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**ECONOMIC ADAPTATION AND THE SELF-EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF NIGERIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY**

A Dissertation in

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by

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the self-employment experience of Nigerian immigrants in New York City. Business ownership has been shown to be both a means of individual and collective socioeconomic mobility for immigrants. In addition, it offers an alternative form of employment to those unable to work in the wage labor market. Self-employed immigrants also do not compete with the native-born for jobs as they create their own and often create jobs for others as well. While most theories that explain the proclivity towards self-employment of some immigrant groups focus on the limitations that keep them from wage labor (like lack of English-speaking abilities or little education), Nigerians do not fit this profile.

This study focuses on three specific objectives: to understand the determinants of self-employment; to examine the factors that determine the structure of business-related social networks; and to understand the consequences of self-employment and of relying on different networks. I conducted fieldwork for twelve months in New York City, and collected both qualitative and quantitative data, supplemented with data from the American Community Survey.

I argue that most Nigerians do not enter self-employment as an alternative to constraints they face in obtaining wage labor. Instead, it is a culturally-valued occupation that most are highly familiar with, they plan and work towards it for many years, and they are attracted by its potential for financial growth and independence. Network structure appears to be related to the original goals of the business, with some entrepreneurs gearing their businesses towards the ethnic community and others towards a broader market. Primarily Nigerian customers prove challenging for entrepreneurs. These customers, because of their

close ties to the business owners, often delay payment or make enormous demands. For this reason many entrepreneurs eventually expand their customer base. Because these businesses are often located in impoverished areas, however, relying on the local neighborhood population for business also prevents the business from growing.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

African migration to the United States is on the rise. After World War II, Africa was integrated into the global economy in a disadvantaged position, primarily as a provider of raw materials and cheap labor (Gordon 1998). Many African countries became independent beginning in the 1950's and have faced numerous problems since then: population growth, mounting debt, particularly in the 1980's, stagnant or declining economic output, rising unemployment, and political instability and war (Gordon 1998). International migration became a response to these problems, and the number of African immigrants to the U.S. increased dramatically during this period.

African migration to the U.S. is highly selective. The stagnant economies of African states were unable to absorb skilled labor (Arthur 2000). At the same time, migration policy in the U.S. changed to remove nationality quotas (Percy Kraly and Miyares 2001) and facilitated the migration of the highly educated (Gordon 1998). African immigrants come to the U.S. for four specific reasons: to pursue advanced education, to take advantage of economic opportunities, to reunite with family members and to flee political turmoil (Apraku 1991; Arthur 2000). This study examines one of these aspects, the economic opportunities that immigrants pursue. Specifically, it addresses the self-employment experience of Nigerian immigrants in New York City.

Scholarly interest in self-employment stems from the advantages that many argue it confers on immigrants. Business ownership has been shown to be a means of both individual and collective socioeconomic mobility (Light 1984; Portes and Zhou 1999). In addition, it offers

an alternative form of employment to those unable to work in the wage labor market. Self-employed immigrants also do not compete with the native-born for jobs as they create their own, and often create jobs for others as well.

While most theories that explain the proclivity towards self-employment of some immigrant groups focus on the limitations that keep them from wage labor, Nigerian immigrants do not fit this profile. Nigerians are English-speakers, as a group they have a high proportion of college graduates, and many migrate as permanent residents. While most studies have successfully explained why some immigrant groups are more entrepreneurial than others, very few have focused on the determinants of self-employment for individuals in the same immigrant group. This study accomplishes this by focusing on three specific objectives.

The first objective is to understand the determinants of self-employment. I use quantitative survey data to conduct multinomial logistic regression analyses that test the effect of several demographic, educational, household, and migration variables on the probability of being self-employed versus a wage laborer, a government worker, or unemployed. These results are complemented by information from qualitative semistructured interviews that discuss specific pathways and motivations that led some immigrants to self-employment.

The second objective is to examine the business-related social networks of the self-employed, particularly their selection of suppliers, employees and customers. Based on these networks, scholars have detected two kinds of immigrant entrepreneurship. The first involves middlemen minorities who transfer goods from elites to impoverished sectors of society, and who have little attachment to the communities in which they operate. The second type involves economic enclaves, where the suppliers, employees and customers are primarily coethnic,

there is geographic concentration of businesses and even homes, and economic transactions are highly embedded in social relationships. The qualitative data are again used to explore this objective.

The final objective is to understand the consequences of self-employment. I first use survey data to compare the earnings of and the number of hours worked by the self-employed to those of wage laborers. Then I utilize the qualitative information to examine what entrepreneurs cite as some consequences of relying on certain people for their businesses.

I argue that most Nigerians do not enter self-employment as an alternative to constraints they face in obtaining wage labor. Instead, entrepreneurship is a culturally-valued occupation that most are highly familiar with, that they plan and work towards for many years, and that attracts them by its potential for financial growth and independence.

The structure of their business networks is twofold. Some entrepreneurs open a business that caters to the Nigerian community. These individuals rely initially on coethnic suppliers but eventually settle on those who can offer them the best deal. They rely primarily on family labor or coethnic labor, and begin with a primarily coethnic base. However, because there is a lack of geographic concentration of Nigerian businesses and households, these business owners often expand the customer base to include local residents of the neighborhoods in which they operate, primarily Caribbeans, other Africans, and African-Americans, but also Hispanics and others. These customers are either attracted to the consumption of African products, or, in the case of grocery stores, request that the business owner expand the range of products to those they desire. These entrepreneurs begin their businesses in ways that are consistent with the formation of ethnic economic enclaves, but

given the lack of geographic concentration, these enclaves do not materialize and non-coethnics are quickly involved in the enterprise.

The second kind of network structure is more diverse. These are the entrepreneurs who start a business either because they perceived a need in a local (non-Nigerian) neighborhood, or who always had a particular kind of business in mind and simply chose a location for it. These entrepreneurs have a diverse customer base from the beginning, and many hire locals who are predominantly non-Nigerian as employees. In this respect, these entrepreneurs act like middlemen in these other neighborhoods.

Quantitative data show that there is considerably more variability in the earnings of the self-employed than there is for wage laborers and even more so than government workers. This variability does not go unnoticed by the self-employed who always hope to reach a high level of earnings. For this reason, the self-employed often work additional jobs or extra hours to meet the desired intake quotas. This is reflected in the quantitative analyses that show that entrepreneurs on average work more hours per week than other kinds of workers.

Lastly, the qualitative interviews suggest some consequences of relying on different suppliers, employees and customers. The selection of suppliers based on where entrepreneurs can obtain the best deal guarantees that they keep their costs as low as possible. For some who obtain their products abroad, however, it sometimes means having to travel personally to guarantee that they are being sent specifically what they need. Relying on kin or close friends for labor also keeps costs down and assures entrepreneurs relationships of trust and mutual obligation. Non-coethnic employees represent a higher financial cost for entrepreneurs because they must always be paid in a timely manner, unlike family members who are more

likely to accept a delay or may not receive financial compensation for their work at all.

Nonetheless, most entrepreneurs who can afford to hire someone externally do so. The biggest consequence, however, is associated with the customer base. Primarily Nigerian customers at times prove challenging for entrepreneurs. These customers, because of their close ties to the business owners, often delay payment or make enormous demands. For this reason also, many entrepreneurs eventually expand their customer base. Because these businesses are often located in impoverished areas, however, relying on the local neighborhood population for business also prevents the business from growing.

The dissertation is organized in the following way: Chapter 2 introduced the theoretical perspectives and concepts to be considered in the study of self-employment. First it addresses the concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, then it presents some characteristics specific to entrepreneurship in the African context. It then summarizes perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship and outlines some of the dimensions to be considered in this study. Chapter 3 describes the Nigerian population of New York City, and outlines the fieldwork process. Chapter 4 describes the research framework, data collection methods and analyses conducted. Chapter 5 addresses the determinants of self-employment and pathways into self-employment. Chapter 6 examines the structure of the business-related social networks, and Chapter 7 analyzes the consequences of self-employment and of using different social networks. Finally, Chapter 8 addresses these findings in light of the hypotheses of the study, and summarizes the conclusions.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

This chapter outlines the different theoretical perspectives that contribute to the understanding of immigrant self-employment. It begins by reviewing the main conceptualizations of entrepreneurship, then summarizes key characteristics of capitalist penetration in Africa and how that has shaped entrepreneurship in the continent. It then reviews the principal theories of immigrant entrepreneurship and discusses some of the principal dimensions considered in this study. Finally, it discusses some omissions in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship and the specific research questions addressed by this study.

Entrepreneurship

The study of entrepreneurship and self-employment has followed changing scholarly interests in the role played by entrepreneurs in society. Earlier definitions focused on the characteristics of entrepreneurs themselves: their role in society and their personality. Until the 1920s, neoclassical economists were interested in processes such as the combinations of labor and capital that produced states of economic equilibrium (Spring and McDade 1998). In this view, individuals whose behavior altered this economic equilibrium were largely ignored (Greenfield, et al. 1979) and entrepreneurs were characterized as being unaffected by forces external to the rational operation of their firms (Greenfield and Strickon 1986). The initial conceptualization of entrepreneurs, therefore, viewed them as acting strictly according to their businesses, and as agents who reproduced economic equilibrium in society.

With the Great Depression came a scholarly shift in the study of economies, and the focus became change rather than equilibrium (Greenfield and Strickon 1986). The key proponent of this approach was Joseph Schumpeter, for whom change became the defining factor in economic growth which he equated with development and progress (Greenfield and Strickon 1986). For Schumpeter, development occurred through the creation of new combinations of factors (materials and forces) that disturbed previous equilibria (Greenfield, et al. 1979) and resulted in new and better ones. The carrying out of these new combinations corresponded to “enterprising” (Greenfield, et al. 1979) and the entrepreneur was the person responsible for them (Greenfield and Strickon 1986; Schumpeter 1961 (1934); Spring and McDade 1998). Beginning with Schumpeter then, the entrepreneur became “the focal point and key to the dynamic of economic development and growth” (Greenfield and Strickon 1986:5).

A third view linked entrepreneurs to particular psychological traits, acquired through socialization in specific cultural values (Spring and McDade 1998). The best known proponent of this perspective is David McClelland. To him, the critical characteristic for entrepreneurs was the possession of “nAchievement,” or the need for achievement (McClelland 1961), for which he developed a measurement. High achievers are the entrepreneurs responsible for economic growth, and differences in cultural values across societies explain why some societies produce more entrepreneurs than others (Greenfield and Strickon 1986). Problems with the personality-based approach include lack of empirical evidence supporting its tenets, and underprediction of the extent of entrepreneurship in the United States (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986).

Other scholars shifted the focus from entrepreneurs to entrepreneurship as a process, and brought the focus back to social and cultural structures. Firth (1964) and Barth (1963) pioneered work on social structure and social change. Firth (1964) differentiated between an abstract “social structure” and the individuals operating within it who constitute “social organization” and Barth (1963) conceptualized individuals as decision-makers within their specific sociocultural context. He defined the entrepreneurial career as a process, “as a chain of transactions between the entrepreneur and his environment” (Barth 1963:7) and highlighted the need to emphasize the reciprocity of those transactions by the rest of the community.

Similarly, Glade (1967) coined the term “opportunity structure” which he defined as the settings, circumstances, or situations in which decisions and choices are made; this opportunity structure became a central sphere of entrepreneurial behavior (Greenfield, et al. 1979). In this approach, the opportunity structure provides new opportunities for individuals, and those who take advantage of the opportunities are entrepreneurs (Greenfield, et al. 1979). Other scholars (Aubey, et al. 1974) have combined these perspectives to conceptualize entrepreneurs as primarily mobilizers of the resources available to them, particular social resources.

Throughout these perspectives, several characteristics have implicitly or explicitly permeated the definition of entrepreneurship. The first of these is innovation. Innovation includes the introduction of new products, implementing new production techniques, finding new sources of raw materials, and discovering new markets (Apraku 1991; Marsch and Mannari 1986). Innovation is also permitted by the changing opportunity structure.

A second characteristic of entrepreneurship is coordination of resources. Scholars recognize that not all entrepreneurs introduce innovation, but coordination is always present

(Spring and McDade 1998). Geertz (cited in Acheson 1986:47) observes that “the major innovational problems that the entrepreneur faces are organizational rather than technical.”

Coordination involves both economic resources and people, as entrepreneurs interact with the opportunity structure.

Another characteristic of entrepreneurship is the risk that it involves. Early definitions of entrepreneurship accounted for this aspect. In the eighteenth century, economist Richard Cantillon argued that entrepreneurs were the primary risk-takers in an economy, and that they were the balancing figures who reacted to shortages and surpluses (Apraku 1991).

Entrepreneurs operate under conditions of uncertainty, and are ultimately responsible for investing capital in an enterprise and assuming losses (Nafziger 1977).

The different conceptualizations of entrepreneurship reflect problems of reaching a consensus on what entrepreneurship is, how to measure it, and what universal characteristics define an entrepreneur (Spring and McDade 1998). Few scholars have successfully distinguished between owners and managers of firms based on innovation and risk (Aldrich 1990). Similarly, not all self-employed individuals operate as entrepreneurs because they do not necessarily fulfill all the aspects of entrepreneurship: introduction of innovation, coordination of social and financial resources, capital investment and risk-bearing. The self-employed do not necessarily hire additional labor, while most entrepreneurs do so. What is similar among these individuals is that they follow an employment path of independence, where they are the creators of their own employment. For this reason this study takes into account all the self-employed.

Boskin (1984:59) defines the entrepreneurial process as one “by which new ideas, products, or processes are produced, generated, and disseminated to one or more markets.” This study will adopt this definition and extend “processes” to include services provided by the self-employed. This definition has three analytical advantages. First, production, generation and dissemination require the coordination of a social network composed of suppliers of raw materials or products, employees and clients/customers (some businesses, particularly those that provide a professional service might not require a network of suppliers and others may not have employees beyond the entrepreneur). Second, given the risk involved in entrepreneurship, where the entrepreneur acts under conditions of uncertainty, these business-related social networks can be analyzed based on how they affect the risk involved in entrepreneurship. Third, the coordination of a network of suppliers, employees and customers acts as a bridge between the individual entrepreneurs and the opportunity structure they interact with. Focusing the analysis on these networks takes into account individual characteristics as well as the social structure within which they operate.

Entrepreneurship in Africa

Structural approaches underline the need to situate entrepreneurship within its broader socioeconomic environment because the circumstances that favor entrepreneurship may vary by society (Spring and McDade 1998). Many scholars argue that traditional models of entrepreneurship do not apply to African countries because of the ways in which capitalist penetration occurred in the continent. In Africa, capitalist penetration is incomplete and “coexists with other pre-capitalist modes of production” (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga

2000:15). According to Apraku (1991), an environment favorable to private ownership must include a tax system and property rights laws that protect value for the owners. It must also involve government recognition that its role in the economy is to facilitate growth. In Africa, however, a legacy of colonial exploitation and the experience of foreign capital benefiting a small percentage of the population led most African governments to eschew capitalism after independence (Spring and McDade 1998). A majority of governments decided that industrial and commercial development must be managed by the state. Most of this management took the form of state-owned enterprises (Apraku 1991) or parastatals (Spring and McDade 1998). Most scholars agree that this strategy has produced dismal results for African societies (Apraku 1991; Berry 1985; Spring and McDade 1998).

In Africa capital accumulation became unevenly joined with traditional pre-capitalist African modes of production (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000). The result has been that indigenous institutions have been mobilized for accumulation: wage labor is subsidized by household production, traditional labor owed to chiefs and lineage heads is used for capital accumulation, alliances are formed between aristocrats and merchants (Spring and McDade 1998), and the use of kin relations in training and labor recruitment is common (Chukwuezi 2001).

Berry (1985) observes that differential access to resources, including those controlled by the state, have resulted in different accumulation strategies being pursued by different groups. In Nigeria, an extreme example of this is presented by the Igbo, who were involved in a secessionist civil war between 1967 and 1970. At the end of the war, many were denied positions in civil service and government parastatals which drove them into the private sector

in such force that they are now recognized as the most entrepreneurial group in Nigeria (Chukwuezi 2001). Another example is provided by the Ijebu Yoruba who took advantage of the new economic opportunities brought about by colonialism by positioning themselves (mainly through military means) as the middlemen in the trade between the coast and hinterland (Akeredolu-Ale 1973).

Spring and McDade (1998) list some important ways in which African entrepreneurs are different and therefore may not fit traditional models of entrepreneurship developed for industrialized countries. Unlike their Western counterparts, African entrepreneurs often plunge into business with a minimum of start-up capital or financial resources. They also cannot select their workers from a large pool of skilled labor so they secure and train personnel through apprenticeships, family ties and other arrangements. Even large formal-sector firms often balance the traditional custom of employing family members with contemporary business administration practices like hiring management based on expertise (Ukaegbu 1998). Market infrastructure is often lacking in African countries and so entrepreneurs obtain start-up and operational capital from community resources like group-based rotating credit associations or from family members (Nafziger 1969; Spring and McDade 1998). Operating several businesses to diversify risk is also common and should not be taken as a sign of lack of commitment to grow a business (Spring and McDade 1998).

Table 2.1 summarizes some differences between traditional versus African models of entrepreneurship.

Table 2.1: Comparison of traditional and African models of entrepreneurship.

	Traditional Model	African Model
Tax system and protection of property rights	Present	Absent
Minimal role of state in economic regulation	Present	Absent
Start-up capital obtained primarily from group-based rotating credit associations or family members	Absent	Present
Labor recruited through kinship networks	Absent	Present
Operation of multiple businesses as risk-minimizing strategy	Absent	Present

Because many of these entrepreneurial strategies are a reaction to structural conditions in Africa, it is important to examine whether the strategies pursued by Nigerian immigrants in the U.S. are different those potentially learned in Nigeria, given the highly developed market infrastructure in the country, or whether some of these are replicated when the immigrant status of Nigerians prevents them from accessing the market opportunities in their host society.

Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Studies of entrepreneurship often focus on entrepreneurs in their native countries (Long 1979; Marsch and Mannari 1986; Schildkrout 1986; Strachan 1979). Understanding immigrant entrepreneurship has the added challenge that culture and context are not equivalent. Immigrant entrepreneurs operate in a new context, and sometimes simultaneously in two or more societies, and their activities may form a strategy for economic adaptation to their new society, or migration itself may be a strategy for economic adaptation in a globalized world.

Scholarly interest in immigrant entrepreneurship stemmed from Light's (1972) discovery that immigrant groups tended to be more entrepreneurial than native-born Americans, and

that self-employment is often a source of individual and collective social mobility for immigrants (Gold 1988; Light 1984; Portes and Zhou 1999; Waldinger 1986; Zhou 1992), providing a particularly viable opportunity for groups who may face structural discrimination or disadvantages in the wage labor market (Dodoo 1997; Portes and Zhou 1996). By opening businesses, immigrant entrepreneurs create their own jobs, and if successful provide jobs for others (Rath 2006).

Researchers have largely focused on explaining the differential proclivity for entrepreneurship of different immigrant groups. One approach explains entrepreneurship as a result of individual-level characteristics, particularly the human capital that immigrants bring with them and its usefulness in the new society. In this approach, poor English-speaking abilities, little formal education or foreign education (Portes 1995; Portes and Zhou 1999) are positive predictors of self-employment. Another important predictor of entrepreneurship is experience with entrepreneurship and previous employment in a co-ethnic firm (Salem 1981; Rajjman and Tienda 1999). In this view, some groups are more entrepreneurial because they possess human capital useful for self-employment. For example, Aldrich (1990) states that some the initial wave of Cubans in Miami were a highly selected group with advanced education, business experience and capital.

