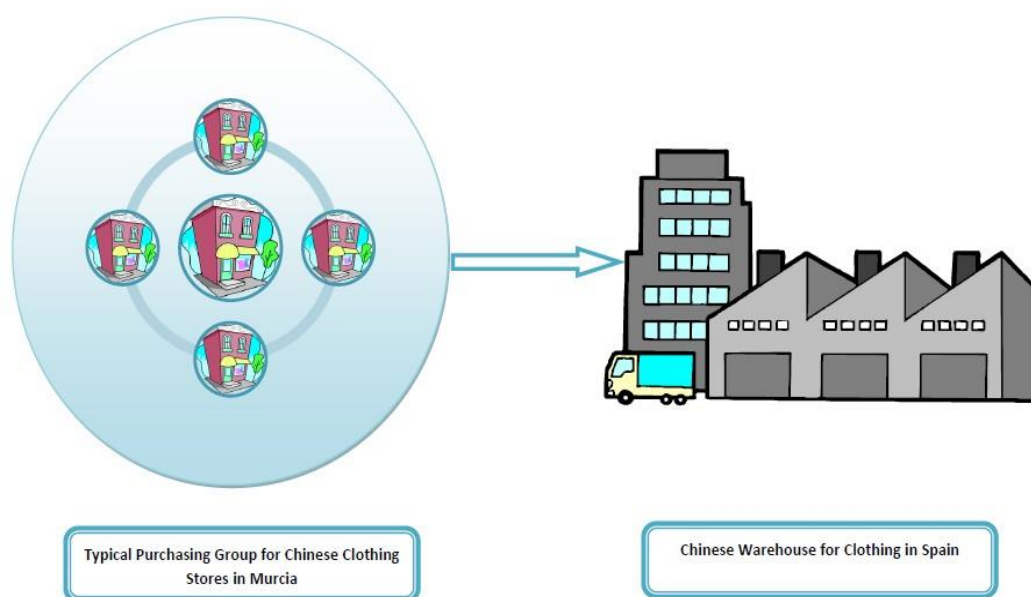


Figure 1. Purchasing Group.

According to his description we could have a general idea of how his boss does bulk purchase and how he is maintaining his business network. The main idea is that several owners of clothing stores go together to do the purchasing in order to get better prices. The investigation and some corresponding diagrams could help to understand better the typical Chinese clothing store’s business network. The diagram aims to introduce and explain an important concept of Chinese clothing stores: *purchasing group*. This circle makes a complete *purchasing group* and in the center of the group, there is the owner of a larger store which is supposed to be the *opinion leader*. The *opinion leader* plays a very important role in the group.

Taking this particular clothing store from Murcia as an example, his boss plays the role of *opinion leader* of the group for bulk purchase context thus he and his store are supposed to be in the center of the diagram and the other four store owners who are surrounding him are influenced by him. The *Purchasing group* is very important for Chinese clothing stores because it allows every corresponding store to benefit from it.

¹¹⁴ Interview of clothing store employee in Murcia, WE 001, 30 years old, approx.

In the beginning of my investigation I was curious about the reason why *purchasing group* exist among Chinese clothing stores, and why other store owners respect the *opinion leader's* decision and how do they choose the *opinion leader*. According to the interviews and investigation, there are basically three main reasons or advantages for having *purchasing groups*:

- a) To do the bulk purchase in Chinese warehouses, the golden rule is “the more one could buy the better discount one can have”. The *purchasing group* with five stores can always buy more clothes than only one store, and each of them can take the advantage of the discount.
- b) Lower the transportation fee. The *purchasing group* can share the transportation fee for going to do bulk purchase in big Chinese warehouse centers like in Madrid or Barcelona. More importantly they could share the costs for transporting large quantities of products as well.
- c) Security reasons. Since the robberies to Chinese self-employed owners are rising in Chinese warehouse districts, many Chinese store owners get very nervous about their personal security and now they try to avoid taking cash with them and avoid doing bulk purchasing alone.

*“The brother of my boss was once robbed in the Chinese warehouses district in Madrid and he lost 12.000 Euros in cash, this money was for purchasing clothes. He said that now there are many robberies happening in Chinese warehouse districts and people are very worried about it”*¹¹⁵.

It has been noticed that if the clothing store owner is not a part of any purchasing groups nor have any relationship with someone who is in the purchasing group, then it will be very difficult for them to receive any guidance. And to know what other Chinese clothing stores are selling is almost impossible because like all the store owners, Chinese store owners no matter what kind of stores they have, they are not pleased with

¹¹⁵ Interview of clothing store employee in Murcia, WE 001, 30 years old, approx.

plagiarists. Here are the comments from a clothing store owner who is not in any *purchasing group*:

“I am maintaining my clothing store with my wife for years, I don't have any relatives or friends who has clothing store, so I have to do everything all by myself... Like doing bulk purchase in Madrid, I drive to Madrid very early in the morning from Murcia with my wife, I need her to choose the clothing styles, because I can't do it alone. We are not like other clothing store owners who come to do bulk purchase with friends and family members, my only advisor is the warehouse owner, but who knows if he gives me right information, perhaps he only suggests me to buy what he wants to sell”¹¹⁶.

The *opinion leader* is an important character for the *purchasing group* who could influence other store owners from many aspects. During the interview, I was trying to collect information about how those clothing store owners choose *opinion leader* and on which aspect the opinion leader could influence individual store owner, so I asked the warehouse keeper for the details about how to choose the *opinion leader*, his words were very helpful and explained the way those clothing store owners choose their *opinion leader*.

“For me it's a natural process to have opinion leader, it's all about who has more experience and respect, and the respect comes from the experience as well. For instance, my boss has been running clothing stores for many years and he has lots of experience of clothing business, besides he has very good sensibility of fashion, when he goes to Chinese clothes warehouses in Madrid, there will always be a group of clothing store owners willing to join him and buy almost whatever he chooses”¹¹⁷.

Because of the clothing business experience and his outstanding ‘sensibility of fashion’, the clothes he chooses could always be sold readily, that made him became the *opinion leader* of the group and it is a kind of natural and equal selection so to speak. We could imagine that when a *purchasing group* is going to be formed, and the

¹¹⁶ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 004, 35 years old, approx.

¹¹⁷ Interview of clothing store employee in Murcia, WE 001, 30 years old, approx.

members are always family members and close friends, everyone in the group has possibility to be the *opinion leader* in the beginning, because every clothing store owner is experienced and they are eager to share their purchasing experience. However little by little anyone who has more experience and stronger ‘sensitivity of fashion’ will stand out and become the *opinion leader* of the group because people know that the *opinion leader* always makes good selection of clothes.

