

Self-employment as a strategy to conciliate work and family life: Native and immigrant men and women heterogeneity

Sandra Florian¹ and Cécile Fonrouge²

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

October, 2023

Recent decades have witnessed an increasing trend in entrepreneurship in Europe and North America. Self-employment has been portrayed as a strategy to conciliate work and family demands, particularly for women. The “mumpreneurship” literature indicates that mothers are increasingly creating their own ventures searching for independence and flexibility that wage labor lacks. Although mumpreneurship has been portrayed as a universal phenomenon, most of the evidence is based on data for White women. We examine self-employment among men and women in the U.S. using data from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) from 2015-2020 to investigate the extent to which the mumpreneurship thesis can be applied to ethno-racial minorities and immigrant women in the U.S. We found that marriage and children encourage wage employment and self-employment for all men and native Black women, but discourage both types of employment for all other women. We find strong evidence for the mumpreneurship thesis among native-born white mothers, for whom self-employment constitutes a preferred alternative over wage employment. Results also show that mumpreneurship represents the experiences of non-incorporated self-employed women, who tend to be more disadvantaged than incorporated self-employed entrepreneurs. The findings suggest that mumpreneurship, as a strategy for combining work and family responsibilities, has been overstated, applying mainly to white women not-incorporated, but not to racial minority and immigrant women.

Introduction

The literature on work and family conflict indicates that family responsibilities have opposite effects on employment by gender, increasing men’s attachment to the labor force, but decreasing it for women (Donato et al., 2014; Florian, 2018; Killewald & García-Manglano, 2016). Several studies have found evidence showing that marriage and children increase women’s responsibilities at home, reducing their time investments in paid labor (England et al., 2004; Killewald and García-Manglano, 2016). Prior studies have found that racial minority and immigrant women tend to assume an even larger share of housework and childcare than white women (Chreim et al., 2018; Parrott, 2014). Theory of occupational choice assumes that employment opportunities for wage workers and entrepreneurs with otherwise similar qualifications should be equal (Amit et al., 1995; Douglas and Shepherd, 2002; Hamilton,

¹ French National Institute for Demographic Studies, sandra.florian@ined.fr

² Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, Département des Sciences de la Gestion, cecile.fonrouge@uqtr.ca

2000; Kolvereid and Isaksen, 2006). However, prior research indicates that the prevalence of self-employment varies significantly by race/ethnicity and immigrant background (Chreim et al., 2018; Georgellis & Wall, 2005). The intersectional approach indicates that ethnic minority and immigrant women experience a double disadvantage in wage labor, being disadvantaged not only by gender, but also by their racial minority status (Browne, 1999; Donato et al., 2014).

Self-employment has been portrayed as a solution for women to overcome the gender disadvantage in paid labor, providing the independence and flexibility that allow them to remain employed while attending family responsibilities (Fairchild, 2010; Noseleit, 2014). Yet, the concept of entrepreneurship has drawn from a male-dominated narrative, depicting the entrepreneur with traditional masculine characteristics, such as independence, power, decisiveness, daring, risk taking, and successful, a framework that poorly fits the images of women entrepreneurs, particularly those of mothers (Ahl, 2006; Georgellis & Wall, 2005; Khan & Rowlands, 2018). By contrast to men, women tend to cite greater flexibility to balance work and family over pecuniary gains as a motivation to start a business (Hopp & Martin, 2017; Minniti & Naudé, 2010). The type of businesses that women create tend differ from the ideal profitable business of the successful male entrepreneur. Despite a large literature on women's self-employment, the ideal of entrepreneur still elicits the image of a self-made man.

The literature on *mumpreneurship* breaks apart from the male-dominated framework, reconciling the ideas of doing business while caring for children. Mumpreneurship is a concept that refers to the increasing number of mothers who enter self-employment as a strategy to integrate the roles of care taker and economic provider (Morokvasic, 1984; Nel et al., 2010; Noseleit, 2014). The phenomenon of *mumpreneurship* has received substantial evidence, and thus, it has been portrayed as a universal phenomenon, applying to all women (Morokvasic, 1984; Nel et al., 2010; Noseleit, 2014). However, most of the evidence has relied on small qualitative studies, or data for white women. Little is known about the extent to which the mumpreneurship thesis can be applied to ethnic minorities and immigrant women (Taniguchi, 2002). Does self-employment also represent a solution for work and family conflict for racial minority and immigrant women? This study investigates whether marriage and children encourage self-employment among men and women from different racial-ethnic backgrounds and migration status living in the U.S.

Data and Methods

We use nationally representative data from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) of the march Current Population Survey (CPS) for the years 2015 to 2020. We restrict the sample to the civil population aged 18-60 who are not retired and not part of the arm forces. We use the question on class of worker to distinguish self-employment, wage employment, and non-employment. By contrast to prior studies that have treated self-employment as a dichotomy outcome, investigating whether individuals are either self-employed or employed for wages, we treat employment as having one of three potential outcomes, self-employed, wage employed, or not employed. We use weighted multinomial regression models to examine individuals' relative odds of being self-employed, wage employed, or not employed on the week prior to the survey. We further separate incorporated, those who have created a corporation, from the non-incorporated self-employed women.

Our independent variables are gender and race/ethnicity by nativity status and country of origin, where native-born whites are the reference group. We use data on birth place to

distinguish between the native born and foreign born. We investigate the association between marital status, number of young children (younger than 5 years old) and older children (5 years or older), and employment type. We control for socioeconomic and demographic variables including, education, family income, spouse self-employment status, percent of co-ethnics living in the same metro area who are self-employed, urban residency, U.S. region, age and age squared, survey year, and, for the foreign born, the number of years living in the U.S.

