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# DIGNITY

AN UNDERGRADUATE  
HUMAN RIGHTS JOURNAL

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## Note from the Editorial Board

We live in trying times: a pandemic threatens the very fabric of our societies; crucial conversations around race and inequality have created a paradigm shift in private and public spaces; and democracies fray and fracture under pressures from numerous sources. What better voices to capture, analyze, and critique those changes than those of undergraduate students?

At *Dignity*, we believe that you don't need an advanced degree to make valuable contributions to human rights discourse. However, there are very few journals dedicated to undergraduate scholarship, and even fewer that recognize the importance of undergraduate scholarship in human rights specifically. *Dignity* was created to fill this gap by showcasing a broad spectrum of human rights scholarship by undergraduate students in the University of North Carolina System. As an Editorial Board wading into new territory, we strove to create a journal that would inspire undergraduates from all disciplines to see themselves as valuable contributors to human rights discourse.

*Dignity* is not just an abstract title. It is also a declaration and reminder that human rights are the legal, economic, political, and social recognition of the fundamental and equal *Dignity* of all persons. We believe that the scholarship in our first edition is a testament to the range of human rights challenges that have attracted attention across the disciplines, including protecting economic *Dignity* of women in the workforce, preserving the political *Dignity* at the foundation of human rights reporting, and respecting the cultural *Dignity* communicated by language and memory of trauma. These topics are as interdisciplinary as the study and promotion of human rights, and we hope that this broad understanding of human rights continues to grow over time.

At a time when many of us could not leave our homes, we created a journal that reaches out and crosses borders. When you think of *Dignity*, we hope that you are reminded of what is possible: that we can envision something new during periods of unrest and unknown; that we can shape the future we want in part by giving undergraduate human rights scholarship and activism a platform to thrive. We hope that more students and faculty from across the UNC system will be inspired to join our endeavor as *Dignity* becomes more established and reaches a wider audience. Being the inaugural Editorial Board of *Dignity* has been a tremendous honor and responsibility. We are immensely grateful for everyone who lent support to this effort, including our Advisory Board and our Chief Advisor, Dr. Linda Cornett. We are especially grateful to the undergraduate students who entrusted us with their scholarship. They are an inspiration to us all.

Sincerely,

The Editorial Board, '20-'21

# “Amnistía” o Amnesia: The Regime a Country was Told to Forget

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## Abstract

The “Amnesty Law of 1977” is a Spanish law that accompanied the reinstatement of democracy after the death of dictator Francisco Franco in 1975. Following a civil war and the longest dictatorship in European history, the law dictated that the events of the regime would not be spoken of or taught about in Spain. Additionally, both political prisoners of Francoist Spain and former allies and members of Franco’s Falange Party could not be prosecuted for any crimes they may have committed during his reign. This law, the strategic manipulation of trauma, and the regulation of a single narrative have encouraged a culture of silence in Spain that became known as “The Pact to Forget” (*El Pacto del Olvido*). This project investigates the necessity for multiple narratives to be heard, highlighting portrayals of the war and regime in Spanish art and cinema, and incorporates interviews with Spaniards conducted both here in Asheville and abroad in Seville, Spain.

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## 1 Introduction

The Spanish Civil War was a brutal three-year struggle from 1936-1939, between left-leaning Republicans fighting in favor of Spain’s recently established democratic government, and far-right Nationalists led by General Francisco Franco and his Falangist party. The latter ultimately won, with Franco declaring himself the supreme leader, or *Caudillo*, and launching

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<sup>1</sup>I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Greta Trautmann of the UNC Asheville Languages and Literatures Department. This year presented some unique challenges to this project, but her constant guidance, patience, and enthusiasm is very much appreciated. I would also like to thank Dr. Elena Adell and Professors Maria Idoia Cebriá and Andrea Forcada of the Languages and Literatures Department for their insightful contributions from our interview. Lastly, thank you to the UNC Asheville Department for Undergraduate Research for allowing me to have this opportunity.

Spain into the longest dictatorship in the history of Europe. Numerous groups were subsequently marginalized and oppressed during Franco's rule, and it became commonplace for persons deemed enemies of the state to be imprisoned, tortured, disappeared, and killed. Many of the bodies of these prisoners were disposed of in unmarked ditches and mass graves all across the country, accumulating to the point that Spain is now the country with the second-highest number of mass graves in the world (Ministerio De Justicia, 2020). This information is only recently coming to the forefront of the public eye, and as it gains more recognition on the national and international scale is it important to grant these stories individual attention and connect them to a wider collective context.

It is essential that the avenues of sharing memory continuously evolve, so they may always serve as an effective means for silenced voices to heal from the trauma of attempted erasure. In this project, I will reconsider the approaches of memory as it relates to the Spanish Civil War and Francoist regime through film and media. I will do this by considering texts relating memorial narrative and suppression, including iconic Spanish film, the contemporary documentaries *Not Reconciled* (2009) and *El Silencio de Los Otros* (2018), as well as direct interviews with Spaniards.

## 2 Body of Paper

After a generation of people who only knew life under the fascist rule of Franco, the dictatorship came to an end in 1975 when Franco died of old age. It was at this point that Spanish government officials found themselves in a precarious situation, having to decide how to transition into a post-Franco democracy and somehow try to reconcile all the tragedies that occurred under his rule. Their elected course of action materialized as "The Amnesty Law of 1977" (*La Ley de Amnistía*), a law in which all political prisoners of the Francoist regime would be freed and pardoned, but any and all former officials of the regime would also be pardoned of any human rights violations they had committed against the newly freed prisoners (Martín-Cabera, 2007). This was described by Spanish policymakers as "simplemente un olvido. Una amnistía de todos para todos. Un olvido de todos para todos," (simply forgetting. It is an amnesty of all for all, a forgetting of all for all), and passed in the Spanish parliament with a vote of 296 in favor versus two opposed (Carracedo and Bahar, 2018). Jill Daniels, a filmmaker and contributor to a journal titled "Rethinking History," remarks, "There was no Pact of Reconciliation, no Truth Commission, no purge of the army or the paramilitary Civil Guard and no assessment of the crimes of the regime" (Daniels, 2014). The same institutions are still essentially in place even without Franco. The Spanish monarchy was even reinstated as part of his will (Carracedo and Bahar, 2018).

The wider societal implications of this law also fostered a nationwide culture of "forgetting" the war and regime, suppressing mention of it in the curriculum of any public and most

private or religious schools, and discouraging any direct memory from the time period. This became known as “The Pact to Forget” (*El Pacto del Olvido* (2007)). In essence, this was nothing new. The Pact to Forget was preceded by an unspoken pact of silence instilled into the Spanish citizenry by means of intimidation and authoritarianism following the civil war. Survivors of this period in Spanish history described life during the regime as “a permanent state of terror,” which facilitates using silence as a means to survive (Daniels, 2014). Thus, trauma and pain became associated with the act of remembering the events that transpired during the war and under Franco’s rule. As the past became synonymous with pain and chaos, it became increasingly easy for the state to advance a narrative that remembering meant reliving trauma even before the initiation of the Amnesty Law (Archibald, 2004; Asín, 2016). This association flattened any inclination of further consideration of the civil war for an entire generation in Spain.

The question then becomes how does this period of Spanish history become reconciled to the people of Spain after so long, and is it even possible? Is there a desire for reconciliation? There are no simple answers to these questions because it is impossible to generalize about all Spaniards. As is the nature of a civil war, some Spaniards were on the side of the existing Republican government and some sided with Franco, and these divisions persist today. I have had a variety of conversations with various Spanish citizens, both abroad in Sevilla and here in the United States, and attitudes towards discussing the civil war range anywhere from complete openness to casual dismissal to ignorance. During an interview with three Spanish professors, Elena Adell, and professors Maria Idoia Cebriá and Andrea Forcada, I gained further insight into the varying experiences and attitudes of the general public in Spain. Cebriá explained to me that generations that experienced the horrors of the war and regime directly are not very forthcoming, and there is a general consensus that they simply wish to move on. Most of what Cebriá has heard of the war comes from her parents, born after the war, but not directly from her grandparents, who lived through it themselves. This sentiment was echoed in another conversation I had with a professor while in Sevilla, who seemed confused why I would even be interested in the civil war or Francoist regime. She didn’t have much direct information to give me, citing that she was only a toddler when Franco died and the regime ended, and after explaining my motivations to her she concisely replied, “well, it’s in the past” (Anonymous, February 2020).

This represents another key aspect of how memory projects towards this subject have developed over time. There are wide and evident generational disparities in knowledge and approach to the topic of the civil war and regime. This is partially due to an organized censorship of education and media that evolved over-time from the final years of the dictatorship through the following decades. Forcada, Adell, and Cebriá note their differing experiences in public education in Spain. Forcada, going through the Spanish education system later, mentioned that she was taught some about the civil war in her schooling, while it was not included

at all in Cebriá or Adell's primary or secondary curriculum. It was "skipped over," and Adell remarked she feels that she is still learning about it (Adell, Idoia Cebriá and Forcada, October 9, 2020).

It is important to note that institutions cannot be exclusively charged with consolidating memory. Some relics of Franco's rule persist under the radar even after his death, but it also opens an opportunity for Spanish citizens to critique these relics. How do they want to carry memory into the future? Drawing from the sentiments expressed by Cebriá about her grandparents, some survivors are so accustomed to the culture of silence that they simply wish to try and keep memory at bay in the past. This response is not necessarily wrong. Trauma molds the actions of each of its carriers differently. However, regardless of the personal decisions of some, the memory of this dark time in Spanish history is very much still evident in the present. All over the country there are streets, plazas, and monuments dedicated to Franco and his subordinates that exist in full view of those their namesakes' persecuted. *El Arco de la Victoria* in Madrid.<sup>1</sup> *Valle de los Caídos*, the former resting place of the general until his exhumation just last year. There is even a Franco Foundation dedicated to the memory of the dictator (Carracedo and Bahar, 2018). All of this is to say that to some degree, a total amnesia for all is not possible when institutions are pushing a singular perspective of memory that serves their own interests. The alternative to this is storytelling in a manner that contextualizes history with valued and diverse lived experiences, connecting past and present in a useful fashion for the purpose of healing. As validity is placed back on individual stories, memory can be processed, which facilitates in it being let go rather than suppressed. As Elizabeth Jelin notes, "Working through is no doubt a form of repetition yet modified by interpretation" (Jelin, 2003).

To define effective storytelling, it must accomplish the following: acknowledge memory not as something existing exclusively in the past but rather part of one continuous and relevant presence, acknowledge the unique perspectives of survivors as both subjective and valid at the same time, and be allowed to evolve its methods with the times so as to not become repetitive and stale. One of the first well-known products of civil war memory, long before the Amnesty Law was passed, was Picasso's *Guernica* (1937), a massive mural detailing the bombing of a town in the Basque region of northern Spain. Painted while the war was still raging, it gives a powerful visual to the terror experienced in that period. *Guernica* cannot be charged with recounting the full suffering of all Spaniards however. Once Franco's Falange seized unopposed hegemony of the nation, they used their own interpretation of Picasso's painting to their advantage. Asín highlights that "Picasso's canvas was a key to the regulation of the events of 1937, making them as part of a National Heritage to be commemorated but not relived" (Asín, 2016). Without denying the "truth" of the event, it is skewed once again to intensify trauma and promote silence, which is a dangerous compromise. This "skewing" also continued in a different form once the nation began the transition to democracy, with the government utilizing the painting as a document of the past, depicting outdated barbarity

from an unspecified and supposedly vanquished foe (Asín, 2016). This process outlines the limitations of the storytelling abilities of *Guernica*, as it can be continuously reinterpreted to suit the current power without a clear link to why it is still relevant today. Asín also remarks that *Guernica* has historically overshadowed other cities and towns destroyed in the war as well, especially in the Basque, Catalan, and Valencian regions, and this selectivity is usually linked to the political leanings of the victims who once inhabited the settlements.<sup>3</sup> This is the danger of overestimating the capabilities of one perspective of a story, and why additional testimony and context must continuously contribute to the wider narrative. As Asín puts it, we must be dedicated to “connecting it to a broader narrative interested in offering new understandings of the war” (Asín, 2016).