Nevertheless according to investigations of other clothing stores and *purchasing groups*, it’s found that within the *purchasing group*, the *opinion leader* does influences more to other members, but the finally decision of purchasing different styles of clothes will be made by all the group members. As an opinion leader commented:

*“I do have more experience in the group, so that they listen to my words, but I don’t want to take all the risk of making the decision alone. I tell them what I think will be selling well and they have to agree with that, we actually make decision together, it’s more secure this way and I don’t want to be the one to be blamed if my choices are not selling well”*¹¹⁸.

Besides choosing easy selling options for the group, the opinion leader is also the representative of the *purchasing group* when it’s necessary to bargain with the warehouse owner, negotiate better business conditions for group members, arrange the transportation matters and so forth.

The investigation also shows that within the *purchasing group*, group members are very united, they are not only doing bulk purchasing together but also helping each other to overcome the difficulties. For instance, if a member is short for money or business guidance, he could get help from other members of the *purchasing group*, or when someone needs capital for expanding the business, he could get business advices and financial support as well.

The solidarity of the *purchasing group* also reflects in sharing business information and new opportunities. And all those favors among *purchasing group*

¹¹⁸ Interview of clothing store owner in Murcia, SE 003, 40 years old, approx.

members are considered as *Renqing* as commented in the first chapter, which is supposed to be returned sooner or later.

6.2. BUSINESS NETWORK OF CHINESE CLOTHING STORE

To understand better Chinese clothing stores' business network, we have to turn to network theories as we argued in the theoretical part of the study and some relating network diagrams. Diagram 14 shows the business network of the Chinese clothing stores, as we can see in the diagram there exist Store 1, 2, 3 and 4, they are interacting with the Store A, B, C and D. In the diagram Store 1, 2, 3 and 4 make a complete *purchasing group*, however Store A, B, C and D are not a part of the *purchasing group*.

If we analyze how the *purchasing group* works and how the individual clothing store interacts with others, we could find that first of all Store 1, 2, 3 and 4 are core stores so they are in the inner circle. They have direct contact and relationship with the *opinion leader*, they share information with each other and do bulk purchase in Chinese warehouses together. They are interacting with each other mostly in business aspects but actually in many cases they are close friends and even family members.

As shown in the diagram, Store 1, 2, 3 and 4 have direct purchasing guidance from the *opinion leader* and as commented before the *opinion leader* is influenced by other members of the *purchasing group* as well. On the contrary, Store A, B, D except C get guidance not directly from the *opinion leader* but from Store 1, 2, 3 and 4, they are out of the first circle but still having close relationship with the core stores of the *purchasing group*.

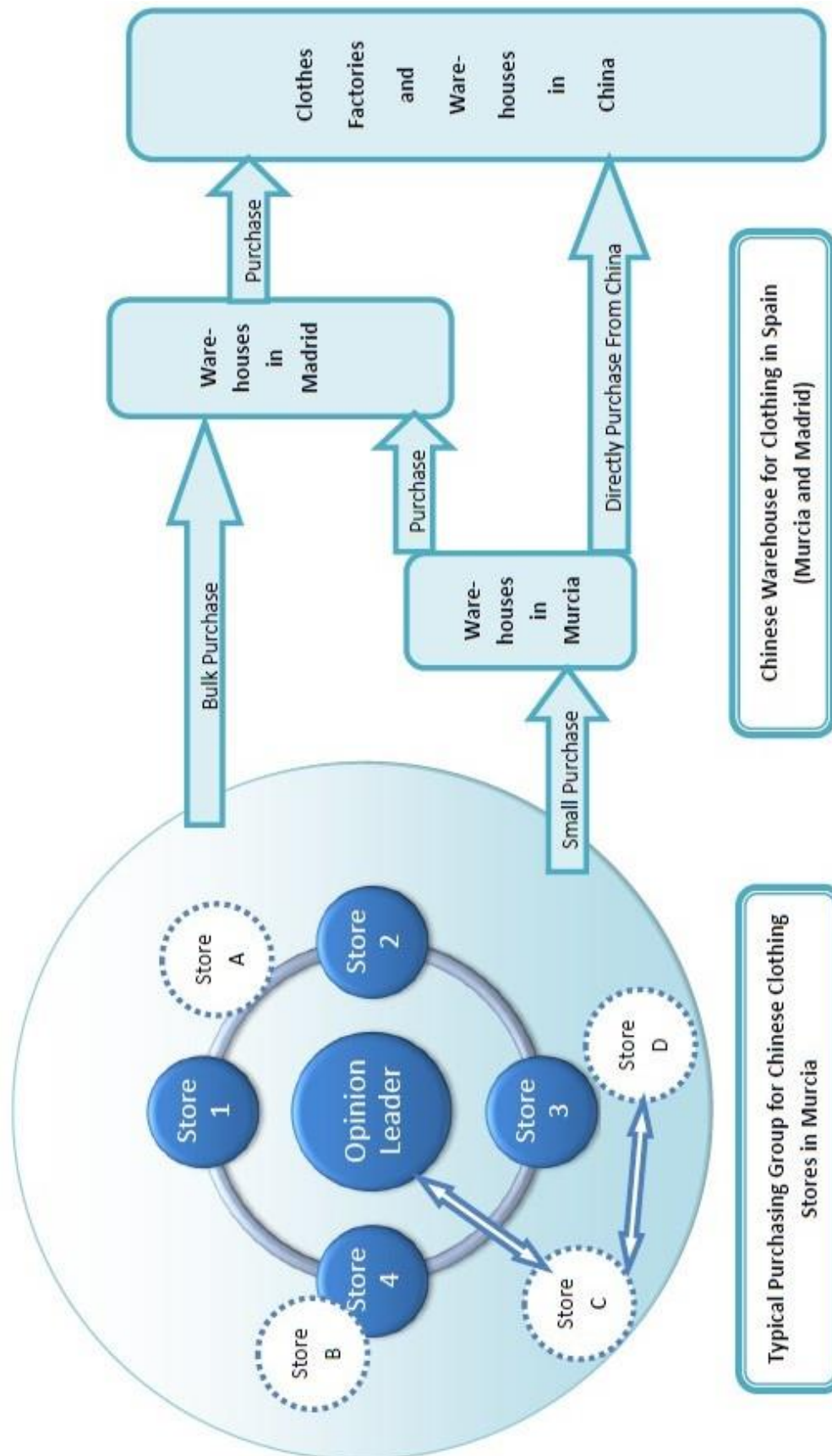


Diagram 14. The Process of Purchasing Group.