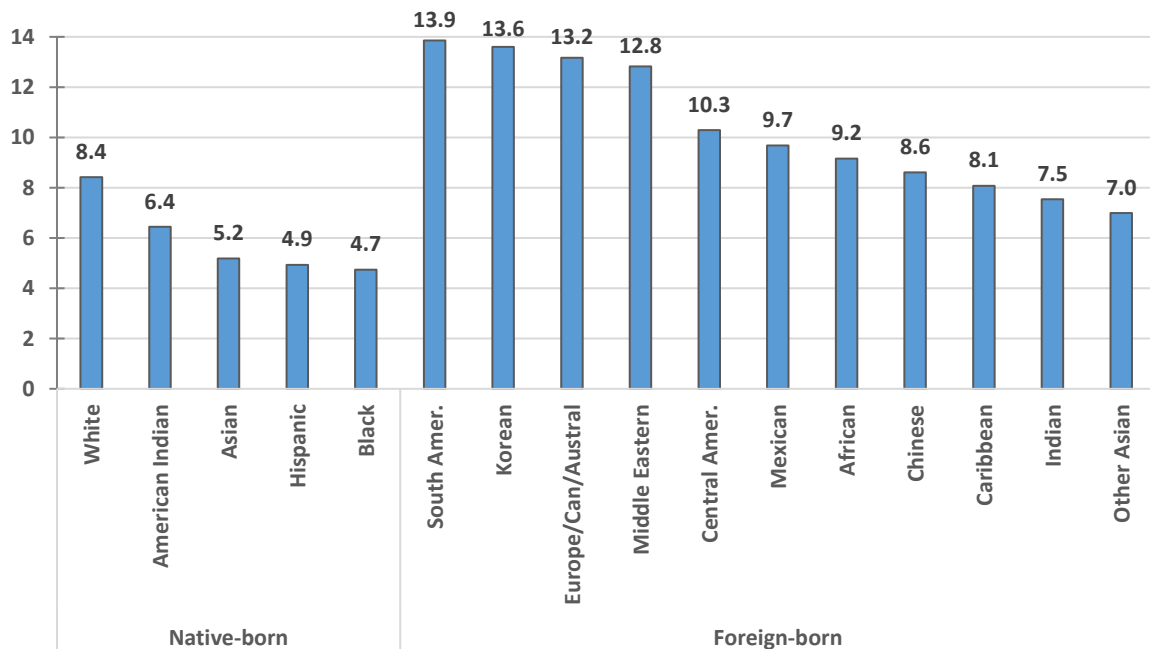
Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents the sample size and selected socio-demographic characteristics for ethno-racial groups by gender and nativity for the pre-Covid-19 years (2015-2020). Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate the higher rates of self-employment for men than for women for most groups. In general, we observe higher rates of entrepreneurship among immigrants than among the native born. Among the native born, whites exhibit the highest rates of self-employment, 8.4% for men and 5.2% for women, whereas Blacks exhibit the lowest rates, 4.7% for men and only 2.5% for women. Among the foreign born, South Americans, Koreans, and European, Canadian, and Australian immigrants exhibit the highest rates of entrepreneurship, between 13-14% for men and 7-10% for women. Conversely, other Asian, Indian, and Caribbean men show the lowest rates of self-employment, with rates between 7% and 8%. Among women, Caribbean, Indian, and African women exhibit the lowest levels, with less than 4% self-employed.

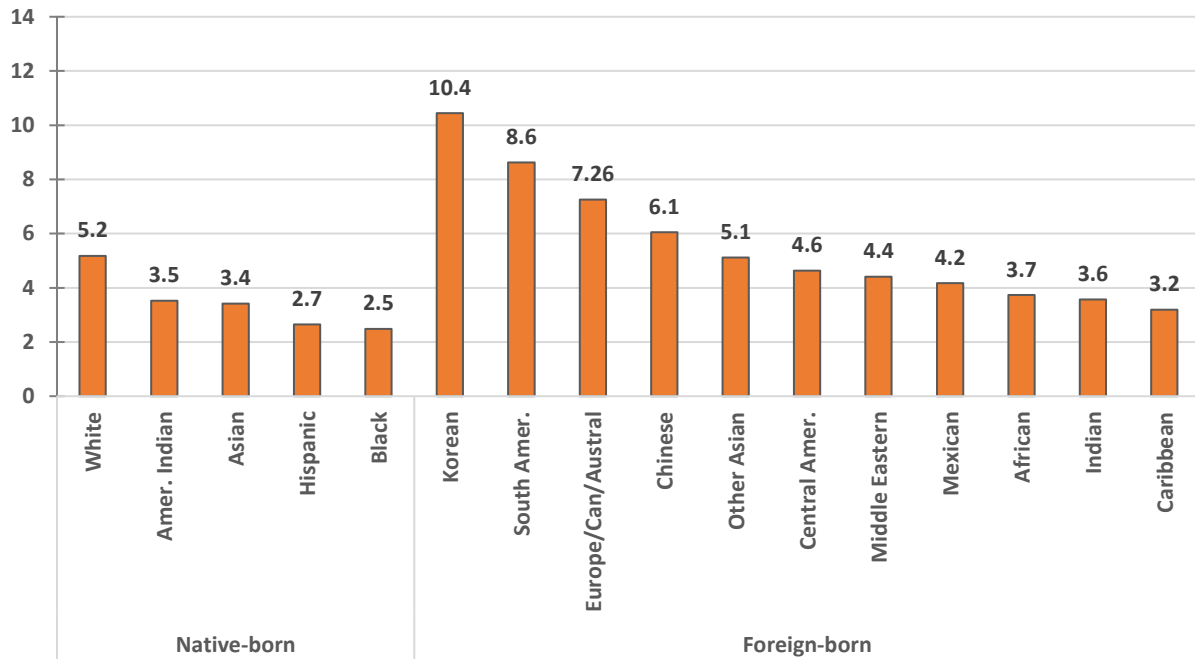
[Insert Table 1 here]

Fig. 1. Percent Self-employed Men by Race/Ethnicity & Nativity



Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020. Civilian population aged 18 to 60, not retired and not part of the armed forces.

