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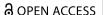
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Legacy communal family systems in entrepreneurship: a migrant entrepreneurship phenomenon in Europe

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ABSTRACT

Research identifies universal entrepreneurship peculiarities, but how legacy communal family systems impact migrant entrepreneurs has remained esoteric. Accordingly, we introduce an overlapping entrepreneurial action-migrant entrepreneurship theoretical interface to examine 1,284 European and sub-Saharan African entrepreneurs. Compared with a European entrepreneur's nuclear family mindset, regression results reveal that a legacy communal family mindset of belonging and obligation to serve society influences a sub-Saharan African migrant entrepreneur's behaviour, values, and entrepreneurship practice in a European setup. In this context, a legacy communal family system attributable to a migrant entrepreneur's country of -origin underlies their entrepreneurial cognitive processes. This understanding contributes theoretical perspectives to account for how a sub-Saharan African migrant entrepreneur's ingrained legacy communal family mindset does not decay irrespective of their circumstances. It also contributes knowledge, clarifying the prolonged impact of traditional socio-business philosophies in migrant entrepreneurship with academic, business, policy, and social implications.

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Migrant entrepreneurship; legacy communal family system; entrepreneurial action; behaviour; entrepreneurial practice; Europe

Introduction

Existing entrepreneurship studies describe various factors that influence entrepreneurial action and behaviour (Alstete 2002; Robinson et al. 1991). Much of this research identifies environmental conditions (McMullen and Shepherd 2006; Meek, Pacheco, and York 2010; Tounés and Tornikoski 2024), entrepreneurial orientation (Sakari Soininen et al. 2013), and individual characteristics (Liñán, Jaén, and Domínguez–Quintero 2024) as the main factors impacting entrepreneurial action and behaviour (also see Ajzen 1991; Ivanova and Tornikoski 2024). While this offers a taxonomy of classical entrepreneurial action and behaviour triggers (Kuvshinikov and Kuvshinikov 2024; Maâlej and Cabagnols 2020), insights into the interplay of culturally- and socially- embedded legacy communal family systems, behaviour, values, and the entrepreneurship practices they promote among migrant entrepreneurs have remained esoteric (cf., Ram, Jones, and Villares–Varela 2017; Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024).

From that perspective, and considering the importance of migrant entrepreneurship (Aliaga–Isla and Rialp 2013; Aluko, Siwale, and Simba 2020; Dabić et al. 2020; Fairlie and Lofstrom 2015),

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we focus on Nigerian and Zimbabwean entrepreneurs in France and the UK. The overarching goal of this study is to develop theoretical interpretations and perspectives elaborating legacy communal family systems, particularly their impact on the entrepreneurial cognitive processes of migrant entrepreneurs in a European setup. The legacy communal family systems, which we focus on in this study, represent strong emotional bonds and a sense of belonging, where individual needs are balanced with the needs of the collective. Insights into how legacy communal family systems militate against migrant entrepreneurship exact our understanding of migrant entrepreneurs' behaviour, values, and entrepreneurship practise (cf. Simba et al. 2024). Consistent with our research endeavours, we draw upon a comprehensive entrepreneurial action—migrant entrepreneurship theoretical interface to underpin our conceptualization of legacy communal family systems in migrant entrepreneurship (cf. Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024). To that end, the following integrated question guides our inquiry: What mechanisms underlie legacy communal family systems in migrant entrepreneurship, and how do they connect with the behaviour, values, and entrepreneurship practices of migrant entrepreneurs in a European country?

The originality and value of this research lie in our theory–phenomenon approach. At the entrepreneurial action-migrant entrepreneurship nexus lie traditional socio-business philosophies and migrant entrepreneurship dynamics that are often difficult to discern at the surface due to their cultural and social embeddedness. Arguably, using this theoretical entrepreneurial action-migrant entrepreneurship interface induces rare and frequently misunderstood behaviour, values, and entrepreneurial practices. Accordingly, our focus on France and UK research settings, featuring nuclear (liberal) family systems (Baycan–Levent and Nijkamp 2009), engenders unique and rich entrepreneurial actions and behaviour perspectives inherent at the entrepreneurial action–migrant entrepreneurship intersection. Such knowledge advances entrepreneurship research in the following significant ways.

First, conceptualizing legacy communal family systems' prolonged impact on a sub-Saharan African migrant entrepreneur's actions and behaviour in a European business landscape extends the theoretical reach of entrepreneurial action theory (Townsend et al. 2018). In some ways, this phenomenon–theory intersection incorporates traditional socio-business philosophies into entrepreneurship to amplify the concepts of entrepreneurial actions and behaviour. Moreover, and contrary to research suggesting that with exposure to new conditions a migrant entrepreneur's country-of-origin entrepreneurial cognitive process decays (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024), this study contributes empirical observations confirming that legacy communal family systems of belonging and obligation to society endure and influence behaviour, values, and entrepreneurship practice regardless of a migrant entrepreneur's geographical location (cf., Foner 2024; Ojo 2013; Simba et al. 2024; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018).

Second, the findings of this research contribute theoretical perspectives that define the mechanisms underlying migrant entrepreneurs' cognitive processes in a host nation. They contribute new theoretical interpretations and perspectives derived at the entrepreneurial action-migrant entrepreneurship nexus to elaborate on how migrant entrepreneurs from sub-Saharan Africa not only preserve their country-of-origin identities but project them through their entrepreneurial actions and behaviour, despite exposure to varied relational systems in a new entrepreneurial landscape (cf., Foner 1997, 2024). Thus, contributing deep and penetrating insights into the essence of legacy communal family systems in entrepreneurship.

Third, the theoretical interpretations, perspectives, and our findings have academic, policy, and social implications. Our overlapping entrepreneurial action–migrant entrepreneurship interface encourages future studies to consider its replicability in other entrepreneurial territories (Nosek et al. 2022). Policy institutions are challenged to initiate social and business reforms to support migrant entrepreneurs as well as tap into their potential contributions to their host nations' economies (Fairlie and Lofstrom 2015). Such support can also be the springboard to a migrant entrepreneur's social integration in their host nation.



After the introduction, the rest of the paper is structured as follows: the next section details a theoretical argument derived at the intersection of entrepreneurial action and migrant entrepreneurship. Thereafter, we develop hypotheses to advance theoretical explanations and perspectives grounded in our entrepreneurial action–migrant entrepreneurship interface. A robust methodology and analysis of our findings follow this. The discussion section, which positions our argument in the broader debate on migrant entrepreneurship, action, and behaviour, precedes a conclusion section which highlights the key points of our study.