Other approaches examine entrepreneurship in terms of the structural context in which it emerges and the social and ethnic resources available. Earlier perspectives in this approach include that of “middlemen minorities” which argued that immigrants often occupy positions of middlemen, delivering services and goods from elites to the masses (Bonacich 1973). Middlemen minorities include retailers (ranging from street vendors to international

merchants) and money lenders (who range from petty lenders to international financiers). They are minorities in communities, and their viability depends on possessing particular experience and knowledge not offered by others in the community (Sowell 1996). These entrepreneurs have few intrinsic ties to the communities in which they operate and often operate there only temporarily (Zhou 2007b). Middlemen minorities seldom bring wealth to the communities in which they operate, but create wealth for themselves (Sowell 1996).

Another line of research within structural perspectives focuses on the spatial context. Massey and Denton (1993) studied the relationship between residential segregation and entrepreneurship. They found that some clustering of immigrant groups is beneficial for certain entrepreneurial activities, but too much segregation from the larger population tends to concentrate poverty. Rekers and van Kempen (2000) argue that the spatial context is an important determinant of how businesses are started. Contemporary urban contexts, they claim, are characterized by a deconcentration of employment and a changing urban population profile that favors those pursuing self-employment.

Cultural explanations for entrepreneurship argue that certain immigrant groups are inherently entrepreneurial because of their culture or as a reaction to their alien or minority status (Light 1984). They posit that certain cultural characteristics or values, like solidarity and willingness to work long hours, become useful for immigrants pursuing self-employment in their host societies (Light 1979). Strictly cultural arguments, however, omit the structural conditions that favor and reinforce certain values or attitudes favorable to self-employment (Aldrich 1990). Earlier in this chapter for example, I noted how structural conditions during

colonization and a civil war after independence influenced some Nigerian ethnic groups' involvement in self-employment.

Recently, research has increasingly centered on the importance of social ties for the operation of immigrant businesses, and on whether these ties operate along ethnic and/or class lines. These studies also focus on resources provided by the ethnic or immigrant group, and the availability of co-ethnics for labor as important variables in immigrant entrepreneurship (Brettell and Alstatt 2007).

Social networks play an important role in the creation and survival of businesses. Social network theorists argue that people with better social resources, including their own network and the resources of others that they can call upon, are more likely to succeed as entrepreneurs. Furthermore, people invest in social relations according to the wealth, power, status and other social ties that they expect to gain (Flap et al 2000).

Lee (2001) found that economic and social capital was important for the rise of entrepreneurship among different ethnic groups. In her study, Jewish and Korean merchants often turned to co-ethnics for loans necessary for setting up businesses, and in emergencies such as robberies, but African-Americans were unable to tap into this resource because of difficulty in procuring capital, obtaining adequate training, inability to secure prime business locations, lack of sufficient patronage, and inability to organize for cooperative effort. Similarly, Min and Bozorgmehr (2000), testing whether ethnic or class resources are more salient in determining entrepreneurship among Koreans and Iranians in Los Angeles, found that Koreans relied more on ethnic resources but Iranians, an ethnically diverse group, depended more on class resources.

Some researchers have studied the importance of household and family variables, finding that being married and having children are positive predictors of entrepreneurship (Arthur 2000; Portes and Jensen 1989; Sanders and Nee 1996). In this perspective, family is an important form of social capital. Like co-ethnics, family members provide cheap labor, but families also have an increased sense of mutual obligation and trust, which becomes important when handling sensitive and under-the-counter cash transactions. Families also pool financial resources (Sanders and Nee 1996). Sanders and Nee (1996) find that when immigrants do move into self-employment, those with human capital advantages are less likely to rely on family labor because they frequently enter into self-employment as providers of professional services.

Arthur (2000) studied eight African immigrant groups in four cities in the U.S. and found that households with multiple families, with three or more teenagers, or with matriarchs as heads are more likely to be entrepreneurial. He concurs with Sanders and Nee's finding that children provide cheap labor. He does not, however, offer an explanation of the role of matriarchs in entrepreneurship. Families, however, also entail costs for the entrepreneur. Nafziger (1969) found that in Nigeria, the extended family was crucial as a source of start-up funds for the entrepreneur, but that those who wished to expand their businesses lost more to than they benefited from the extended family. Families were rarely a source of capital for expansion, but instead required resources for consumption which may have been otherwise reinvested in the business.

Kibria (1994) offers an alternative explanation for the positive relationship between large households and entrepreneurship. In her study of Vietnamese refugees in Philadelphia, she found that households with more heterogeneous gender and age composition were better

able to make use of different strategies of economic adaptation, including starting up a business. Entrepreneurship, in that case, was simply one more occupation in a decision to diversify the sources of income and minimize risk.

While social resources are generally seen as positive, they can also have detrimental effects. Portes (1993) argues that individuals can become “trapped” in their network given the investments they have previously made, and that family and friends will request successful entrepreneurs to share their profits. Maintaining a network of only close ties will furthermore deny people the benefits of new information that is provide by what Grannovetter (1973) terms “weak ties.”

Waldinger and colleagues formulated a model that combines all these views and relates agency and structure. They define entrepreneurship as a product of the interaction between group characteristics and the opportunity structure of the host society, which includes market conditions (particularly a demand for a service or product), and access to ownership, which is facilitated or constrained by resources provided by members of the same ethnic group and government policies towards immigrants (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Waldinger, et al. 1990). While comprehensive, this approach has been criticized for being more classificatory than explanatory in that it lists all the important variables that influence immigrant entrepreneurship but does not define many relationships between them. The model does, however, offer a set of dimensions to be taken into account. I discuss them below.

Dimensions of Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Locus of entrepreneurship

The first dimension in Waldinger's (1990) model of immigrant entrepreneurship refers to the structure that influences entrepreneurial activity. Entrepreneurs, however, can operate within different structures, ranging from explicitly localized activities to transnational trade. For African immigrants, self-employment can be an alternative to the structural discrimination they face. This might be particularly true for the highly-educated who receive little to no return for their degrees especially if obtained abroad (Dodoo 1997). The structure within which immigrant entrepreneurs operate can also be transnational in nature.

Transnationalism refers to processes that transcend the boundaries of individual nation-states. While it is tempting to equate it with globalization, the latter differs in that it includes processes largely decentered from specific territories that take place in a global space (Kearney 1995). Transnationalism is not located in an imaginary space in-between nation-states, but is bound to the constraints and opportunities of their context (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). Transnationalism then, necessarily depends on the existence of nation-states and has important implications for them. At the same time, the specific structures of individual states differentially affect distinct groups, who interact with them according to their own sets of motivations, means, and constraints.

Studies of immigrant transnationalism have been questioned on the grounds that the scope of immigrant transnationalism has been overestimated and that it does not represent a new phenomenon (Portes 2001). However, despite evidence that only a small percentage of

immigrants are involved in transnational activities, their impact in both their sending and receiving countries is significant and has macrosocial consequences (Portes 2001; Portes 2003). Similarly, while recent immigrants to the United States are not the first to undertake transnational activities, some aspects of their use, reach and impact are different from previous activities because both the global and local contexts, as well as the composition of the immigrant groups, have changed substantially (Guarnizo 2001). Compared to older waves contemporary immigrants are more informed about the U.S., the local and global contexts in which their transnational activities are embedded are very different and more interconnected, and their home country seeks to institutionalize these activities in unprecedented ways (Guarnizo 2001).

An alternative to the centrality of transnationalism is the “economic analysis beyond the local system” framework (Blanton, et al. 1997), which operates under the primary assumption that some features of any social system may be the result of interactions across local-system boundaries (Blanton and Peregrine 1997:6), but that these extra-local interactions are not necessary always the major source of sociocultural change. Nigerian immigrants themselves constitute extra-local variables if “local” is defined as the city of New York. However, the degree of transnational involvement in their enterprises may vary drastically, and this framework provides specific variables that can be measured to determine this involvement. These variables include the presence of across-boundary transactions, whether these transactions can be controlled by political and economic actors, and the presence and scope of non-local sources of power.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Enclaves

A number of immigrant entrepreneurship studies focus on the differential proclivity of different ethnic groups to self-employment. Many of these conflate ethnicity with nationality. However, many countries, including Nigeria, are comprised of numerous ethnic groups, and these identities can shape the economic adaptation of immigrants abroad. Ethnicity can influence the economic opportunities of immigrants by demarcating the available social ties. Minority ethnic groups may assimilate in greater degree to the mainstream (Barth 1963), or national identity can override ethnic divisions within the immigrant group (Stoller 2002).

Ethnicity-based approaches to entrepreneurship developed an alternative view of entrepreneurs from that of the previously-discussed “middlemen minorities”. In this view, immigrants segregate into ethnic enclaves. Zhou (2007b) summarizes several characteristics that define ethnic enclaves. First, the immigrant group in the enclave involves a large entrepreneurial class. Second, the economic activities involved are not just related to exchange but also to production geared towards the general (not just coethnic) consumer market. There is also great diversity to the businesses in the enclave, which entail a wide range of activities available outside the enclave, like professional services. More importantly, coethnicity defines the relationships between owners and workers, as well as patrons and clients. Finally, the enclave requires physical concentration within an ethnically identifiable neighborhood. In the enclave, economic activities are governed by mechanisms of support and control that ensure the reproduction of economic activities and the enforcement of norms and values. Many studies seem to support theories of ethnic enclaves. Borjas (1986) uses a neoclassical economics framework that views self-employment as a result of immigrants’ comparing the

market wage they would earn as salaried workers with the expected net income from self-employment. Despite this framework, he attributes the higher rates of self-employment to enclave effects: the geographic closeness in residence foments business opportunities.

Households

Anthropological studies of households have led to a major shift in their conceptualization, from bounded entities that operate harmoniously as a single unit, to porous systems of relationships in which people enter into bargaining, negotiation, and even conflict. Barlett (1989) identifies four components of households: personnel and household composition; production activities and division of labor; consumption activities and inter- and intra- household exchange; and patterns of power and authority. Households, therefore, are both units of production and social units, and these aspects should not be conflated. Households with similar structure and economic functions can have different divisions of labor and different power relationships (Guyer 1981; Wilk 1989).

Wolf (1992) criticizes the concept of “household strategies”. She states that the concept is appealing because it mediates between the “... overly individualistic focus of social-psychological attributes... and structural determinism, which views people as passive victims...” (p.13). Nonetheless, while such conceptualization links individuals with broader structures by giving them agency, the household is often merged analytically with an individual, often the household head, who is assumed to be a benevolent dictator making decisions for a collective good (Wolf 1992).

The implications of households in self-employment are many. Households can act as the primary unit of production, where the self-employed relies exclusively on the labor of kin members. Household members can provide other important resources for the self-employed, such as social ties that may aid their business ventures. Households are also the loci where gender ideologies and relationships are reproduced (Moore 1992), particularly with respect to the appropriate productive and reproductive activities for men and women. Households are also the units that most directly respond to sudden changes in employment of their members, by shifting composition and consumption, making them an instrument for measuring the paths of their members in the labor market (Zolniski 2006). Finally, employed household members can contribute a larger share of their income to the household while the self-employed pursue their activities.

Research on the relationship between households and entrepreneurship consistently finds that larger households are more likely to have an entrepreneurial member. Explanations vary from members providing labor for domestic production (Arthur 2000; Sanders and Nee 1996) to large households diversifying income by participating in several types of labor (Kibria 1994). Ethnographic research provides better evidence of the relationship between households and immigrant self-employment by examining not only the direct involvement of family members in businesses, but also the indirect supportive role that household members can provide to their self-employed kin.

Relying on kin networks often implies negative financial consequences for entrepreneurs in Nigeria, because much of their surplus (and time) is reinvested in the family and not the firm (Berry 1985; Nafziger 1969). Similar results have been found among

immigrants in the U.S. relying on coethnic networks, particularly in ethnic enclave economies (Fischer and Massey 2000). Financial losses, however, might be offset by gains in social status, or access to credit from participating in particular networks. Short-term financial losses might also be offset by long-term gains such as securing social connections to be used by children in the future.

Market Relations

One dimension that has been understudied in immigrant entrepreneurship research is market relations, and how they affect the entrepreneurial activities of immigrants. All economic systems deal with processes of production, consumption, and distribution, which are interrelated with processes of social organization (Gudeman 1986). The degree to which they are embedded in social relationships has been diversely conceptualized.

Plattner (1985) discusses impersonal versus personal modes of exchange (defined as the behavioral norms appropriate to exchange in different contexts). Impersonal exchanges are at one end of a continuum and denote quick transactions with little implication for the future, as might occur in a supermarket between consumer and cashier. Economic exchanges within families represent the opposite end, personal market exchanges, as occur when a child is hired in a family business. Similarly, Granovetter (1992) conceptualizes economic activities as being either embedded in social relationships, or atomized, and defined the relevant question as “... under what circumstances people conduct their economic activity in an embedded or an atomized way” (p.23).

Consequences of entrepreneurship

Another area of scholarly interest in immigrant entrepreneurship concerns the consequences of entrepreneurship. Light's (1972) initial research cast immigrant entrepreneurship in a negative light, as an adaptation to a discriminatory wage labor market that forced them into marginal niches. Subsequent work challenged this view and portrayed self-employment as an important path towards economic success for immigrants (Gold 1988; Light 1984; Waldinger 1986; Zhou 1992). Borjas (1990) rejects the idea that immigrant entrepreneurs find success by opening up small shops and eventually accumulating substantial wealth. However, Portes and Zhou (1996) found that the discrepant findings regarding the earnings of self-employed immigrants are caused by differences in how data are analyzed (see chapter 4 for details). Where an earnings advantage is found, it is usually caused by the self-employed working longer hours than their wage counterparts (Portes 1995).

Finally, a recent focus goes beyond the economic consequences of immigrant entrepreneurship, to look at how it affects cultural patterns and social structures. Zhou (2007a) analyzed the community building effects of immigrant entrepreneurship. She concludes that "the vitality of the ethnic community and its ability to generate resources conducive to the acquisition of skills and information necessary for social mobility depends largely on the development of the enclave economy" (p.286).

Conclusions

Studies of immigrant entrepreneurship have sought to explain why some groups are more entrepreneurial than others, what factors explain entrepreneurship among immigrants, and some consequences of entrepreneurship for immigrants. Two perspectives have dominated the field. The first invokes cultural models that emphasize “imported or transplanted culture in terms of values and beliefs that are being retrieved, invoked, produced and reproduced to start or to maintain ethnic businesses” (Bun and Hui 1995). The second perspective emphasizes structural models. Structure is seen primarily as limiting immigrants’ opportunities to enter the mainstream wage labor market, making self-employment a viable alternative. Structure, however is also acknowledged to provide certain opportunities for self-employment, particularly by providing the would-be entrepreneur with an ethnic market.

Most studies of immigrant entrepreneurship focus on the entrepreneurial experience of members of a particular immigrant group, but fewer seek to determine, within the same group, what leads some and not others to self-employment. Furthermore, the interplay of agency and structure suggests that some individuals are naturally attracted to entrepreneurship while others are pushed into it by structural constraints. It is important to understand the differences between those who are attracted to entrepreneurship and those who are forced into it, the different business strategies they pursue, and the structure of the social networks they rely on, and how this affects their self-employment experience.

The incomplete penetration of capitalism in Africa means that entrepreneurship there has several distinct characteristics: compared to entrepreneurs in other parts of the world, Africans often begin their enterprises with minimum start-up capital, train their own personnel,

use community or kin resources to access capital, and often operate multiple businesses to minimize risk. Many of these strategies are employed to counteract the incomplete market infrastructure present in many African societies. As immigrants in the United States, Africans move to a society whose market infrastructure is much more developed. Nonetheless, as immigrants they may sometimes not be able to access that infrastructure. For example, it is very difficult for a newly-arrived immigrant to obtain a bank loan, either because they do not have the legal status in the country, or because as new arrivals they have a short or nonexistent credit history. Therefore, an important line of inquiry addresses whether previous experience navigating an African market infrastructure confers immigrant entrepreneurs certain abilities and skills that facilitate their experience as entrepreneurs with structural limitations in their new society.

This review points to several important questions about Nigerian immigrant entrepreneurs. First, within the Nigerian immigrant community, what are the factors that determine self-employment, and what is the range of paths that lead some to entrepreneurship, either through personal preferences and values, or structural constraints that leave no other viable option? Second, because entrepreneurs use different strategies and resources to deal with the aspects of risk, innovation and coordination involved in the entrepreneurial process, for Nigerian immigrant entrepreneurs, a second line of inquiry needs to focus on the different strategies pursued by entrepreneurs, specifically the management of social resources. These strategies may vary by traits such as gender and period of time in the country, but also by the pathway that led to self-employment in the first place. Similarly, those with previous entrepreneurial experience in Nigeria may adapt the knowledge of navigating

difficult market conditions to their experiences as immigrants. Finally, different paths of entry to entrepreneurship and different management of social resources can lead to very different outcomes for the self-employed. This project seeks to understand those issues by answering three specific questions. The subsequent chapters explain the methodology involved in answering the questions and the fieldwork experience during data collection. The three questions and the hypotheses they generate are:

1. What are the determining factors of self-employment among Nigerian immigrants?

H_{1a}: Immigrants enter self-employment primarily after encountering barriers to wage labor such as layoffs or perceived racial discrimination.

H_{1b}: Immigrants with a history of apprenticeship, and those with entrepreneurial kin, are more likely to become self-employed.

H_{1c}: Immigrants with larger households are more likely to be self-employed, because other household members can provide labor, work for wages and provide insurance coverage for the self-employed, or provide the security of a dependable income, or they can fulfill other roles in the house normally filled by the self-employed.

2. What factors determine the composition and use of business-related social networks?

H_{2a}: Women will rely more than men on primarily kin-based networks.

H_{2b}: Membership in churches and associations affects access to networks by providing access to a group of people of similar ethnicity and socioeconomic class.

H_{2c}: Self-employed migrants rely more on co-ethnic than non co-ethnic social networks.

3. What are the economic, social, and cultural implications of being self-employed and of utilizing different business-related social networks?

H_{3a}: Businesses relying on kin ties have smaller output and profit than those relying on non-kin ties, because entrepreneurs have obligations of time and money to family members who helped them start their businesses.

H_{3b}: Businesses relying on non-kin ties are older than those relying on kin ties. At the start-up stage of a business family members can provide capital, free or cheap labor, and are more trustworthy, particularly if the business is operated in the informal economy. As businesses become older, family obligations keep them from growing and entrepreneurs will look for non-kin business ties.

H_{3c}: The structure of social networks reproduces internal class differences by circumscribing interaction primarily to members of similar socioeconomic characteristics.

Chapter 3

FIELDWORK

Introduction

This chapter examines fieldwork conducted between January and December of 2007. The main field period was preceded by an initial visit in August 2006, and followed by sporadic visits in 2008. The first section discusses the geographic definition and socioeconomic context of the field site, New York City, and summarizes the history of immigration there. It also presents data on the study population, Nigerian immigrants. The second section details the process through which I found this population and created a database of Nigerian associations, businesses and religious institutions. The third section discusses my entry to the field and how I established rapport with the community. The fourth section examines how I implemented data collection methods during fieldwork, and how informants reacted to them. It also describes the use of field notes and subsequent coding to cross-reference all the available data. Finally, I summarize the fieldwork experience and offer some suggestions to facilitate working in urban settings or with similar populations.