Fig. 2. Percent Self-employed Women by Race/Ethnicity & Nativity



Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020. Civilian population aged 18 to 60, not retired and not part of the armed forces.

The descriptive results also suggest that marriage and children, variables that signal family responsibilities for women, deter female employment. Higher rates of marriage and having more children tend to be coupled with lower rates of wage employment for women. Among the native born, White women exhibit the largest percent of married women, 51%, whereas only 28% of Black women in the sample were married. Immigrant women exhibit higher rates of marriage and average more children than native-born women, indicating more family responsibilities, which may restrict immigrant women’s involvement in paid labor.

Preliminary Multivariate Results

Table 2 presents the multivariate results for native-born men from multinomial models predicting the risks of wage-employment relative to non-employment, self-employment relative to non-employment, and self-employment relative to wage employment, adjusting for socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. Table 3 shows the results for immigrant men. As Tables 2 and 3 show, the coefficients for marriage and number of children, pre-school age and older children, are positive and mostly statistically significant for most native-born and foreign-born men for wage employment and self-employment relative to non-employment, net of other factors. For many male groups, marriage and children are also positively correlated with the propensity of being self-employed over being wage employed. In sum, the results provide evidence indicating that marriage and children promote all type of employment for most men, including self-employment, in line with the male breadwinner paradigm.

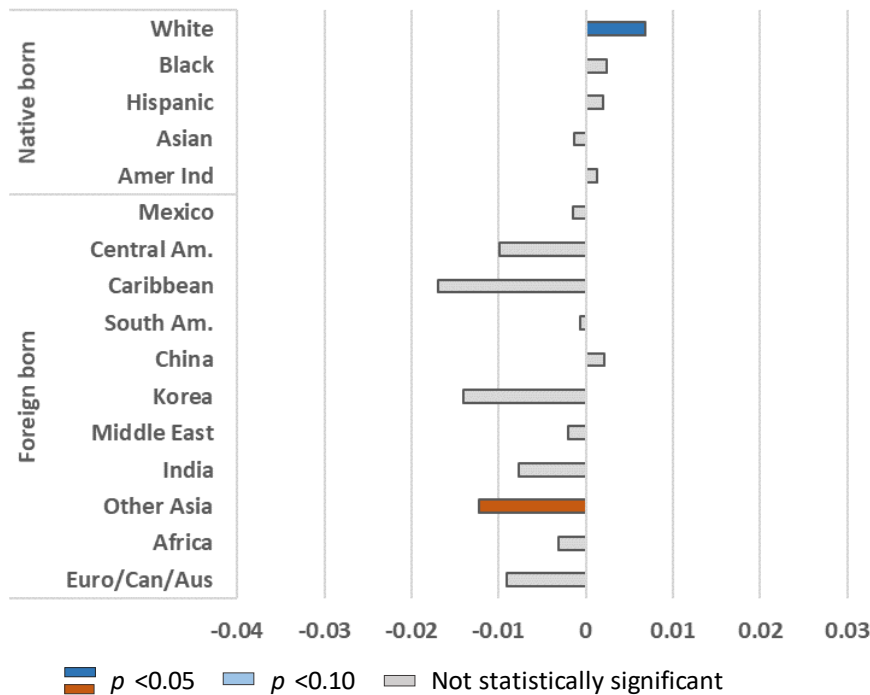
[Insert Table 2 here]

[Insert Table 3 here]

By contrast, for native-born and foreign-born women, except for native-born Black women, marriage and children both, pre-school age and older children, instead reduce the probability of both types of employment ($p < .05$), as shown in Tables 4 and 5. The negative, and mostly significant, coefficients of marriage and children on the propensity of being wage employed and self-employed, relative to not being employed reflect the well-known conflict between work and family life for women. Figures 3 illustrate the marginal effects from multinomial models (Tables 4 & 5) of pre-school age children (< 5) on the probability of self-employment over wage-employment for women by nativity and race-ethnicity. Marginal effects on blue are positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$), those in dark orange are negative statistically significant ($p < 0.05$), those in light blue are marginally positively significant ($p < 0.10$), and those in gray are not significant. Figures 4 presents the corresponding marginal effects for older children (5 and older).

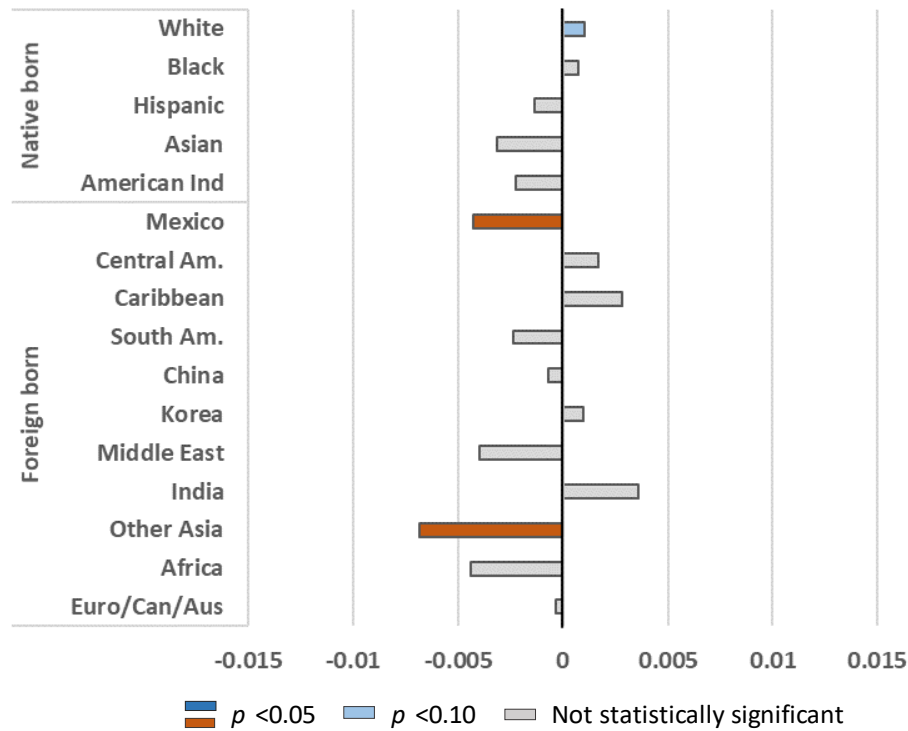
[Insert Table 4 here]
 [Insert Table 5 here]