## 2.1 Public Perception and Cinema

Following Franco’s death, a certain degree of censorship was also lifted from various content-creating communities, propagating an explosion from various artists to express long-restrained narratives of their own. This had a significant impact on Spanish cinema, which had previously been used even by Franco himself to spread propaganda, but was quickly reclaimed to serve those who had been previously oppressed (Archibald, 2004). Archibald expresses that “[t]his artistic freedom, coupled with a desire to cinematically re-represent a repressed and distorted history, has ensured that the country’s recent past has become a rich historical seam for Spanish filmmakers to mine” (2004). Like other methods of storytelling, film-making has its subjectivities as well and has had to evolve through the years since the transition. Even as Spaniards developed this new freedom of expression, the culture of silence still persisted in the national psyche. Archibald elaborates, “there have been many films made that were (supposedly) about the war, or about the tough times during the dictatorship. But the treatment of the topic was mediated by some form of indirection” (2004). An iconic example of this is *El Espíritu de La Colmena*, directed by Victor Erice and released in 1973 in the last years of the Franco regime. Set in 1940 in a rural Castilian village, *El Espíritu de La Colmena* is not necessarily a war movie but presents the wider setting of a devastated Spain trying to recover from the conflict throughout the film. With a six-year-old girl (portrayed by Ana Torrent) as its main protagonist, Erice’s period piece can dance around the theme of the war because its perspective is from someone who can be easily dismissed as immature, uncomprehending, and hyperbolic. This appeases the systems in power, appearing non-threatening, but also provides the audience with some underlying commentary about the political and economic environment of the Spanish State in the 1940’s, where defeated Republican soldiers are still being hunted down and mercilessly shot on sight (Erice, 1973). As many critics have noted, *El Espíritu de La Colmena* is laden with multiple enigmatic metaphors representing facets of civilian, political, and national Spanish realities and shared experiences. The film’s perspective

of how to consolidate memory with trauma is most evident in the penultimate scene, as the local doctor comforts Ana's mother after the child is found traumatized and mute following her running away. He consoles her, saying, "Ana es todavía una niña. Está bajo los efectos de una impresión muy fuerte...Pero se le pasará. Poco a poco, irá olvidando. Lo importante es que tu hija vive. Que vive." (Ana is still a small child. She has suffered a great shock. But she will recover. Little by little, she will forget. The important thing is that she is alive. She is alive) (Erice, 1973). Considering this advice a supra-metaphor for the nation, when the doctor mentions Ana, he is really referring to Spain. This then acts almost as a precursor for the Pact to Forget, suggesting that forgetting the trauma of the war is the way to a healthier national psyche.

We can contrast *El Espíritu de La Colmena* with a later period piece, *¡Ay Carmela!* directed by Carlos Saura in 1990, which is set during the civil war. Saura's film, released a decade and a half after Franco's death, chronicles a trio of traveling performers who put on shows for Republican soldiers on the war front, but who are later captured and imprisoned by Nationalist forces and forced to perform propagandized productions for them. Unlike *El Espíritu de La Colmena*, *¡Ay Carmela!* is unequivocally a war movie, albeit categorized as a comedy. The use of comedic elements in a film about the civil war has two central implications. The first is noted by Saura himself: "I would have been incapable a few years ago of treating our civil war with humor, but now it is different, for sufficient time has passed to adopt a broader perspective, and there is no doubt that by employing humor it is possible to say things that would be more difficult if not possible to say in another way" (Archibald, 2004). In this way we see modes of storytelling developing and diversifying, but the characterization of *¡Ay Carmela!* as a comedy is also somewhat startling given its tragic ending. *¡Ay Carmela!* while definitely having a more light-hearted tone at times, does not fit into the typical parameters of a comedy, but because it deals with a subject matter that has previously been taken so seriously, any inclusion of humor can be seen by both its Spanish and foreign audiences as a drastic shift. Additionally, this insistence of Saura to wait a certain amount of time to employ such techniques is precarious because it can disconnect past and present. Jelin underlines that "[o]nce sufficient time has elapsed to make possible the establishment of a minimum degree of distance between past and present, alternative (even rival) interpretations of that recent past and its memory occupy a central place in cultural and political debates" (Jelin, 2003).

This hesitancy and caution with which such a traumatic subject is handled are understandable, and trauma itself plays a large role in addressing memory. Jelin (2003) further asserts that "[f]or the individual subject, the imprints of trauma play a central role in determining what the person can or cannot remember, silence, forget, or work through." This creates a struggle for both those recounting memory and recording it, and a hesitancy rooted in questioning validity of the narrative takes form.

At this crossroads of caution and authenticity is where we see documentaries come into

play as a means of preserving and contributing to memory. A significant documentary on the subject of personal memory and trauma is *Not Reconciled*, released in 2009 by Jill Daniels, and which she further elaborates on in her contribution to the journal “Rethinking History” in 2014. This documentary is narrated by two fictionalized ghosts, Republican youths Carlos and Rosa, who were killed during the civil war. Throughout the film they reflect on their short lives and their current existence in a limbo-like state, and as this happens, various shots of Belchite, the real-life village in Aragon, which was destroyed by Nationalist forces, rotate across the screen.<sup>10</sup> The nature and execution of storytelling in this documentary contribute to a unique commentary, which Daniels very deliberately developed. The use of ghosts as narrators is a powerful personification of memory. While the telling of their stories does not change the events of the past or bring them back to life, Carlos and Rosa will not know peace until their stories are told. They are hidden to the eyes of everyday people, but they still exist beyond sight. Daniels (2014) notes, “What appears to be invisible or in the shadows is announcing itself,” a strong metaphor for the relegation of memory in Spanish culture. Although there is frequently an absence of visual manifestation of memory, it is still present and felt, perhaps unwillingly, like the disembodied voices of Carlos and Rosa that survey the ruins of Belchite. Subjectivity is again highlighted in *Not Reconciled* as Daniels makes note of Carlos’ and Rosa’s respective experiences, which although at times are contradictory, still provide a fuller image of the battle that took place. This method of fictionalized perspective in film-making outlines the essential connection between memory and humanity. Daniels insists that “[d]ocumentary does not rely on interviewees to act as witnesses to history, to provide incontrovertible veracity... Yet it is able to reveal uncertainty, distraction, and avoidance.”<sup>4</sup> This is also echoed in Asín’s assessment of projects related to Guernica as well, as she remarks, “[Survivors] speak neither as experts nor in the name of history, but rather as carriers of subjective and personal memories that help to constitute the collective narrative of the past” (Asín, 2016). The subjective aspect of memory projects is something that must be acknowledged and accepted, as they are projects about human experiences and the processing of trauma. Asín argues that “[t]rue memory is threatened with substitution by the archive, a broad term used to refer to the modern mechanical reproduction of the past” (Asín, 2016). The methodology behind *Not Reconciled* effectively accomplishes this in a new and efficient manner, with its very human emphasis on storytelling and bridging past and present as one continuous narrative.

The documentary *The Silence of Others*, released in 2018 and directed by Almudena Caracedo and Robert Bahar, chronicles the collection of testimonies from hundreds of civil war and regime survivors. Taking place over six years, it follows the survivors filing a lawsuit in an Argentine court in an attempt to bring Francoist persecutors to justice. Detailing a variety of unique stories from survivors across generations, the varying manifestations of oppression under the regime are on full display. One witness describes his involvement in a democratic student union and subsequent imprisonment and torture in the late 1960’s. Since then, he

has been forced to live as neighbors with his own torturer, who was granted impunity under the Amnesty Law. Another woman remembers being a small child during the war, when her mother was put in an internment camp and eventually executed and left in a roadside grave. The daughter has known the location of this grave for years but has still not been able to recover her mother's remains.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the numerous individual testimonies, the documentary also contextualizes the Pact to Forget and its role as a tool of oppression and connects the issue to the contemporary resurgence of far-right movements in Spain. Scenes of crowds rallying in the streets with signs saying, "Make Spain Great Again," are interchanged with a direct interview with the director of Franco Foundation, who remarks, "Lo mas importante, en mi opinion, para recordar a Franco, es que no se equivocó nunca. Franco preserva a la civilización occidental y cristiana de la tiranía comunista." (In my opinion, the most important thing to remember about Franco is that he was never wrong. Franco saved the Christian Western civilization from communist tyranny.) This is one of the most telling scenes in the entire documentary, as it is an efficient means of demonstrating not only Franco's lasting influence through his strategic placement in the national memory, but also how movements abroad can have a domino effect in other countries. There is a broader context outside of Spain. This method of documentary style focuses less on the potential subjectivity of the various survivors than in other storytelling techniques; it gives room for allowing varying memories their own space in Spain's current political climate. This puts less emphasis on the standardization of "valid" memories and instead establishes the presence of the "little stories" to be valuable in their own right. The focus is on the fact that these statements are being made, which in and of itself is important aside from the exact accuracy of each statement.

The importance of storytelling comes down to giving everyone space to share their own experience, thus giving them space to be human. There is a unique power dynamic that accompanies storytelling, which Franco and his regime were aware of and attempted to take advantage of by means of systematic oppression and the incessant reminder of trauma. These methods and institutions remained long after the death of the dictator himself. Adell remarked on this institution and dynamic by commenting that, "I think for me it's this thing which is power. Things that seemed so unlikely a few years ago start happening, it's not that we get used to them but we get used to dealing with them... There are ideas that people follow, but at the end of the day, I think we're seeing how power works, and how power is able and ready to do anything to remain, and how ideas are bent" (Adell, Idoia Cebriá and Forcada, October 9, 2020). This statement also reflects Daniel's remarks about the ruins of Belchite, stating, "there is silence and absence in a place where history tells us that once there was the opposite" (Daniels, 2014). It is a powerful dichotomy to assert that things haven't always been the way they are, and that just because they are one way now, that they have to remain that way for sake of consistency. Jelin notes, "There is a need to "historicize" memories, which is to say that the meanings attached to the past change over time and are part of larger, complex

social and political scenarios” (2003).

### 3 Conclusion

Memory has a place in the present and can lead to change. Change is already happening in Spain. The “Historical Memory Law” was passed in 2007, legalizing, among other things, the exhumation of mass graves that dot the Spanish countryside, but this is only one small step towards redress (Ministerio De Justicia, 2020; Carracedo and Bahar, 2018). In my interview, Cebriá, Adell, and Forcada all cautioned against the influence of the VOX Party in Spain, a contemporary far-right political party with allegiance to Francoist-style policies, and only one example of far-right resurgence in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, the court case at the center of *The Silence of Others* has met resistance every step of the way, and the Spanish ambassador to Argentina even halted video testimonials under threat that it would mean breaking relations between the two countries.<sup>6</sup>

This makes memory projects more relevant and necessary now more than ever, in an effort to, as Asín puts it, “grant the past a useful place in the present” (Asín, 2016). Each of the three professors interviewed expressed agreement with this sentiment and outlined why this work is significant. Forcada stated, “I think that one of the reasons why Franquismo is still alive in the society is because we still have people that fought in the war and people involved in the dictatorship alive. It’s part of their lives and that’s why it’s so present.”<sup>1</sup> This is a critical moment where many survivors are reaching the ends of their lives, and these unique perspectives will be lost forever if not collected now. If the relevance of this period is not preserved as a means from which to learn, eventually there will be a transition from memory to rigid legacy, permanently marooning these stories in a distant past.