Field Site and Population

New York City consists of five boroughs, Manhattan, Brooklyn, The Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island, each corresponding to a different county, New York, Kings, Bronx, Queens, and Richmond, respectively. New York is the quintessential immigrant city in the United States. It was the main port of entry during the massive immigration of Europeans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Since 1900, at least 10% of all the foreign-born population in the United

States has lived in New York City (see Table 3.1). Today, it continues to be one of the main ports of entry for immigrants, along with Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Washington DC and San Francisco (Foner 2001). By 1999, almost one out of ten immigrants to the United States lived in New York City, and one third of its population was foreign-born (Percy Kraley and Miyares 2001).

Table 3.1: Foreign-born population of New York City, 1900-2000.

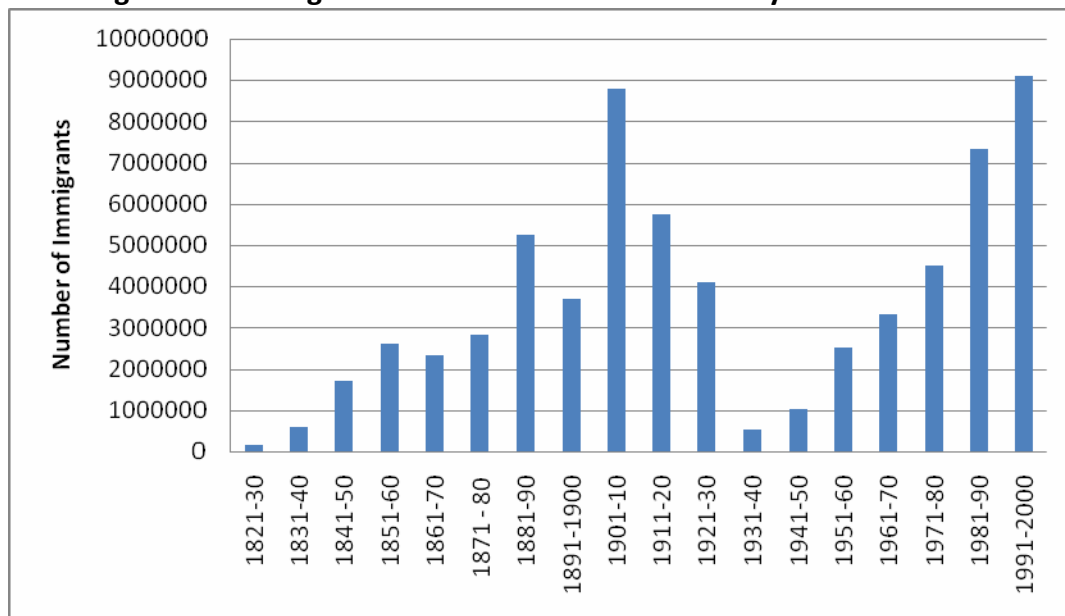
Year	Total Population (in thousands)	Foreign-Born population (in thousands)	Percentage of Foreign- Born in New York City	Percentage of U.S. Foreign-Born in New York City
1900	3,437.2	1,270.1	37.0	12.2
1910	4,766.9	1,944.4	40.8	14.3
1920	5,620.0	2,028.2	36.1	14.5
1930	6,930.4	2,358.7	34.0	16.5
1940	7,455.0	2,138.7	28.7	18.3
1950	7,892.0	1,860.9	23.6	17.8
1960	7,783.3	1,558.7	20.0	16.0
1970	7,894.9	1,437.1	18.2	14.9
1980	7,071.6	1,670.2	23.6	11.9
1990	7,322.6	2,082.9	28.4	10.5
2000	8,008.3	2,871.0	35.9	9.2

Source: Foner 2007:1001

In the first decade of the twentieth century, 8.8 million immigrants entered the United States. Between 1911 and 1941 the immigration levels declined because of increasingly restrictive immigration policies, conflict in Europe and the Great Depression (Percy Kraley and Miyares 2001). The 1924 National Origins Act, for example, sought to limit the total number of immigrants but strongly favored those from Europe through a system of national quotas

(Jernegan 2005). Since World War II, immigration levels have increased with each decade (Homeland Security 2006). Figure 3.1 summarizes the number of immigrants admitted by decade to the United States since 1820.

Figure 3.1: Immigration to the United States: fiscal years 1820-2000.



Source: Derived from Table 1, Department of Homeland Security F.Y. 2000 Statistical Yearbook

Contemporary U.S. immigration policy originated with the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which replicated the system of national quotas of the 1920s. It is the 1965 Amendment to the 1952 Act, however, that has largely shaped subsequent immigration to the United States. In 1965, the system of national quotas was eliminated, and family reunification was emphasized by placing no restriction on the annual migration of immediate family members of U.S. citizens (Percy Kraly and Miyares 2001; Jernegan 2005). Since 1965, South and East Asians, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic Caribbeans have represented the majority of immigrants (Reymers 1983).

In 1990, a congressionally-mandated program entitled the Diversity Immigrant Visa program (popularly known as the green card lottery) was established under Section 203 of the Act (Logan and Thomas 2009). It currently makes available 50,000 randomly-drawn permanent resident visas annually to applicants from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States (U.S. Department of State). Although Africans still represent a small percentage of total immigration to the United States, their numbers are rapidly increasing, in part because of this program.

The 2000 U.S. Census registered almost one million Africans in the United States. Between 1990 and 2000, the African-born population in the U.S. more than doubled, from 364,000 to 881,000 (Grieco 2004), suggesting that their numbers will only continue to rise. Nigerians constitute the largest group of African immigrants, with almost 140,000 living in the U.S. as of 2000. Of those, just over 12,500 or approximately 10% of Nigerians resided in New York City. According to the 2007 American Community Survey, the number is estimated to have risen to almost 17,000. The areas surrounding the city, including Long Island, New Jersey, and Connecticut, are home to large numbers of Nigerians as well. For this project, however, I limited my work to the five boroughs.

The number of Nigerian-born residing in the city is likely to continue to rise, given the large number of green cards awarded to Nigerians through the diversity visa lottery. The U.S. Department of State website (www.state.gov) reports that since 2002, of the 50,000 annual diversity visas (DV), Nigerians have consistently obtained the largest number of any nationality in the world. Table 3.2 summarizes the number of DV visas awarded to Nigerians 2002-2009. On average, they have obtained 14% of the total DV visas per year.

Table 3.2: DV visas awarded to Nigerians 2002-2009.

Year	DV Visas
2002	6,049
2003	5,989
2004	7,145
2005	6,725
2006	6,191
2007	9,849
2008	8,773
2009	6,041
Total	56,762

Source: United States Department of State

The DV program was designed to improve multiculturalism in the U.S. by increasing the number of immigrants from underrepresented countries (Logan and Thomas 2009). Only citizens of countries that have sent no more than 50,000 persons in the previous five years are eligible to apply. Despite its goal of multiculturalism, the program also functions as a highly selective mechanism that encourages the entry of highly skilled workers, also known as Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers (PTKs). Although the initial number of Nigerian lottery winners is high, the actual number who can fully afford the cost of the program is lower. Winners have to be able to pay for the plane ticket to the U.S., and the permanent resident application fee of \$930 per person, plus an additional \$80 fee for fingerprinting (Logan and Thomas 2009). Furthermore, the program requires a minimum of high school education or equivalent, but few Africans with a high school-level education will be in jobs that pay them enough to afford all the costs associated with the DV program. For this reason, it is expected that parallel to the increase in sub-Saharan African migration, there is an increase in the migration of the highly skilled.

Over the last few decades, migration research has benefited from the “city as context” framework, which grew as a critique of “methodological nationalism” in the social sciences that viewed the nation-state as the natural unit of analysis (Foner 2007). This new framework views cities as structuring peoples’ lives differently, particularly immigrants who are exposed to unique challenges and opportunities. In the case of New York City, Foner (2001) identifies five unique characteristics that shape immigrants’ experience: ethnic diversity, settlement patterns, economic opportunities, housing market and services.

Ethnic diversity is a defining characteristic of New York City. Other cities also host large numbers of immigrants, but they tend to originate from a small number of places. For example, immigrants in Los Angeles are mainly from Mexico or Asia, and those in Miami largely come from Cuba and other parts of Latin America (Foner 2001). In New York City, there aren’t one or even four dominant nationalities. The city is officially committed to cultural diversity and nearly every ethnic and immigrant group has a parade (Foner 2007). The first Nigerian Independence Day parade was hosted in 1991 by the Organization for the Advancement of Nigerians, an umbrella Nigerian immigrant organization, and continues to be celebrated annually (www.oanweb.org). Figure 3.2 depicts the participation of the Nigerian Social Workers Association at the 2007 Nigerian Independence Day Parade.

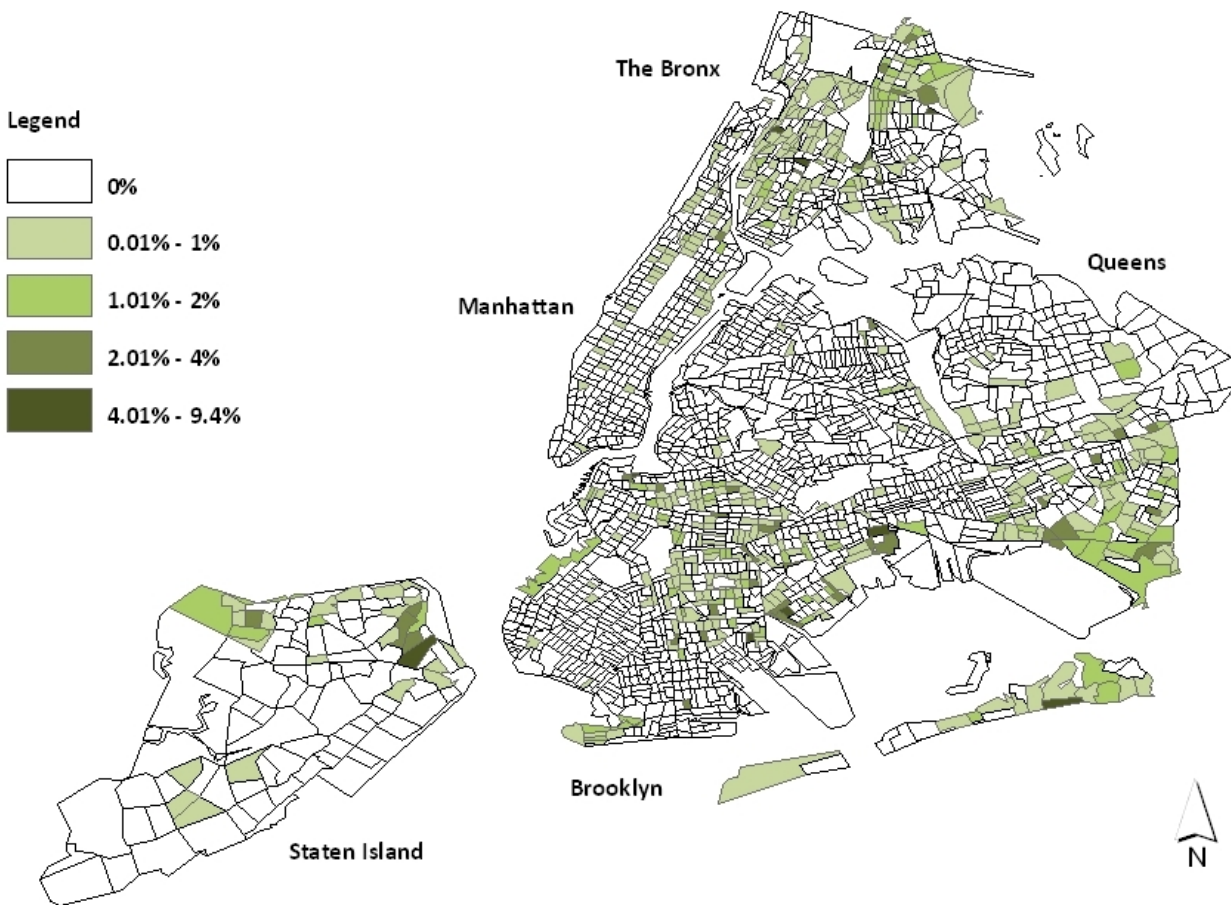
Figure 3.2: Nigerian Day Parade.



Source: Personal photograph

Ethnic diversity also shapes the settlement patterns of the city, with multiple ethnic neighborhoods forming the basis of communal life (Foner 2001). These neighborhoods host formal associations, stores and restaurants and often provide a pool of clients and workers for business owners. I found that Nigerians are not geographically concentrated in any particular neighborhood. Figure 3.3 illustrates the residential distribution of Nigerians in New York City. Of the approximately 15,000 New York Nigerians recorded in the 2000 U.S. Census, 35% reside in Brooklyn, 27.4% in the Bronx, 22.9% in Queens, 9.1% in Staten Island, and 5.5% in Manhattan. The average number of Nigerians in the census tracts where they reside is only thirty-one, and the largest number of Nigerians recorded in a single tract is 586. In the few tracts where they are most concentrated they still make up only 9.4% of the total population.

Figure 3.3: Percent Nigerian-born per Census tract.



Source: Personal elaboration with data from the 2000 U.S. Census

Despite this geographic dispersion, several neighborhoods have larger number of Nigerians than others. There is great socioeconomic diversity in these neighborhoods. In the northernmost sector of the Bronx two neighborhoods show a Nigerian presence: Wakefield and Williamsbridge. These neighborhoods are 69.4% black or African-American, 13% white, and 19.9% Latino (of any race) (New York City Department of City Planning 2009). Nigerians are included in the “black or African-American” category. The median household income is \$45,218,

and 13.6% of families live below the poverty line¹. Southwest of this area is Concourse, another Bronx neighborhood with a notable Nigerian population. This neighborhood is primarily Latino (62% of the total population), with 37.5% of the population being black. Its median household income is only \$23,745, and 35.2% of its families live below the poverty line (New York City Department of City Planning 2009).

Another sector with a Nigerian presence is Rosedale, located in the easternmost part of Queens. This is a neighborhood with an average household income of almost \$72,000 and only 3.8% of families living below the poverty line. Just over 60% of the population is black, 19.2% is white, 15.2% is Latino, and 9.6% is Asian. Directly south of that area is Far Rockaway, Queens, where one of the census tracts with the higher proportions of Nigerians is located. This neighborhood is 45.1% black, and 48.1% white. The median household income is \$45,508 and 17% of the families in it live below the poverty line (New York City Department of City Planning 2009).

Several Brooklyn neighborhoods are also home to Nigerians. One of these is Seagate, located in the southwestern tip of the borough. This neighborhood is 69.1% white, approximately 14% each black and Latino, and 10.5% Asian. Its median household income is \$28,898, and 18.1% of families live below the poverty line. The middle part of the borough is composed of several neighborhoods with Nigerian residents. East New York-Broadway Junction is 50.9% black, 38.8% Latino and 12.9% white. The median household income is \$31,249 and a quarter of all families live below the poverty line. Brownsville is 81.4% black and 20.9% Latino. Its median household income is \$24,000 and 34% of families here live below the poverty line.

¹ The U.S. Census Bureau uses household income data to calculate the poverty thresholds. For 2007 the poverty threshold was \$10,590 for an individual, \$13,540 for two people, and \$21,203 for four people.

Crown Heights is 76.7% black and 15.1% white. Its median household income is \$35,650 and 21.8% of families live below the poverty line. Neighboring Bedford-Stuyvesant is 72.1% black, 14.4% white, and 17.3% Latino. Its median household income is \$30,575 and 31% of families in it live below the poverty line (New York City Department of City Planning 2009).

Two sectors of Staten Island show tracts with Nigerian residents. Across from Manhattan is Grimes Hill, the neighborhood containing the census tract with the largest number of Nigerians in the city (586). West of it is Mariner's Harbor. These neighborhoods are 56.1% white and 24.3% black. Their median household income is \$56,600 and 12.5% of the families in them reside below the poverty line (New York City Department of City Planning 2009). Finally, the 5% of Nigerians who reside in Manhattan are peppered throughout the borough. Some families live in the wealthy Upper East Side and Upper West Side, and others in Harlem and East Harlem. While these are some of the neighborhoods where Nigerians reside, it is important to underline again they make up only small percentages of the total population in them. The neighborhoods where Nigerians live, therefore, include varying socioeconomic strata. Most have primarily black populations residing in them, but also large proportions of whites, Latinos (of any race) and Asians. In later chapters I discuss the importance of this socioeconomic and ethnic diversity for the social networks of the self-employed.

The economic opportunities offered by New York City have shifted in the last couple of decades from goods production to a service economy (Foner 2001). Service jobs range from high-end banking, law, business and similar services, to low-end domestic and personal services. With high average educational levels, Nigerians are well-suited for this service economy, and many have found employment in the higher end service economy. New York also

possesses one of the most constrained housing markets in the country, with the highest median rents nationally (Foner 2001). Finally, New York provides immigrants with access to numerous services since, compared to much of the country, the New York City government provides a wide range of social, health, and educational services (Foner 2007).

Access to Population and Framework Creation

Because Nigerians are spatially dispersed in New York City, finding the churches, mosques, associations and businesses and the people associated with them required multiple strategies, including the use of the internet, newspapers, references from key informants and even chance. I began some of this work in my preliminary 2006 visit, and worked on it more intensively during the first months in the field in 2007. Using the internet I found the websites of many associations, as well as an online forum, www.nairaland.com; when sites mentioned the names of organizations I added them to my list. A crucial website is maps.google.com, used to locate businesses and obtain driving directions. In the search box I typed “New York, NY” as the location. Then, once the New York City map was visible, I entered key words in the “search nearby” box. The “search nearby” function lists institutions and businesses in the geographical area specified. The key words I used are words and catchphrases that I assumed some immigrants would use in the names of their businesses, particularly those who want other Nigerians to identify the business as Nigerian. Terms included names of important cities and towns (Lagos, Calabar, Ibadan), the names of Nigerian ethnic groups (Yoruba, Igbo, Edo), and common Nigerian sayings or catchphrases such as “Wazobia,” a term used to identify the three dominant ethnic groups in the country: Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa. The terms were also used in a

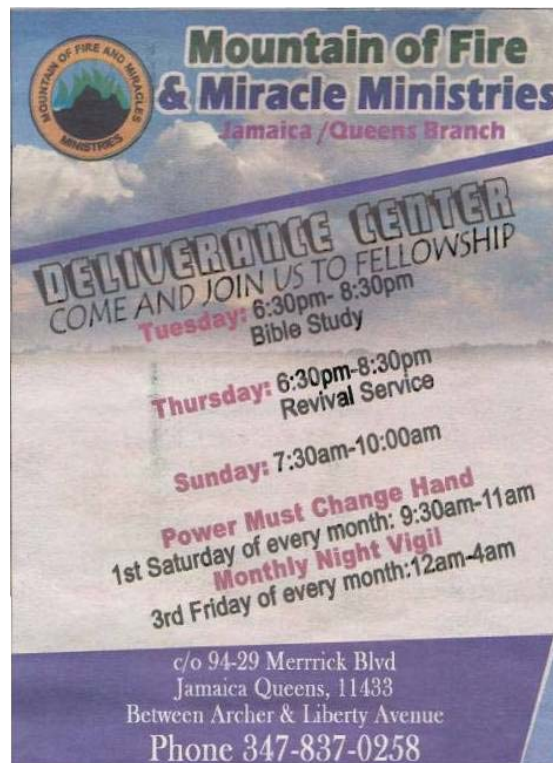
search on www.yellowpages.com, an online phone directory. All three techniques proved useful for obtaining an initial list of Nigerian locales in the field site.