Fig. 3 Women: Marginal effects of children < 5 on the probability of self-employment vs. wage employment



* Models control for marital status, education, family income quartile, proportion of self-employed co-ethnics in the same metro area, region, urbanicity, age, survey year, and years since migration.

Fig. 4 Women: Marginal effects of children 5 & over on the probability of self-employment vs. wage employment



We now focus on the multinomial results for the propensity of self-employment over wage employment to assess the mumpreneurship argument that self-employment is a preferred alternative over wage-employment. We find support for mumpreneurship only for native-born white women, showing significant positive coefficients for number of children ($p < .001$), particularly for pre-school age children. However, the results do not provide support for the mumpreneurship thesis among racial minority and immigrant women. Net of other factors, children do not alter the odds of being self-employed relative to wage-employed for any of the other groups of women. The coefficients for the number of older children are in many cases negative and mostly not significant. When we further distinguish between incorporated self-employed, i.e., those who have created a separate corporation or business, and non-incorporated self-employed women, preliminary results indicate that the mumpreneurship thesis applies mainly to non-incorporated self-employed white women. Non-incorporated self-employed women are more likely to be in service or manual occupations, be less educated, and have lower incomes than incorporated self-employed women.

In sum, marriage and children encourage employment for men, but deter employment for women from all races and ethnicities, except for native Black women. The results show that self-employment constitutes a preferred alternative over wage employment for White mothers only, but not so for racial minority and immigrant women. The findings suggest that the mumpreneurship thesis as women's strategy for combining work and family responsibilities has been overstated, applying mainly to White women, but not to racial minority and immigrant women.

References

- Ahl, H. (2006). Why Research on Women Entrepreneurs Needs New Directions. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 30(5), 595–621. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6520.2006.00138.x>
- Browne, I. (1999). Introduction: Latinas and African American Women in the U.S. Labor Market. In I. Browne (Ed.), *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality* (pp. 1–31). Russell Sage Foundation.
- Chreim, S., Spence, M., Crick, D., & Liao, X. (2018). Review of female immigrant entrepreneurship research: Past findings, gaps and ways forward. *European Management Journal*, 36(2), 210–222. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emj.2018.02.001>
- Donato, K. M., Piya, B., & Jacobs, A. (2014). The double disadvantage reconsidered: Gender, immigration, marital status, and global labor force participation in the 21st century. *International Migration Review*, 48(S1), S335–S376. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12142>
- Fairchild, G. B. (2010). Intergenerational ethnic enclave influences on the likelihood of being self-employed. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 25(3), 290–304. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusvent.2008.10.003>
- Florian, S. M. (2018). Motherhood and Employment Among Whites, Hispanics, and Blacks: A Life Course Approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80(1), 134–149. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12448>
- Georgellis, Y., & Wall, H. J. (2005). Gender differences in self-employment. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 19(3), 321–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02692170500119854>
- Hopp, C., & Martin, J. (2017). Does entrepreneurship pay for women and immigrants? A 30 year assessment of the socio-economic impact of entrepreneurial activity in Germany. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 29(5–6), 517–543. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2017.1299224>
- Khan, M. S., & Rowlands, C. (2018). Mumpreneurship in New Zealand: And exploratory investigation. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 38(5–6), 459–473. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-08-2017-0106>
- Killewald, A., & García-Manglano, J. (2016). Tethered lives: A couple-based perspective on the consequences of parenthood for time use, occupation, and wages. *Social Science Research*, 60, 266–282. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2016.03.007>
- Minniti, M., & Naudé, W. (2010). What Do We Know About The Patterns and Determinants of Female Entrepreneurship Across Countries? *The European Journal of Development Research*, 22(3), 277–293. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2010.17>
- Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of Passage Are also Women... *International Migration Review*, 18(4), 886–907. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2>

- Nel, P., Maritz, A., & Thongprovati, O. (2010). Motherhood and Entrepreneurship: The Mumpreneur Phenomenon. *International Journal of Organizational Innovation*, 3(1), 6–34.
- Noseleit, F. (2014). Female self-employment and children. *Small Business Economics*, 43(3), 549–569. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11187-014-9570-8>
- Parrott, H. M. (2014). Housework, children, and women's wages across racial-ethnic groups. *Social Science Research*, 46, 72–84. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.02.004>
- Taniguchi, H. (2002). Determinants of Women's Entry into Self-Employment. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83(3), 875–893. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6237.00119>

Table 1. Unweighted sample size and selected weighted characteristics by race/ethnicity and nativity (Pre-Covid years)