Starting with Store A, who is between Store 1 and Store 2, it doesn't mean that he is the intermediate between Store 1 and Store 2 but means that he has direct connection with both Store 1 and store 2, so that he could have guidance from both Store 1 and Store 2. In the diagram Store A is located in the middle of Store 1 and Store 2 which represents that he has the same familiarity with the both. The situation of Store B is almost the same as Store A: The difference lies in that the Store B only has connection with Store 4 where he could only get information from. The overlapping part shows that the Store B has strong relationship with Store 4 comparing the case of Store A with Store 1 and Store 2.

Different from Store A and B, Store C is not related with any stores but directly related with the *opinion leader*. The connection between Store C and the *opinion leader* shows that even though the Store C doesn't belong to this *purchasing group* nor does bulk purchase with the opinion leader, nevertheless Store C could get direct guidance from the opinion leader. The result is the owner of store C is not purchasing with the group but perhaps he is selling similar clothes like other stores are selling. The double-headed arrow connecting Store C and the *opinion leader* points out that the influence is mutual, the *opinion leader* is influenced by store C at the same time.

We have to take into account that to avoid vicious competition and to protect business information of the *purchasing group*, *purchasing group* members are obliged to keep their business secrets like which warehouse they go to and which clothes style they choose. Therefore the guidance mentioned above from Store 1, 2, 3, 4 to Store A, B, C, D is limited. The purchasing group members protect their collective intelligence and they only share a part of it with those who are not in the purchasing group if they have to.

6.3. INTERACTIONS BETWEEN PURCHASING GROUPS

Store D is the key for realizing the interactions of two purchasing groups. We found that Store D has neither connection with opinion leader nor with Store 1, 2, 3 and 4. The only connection it has is with Store C. Store D gets guidance and advice from Store C, the information it gets is also indirect, second hand guidance so to speak, because Store D could not get direct contact with the *opinion leader* nor anybody within the *purchasing group*. Until now it has been introduced the concept of *purchasing group* and a part of Chinese clothing stores' network, now we will discuss how the *purchasing groups* interact with each other.

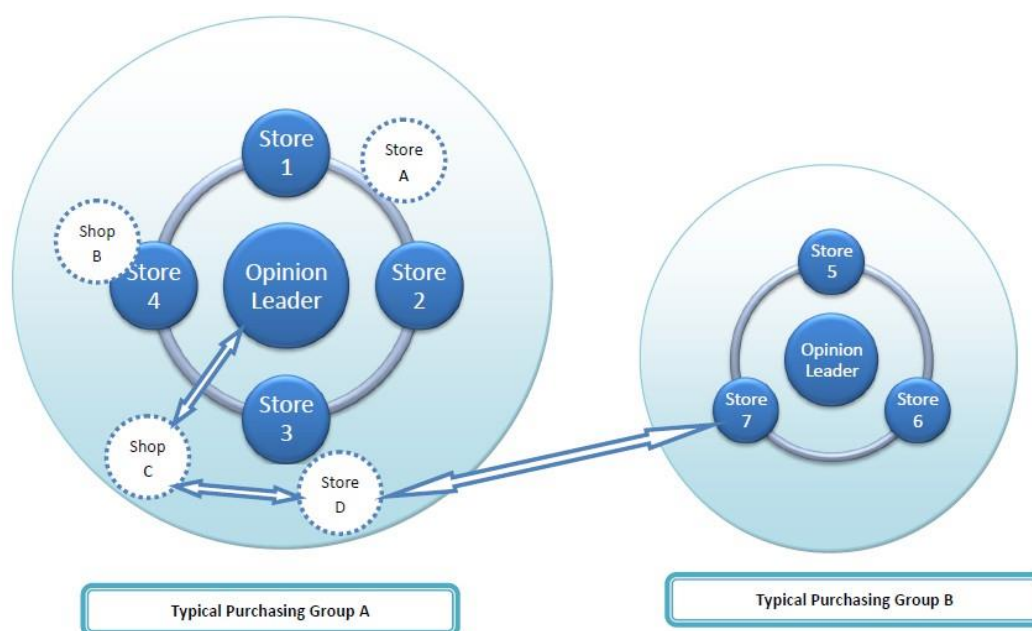


Diagram 15. The interactions of Purchasing Groups.

In the case of two *purchasing groups* are interacting with each other, as the diagram shows, Store D is the key to connect two *purchasing groups*. At the same time Store D is being influenced by Group A and by Group B as well, thus Store D can combine the information from both sides and make his own decision with his inclination or preference to one side. More importantly, the double-headed arrow shows that Store D works out like a bridge between two groups. The information he gets from Group A will certainly influence the Group B, likewise Group B influences Group A through Store D.

As commented most Chinese self-employed businesses are man and wife family business, so does the Chinese clothing store. The question is: Is the *purchasing group* only for men or are their wives involved as well? Do the wives of store-owners go to Madrid together with men? The investigation shows that both man and women are involved in the business, because of the different division of work of different families, the situation varies. The only clue we found is within the *purchasing group*, no matter man or wife, anyone who has closer relationship with the *opinion leader* normally goes to Chinese warehouse district and does the bulk purchasing with the group.

John Scott's graph theory of network introduced in the methodology chapter could be put into use in the context of Chinese clothing stores and the *purchasing groups*. His theory is about representing a network as a 'graph' of 'points' and 'lines', as he commented: "*sets of elements and the relations among these, the elements being termed points and the relations lines, thus, a matrix describing the relations among a group of people can be converted into a graph of points connected by lines* (Scott, 1987: 16)". With his theory and the business network situation of Chinese clothing stores we could make matrix of Chinese clothing stores and its corresponding *purchasing groups*.

Based on the fact of Chinese clothing stores and the *purchasing groups* we argued earlier, under the help of social network analysis software Ucinet®, we could have the following corresponding matrix and the calculation of the density.