Theoretical argument

Mainstream entrepreneurship research tends to emphasize a rigid taxonomy of behaviour and traits it identifies with a classical entrepreneur (Kuvshinikov and Kuvshinikov 2024; Littunen 2000; Timmons 1978). Within this debate, the role of social systems, including communal family systems, has largely been overlooked (Foner 2024; Madichie, Nkamnebe, and Idemobi 2008). This has resulted in a lack of common understanding of how such systems manifest in migrant entrepreneurship among the research community and social commentators (Simba et al. 2024).

Nonetheless, with heightened migration and migrant entrepreneurship, the influence of communal family systems in entrepreneurship across numerous global regions can no longer be disregarded (Aldrich and Cliff 2003; Azmat and Fujimoto 2016). Notably, their impact on a migrant entrepreneur's actions, behaviour, values, and practices has economic consequences as migrant entrepreneurs are increasingly becoming serious contenders in global economics, not least in their host nations and country-of-origin (Aluko, Siwale, and Simba 2020; Dabić et al. 2020; Hagos, Izak, and Scott 2019; Nguyen Quoc, Nguyen Van, and Nguyen 2023; Sahin, Nijkamp, and Baycan–Levent 2007). Above all, the primary goal of an entrepreneur is to provide a service to society (Dodd, Anderson, and Jack 2021), which means entrepreneurship is conditioned on an entrepreneur's understanding of society.

Since the family is an essential institution in society (Todd 2019), we contend that family systems influence the understanding of society and an entrepreneur's entrepreneurial cognitive processes of actions and behaviour (Baron 1998). Therefore, considering the notable impact of migrant entrepreneurship on the world stage (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024), developing theoretical paradigms that depict the infusion of traditional socio-business philosophies into mainstream entrepreneurship must be a research priority (Simba et al. 2024). Thus, the introduction of a conceptual interface depicting a comprehensive entrepreneurial action–migrant entrepreneurship charts a novel pathway capable of integrating entrepreneurial cognitive processes of action and behaviour often embedded in traditional systems that are hard to detect at the surface and yet play a key role in how entrepreneurs relate to each other and their surroundings.

Hypotheses development

Based on our theoretical arguments, we develop hypotheses that advance a reasoned theoretical pathway elaborating the infusion of traditional socio-business philosophies into entrepreneurship. Our hypotheses are centred on a tapestry of legacy communal family systems and migrant entrepreneurs' actions (Alvarez and Barney 2007), behaviour (Ajzen 1991), values, and practices (Simba et al. 2024). In some way, we chart a novel frontier of theoretical interpretations and perspectives intersecting entrepreneurial action, behaviour, legacy communal family systems, and migrant entrepreneurship to advance research. Based on this integrated theoretical baseline, our conceptualizations go beyond the averages to clarify cultural and social mechanisms embedded in a migrant entrepreneur's entrepreneurial cognitive processes.

Legacy communal family systems for entrepreneurship

Existing scholarly research on entrepreneurship has yet to recognize the effects of traditional sociobusiness philosophies on entrepreneurial actions and behaviour (Chand and Ghorbani 2011; Ljungkvist, Evansluong, and Boers 2023). Yet they are essential to how migrant entrepreneurs organize their enterprises in their host countries (cf., Khurana, Ghura, and Dutta 2021; Simba et al. 2024; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). Notably, the influence of culturally- and socially-embedded ideologies, including family systems, on their entrepreneurial cognitive processes cannot be underestimated in mainstream entrepreneurship research. Prior studies (e.g. Chand and Ghorbani 2011; EstradaCruz, Verdújover, and GómezGras 2019; George and Zahra 2002; Kellermanns 2013) hint that such ideologies permeate economic and social life. Furthermore, recent scholarly works have provided further insights showcasing the relationship between culture, beliefs, environmental uncertainty, and entrepreneurship (Arend 2023; Foner 2024; Strauß, Greven, and Brettel 2021).

Therefore, and considering evidence suggesting that traditional socio-business philosophies have a connection with entrepreneurship (Darley and Blankson 2020; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018), it is conceivable that migrant entrepreneurs brought up in environments dominated by legacy communal family systems (Todd 2019) reflect this upbringing through their actions, behaviour, and beliefs in their enterprises (cf., Fox and Wade–Benzoni 2017; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). This is irrespective of where their enterprises are geographically located (cf, Simba et al. 2024). Hence, and as demanded by the folkways that form the pillars of their entrepreneurial cognitive processes (cf. Baron 1998; N. F. Krueger 2007), we contend that the ideals that remind them of their duty and obligation to serve their communities prevail regardless of their surroundings. Against that backdrop, we theorize that:

H1: The behaviour, cultural values, and social norms migrant entrepreneurs inherit via a legacy communal family system in their country-of-origin do not decay regardless of their geographical location.

Persisting country-of-origin systems in migrant entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship research treats family systems and entrepreneurship separately (Aldrich and Cliff 2003). Yet it is possible that, when a migrant engages in entrepreneurship in a host country due to circumstances beyond their control, their country-of-origin frames of reference, including cultural and social systems, remain active (Yang and Zhang 2023; Yetkin and Tunçalp 2023) influencing their entrepreneurial cognitive processes (Baron 1998). Research recognizes that cultural institutions and systems are deeply embedded in society and influence entrepreneurial behaviour and activity (Fritsch and Storey 2014; Omeihe et al. 2021; Yang and Zhang 2023).

Consistent with this, cultural theory explains that migrant groups maintain their country-of-origin habits related to dedication to hard work, community membership, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity, and loyalty (Calza, Cannavale, and Nadali 2020; Masurel, Nijkamp, and Vindigni 2004; Volery 2007). This view has a long history that dates back to Weber's ideas about how values connect with entrepreneurship (Weber 1930). Thus, based on these perspectives, we contend that a migrant entrepreneur's country-of-origin institutional and socio-economic characteristics play a crucial role in shaping their actions and behaviour in a host country (Brzozowski, Cucculelli, and Surdej 2014; Hayton and Cacciotti 2013). Accordingly, it is conceivable that such frames of reference form a core component of the cognitive processes they draw upon for entrepreneurship purposes in their host nation (see Stephan and Pathak 2016; Urbano, Aparicio, and Audretsch 2019).