	N	Wage employed		Self-employed		Education	Married	N Kids < 5	N Kids 5+
		n	%	n	%	Yrs	%	Mean	Mean
<i>Native-born men</i>									
White	157,331	123,154	77.6	13,862	8.4	14.1	50.8	0.16	0.58
Black	27,407	19,066	69.3	1,330	4.7	13.1	28.2	0.10	0.42
Hispanic	28,141	21,196	75.0	1,464	4.9	13.0	30.9	0.15	0.46
Asian	7,807	5,754	72.1	421	5.2	14.6	28.5	0.13	0.35
American Indian	5,004	3,371	67.4	313	6.4	13.0	36.3	0.15	0.58
<i>Foreign-born men</i>									
Mexican	18,449	15,185	82.0	1,828	9.7	10.4	56.6	0.21	1.11
Central Amer.	9,115	7,126	77.6	954	10.3	11.4	45.6	0.17	0.74
Caribbean	1,564	1,198	75.8	131	8.1	13.6	45.2	0.16	0.71
South Amer.	3,396	2,579	75.3	473	13.9	13.9	54.2	0.17	0.71
Chinese	2,557	1,776	69.7	233	8.6	15.8	61.2	0.16	0.62
Korean	965	703	72.6	136	13.6	15.7	64.5	0.17	0.75
Middle Eastern	3,453	2,474	71.0	457	12.8	14.7	61.8	0.26	0.88
Indian	3,618	3,080	85.0	279	7.5	17.0	73.4	0.26	0.72
Other Asian	4,942	3,923	78.5	329	7.0	14.1	58.9	0.16	0.89
African	2,711	2,148	78.3	241	9.2	14.6	48.3	0.30	0.75
Europe/Can/Austral	5,378	4,143	75.9	688	13.2	15.2	63.1	0.18	0.67
<i>Native-born women</i>									
White	165,324	117,759	72.0	9,067	5.2	14.5	53.8	0.18	0.69
Black	34,461	24,372	71.2	811	2.5	13.7	24.0	0.18	0.70
Hispanic	30,833	21,261	68.9	847	2.7	13.4	35.4	0.23	0.72
Asian	7,654	5,461	69.4	278	3.4	14.9	36.9	0.17	0.46
Amer. Indian	5,400	3,371	63.4	188	3.5	13.4	38.6	0.20	0.79
<i>Foreign-born women</i>									
Mexican	17,579	9,385	52.7	748	4.2	10.7	64.0	0.26	1.49
Central Amer.	9,695	6,020	61.3	441	4.6	12.0	49.1	0.21	1.06
Caribbean	2,011	1,580	78.8	62	3.2	13.9	39.7	0.18	0.97
South Amer.	4,255	2,753	63.3	346	8.6	14.1	58.1	0.17	0.87
Chinese	3,196	1,906	59.1	209	6.1	15.5	61.5	0.15	0.65
Korean	1,402	790	55.2	139	10.4	15.4	67.9	0.17	0.76
Middle Eastern	3,187	1,580	49.7	140	4.4	14.1	70.4	0.28	1.08
Indian	3,305	1,931	57.7	122	3.6	16.8	81.8	0.28	0.84
Other Asian	6,698	4,819	70.9	329	5.1	14.1	65.7	0.18	0.98
African	2,630	1,772	66.6	99	3.7	13.8	54.4	0.36	1.06
Europe/Can/Austral	5,938	4,031	68.04	414	7.26	15.3	64.1	0.20	0.77

Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020. Civilian population aged 18 to 60, not retired and not part of the armed forces.

Table 2. Multinomial regression predicting the odds of wage employment, self-employment, and non employment: Native-born men.

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Amer. Indian
Wage employed (vs. not employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	0.442 ***	0.427 ***	0.799 ***	0.761 ***	0.556 ***
Spouse self-employed	0.447 ***	0.129	0.202	0.675	0.126
N children <5	0.613 ***	0.510 ***	0.638 ***	0.504 **	0.271 *
N children 5+	0.150 ***	0.087 ***	0.097 ***	0.108	0.100 +
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	-1.038 ***	-0.951 ***	-0.947 ***	-1.031 ***	-0.955 ***
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.048 *	0.247 ***	-0.055	-0.377 ***	-0.067
College	0.793 ***	0.795 ***	0.62 ***	0.291 **	0.913 ***
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	1.127 ***	0.933 ***	0.755 ***	0.836 ***	1.128 ***
Quartile 3	1.387 ***	1.073 ***	1.034 ***	1.042 ***	1.349 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.373 ***	1.258 ***	1.021 ***	1.073 ***	1.377 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	-1.454 ***	-0.34	-0.061	-1.105	-0.522
Self-employed (vs. not employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	0.499 ***	0.487 ***	0.91 ***	0.873 ***	0.622 **
Spouse self-employed	1.77 ***	1.148 ***	2.136 ***	2.176 **	1.519 **
N children <5	0.699 ***	0.599 ***	0.657 ***	0.687 ***	0.096
N children 5+	0.189 ***	0.074 *	0.139 ***	0.226 *	0.052
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	-0.679 ***	-0.642 ***	-0.475 ***	-0.054	-0.585 *
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.062 *	0.327 ***	0.008	0.14	0.325
College	0.667 ***	1.008 ***	0.578 ***	0.919 ***	0.958 ***
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.733 ***	0.611 ***	0.269 **	-0.058	0.678 **
Quartile 3	0.902 ***	0.634 ***	0.466 ***	0.281	1.006 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	0.89 ***	1.053 ***	0.537 ***	0.066	1.172 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	11.404 ***	15.642 ***	15.102 ***	10.427 ***	9.62 ***
Self-employed (vs wage employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	0.058 *	0.06	0.111	0.112	0.066
Spouse self-employed	1.323 ***	1.019 ***	1.934 ***	1.501 ***	1.393 ***
N children <5	0.086 ***	0.089	0.019	0.183	-0.175
N children 5+	0.039 ***	-0.013	0.043	0.118 +	-0.048
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	0.358 ***	0.309 **	0.472 ***	0.977 **	0.37
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.014	0.081	0.063	0.517 *	0.392 *
College	-0.126 ***	0.213 **	-0.041	0.629 **	0.045
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	-0.394 ***	-0.322 ***	-0.487 ***	-0.894 ***	-0.45 *
Quartile 3	-0.485 ***	-0.439 ***	-0.568 ***	-0.762 ***	-0.342
Quartile 4 (highest)	-0.483 ***	-0.205 *	-0.484 ***	-1.007 ***	-0.205
% Co-ethnic self-emp	12.858 ***	15.982 ***	15.163 ***	11.532 ***	10.142 ***

+ $p > .10$ * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Notes: All models control for geographic region, urbanicity, age, and survey year.

Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020.

Table 3. Multinomial regression predicting the odds of wage employment, self-employment, and non employment: Foreign-born men.

	Mexico									
	Central Am.	Caribbean	South Am.	China	Korea	Middle East	India	Other Asia	Africa	Euro/Can/Aus
Wage employed (vs. not employed)										
Family characteristics										
Married	0.355 ***	0.259 **	0.023	0.299 +	0.150	0.323 *	0.663 **	0.450 ***	0.296	0.231 +
Spouse self-employed	-0.127	-0.326	-0.175	0.588	-0.232	-1.122 *	-0.489	-0.210	0.155	0.255
N children <5	0.405 ***	0.399 ***	0.504 *	0.305	0.305	0.237	0.161	0.016	0.106	0.347 *
N children 5+	0.117 ***	0.135 **	0.008	0.043	-0.083	0.347 +	-0.141	-0.003	0.025	0.158 *
SES characteristics										
Less than HS	-0.165 *	-0.056	-0.777 ***	-0.161	-0.283	-1.517 **	-0.36 *	-0.464 **	-0.681 **	-0.762 ***
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.208 *	-0.058	0.251	-0.358 *	-1.269 ***	-0.274	-0.428	-0.122	-0.317 +	-0.235 +
College	-0.372 **	0.126	0.533 *	-0.219	-0.165	0.49	1.185 ***	0.666 ***	0.578 **	0.543 ***
Family income										
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.848 ***	0.936 ***	0.883 ***	1.528 ***	1.274 ***	1.431 ***	1.453 ***	1.302 ***	0.869 ***	1.137 ***
Quartile 3	1.121 ***	1.019 ***	0.923 ***	1.427 ***	1.714 ***	1.404 ***	1.815 ***	1.475 ***	1.058 ***	1.247 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.275 ***	1.166 ***	1.622 ***	1.986 ***	2.589 ***	1.847 ***	1.686 ***	1.493 ***	0.839 ***	1.6 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	-1.776 **	0.042	-2.747 *	0.473	-0.485	3.02 *	0.267	1.539 +	2.347 *	-1.567 **
Years since migration	-0.029 ***	-0.023 ***	0.018 +	0.008	0.051 ***	0.07 ***	0.01	0.003	-0.003	0.019 **
Self-employed (vs. not employed)										
Family characteristics										
Married	0.385 ***	0.517 ***	-0.25	0.729 ***	0.322	0.567	0.439 *	0.952 ***	0.058	0.249
Spouse self-employed	1.499 ***	1.789 ***	0.947	1.878 ***	1.325 **	-0.016	1.337 **	1.354 ***	0.815	1.401 ***
N children <5	0.469 ***	0.415 **	0.31	0.382	0.516 *	-0.196	0.359 *	-0.23	0.37 *	0.553 **
N children 5+	0.173 ***	0.185 ***	0.093	-0.07	0.148	0.298	0.11	-0.099	0.038	0.158 *
SES characteristics										
Less than HS	-0.152 +	0.005	-0.992 *	0.149	-0.52	-1.288	-0.671 *	-0.707 *	-1.632 ***	-0.445 +
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.329 *	-0.328 *	0.594 *	-0.693 **	-0.929 **	-0.449	-0.757 ***	-0.199	-0.591 *	-0.325 +
College	-0.365 *	-0.411 *	0.664 *	-0.585 **	-0.781 **	0.316	-0.46 *	0.254	0.214	0.113
Family income										
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.32 ***	0.472 ***	0.611 *	1.367 ***	0.769 **	0.793 +	1.165 ***	1.906 ***	1.08 ***	0.903 ***
Quartile 3	0.72 ***	0.583 ***	0.346	0.986 ***	1.017 ***	1.221 **	1.739 ***	1.623 ***	0.493 *	0.751 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.115 ***	0.762 ***	0.843 *	1.742 ***	1.657 ***	0.986 *	1.364 ***	1.914 ***	1.036 ***	0.978 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	8.513 ***	11.992 ***	12.611 ***	8.25 ***	7.626 ***	8.574 ***	10.066 ***	11.261 ***	10.595 ***	8.009 ***
Years since migration	-0.017 *	-0.02 **	0.055 **	0.007	0.075 ***	0.11 ***	0.054 ***	0.048 **	0.028 *	0.007
Self-employed (vs wage employed)										
Family characteristics										
Married	0.03	0.259 **	-0.274	0.429 **	0.172	0.716 *	0.116	0.502 **	-0.238	0.018
Spouse self-employed	1.626 ***	1.463 ***	1.121 *	1.29 ***	1.558 ***	1.107 ***	1.283 ***	1.563 ***	0.661 *	1.145 ***
N children <5	0.063	0.016	-0.194	-0.133	0.211	-0.433	0.198 +	-0.245	0.263 *	0.206 *
N children 5+	0.056 *	0.05	0.085	-0.113 +	0.231 **	-0.049	0.099 *	-0.097	0.013	0.001
SES characteristics										
Less than HS	0.012	0.061	-0.215	0.309 +	-0.237	0.228	-0.311	-0.242	-0.95 *	0.316
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	-0.121	-0.27 *	0.343	-0.335 *	0.341	-0.175	-0.139	-0.078	-0.274	-0.09
College	0.007	-0.537 ***	0.13	-0.366 **	-0.616 **	-0.174	-0.315 *	-0.93 ***	-0.254	-0.43 ***
Family income										
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	-0.529 ***	-0.465 ***	-0.272	-0.161	-0.504 *	-0.638	0.023	-0.651 **	0.21	-0.234
Quartile 3	-0.401 ***	-0.436 ***	-0.578 *	-0.441 **	-0.697 **	-0.183	-0.075	-0.982 ***	0.165	-0.496 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	-0.16	-0.405 **	-0.78 *	-0.244	-0.933 ***	-0.861 *	-0.322 +	-0.458 *	0.039	-0.622 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	10.289 ***	11.949 ***	15.358 ***	7.777 ***	8.112 ***	5.554 ***	9.799 ***	12.096 ***	10.511 ***	9.576 ***
Years since migration	0.012 *	0.003	0.036 *	-0.002	0.024 *	0.04 *	0.045 ***	0.025 *	0.037 **	-0.012 *