Not only that, this can and has happened elsewhere as well. There is a broader global context of memory to which Cebriá commented, “I think what we can learn from one experience to the other is that you cannot just h al by burying things. We have to bring back the memory so the newer generations learn” (Adell, Idoia Cebriá and Forcada, October 9, 2020). These events are not new or old, they are consistently present, and the numerous voices that these conflicts and their instigators hurt must be given space to exist and heal. There are not two faces of the Spanish Civil War that are neatly organized into Republican and Nationalist, there are 25 million faces, each a Spaniard with unique experiences and perspectives. The only way to deconstruct the power dynamic of the single story that has been championed for so long is to make these alternative stories heard, because they exist and always have.

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# The Societal Violence Scale: A Statistical Analysis of the Scores of the Women Section of the U.S. Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices Before and After the Directives of the Trump Administration

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## Abstract

The Societal Violence Scale highlights physical abuses perpetrated by non-state actors in 201 countries around the world. However, under directives from the Trump administration, the U.S. Department of State has reduced reporting requirements on some societal abuses. The following paper uses the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and the Societal Violence Scale's scoring for the years 2014 to 2018 to understand the impact of the Trump administration's policy changes on the reporting of abuse of women. The results of a two-sample  $t$ -test and hypothesis test show that scoring of *individual* violence against women is significantly reduced under the Trump administration's directives.

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## 1 Introduction

Since 1980, the United States Department of State has released the annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (CRHRP) for every country except the United States. The document's purpose is not only to provide data about human rights abuses but to promote

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<sup>1</sup>I would first like to thank Dr. Linda Cornett of the UNCA Political Science Department for inviting me into her SVS undergraduate research class and providing guidance and mentorship throughout this paper. I am thankful for her support, not only in this project, but also for the overwhelming confidence she has shown in me since I stepped into her classroom as a freshman. I would also like to thank Dr. Kedai Cheng of the UNCA Mathematics Department for his willingness to provide guidance and correction throughout this paper. Dr. Cheng took significant time to work with me to become a stronger statistics student, helped me develop my skills in using statistical software, and encouraged me throughout the writing and research process. I am incredibly grateful.

universal human rights norms and ultimately defend those rights globally. While these reports are used to hold perpetrators accountable for their abuses on a national stage, they are also used by governing bodies for decision making purposes. For example, in the United Kingdom, the reports are used as a baseline to determine if asylum seekers are granted approval into the UK or are sent back to their home countries (Taylor, 2020). The reports continue to provide a basis for a variety of quantitative measures, and remain an invaluable tool for advocates, scholars, and policy makers.

This paper will statistically analyze the Societal Violence Scale (SVS) scores of each perpetrator classification (*Individual, Corporate, and Organized/Armed*) in the Women category of Section 6 of the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices from 2014 through 2018 (Cornett, Gibney and Haschke, 2020). Starting in 2017, the Trump administration promoted edits to the Department of State's CRHRP report which significantly reduced the data reported in the Women section (as well as other sections). This paper will examine the data from the SVS's scoring of 201 countries to determine whether the policy changes to the CRHRP reports affected the SVS scoring of women in the countries reported, and if the policy change may have precipitated systematic decline in gender-based violence reporting. If the information that was omitted from the Women section beginning in 2017 reflects a failure to report the unexpurgated data on the abuses against women, organizations that rely on these reports could be making decisions based on incorrect or incomplete information, and thus raise question to the validity of the data within the reports. Accurate reporting of violations is vital for the well-being of individuals around the world.

Results from a two-sample  $t$ -test and hypothesis test show that Individual violence score is significantly lowered under the Trump Administration. The  $t$ -test and hypothesis tests lacked enough confidence to make the same conclusion for Corporate and Organized/Armed violence scores.

### Trump Administration Policy Changes

On April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2018, The United States Department of State released the 2017 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. The 2017 CRHRP received special attention because of the effects of the directives suggested by the Trump administration. Specifically, the State Department's changes stripped data from the Women category under Section 6 in the report. Among other changes, the report denied reporting on reproductive rights. According to the Acting Secretary John Sullivan in the "Remarks on the Release of the 2017 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" the changes to the report in 2017 "sharpened the focus of the report to be more responsive to statutory reporting requirements and more focused on government action or inaction with regard to the promotion and protection of human rights" (Sullivan, 2018). In replacement of discussing reproductive rights, a section titled 'Coercion in Population Control' emerged.

## Hypothesis

To analyze the Trump administration's impact on the Country Reports, I will analyze the years 2016 and 2017 (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2020). These years were selected so I could directly compare the year before the Trump administration's directives were enacted, and the year they were first implemented. My hypothesis is that scores reported after the Trump administration will be consistently lower since coders will have less information to draw scores from. I also hypothesize that there will be an increase Missing Data [scores consisting of an asterisk (\*)] and estimations [scores consisting of a number and an asterisk (2\*)] due to reduced reporting.

## The Societal Violence Scale

From the annual country reports two projects produced by the North Carolina University of North Carolina at Asheville's Political Science Department have emerged: The Political Terror Scale (PTS) which compiles physical integrity threats posed by state actors, and the Societal Violence Scale (SVS) which collects physical integrity threats posed by non-state actors (Cornett, Gibney and Haschke, 2020). Within the SVS report the data from the Country Report on Human Rights Practices is disaggregated into two groups: victim and perpetrator (Gibney et al., 2018).

## The Victims

There are numerous victim sections within the SVS report including: women, children, national/ racial ethnic/communal violence, religious/sectarian violence, refugees/asylum seekers/IDPs, LGBTI and forced labor. The SVS victim section this paper will focus on is the Women section. In the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, women are specifically discussed under Section 6: Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons. As of 2017, this section is broken down into four subsections: rape and domestic violence, sexual harassment, coercion in population control, and discrimination. It is worth noting that physical integrity threats perpetrated by non-state actors against women are mentioned throughout the CRHRP, but information regarding rape and domestic abuses case numbers is specifically discussed under Section 6.

## The Perpetrators

There are three perpetrator categories for every victim section in the SVS. These perpetrator categories include Individuals, Corporate, and Organized/Armed. For the Women section, individual perpetrators are often spouses, families of the victim, and other individual people. The individual perpetrator category commonly includes violence such as domestic abuse, rape,

FGM/C, and femicide. Corporate perpetrators normally consist of traffickers and include specifics of women being trafficked into and out of the country. Organized/Armed perpetrators can include criminal or terrorist organizations such as ISIS. The abuses committed by Organized/Armed perpetrators include sexual slavery or forced domestic labor imposed upon women within these criminal or terrorist organizations.

### Aggregated Score

The country as a whole is given an aggregated score which reflects the physical integrity threats posed by non-state actors considering the scoring of victim and perpetrator scores as well as the population of the country. The victim and perpetrator groups, as well as the state as a whole, are graded on a five point scale. The victim and perpetrator groups receive a default score of a (1) if little to no physical integrity threats are reported in that category. For example, a country could receive a score of (1) in the victim category Journalists, if there are no reports of non-state violence to journalists.

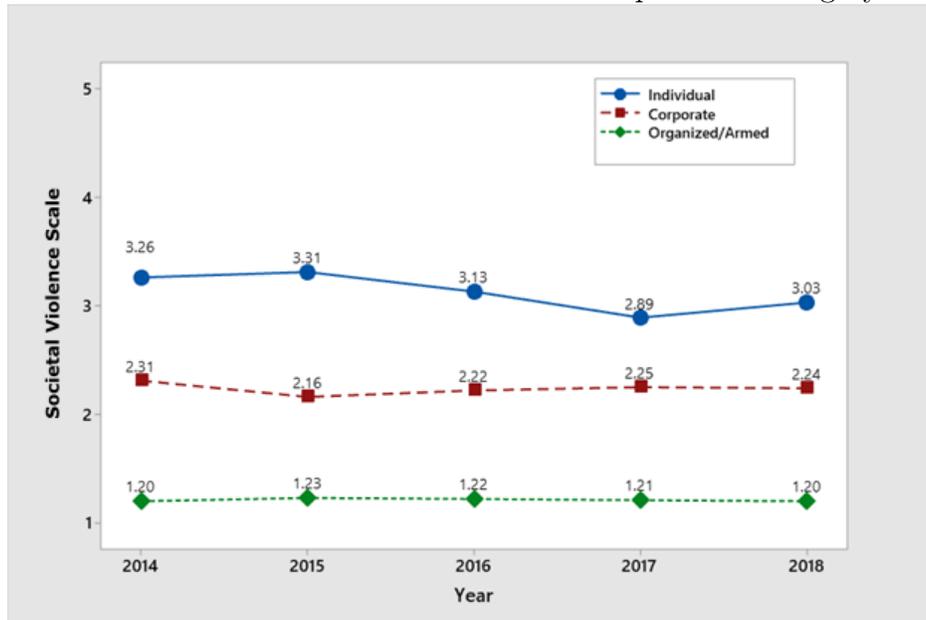
In addition to the five point scale system used to grade the victim and perpetrator categories, a country can be given an asterisk (\*) to indicate that there is insufficient data to support any score in a particular section. For example, in the Women section under individual perpetrators, a score of (\*) could be given if the CRHRP is lacking any data regarding rape, domestic abuse, and other pertinent information to produce a score for a particular country. I will refer to (\*) scores as Missing Data throughout the report.

When enough data is provided to score the category in the CRHRP, but coders are not confident in the data a score combined with an asterisk, e.g. (2\*) is assigned to distinguish from scores with (\*). For example, in the Women section, an individual perpetrator category could be assigned a score of (2\*) if there was enough data to assume the section would score as a (2) with more specific information provided, but the asterisk combined with the number tells the reader there was not adequate data in the State Department report to confidently score the section as a (2). I will refer to a score such as (2\*) as an Estimation throughout the report.

## 2 Data Description

Data was collected using both the published and unpublished SVS reports completed by the North Carolina University of Asheville's Political Science Department. The years 2014 and 2015 have been published, while year's 2016 - 2018 are under varying stages of review. 2016 is nearing publication, while 2017 and 2018 are still at the third and second revision stages. Published SVS reports can be found in the resources page of this report. Scores and content material are subject to change before publication.

Figure 1: Mean Societal Violence Score for each Perpetrator Category over Year

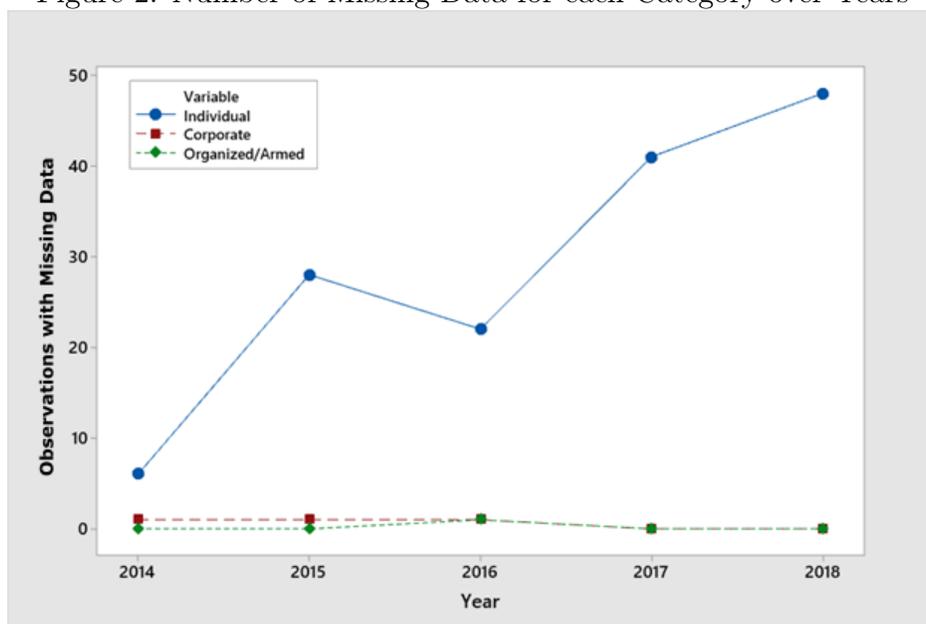


The data sets measured in the course of this paper contain five years of SVS values, from 2014 to 2018. For each year, data is reported for three perpetrator categories: Individual, Corporate, Organized/Armed for the Women’s victim category across 201 countries. Asterisks are referred to as “Missing Data” and numbers with asterisks are referred to as “Estimations”. The scoring of Missing Data and Estimations are counted for each year between 2014 and 2018 for each perpetrator category.