Studies elsewhere acknowledge that entrepreneurial activities are irretrievably embedded in social and cultural norms that shape how an entrepreneur behaves in a society (Kleinhempel, Klasing, and Beugelsdijk 2023; N. Krueger, Liñán, and Nabi 2013; Todd 2019). Culture, social norms, and values in entrepreneurship underlie enduring beliefs, attitudes, and principles that guide entrepreneurial action and behaviour (Bojadjiev et al. 2023; Brownell et al. 2024). In that

context, we contend that legacy communal family systems advocating for belonging and obligation to serve society play a central role in influencing migrant entrepreneurs' perceptions, values, behaviour, cognition, and actions (Calza, Cannavale, and Nadali 2020; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018; Thurik and Dejardin 2011). Based on the research evidence we analysed above, including our reasoning and understanding, we offer the following three interrelated hypotheses:

H2: A migrant entrepreneur with a communal family mindset has a different perception of life from an entrepreneur with a nuclear family mindset.

H2a: Migrant entrepreneurs who place a higher value on family as an essential institution are highly likely to have a communal family mindset.

H2b: Migrant entrepreneurs who place higher importance on moral education (or virtue cultivation) in a child's education are likely to have a communal family mindset.

A communal family mindset in a host country

Research suggests that migrants from non-Western and non-English-speaking backgrounds mostly come from cultures that value collectivism, characterized by interdependence and harmonious blending within a community and family (Wali and Renzaho 2018). This communal system is dominated by individuals whose mindsets value belonging and obligation to serve the community instead of individual goals (Todd and Garrioch 1985). These individuals are interdependent within their in-group (family, tribe, and nation) and regard the goals of the in-group above their own (Triandis 2001). This configuration/structure varies somewhat from those brought up in the nuclear family setup of most Western societies, in which only the members of the immediate family matter more than the society (Wali and Renzaho 2018).

As previously stated, for many migrants from non-Western contexts, family and community values take precedence (Azmat and Fujimoto 2016; Wali and Renzaho 2018). Thus, we argue that the pervasiveness of their family and community-centred mentality transcends physical barriers and continues to inform how migrant entrepreneurs relate and interact with others in their host nations (see Abd Hamid, O'Kane, and Everett 2019; Simba et al. 2024; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). Indeed, existing research hints that the cultural dynamics, meanings, and symbols that migrants carry from their country-of-origin are critical in explaining a migrant entrepreneur's cognition (Hirschman and Mogford 2009; Kibria 1993; Min 1998; Oxfeld 1993). Cultural legacies, family structures, and social systems have a powerful influence on the patterns of behaviour that develop in a new setup (Foner 2014; Todd and Garrioch 1985). Existing research indicates that migrants seldom reproduce country-of-origin cultural patterns and behaviours as they establish their enterprises in their host nation (Hirschman 2013). Therefore, the influence of such behavioural patterns on migrant entrepreneurship cannot be underestimated (Foner 2024).

Considering the above, we contend that migrant entrepreneurs retain the core relational principles ingrained in their country-of-origin cultural patterns and behaviour (cf., Mafico et al. 2021). Embedded in multiple contexts, migrant entrepreneurs are likely to exemplify diverging entrepreneurial actions, values, ways of thinking, and behaviour (Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). For these individuals, cultural values will significantly impact entrepreneurial actions and orientation (Thornton, Ribeiro–Soriano, and Urbano 2011). Thus, their perceptions about society, family duties, authority, and obligation to society reflect a communal mindset and differ from those with a Western heritage (cf., Foner 2024). Against this backdrop, we theorize that:

H3: Migrant entrepreneurs with a communal mindset perceive their society differently from those with a nuclear family mindset.

H3a: Migrant entrepreneurs who value family duties will likely develop a communal family mindset.

H3b: Migrant entrepreneurs who value authority will likely develop a communal family mindset.

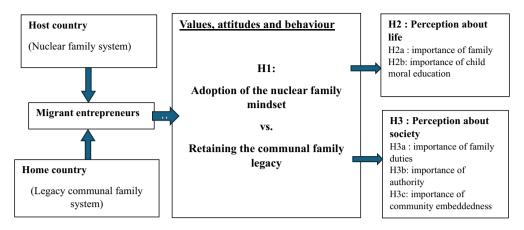


Figure 1. Conceptual model.

H3c: Migrant entrepreneurs who value community embeddedness will likely develop a communal family mindset.

Conceptual framework

Based on the theorizations we advance through our hypotheses, we formulate Figure 1 to illustrate their interconnectedness and relationships.

Methodology

Context

The issue of migration has been the subject of extensive debate in European politics and popular media. It has caused the rise of extreme political factions calling for restricted migration. Notwithstanding these polarized views, most countries in Europe generally welcome migrants, and over the years, people have migrated to the continent in search of better living standards. Some have found it hard to integrate culturally and socially, making it challenging to secure formal employment—a situation that has forced many to consider entrepreneurship (cf., Gittins, Lang, and Sass 2015). Against this backdrop, our motivation was to statistically investigate the European Values Survey (EVS) to understand their actions and behaviour as they engage in entrepreneurship to alleviate their hardships. Considering that the EVS is a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research programme collecting data on ideas, beliefs, preferences, attitudes, values, and opinions of people living in the Europe, it was deemed a suitable database to use for our study aimed at defining the depth and extent of the systems influencing the actions and behaviour of those migrants who take up entrepreneurship in their host nation. Consistent with that research endeavour, we utilized the 2017–2023 survey wave, covering 156,658 respondents born in more than 150 countries. From that large dataset, we focused on 1,284 European and sub-Saharan African entrepreneurs to investigate legacy communal family systems and their impact on the values, attitudes, actions, and behaviours of entrepreneurs who perceive European countries as their hosts.



Sampling frame procedures

In the EVS 2017, each national team relied on a probability-based design with sampling frames adapted to local conditions. Most countries drew samples from population registers (e.g. Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Sweden), while Belgium used its National Register, France relied on the electoral register, Spain drew from municipal registers, and the United Kingdom employed the Postcode Address File. Contact procedures followed standardized guidelines: respondents typically received an advance letter, followed by at least four personal visits scheduled at different times of day, including evenings and weekends; in countries with register-based frames, direct mail was complemented by in-person visits, while in Spain and Poland, random-route procedures required repeated contact attempts. Reported response rates varied across contexts: relatively high in Sweden (70%), Denmark (68%), Finland (67%), and Norway (66%); moderate in Croatia (60%), the Czech Republic (61%), Slovenia (62%), and the Netherlands (64%); and lower in countries such as Germany (42%), France (46%), Spain (44%), Italy (45%), Belgium (49%), and especially the United Kingdom (37%).

Operationalization of legacy communal vs. nuclear family system

Emmanuel Todd's typology of family systems provides a conceptual foundation for distinguishing between 'legacy communal' and 'nuclear' family structures. In Todd's framework, legacy communal systems are characterized by extended, multi-generational households and strong intergenerational obligations, whereas nuclear systems are defined by small, primarily conjugal households with limited ties beyond the immediate family.