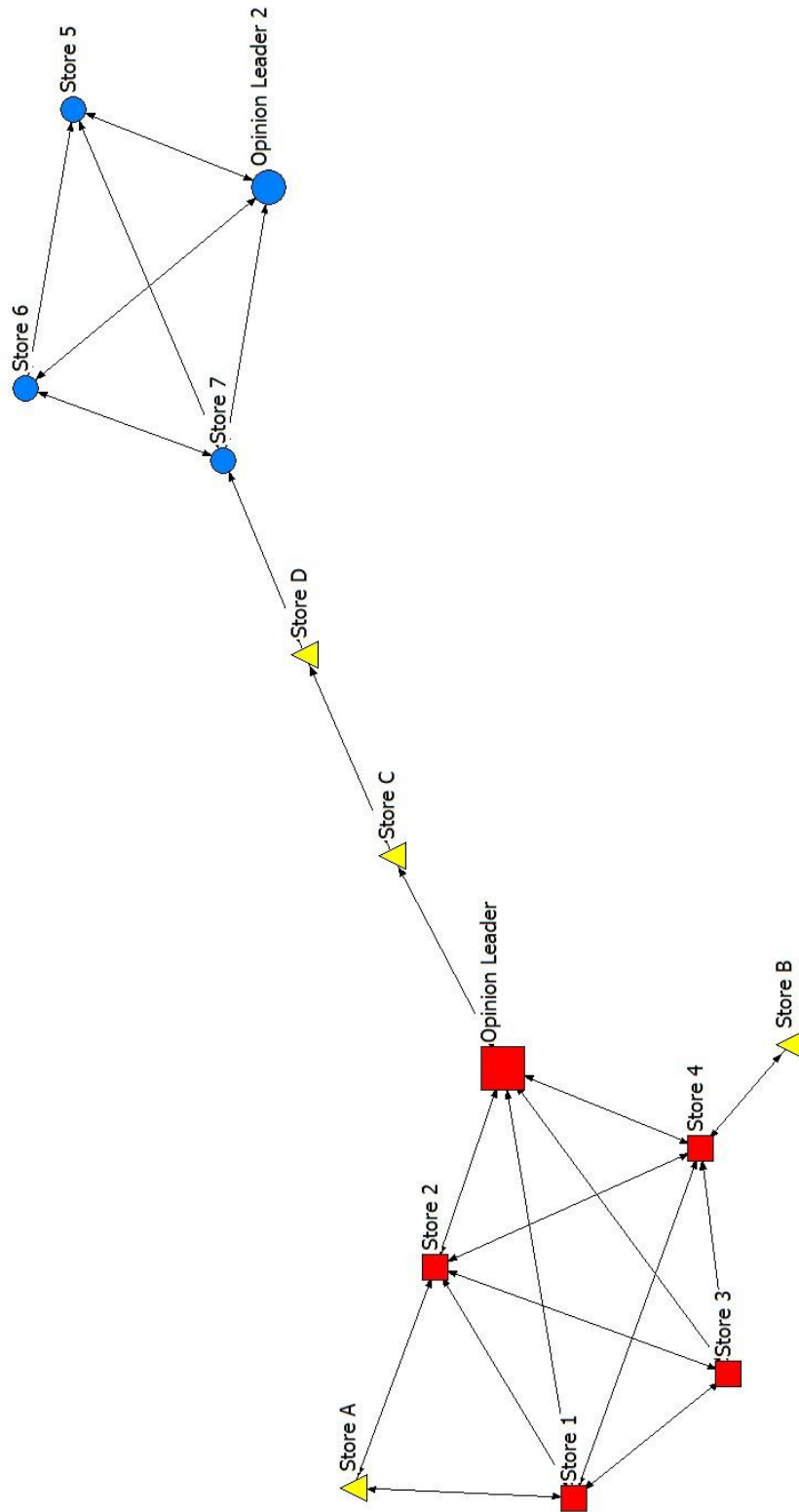
	Opinion Leader	Store 1	Store 2	Store 3	Store 4	Store A	Store B	Store C	Store D	Opinion Leader 2	Store 5	Store 6	Store 7	Row Sum
Opinion Leader	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
Store 1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Store 2	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Store 3	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Store 4	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Store A	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Store B	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Store C	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Store D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Opinion Leader 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Store 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
Store 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3
Store 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	4
Column Sum	5	5	5	4	5	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	

Degree	NrmDegree	Share	Density	No. of Ties
1	Opinion Leader	5.000	41.667	0.114
2	Store 1	5.000	41.667	0.114
3	Store 2	5.000	41.667	0.114
5	Store 4	5.000	41.667	0.114
4	Store 3	4.000	33.333	0.091
13	Store 7	4.000	33.333	0.091
12	Store 6	3.000	25.000	0.068
11	Store 5	3.000	25.000	0.068
10	Opinion Leader 2	3.000	25.000	0.068
9	Store D	2.000	16.667	0.045
8	Store C	2.000	16.667	0.045
6	Store A	2.000	16.667	0.045
7	Store B	1.000	8.333	0.023
			Density	No. of Ties
Chinese clothing stores' network			0.2821	44.0000

Table 3: Matrix and Density of *Purchasing Groups*

Source: Ucinet® software

As soon as we have corresponding matrix, the analysis software of network Ucinet® form the following graph of purchasing groups' networks as below:



Graph 1. The Graph of Purchasing Groups' networks

Source from: Borgatti, S.P., Everett, M.G. and Freeman, L.C. 2002. *Ucinet for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies.

Among all Chinese self-employed businesses, the *purchasing group* is the patent for Chinese clothing stores. The investigation shows that the *purchasing group* does not exist in other types of Chinese self-employed business. For instance, the investigation of Chinese hundred-peseta stores shows that the owners buy products from Chinese warehouses alone and there exists no *purchasing groups* like Chinese clothing stores have.

As commented in previous chapter of the advantages of *purchasing group*, the buyers within the group could have better discount, less business risk, lower transportation fees and so forth, but why the Chinese hundred-peseta stores refuse the *purchasing group*? First of all, features of Chinese hundred-peseta stores should be the first concern in this case and then we could compare Chinese clothing stores with Chinese hundred-peseta stores to figure out the proposed question.

According to the investigation, the most important reason lies in their different business characters. Chinese hundred-peseta stores are all selling very similar household products which makes them not necessarily to have guidance of fashion. As commented in the chapter about hundred-peseta stores, its business strategy is to have as many options as possible to facilitate the clients and therefore their selling items do not necessarily to be great amount. Hundred-peseta store doesn't need to store many products of the same kind, they buy only some products of one kind when they are sold out, and the variety is their most important concern.

Another reason is Chinese warehouses for hundred-peseta stores are located in many Spanish major cities, this makes it very convenient for hundred-peseta store owners to do bulk purchase in nearby Chinese warehouse district instead of going to Madrid or Barcelona. Chinese hundred-peseta store owners go very often to Chinese warehouse district and their mini vans are ideal for the transportation.

Besides *purchasing group* for clothing stores, during the investigation for Chinese warehouses, it is found that some Chinese warehouses are organizing bulk purchase in China as well. It is similar to *purchasing group* of Chinese clothing stores. The

warehouse owners go together to clothes factories in China for making orders, and the intention of doing this is the same as clothing store owners, for having more favorable price and lowering the cost of the business.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the study of secondary data, it is found that there are 207,593 officially registered Chinese immigrants in Spain by the year of 2017. Most of them choose to stay in major Spanish cities for the density of major cities' population and business environment and opportunities, and due to this reason in the Region of Murcia, there are no more than 5,000 Chinese immigrants¹¹⁹. Chinese immigrants constitute the only group which has been growing during the current economic crisis, even though Hervás (2015) commented that the number of Chinese immigrants has been reduced due to the economic crisis¹²⁰. This surprising development may be related with the fact that it is, without any doubt, the collective among non-EU immigrants with the highest rate of self-employed.