Figure 1 compares the average violence score for each perpetrator type from 2014 to 2018. Figure 2 and Figure 3 depict the number of Missing Data (countries receiving \* as a score) and number of Estimations (countries receiving a number and an \* as a score) for each perpetrator category, respectively.

Figures 1-3 will detail a comprehensive overview of the SVS women’s scoring for 201 countries between the years of 2014 and 2018. While this report does not cover statistical analysis or a t-test of missing data and estimations, the figures depict a noteworthy observation. The prevalence of scoring of missing data and estimations for the women’s individual perpetrator category dramatically increased in 2017 compared to years prior.

Figure 2: Number of Missing Data for each Category over Years



### 3 Statistical Analysis

#### Two-Sample $t$ -test

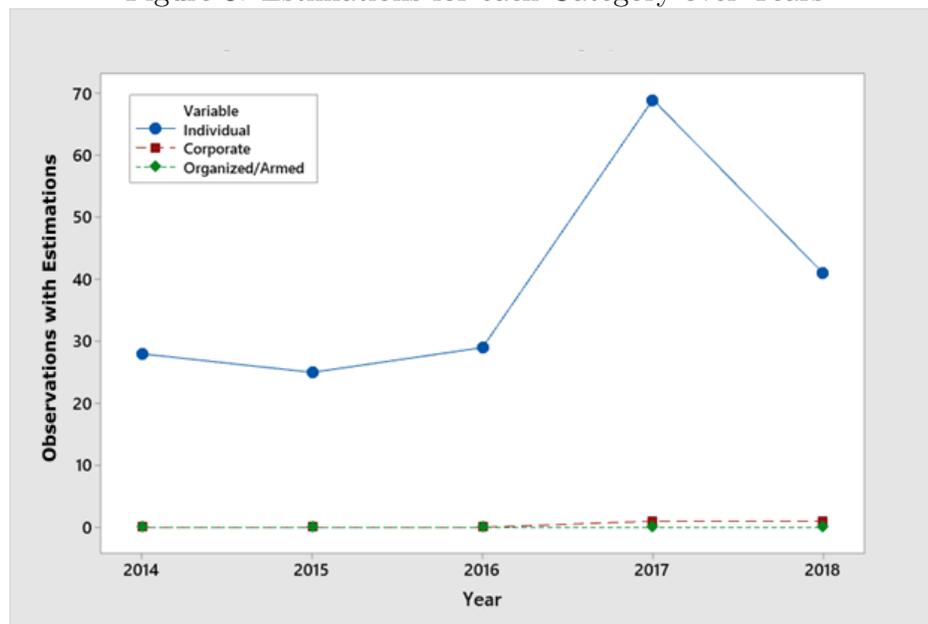
To analyze the impact of the Trump administration's directives on the report, a two-sample  $t$ -test was used to compare the violence scores between 2016 - 2017. These two years were chosen because 2016 was the last year of the previous reporting methodology, and 2017 was the first year after the Trump administration's directives took effect.

Table 1:  $t$ -Test Results for Violence Score Comparisons

	Individual	Corporate	Organized/Armed
$p$ -values	0.01403	0.67580	0.42940

A  $t$ -test runs under the assumption that the data in the sample groups are approximately normally distributed. To justify a normal distribution, Figures 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 in the Appendix, demonstrate normal quantile-quantile plots (Q-Q plots) for each category for 2016 and 2017, respectively. To run our statistical analysis, we assume that the dependent variable

Figure 3: Estimations for each Category over Years



is normally distributed. A Q-Q plot tests this assumption.

The quantile plots will show that Individual violence is approximately normally distributed. Corporate and Organized/Armed did not follow a normal distribution as shown by the plots above.

For a two-sample t-test, the null and alternative hypothesis are as follows:

$$H_0 : \mu_{2016} \leq \mu_{2017}$$

$$H_A : \mu_{2016} > \mu_{2017}$$

Table 1 shows the *t*-test results (*p*-values) for violence score comparisons. According to the test results and *p*-values displayed in Table 1, the null hypothesis is rejected for Individual violence perpetrated against women. The test results fail to reject the null hypothesis for Corporate and Organized/Armed at the 95% confidence level. Thus, at the 95% confidence level it can be claimed that under the Trump administration, Individual violence score is significantly lowered as a result of the changes in data reporting. The test results lack confidence to state the same for Corporate and Organized/Armed violence scores.

### Non-parametric Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test

However, before conclusions can be firmly drawn, a non-parametric two-sample Wilcoxon Rank Sum test (Wilcoxon rank-sum) can be executed to confirm the results from the previous two-sample  $t$ -test. A Wilcoxon rank-sum test is used to examine the relationship between two populations and confirm whether the pairs are statistically different from one another. The hypothesis holds the same as our previous test. Test results are shown below in Table 2.

Based on the Wilcoxon test results, the same conclusion is reached as with the two-sample  $t$ -test. According to the test results and  $p$ -values displayed in Table 2, the null hypothesis is rejected for Individual violence perpetrated against women. The tests fail to reject the null hypothesis for Corporate and Organized/Armed at the 95% confidence level. Thus, it can be concluded with certainty that Individual violence score is significantly lowered at 95% confidence.

Table 2: Wilcoxon Test Results for Violence Score Comparisons based on Simulations

	Individual	Corporate	Organized/Armed
$p$ -values	0.01593	0.66920	0.34420

## 4 Discussion

Based on the two-sample  $t$ -test and the non parametric Wilcoxon rank sum test, it can be stated that Individual violence SVS score is significantly lowered under the Trump administration between 2016 and 2017. The  $t$ -test, and Wilcoxon rank-sum test lack confidence to state the same for the other perpetrator categories. It is unsurprising that Corporate and Organized/Armed scores were not lowered under the Trump administration's directives, as violence in these categories occurs less frequently across the board. These two types of crimes in general, require an organizational aspect that individual violence lacks. Individual violence allows for higher levels of randomness. Also, most crimes perpetrated against women in the individual section are domestic abuse, rape (often by the hands of a relative), and FGM/C (again, usually perpetrated by a family member). Since the perpetrators of these crimes are generally closer to the women, a higher number of crimes can occur.

While the reductions in the mean score for societal violence against women in the individual section from 2016 to 2017 could appear to be a significant improvement for women's rights across the board, lowering of scores within that short of a time frame after a significant portion of the report was cut raises concerns. Crimes against women are common worldwide, and it seems unlikely these crimes abruptly disappeared or significantly lessened in prevalence

in 201 countries between 2016 to 2017. The changes to the report conducted during the Trump administration have threatened the validity of the Country Reports on Human Rights. The focus on law and policies rather than the practices and focus on violations by state rather than non-state actors threatens to systematically undermine reporting of societal violence systematically undermines reporting of societal violence, and gender-based violence in particular.

For information regarding Missing Data and Estimations data, no t-test was done. However, looking at Figure 2 and Figure 3, we can see a substantial increase throughout the years, with missing data reaching an all-time high in 2017 and remaining higher during the Trump administration than the averages from 2014 - 2016.

### Extraneous Variables

An extraneous variable that could possibly affect these results is the fact that the 2016 - 2018 SVS reports are not published and finalized. While these reports have gone through at least two 'read-throughs,' changing of scores before the publication of the SVS report could alter the findings in this analysis. The 2019 SVS scores have not yet been reported as the first 'read-through' are currently being conducted. Scores for countries in 2019 either have no score or received a score by only one reader, so they were excluded from the report.

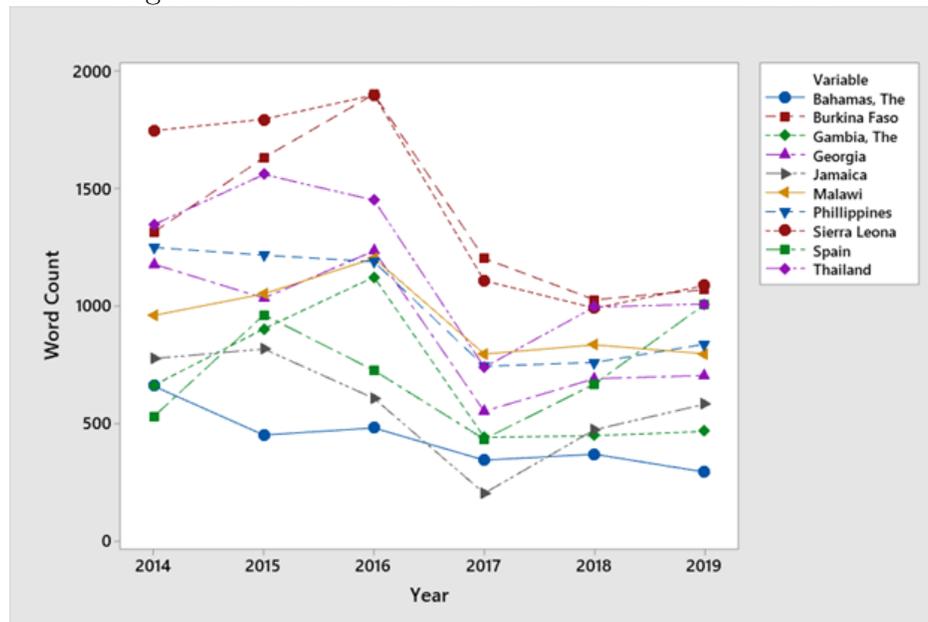
### Literature Review

A few other studies in the last few years have also dedicated themselves to analyzing the impact of the Trump administration's directives on the CRHRP in regard to reporting on women, the LGBTI community, refugees, as well as victims of torture. One such study was conducted by Jennifer Barnes, a Political Science PhD student at Vanderbilt University. Barnes worked as a research assistant to the Political Terror Scale 2018-2019. In her published paper "What Matters When Writing Wrongs: Evolution of the U.S. State Department Human Rights Report," Barnes concluded that the mean report length in number of words for the CRHRP lowered under the Trump administration in 2017 (Barnes, 2019). Figure 4, depicts my own results of word count on just the Women section for 10 randomly selected countries over the years 2014 - 2019.

Much like Barnes' results on the total CRHRP word count, Figure 10 visualizes the Women section word count dropping dramatically in 2017 when the Trump administration's new policies were implemented.

Another recent study, published this past October, was conducted by the Asylum Research Center, an organization in the UK dedicated to research to support refugees and asylum seekers. The research center published a comparative analysis of each country in the CRHRP from 2016 to 2019. In their report they concluded that "reporting on women's rights and issues outside the United States is down 32 percent under President Trump" (Williams and Huber,

Figure 4: Word Count across 10 Countries over Year



2020). In the center’s press release regarding their research, they went on to state that their analysis of the CRHRP “identifies serious omissions of human rights issues.”