In this study, the distinction was operationalized using a single, straightforward indicator: the number of persons living under the same roof. Households with a higher number of co-residing members were classified as indicative of legacy communal systems, while smaller households were classified as nuclear. The Mann–Whitney U (Wilcoxon) test we conducted shows the difference is highly significant. Validation of this measure relied on its alignment with Todd's theoretical framework and on empirical observation. Although no formal pilot tests or expert panels were conducted, the measure's face validity was considered sufficient because household size is widely recognized in Todd and Garrioch's work (1985) as a robust proxy for family system type.

The rationale was to compare the configurations of family systems for migrant and native entrepreneurs in European setup. Prior research confirms that France and the UK have a nuclear family system (Silva 2005). Their children leave home at puberty or adulthood to start their own families. Based on this family system, the values of freedom and independence are profound, and obligations to other family members are weak. There are often no extended family links with other relatives.

Zimbabwe and Nigeria have different structural configurations of family relations. Links with ascendants and extended family members are tight irrespective of location (cf. Simba et al. 2024). Family relationships are moulded into a legacy communal system often guided by the values of obligation, authority, and solidarity. Entrepreneurs with legacy communal values tend to enjoy dual social fields of both their host and home nations (Aluko, Siwale, and Simba 2020). For these entrepreneurs, cultural traits about family relationships are maintained (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024). They are often inherited vertically from parent to child and are regulated by social norms (Cavalli–Sforza and Feldman 1981). Using a combined Nigerian and Zimbabwean sample for this study enabled us to test how much the values guiding their behaviour, norms, and entrepreneurial practices differ from those of the British and French. Table 1 provides an overview of our sample based on place of birth and family system.

Our sample comprises 336 entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family system and 948 entrepreneurs aligned with a legacy communal family system. To gain deep insights into the constituents of our sample, which totalled 1,284, we used gender, age, level of education, and

Table 1. Sample overview based on place of birth and family system.

Place of birth	Number of respondents entrepreneurs	Family system
U.K.	283	Nuclear family
France	53	Nuclear family
Zimbabwe	364	Legacy communal family
Nigeria	584	Legacy communal family

Table 2. Distribution of the two sub-samples by gender, age, level of education, and income.

	Nuclear family	Legacy communal family	Test of association
% of women	44.64%	45.57%	Cramer's V = 0.0814
Age (in years)	50	36	Z = 15.206 (0.000)
High level of education	51.78%	7.17%	Z = 7.747 (0.000)
Level of income above the 5 th decile	43.77%	35.71%	Z = 8.406 (0.000)

income of entrepreneurs to show the distributions about nuclear and legacy communal family systems across our sample. The results are shown in Table 2.

Consistent with this, we conducted association tests to measure each variable's dependence on the sub-sample we considered. Using Cramer's V technique, we tested the dependence between gender—a nominal variable, and the family system—a binary variable. The result indicated that the association between the two variables is very weak. Furthermore, we conducted a Mann—Whitney rank—sum test to measure the association between age, level of education, and level of income, three ordinal variables, and the family system. The results revealed that entrepreneurs in our sample who were born in the two sub-Saharan African countries of Nigeria and Zimbabwe were young. Their education and income levels were markedly lower. Therefore, these results probably provide a window into the hardships that migrants who venture into Europe face.

Variables

Dependent variable

Our dependent variable, family system, is binary. It differentiates 336 entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family system and 948 entrepreneurs who originated from countries where the legacy communal family system dominates. Our tests above confirm that the system of the two subsamples is not significantly different in terms of gender. Moreover, entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family system are characterized by young migrants who are less educated and have low income levels.

Independent variables

The EVS dataset provides a broad range of questions covering diverse thematic categories such as perception of life, environment, work, family, politics and society, religion and morals, security, and science. Based on the aims of this study, the focus is on two thematic categories: perception of life and society. The responses provided by participants were measured using the Likert scale.

Perception of life

We retained two sub-categories that can influence how entrepreneurs manage their businesses. First, 'importance in life' measures the prominence of family, friends, politics, and work, as well as the freedom of choice and control in the mindset of entrepreneurs in the two sub-samples of legacy communal family systems and nucleus family systems we constructed. Second, 'child quality' enabled us to assess the importance of determination, perseverance, imagination, unselfishness, obedience, and hard work. Values are often inherited from parents. Therefore, measuring the values that the



identified entrepreneurs intend to instil in their children enabled the understanding of the values that drive them.

Perception of the society

This thematic category covers the most significant dimensions in the EVS. In the context of this study, it was essential to distinguish between issues relating to societal duties, possible societal changes, the place of competition between individuals, and the feeling of embeddedness in a community. The variables associated with these dimensions aided our understanding of the entrepreneurial mindset of each sub-sample of entrepreneurs. First, 'duties towards society' covers the importance of obligations towards value creation and family for entrepreneurs. It includes the following assertions:

- It is a duty towards society to have children.
- It is a duty to take care of ill parents.
- Work is a duty towards society.
- It is essential to make my parents proud.

Second, 'possible future changes' enhanced our understanding of how entrepreneurs envision the evolution of society. The EVS only retains the importance placed on work and respect for authority as the two dimensions of these 'possible future changes'. Third, the place of competition among people is beneficial or detrimental to society. Finally, embeddedness in a community determines the extent to which entrepreneurs feel close to their village or town in their home country and the world. Competition and variables associated with embeddedness enabled us to show the multi-dimensional nature of the opposition between individualism and communitarianism.

Control variables

As illustrated in Table 2, variables that include age distribution, education, and income levels of entrepreneurs are strongly associated with the family system that influences their actions and behaviour. Therefore, they are included in our regression analysis as control variables. However, the Kendall Tau coefficient (0.6951) between entrepreneurs' level of education and income meant that we can only retain age and education level.

The selection of these variables can be theoretically justified. Age represents the various life stages that systematically influence entrepreneurial motivations, risk tolerance, and value orientations (Levesque and Minniti 2006). Additionally, different age cohorts experience distinct historical, political, and economic contexts that shape fundamental values (Inglehart and Baker 2000). Migrant and native entrepreneurs may represent different generational cohorts, necessitating age controls to isolate migration-specific value differences. Education typically correlates with post-materialist values, individualism, and democratic orientations (Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Without educational controls, value differences might reflect educational attainment disparities rather than migration-specific cultural adaptations.