I also used the social networking site www.facebook.com, where members create personal profiles and link themselves to their friends. Two features of Facebook proved useful for my search. First, members can join virtual groups. Second, member profiles are part of a “network,” usually the place of residence or of study. I searched for Nigerian-focused groups, and then limited those results to members who were in the New York City network. I then sent a short message to each person introducing myself and explaining my project, and asking them for suggestions on places I could visit where the Nigerian community in New York City gathers.

The responses helped me expand my list of religious and social organizations, pointed me in the direction of clubs or youth “hangouts” and even shed light on some internal divisions in the community. One woman, for example, told me avoid a specific church because the people there are “different” and don’t “represent Nigeria well... they are a different subculture.” I visited this church nevertheless, and learned that the woman’s opinion of this church is evidently echoed in the community. The Pastor himself welcomed me on my first visit, but explained that their services were different than what I probably was accustomed to.

I also relied heavily on African immigrant newspapers for information on business listings, association meetings, and other events and announcements (see Figure 3.4). Newspapers included U.S. Immigration News, Light of the World, African Abroad USA, Calabar Magazine and West African News.

Figure 3.4: Church advertisement.

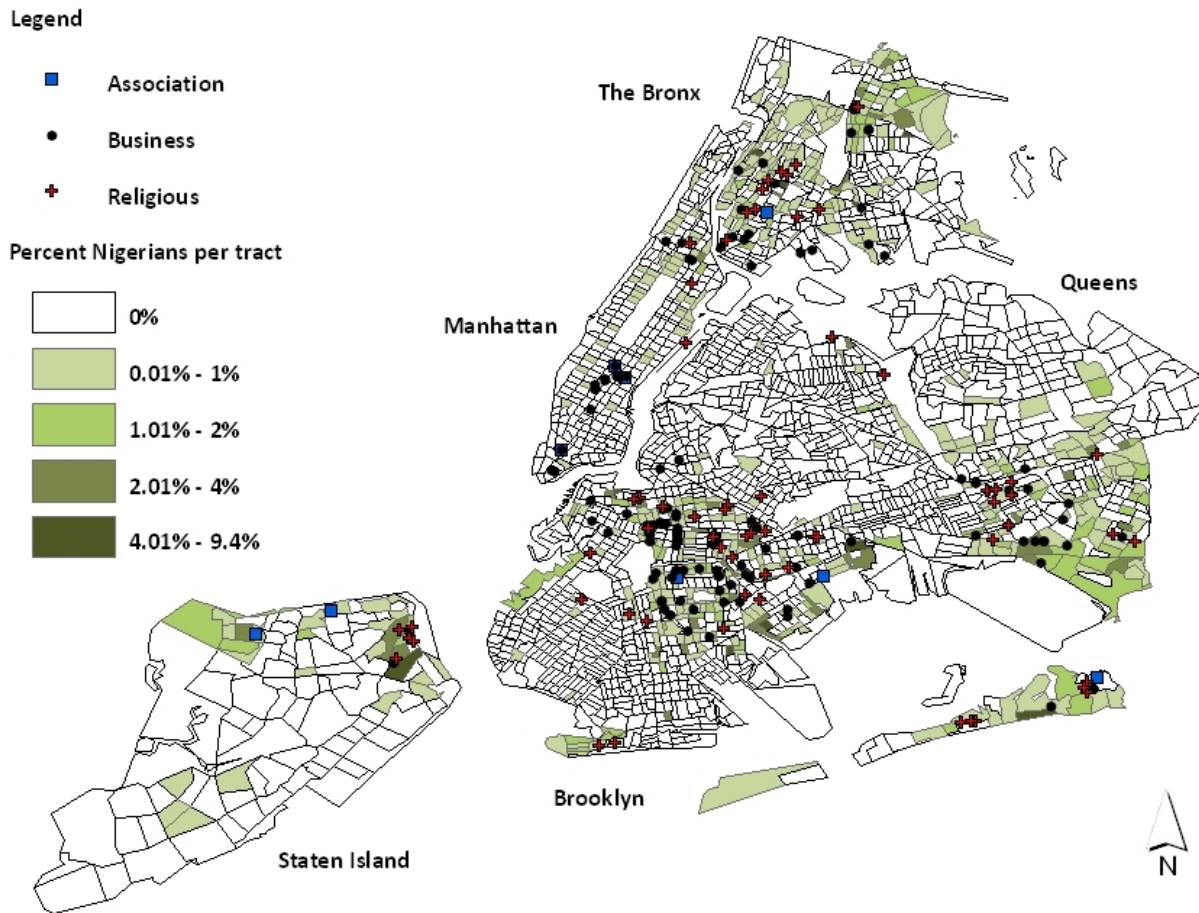


Source: U.S. Immigration News 05/01/2007

Finally, I located a surprising number of businesses simply by chance, particularly in the Brooklyn neighborhood where I lived. With time I learned to recognize African-owned businesses and encountered many along the long walks I often took to reach informants in the more remote parts of the city not accessible by subway. The combination of all these strategies provided a list of approximately 160 Nigerian-owned businesses, 80 churches and mosques, and 40 professional, community and social organizations. Figure 3.5 illustrates the location of these places².

² Associations and businesses without a physical location and are not mapped.

Figure 3.5: Location of Nigerian institutions in New York City.



Source: Personal elaboration with data from the 2000 U.S. Census

For the most part, all of these places are located near the areas where Nigerians reside. One notable exception is a cluster of businesses in southern Manhattan. Most of these are travel, law and finance-related businesses, located near Wall Street and the Nigerian consulate. Some clustering of businesses is also present along important and high-traffic streets in the city, like Nostrand Avenue and Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn, or along White Plains Road in The Bronx. Finally, churches and mosques are spread throughout the city. Church branches are located far away from each other, so that in sectors where a clustering of religious places

occurs they are churches of different denominations and a mosque. All these organizations include people from a broad range of religious affiliations, ethnic groups and socioeconomic statuses. Whenever I asked informants to give me names of additional places I could visit, they eventually referred to ones already on my list, so while the list is surely not exhaustive, it includes the main institutions of the Nigerian community in the city.

Entrance to the Community and Rapport-Building

During my preliminary August 2006 visit I visited with some of the Nigerian-born faculty at New York City universities, and they guided me to additional locations. I returned in January 2007 armed with a longer list of numbers to call and places to visit. Most of my initial interactions were limited to specific locations (a restaurant, a church, a store), but with time they increasingly included community-wide events including church services and social gatherings. In these initial interactions I was acutely aware of Agar's (1980) discussion of the two types of people who are usually the first to approach ethnographers in their entrance to the field: professional stranger-handlers and deviants.

Professional stranger-handlers are those official or non-official community members who can approach ethnographers, find out what they want, and provide some information without placing the community in a vulnerable position. Deviants are people on the boundary of a group, usually in some low-status position, who can benefit and possibly gain in status by establishing relationships with the ethnographer. In my initial stages I was approached by people who would best fit with Agar's definition of professional stranger-handlers. These people include academics who understood my research needs, as well as association and

church leaders. I was not approached by anyone who fits the description of a deviant. Because Nigerian immigrants are on average a highly educated group my social status was not particularly higher than theirs and hence individuals had little status to gain by befriending me.

The scope of my project delayed rapport-building because simply contacting and visiting a portion of the businesses, churches and associations took a long time. To interview the business owners, I used my list of businesses and attempted to contact each one. I called those with listed phone numbers, and if I could not get a hold of anyone then I visited in person to see if the business still existed. Of all the business owners only two refused to be interviewed. A few agreed to be interviewed immediately, and the vast majority set up a date for me to come and interview them. For this reason, the businesses owners that I did not interview did not necessarily refuse participation in the study, but I was unable to arrange a date with them. Many of these travel abroad frequently. Most Nigerians I contacted were friendly and helpful, but, compared to other immigrant populations I have worked with, showed higher levels of distrust. Some asked to see my student identification before conversing with me. A couple denied being Nigerian even though a flag might be displayed on the wall or the name of a business was clearly Nigerian. Interestingly, when I visited businesses owned by other Africans, many claimed to be Nigerian when they were not. One man who did not speak English well told me he was Nigerian but had grown up in France. Because I am fluent in French, I then began conversing with him in French but quickly realized he understood very little. After some time he called his niece and she told me he was Senegalese. For many of the non-Nigerian Africans, telling me they were Nigerian was the only way to find out why I had come to their store and

asked about their place of origin. For the Nigerians, denying that they were Nigerian seems to have safely served the same purpose.

Visits to churches were almost always preceded by a phone call to the Pastor, and a meeting to explain my project and what I needed to learn from the congregations. While almost every church was welcoming from the beginning, with time, several Pastors urged me to attend services frequently, an impossible task given that most churches hold services at the same time. Church members were very interested in me and my personal religious beliefs, and, with varying levels of effusiveness, offered advice. Given the diversity of congregations and their beliefs, no answer about my personal beliefs would have satisfied everyone. I took great care in being honest with them about my beliefs and my reason for visiting their churches, while at the same attempting to not offend anyone and continue to have access to them. Maintaining this balance took great effort and often proved stressful.

Nigerian churches vary greatly in their beliefs and rituals, and it is well-known in the community that some look down on others. I was fortunate to never encounter hostility for visiting another church, although some informants warned me about visiting certain churches that were considered “odd.” Other churches granted me access more cautiously. Having no previous experience with African churches, I found none of the rituals “different” and any question about strangeness was often explained away by the person sitting next to me. At other times I was left on my own to figure out why a woman was shaking and fainting or why “Hallelujah!” was shouted repeatedly while facing all four cardinal points. My rule of thumb was, if nobody else seemed bothered by what happened during services, neither was I.

Access to mosques proved more difficult. I was able to locate far fewer mosques than Christian churches. Approximately half of Nigeria's population is Muslim and the majority of them live in the northern half of the country. Informants told me that people from that region tend to migrate little, particularly internationally, because of lower educational levels. The second largest group of Muslims in the country is Yoruba, and they are the ones most commonly found in New York City. Messages left on answering machines were never returned, and when I visited mosques I often arrived after prayer services were over, or was asked to return to speak to the Imam on days I had other interviews and activities scheduled. One business owner I interviewed had established one of the smaller Nigerian mosques in Brooklyn and encouraged me to visit. It took several visits until I had a chance encounter with the Imam. He was equally welcoming but told me to get in contact with the mosque secretary. After several missed calls on both sides, I finally talked to him, but before I had the opportunity to visit the mosque it was time to leave the field site.

For this reason, although I did interview a few Muslims who own businesses and encountered others at major Nigerian events like the Independence Day Parade, it should be noted that the vast majority of my ethnographic experience involved Christian Nigerians. The few encounters I did have with Muslims proved less stressful because none of them expected me to be Muslim and they asked few questions about my religious practices. Discussions of the social networks of Nigerian immigrants will bring up this point about religion again, as the influence of the mosque environment for Nigerian Muslims might be different than that for Christians.

In the last three decades, anthropologists have examined how the ethnographer's age, sex, race/ethnicity, nationality, gender and personal history can affect interactions in fieldwork (Okely and Callaway 1992). Age can affect how informants see you and even the topics they are interested in discussing with you. In their work, Kenna (1992) and Caplan (1992) discuss the effects of entering the field as young, unmarried women, and informants' incessant interest in knowing their plans for marriage and family. In my case, informants seemed to react differently when I introduced myself as a "student" or as "researcher." Saying I was a researcher seemed to give my project an air of importance but also a formality that I did not desire. Being a student was perceived as more harmless, but it also meant that at times my project was not taken seriously. Several weeks after interviewing a store owner in the Bronx, I returned for a visit. Despite being extremely warm and friendly during the original interview, she seemed unwilling to talk to me this time. After some coaxing from me she finally admitted that she no longer trusted my intentions because after several weeks I had no final report to show her. Although I had explained to her before the interview that I would be in the city for a year and only after that time would I begin to write about what I learned from the community, she now proceeded to compare me to another student who had come to interview her and "a week later came to show me that she got a A on her school paper."

With respect to gender, Golde (1970) defines five common experiences of women conducting ethnographic fieldwork: protection, initial suspicion, conformity, reciprocity and culture shock. Three of these I believe are common experiences in fieldwork for both men and women. Every stranger suddenly wanting to be involved in a community will elicit suspicion. Similarly, most ethnographers will at some point feel a desire to give something to the

community they are working with, or will be explicitly asked to reciprocate in exchange for the information they are given. And culture shock is a common experience when you immerse yourself in an unfamiliar culture. Protection and conformity are experiences that I encountered and found somewhat difficult. Some of my interviews involved meeting with informants after their work day ended, often at night, and sometimes in unsafe neighborhoods. On several occasions, informants walked or drove me to the nearest subway station. In other instances they did not, and my long walk alone made me very much aware that being a woman probably exposed me to more danger than men would experience. While I was glad to have some company on my late-night walks to the subway, I also did not want to be perceived as young or female to such an extent that it would potentially limit my interactions with members of the community, particularly men.

Conformity to appropriate gender roles proved difficulty. Some informants viewed me as a young student, in which case it would be expected that I still was under the care and guidance of a parent. Others, because I was working alone and lived without family, regarded me as a mature woman, and found it unusual that I was unmarried. I could, therefore, never adequately fit a gender role. Men sometimes asked me if “someone owns me” (did I have a romantic partner) and on one occasion, someone remarked that he did not understand how the men in my life allowed me to move to New York City by myself and work on my own with strangers all day. While some informants protected my physical safety, others tested how available and unprotected I was. I attempted to adopt a somewhat gender-neutral role (see Caplan 1992). In my interactions with women, I would allow myself to discuss marriage, men,

household duties, and any other topic they brought up. With men, however, I quickly moved away from those topics, focusing the discussion instead on school, politics, and even soccer.

In general, however, I did not experience my gender as a limiting factor in the kinds of information or activities I had access to. One man invited me to the Nigerian social group he visits (largely visited by men) on Fridays, and during organization meetings and other events, while women were in charge of preparing and serving food I was left with the men. When starting fieldwork, I expected that if gender became a limiting factor it would reduce access to some male-dominated spheres. Instead, I found very little evidence that gender was limiting, but when it was, it was because as a guest and outsider I could never fully conform to the gender roles of Nigerian women, and was often left out of some women-dominated activities like serving food at activities. Attempts to participate in these activities were often rejected on the basis that I was their guest.

Finally, ethnicity can also mediate the ethnographer's relationship with her informants. In particular, it has been a problematic issue for white ethnographers working in societies marked by racism (Littlewood 1992; Marcus 1992). I noticed no ethnic-based discrimination while in the field. Indeed, some informants said that my status as a Hispanic or as an international student facilitated their interactions with me because they believed I could better understand some of their experiences as racial minorities or immigrants in the United States, and some said they were more willing to discuss their views on American culture and society. Working with an immigrant population that lives in such a diverse and multicultural city was probably the reason that my age, gender and ethnicity affected my work minimally. Had I studied Nigerian communities in Nigeria the expectation that I conform to appropriate roles

might have been greater, but Nigerian immigrants, by and large, accepted my differences. In fact, I noticed I attracted more attention when I did engage in some specific culturally-appropriate behavior. When I ate *fufu* with my bare hands I was looked at with amusement, and often when I made a kneeling gesture in front of respected elders, I was told in an apologetic tone that I didn't have to do that.

While designing a research proposal, anthropologists often anticipate methodological and ethical dilemmas that may arise. In my own work, I have had to modify sampling strategies and interview schedules to adapt to unexpected or changing field conditions. I have pondered what I would do if presented with information I did not wish to know (such as the legal status of an individual or unethical practices in a business), or how to deal with undesired sexual advances from male informants. I have also had to convince informants that they do not have to be experts on their communities to be able to help me out, and that information on their personal experience is of interest and value to me.

Fewer anthropologists are trained to anticipate problems that may arise long after their fieldwork is finished and their results are written and published. Nonetheless, as anthropologists have increased research among literate populations, concern has risen over how informants interpret, interrogate, and even denounce our findings and ethics (Brettell 1993). One area of potential resentment concerns confidentiality. Internal Review Boards (IRB) or similar offices within our institutions, as well as the American Anthropological Association's Code of Ethics, require that anthropologists obtain informed consent from the people included in their studies. As part of informed consent we guarantee confidentiality and privacy to informants, assure them that their information will be kept private and that, while we may use

a quote from an interview, we will not publish any information that can be used to identify them. In some instances, however, informants want to be identified, and they don't always make the ethnographer aware of this in the field (Glazier 1993). In other instances, informants might attempt to guess which people the ethnography is referring to or quoting (Davis 1993), potentially creating tensions in the community.

A second area of concern regards disagreement about or offense with what is written about informants' communities. When Davis (1993) studied menopause among women in a town in Newfoundland, Canada, her informants expected to read about menopause and other related personal matters, but some women complained about the presentation of other information, such as poor attendance at Sunday church services, or positive characterization of some personality traits they viewed as weaknesses (p.31). Sheehan (1993) encountered criticism about her work in Ireland, not on the grounds that it was flawed, but in that it made evident –in writing- a challenge to their native interpretations of their lives. Informants were upset that public knowledge that circulated orally was now forever recorded in print.

I began to give serious consideration to these potential areas of conflict when, during my field work, an informant completed a survey and proceeded to tell me that “now we have helped you, so please don't make us look bad.” To keep informant discontent with my ethnography at a minimum, I adopted two strategies in writing this dissertation. First, while I have chosen to mention the various churches which I visited, most of them have between two and twenty branches in New York City alone, and I have not specified in which of those I interviewed people. Second, I used pseudonyms for all quotes, and excluded from them information that can be used to identify an individual.

Methods and Fieldnotes

The following chapter describes the sampling strategies, research methods, and variables relevant to the project. This section discusses my experience utilizing each of the main research techniques: participant observation, unstructured and semistructured interviews and surveys, and how informants reacted to them.

Interviews were time-consuming not just because of the time expended in the interview itself, but because of the time it took to reach informants. I arranged appointments for most interviews since business owners were frequently busy or away purchasing products. For those who travel abroad, it was often months between initial contact and the interview. Some days of the week were impossible. Many business owners used Monday for traveling to warehouses and other suppliers. Sundays they were often away at church. On Fridays Muslims were unavailable while they attended *Jumah* (Friday prayer). A member of the Celestial Church of Christ asked that I not come at 9am, noon, 3pm or 6pm as he silently prays at those times. Needless to say, coordinating different schedules became cumbersome. In addition, if the informant had clients, I was asked to please wait or return on another day. At other times people simply forgot about our appointment or were somewhere else at the agreed upon time. In some instances, rescheduling involved two additional hour-long subway rides. One informant confessed that he had rescheduled our interview multiple times because he didn't fully understand what it was about, but that I had been so persistent he decided it was important to me. Despite these difficulties, once interviews were under way, I found informants very willing to answer my questions. At stores I was often offered drinks or snacks, and when interviews

took place at night and in unsafe neighborhoods, I was sometimes given a ride or walked to the closest subway station.

I conducted my survey through institutional sampling. I attempted to reach out to a variety of institutions to gather as heterogeneous a sample as possible (details of the sample composition are presented in Chapter 4). Churches sampled include one or more branches of the following: The Holy Order of the Cherubim and Seraphim Church, Christ Apostolic Church, Celestial Church of Christ, Redeemed Christian Church of God, Calvary First Nigerian Seventh Day Adventist Church, Abundant Life Christian Church, Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministry and The Gospel Faith Mission International. In all these cases, the Pastor made an announcement during services about my survey. After a service, I handed out the surveys inside a self-addressed, stamped envelope. A few informants filled it out immediately; most returned it to me in the following weeks, sealed it and returned it to the Pastor, or placed it in the mail.