## 5 Conclusion

The data examined in this paper indicates that the average Women category score for the SVS has been significantly reduced in 2017 as a result of the State Department’s report providing less information for SVS coders to grade countries on. In addition, the incidence of Missing Data and Estimations has increased significantly. These outcomes are consistent with the research by Jennifer Barnes and by the Asylum Research Center, both of which found a decrease in CRHRP content beginning in 2017. Due to the importance of these scores in determining the fates of individuals and countries, I recommend that that other categories of the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices be evaluated for statistically significant changes resulting from differences in data reporting.

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# Appendix

Figure 5: QQ-plot for Individual Violence in 2016

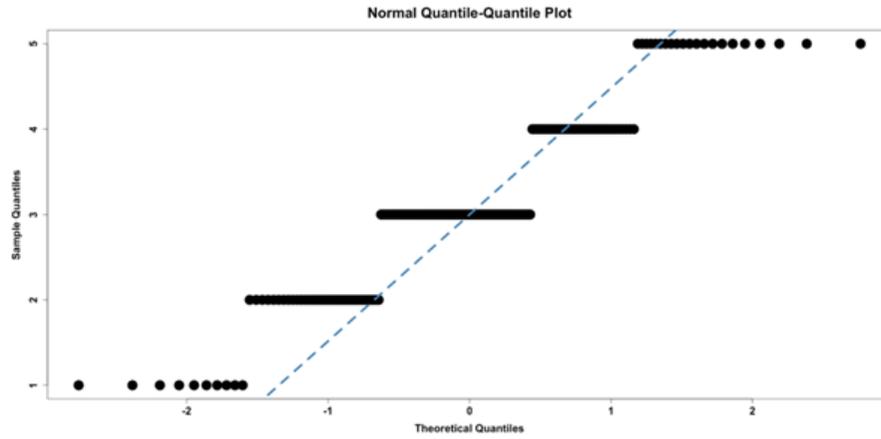


Figure 6: QQ-plot for Individual Violence in 2017

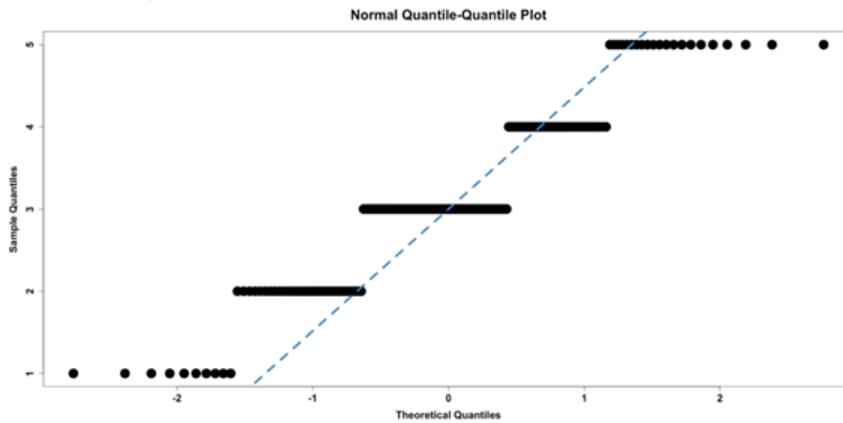


Figure 7: QQ-plot for Corporate Violence in 2016

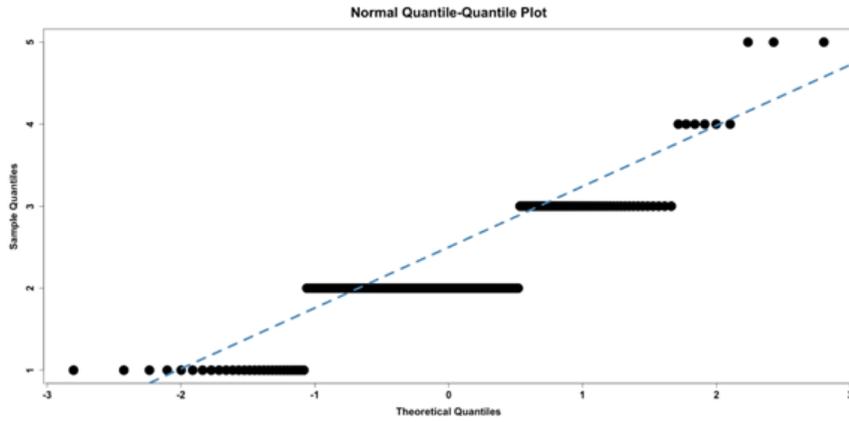


Figure 8: QQ-plot for Corporate Violence in 2017

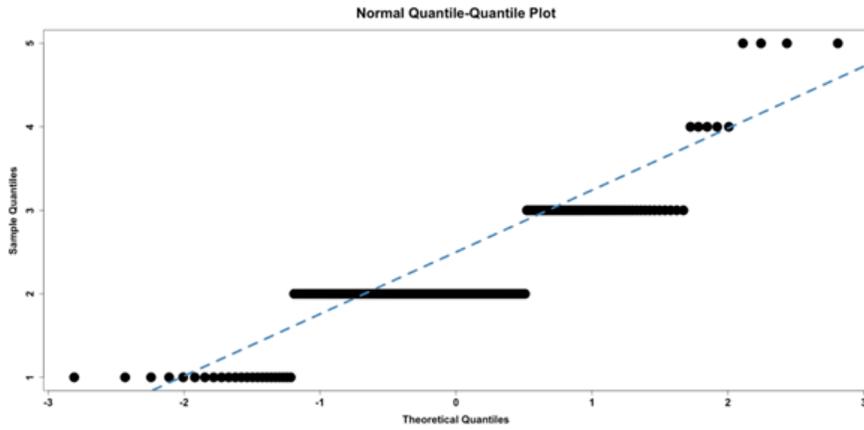


Figure 9: QQ-plot for Organized/Armed Violence in 2016

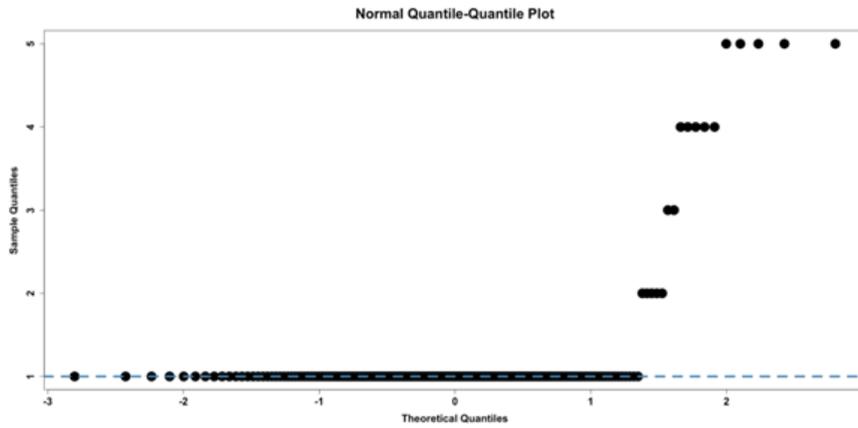
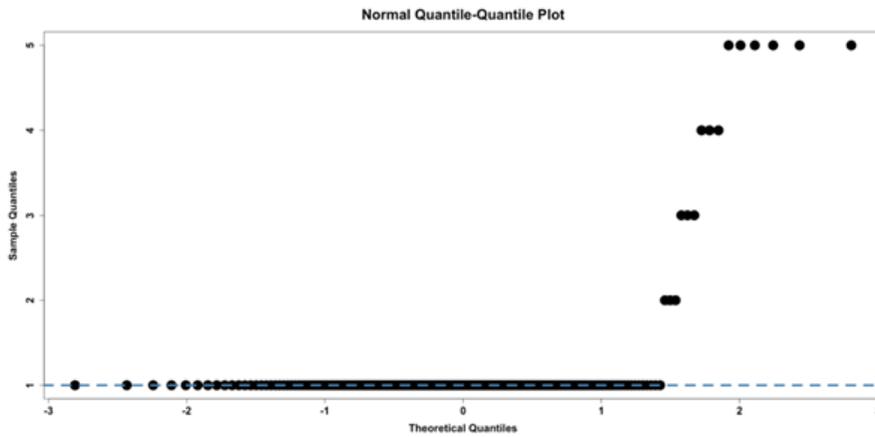


Figure 10: QQ-plot for Organized/Armed Violence in 2017



# Gendered Care Obligations: An Empirical Analysis of Labor Force Participation Constraints Placed on Women Entrepreneurs

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## Abstract

Using the theoretical framework of necessity-based and opportunity-driven entrepreneurship, this paper explores how gendered institutions and care obligations affect women's abilities to make strategic career choices between entrepreneurship and the traditional labor market. Previous research finds among developed economies, countries lacking progressive care policies see increases in women participating in necessity-based entrepreneurship. Those with progressive care policies see increasing numbers of women participating in opportunity-driven entrepreneurship or remaining in the labor market. Few studies analyze the country-specific context that contributes to women choosing necessity-based or opportunity-driven entrepreneurship. I aim to fill in this gap with US-specific conditions and ask whether care obligations place more significant labor force participation constraints on self-employed women than self-employed men. My findings indicate that care obligations increase the likelihood that women will choose part-time self-employment as compared to men, which suggests the lack of care policy in the US may push women into necessity-based entrepreneurship.

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## 1 Introduction

Entrepreneurship is a vital element of a healthy economy. It serves as a driver of innovation, job creation, and economic expansion through a broader range of products, increased efficiencies, and greater variety to the economic process (van der Zwan et al., 2016). For women, entrepreneurship can offer benefits often unavailable within the traditional salary and wage labor markets, such as the ability to sidestep the glass ceiling, maintain a better balance of work and care responsibilities, receive recognition in their field as a leader, employ and mentor other women, and have a more flexible schedule. Participation rates of women in

entrepreneurship have followed similar trends to that of the wage and salary labor market, and in recent decades have increased at 1.5 times the national average (Warnecke, 2013). Academic research on female entrepreneurship has also significantly increased in recent years; however, few studies examine why women in the US are leaving the traditional wage and labor market for self-employment, and why most women choose to work part-time.

To bridge these gaps in previous research, I utilize the theoretical framework of necessity-based and opportunity-driven entrepreneurship. Broadly, opportunity-driven entrepreneurs seek to exploit an economic opportunity in the market, expect to grow their business, provide more jobs, and they perceive starting a business as the best avenue for ideas and innovation. Necessity-based entrepreneurs view entrepreneurship as the most viable option for employment, but not necessarily the preferred option. Necessity-based entrepreneurs include women with limited traditional job market options, who cannot balance work with their care obligations. They are motivated primarily by their need to provide a source of income for themselves and their families, rather than a drive to exploit an opportunity or economic expansion (Waseem, 2018). Additionally, necessity-based entrepreneurs include those who work part-time, though they may prefer to work full-time due to care obligations.

This study examines how gendered institutions, organizations, and care obligations push women away from the traditional wage and salary labor market and into entrepreneurship, focusing on US-specific conditions that affect necessity-based women entrepreneurs. I specifically ask whether care obligations place more significant labor force participation constraints on self-employed women as compared to self-employed men. Using data from the Current Population Survey's Outgoing Rotation Group, I empirically test this hypothesis with a linear probability model, using self-employment as the dependent variable. The key variable of interest is the care obligation variable, a dummy variable with a value of 1 if survey respondents work less than 35 hours per week due to either childcare obligations or other family obligations. Among the current research on female entrepreneurship, care obligations have provided a theoretical explanation for women choosing self-employment. Yet, to my knowledge, it has not been empirically tested until this study.