The investigation shows that the group of Chinese immigrants stands out by a high level of self-employed, compared to other national groups of immigrants. According to the document "Membership in Social Security System"¹²¹ from April 2017 there are at all re 97.685 registered Chinese people working officially in Spain. Less than the half (46.259) are wage-earners and some work in special contracts in agriculture, households or on the sea. This means that more than the half of this national group are self-employed. The document speaks of no less than 51.426 Chinese nationals, registered as self-employed.

To carry out the research of the origins of Chinese immigrants in Spain, *Qiao Xiang* is an important concept. The data shows that most Chinese immigrants in Spain come from Zhejiang province, Qingtian county more specifically, therefore Qingtian county is supposed to be the most important *Qiao Xiang* for Chinese immigrants who

¹¹⁹ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística: The distribution of Chinese immigrants in Spanish provinces in the year 2015.

¹²⁰ La crisis económica también ha afectado a la comunidad china y se han cerrado varios establecimientos, especialmente tiendas de alimentación. Esto, unido a las mejoras que se han realizado en China y las oportunidades de negocio que han surgido allí, hace que estemos ante un movimiento migratorio en el que muchos chinos están volviendo a su lugar de origen.

(The economic crisis has also affected the Chinese community and several establishments have been closed, especially food stores. This, together with the improvements that have been realized in China and the business opportunities that have arisen there, make us face a migration movement in which many Chinese are returning to their place of origin).

¹²¹ Afiliación de extranjeros Seguridad Social. Abril 2017. Madrid: Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, pp. 14.

migrated to Spain. Besides immigrants from Zhejiang province, Chinese immigrants from Fujian consist the second largest group. And the investigation of Chinese immigrants' social network explained how Chinese immigrants' social capital work out among them and how Chinese immigrants help each other to realize their migration purpose.

After Chinese immigrants migrated to the host country, since the external environment changes completely, they gradually formed new social and economic relations among themselves, which I call it 'ethnic group' of Chinese immigrants. The 'ethnic group' is naturally formed under certain social and economic conditions in the host country, it's created by both Chinese immigrants and host society. The concept of 'ethnic group' is crucial for us to understand how Spanish people perceive Chinese immigrants as a whole group without differentiating different Chinese ethnic groups, and how Chinese immigrants in Spain differentiate themselves from one to the other.

Besides the differences among different sub ethnic groups of Chinese immigrants, it is also revealed that in the research among Chinese immigrants, there are three different types of wage-earners whose background, working condition, pursuit and social networks are very different from one to the other. For instance, Chinese students who graduate from Spanish university have different social network and perspective of work compare to common Chinese wage-earners who could not have opportunity to find decent job and are eager to be self-employed.

Referring to our ongoing empirical study about Chinese immigrants we analysed the case of Chinese wage-earners and self-employed with the approach about the life-mode of wage-earners and self-employed which were developed in the frame of the life-mode analysis. We conclude that the investigation of life-modes of Chinese wage-earners and self-employed Chinese immigrants in Spain coincides with life-mode theory carried out by researchers¹²², and it is the continuation of the study of life-mode theory and practice in Spain after the studies carried out by Schriewer (2012), Cayuela

¹²² Most important introductions to Life-Mode Theory are: Højrup, Thomas (2003): *State, Culture and Life-Modes*, Aldershot, Ashgate; Schriewer, Klaus (1993): *Die strukturelle Lebens form analyse*, Marburg, AVK.

Sánchez (2013, 2014, 2015) and López Martínez (2012, 2015). However, in the investigation it's found that in Chinese immigrants' case, there are some characters which are different from the previous studies. Chinese wage-earners are very eager to become self-employed is one of the most distinct character, and because of their network and the culture of strong family bond, to start a small business is not that difficult for them. In this work we tried to present some arguments which explain this cultural pattern and economic strategy.

Chinese immigrants in Spain are full of enthusiasm about having their own business rather than working for others, and according to the life-mode theory, they prefer to be self-employed people rather than being wage-earners so to speak. The reasons for having this inclination of being self-employed are various, most of all they are tightly linked to the features of self-employed life-mode. For instance, as we commented before, subjectively speaking they feel they have more freedom being self-employed people, besides they can always spend time with their family and could have better income to a certain extent. On the other hand, objectively speaking because of their language skills and professional, they are limited to integrate into the local companies, so as Morokvasic (1987) commented in the study of the immigrants working in the Parisian garment industry: *“serves the timely reminder that, for those not gain fully or advantageously employed, self-employment is merely a means of survival, a disguised unemployment”*. Therefore self-employed life-mode is practically the best choice for Chinese immigrants.

The life-mode theory also contextualizes the reason why self-employed store-owners work longer than wage-earners. The basic reason is related with the missing distinction between 'working time' and 'free time' among self-employed and their concept of activity and independent work. This general frame of the life-mode of self-employed to accept long working days is strengthened by a pattern that characterises Chinese culture in general. On the one hand the concept of work handed down from socially mobile Chinese society and on the other hand the strong idea of family bonds. As a result, the phenomenon of long working hours among Chinese self-employed is influenced by multiple aspects, especially the fact that the use of work is the most

important mean for self-employed. The general Chinese culture, types of stores, demands of clients and Chinese culture are further aspects to take into account.

The empirical study shows that Chinese immigrants' traditional businesses are mainly concentrated in Chinese restaurant, hundred-peseta store, candy shop and clothing store. Nowadays Chinese immigrants' businesses have extended in many aspects, import and export business, tourism, beauty industry (nail art), mobile industry, logistics industry and even in agriculture. In the respect of Chinese immigrants' businesses, it's introduced family enterprise definition to find out if Chinese immigrants businesses conform the criteria of being family enterprise. It's found that according to the definition of family enterprise, in some respect the family enterprise concept suits Chinese immigrants' businesses. However the empirical study shows different conclusion: 70% interviewees of Chinese immigrants denied their business as family enterprise, and all of these 70% interviewees are man and wife shop owners who have less than 3 employees. Therefore self-employed life-mode theory also works as the alternative way in the respect of economic anthropology.

Business management and strategies as important part of economic anthropology, for Chinese self-employed immigrants, their business life is as important as their daily life. In most cases, their business life and their daily life are fused with each other, therefore to investigate Chinese immigrants' self-employed business life is another important aspect for this research. According to different types of Chinese immigrants' self-employed businesses, different management methods and strategies are adopted, and the details have been argued in the result part of the research.