I kept a field diary in my computer to describe each day's experiences. While out in the field I kept a notepad and personal recorder with me at all times to make necessary notes. Each day's notes in the field diary include a cross-reference for any material or data collected that day. In a separate codebook file, I kept a list of all primary and secondary data obtained. The codebook contains seven separate lists: association leader interviews, business owner interviews, surveys, documents collected (newspapers, church programs, etc.), photographs, and articles in mainstream newspapers written about the Nigerian immigrant community. Table 3.3 describes the different types of codes used.

Table 3.3: Codes used for instruments and items.

Code	Definition
FN000000	Field notes, where 00000 was replaced with the day, month, and two-digit year of the diary entry.
AS000	Association Interview, where 000 was replaced with the association interview number. This list includes the name of the person interviewed, association or organization they represent, and the date of interview.
INT000	Interview, where 000 was replaced with the business owner interview number. This list includes the names of the persons interviewed, names of the business they own, and the date of interview.
SU000	Survey, where 000 was replaced with the survey number. This list also includes the date the survey was given, and the location
PH000	Photograph, where 000 was replaced with the photograph number. This list also includes the date of the picture, the location where it was taken, and whether I was given consent to publish or present the picture.
NI000	Newspaper/Internet, where 000 was replaced with the newspaper or internet article number. This list also includes the name of the newspaper or website address where the article is located, date published, and topic of the article.
HM000	Hard materials, where 000 was replaced with the material number. Hard materials include Nigerian immigrant newspapers and other publications, postcards announcing cultural events, parties, and other activities, restaurant menus, association constitutions, newsletters, flyers, church service programs, and anything else given by informants.

In addition, every item on each list cross-references other information and items obtained that day, as well as the corresponding entry date in the field diary. This cross-referencing served to better contextualize all the information I collected. For example, the entry for a specific interview might link to a newspaper or other items collected at the restaurant where the interview took place, pictures taken at the restaurant, and the field notes of the date that describe my time at the restaurant, events I observed while there, and my thoughts on the quality of that particular interview. It is also cross-referenced to other field notes written at previous dates on the same restaurant or informant, and to advertisements of

the restaurant in newspapers. Table 3.4 provides a snapshot of the cross-references in the codebook.

Table 3.4: Cross-references in codebook.

Code	Cross-Reference
INT004	FN060407, FN060507, PH024, HM034, HM035
HM034	HM014, FN060407, FN060507, INT004, PH024
PH027	HM023, FN060507
PH057	FN092807, FN100307

For INT004, the cross-reference leads to two field diary entries: one for June 4, the other for June 5. The entry for June 4 indicates that on that day I visited the restaurant but the owner was not present. His wife called him on the phone and he requested that I come back the next day. I stayed for lunch, and overheard a conversation between three men over whether Nigeria was better off “when white people governed it.” The entry for June 5 indicates that on that day I did interview the restaurant owner, that I used a wall calendar as object probing (see De Leon and Cohen 2005) to discuss hometown politics, and that while he was thorough in his answers he seemed at times distracted by the soccer game on the television. The cross-reference also lists PH024 which is a photograph of the restaurant, and HM034 and HM035, two Nigerian immigrant newspapers I picked up at the restaurant that day. Such cross-referencing helps to contextualize the information gathered, and also to check for consistency in the information provided by informants.

Conclusions

This chapter described the field site and population of my project, as well as how I located the population, my entrance to the community, and the implementation of research techniques. No two fieldwork situations are alike, and while having previous experience is certainly useful, you can never anticipate all the situations that will arise. Throughout my project, I learned valuable lessons about conducting field work in this particular setting and with this population that I hope will serve as guidelines to others looking to conduct similar work.

New York City has distinctive features as a field site for studying migration. First, certain characteristics of the city shape immigrants' experience, and they should be used to contextualize the data and incorporated in the discussion of the results. One of these characteristics is that New York City has a long history of immigration, and numerous government offices and other organizations offer services to the newly arrived. While obviously not every immigrant accesses these services, the institutions are in place and the differential access to and use of them should be taken into account. New York's service-oriented economy also shapes the economic opportunities of immigrants. Even those who are undocumented are more likely to find work as cab drivers or cleaning personnel than in the meatpacking industry or farming. Similarly, the constrained housing market in the city has potential consequences for living arrangements, as well as for the financial decisions of immigrants who may find it more difficult to purchase a home in New York City than if they resided in other places.

Finally, New York exposes immigrants to an incredible variety of ethnicities and nationalities, religions and lifestyles. This exposure to diversity cannot be ignored by

researchers interested in studying social networks, identity formation, business practices, assimilation and acculturation, or any other process involving immigrants. This ethnic diversity has also led to the creation of multiple ethnic neighborhoods, which can facilitate the field work experience of those who study the population residing in these enclaves. This is not the case for Nigerian immigrants, however, whose residence is spread out over large and dispersed sectors of the city.

As a field site, New York City also has important consequences for ethnographers working there, mainly that it demands lots of time, energy, and funds from researchers. Because of the size of the city, some days many hours are spent traveling to different boroughs, and whether you choose to travel by bus, subway, or car, the commute is always lengthy. With populations like Nigerian immigrants, many of whom live on the outer fringes of the cities, this also means that if you do not have access to a car, reaching informants sometimes requires a long walk in the summer heat or bitter winter cold after the subway or bus route ends. All of this means that field work becomes sometimes physically exhausting. Finally, New York City is expensive and researchers need to budget accordingly.

Despite these drawbacks, New York also offers a wealth of resources to researchers. The New York Public Library system and multiple universities in the city offer unlimited bibliographic resources. The universities also house faculty and researchers who can provide valuable advice and suggestions. During my year of field work I met several times with migration and African scholars who directed me to Nigerian organizations, and commented on potential problems I might encounter in my work. A further asset for migration scholars is that the city also has a

consular office for almost every country in the world that can sometimes provide information as well.

Working with Nigerians also presented me with some previously unfamiliar situations. Because a large portion of the community is highly educated, they understood and valued my research project, and did their best to help. The large number of Nigerian academics and other professionals can provide entry into the community. On the other hand, Nigerians' geographic dispersion is a challenge to anyone interested in working with this population. Since fieldwork cannot be constrained to a particular neighborhood, a solution is to constrain fieldwork to a limited number of religious organizations or associations which limits the time spent traveling to individual homes or businesses. At the same time, however, the home and business visits are usually more productive and provide more data. Church services and association meetings and social events are lengthy, but many of their activities are group-oriented, structured and formal, and spending hours in these activities might leave very limited time to interact with individuals in private.

I also found the Nigerian community to be more distrustful of outsiders than other immigrant groups I have worked with like Nicaraguans, Dominicans and Russians. This distrust can be conquered with time and friendships, and also suggests the importance of keeping the work more focused to just a small group of institutions despite the problem with representativeness that this will create.

Finally, working in a challenging field site and with a complex and dispersed population underscores the importance of keeping detailed field notes, and keeping track of the information collected. In this regard, the system of coding and cross-referencing that I utilized

has proven valuable for helping me remember the context in which data were collected and what other information they are associated with.

Chapter 4

METHODS AND DATA

Introduction

This chapter details the project's research design and specifies how the methods, data and analyses are combined to answer the three specific research questions. First, it discusses the research framework and how mixed methods were used to address reliability and validity concerns. Then it presents the different methods of data collection employed in the field: participant observation, semistructured qualitative interviews, and a quantitative survey, as well as the American Community Survey, used to supplement some information.

Research Framework

The design of a research project is the process that facilitates the formulation of credible arguments (Johnson 1998). Research designs involve both a strategy for data collection and analysis, and a framework for linking theory and methods. According to Johnson (1998), "whereas the analytical techniques most often used in psychology, sociology and economics often lead to rather standard research designs, in anthropology the eclectic nature of ethnography leaves the design of research more open-ended (p.143)." For this reason, Pelto and Pelto (1978) conceptualize the ethnographic process as a strategy in which numerous research methods can be used.

This project was designed as a correlational cross-sectional study according to Spector's (1981) typology. Correlational studies are purely observational in that the researcher does not intervene or expose subjects to manipulation. Instead, such studies measure a set of variables

for a group of individuals and determine the relationships among those variables (Spector 1981). With cross-sectional designs, variables are measured at one point in time only (Bernard 2002; Spector 1981) and can involve the development of new instruments or the use of already available measures and data.

Correlational cross-sectional studies have several advantages. They are simpler and easier to implement than other research designs, often take less time, and, more importantly, are quite useful for determining the relationship among different variables (Spector 1981), the goal that underlies the three research questions presented in Chapter 2. Conversely, cross-sectional studies also have some important drawbacks. First, although they are useful in establishing relationships among variables, they can only provide weak tests of causal relationships (Spector 1981). Because measurements are collected at one point in time, the order of events or variables is sometimes difficult to establish. Second, cross-sectional studies are susceptible to instrument reactivity. When a single procedure for collecting data is used, particularly self-administered survey instruments, a major concern is common method variance, which occurs when subjects tend to consistently give certain responses. Another problem concerns the Hawthorne effect in which respondents distort their answers to look good or to tell the researcher what they think he or she wants to hear (Spector 1981).

Most of the disadvantages of cross-sectional studies can be minimized by using multiple methods of data collection (Spector 1981). Ethnographic research is particularly amenable to using multiple methods, which add the benefits of flexibility, increased likelihood of various types of validity (discussed below), and the potential for creativity and innovation (Johnson 1998). For these reasons, this project was carried out in three overlapping phases and uses

three sources of primary data (participant observation, semistructured interviews and a quantitative survey) as well as secondary data sources (the American Community Survey and various African immigrant newspapers). Table 4.1 summarizes the relationship among the research objectives, methods and analyses, which are detailed in subsequent sections.

Table 4.1: Summary of methods and analyses corresponding to research objectives.

Research Objective	Method	Analysis
1. Identify mechanisms of entry to self-employment	American Community Survey	Regression analysis of effects of demographic, socioeconomic, migration and household variables on type of employment.
	Qualitative interviews	Identification of pathways of entry into self-employment.
2. Determine composition of and access to social networks	Survey data	Description of different types of social networks.
	Qualitative interviews	Identification of themes surrounding the selection of friends, employees and clients/customers.
3. Analyze implications of self-employment and of differential network use	American Community Survey	Regression analysis to determine effect of self-employment on hours worked and income.
	Qualitative interviews	Identification of economic and social consequences of utilizing different business-related networks.

Reliability and Validity

The limitations associated with correlational cross-sectional research designs, including their weak establishment of causal relationships and instrument reactivity, are essentially problems of reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the extent to which an instrument or procedure yields the same results on repeated trials (Bernard 2002; Carmines and Zeller 1979). In quantitative research, problems with reliability stem from two main sources. First, the survey instrument itself may include variables or domains that are not relevant to the population of study, or may not contain the full range of categories for those variables. One way of mitigating this problem is to use information from participant observation and qualitative interviews to determine the domains relevant to the population (Schensul, et al. 1999). For example, although the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo are the most numerous ethnic groups in Nigeria (Gordon 2003), during participant observation in New York City everyone I encountered was either Yoruba, Igbo, Bini or Edo. I also found that it was common for Nigerians to refer to their ethnicity as their tribe. Therefore in the survey questionnaire I included a “tribe or ethnicity” variable with the categories Bini, Edo, Igbo, Yoruba and “other”. Similarly, the survey instrument solicits information on the reasons for becoming self-employed. The options offered all come from information that respondents gave during the qualitative interviews (see Appendix B for the complete interview schedule).

A second potential source of unreliability in quantitative research is the sampling procedure. If a survey instrument yields very different information on repeated trials it may be because at least one of the samples of people it was given to was not representative of the population. Proper sampling procedures reduce error and improve reliability (Carmines and

Zeller 1979). Because of concerns with the sampling strategy (discussed below in this chapter) I used two tactics to improve the reliability of the quantitative data.

First, I carried out some of the analyses using data from the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) instead of the quantitative survey I collected myself. The ACS is conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census using random sampling. Some of the variables it includes are similar to those on my questionnaire making it a good replacement. Other variables in my survey, however, including information on social networks, are unavailable in the ACS. A second strategy to check the reliability of my survey and use its unique information was to compare the frequencies and means of some of the common variables from my survey and the ACS. Table 4.2 presents this comparison.

It is evident that the quantitative survey I collected contains more missing data than the ACS. The total sample size is small ($N=83$), and on some variables (e.g. type of worker, age) the percentage of cases with missing data is large and greatly reduces the number of cases available for analysis. The survey and the ACS are very similar in the age composition of the sample as well as the number of years in the United States but there are other notable differences between both samples.

In comparison with the ACS, survey respondents are more likely to be men, married, self-employed, naturalized citizens and college-educated. One reason for this discrepancy is that the survey was conducted at church and I requested that only one be filled out per household. In many instances the man is the one who completed it and I used the information on the person who was the survey respondent to calculate these frequencies.

Table 4.2: Quantitative survey and American Community Survey comparison.*

Variable		Survey (%) (N=83)	ACS (%) (N=1280)
Sex	Male	68.7	57.1
	Female	30.1	42.9
	Missing	1.2	0.0
Marital status	Single	14.5	23.6
	Married	78.3	60.1
	Divorced or widowed	6.0	16.4
	Missing	1.2	0.0
Educational level	High school or less	15.7	41.8
	College or above	83.1	58.2
	Missing	1.2	0.0
Type of worker	Self-employed	16.9	8.4
	Wage laborer	75.9	81.4
	Not working	0.0	10.2
	Missing	7.2	0.0
U.S. citizen	Yes	85.5	50.59
	No	12.0	49.41
	Missing	2.4	0.0
Age	Mean	44.96	41.4
	S.D.	10.64	12.75
	% missing	19.28	0.0
Years in the U.S.	Mean	14.2	13.9
	S.D.	9.5	10.5
	% missing	2.4	0.0

* Both samples restricted to adults 18 and over.

It should be noted that the ACS requests information only on the primary job of an individual. I collected information on all current jobs; for many Nigerians being self-employed is a side job in addition to their wage labor. This could explain the higher frequency of self-employment observed in my sample. The survey asked if the respondent had obtained either permanent residency or citizenship, which may explain the lower frequency of citizens in the

ACS than in the survey. An alternative explanation is that undocumented Nigerians were less likely to volunteer participation in the survey because of increased privacy concerns. This could also explain the higher educational levels found in the survey sample, if those with lower education are more likely to be undocumented.

Because of these differences I made two analytical decisions: first, I conducted all statistical analyses that compare the self-employed with wage laborers using the ACS data. These data were collected using a more appropriate sampling technique and the analyses yield more representative results. The ACS also contains the necessary variables to answer most of the research questions I originally intended the survey to answer. Second, I used the quantitative survey data for descriptive analyses only, including frequencies and crosstabs. These are simpler statistical procedures that require less power from the data. The sampling procedure I was able to use yielded a similar but skewed sample, and more importantly, of all the survey forms completed (N=83), only 14 represent entrepreneurs, a number too small to use for most statistical procedures.

Although qualitative interviews help to increase the reliability of a survey instrument by aiding in the identification of relevant domains (Schensul, et al 1999), the reliability of the interviews themselves must be considered as well. Kirk and Miller (1986) define three types of reliability in qualitative research: quixotic reliability, diachronic reliability and synchronic reliability. Quixotic reliability refers to circumstances in which a single method of observation yields the exact same result, such as all persons giving the same answer to a specific question. This is an example of the common method variance discussed earlier, which can be misleading. Diachronic reliability refers to the stability of an observation through time, and synchronic

reliability to the similarity of observations within the same period. Diachronic reliability is also a cause for concern as it is rare that sociocultural phenomena remain unchanged through time (Kirk and Miller 1986). Synchronic reliability is the most useful; unlike quixotic reliability it does not yield the exact same observations but it does yield observations that are consistent with what is expected given other individual characteristics, other answers, or theoretically-expected relationships.

Kirk and Miller (1986) further define a strategy for improving synchronic reliability that involves using fieldnotes as a reliability check. Fieldnotes enable the researcher to situate the information from interviews in a relevant context of observation. Knowing this context, including particular concerns about the interviewer, the interview site, or the respondent can help to determine the reliability of the information obtained. Chapter 3 detailed my use of fieldnotes and the coding system that facilitated cross-checking interview data with them.

A second concern regarding correlational cross-sectional research designs stems from the validity of the information they produce. Validity refers to the accuracy and trustworthiness of instruments, data and findings (Bernard 2002) and more specifically, to the relationship between concept and indicator (Carmines and Zeller 1979). There are several types of validity, or ways of assessing whether instruments are truly measuring what they intend to. The simplest form of validity is face validity, which involves looking at the operational indicators of a concept and deciding whether they make sense (Bernard 2002). This decision is primarily based on consensus among researchers. In my survey I use variables and indicators that are commonly measured in migration research.

Another type of validity is content validity, used primarily in psychological and educational research (Carmines and Zeller 1979). Content validity is achieved when an instrument has appropriate content for measuring a complex concept or construct (Bernard 2002). The best form of validity, however, is criterion validity. It is achieved only when an instrument predicts a form of behavior external to the measuring instrument itself (Carmines and Zeller 1979). Criterion validity is ideal because it involves observations external to the instrument itself to validate its usefulness. Criterion validity, however, is not easy to achieve in social science research because for many of the variables used there are not any relevant criterion or external variables (Carmines and Zeller 1979).

The type of validity assessment best suited for the concepts employed in the social sciences is construct validity (Carmines and Zeller 1979). Construct validity refers to how closely the construct supposedly measured fits with the actual observations made (Bernard 2002). Carmines and Zeller (1979) define three specific steps involved in construct validation. The first step is to specify the theoretical relationship between the concepts. Chapter 2 accomplishes this by reviewing the conceptual framework of the project. The next step is to examine the empirical relationships between measures of the concepts. The following sections specify the data collection techniques and how the data obtained with each are analyzed. Chapters five through seven present those analyses. The final step is to interpret the empirical evidence in terms of how it clarifies the construct validity of the particular measures. Construct validation therefore involves all the progressive steps in the research process. Carmines and Zeller (1979:24) underline that it does not matter whether the constructs are highly systemized or loose, or whether they are used in a ramified theory or in a few simple propositions. The main

requirement is to state several theoretically derived hypotheses involving the concepts of interest. The hypotheses for this study are listed in Chapter 2.

Kirk and Miller (1986) discuss ways to increase validity in ethnographic research. For them, the prolonged interaction common in ethnographic fieldwork, achieved through participant observation, often brings to light discrepancies between meanings presumed by the investigator and those understood by the target population. In addition, the use of complementary methods contributes to validity in ethnographic work (Kirk and Miller 1986). I previously mentioned the importance of multiple research techniques in correlational cross-sectional research. For both these reasons this project includes the use of multiple techniques. At the beginning of fieldwork I relied on participant observation to become involved in the activities of the community, to obtain an adequate sense of its size and location, and to ask informal questions about the employment of Nigerians in the city. After several weeks I began conducting semistructured qualitative interviews. These interviews helped obtain valuable data and also to fine-tune the questions in the quantitative survey. I implemented the survey in the final stage of fieldwork. The following sections detail each of the techniques.