In addition to an empirical analysis of CPS data, I will also analyze generated data from the Census Bureau's 2016 Annual Survey of Entrepreneurs, which is the largest survey of its kind, representing nearly 90 percent of entrepreneurs, with a 60 percent response rate. This data provides statistics on both business owners' characteristics, such as motivations for entering entrepreneurship and hours worked, and characteristics of businesses, such as profits and the number of paid employees. The analysis of this data provides the context necessary to infer the state of necessity-based entrepreneurship among women in the US. The responses to the following categories are included in this analysis: reasons for owning a business, hours worked per week, annual sales, number of paid employees, educational attainment, and employee benefits offered. Previous research has found these categories to be key indicators of necessity-based or

opportunity-driven entrepreneurship. The ASE data shows that most women entrepreneurs have chosen entrepreneurship for work-family balance and that a majority work part-time. This dataset offers valuable insights into women entrepreneurs' motivations for entering entrepreneurship and how they impact their business outcomes. The analysis of this data allows us to infer that imbalances in care obligations can substantially impact women entrepreneurs' abilities to make strategic career choices and their lifetime earning potential. The analysis of these two data sets will appear in this paper as two separate sections. First, I will analyze the ASE survey, explaining my method and the data, then provide the results. I will then move to the CPS micro-data analysis, starting with the methodology, followed by the data and results.

## 2 Literature Review

The necessity-based and opportunity-driven entrepreneurship framework is often used in assessing women's entrepreneurship participation rates globally. The vast majority of research on female entrepreneurship focuses on female entrepreneurship globally or by region, through large databases such as the Female Entrepreneurship Index, which uses cross-country data to measure conditions favorable for high-potential, opportunity entrepreneurs (Terjesen, 2016). However, the use of these global indexes in research focuses on developed economies, resulting in a lack of country-specific context (Poggesi, Mari and Vita, 2016). Generally, necessity entrepreneurship is associated with developing economies, while opportunity-driven is associated with developed economies; however, both forms of entrepreneurship are present in every country. There is consensus among researchers that more women enter into necessity-based entrepreneurship rather than male-dominated, opportunity-driven entrepreneurship (Waseem, 2018). A multitude of research exists comparing developed and developing economies; however, there is a lack of research on the variations within countries, specifically the organizational and institutional structures of developed countries and their effects on entrepreneurship (Terjesen, 2016).

The characteristics and conditions of the salary and wage labor market play an important role in understanding women entrepreneurs' motivations. Women's participation in the US labor market has been steadily growing since the '60s, with a massive influx in the '80s. Though women now widely participate in the labor force, organizational practices have yet to evolve with this change. The "ideal worker" recruited and promoted by employers has few responsibilities outside of work and can work long, unpredictable hours. These characteristics play into socio-cultural, gendered assumptions of the family: the wife as the primary caregiver and the husband as the breadwinner, limiting women's employment opportunities and creating privileged prospects for men (Thébaud, 2016).

Organizations' choice to remain rigid in their work-family policy has several implications for women. Women tend to be concentrated in female-dominated sectors, which often offer

lower pay and status than male-dominated sectors. Women in male-dominated fields make less than their male counterparts. Along with gendered occupational segregation, there is often segregation within occupations, with women serving in administrative roles while men are in leadership. Additionally, gendered family structures often leave women to juggle work and care responsibilities, resulting in less time to dedicate to work. Time constraints placed on women by gendered care responsibilities often mean women receive less on job training and promotions, which ironically would lead to more flexibility, schedule control, and higher pay (Blau and Winkler, 2014). Kleven et al. (2019) find that women experience a childcare penalty resulting in a large, immediate, and persistent drop in earnings after the birth of their first child, while men's earnings are virtually unaffected. They find that women in the US, compared to women in other developed economies, tend to leave the labor market after childbirth, resulting in lower wages for women. However, this is not surprising as the US is the only developed country that does not mandate paid parental leave.

The gender wage gap, occupational segregation, and a lack of leadership representation in the wage and salary labor market act to push women with care obligations toward necessity-based entrepreneurship. The Becker Specialization and Exchange model classically represents this gendered dynamic, which assumes heterosexual family structures, and suggests the rational choice for women is to assume the role of primary caregiver since men earn more in the labor market (Blau and Winkler, 2014). Necessity-based entrepreneurs tend to trade off higher wages for a more flexible schedule, and those in a two-income household take on the secondary earners' role Thébaud (2016). The rise of "intensive" parenting, which has increased the amount of time and effort parents feel they must invest in their children for them to succeed, disproportionately impacts women's schedules, and therefore limits women's participation in the labor force. Mothers without partners tend to have less support and financial security, resulting in both a need for more flexibility but also a steady income.

Due to these factors, Thébaud (2016) finds that low flexibility in the traditional labor market is a key factor in women's entrepreneurship activity. She also finds that marital and parental status is a consistent predictor for movement into entrepreneurship. The expectation of women to accommodate household and childcare obligations leads to many stepping into secondary earner roles, where spousal employment status may also indicate necessity entrepreneurship. Thébaud (2016) proposes that career sacrifices due to family obligation are not likely to indicate male entrepreneurship as they have more career choices in higher-paying sectors and more preferable conditions in the traditional labor market.

While entrepreneurship offers more flexibility and enables women to better balance work and care obligations, women face many of the same obstacles in entrepreneurship as women in the traditional labor market, such as a gender wage gap and occupational segregation (Blau and Winkler, 2014). Women entrepreneurs are estimated to make only 60 percent that of men, and women are often in slow growth, low-profit industries Luque et al. (2019). Several studies

find that women overall prefer the wage and salary market to self-employment at higher levels than men (Fairlie and Robb, 2009). Fairlie and Robb (2009) attribute this to women and men having different preferences and goals, which have implications for business outcomes. They use confidential micro-data collected by the Census Bureau's Characteristics of Business Owners survey to conduct an empirical analysis of women-owned firms' performance compared to male-owned firms. Their research finds that women-owned firms have lower survival rates, profits, employment, and sales. Rather than explaining these lower performance variables as a result of gendered institutions, organizations, and family structure, they contribute it to the role of human capital, educational attainment, less access to financial capital, and a preference for working fewer hours.

While this analysis does not explain women's motivations for entering into self-employment, it does provide insight into how those motivations may affect women's business outcomes. We can infer that many of the under-performing businesses may be a result of women falling back on entrepreneurship. These findings highlight the importance of analyzing female entrepreneurship through the lens of necessity and opportunity. The key variables in determining successful business outcomes are the rate of closure, profits, sales, and employment, controlling for the more exogenous owner and business characteristics, differing levels of startup capital, and industry categories. They find several statistically significant variables affecting one or more determinants of women's business performances; these include prior work experience in a similar business, previous work experience in a family member's business, prior work in a managerial capacity, college graduate, and graduate school (having statistical significance in each key variable). The authors acknowledge the limitations of their study, which lacks unobservable variables such as entrepreneurs' motivations.

Recent studies have stressed the importance of country-level context in assessing female entrepreneurship. Welsh and Kaciak (2018) found that the relationship between two variables could positively or negatively change direction, depending on the country-specific entrepreneurial ecosystem. Their research cautions against adopting results from different countries unless those countries are similar across many criteria. Many researchers have acknowledged both the constraints care responsibilities place on women and its role in reinforcing gender norms across developing and developed countries (Blau and Winkler, 2014; Foss et al., 2018; Pedulla and Thébaud, 2015; Luque et al., 2019). Thébaud (2016) explores how institutions attempt to mitigate work-family conflict in 24 developed economies, including all EU members, Canada, and the US, results in vastly differing levels of necessity and opportunity entrepreneurs. Overall, countries with maternal and paternal leave and government-subsidized childcare see lower female participation rates in entrepreneurship but higher female representation in opportunity-driven ventures. More women in these countries also remained in the traditional wage and salary labor market. Whereas the US, the only country in this study without government-provided paid parental leave and lower levels of childcare sub-

sities, has more women represented in entrepreneurship, with higher levels of necessity-based ventures.

The lack of parental leave policy and inadequate childcare policies makes the US's entrepreneurial ecosystem unique among developed countries. Few researchers have attempted to analyze female entrepreneurs' unique conditions in the US due to these care policy gaps. Foss et al. (2018) explore 30 years of female entrepreneurial research via a systematic literature review. They find that policy implications offered by those researching female entrepreneurship are mostly vague, conservative, and focus on identifying skills gaps in women entrepreneurs, thus individualizing under-performance rather than recognizing systemic issues. My study aims to instead highlight the systemic problems of gendered institutions, organizations, and care obligations, as a means to understand what pushes women into necessity-based entrepreneurship, which often under-performs as compared to male-owned businesses.

## 3 ASE Analysis

### 3.1 Method

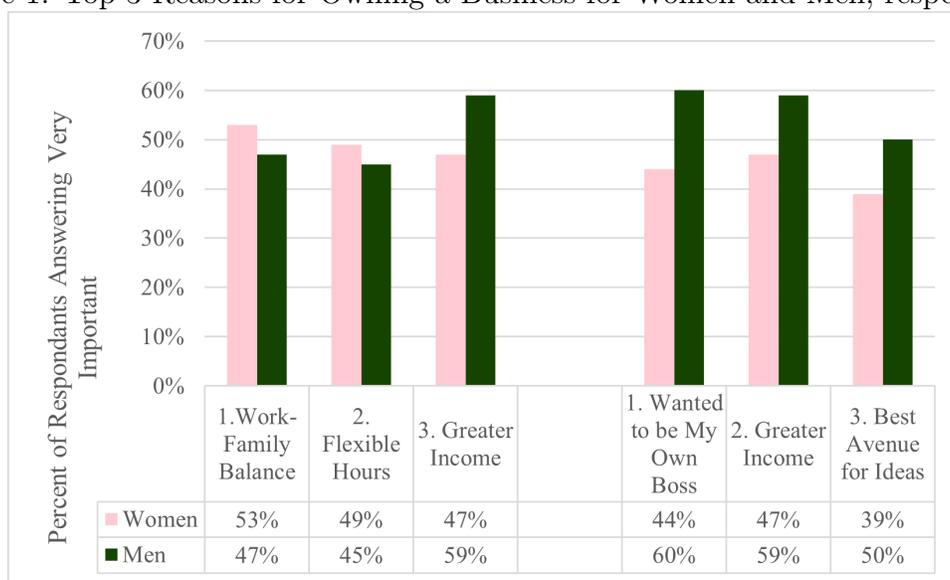
My strategy in this paper is to establish a connection between gendered institutions, organizations, care obligations and necessity-based women entrepreneurs' constrained labor market participation by using statistical and empirical analysis of two data sets. To build a bridge between previous research on women entrepreneurs and my hypothesis on US-specific, necessity-based women entrepreneurs, I will analyze two separate surveys conducted by the Census Bureau in 2016. The Annual Survey of Entrepreneurs is the largest survey of its kind, representing nearly 90 percent of entrepreneurs, with a 60 percent response rate. ASE data would be an ideal data set for empirical analysis of women's motivations to enter entrepreneurship and business performance variables; however, micro-data is confidential and difficult to obtain.

However, I will use the generated data tables to provide insights on female entrepreneurship in the US during 2016. This data provides statistics on both characteristics of business owners (CBO), such as motivations for entering into entrepreneurship and hours worked, and businesses' characteristics, such as sales and the number of paid employees. This data will be analyzed by gender to provide the context necessary to infer how women are participating in necessity-based entrepreneurship in the US. Responses from the following categories will be provided in this paper; reasons for owning a business, hours worked per week, size of sales receipts, number of paid employees, educational attainment, and employee benefits offered. As stated by previous research, these categories are key indicators of necessity-based or opportunity-driven entrepreneurship. This study is used to understand better what variables may impact the likelihood that women become part-time entrepreneurs.