Under the frame of migrants' transnational life and network theory, according to the investigation this research revealed as well how Chinese immigrants realize their transnational life and live both in their home county and the host country. With the help of the modern technologies and international logistics to realize transnational life is becoming much easier than before. The investigation shows that Chinese immigrants in Spain are having much better transnational life compare to other migrant groups, because they could not only have great various types of Chinese food, drinks, cooking sauces, Chinese vegetables and to name a few, but also they have Chinese language

school for Chinese children, Chinese law and accounting office, Chinese travel agencies and even hospitals for traditional Chinese medicine.

The research on Chinese immigrants' transnational life leads us to the research of the transnational network and transnational business between China and Spain. Chinese immigrants' transnational network is a part of Chinese immigrants' network, which based on strong family ties and transnational family network between the home country and the host country. Transnational business is mutual business between China and Spain, to carry out the transnational life in Spain, Chinese immigrants need to import Chinese products from China, at the same time some of Chinese immigrants are exporting Spanish products to China.

The concept of transnational business leads to the concept of 'ethnic business'. It's found that there exists business only among Chinese immigrants, which I call it 'ethnic business'. The phenomenon of 'ethnic business' and 'ethnic service' is not new to migrant study, however in Chinese case, they fully take the advantage of Chinese manufacture advantage of low price products and carry out the 'ethnic business' among themselves much deeper and wider.

Chinese immigrants' social and business network is the main objective for this research. Throughout abundant investigation and fieldwork, we found the connection among Chinese immigrants known as *Guanxi* has profound influence to Chinese immigrants' social and business network, in this research it is carried out the objective of how Chinese immigrants interact with each other. As stated, family tie is always the strongest, in the empirical study, it's not easy to find Chinese immigrants who are living in Spain alone, they always have family members living in Spain even though they are not living in the same city.

In the economic respect it is revealed how Chinese immigrants get help from family members to start their own business, or they get help from friends who have closer relationship (*Guanxi*). The mentioned help is considered as a favour which is called *Renqing* in Chinese context, and *Renqing* has to be returned in most cases. The returning favour could be in same way back or in another way, and they always follow the '*Renqing* Rules'. How '*Renqing* Rules' work out among 'benefactor' and

‘beneficiary’ is another important objective carried out in the research.

Chinese business network has its characteristics which are different from other migrants, the investigation of ethnic business network and service revealed how business carried out only among Chinese immigrants. The investigation of the network of Chinese clothing store revealed among clothing stores for saving cost and have better discount from Chinese warehouse, therefore *purchasing group* is formed, and the reason why *purchasing group* exist only among clothing stores lies in the unique character of Chinese clothing store.

The integration situation to the host country is not optimistic, as written in Spanish newspaper¹²³, besides enormous culture differences, language difficulty restricts the communication. Fortunately young Chinese generation integrate much better than their parents, they dominate Spanish language and receive better education. Young Chinese generation have different thoughts and inclination of their future career, many of them don’t want to step into the old fashion way; they are keen on new ideas of business or looking for a good job in Spanish companies or large scale Chinese international companies. Besides doing the investigation of Chinese immigrants, young Chinese generation are observed as a special group for they indicate the future of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

¹²³ ‘Las diferencias culturales son enormes y por eso no suelen relacionarse con españoles, como sí ocurre con otros grupos de inmigrantes’ (Hervás, 2015).

(The cultural differences are enormous and that's why they do not usually relate to Spaniards, as it does to other immigrant groups)

RESUMEN

La comunidad china es cada vez más visible en la sociedad española. De hecho, desde que comenzó la crisis, el número de inmigrantes en España está cayendo año tras año, sin embargo, los datos muestran que la inmigración china es una excepción. Amén de las cifras, también nos llamó la atención el hecho de que, por lo visto, entre la población inmigrante china, el porcentaje de autónomos es mucho mayor comparado con los inmigrantes de otros países.

Los datos estadísticos muestran que el fenómeno de la inmigración china en España ha cambiado en los últimos 20 años. Los datos de los inmigrantes chinos en España ofrecidos por el Instituto Nacional de Estadística muestran que a pesar de la crisis económica que comenzó en el año 2008, el número de chinos registrados como residentes en el país superaban los 177.000 en el año 2012. No obstante, esta cifra no incluye ni aquellas personas provenientes de otras comunidades inmigrantes fuera de China, ni los ciudadanos españoles de origen chino, ni aquellos que no figuran en el registro oficial. En el 2015, la comunidad china se encontraba en segundo lugar en número de residentes, entre los inmigrantes no comunitarios, solo por detrás de la marroquí. Las cifras han seguido creciendo, alcanzando, en el año 2017, los 207.593 inmigrantes chinos residiendo en el país¹²⁴.

La mayoría de ellos eligen quedarse en las principales ciudades españolas como Madrid, Barcelona y Valencia para conocer la densidad de la población y el entorno y las oportunidades comerciales de las grandes ciudades, por este motivo en la Región de Murcia no hay más de 5.000 inmigrantes chinos¹²⁵.

Este artículo trata sobre aquellos inmigrantes de origen asiático que se preguntan sobre cuáles son los rasgos culturales propios de los inmigrantes chinos, que les permite aguantar en un entorno desconocido, con diferencias socioculturales y, además, en tiempos de dificultad económica. Dicho documento muestra ciertos resultados del

¹²⁴ Datos del Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

¹²⁵ Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística: The distribution of Chinese immigrants in Spanish provinces in the year 2015.

estudio en curso sobre la inmigración china en Murcia. Sin embargo, por cuestiones de espacio, nos es imposible tener en cuenta los distintos aspectos que pueden influir al respecto, tales como el aprendizaje del idioma o la adaptación a la cultura española.

Con el fin de poder tratar los objetivos, en la primera parte, State of The Art, el trabajo comenzará con un resumen sobre la inmigración china en España y en Murcia. Con el objetivo de poder analizar dichos patrones culturales, es conveniente echar un vistazo a las herramientas teóricas que estamos empleando para analizar a los autónomos chinos: el concepto del “Modo de Vida de Autónomo” desarrollado en el “Life-Mode Analysis” (Análisis de modo de vida) por el danés Thomas Højrup y otros. Esta teoría, desarrollada principalmente en Escandinavia durante las últimas décadas, es concebida como un desarrollo de los elementos científicos del pensamiento teórico marxista, y especialmente del concepto “Modo de producción” y “Formación social” (entendido como el complejo social de distintos modos de producción coexistentes)¹²⁶. En este caso en concreto, el concepto de “Producción mercantil simple” y el relacionado concepto de “Modo de vida del autónomo”, nos permiten comprender a este grupo inmigrante¹²⁷.