+p > .10 *p < .05. ***p < .001.

Notes: All models control for geographic region, urbanicity, age, and survey year.

Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020.

Table 4. Multinomial regression predicting the odds of wage employment, self-employment, and non employment: Native-born women.

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Amer. Indian
Wage employed (vs. not employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	-0.519 ***	-0.453 ***	-0.645 ***	-0.514 ***	-0.425 ***
Spouse self-employed	-0.048 +	0.166	-0.193 *	-0.179	-0.179
N children <5	-0.380 ***	0.181 ***	-0.186 ***	-0.205 **	-0.116
N children 5+	-0.180 ***	0.040 **	-0.083 ***	-0.204 ***	-0.042
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	-0.965 ***	-0.805 ***	-0.726 ***	-0.741 ***	-0.802 ***
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.199 ***	0.297 ***	0.212 ***	-0.019	0.259 **
College	0.81 ***	0.808 ***	0.746 ***	0.784 ***	0.637 ***
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.857 ***	0.94 ***	0.622 ***	0.634 ***	0.747 ***
Quartile 3	1.171 ***	1.218 ***	0.853 ***	0.747 ***	1.16 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.196 ***	1.127 ***	0.969 ***	0.792 ***	1.193 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	-0.015	0.355	0.629	-0.577	-0.339
Self-employed (vs. not employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	-0.212 ***	0.055	-0.563 ***	-0.482 *	0.099
Spouse self-employed	1.267 ***	1.151 ***	1.512 ***	1.441 ***	1.422 ***
N children <5	-0.151 ***	0.245 **	-0.056	-0.204	-0.026
N children 5+	-0.117 ***	0.062 +	-0.12 **	-0.267 **	-0.114
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	-0.808 ***	-0.731 ***	-0.541 ***	-0.61	-0.159
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.451 ***	0.853 ***	0.262 *	0.123	-0.171
College	0.931 ***	1.188 ***	0.766 ***	0.75 **	0.404
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.499 ***	0.435 ***	0.397 ***	0.463 +	0.829 **
Quartile 3	0.631 ***	0.799 ***	0.581 ***	0.762 **	1.048 **
Quartile 4 (highest)	0.744 ***	0.701 ***	0.841 ***	0.77 **	1.292 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	10.844 ***	13.571 ***	12.056 ***	8.413 ***	10.023 ***
Self-employed (vs wage employed)					
Family characteristics					
Married	0.307 ***	0.508 ***	0.083	0.032	0.524 *
Spouse self-employed	1.315 ***	0.985 ***	1.705 ***	1.62 ***	1.601 ***
N children <5	0.23 ***	0.064	0.129	0.001	0.089
N children 5+	0.063 ***	0.022	-0.036	-0.063	-0.072
SES characteristics					
Less than HS	0.157 *	0.074	0.185	0.131	0.642 +
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.251 ***	0.556 ***	0.05	0.142	-0.431
College	0.121 ***	0.38 ***	0.02	-0.033	-0.233
Family income					
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	-0.358 ***	-0.505 ***	-0.225 *	-0.171	0.082
Quartile 3	-0.54 ***	-0.419 ***	-0.271 *	0.015	-0.112
Quartile 4 (highest)	-0.452 ***	-0.425 ***	-0.128	-0.022	0.099
% Co-ethnic self-emp	10.86 ***	13.216 ***	11.427 ***	8.991 ***	10.361 ***

+p > .10 *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: All models control for geographic region, urbanicity, age, and survey year.

Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020.

Table 5. Multinomial regression predicting the odds of wage employment, self-employment, and non employment: Foreign-born women.