### 3.2 Data and Results

Within the ASE data, there are two main categories of data: characteristics of businesses and characteristics of business owners. One of the most valuable data sets for assessing necessity-based entrepreneurship is from characteristics of business owners, in which respondents are asked the reasons for starting a business, as motivations for starting a business is a key variable in distinguishing between necessity and opportunity. Respondents rate each reason as not important, somewhat important, or very important, with each category adding to one hundred percent. All graphs and tables can be found in the appendix.

Figure 1: Top 3 Reasons for Owning a Business for Women and Men, respectively

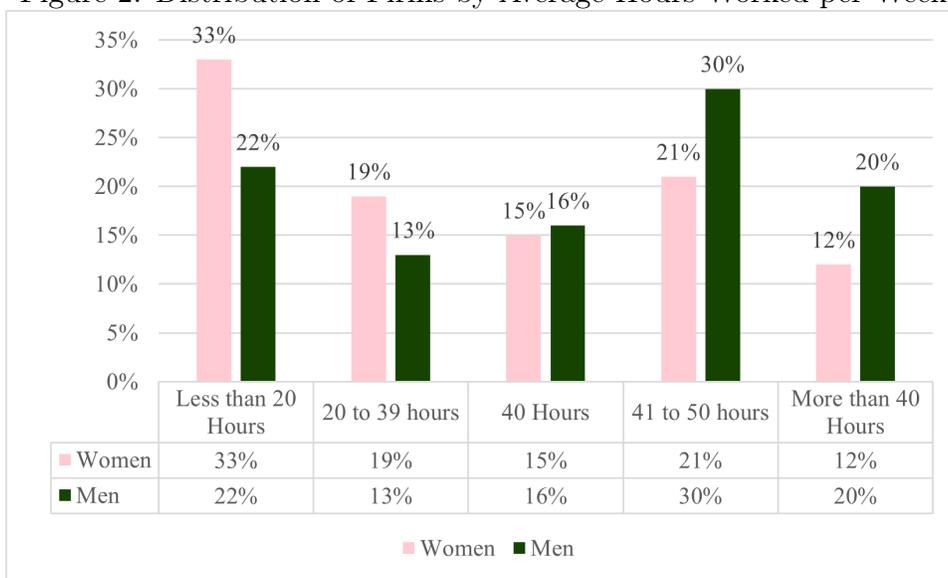


Source: Characteristics of Business Owners (ASE 2016)

Figure 1 displays the top three reasons women and men cited a motivation as a very important factor in starting their own business. The first cluster of responses, including work-family balance, flexible hours, and greater income, represents the top three factors women cite as very important in their decision to start their own business. I display these results alongside the percentage of men that also responded with these reasons as very important. The second cluster, including wanting to be my own boss, greater income, and best avenue for ideas, are the top three factors men indicate as very important in their decision to start their own business. I compare these results to the percentage of women that also responded with these reasons as very important.

Women’s responses indicate that the most critical factor for 53 percent of women entrepreneurs is to balance work and family, followed closely by a need for more flexible hours. This finding suggests that over fifty percent of women choose self-employment to accommodate care obligations within their families. The largest concern for men is self-autonomy and income, followed by best avenue for ideas, an indication of opportunity entrepreneurship. This data is a powerful indication of the different motivations and priorities for men and women in entering entrepreneurship and points to the possibility of high levels of necessity entrepreneurship among US women entrepreneurs. Both CPS and ASE data indicate that women entrepreneurs work significantly fewer hours per week than men entrepreneurs.

Figure 2: Distribution of Firms by Average Hours Worked per Week

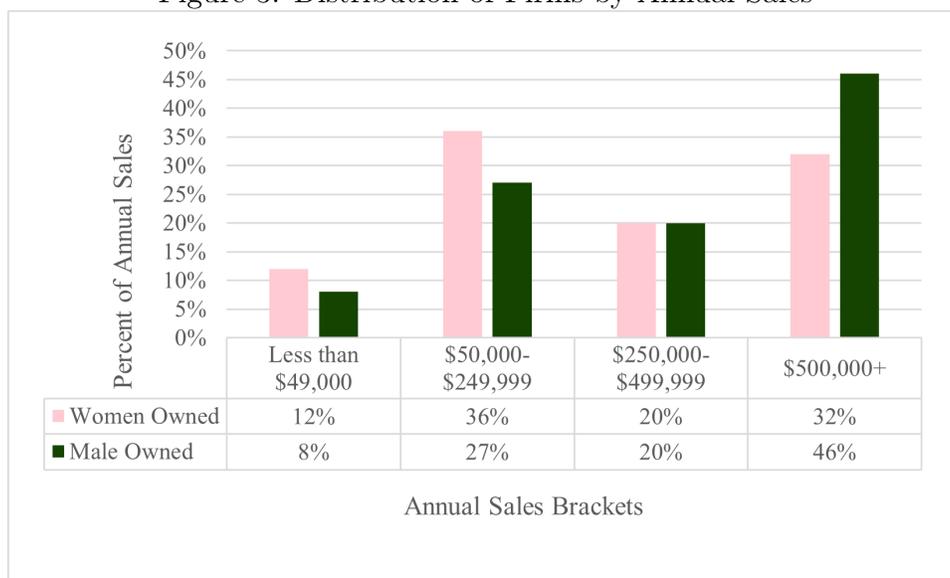


Source: Characteristics of Business Owners (ASE 2016)

Figure 2 displays the average hours worked per week by entrepreneurs. The percentage of women reporting working less than 40 hours per week coincides with the percent moving into entrepreneurship due to a need for work-family balance. Fifty-two percent of women work less than 40 hours per week, as compared to 35 percent of men. In contrast, 50 percent of men work over 40 hours per week compared to 33 percent of women, a difference of 17 percentage points. These findings coincide with the CPS data set in which the mean hours worked by women entrepreneurs is 34 hours per week and 42 hours per week for men.

Fewer hours worked can help explain why women also lag behind men in sales. Figure 3 shows that women-owned businesses have a higher percentage of sales under 250,000 dol-

Figure 3: Distribution of Firms by Annual Sales



Source: Characteristics of Business Owners (ASE 2016)

lars, while a higher rate of male-owned firms has sales over 500,000 dollars annually. Necessity based entrepreneurs tend to have lower growth ambition, which sales and profits reflect. Along with lower growth, necessity entrepreneurs hire fewer employees and do not intend to grow the jobs market. A stark contrast between women-owned business and male-owned businesses appears in benefits offered to employees. A competitive talent pool will often demand competitive benefits; however, lacking competitive benefits falls in line with necessity-based entrepreneurship.

Figure 4 shows that only 28 percent of women-owned businesses offer health insurance compared to 37 percent of male-owned businesses. Looking at other benefits women-owned businesses provide, 19 percent offer contributions to retirement, and 40 percent offer paid holidays, vacation, and/or sick leave. In comparison, male-owned businesses, 24 percent offer contributions to retirement, and 49 percent offer paid holidays, vacation, and/or sick leave. Women-owned businesses also have fewer employees than male-owned businesses on average.

Men and women entrepreneurs have similar educational attainment, indicating these differences in business outcomes are more than skills gaps. ASE data displays a trend among women-owned businesses: 53 percent of women are motivated to entrepreneurship due to work-family balance; 52 percent of women business owners work less than 40 hours per week, and 48 percent sell less than \$250,000 annually. This trend suggests that a need for work-

Figure 4: Distribution of Firms by Benefits Offered



Source: Characteristics of Business Owners (ASE 2016)

family balance to manage a care obligation may correlate with part-time employment and lower business performance. The ASE provides US market-specific data indicating that time constraints due to care obligations push women into entrepreneurship, and specifically into part-time entrepreneurship. These constraints may also impact the success and growth of the business. While the CPS data set may not have information on business characteristics, I can empirically test whether care obligations place more significant labor force participation constraints on self-employed women than self-employed men.

## 4 CPS Analysis

### 4.1 Method

To empirically test the hypothesis that care obligations place more significant labor force participation constraints on self-employed women than self-employed men, I use data from the Current Population Survey’s Outgoing Rotation Group. The CPS is a monthly, nationally representative survey of 60,000 civilian households conducted by the Census Bureau, which gathers a wide range of information on labor market activities and household demographics. The CPS offers data on children in the household and information on why participants work

part-time. This data is particularly valuable as it allows for the creation of a care obligation variable.

The care obligation is created from respondents answering childcare or other family obligations as the main reason they work less than thirty-five hours per week. This question's parameters limit the analysis to only those working part-time. Ideally, this variable would capture both those self-employed part-time and full-time; however, this does not deter the results' significance. Women in the traditional wage and salary labor market tend to move toward part-time work when faced with a care obligation Thébaud (2016) Women view entrepreneurship as a means to mitigate work-family balance; thus, we should expect to see care obligations push self-employed women into part-time work. Over half of all self-employed women work part-time, according to both the CPS data and ASE. I expect to see care obligations significantly increase the likelihood of women participating in part-time self-employment.

There are several other limits to the CPS data. Self-employed respondents did not respond to income questions in large enough quantities, so I had to rely on categorical family income. As stated earlier, spousal income may impact necessity entrepreneurship. This lack of income data also limits our understanding of business success and how income affects self-employment and care obligations.

I have pulled CPS micro-data from 2016 to align with the most recent ASE survey. I conduct a linear probability model with self-employment as the dependent variable. If theoretical findings from other research holds, we should expect to see that care obligations have a more significant impact on the likelihood that women will be self-employed part-time as compared with men. My empirical analysis will test the likelihood of women entering part-time self-employment as compared to men via the following linear probability model:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Self\ Employed_i = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 Female_i + \beta_2 Black_i + \beta_3 Hispanic_i + \beta_4 Asian_i \\
 & + \beta_5 Married_i + \beta_6 Widowed_i + \beta_7 Divorced\ or\ Separated_i \\
 & + \beta_8 Some\ College_i + \beta_9 College_i + \beta_{10} Advanced\ Degree_i \\
 & + \beta_{11} Age_i + \beta_{12} Income\ Band\ 1_i + \beta_{13} Income\ Band\ 2_i \\
 & + \beta_{14} Income\ Band\ 3_i + \beta_{15} Income\ Band\ 4_i + \beta_{16} Parent_i \\
 & + \beta_{17} Care\ Obligation_i + \beta_{18} GSP_i + \beta_{19} Women\ in\ Leadership_i \\
 & + \varepsilon_i
 \end{aligned}$$

## 4.2 Data

The CPS data set includes 314,873 observations. Some variables to note include 10 percent of respondents are self-employed, 52 percent of respondents are female, 52 percent are married,

63 percent are parents, and 17 percent indicate working part-time due to a care obligation. Table 1 includes a full list of summary statistics.