La cultura del trabajo mencionada se puede explicar comparándola con el modo de vida de las personas asalariadas: La vida diaria de los trabajadores asalariados se divide en “tiempo de trabajo” y “tiempo libre”. Como el tiempo de trabajo se vende al empleador y por tanto dicho trabajador tiene que realizar las tareas que se le asignen, quedando bajo las directrices de terceros. Por lo tanto, el tiempo fuera del horario de trabajo se puede percibir como tiempo libre, que es, tal y como la propia palabra indica, lo contrario al tiempo ocupado. Por consiguiente, ese tiempo libre es el principal objetivo en el modo de vida de un trabajador asalariado. “Life-Mode Analysis” trabaja

¹²⁶ Las obras más importantes de la “Teoría del modo de vida” son: HØJRUP, Thomas: *State, Culture and Life-Modes*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003. SCHRIEWER, Klaus: *Die strukturelle Lebens form analyse*, Marburg, AVK, 1993.

¹²⁷ SCHRIEWER, Klaus; CAYUELA SÁNCHEZ, Salvador: “La cultura de los ‘trabajadores’ autónomos”, en: *Sociología del trabajo*, nº 90, impreso. Un detallado análisis del “Modo de producción” y “Modo de vida” aplicado a la pesca es: MONRAD HANSEN, Kirsten: “La producción mercantil simple y el modo de vida del trabajador autónomo – Una cultura de importancia para la industria pesquera costera”, en: SCHRIEWER, Klaus; HØJRUP, Thomas: *European Fisheries at a Tipping-Point/La Pesca Europea ante un Cambio Irreversible*, Murcia, Editum, 2012, pp 135-171.

con la hipótesis de que, en el modo de vida de un autónomo, el concepto de “trabajo” y el de “tiempo libre” no son antagónicos. Tal y como Højrup sostiene (Højrup, 2003: 127), este modo de vida no opone el trabajo al tiempo libre puesto que ambos están unidos bajo un mismo concepto denominado “actividad”.

Por otro lado, el concepto de transnacional, redes sociales y antropología económica sobre el debate de la empresa familiar también fue presentado en el primer capítulo. En el segundo capítulo se comenta los objetivos del estudio y el tercer capítulo la metodología. El trabajo de campo de las entrevistas y los estudios de caso se llevaron a cabo en la ciudad de Murcia, entre la población inmigrante china, tanto autónomos como asalariados.

La segunda parte presenta los resultados del estudio, mientras que en el cuarto capítulo, basándonos en el marco teórico y antropológico del “Life-Mode Analysis” (análisis de los modos de vida), la metodología de datos secundarios y el trabajo de campo, siendo el principal objetivo de este estudio el mostrar el modo de vida de los inmigrantes chinos, y tanto el modo de vida del asalariado como el modo de vida del autónomo. En el estudio, mostramos los tipos diferentes de negocios pequeños de los inmigrantes chinos y las características de cada uno de ellos.

En esta parte nos centraremos en dos importantes cuestiones que están relacionadas con este tema: la cuestión de por qué un alto porcentaje de los ciudadanos chinos en España decide hacerse autónomo, y la cuestión de por qué los ciudadanos chinos propietarios de tiendas deciden imponerse jornadas laborales considerablemente más largas que las del resto de grupos sociales.

El segundo objetivo principal es el estudio de las redes social y comercial (network study) de los inmigrantes chinos, cuyo resultado se comenta en el quinto capítulo del estudio. Solucionamos la cuestión de cómo sus redes social y comercial funcionan entre los inmigrantes chinos. El estudio transnacional de inmigrantes chinos incluye la vida transnacional, redes transnacionales y negocios transnacionales, pues es una parte importante para conocer la vida transnacional de los inmigrantes chinos.

El sexto capítulo es sobre el estudio de redes comerciales entre tiendas de ropa de los inmigrantes chinos, en el que también presento el concepto *purchasing group* (grupo de compras) y *opinion leader* (líder de opinión), explicando cómo funciona el *purchasing group* entre las tiendas de ropas de los chinos. También, explicamos por qué el *purchasing group* existe solo entre las tiendas de ropas. Según los datos adquiridos en la investigación, el programa UCINET® nos ha permitido dar forma a la matriz y llegar a realizar el gráfico de redes comerciales de las tiendas de ropas.

CONCLUSIONES

Para llevar a cabo la investigación de los orígenes de los inmigrantes chinos en España, *Qiao Xiang* es un concepto importante. De hecho, los datos muestran que la mayoría de los inmigrantes chinos en España provienen de la provincia de Zhejiang, condado de Qingtian más específicamente, por lo tanto se supone que el condado de Qingtian es el más importante *Qiao Xiang* para inmigrantes chinos que emigraron a España. Además de los inmigrantes de la provincia de Zhejiang, los inmigrantes chinos de Fujian constituyen el segundo grupo más grande. Y la investigación de la red social de inmigrantes chinos explicó cómo el capital social de los inmigrantes chinos funciona entre ellos y cómo los inmigrantes chinos se ayudan mutuamente para realizar su propósito de migración.

Después de que los inmigrantes chinos migraron al país de acogida, y dado que el entorno externo cambia por completo, gradualmente formaron nuevas relaciones sociales y económicas entre ellos, lo que yo llamo "grupo étnico" de inmigrantes chinos. El "grupo étnico" se forma naturalmente bajo ciertas condiciones sociales y económicas en el país de acogida, y es creado tanto por inmigrantes chinos como por la sociedad de acogida. El concepto de "grupo étnico" es crucial para que comprendamos cómo los españoles perciben a los inmigrantes chinos como un grupo completo sin diferenciar a los diferentes grupos étnicos chinos, y cómo los inmigrantes chinos en España se diferencian de uno a otro.

Los inmigrantes chinos en España están llenos de entusiasmo por tener su propio negocio en lugar de trabajar para otros. La comunidad inmigrante china destaca por su alto número de autónomos comparado con comunidades inmigrantes de otros países. Según el documento “Afiliación de extranjeros Seguridad Social”¹²⁸ de 2017, hay 97.685 ciudadanos chinos registrados y trabajando oficialmente en España. Menos de la mitad (46.259) son trabajadores asalariados y unos pocos trabajan con contratos especiales en el ámbito de la agricultura, el hogar o en la pesca. Esto quiere decir que más de la mitad son autónomos. En el documento consta que hay más de 51.426 ciudadanos chinos registrados como autónomos.