Participant Observation

Schensul et al (1999) define participant observation as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day activities of participants in the research setting.” Participant observation involves being with informants in their natural social settings, and is often the starting point of ethnographic research because it helps to establish relationships important to the researcher (Schensul, et al. 1999), provides an intuitive knowledge as well as

empirical information about the activities commonly found in a community (Bernard 2002; Schensul, et al. 1999), and helps to establish the important research questions that need to be asked (Bernard 2002). Participant observation also helps to increase validity (Bernard 2002) by reducing the problem of reactivity. The continuous presence of the researcher eventually leads participants to lose interest in them and to act in the ways they normally would when not under observation.

During fieldwork, I conducted participant observation during church services, association meetings, social events including the Nigerian Day Parade, several picnics and other events, and during visits to Nigerian-owned businesses. Bernard (2002) defines three levels of participant observation. The first of these is that of complete participant. This is a role I rarely undertook during fieldwork. Even in activities in which I participated fully, such as church services, I did not have a Nigerian's knowledge of all prayers and songs, or of the meaning of every part of the service. The second and most common level is that of participant observer. This is the role that I undertook most frequently, participating in a limited role in many activities, and asking informants questions about what I observed. The third level is that of complete observer, a role I was forced to adopt in certain circumstances, such as parades in which I did not participate except as audience, or some association meetings in which I was allowed to attend but was expected to not participate. Details about my fieldwork experience, places I visited, and informants' reactions to me are presented in Chapter 3.

Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative interviews are used to produce qualitative, textual data that aid in the explorations of domains or themes, the fundamental concepts of interest (Schensul, et al. 1999). According to Bernard (2002) semistructured interviews are of most value when informants can be interviewed only once. Because of the spatial dispersion and busy schedules of Nigerian business owners in New York, I interviewed everyone only once, and using semistructured qualitative interviews (see chapter three). Semistructured interviews use an interview guide (Bernard 2002), a list of questions or topics to be covered in the interview. The interview schedule I used in this project appears in Appendix A.

The interview schedule focused on questions designed to obtain information on several specific topics: pathways of entry into self-employment; sources of start-up capital; network composition of suppliers, employees and customers/clients; factors facilitating self-employment; obstacles to self-employment; and an emic evaluation of the success of the enterprise. The goal of the interviews was to obtain more in-depth information on how individuals became self-employed, and the resources they call upon for starting and running their businesses.

To find these informants I created a list of 160 Nigerian businesses early during fieldwork (see Chapter 3 for details on how I found the businesses and created the list). Most listings included a phone number I called in order to set-up an appointment or visit. If nobody picked up the phone or there was no phone listed, I visited businesses in person to confirm its existence and contact the owner. I called or attempted to contact every business on my list. Most business owners agreed to be interviewed and set up appointments. Only one store

owner rejected being interviewed; the others were not interviewed simply because we could not arrange a convenient time for both, as some of them traveled or were available only at times I had other interviews scheduled. I conducted a total of 32 qualitative interviews: 21 with men and 11 with women. Of the thirty-two business owners interviewed, four also had a current job in the wage labor market, and three were also students. The sample is mostly representative of the range of businesses owned by Nigerians: food stores, restaurants, fabric and clothing stores, variety stores as well various services including real estate and accounting. Largely absent from the sample are interviews with self-employed Nigerians whose businesses do not involve a physical structure, like taxi drivers or street vendors. The sample includes a small number, like a store owner who sometimes supplements his earnings by renting a car and searching for fares, or a fashion store owner who participates in street art festivals.

To recognize themes, analysis centered on discerning indigenous typologies or categories, repetition or topics that recur throughout the interviews, metaphors or analogies used to describe the self-employment experience, and linguistic connectors (words like “because”, “since”, “therefore”) that suggest informants’ emic description of processes (Ryan and Bernard 2003).

Quantitative Survey

The third phase of research involved the collection of information through a quantitative survey. The survey collected information on demographic characteristics, migration history, production and consumption activities of the household, and decision-making in the home. In addition, for the self-employed it contained a module requesting

detailed information on their businesses, including the network composition of suppliers, employees, and customers or clients. The complete survey instrument appears in Appendix B.

The initial sampling strategy corresponds to respondent-driven sampling (RDS). This is a new strategy developed to sample hidden populations, of which international migrants are an example³ (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). Respondent-driven sampling became a tedious technique to use with this population. Unlike what was found for other populations (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004; Stormer, et al. 2006), being referred by a friend or family member did not increase Nigerians' trust of the researcher. This was true even on occasions where a contact was obtained through a sibling. RDS sampling became extremely time-consuming. Because of this I settled on using institutional sampling for the survey.

During the first phase of research, I created a list of 80 churches and mosques. Although I also had a list of associations, I chose to conduct the surveys only in churches since I previously observed that most association members also belong to a church or mosque. I called all the churches and mosques on my list and scheduled visits and spoke to the Pastor, Imam or a secretary in most of them. I explained the project and requested permission to carry out the surveys. In Chapter 3 I discuss why I was unable to conduct the survey in a mosque. In the churches, Pastors made an announcement during the service and I distributed the

³ RDS is similar to chain-referral (snowball) sampling, in which a few initial persons are surveyed, and they provide the names of other people in the population. Under certain conditions, however, RDS allows generalization of proportions from the sample to the population. That is, RDS converts snowball sampling techniques into probability sampling ones. Unlike traditional probability sampling methods, RDS does not directly estimate from the sample to the population. Instead, it uses an indirect estimation method that first uses the sample to make estimates about the social network connecting the population. This information about the network is then used to derive the proportion of the population in different groups (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004).

questionnaires once services ended. Respondents had the option of either mailing the questionnaires to me or returning them to the Pastor. Each questionnaire came in a large self-addressed, stamped envelope that was sealable. This ensured that respondents did not incur any costs if they chose to mail the questionnaire, and that their privacy was protected if they chose to return the envelope to their Pastor. In total, 83 surveys were collected from ten of those churches, including one branch of all the largest Nigerian-American churches. To ensure privacy I did not indicate on the survey forms what church they were dropped off in, but respondents had the option of filling in that information. Seven chose not to do so, therefore I do not know which of the churches they are members of (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Number of surveys implemented per church.	
Church	Number of surveys conducted
Abundant Life Christian Church	12
The Gospel Faith Mission	15
Mountain of Fire Ministries	12
Celestial Church of Christ	3
Redeemed Christian Church of God	7
Calvary First Nigerian Seventh Day Adventist Church	6
Christ Apostolic Church	19
Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church	2
Unknown	7
Total	83

Table 4.2 (p.66) provided one assessment of how representative the survey is by comparing some variables with the American Community Survey. A second assessment compares the percentage of respondents surveyed and those of the ACS who live in each of the

five boroughs of New York City. Table 4.4 provides this comparison. The survey sample represents an adequate percent of residents from Queens and Staten Island, but over represents those from Brooklyn and under represents those from The Bronx and Manhattan.

Table 4.4: Percent of respondents per borough.

Borough	Survey (%)	ACS (%)
Brooklyn	64.6	35.0
The Bronx	1.3	27.4
Manhattan	0.0	5.5
Queens	20.3	22.9
Staten Island	7.6	9.1

As discussed earlier, because of concerns with the sampling strategy and number of survey forms collected, I used the survey information for simpler analyses, primarily descriptive statistics using the social networks information (see Table 4.1). For regression analyses I relied on the American Community Survey data.

The first goal of the survey data is to identify the structure of different social networks of the self-employed: friends, family, employees and clients/customers. These networks are codified as: same ethnic group, Nigerians of different ethnic group, non-Nigerian Africans, and non-Africans.

Second, the survey data are used to compare these networks with characteristics of the respondent and their household. These characteristics include age, sex, ethnicity, educational level, years in the country, household composition, and some indicators of assimilation.

American Community Survey

Given the sampling and sample size concerns with the survey, I use data from the 2007 American Community Survey for the regression analyses. This is the most recent year for which the ACS is available and it also corresponds to the year in which I conducted fieldwork. The American Community Survey (ACS) is conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, and uses a series of monthly samples to construct annually updated data (Ruggles, et al. 2008). For smaller geographic units like census tracts and blocks the data are updated every five years, and for larger geographic areas they are updated annually.

The 2007 ACS is a 1-in-100 national random sample of the population (Ruggles, et al. 2008). For this project, I restricted the data to those born in Nigeria who were 18 years of age or older at the time of survey and reside anywhere in the United States. From that sample I deleted 37 cases, corresponding to those coded as “born in Nigeria of foreign parents”. There is no way of determining whether they are Nigerian or the children of foreigners who reside in the country. The final sample size was 1280. Restricting the sample to only those residing in New York City would have yielded a much smaller sample (N=118). In the regression analyses I included a variable for residing in New York City to detect if this makes a difference in the results.

Variables

This section details the definition of different variables used from the American Community Survey. Table 4.5 provides their descriptive statistics.

Family size: counts the number of own family members residing with each individual, including the person her/himself (Ruggles, et al. 2008). This variable is used cautiously because it does not include children or other family members who reside outside the home, who nevertheless may have an effect on the self-employment of a household member.

Number of children: the number of own children (of any age or marital status) residing with each individual. It includes step-children and adopted children as well as biological children (Ruggles, et al. 2008). This variable does not include children who reside outside the home, who nevertheless may have an effect on the self-employment of a household member.

Age: this variable reports the person's age in years as of the last birthday (Ruggles, et al. 2008).

Sex: reports whether the person was male or female (Ruggles, et al. 2008).

Table 4.5: Summary of American Community Survey variables.

Variable		
Sex	Male (%)	57.13
	Female (%)	42.87
Age	Mean	41.37
	S.D.	12.75
	Range	18 – 84
Marital status	Single (%)	23.55
	Married (%)	60.11
	Divorced or widowed (%)	16.35
Educational level	High school or less (%)	41.76
	College or above (%)	58.24
Family size	Mean	3.19
	S.D.	1.85
	Range	1 – 12
Number of children	Mean	1.20
	S.D.	1.42
	Range	0 – 6
Citizenship status	Naturalized citizen (%)	50.59
	Non-citizen (%)	49.41
New York City residence	Yes (%)	9.23
	No (%)	90.77
Type of worker	Self-employed (%)	8.44
	Wage laborer (%)	81.41
	Not working (%)	10.16
Type of worker- detailed	Self-employed (%)	8.44
	Wage laborer (%)	64.06
	Government worker (%)	17.34
	Not working (%)	10.16
Total income earned*	Median	31,369
	Range	0 – 672,917
Weekly hours worked*	Mean	38.59
	S.D.	16.97
	Range	0 – 99

* These data are only available for those currently working (N=1150).

Marital status: this variable gives each person's current marital status. Persons to whom the question did not apply (N/A) are coded as never married/single (Ruggles, et al. 2008). To facilitate analysis, and given the small number of people in some of the categories, I combined the married, spouse absent and married, spouse present categories into one. I also collapsed widowed, divorced and separated into another category. Therefore, this variable was collapsed into three categories: single, married, and divorced/widowed.

Citizenship: used for foreign-born persons only, this variable reports the citizenship status of respondents, distinguishing between naturalized citizens and non-citizens (Ruggles, et al. 2008).

Years in the United States: for foreign-born persons, this variable reports how long a person who was born in a foreign country or U.S. outlying area had been living in the United States (Ruggles, et al. 2008).

Educational level: this variable measures highest level of education obtained (Ruggles, et al. 2008). Given the small number of Nigerian adults with less than a college education, I recoded this variable into two categories: high school education or below, and college education or above.

Type of worker: this variable was measured on all persons age 16 and over who had worked within the past 5 years. It indicates whether respondents worked for their own enterprise(s) or for someone else as employees. Workers with multiple sources of employment were classified

according to the work relationship in which they spent the most time during the reference day or week (Ruggles, et al. 2008). This variable has a general and a detailed version.

Usual number of hours worked per week: this variable reports the number of hours per week that the respondent usually worked, if the person worked during the previous year (Ruggles, et al. 2008). A similar variable, “hours worked last week” has the benefit that respondents are probably better at estimating the hours worked the previous week than the “usual” number of hours worked. However, because the number of hours worked by the self-employed varies drastically over the year, this variable was chosen instead. For example, Nigerian business owners reported during fieldwork that holiday seasons are very busy times for them and summer months, particularly August, are extremely slow. To minimize the effect of the date the survey was conducted, therefore, the “usual number per week” variable was chosen.

Total personal income earned: this variable reports income earned from wages or a person's own business or farm for the previous year (Ruggles, et al. 2008). Amounts are expressed in contemporary dollars.

New York City residence: I created this binary variable to indicate if an individual resides in New York City.

Analyses

Data from the American Community Survey inform two research objectives (see Table 4.1 on page 63). First, they provide information about the determinants of self-employment. For this purpose, two separate analyses are conducted, using the variable “class of worker” as a dependent variable. The general version has three categories: self-employed, wage laborer and not working.

The second set of analyses uses the detailed version of the “class of worker” variable analyzed as a dependent variable. For the analyses, the variable categories have been collapsed into four: self-employed (which includes incorporated and non-incorporated), wage laborer (which includes private sector and non-profit workers), government workers (including federal, state and local employees) and not working. During the semistructured interviews, many informants specified whether they were government employees or other wage workers, which suggests the importance of this categorization as culturally valid.

Because the outcome variables consist of more than two unordered categories, the multinomial logistic regression is appropriate. This regression analyzes the probability of one category occurring over another one, based on the explanatory variables (Long 1997). Because of this, one category is chosen as the comparison category- in this case wage laborer, which is the modal category. Separate equations are calculated, comparing each category of worker to the default one. For analyzing the effect of x on the odds of category A versus B the regression equation is:

$$\ln \left[\frac{\Pr(A | x)}{\Pr(B | x)} \right] = \beta_{o,A|B} + \beta_{1,A|B}$$

The dependent variable is the log of the odds of membership in category A versus B. The β coefficients have the added subscript A|B to indicate that they are from the logit for A versus B (Long 1997). The unknown β coefficients are estimated using maximum likelihood estimation.

The second use of the American Community Survey data is to help answer the final set of questions, about the consequences of self-employment. I run three separate multiple regressions for three distinct outcome variables: number of hours worked, total personal income, and logged personal income. The multiple regression is appropriate for all three outcome variables because they are continuous (Agresti and Finlay 1997). The multiple regression equation is:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots + \varepsilon$$

where the unknown β coefficients are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). For these analyses, the “class of worker” categories are used as explanatory variables to determine whether they have an effect of the number of hours worked, total personal income and the occupational status index.

Conclusions

This chapter presents information on the project’s research design and data collection techniques. The project is designed as a correlation cross-sectional study. This design is efficient and appropriate for questions about the relationships between variables. Because observations were collected at one point in time, however, only weak arguments can be made about causal relationships. Cross-sectional studies are also susceptible to instrument reactivity.

One solution to these shortcomings lies in the sampling procedures. The other solution is to utilize mixed methods to collect information on the same variables. I used institutional sampling to conduct the survey. Because this does not produce a representative sample I then compared this sample with the American Community Survey which the U.S. Census Bureau conducts using random sampling. The survey sample is skewed towards the more educated. Because of this, I use the survey only to describe the composition of the social networks, and to present some descriptive data comparing the self-employed respondents to wage laborers. For regression analyses comparing wage laborers with the self-employed, I rely on the American Community Survey.

I also collected data using semistructured qualitative interviews. These provided in-depth information on pathways of entry into self-employment, sources of start-up capital, network composition of suppliers, employees and customers/clients, factors facilitating self-employment, obstacles to self-employment, and an emic evaluation of the success of the enterprise. Together, the data from the quantitative survey, qualitative interviews and the American Community Survey inform the project's research questions.

Chapter 5

DETERMINANTS OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Introduction

Immigrants can pursue one of several employment strategies: to work in the wage labor market (in the public or private sector); to be self-employed; or to not be working (not in the labor force). This chapter examines the factors that lead to self-employment. The first part of the chapter describes the American Community Survey (ACS) data which were utilized to supplement the survey data I collected; specifically it compares the self-employed with wage laborers (and government workers) and those not working with regards to their demographic composition, household characteristics, educational level and migration characteristics. For those in the labor force, it also presents detailed information about the specific occupations that they engage in. The second and third sections present the results of multinomial logistic regressions that test whether these characteristics have a statistically-significant effect on the odds of a Nigerian immigrant being self-employed versus a wage laborer or not working. Finally, in the last section I present information from the qualitative interviews that provides more insight into the regression findings, and illustrates some specific paths that lead Nigerian immigrants into self-employment.

Characteristics of the types of workers

Table 5.1 presents a descriptive comparison of the self-employed with wage laborers and those not working. In Chapter 4 I explain in detail each of these categories. In short, the self-employed category includes both those incorporated and unincorporated. Wage laborers

include every person working for someone else and the “not working” category includes those who are not in the labor force. This primarily corresponds to students, homemakers and the retired (Ruggles 2007), an eclectic group of people that are not in the labor force.

**Table 5.1: Weighted descriptive statistics by type of worker:
self-employed, wage laborer, and not working.^a
(unweighted *n* in parentheses)**

	Total (N=1280)	Type of Worker		
		Self-employed (N=108)	Wage laborers (N=1042)	Not working (N=130)
Sex				
Male (%)	57.13	78.93	57.72	34.35
Female (%)	42.87	21.07	42.28	65.65
Age				
Mean age	41.37	46.65	40.85	41.17
Marital Status				
Single (%)	23.55	7.01	23.05	37.62
Married (%)	60.11	75.02	61.18	39.27
Divorced or widowed (%)	16.35	17.97	15.77	23.11
Educational level				
High school or less (%)	41.76	27.77	39.44	71.86
College or above (%)	58.24	72.23	60.56	28.14
Household				
Family size	3.19	3.55	3.09	3.66
Number of children	1.20	1.68	1.22	0.70
Migration				
Years in the U.S. (mean)	13.89	18.80	13.74	11.03
Citizenship				
Naturalized (%)	50.59	68.14	50.83	34.13
Non-Citizen (%)	49.41	31.68	49.17	65.87
U.S. Residency				
New York City (%)	9.23	4.39	9.58	10.49
Other (%)	90.77	95.61	90.42	89.51

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

^a Those not working include students, homemakers, and the retired.

The majority of Nigerian immigrants are wage laborers (81.4%). They are followed by those not working (10.2%) and the self-employed (8.0%). Because the ACS only records the primary occupation, it is likely that a higher proportion of Nigerians are involved in self-employment to supplement their wage labor income. Overall, there are 14.26% more males than females in the sample (57.13% of the sample is male, 42.87% female). The breakdown by type of employment shows important differences. The sex distribution of wage laborers is nearly identical to that of the overall sample, which may simply reflect the fact that the majority of the sample (81.41%) is classified as a wage laborer. For the self-employed, however, the sex ratio is very uneven, with almost 80% of the self-employed being male. Those not working show a reverse trend, with a majority of them (65.65%) being female. This female majority is likely a reflection of the composition of the “not working” category, an important part of which are housewives.

Unlike sex, the age distribution across the different work categories is less notable. The average age for wage laborers and those not working is approximately 41, and the self-employed are on average about six years older. Across all categories, the majority of the sample is married, which is expected given the mean age of the sample (41.37). This also explains why the self-employed have the highest proportion of married people (75%) given that they have the highest mean age. Those not working have a similar percentage of married and single people (38% and 39%, respectively) which again reflects the diverse composition of this category, which includes students, the majority of whom are probably single, and (presumably married) housewives.