Table 1: Regression Equation Variables

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	Notes
Self Employed	202,159	0.10405	0.30532	0	1	
Care Obligation	43,785	0.17273	0.3780	0	1	Key Variable
Female	314,873	0.52155	0.49953	0	1	
GSP	314,873	54806.2	18576.5	33688	17434	
Women Represen- tatives	309,491	0.24003	0.06352	0.132	0.42	Proxy for attitudes toward women in leadership
Black	314,873	0.10676	0.30881	0	1	
Hispanic	314,873	0.12749	0.33352	0	1	
Asian	314,873	0.05889	0.23541	0	1	
White	314,873	0.69151	0.46187	0	1	Reference Group
Never Married	314,873	0.28342	0.45065	0	1	Reference Group
Widowed	314,873	0.06251	0.24208	0	1	
Divorced/Separated	314,873	0.12568	0.33149	0	1	
Married	314,873	0.52839	0.49919	0	1	
High School or Less	314,873	0.42387	0.49417	0	1	
Some College	314,873	0.27497	0.44650	0	1	
College	314,873	0.1905	0.39269	0	1	
Advanced Degree	314,873	0.11066	0.31370	0	1	
Parent	314,873	0.63645	0.48102	0	1	
Age	314,873	47.3228	18.5963	16	85	
Income Band 1	314,873	0.08392	0.27726	0	1	<12,499/yr.
Income Band 2	314,873	0.16885	0.37461	0	1	12,500-29,999/yr.
Income Band 3	314,873	0.27495	0.44648	0	1	30,000-59,999/yr.
Income Band 4	314,873	0.23102	0.42148	0	1	60,000-99,999/yr.
Income Band 5	314,873	0.24126	0.42785	0	1	>1,000,000/yr. Reference group

Self-employed is the dependent variable and a dummy variable with a value of 1 if self-employed and zero otherwise. I include many explanatory demographic variables that control for race, ethnicity, marital status, educational attainment, family income, and parental status.

Variables for race and ethnicity include Black, Hispanic, Asian, and white as the excluded race category. Marital status, specifically being married, has been found to increase the likelihood of self-employment. Never married is the excluded group, and the dummy variables are widowed, divorced or separated, and married. Educational attainment includes the variable high school or less as the excluded group and accounts for those who either did not graduate high school, graduated high school, or received a GED. The regression includes some colleges, including technical, associate's, or incomplete bachelor's degrees, college, those that complete bachelor's degrees, and advanced degrees.

Personal income is not available for entrepreneurs in this data set. Therefore, to account for socio-economic impacts, I include family income. Income band one through five represents respondents whose annual family income is as follows: less than 12,499 dollars, between 12,500 and 29,999 dollars, between 30,000 and 59,999 dollars, between 60,000 and 99,999, and greater than 100,000. Income band 5 is the excluded group. We can expect to see higher family income increase the likelihood of part-time self-employment. Spousal income can indicate necessity entrepreneurship as women in high income households may take on the role of primary caregiver. I also include parental status, with the dummy variable parent equaling one if a respondent has at least one child and zero otherwise. Thébaud (2016) found that parenthood and marital status are consistent predictors of women's move into entrepreneurship.

The variable Women in Leadership is the percentage of women representatives in state legislators, by state, and acts as a proxy for attitudes towards women in leadership roles. This data is sourced through the National Congress of State Legislators for 2016. Percentage of female representation is intended to capture the glass ceiling's cultural context by state and attitudes toward women as leaders and business owners. Representation by state is also meant to capture regional differences in attitudes toward women. We can infer states with a higher percentage of women in state legislators have a greater cultural acceptance of women in leadership roles. Thébaud (2015) found that among economically developed countries, those with normative support for women in leadership have higher levels of nascent entrepreneurs. GSP per capita is merged into the database to account for local business cycles. The key variable of interest is the Care Obligation variable, taking the value of 1 if respondents cite childcare obligations or other family obligations as the main reason they work under thirty-five hours per week, and a value of zero otherwise. I expect the Care Obligation to increase the likelihood of part-time self-employment significantly. The regression equation is then limited to those working less than thirty-five hours per week.

### 4.3 Results

This regression analysis included 26,521 observations and 19 degrees of freedom. The R-squared value, which indicates the percentage of the results explained by the model, is 9.2%

indicating a low fit. These results are presented in Table 2. The  $t$ -statistics greater than 1.96 indicate a variable has statistical significance. Many of the variables align with previous research outcomes.

Table 2: Regression Results I

Number of Obs.	26,521
F(19, 26501)	107.05
Prob > F	0
R-squared	0.0921
Root MSE	0.32264

The empirical analysis coincides with my hypothesis; care obligations have a positive, significant effect on part-time self-employment, meaning that *care obligations* significantly increase the likelihood of part-time self-employment among women. The care obligation variable has a positive  $t$ -value of 3.56, as seen in Table 3. Gender also has a significant, negative effect with a  $t$ -value of -14.97; that is, being a woman significantly decreases the likelihood of self-employment as compared to men. When I run this regression without isolating part-time, the effect of gender is even more significant, suggesting that while being a woman significantly decreases the likelihood of self-employment, this is slightly less true for part-time self-employment. This finding aligns with both the CPS data and the ASE data that women are more often engaging in part-time self-employment.

Race and ethnicity variables display interesting results. Neither Hispanic nor Asian are significant. There is little research to support why this may be the case; however, Fairlie and Robb (2009) found that Asian-owned businesses tend to outperform white-owned firms, while Hispanic-owned firms tend to perform similarly. The part-time parameters may also impact these results. Knight (2016) find that women of color are more likely to operate labor-intensive businesses as compared to white women. Additionally, the pay gap between Black and Hispanic women and white and Asian women may mean that Black and Hispanic women must work more hours to make the same income. Controlling for part-time may not fully represent these groups. Black women are significantly less likely to enter part-time self-employment as compared to white women. As expected, the results yield a negative, statistically significant  $t$ -value. Blau and Winkler (2014) find that participation rates in self-employment for Black men and women remain among the lowest of any group. Race is a strong predictor of low self-employment rates for Black women; this could be due to discriminatory financial practices that barred the black community from gaining generational wealth. As a result, on average, Black families have fewer assets and less credit access, resulting

Table 3: Regression Results II

Variable	Coefficient	<i>t</i> -Statistic
Care Obligation	0.0086542*	3.56
Female	-0.0727348*	-14.97
GSP per capita, 2016	0.0037702	-1.64
Percent of Women in State Legislature	-0.0000004	1.82
Black	0.0728143*	-3.99
Hispanic	-0.0256479	1.11
Asian	0.0070142	-0.91
Widowed	-0.0090609	1.06
Divorced or Separated	0.0174594*	2.90
Married	0.0279642*	8.22
Some College	0.0610975*	2.56
College	0.0117761*	5.81
Advanced Degree	0.0425769*	7.64
Parent	0.0820701	1.21
Age	0.0048599*	18.65
Income Band 1	0.0234006	-0.29
Income Band 2	-0.0025068*	-3.24
Income Band 3	-0.0233674*	-2.28
Income Band 4	-0.0149191*	-4.40

Note: \* indicates statistical significance. Statistical significance is measured by *t*-statistics. A coefficient is statistically significant if the absolute value of the *t*-statistic is greater than 1.96.

in overall lower family income compared to white families. Lower family income may mean that Black women must remain in the traditional wage and labor market or, if self-employed, work full-time.

Every educational attainment variable was statistically significant, meaning that any education level beyond a high school degree will significantly increase the likelihood of part-time self-employment. I assume this will hold for full-time self-employment for some college and bachelor's degrees, as most ASE entrepreneurs fall into these two categories. The *t*-statistic for an advanced degree is 7.64, the highest among educational attainment, meaning that an

advanced degree significantly increases the likelihood that a woman will become a part-time entrepreneur compared to those with a high school degree or less. These results are slightly surprising, and it is difficult to tell if this would hold for full-time. Women with advanced degrees tend to have higher earning potential, and their partners also tend to have a higher income. This high level of significance captures the socio-cultural effect of higher-educational attainment on households. These women may also have more resources to start a business than those with a high school degree or less and can mitigate the risks of a less profitable business due to fewer hours worked.

Thébaud (2015, 2016) found being a parent to be an indicator of necessity entrepreneurship, and marriage to be a steady indicator of women's movement into entrepreneurship. While marriage was statistically significant, parent was not. This outcome may be that the care obligations captured the effects that Thébaud (2015) had attributed to parenthood. Instead, the gendered care obligation placed on women serves as a stronger indication of self-employment than being a parent alone. Marriage is an indicator of self-employment for both men and women, so this result matched expectations. Married women are much more likely to be part-time entrepreneurs as compared to those never married. Marriage is one of the strongest predictors of women's movement into part-time self-employment in my study, with a *t*-statistic of 8.22. Divorced or separated women are also more likely to be self-employed part-time than those never married. Those never married may be less likely to have children and have fewer commitments and gendered roles in the household. Single parents may also be more likely to remain in the salary and wage labor market, as entrepreneurs take on more financial risk. They may also be full-time entrepreneurs since they are less likely to have financial support from a partner.

Income bands 2 through 4 are statistically significant in the negative direction, indicating that those with family incomes between \$12,500 and \$99,000 are significantly less likely to be part-time entrepreneurs than those with family incomes greater than \$100,000. Those with a greater family income may be more likely to be part-time entrepreneurs. A spouse's income can predict women's movement into entrepreneurship. As mentioned earlier, the Specialization and Exchange model indicates women may take on the role of primary caregiver and secondary earner.

## 5 Conclusion

This study explores how gendered institutions, organizations, and care obligations affect women's abilities to make strategic career choices when deciding between entrepreneurship and the traditional wage and salary labor market. Focusing on US-specific conditions, I ask whether care obligations place a more significant labor force participation constraint on self-employed women compared to self-employed men. To answer this question, I first outline how a lack

of care policy in the US, as well as rigid institutions, work to push women from the wage and salary labor market. I then analyze generated ASE data to establish a link between women entering entrepreneurship due to a need for work-family balance and low business performance. This link allows us to infer that women in the US participate in necessity-based entrepreneurship more often than previous research acknowledges, and care obligations drive it. I then empirically analyze CPS micro-data by creating a linear probability model with self-employment as the dependent variable and care obligation as the key variable of interest. The model confirms my initial hypothesis that care obligations increase the likelihood that women will participate in part-time self-employment compared to men.

While there is a consensus among previous research that necessity-based entrepreneurs are represented in every country, there is a lack of research on this group within the US. Research has yet to focus on what factors are pushing women from the wage and labor market into self-employment and why women choose to work part-time. Research on female entrepreneurship has cited care obligations as a theoretical explanation for women choosing self-employment. This study proves this theory empirically, and to my knowledge, is the first to do so.

This study has several interesting findings that lend themselves to future research, including the relationship between class and necessity entrepreneurship. This relationship is apparent in the positive, significant  $t$ -value associated with an advanced degree. Family income also yielded interesting results, with nearly every income band being less likely to indicate part-time self-employment as compared to income band five, representing those with family incomes higher than 100,000 dollars annually. The intersectionality between race and gender also warrants further study. Research in this area may be best served by observing care obligations in the traditional wage and labor market, as well as looking into factors that push Asian, Hispanic, and Black women into full-time self-employment.

US women are among the few women in the world that are not guaranteed maternity leave, let alone paid maternity leave. Not only do US women face substantial child penalties resulting after only having one child, but gendered care obligations also disproportionately affect women's abilities to make strategic career choices. Kleven et al. (2019) find that more women in the US drop out of the labor force after their first child's birth, compared to women in other developed countries. More research with US-specific context is needed to determine the best parental leave option to ensure women remain attached to the labor force.

Parental leave is specifically crucial in breaking gendered childcare assumptions, particularly with infant care, as it is more labor intensive. Leave for both parents helps establish more egalitarian care responsibilities and promotes paternal bonding. Along with parental leave, increased childcare subsidies increase women's attachment to the labor force. While Thébaud (2016) found a substantial difference in entrepreneurial participation among women depending on a country's specific care and childcare policies, she found higher rates of female participation in opportunity entrepreneurship in all countries with progressive policies. Ad-

ditionally, women were also able to remain in the wage and salary labor market at higher rates.

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