Model specification

Our analysis aims to pinpoint how a dominant family system in the entrepreneur's country-of-origin influences their values, behaviour, and attitudes. From an econometric perspective, we consider the extent to which the values and attitudes of an entrepreneur are predictors of their family system after controlling for variables.

Family system of the entrepreneur = f(values or attitudes, control variables)

This study employs probit regression analysis to examine the relationship between values, attitudes, and the dependent variable. The conceptual framework incorporates two primary

Table 3. Constructs reliability and validity.

	α	VIF	CR	AVE
Important in life	0.731	3.53	0.82	0.67
Child's quality	0.802	3.72	0.81	0.72
Duties towards society	0.758	3.29	0.85	0.63

Common Method Variance Assessment.

Harman's single-factor test: 41.2% (< 50% threshold).

Marker variable technique: Average correlation = .102.

dimensions of values and attitudes. The first dimension, 'perception of life', encompasses two constructs: 'important in life', and 'child's quality'. The second dimension, 'perception of society', comprises four constructs: 'duties towards society', 'possible future changes', 'competition', and 'embeddedness'.

To establish measurement validity and reliability, we assess each construct using more than four variables. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values evaluate multicollinearity concerns, while Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability coefficients assess internal consistency. Average Variance Extracted (AVE) measures convergent validity for each construct. Additionally, we conduct common method variance assessment to address potential systematic bias in the measurement model. The findings are presented in Table 3 below.

The measurement model demonstrates adequate psychometric properties across all constructs. Internal consistency reliability coefficients range from $\alpha = 0.731$ to $\alpha = 0.802$, meeting acceptable thresholds for exploratory research. Composite reliability values (CR = 0.81-0.85) exceed the recommended 0.80 threshold, indicating good construct reliability. Average variance extracted ranges from 0.61 to 0.72, surpassing the 0.50 minimum criterion and demonstrating adequate convergent validity.

Multicollinearity assessment reveals variance inflation factors between 3.29 and 3.72, approaching but remaining within acceptable limits (VIF < 5.0). Whilst these values suggest moderate intercorrelation among constructs, they do not compromise regression coefficient stability. Common method variance assessment indicates minimal systematic bias, with Harman's single-factor test explaining 41.2% of total variance (below the 50% threshold) and marker variable correlations averaging 0.102, confirming that common method bias does not substantially threaten the validity of findings. However, given the likely problems of multicollinearity, which are difficult to estimate for ordinal variables, we decided to introduce a single predictor in each regression and control for the entrepreneurs' age and level of education. As stated previously, the dependent variable is binary and distinguishes entrepreneurs whose family system is nuclear from those whose family system is communal.

Following theoretical considerations, different factors such as values and attitudes towards life and society may predict belonging to one of the two family systems. We coded legacy communal family system = 1 vs. nuclear family system = 0. Therefore, we estimate the probability:

Prob (family system; = 1|values and attitudes;, control variables;) = F (values and attitudesi, control variables_{ii} β) where β parameters reflect the impact of changes in values and attitudes on this probability (Greene 2008). Average marginal effects are calculated, enabling comparisons of the different probit regressions.

Results

This section presents the results of our probit analysis with marginal effects. The dependent variable is the family system of the entrepreneur. This variable is coded 1 for entrepreneurs associated with



a legacy communal family system. We distinguish two constructs representing the dimensions of life perception and four constructs pertaining to societal perception.

For each construct, our regression models incorporate one explanatory variable able to differentiate between the two entrepreneurial samples. The control variables are age and level of education. Independent and control variables are ordinal. The statistics associated with the Chi-squared test indicate that all the regressions are globally significant. Among our explanatory variables, only 'politics' and 'freedom of choice and control' do not distinguish migrant entrepreneurs from others. Controlling for age and level of education, the majority of our explanatory variables underscore the socio-cultural differences between entrepreneurs with a communal family legacy and those of their host countries. Across all constructs examined ('Important in Life', 'Child's Quality', 'Duties towards Society', and 'Embeddedness'), the marginal effects are statistically significant and substantively large. Each construct yields coefficients exceeding 0.14, indicating that a one-unit increase in the respective variable increases the probability of an entrepreneur maintaining a legacy communal family system by at least 14% points. Thus, *Hypothesis 1* is verified: The behaviour, cultural values, and social norms migrant entrepreneurs inherit via a legacy communal family system in their country-of-origin do not decay regardless of geographical location. First, we focus on variables representing 'perception of life' as the predictors of the family system of the entrepreneurs. We then test the variables associated with 'perception of society' as predictors of the family system of the entrepreneurs.

Perception of life as a predictor of the family system of the entrepreneurs

The 'perception of life' includes two sub-categories. The first assesses what is essential 'in life' and measures the significance attached to family, friends, politics, work, freedom of choice, and control. Second, a 'child's quality' is assessed through determination and perseverance, imagination, unself-ishness, obedience, and hard work. The findings of the probit regression with marginal effects are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 emphasizes the values and attitudes regarding the perception of life of entrepreneurs linked to a legacy communal family system contrasted with those of a nuclear family system. The two constructs relating to life perception highlight the differences between entrepreneurs from communal family systems and those with nuclear family orientations. The former demographic demonstrates heightened prioritization of family and work domains, whilst those from nuclear families place more emphasis on peer relationships. In contrast, entrepreneurs with a nuclear family mindset show less attention to friends. The qualities that a child must develop also differ significantly between the two populations. In contrast, entrepreneurs from nuclear families place greater emphasis on developing children's imagination. Therefore, *Hypothesis 2* is verified: A migrant entrepreneur with a communal family mindset perceives life differently than an entrepreneur with a nuclear family mindset.

The first sub-category concerns what is essential in life. Entrepreneurs with a legacy communal family mindset attach greater importance to family (regression I). The marginal effect reported indicates that a one-point increase in the score of the family importance leads to a 26.9% increase in the probability that the entrepreneur is associated with a legacy communal family system. Thus, *Hypothesis 2a* is verified: Migrant entrepreneurs who place a higher value on a family as an essential institution are highly likely to have a communal family mindset. Also, work (regression IV) is more critical for those entrepreneurs, and a one-point increase in the score of work importance leads to a 19.5% increase in the probability that the entrepreneur has a legacy communal family mindset. In contrast, entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family system attach more importance to friends (regression II). So, what is essential in life differs greatly between the two groups of entrepreneurs. Finally, the following variables politics (regression III), freedom of choice, and control (regression V) are not significant predictors of the family system of the entrepreneurs.

Table 4. Importance in life and child's quality indicators as predictors of the family system of entrepreneurs.