	Mexico	Central Am.	Caribbean	South Am.	China	Korea	Middle East	India	Other Asia	Africa	Euro/Can/Aus
Wage employed (vs. not employed)											
Family characteristics											
Married	-1.288 ***	-0.929 ***	-0.687 ***	-1.031 ***	-1.064 ***	-1.311 ***	-0.727 ***	-1.598 ***	-0.809 ***	-1.021 ***	-0.976 ***
Spouse self-employed	-0.351 ***	-0.176 +	-0.099	-0.279 *	0.062	-0.128	-0.321 *	0.022	0.227	0.350 +	-0.180 +
N children <5	-0.465 ***	-0.352 ***	-0.211 *	-0.537 ***	-0.366 ***	-0.429 **	-0.762 ***	-0.475 ***	-0.475 ***	-0.531 ***	-0.531 ***
N children 5+	-0.151 ***	-0.039 +	0.033	-0.191 ***	-0.150 **	-0.360 ***	-0.277 ***	-0.172 **	-0.096 **	-0.040	-0.232 ***
SES characteristics											
Less than HS	-0.265 ***	-0.405 ***	-0.503 **	-0.528 ***	-0.329 +	-0.968 *	-0.727 ***	-0.748 **	-0.262 *	-0.143	-0.939 ***
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.328 ***	0.101	0.182	0.094	-0.469 **	0.038	-0.023	0.072	-0.033	0.597 ***	0.039
College	0.232 **	0.21 **	0.54 **	0.271 **	-0.057	0.158	0.33 ***	0.215	0.12	0.504 ***	0.526 ***
Family income											
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.89 ***	0.891 ***	0.834 ***	0.719 ***	1.121 ***	1.187 ***	0.946 ***	0.842 ***	0.923 ***	0.488 ***	0.812 ***
Quartile 3	1.416 ***	1.339 ***	0.939 ***	1.114 ***	1.378 ***	1.364 ***	1.164 ***	0.555 ***	1.065 ***	0.774 ***	1.006 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.519 ***	1.306 ***	1.235 ***	1.487 ***	1.752 ***	1.786 ***	1.492 ***	1.746 ***	1.427 ***	0.682 ***	1.166 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	-0.324	0.138	2.086 +	0.035	-0.006	-0.168	-0.29	-0.103	0.896	-1.036	-0.937 *
Years since migration	0.021 ***	0.016 ***	0.006	0.041 ***	0.035 ***	0.073 ***	0.03 ***	0.037 ***	0.027 ***	0.024 ***	0.039 ***
Self-employed (vs. not employed)											
Family characteristics											
Married	-1.584 ***	-1.023 ***	-0.914 **	-1.213 ***	-1.448 ***	-1.628 ***	-0.782 **	-1.305 **	-0.996 ***	-1.058 ***	-0.728 ***
Spouse self-employed	1.274 ***	1.09 ***	0.32	1.051 ***	1.459 ***	1.024 ***	1.106 ***	1.232 ***	1.792 ***	1.387 ***	0.771 ***
N children <5	-0.321 **	-0.478 **	-0.812 +	-0.391 *	-0.214	-0.493	-0.487 *	-0.601 *	-0.687 ***	-0.278	-0.547 ***
N children 5+	-0.208 ***	0.013	0.134	-0.171 *	-0.123	-0.218 +	-0.27 **	0.008	-0.25 ***	-0.176 +	-0.176 **
SES characteristics											
Less than HS	-0.285 **	-0.516 ***	-0.709	-0.312	-0.18	-0.651	0.069	-14.381	-0.285	0.693 +	-1.428 *
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.338 *	0.1	0.264	-0.165	0.072	-0.141	-0.616 +	0.959 +	0.311	0.45	-0.145
College	-0.041	0.193	0.657 +	0.171	0.166	-0.406	0.443 +	0.775 +	0.138	0.515	0.654 ***
Family income											
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	0.614 ***	0.857 ***	0.611 +	0.459 *	0.794 **	0.567	0.534 +	0.865 +	1.021 ***	0.183	-0.022
Quartile 3	1.355 ***	1.271 ***	0.035	0.86 ***	1.359 ***	0.301	0.658 +	0.54	1.157 ***	0.754 *	0.219
Quartile 4 (highest)	1.702 ***	1.276 ***	0.631	0.537 *	1.503 ***	1.191 **	1.545 ***	1.549 ***	1.328 ***	0.496	0.448 *
% Co-ethnic self-emp	9.894 ***	6.783 ***	9.511 ***	7.64 ***	8.176 ***	8.484 ***	7.241 ***	5.916 ***	9.691 ***	8.724 ***	7.585 ***
Years since migration	0.015 *	0.006	0.02	0.039 ***	0.042 **	0.064 ***	0.019	0.042 *	0.021 *	0.078 ***	0.018 *
Self-employed (vs wage employed)											
Family characteristics											
Married	-0.296 **	-0.095	-0.227	-0.183	-0.384 +	-0.317	-0.055	0.293	-0.187	-0.037	0.248 +
Spouse self-employed	1.625 ***	1.266 ***	0.418	1.33 ***	1.397 ***	1.151 ***	1.427 ***	1.21 ***	1.566 ***	1.037 **	0.951 ***
N children <5	0.143	-0.126	-0.601	0.146	0.152	-0.065	0.276	-0.139	-0.211	-0.044	-0.016
N children 5+	-0.057	0.053	0.101	0.021	0.027	0.143	0.007	0.18	-0.154 *	-0.136	0.056
SES characteristics											
Less than HS	-0.02	-0.111	-0.205	0.216	0.149	0.317	0.796 *	-13.633	-0.023	0.836 *	-0.49
High school (ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some college	0.01	-0.001	0.082	-0.259	0.542 +	-0.179	-0.593 +	0.887 +	0.344 +	-0.147	-0.184
College	-0.273 +	-0.018	0.117	-0.1	0.223	-0.564 +	0.113	0.56	0.018	0.012	0.128
Family income											
Quartile 1 (lowest, ref.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quartile 2	-0.275 *	-0.034	-0.223	-0.26	-0.327	-0.62	-0.412	0.023	0.098	-0.305	-0.834 ***
Quartile 3	-0.061	-0.067	-0.904 *	-0.254	-0.019	-1.063 **	-0.506	-0.015	0.092	-0.02	-0.787 ***
Quartile 4 (highest)	0.183	-0.03	-0.604	-0.65 **	-0.249	-0.595	0.053	-0.197	-0.099	-0.186	-0.718 ***
% Co-ethnic self-emp	10.218 ***	6.645 ***	7.425 ***	7.605 ***	8.182 ***	8.652 ***	7.531 ***	6.019 ***	8.795 ***	9.76 ***	8.521 ***
Years since migration	-0.006	-0.011	0.014	-0.003	0.007	-0.009	-0.011	0.004	-0.006	0.054 **	-0.021 **

+p > .10 *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Notes: All models control for geographic region, urbanicity, age, and survey year.

Source: Annual Social and Economic March Supplement (ASEC of the CPS) 2015-2020.