Los inmigrantes chinos se hacen autónomos tanto por factores estructurales relacionadas con la situación económica y política como por cuestiones culturales de China y España. Dejando a un lado estos factores relativos a cultura y las condiciones en China, el estudio muestra que existen ventajas objetivas para la población de dicho país a la hora de hacerse autónomos en España, y en cierta medida existen también desventajas a la hora de ser asalariados. Por un lado, es difícil para los inmigrantes chinos llegar a trabajar en una empresa española. Solo un número reducido de ellos encuentra trabajo en empresas locales por las limitaciones idiomáticas, ya que pertenecen a familias lingüísticas completamente diferentes, pero también debido a los distintos bagajes culturales. La mayoría de los asalariados chinos solo tienen la posibilidad de trabajar para autónomos de su mismo origen. Sin embargo, en muchos casos, no están dispuestos a trabajar para estos empresarios ya que por lo general tienen que trabajar más duro y más horas por un sueldo más bajo y sin seguro.

Esta idea destaca en una de las notas de campo de un entrevistado en Murcia que comentó:

“Siempre es mejor tener tu propio negocio que trabajar para otros, eres libre cuando trabajas para ti mismo, puedes tener mejores ingresos y lo que es más

¹²⁸ Afiliación de extranjeros Seguridad Social. Abril 2017. Madrid: Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, pp. 14.

importante, puedes estar con tu familia mientras trabajas”¹²⁹.

En cuanto a nuestro estudio empírico en curso sobre inmigrantes autónomos chinos, podríamos proponer que se analizara el caso de estos autónomos con el enfoque del “Modo de vida del autónomo” desarrollado en el marco del “Life-Mode Analysis”. La investigación indica que los casos de inmigrantes chinos corresponde con la teoría “Life-Mode Analysis”, que los autónomos chinos en España tampoco distinguen entre “tiempo de trabajo” y “tiempo libre”, y por su concepto de “actividad” y “trabajo independiente”.

Esta teoría pone en contexto la razón por la que los propietarios de tiendas trabajan más horas que los asalariados. La razón básica guarda relación con la no distinción entre “tiempo de trabajo” y “tiempo libre” por parte de los autónomos, y por su concepto de “actividad” y “trabajo independiente”. El fenómeno se ve afectado por numerosos aspectos, especialmente por el hecho de que el trabajo es la herramienta más importante para un autónomo. La cultura general china, los tipos de negocios y la demanda por parte de los clientes son otros aspectos a tener en cuenta.

Los inmigrantes chinos entienden que la “libertad” que les otorga el ser propietarios de una tienda tiene su precio. Esta puede ser una de las principales razones para llevar su día de trabajo de forma positiva, disfrutando de su libre e independiente trabajo. Por tanto, incluso si trabajan más horas que un asalariado, están dispuestos a aceptarlo.

El estudio empírico indica que los negocios típicos de inmigrantes chinos concentrado principalmente en el restaurante chino, tienda de todo cien (cien pesetas), tienda de golosinas y tienda de ropa. Con respecto al estudio de antropología económica, introducimos el concepto de empresa familiar para averiguar si las empresas de inmigrantes chinos cumplen los criterios para ser una empresa de este tipo. Se ha descubierto que, de acuerdo con la definición de empresa familiar, en cierto sentido, el concepto de empresa familiar se adapta a las empresas de inmigrantes chinos. Sin

¹²⁹ Entrevista al dueño de un “Todo a Cien” en Murcia, SE 014, 45 años.

embargo, el estudio empírico muestra una conclusión diferente: el 70% de los entrevistados inmigrantes chinos negaron su negocio como empresa familiar, y todos estos 70% de entrevistados son propietarios de tiendas de hombre y mujerer que tienen menos de 3 empleados. Por lo tanto, la teoría del modo de vida por cuenta propia también funciona como la forma alternativa respecto a la antropología económica.

La gestión empresarial y las estrategias como parte importante de la antropología económica, para los autónomos chinos, su vida empresarial es tan importante como su vida cotidiana. En la mayoría de los casos, su vida comercial y su vida cotidiana se fusionan entre sí y, por lo tanto, investigar la vida empresarial de los autónomos chinos es otro aspecto importante de esta investigación. Según los diferentes tipos de negocios de inmigrantes chinos, se adoptan diferentes métodos y estrategias de gestión, y los detalles se han argumentado en el resultado de la investigación.

La investigación sobre inmigrantes chinos en el marco de la vida transnacional y la teoría de redes de migrantes, según la investigación, reveló también cómo los inmigrantes chinos viven tanto en su país de origen como en el país anfitrión con la ayuda de las tecnologías modernas y la conveniencia del transporte. La vida transnacional nos lleva a la investigación de la red transnacional y los negocios transnacionales entre China y España.

El estudio de la red social y comercial de inmigrantes chinos es otro objetivo principal de esta investigación. A lo largo de una abundante investigación y trabajo de campo, encontramos que las conexiones entre inmigrantes chinos conocidos como *Guanxi* tienen una profunda influencia en la red social y comercial de inmigrantes chinos. Con el objetivo de cómo los inmigrantes chinos interactúan entre sí, y en el aspecto económico se revela cómo obtienen ayuda de los miembros de la familia para iniciar su propio negocio. Cómo funciona '*Reglas de Renqing*' entre 'benefactor' y 'beneficiario' es otro objetivo importante llevado a cabo en la investigación.

Como resultado, podemos afirmar que la red comercial china tiene sus características, que son diferentes de otros migrantes. La investigación de la red y el

servicio de negocios étnicos reveló cómo los negocios se llevaron a cabo entre los propios inmigrantes chinos. La investigación de la red de tiendas de ropa se evidenció entre las tiendas de ropa para ahorrar costos y tener un mejor descuento del almacén chino, se forma el *grupo de compras*, y la razón por la cual el *grupo de compras* existe solo entre tiendas de ropa es por el carácter único de la tienda de ropa china .

La situación de integración con el país de acogida no es optimista, como se escribe en un periódico español¹³⁰, pues además de las enormes diferencias culturales, la dificultad de idioma restringe la comunicación. Afortunadamente, la generación china joven se integra mucho mejor que sus padres, domina el idioma español y recibe una mejor educación. La joven generación china tiene diferentes pensamientos e inclinaciones sobre su futura carrera, muchos de ellos no quieren prosperar a la vieja usanza, están interesados en nuevas ideas de negocios o buscan un buen trabajo en empresas españolas e internacionales chinos a gran escala.

¹³⁰ Las diferencias culturales son enormes y por eso no suelen relacionarse con españoles, como sí ocurre con otros grupos de inmigrantes (Hervás, 2015).

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