	Perception of life										
		lm	portant in	life		Child's quality					
Regression	1	II	III	IV	٧	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Χ	
Family	.269*** (.000)										
Friends	. ,	203*** (.000)									
Politics		(,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	01 (.133)								
Work			(*****)	.195*** (.000)							
Freedom of				(.000)	014						
choice and					(.748)						
control					(- 7						
Determination						.146***					
and perseverance						(.000)					
Imagination							205***				
3							(.000)				
Unselfishness								.173***			
								(.000)			
Obedience									.315***		
									(.000)		
Hard work										.200***	
										(.000)	
Age	008***	009***	091***	085***	092***	093***	089***	089***	073***	086***	
	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(000)	
Level of	007***	024***	072***	005***	074***	066***	059***	.069***	046***	067***	
education	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	
Chi2	147.66	130.08	115.61	208.04	113.46	154.07	181.6	170.32	307.58	189.92	
Pseudo R ²	.10	.088	.078	.144	.076	.1044	.1230	.1154	.2084	.1284	
Number of observations	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	

Average marginal effects are reported for the probit models, ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1.

The second sub-category concerns the qualities a child should have. The theoretical frames associated with a family system we focused on suggest that the values are inherited from their parents. Hence, measuring the values parents impart to their children enabled us to understand the specific values that drive them. The results of the probit regressions show that the value placed on obedience (regression IX) most distinguishes entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family system from entrepreneurs related to a nuclear family system. A single-point increase in the obedience score leads to a 31.5% probability that the entrepreneur has a legacy communal family mindset.

To a lesser extent, those entrepreneurs value hard work (regression X), unselfishness (regression VIII), determination and perseverance (regression VI) more than entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family mindset. The marginal effects associated with these variables are 20%, 17.3%, and 14.6%, respectively. Hence, these regression results show that entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family place greater importance on traditional child-rearing norms. Notably, the transmission of values such as obedience to parents, work, and unselfishness highlights the importance of children's moral education for entrepreneurs with a communal family legacy. Thus, Hypothesis 2b is substantiated: Migrant entrepreneurs who place greater emphasis on moral education (or virtue cultivation) in a child's upbringing are likely to possess a communal family mindset. Finally, the value placed on imagination (regression VII) is a significant predictor of an entrepreneur associated with a nuclear family mindset. A one-point increase in the imagination score leads to a 20.5% decrease for entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family mindset.

The comparison of the marginal effects associated with all the variables of Table 4 aided our understanding of what entrepreneurs from the two sub-samples value the most in life. In order of importance, entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family mindset value obedience to the parents (marginal effect: 31.5%), importance of the family (marginal effect: 26.9%). Also, work is highly valued for its own sake (marginal effect: 19.5%) and as education for children (marginal effect: 20%). In contrast, entrepreneurs with a nuclear family mindset value friends more (marginal effect: 20.3%) and imagination (marginal effect: 20.5%). Thus, *Hypothesis 3* is verified: A migrant entrepreneur with a communal family mindset perceives life differently than an entrepreneur with a nuclear family mindset.

Perception of society as predictors of the family system of the entrepreneurs

The 'perception of society' as a predictor of the entrepreneurs' family system includes sub-categories: societal duties, possible societal changes, the place of competition between individuals, and the feeling of embeddedness in a community. Societal duties assess the importance of obligations towards society and family for the entrepreneurs. 'Possible future changes' aided the understanding of how entrepreneurs envision the evolution of society. The 'place of competition' assesses the extent to which competition among people is good or harmful for society. Finally, embeddedness in a community determines the extent to which entrepreneurs feel close to their villages or towns, their country, and the world. We regress each of the variables associated with these different subcategories. The findings of the probit regression with marginal effects are presented in Table 5.

Table 4 illustrates the values and attitudes regarding the 'perception of society' of entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family system compared to entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family system. Chi2 statistics related to each probit regression show that all the models are significant at the 1% level. Also, except for the 'competition' sub-category, all the explanatory variables are significant at the 1% level. They discriminate entrepreneurs with a communal family legacy from others. Consequently, **Hypothesis 3** is verified: Migrant entrepreneurs with a communal mindset perceive their society differently from those with a nuclear family mindset.

The first sub-category concerns duties towards society. This sub-category distinguishes duties attached to the family from those regarding value creation that can be beneficial to all members of the society. The results show that the family is the core of society for entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family mindset. Making parents proud (regression XIV), taking care of ill parents (regression XII), and having children (regression XI) are significant predictors of an entrepreneur associated with a legacy communal family mindset. In this context, a one-point increase in the score of these variables leads to a 23.6%, 16.9%, and 14% increase of the probability that the entrepreneur is associated with a legacy communal family mindset. On the contrary, entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family attach their 'duty towards society' to value creation. A one-point increase in the variable work leads to a 14.1% increase in the probability that the entrepreneur is associated with a nuclear family mindset. Therefore, *Hypothesis 3a* is verified: migrant entrepreneurs who value family duties will likely develop a communal family mindset.

The second sub-category concerns the 'possible future changes' of society. The findings indicate that entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family mindset foresee a decline in the significance placed on work (regression XV). To that end, regression XVI underscores the significance that entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family mindset ascribe to authority. A one-point increase in the variable 'greater respect placed on authority' leads to a 17% increase in the probability that the entrepreneur has a legacy communal family mindset. Thus, **Hypothesis 3b** is verified: migrant entrepreneurs who value authority will likely develop a communal family mindset. The third sub-category questions the social value of competition. The result of regression XVII shows that the variable assessing the extent to which the competition among people is good or harmful for society does not allow differentiation between entrepreneurs from the two sub-samples. The marginal effect associated with this variable is close to zero, and the figure is insignificant.

Table 5. Duties towards society, possible future changes, competition and embeddedness as predictors of the family system of entrepreneurs.

					Perception	on of socie	ty			
	Duties towards society				Possible future changes		Competition	Embeddedness		
Regression	ΧI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
To have children To take care of ill parent To work	.140*** (.000)	.169*** (.000)	141***							
To make my parents proud Less importance placed on work			(.000)	.236*** (.000)	073*** (.000)					
Greater respect for authority Competition is good						.170*** (.000)	0001 (.990)			
To my village, town or city To my country To the world							(.990)	.146*** (.000)	.112*** (.000)	.091*** (.000)
Age	048*** (.000)	049*** (.000)	084*** (.000)	059*** (.000)	087*** (.000)	087*** (.000)	092*** (.000)	086*** (.000)	095*** (.000)	091*** (.000)
Level of education Chi2 Pseudo R ²	032*** (.000) 630.60 .4272	047*** (.000) 568.75 .3854	056*** (.000) 277.02 .1877	044*** (.000) 459.15 .3111	072*** (.000) 152.75 .1035	061*** (.000) 203.71 .1380	073*** (.000) 113.36 .0768	058*** (.000) 238.85 .1618	064*** (.000) 175.06 .1186	070*** (.000) 174.99 .1185
Number of observations	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284	1284

Average marginal effects are reported for the probit models, ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1.