The educational distribution shows that Nigerian immigrants are very highly educated, with almost 60% of all adults possessing at least a college education. This figure reflects the selectivity of Nigerian immigrants in the United States, discussed in Chapter 2. The self-employed have an even higher proportion of college educated (72%). This seems to depart from much of what is discussed in the immigrant entrepreneur literature that views self-employment as an alternative for those who do not possess desirable skills for the American wage labor market. Those not working have the highest proportion of people with no more than high school completed (almost 75%). This is partly a reflection of the 38% of this category that is made up of single individuals (most of whom are presumably students). It is also possible that homemakers, who also make up this category, do not complete advanced degrees.

The household variables show little difference across the work categories. Family size for all categories is between 3 and 4, and number of children between 1 and 2. Those not working on average have less than one child (0.77), once again a likely reflection of the students in the category. Their larger average family size is possibly a reflection of students (who presumably live with their parents and siblings) and housewives (who are presumably married and have children). The self-employed have the largest average number of children (1.68), a likely reflection of their higher average age.

The average number of years since migration (coded as years in the U.S.) across the sample is almost 14, a figure also mirrored by wage laborers, the modal category. The average number of years in the U.S. is smallest for those not working (which probably reflects their lower average age and the student population in this category). The self-employed have on average been in the U.S. the longest, which is likely correlated with their higher average age.

Their average number of years in the U.S. also helps explain the high proportion of self-employed who are naturalized citizens (68.14%). For wage laborers this percentage decreases to just over 50%, and it drops sharply to just about a third for those not working. Finally, I included the proportion per job category that resides in New York City, given that this is the location of my fieldwork. The proportion of the self-employed who reside in New York is smaller than that of wage laborers and those not working.

Table 5.2 presents the same information as Table 5.1 for both the self-employed and those not working, but breaks down “wage laborers” into two categories: government employees and all other wage laborers. As noted in chapter 4, this distinction is important to examine for three reasons. First, these two categories are potentially qualitatively different because government workers have greater restrictions for their work than other wage laborers, including higher formal education for some positions and a legal work permit. They may also be provided with more extensive benefits like paid overtime and medical benefits. Second, this distinction is made in the American Community Survey to separate those working in the public sector from those working in the private sector. Lastly, many informants specified in the survey and during interviews which sector they worked in, suggesting that this distinction is important for this population.

Decomposing “wage laborer” into the two more specific categories does illustrate some important differences between those in the public and private sector. The sex ratio between both categories remains similar: a slightly larger percentage of government workers are male (60.52 compared to 56.97 of wage laborers). Similarly, a slightly larger percentage of government workers are married (66.19 compared to 59.82 of wage laborers). Government

workers are also older on average (43.61 years versus 40.10 for wage laborers), and have a slightly higher average family size (3.18 versus 3.07) and number of children (1.40 versus 1.17). Because they are on average older than the wage laborers, it is logical for them to have a higher proportion of marriages, and larger families and number of children.

**Table 5.2: Weighted descriptive statistics by type of worker detailed:
self-employed, non-governmental wage laborer, government worker and not working.^a
(unweighted *n* in parentheses)**

	Total N=(1280)	Type of Worker			
		Self- employed N=(108)	Wage laborers N=(820)	Government workers N=(222)	Not working N=(130)
Sex					
Male (%)	57.13	78.93	56.97	60.52	34.25
Female (%)	42.87	21.07	43.03	39.48	65.65
Age					
Mean age	41.37	46.65	40.10	43.61	41.17
Marital Status					
Single (%)	23.55	7.01	24.08	21.39	37.62
Married (%)	60.11	75.02	59.82	66.19	39.27
Divorced or widowed (%)	16.35	17.97	16.10	12.42	23.11
Educational level					
High school or less (%)	41.76	27.77	43.92	22.90	71.86
College or above (%)	58.24	72.23	56.08	77.10	28.14
Household					
Family size	3.19	3.55	3.07	3.18	3.66
Number of children	1.20	1.68	1.17	1.40	0.70
Migration					
Years in the U.S. (mean)	13.89	18.80	13.14	15.97	11.03
Citizenship					
Naturalized (%)	50.59	68.14	48.64	58.89	34.13
Non-Citizen (%)	49.41	31.68	51.36	41.11	65.87
U.S. Residency					
New York City (%)	9.23	4.39	9.12	11.28	10.49
Other (%)	90.77	95.61	90.88	88.72	89.51

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

^a Those not working include students, homemakers, and the retired.

The greatest differences between government workers and wage laborers, however, are their educational levels and migration characteristics. Seventy-seven percent of wage laborers have at least a college education, surpassing the percentage of college-educated self-employed (72.23). For other wage laborers, the percentage of those college-educated drops to 56.08. Government workers have been in the U.S. on average 2.83 years longer than other wage laborers; while this difference is small, it is not reflected in the proportion of naturalized citizens. The percentage of government workers who are naturalized citizens, however, is much higher than that of other wage laborers (58.89 versus 48.64, respectively). This suggests that government work is more restricted than other kinds of wage labor. Finally, a higher percentage of government workers reside in New York City than do wage laborers (11.28 and 9.12, respectively). This difference might be explained by the large size of New York, and the numerous opportunities for government employment with the city.

Industries and Occupations of the Types of Workers

Another important difference between the types of workers is the specific industries and occupations they are involved in. Table 5.3 compares the weighted percentages of the self-employed, wage laborers and government workers⁴ who are involved in each of sixteen industry categories defined by the ACS (for a detailed listing of specific sectors within each industry, see Appendix C). Almost three-quarters of those in the modal category, wage laborers, are involved in just four industries: education, health and social services (which involves 41.43%

⁴ Those not working are excluded from Tables 5.3 – 5.7 because they are not in the labor force.

of all wage laborers); professional, science, management and administration (13.59%); retail trade (9.93%); and manufacturing (7.35%).

**Table 5.3: Weighted percentages of industry by type of worker:
self-employed, non-governmental wage laborers, and government workers
(unweighted *n* in parentheses).**

Industry	Total (N=1150)	Self- Employed (N=108)	Wage laborers (N=820)	Government workers (N=222)
Agricultural, forestry, fishing and hunting	0.06	0	0.08	0
Mining	0.6	0	0.85	0
Utilities	0.37	0	0.37	0.53
Construction	1.33	3.92	0.94	1.49
Manufacturing	5.24	0	7.35	0
Wholesale trade	0.62	1.78	0.63	0
Retail trade	7.85	8.15	9.93	0
Transportation and warehousing	7.43	19.11	6.00	7.06
Information and communications	2.14	0.88	2.89	0
Finance, insurance, real estate and rental and leasing	6.31	15.99	6.53	0.84
Professional, science, management, administration	11.76	15.78	13.59	3.05
Education, health and social services	41.65	20.19	41.43	52.84
Arts, entertainment, recreation, hotel/food services	4.18	3.16	5.25	0.76
Other services (except public administration)	4	11.03	4.16	0
Public administration	5.95	0	0	30.79
Active duty military	0.51	0	0	2.63
Total:	100	100	100	100

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

Government workers are concentrated in fewer industries. Ninety percent of them are involved in just three: education, health and social services (52.84%); public administration (30.79%); and transportation and warehousing (7.06%). Finally, the self-employed are more widely spread throughout various industries: 20.19% are involved in education, health and social services; 19.11% in transportation and warehousing; 15.99% in finance, insurance, real estate and rental and leasing; 15.78% in professional, science, management and administration; and 11.03% in other services.

Table 5.4 summarizes the diversity of industries that each type of worker is involved in. It displays the diversity index, a measure of whether two observations selected randomly from a population are likely to fall into the same or into different categories (Knoke 1994:50). A diversity index of 0 means all observations belong to a single category, and the higher its value the more equally dispersed are the cases among the various categories. As expected from the data on Table 5.3, there is less diversity of industry within government workers. It also shows that the self-employed are involved in a wider range of industries than both government workers and wage laborers.

Table 5.4: Index of diversity of industry for the self-employed, non-governmental wage laborers, and government workers.

	Self-employed	Wage laborers	Government workers
Index of Diversity	0.851	0.781	0.619

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

Table 5.5 compares the weighted percentages of the self-employed, wage laborers and government workers who are involved in each of twenty-five occupational categories defined by the ACS (for a detailed listing of specific jobs within each occupational category, see Appendix D).

The sole occupational category prevalent among all three types of workers is healthcare practitioners (16.16% of the self-employed, 19.30% of wage laborers, and 17.56% of government workers). Healthcare work is one of only a few occupations that can be practiced in the public sector, the private sector or independently. In addition to healthcare work, government employees are found predominantly in education, training and library occupations (24.36%), office and administrative support occupations (9.72%), financial specialists (8.63%), community and social service occupations (8.12%), and protective service occupations (7.17%).

The only occupations prevalent among wage laborers besides healthcare-related work are sales (11.34%) and office and administrative support (7.5%). Between one and five percent of wage laborers are involved in most of the other occupational categories. The self-employed are also less concentrated in specific occupations than are government workers. In addition to healthcare occupations, the self-employed are highly involved in sales (18.56%), transportation and material moving occupations (12.63%), and management occupations (10.13%).

**Table 5.5: Weighted percentages of occupation by type of worker:
self-employed, non-governmental wage laborers, and government workers
(unweighted *n* in parentheses).**

Occupation	Total (N=1150)	Self- Employed (N=108)	Wage laborers (N=820)	Government workers (N=222)
Management	4.55	10.13	4.30	2.82
Business operations specialists	1.49	2.13	1.10	2.66
Financial specialists	4.37	1.78	3.57	8.63
Computer and mathematical	3.32	1.97	4.04	1.25
Architecture and engineering	1.59	0.70	1.57	2.10
Life, physical, and social science	1.44	0	1.79	0.79
Community and social services	4.57	0	4.22	8.12
Legal	1.57	2.89	1.65	0.66
Education, training and library	8.12	2.92	4.48	24.36
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media	0.74	2.88	0.32	1.30
Healthcare practitioners and technical	18.74	16.16	19.38	17.56
Healthcare support	7.65	2.53	9.30	3.87
Protective service	5.06	0	5.14	7.17
Food preparation and serving	1.07	0	1.50	0
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	2.33	5.65	2.17	1.32
Personal care and service	4.05	5.99	3.91	3.62
Sales	9.89	18.56	11.34	0.27
Office and administrative support	7.61	4.04	7.50	9.72
Farming, fishing and forestry	0.13	0	0.08	0.38
Construction trades	0.79	3.05	0.72	0
Extraction workers	0.04	0	0	0.21
Installation, maintenance, and repair workers	1.44	5.24	1.08	0.95
Production	3.26	0.73	4.44	0
Transportation and material moving	5.94	12.63	6.40	0.99
Military	0.24	0	0	1.25
Total:	100	100	100	100

Source: American Community Survey

Table 5.6 presents the top ten most common specific occupations of each type of worker. It further breaks down the occupational categories and illustrates the most common specific jobs for each type of worker.

Table 5.6: Weighted percentages of top ten most common occupations by type of worker (unweighted *n* in parentheses).

	Self-employed (N=108)	%	Non-governmental wage laborers (N=820)	%	Government workers (N=222)	%
1	Physician/ surgeon	10.66	Registered nurse	9.03	Postsecondary teacher	10.13
2	Taxi driver/ chauffeur	10.51	Nursing/psychiatric/ home health aide	8.62	Elementary/middle school teacher	9.30
3	Real estate broker	5.55	Security guard	5.10	Registered nurse	9.14
4	Hairdresser/ cosmetologist	5.25	Taxi driver/ chauffeur	3.24	Accountant/ auditor	4.18
5	Retail salesperson	4.28	Retail salesperson	2.98	Social worker	3.83
6	Manager	4.07	Licensed practical/ vocational nurse	2.83	Nursing/psychiatric/ home health aide	3.75
7	Chief executive	3.48	Cashier	2.83	Tax examiner/ Revenue agent	3.09
8	Financial service sales agent	3.40	Accountant/ auditor	2.80	Manager	3.02
9	Dentist	3.15	Physician/ surgeon	2.62	Security guard	2.82
10	Courier/ messenger	3.11	Postsecondary teacher	2.46	Counselor	2.42

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

Finally, Table 5.7 provides the diversity index for the occupational categories listed in Table 5.5. The index suggests that while the self-employed are involved in more kinds of industries than other types of workers, wage laborers are the ones with the greatest diversity of

specific jobs. Government workers are more restricted both in terms of the industries and specific occupations they are involved in.

Table 5.7: Index of diversity of occupations for the self-employed, non-governmental wage laborers, and government workers

	Self-employed	Wage laborers	Government workers
Index of Diversity	0.897	0.915	0.875

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

Results from multinomial logistic regression analyses

The previous information illustrates some differences in the composition of categories of the self-employed, government workers, other wage laborers and those not working that are worth exploring further. I conducted multinomial logistic regression analysis to determine which of the different variables measured make a Nigerian immigrant more likely to be self-employed, a wage laborer, a government worker or to not be working. I provide specific details about multinomial logistic regression analysis in Chapter 4.

Table 5.8 presents the results of both bivariate and multivariate analyses. Given that wage laborers are the modal category, I selected that as the reference category.

Table 5.8: Odds ratios for multinomial logistic regression on type of employment.

	Bivariate			Multivariate		
	Self-employed v. wage	Not working v. wage	Self-employed v. not working	Self-employed v. wage	Not working v. wage	Self-employed v. not working
Age	1.04***	1.00	1.03***	1.02	1.03**	0.99
Male	2.74***	0.38***	7.16***	2.68***	0.42***	6.43***
Female (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Single	0.25***	1.96***	0.12***	0.46	1.96*	0.23**
Married (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Divorced/widowed	1.21	1.66*	0.73	1.07	1.83*	0.58
Married (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
College educated	1.69*	0.26***	6.64***	0.96	0.39***	2.47**
No college (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Naturalized citizen	2.07***	0.50***	4.13***	1.2	0.57*	2.16*
Not citizen (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Years in the U.S.	1.04***	0.97**	1.07***	1.24	0.99	1.03
Family size	1.14**	1.18***	0.97	1.02	1.68***	0.61***
No. of children	1.23*	0.72***	1.70***	1.12	0.48***	2.34***
NYC residence	0.43	1.11	0.39 [†]	0.39	1.13	0.35
Not in NYC (ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
N = 1280						

Source: American Community Survey

†=p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

The first three columns depict the results of the bivariate analyses: the effect of each individual predictor on the odds of a Nigerian immigrant being self-employed versus a wage laborer, not working versus being a wage laborer, and being self-employed versus not working. For being self-employed versus a wage laborer, the statistically significant covariates are age, being male, being college-educated, being a naturalized citizen, years in the U.S., family size

and number of children, all of which have a positive effect, as well as being single, which has a negative effect. For not working versus being a wage laborer, the statistically significant covariates are being single, being divorced or widowed and family size, all of which have a positive effect, as well as being male, being college-educated, being a naturalized citizen, number of years in the U.S., and number of children, which have a negative effect. Finally, for being self-employed versus not working, the statistically significant covariates are age, being male, being college-educated, being a naturalized citizen, years in the U.S., and number of children, all of which have a positive effect, as well as being single which has a negative effect. Residing in New York City is borderline significant for predicting being self-employed versus not working.

The last three columns of Table 5.8 show the results of the multinomial logistic regression analyses. These analyses depict the effect of each predictor taking into account all the other ones in the model. The first model presents the odds ratios for being self-employed versus a wage laborer. The only statistically significant variable is being male. Men have about 2.7 times the odds of women of being self-employed versus a wage laborer. Interestingly, none of the other predictors are found to be significant. Many of these are highly correlated with each other, which in part explains why they were individually found to be significant in the bivariate analysis but not in the multivariate analysis. In other words, except for being male, none of the other variables is helpful in determining the odds of a Nigerian immigrant being self-employed versus a wage laborer.

The second model presents the odds ratios for not working versus being a wage laborer. A one year increase in age increases the odds of not working by 1.02, a unit increase in family

size increases those odds by 1.7, and every additional child decreases the odds by about half. The opposite effect of family size and number of children seems contradictory, given the expectation that family size increases with additional children born. One possible explanation, however, is that most of those who make up the “not working” category, namely students and homemakers live with larger families (students live with parents and siblings, homemakers with their spouses and children). Therefore larger families likely include a large portion of those members of the “not working” category. Most students, however, probably do not have any children, and a high proportion of those who do have children in the home clearly have to work to support them.

In this model, being male reduces the odds of not working by about two-fifths, being single almost doubles those odds as does being divorced or widowed, being college-educated reduces them by about two-fifths, and being a naturalized citizen reduces them by about three-fifths. About two-thirds of all those not working are women. It is reasonable to assume that men and women are evenly distributed as students and the retired, but that homemakers are disproportionately women. This explains why men have much lower odds than women of not working versus being a wage laborer. Similarly, many of those who are single are presumably students, and many of the retired are possibly widowed. This explains in part why those two groups have much higher odds than the married of not working, who are supporting themselves and a family. The college-educated have lower odds of not working because those not working include students, who have not yet completed a college degree, and homemakers who possibly also do not have a college degree. Lastly, those who are not naturalized citizens are also more likely to not be working. The ACS defines those in this category as not actively

looking for work, so the odds difference likely does not reflect someone's illegal status and inability to secure employment. Being a naturalized citizen is not a necessary condition for finding work, even legal work, in the wage labor market. Permanent residents and those with temporary work visas can legally work. Being a naturalized citizen, however, reflects a longer period of time since migration, during which time immigrants have an opportunity to have concluded their studies and start families, all of which are correlated with being employed.

The third and final multinomial logistic regression model presents the odds ratios for being self-employed versus not working. These results are basically opposite those of the second model. The first model suggested that the differences between the self-employed and wage laborers are minimal, therefore it is expected that both the self-employed and wage laborer categories compare similarly against those not working. While model two compared those not working to wage laborers, the third one compares the self-employed to those not working, and the significant variables behave in the opposite direction as those of the second model. For being self-employed versus not working, men have about 6.4 times the odds of women, the single about a quarter the odds of the married, the college-educated about 2.5 times the odds of the high school educated, and naturalized citizens twice the odds of non-citizens. Every additional family member decreases the odds by about two-thirds, and each additional child increases them by about 2.3.

I also ran the multinomial logistic regression analyses using the four category response variable: self-employed, not working, non-governmental wage laborer and government worker, and again used the modal category, wage laborer, as the reference category. No variables were significant in these models and therefore I do not include the results here. I also ran the models

comparing the self-employed to government workers. Four variables proved statistically significant: being male, being single, being college-educated and living in New York City. Men have almost three times the odds of women of being self-employed versus a government worker. Those single have one-third the odds of those married of being self-employed versus a government worker. The college-educated have about half the odds of the high school educated of being self-employed versus a government worker, and those who reside in New York City have about one-third the odds of being self-employed versus a government worker. These results suggest that government work attracts the college-educated, those married (many of the single are presumably still students) and that New York City does in fact offers many opportunities for government work. Men are still the most attracted to self-employment, at least as their primary occupation. The regression analyses suggests that the only factor important in determining the probability of being self-employed versus a wage laborer is being a man, and that a being a man, being married and having a college education are factors that positively influence the probability of being self-employed versus a government worker. These analyses, however, cannot on their own adequately explain why these are the determining characteristics for self-employment, nor the actual pathways that lead a Nigerian immigrant to self-employment. The interviews I conducted with a sample of thirty-two business owners provide further insight into the pathways to self-employment.

Results from the qualitative analyses

For these analyses I made use of all thirty-two interviews and noted the most common responses. The quotes are used to illustrate these responses, and also to note where some respondents differed from the majority. Respondents defined two main processes that led them to self-employment. The first is motivated by a longtime desire to be self-employed, or a lifetime of experience exclusively with self-employment.