Finally, the fourth sub-category assesses the extent to which entrepreneurs feel close to their village or town, the country they live in, and to the world. The three variables associated with this sub-category are significant predictors of entrepreneurs associated with a legacy communal family mindset. Additionally, the smaller the community considered, the greater the marginal effect associated with the variable. Hence, the marginal effect associated with the sense of closeness to the town or village is 14.6% (regression XVIII). This effect declines to 11.2% when the sense of closeness to the country is measured (regression XIX). It is merely 9.1% when proximity to the world is evaluated (regression XX). Irrespective of the variable (the village, the country or the world) considered, the sense of closeness to a community heightens the probability that the entrepreneur possesses a communal family heritage. Thus, *Hypothesis 3c* is verified: migrant entrepreneurs who value community embeddedness will likely develop a communal family mindset.

The comparison of the marginal effects associated with all the variables in Table 4 aided the understanding that attitudes towards society by entrepreneurs related to the two sub-samples are the most valued. Society and family are inextricably linked principally for entrepreneurs owing to their inherited communal family mindset. Belonging to a broader community (the nation or the world) is the least prioritized. Entrepreneurs associated with a nuclear family mindset are characterized by how they esteem work in society. On the one hand, they regard work as a societal obligation (–14.1%); on the other hand, they expect work to be ascribed lesser importance in the future (–7.3%).



For them, work is an isolated facet of society, and they foresee its significance diminishing in the future. Table 4 underscores the disparities in how the two groups of entrepreneurs view society, obligations towards family, value accorded to authority, and proximity to a community, augmenting the probability of an entrepreneur with a communal family legacy.

Robustness check

The results we present are robust. We demonstrate their robustness when we utilize different econometric specifications. This aids in addressing model misspecification risks. From that standpoint, we conducted logit and probit regressions sequentially. Our results were consistent across these diverse specifications and support alternative assumptions regarding the error-term distribution. Consequently, we address heteroskedasticity issues using a robust error probit model. Whenever the EVS permitted us to use diverse variables to assess the same proxy, we alternatively incorporated these variables into the model. Also, we split the sample according to the country-of-origin of the migrants. The first sub-sample compares the responses of Zimbabwean entrepreneurs to those of French and British entrepreneurs.

The second sub-sample retains Nigerian, French, and British entrepreneurs. All these modifications do not change the interpretation of the results recorded.

Discussion

Migrant entrepreneurship is increasingly becoming an important research topic due to its economic significance (Aliaga–Isla and Rialp 2013; Baklanov et al. 2014; Dabić et al. 2020). Existing entrepreneurship and anthropology studies hint that cultural values and social norms shape human behaviour and subsequent actions (Fortes 1949; Moyo 2014; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018; Todd and Garrioch 1985). Accordingly, and given the economic significance existing studies place on migrant entrepreneurs, a focus on their entrepreneurial actions and behaviour, often interwoven in cultural and social systems, can advance research on entrepreneurship (Thai et al. 2024). Admittedly, integrating such traditional socio-business philosophies into entrepreneurship not only provides understanding of the entrepreneurship processes associated with migrant entrepreneurship but clarifies their entrepreneurial actions (Shepherd and Patzelt 2011) and persistent habits (Foner 1997, 2024).

Indeed, and because migrant entrepreneurship processes straddle two or more social fields (Aluko, Siwale, and Simba 2020), it is challenging to separate country-of-origin practices and habits from them (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024). In the case of migrant entrepreneurs raised in societies where cultural, social norms, and values pervade all aspects of social life, their business practices will, in one way or another, reflect their upbringing, regardless of where they engage in entrepreneurship (cf. Szkudlarek and Wu 2018; Todd and Garrioch 1985). Powerful traditional practices built upon collectivism, family institutions, interdependence, and the obligation to serve society not only influence the actions and behaviours of migrant entrepreneurs but also stand the test of time and geographical distance (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024). In other words, they do not decay regardless of a migrant entrepreneur's socio-economic environments. Thus, cultural and familial legacies continue to shape a migrant entrepreneur's business practice, forming the foundation of the principles they draw upon to navigate their new surroundings in their host country (Foner 2024; Thornton, Ribeiro–Soriano, and Urbano 2011).

Developing an understanding of the cultural and social dynamics that conspire to influence migrant entrepreneurship processes goes beyond the averages in entrepreneurship research (Newbert, Kher, and Yang 2022). It provides theoretical interpretations and perspectives that define the mechanisms underlying the processes migrant entrepreneurs undergo (cf. Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024). With such theorizations, a new understanding of entrepreneurial action and behaviour in entrepreneurship research is amplified, transcending individual decision-making and opportunity recognition (Alvarez and Barney 2007) to account for socio-cultural imperatives

that shape entrepreneurial action and behaviour in migrant entrepreneurship. In some way, these theoretical interpretations and perspectives build upon Dodd et al'.s (2021) arguments about repositioning entrepreneurship by reframing migrant entrepreneurship as an ongoing negotiation between embedded cultural heritage and dynamic host-market conditions. Indeed, and instead of simply adapting to prevailing economic logics, migrant entrepreneurs reconfigure and redefine their entrepreneurial identity by drawing upon traditional socio-business philosophies with contemporary entrepreneurial practices (Arregle et al. 2015). The essence of recognizing diversity in entrepreneurship transcends the dominant economic-centric perspectives. It promotes a more pluralistic comprehension of entrepreneurship that encompasses social and cultural dimensions (Dodd et al., It elaborates on how migrant entrepreneurs leverage their cultural roots for their entrepreneurial activity in a manner that transforms how they conduct and organize their enterprises (Baron 1998). Thus, reinforcing the notion that migrant entrepreneurs are not passive recipients of host-country business norms but active agents who strategically navigate, negotiate, and reconstruct their entrepreneurial identities in ways that reflect both their past and their present (Dodd, Anderson, and Jack 2021). Most importantly, such understanding extends the theoretical reach of entrepreneurial action theory (Townsend et al. 2018) in the following ways.

It incorporates traditional socio-business philosophies into entrepreneurship, amplifying the understanding of the actions and behaviour of entrepreneurs who straddle two or more social fields (Aluko, Siwale, and Simba 2020). Contrary to research suggesting that with exposure to new conditions, a migrant entrepreneur's country-of-origin entrepreneurial behaviour and cognitive process decay (Thai, Simba, and Dabić 2024), we contend that legacy communal family systems of belonging and obligation to society endure and influence their actions, values, and entrepreneurship practice regardless of a migrant entrepreneur's geographical location (cf., Foner 2024; Ojo 2013; Simba et al. 2024; Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). This new understanding provides new insights into the mechanisms underlying migrant entrepreneurs' actions and behaviour in a host nation.

Thus advancing new knowledge depicting how migrant entrepreneurs from sub-Saharan Africa do not only preserve their country-of-origin values but project them through their entrepreneurial actions and behaviour, despite exposure to varied relational systems in a new entrepreneurial landscape (cf., Foner 1997, 2024). From that, it is arguable that legacy communal family systems influence entrepreneurship and, as such, have far-reaching policy implications.

Research implications

The theoretical and empirical contributions of this study have profound implications for policy and future research. First, policymakers must acknowledge that migrant entrepreneurs do not simply assimilate into the economic and social fabric of their host nations, but instead bring with them enduring cultural and familial structures that shape their business practices. This calls for tailored policy interventions that support the unique needs of migrant entrepreneurs, such as business incubation programmes that recognize the importance of community networks and familial obligations (Fairlie and Lofstrom 2015).

Limitations and suggestions for future research

As with any research project, our study has its limitations. While it provides a deep and wide assessment of first-generation migrant entrepreneurs, we recommend future studies that investigate whether second- and third-generation migrant entrepreneurs retain similar legacy communal family values in the face of nuclear family-oriented business values in their host nations. To this end, longitudinal studies can provide deeper insights into the intergenerational evolution of entrepreneurial values and behaviours.



Furthermore, this research opens new avenues for comparative research that analyses how legacy communal family systems impact entrepreneurial action in different host European countries. For such research, our findings, based on France and the UK, provide a strong foundation. Moreover, future studies can focus on examining whether similar trends exist in other European nations with distinct policies for migrant entrepreneurship (Nguyen Quoc, Nguyen Van, and Nguyen 2023).

Conclusion

This study extends theoretical frameworks on entrepreneurial action, behaviour, and migrant entrepreneurship by illustrating the lasting influence of legacy communal family systems. The findings challenge prevailing assumptions about cultural assimilation and provide empirical evidence that migrant entrepreneurs from sub-Saharan Africa continue to draw upon deeply rooted familial values and social obligations in shaping their business practices. By integrating traditional socio-business philosophies with contemporary entrepreneurship theories, this study enriches our understanding of the complex, culturally embedded nature of entrepreneurial action and behaviour. Moving forward, policymakers and researchers alike must recognize and support the unique entrepreneurial trajectories of migrant entrepreneurs shaped by enduring communal values.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Appendix. Selected items from the EVS Survey utilised in the study

ID	Common Dictionary: Thematic category	Common Dictionary: Variable name	Common Dictionary: Variable label
1	Admin/protocol variables	studyno	Study number
2	Admin/protocol variables	version	Version
3	Admin/protocol variables	doi	Digital Object Identifier
4	Admin/protocol variables	stdyno_w	Study number (wave)
5	Admin/protocol variables	studyno	Study number
6	Admin/protocol variables	S001	Study
7	Admin/protocol variables	S002	Wave
8	Admin/protocol variables	S002evs	EVS-wave
9	Admin/protocol variables	s002vs	Chronology of EVS-WVS waves
10	Admin/protocol variables	S003	Country (ISO 3166-1 Numeric code)
11	Admin/protocol variables	COW_ALPHA	CoW country code alpha
12	Admin/protocol variables	COW_NUM	Country (CoW Numeric code)
13	Admin/protocol variables	S004	Set
14	Admin/protocol variables	S006	Original respondent number
15	Admin/protocol variables	S007	Unified respondent number
16	Admin/protocol variables	S007_01	Unified respondent number (EVS/WVS)
17	Admin/protocol variables	S008	Interviewer number
18	Admin/protocol variables	S009	Country (ISO 3166–1 Alpha-2 code)
19	Admin/protocol variables	mode	Mode of data collection
20	Admin/protocol variables	S010	Total length of interview
21	Admin/protocol variables	S011A	Time of the interview – Start [hh.mm]
22	Admin/protocol variables	S011B	Time of the interview – End [hh.mm]
23	Admin/protocol variables	S012	Date interview [YYYYMMDD]
24	Admin/protocol variables	S013	Respondent interested during the interview
25	Admin/protocol variables	S013B	Interview privacy
26	Admin/protocol variables	S016	Language of the interview (WVS/EVS list of languages)
27	Admin/protocol variables	S016a	Language of the interview (ISO 639–1 alpha- 2/639–2 alpha-3)
48	Perceptions of life	A001	Important in life: Family
49	Perceptions of life	A002	Important in life: Friends
51	Perceptions of life	A004	Important in life: Politics
52	Perceptions of life	A005	Important in life: Work
64	Perceptions of life	A173	Important in life: freedom of choice and control
78	Perceptions of life	A030	Important child qualities: Hard work
82	Perceptions of life	A034	Important child qualities: imagination
87	Perceptions of life	A039	Important child qualities: determination perseverance
89	Perceptions of life	A041	Important child qualities: unselfishness
90	Perceptions of life	A042	Important child qualities: obedience
453	Politics and Society	D026_03	Duty towards society to have children
133	Politics and Society	D026_04	Duty towards society to have children
	Politics and Society	D026_05	Duty towards society to take care of ill parent
	Politics and Society	D026_06	Duty towards society to work
	Politics and Society	D026_07	Duty towards society to make my parents proud
546	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	E015	Future changes: Less importance placed on work
549	Politics and Society Politics and Society	E018	Future changes: Less importance placed on work Future changes: Greater respect for authority
			Composition good or harmful
573	Politics and Society	E039	Competition good or harmful How close you feel: World
	National Identity	G063	
	National Identity	G255	How close you feel: Your [village, town or city]
	National Identity	G257	How close do you feel: to country
	Socio demographics	X001	Sex
	Socio demographics	X002	Year of birth
	Socio demographics	X002_02	Respondent born in [country]
	Socio demographics Socio demographics	X002_02A X002_02B	Respondents country of birth: ISO 3166–1 code Respondents country of birth: ISO 3166–1/3 Alph
1 477	Carlo dama amanda!	V002	code
	Socio demographics	X003	Age
1/10/	Socio demographics	X013	Number of people in household