“I feel like to be a business owner because that’s what my mom had been when I’m in Nigeria, and I will assist (her) business, and I know that is what I know that I can do. When I’m in Nigeria, uh... after I go to school, I never start to work you understand? I am working with my mother as a manager there because my mom, she is old but not too old you understand me? And she herself cannot run up and down calling the people to bring some merchandise in the store. I’m the only that will assist her.”

– Olaniyan⁵, male, owns African food store

“Most of the Africans are so much into self-employment situations... having a business is something that is part of us. We all saw our mothers selling, seen our fathers selling something, and like they say, a chicken will eat what the chicken learns to eat. So most of us come and put up a business. And owning is something good for the community. And this is where the dream comes from.”

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

“Since I was young, I was doing business. Even the time I am in Nigeria. My mother (had a business too).”

- Ruth, female, owns African fabric store

⁵ All names are pseudonyms.

“I guess my history with businesses has to do with my parents, who are both educators and at one point made a decision to not be educators and create businesses themselves. My father owned a publishing company when I was in Nigeria, so he left working for the government... he left education and then went to work for the government. And then at some point when Nigeria goes through this transition of government changes and everybody loses their job, he made a decision not to. So I grew up around that atmosphere. When I came to the States I came to go to college here, and my mindset I knew I would work for somebody at some point, get the experience I need, and leave.”

- Ebiere, female, owns a boutique

The experience of Ebiere’s parents is widespread. Many of those interviewed claimed that self-employment was an attractive occupation to their parents or themselves while in Nigeria, because of government instability and the perceived need to be self-reliant. This does not mean that all Nigerians chose this employment strategy nor that all those whose parents in Nigeria were self-employed became self-employed themselves before or after migration. But for those currently self-employed, parental experience with self-employment was common. Olafemi, the owner of a multiple service (bill payment, wire transfers, phonecards) store, provided an explanation for what he sees as a survival strategy rooted in political conditions in Nigeria, that proves to be adaptive in the new society after migration:

“My country Nigeria, is a place with so much resources but unfortunately the last, over two and a half decades we had military rule. And not until recently we’ve been trying to experiment democracy, but even at that, you know we had to carry over everything that could go wrong in the country in democratic dispensation. So, because of how bad things were, when we went to college we knew that once we graduate, there would be no job waiting for us. We realized that uh, the government had failed us in being able to say there can be a transition between education and employment. So it was up to us to think of how we can actually get something done... so the bottom line is that is how the society we came from, where you have to be self-employed, you know, because the system will not provide anything for you. So coming over here and everywhere we find ourselves, we try to seek opportunities we have in this, you know, in the new society, and be able to start something so that we can help ourselves and of course, those who we employ to be able to start a good life.”

While familiarity with business was a pervasive theme, the specific reasons why the self-employed chose to open a business were diverse, and included four recurrent ones: helping out the family, community-building, the prestige it grants them, and as an economic strategy that withstands bad structural conditions.

“So in the long run... it is sort of uh, strategic because I am not a US citizen. So when I have the restaurant they see oh yeah, this guy is serious, is responsible. It is my standards, (they) are very high. And the government they will look at you differently. So there are advantages.”

- Edegbe, male, owns a restaurant

“Well... business is social responsibility for me. Business is a community. Business is... you know so I didn’t really go into business, I felt the need for the community to come together. And I have an idea that it can come together around, you know, which the community became the business.”

- Segun, male, owns a fashion store

“Before I left Nigeria I worked with a bank. I had my four years college degree in accounting, I’m an accountant. And for a while I was in Nigeria I had a store, I had a business that I learned myself, ‘cause somehow you have to support the family. The main reason is because Nigerians always have an extended family. They have an extended family that you have to really help and care for. So when I came in I just decided to go back into the business that I’m used to.”

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

Later in the interview, Akinlabi contradicted himself by claiming, similarly to Segun, that business ownership is something that is done for the community:

“Opening up a business is not mainly for the family, is mainly to support the economy of the country, as long as it’s a legit business. Support the economy of the country, if you can hire some people hire some people needed to work, pay taxes, and get the country developed more. Regardless of how little your contribution has, so that’s my main concern, I don’t think it’s mainly because of the family.”

Other respondents, although they too grew up around people in business, did not claim to have a longtime desire for self-employment, but were instead channeled into it by circumstances that prevented their involvement in the wage labor market: primarily layoffs and health concerns. Even so, although being primarily a business owner was not their intention, many already had a small business on the side, or their spouse did.

“I was born into business. My parents was self-employed business people. My mother was a trader back home, and she controlled chains of business, my father also. So it’s like uhh... then and there, I know how it is to own a business. Plus, my personal reason, I would’ve loved to be working under somebody, mine was based on uhh... medical problems. I can’t just be on a schedule because if I feel a little bit tired, you won’t like me, so that’s why I chose to be in business.”

- Titilayo, female, owns clothing store

"I (became) a business owner after losing a job, so I had the alternative to establish a business. I was laid off, I was the manager of a parking garage, so I was laid off. And I couldn't get any employment of the same salary with my qualifications. So I decided to establish a business. Luckily it was a cross-over. I didn't know I was going to be laid off. So when I was working I established the business. So my wife and my children were initially the ones running it, they were the ones running the business."

- Edegbe, owns a restaurant

"First, (my wife and I) were doing this business as a hobby back home in Nigeria. Traveling to Europe, buy specifically similar products as now, shoes, bags and dresses. We are doing (this) back home before we travel down here. I travel down here for studies. But I stopped working about two years ago because of health reasons, so uh, basically not working full time, I think it's about to turn our hobby into the real thing. Right now, we I mean ever since for the past five, seven years, we been doing it actively but not full time because both of us were doing other things. So uh, since I stopped working two years ago I said it's about time. I had some health issues. I wouldn't know if would have done it full time had not been for health issues. But it came early."

- Ayokunle, male, owns an African fabric store

The interviews also help to understand the resources that Nigerians rely on for starting their businesses. The most pervasive manner of raising start-up capital to set up a business was through personal savings, accumulated after a long period of primarily wage labor. Other sources of start-up capital, more thoroughly discussed in the next chapter, are family and bank loans, but these were not mentioned as sources of capital as often as personal savings. This means of accumulation helps explain why several years go by before someone becomes self-employed and why the self-employed are on average older than the other groups.

"I started as a vendor. I carried a bag and go around Manhattan in the street... yeah it was rough. But Glory be to God! I knew what I wanted so I had to save towards it. I sold things on the street for almost about two or three years! And for that three years it was rough. And I had to save money because... you must have a plan. Have a plan that I don't care, I have to get off the street because you didn't have a license you cannot operate on the street. And I don't at the time. So I had to run and hide, run and hide... I personally went on three years I stayed on the street. Three years. Two, three years. It took me about three to gather myself together, get some money, and then decide to open a store. It's hard. It's really hard. I couldn't change even my clothes. I couldn't buy new shoes. I couldn't do that. I had to walk for ten miles sometimes. Eventually, I, I mean I, I knew what I wanted, and God helped me achieve it."

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

"You have to work and save. I worked and saved. And I traveled a lot also to Europe, now and then. It's not enough... if you learn not to spend maybe you have a ten dollar now, is a thing of like spiritual contention. This little one, let me put this one aside. And uh, family support also."

- Titilayo, female, owns clothing store

The period of wage labor employment that precedes self-employment is of two types.

For some it is characterized by a long period of extensive learning in a high-profile corporation;

for others, it is characterized by high turnover, job instability, and undesired jobs.

"Before I worked at security, I worked as someone that work active... someone that is active like a company that need to pack something in a box, I work as a driver too, I drive a taxi, I do that too."

- Olaniyan, male, owns food store

“Uh yeah, I was working, when I get off school, I graduated college and worked for (a large phone company) for like one year, so I wanted to be on my own, have my own business you know. At that time, the calling card business was booming, the prepaid calling card, you get like ten minutes, to get a commission to call a place like Africa, Nigeria mostly, it's ten minute for ten dollar. So, then I get in the business, I get a deal that I can offer people fifteen minute for ten dollar, which was good, so I jump in there and that is how I've been in the business for nine years now.’

- Taiwo, male, owns a multiple service store

“When I first came to this country I worked as security guard. Then I also worked with a pest control company, then afterwards I worked with a, bank, which I still work with you know, as I speak, yes I do, I work in accounting department. So I would think that later I leave the bank, then I started this. Then after this I went to Wall Street, then after that I went back to the bank.”

- Obi, male, owns a multiple service store

Interviews are informative not only because of what respondents say, but also because of what respondents don't say. Only two of the thirty-two self-employed I interviewed had a government job in addition to their business, and none had a history of government employment that had transitioned fully into self-employment at the time of interview. This suggests that self-employment is an economic strategy pursued in conjunction with wage employment or after a period of wage employment, whereas government work is a separate path in and of itself. Self-employment could also be pursued after a period of unemployment, although none of the business owners I interviewed entered self-employment after a long period of unemployment. Because I only interviewed those who are currently self-employed, the results from the qualitative interviews do not present all possible employment trajectories. Immigrants who attempted self-employment but who did not succeed and then entered wage labor, unemployment, or government work are not captured in my sample. Similarly, it is also

possible that many Nigerians grew up in entrepreneurial families and upon migration followed employment paths of a long period of wage labor but never entered self-employment. For this reason, familiarity of self-employment and long periods of wage labor can, but do not necessarily, lead to self-employment.

Conclusions

In Chapter 2 I discussed some of what research on immigrant entrepreneurship has found to be important determinants of self-employment. One approach focused on individual-level characteristics that hinder employment in the wage labor market, including poor English-language abilities, little education, or foreign education. For Nigerian immigrants, the first two characteristics are not applicable, since almost 60% have a college education, and virtually all speak English. The third one, foreign-education, was mentioned by some respondents as being a challenge. Nonetheless, a greater number of respondents had either received their college education in the U.S., or gone back to college after some years working in the U.S.

A second approach focuses on the opportunities for entrepreneurship available to immigrants, including a large pool of coethnic labor, or the demand for culturally-specific products or services within their own immigrant community. The following chapter takes a closer look at the employees of Nigerian business owners and demonstrates that outside the immediate family, the norm is not to rely on Nigerian labor.

Similarly, some respondents said that providing African food, cloth and other items was a business strategy they pursued (like Edegbe's Nigerian restaurant), but just as common was

the provision of items and services that were needed in the primarily Caribbean neighborhoods where they settle (like Taiwo's calling card business).

What seems to drive much of the Nigerian immigrant self-employment, however, is the experience with entrepreneurship they encounter while living in Nigeria, and which they can rely on as needed in the U.S. This previous experience cannot be determined as being exclusive to those who are currently self-employed, but for those who do enter self-employment, it is cited as a reason that facilitated that path.

Chapter 6

THE SOCIAL NETWORKS OF THE SELF-EMPLOYED

Introduction

Research on immigrant entrepreneurship has identified two situations that involve immigrant entrepreneurs. In the first immigrant entrepreneurs act as middlemen, trading between a society's elite and its masses. These entrepreneurs have few intrinsic ties to the communities in which they operate, and often remain in the neighborhood for a limited amount of time. In the second, entrepreneurs act in ethnic enclave, in which economic and social relationships are bounded by coethnicity. They are physically concentrated in neighborhoods, and offer a wide array of services. Implicit in this typology are differing social relationships. The composition of the social networks of immigrants, particularly those related to their businesses, can have an important impact on the operation and success of that business. This chapter explores the social networks of Nigerian entrepreneurs. The first section illustrates the involvement of Nigerians in the ethnic community. The second part addresses specific themes surrounding their selection of suppliers, employees and customers. Data suggest that immigrants have very different strategies for selecting their suppliers than they do employees and customers, and that these are related to the initial goals for their business.

Results from the survey

The quantitative survey I conducted includes multiple questions designed to compare wage laborers with the self-employed. Nonetheless, as explained in Chapter 4, the survey (N=83) only captured fourteen entrepreneurs, and the information from it will only be utilized

descriptively. Table 6.1 summarizes the composition of the sample of entrepreneurs from the survey.

Table 6.1: Social network characteristics of the self-employed surveyed .

	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Educational level	Ethnicity	Years In U.S.	Reason for Migrating
1	M	42	married	Graduate school	Yoruba	6	To join family member(s)
2	F	.	married	College	Yoruba	13	To join family member(s)
3	M	31	married	College	Yoruba	8	To study, open a business and better job opportunities
4	F	46	widowed	Graduate school	Yoruba	23	To join family member(s)
5	F	32	married	College	Yoruba	3	To study and for better job opportunities
6	F	42	divorced	College	Bini	19	To study
7	M	42	single	College	Itsekiri	3	To study
8	M	53	married	Graduate school	Igbo	31	To study
9	M	36	married	Graduate school	Yoruba	8	To study, open a business and better job opportunities
10	M	46	single	Technical degree	Yoruba	17	To study
11	M	19	single	College	Yoruba	1	Other
12	M	.	married	College	Yoruba	35	To study
13	M	59	married	High school	Bini	17	.
14	M	44	married	College	Yoruba	14	Other

Descriptive tables from the quantitative survey I conducted during fieldwork present an image of the extent to which the self-employed and wage laborers are involved in the ethnic community. One question asked respondents about their involvement in either a Nigerian association, whether ethnic, hometown-based, or professional. Table 6.2 presents these results.

Table 6.2: Percentage of self-employed and wage laborers members of a Nigerian association.

	Wage laborers (N=57)	Self-employed (N=14)
Member of Nigerian association	50.88	64.29
Not member of Nigerian association	49.12	35.71

Source: Survey of Nigerian immigrants in New York City

The self-employed have a higher rate of participation in Nigerian associations. Two characteristics of these associations are important for understanding Nigerian immigrants. First, because most of them are hometown or ethnic-based, they help shape the local social networks of Nigerian immigrants. Many Nigerians told me that their national identity is very important to them and internal divisions don't matter, yet most listed people of their same ethnicity as their close friends, and only in isolated cases does marriage between Nigerians of different ethnicities seem to occur (only one of the eighty-three survey respondents claimed to be in a mixed marriage). Second, because so many of these associations are local origin-based, the work that these associations carry out is directed at specific locales in Nigeria, and not towards the country as a whole. In instances where I observed political posters, often on the walls of restaurants and stores, they were always propaganda for governors and local leaders.

The main activities conducted by the hometown associations involve philanthropic projects, including scholarships for students to attend university in Nigeria, donating hospital equipment, and repairing important roads. These activities involve coordination with local authorities but rarely challenge the status quo. The work of one association, Anambra State Association in the United States (ASA-USA) is different from the others. This association has played a more direct political role, one that doesn't involve support for specific political parties, but instead entails a commitment to fighting corruption.

A widespread perceived need for help in Nigeria is the most-listed reason for organizing these associations. These associations list helping out Nigerians in the U.S. as part of their goals, but their foremost concern is to help out back home. A smaller number of associations were created specifically to help out Nigerian immigrants. One of these is run by just a single person who has a network of lawyers, doctors and priests ready to provide free services, counseling and temporary housing to Nigerians who cannot find their contact person in New York City or simply become lost in its bureaucracy. Part of their motivation was that many newcomers requested aid at the Nigerian consulate which failed to provide help on the basis that they were not provided funds to do so. While the responsibility to help out at home lies solely with the different associations, Nigerian churches play a large role in helping out those in the U.S., which may also reduce any sense of urgency for Nigerians to help out fellow immigrants. Table 6.3 presents the data on involvement in an American association.

Table 6.3: Percentage of self-employed and wage laborers members of an American association.

	Wage laborers (N=57)	Self-employed (N=11)
Member of U.S. association	33.33	18.18
Not member of U.S. association	66.67	81.82

Source: Survey of Nigerian immigrants in New York City

The rates of membership in non-Nigerian associations are higher for wage laborers. Two reasons may explain this. First, wage laborers may be involved in organizations related to their work, either professional associations or other organizations defined by their company. Second, the self-employed sometimes gear their businesses primarily towards the ethnic community, which may encourage them to participate in a Nigerian association but not necessarily an American one.

Another question asked respondents whether they read either Nigerian or American newspapers. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 present these results.

Table 6.4: Percentage of self-employed and wage laborers who read Nigerian newspapers.

	Wage laborers (N=60)	Self-employed (N=12)
Reads Nigerian newspapers	86.67	75.00
Does not read Nigerian newspapers	13.33	25.00

Source: Survey of Nigerian immigrants in New York City

Table 6.5: Percentage of self-employed and wage laborers who read American newspapers.

	Wage laborers (N=59)	Self-employed (N=12)
Reads American newspapers	94.92	100.0
Does not read American newspapers	5.08	0

Source: Survey of Nigerian immigrants in New York City

The rates of overall newspaper readership are high for both the self-employed and wage laborers, and are high for both Nigerian and American newspapers. The rates of American newspaper readership are higher for both groups, which clearly reflects the more widespread availability of these. Wage laborers have a higher rate of Nigerian newspaper readership than the self-employed.

An additional question inquired about respondents' voting practices. Specifically, Table 6.6 presents information on the voting rate in Nigerian elections. This is especially telling because voting in Nigerian elections requires travel to the country as voting through the embassies is not available.

Table 6.6: Percentage of self-employed and wage laborers who vote in Nigerian elections.

	Wage laborers (N=56)	Self-employed (N=10)
Votes in Nigerian elections	10.71	20.0
Does not vote in Nigerian elections	89.29	80.0

Source: Survey of Nigerian immigrants in New York City

As expected, overall voting rates in Nigeria are low for both groups. The self-employed have a higher voting rate than the wage laborers, however. Some of the self-employed reported traveling to Nigeria to obtain some of the items they sell in the U.S. This frequent travel to Nigeria might facilitate their opportunities to vote. Also, the self-employed had higher rates of membership in Nigerian associations in the U.S. These associations maintain close ties to their homeland, and would also encourage voting. The qualitative interviews (analyzed in the latter part of this chapter) provide some information about the overall involvement of Nigerian immigrants with other coethnics in the U.S.

One important aspect of social networks is the formation of ethnic enclaves. Although Nigerians are not residentially concentrated in New York City (see Figure 3.3), an argument for ethnic enclaves could be made if their businesses operate largely within primarily Nigerian networks. As Table 6.7 illustrates, however, there is great diversity in the composition of the suppliers, employees and customer base of Nigerian entrepreneurs.

Table 6.7: Business-related social network characteristics of the self-employed.

ID	Number of previous businesses	Suppliers	Employees	Customers
1	2	. U.S. wholesaler . Nigerian wholesaler	1 family 1 same ethnicity	Most/all: Nigerians of the same ethnicity Some: other Nigerians
2	1	U.S. wholesaler	2 family	Most/all: African-American, Hispanic Some/few: Nigerian, African, Caribbean, white
3	3	. U.S. wholesaler . Shipped from China	2 family 4 same ethnicity 4 Caribbean	Most/all: Nigerians of the same ethnicity, Caribbean, African-American
4	1	.	2 same ethnicity	Most/all: African
5	3	U.S. wholesaler	None	Most/all: Nigerians of the same ethnicity, other Nigerians, African-American Some/few: Caribbean, Asian
6	.	.	2 family	.
7	1	Shipped from Europe	2 same ethnicity	Most/all: Nigerian
8	3	N/A (services)	None	Most/all: Nigerian, African, African-American, Caribbean, white
9	1	N/A (services)	1 family	Most/all: Caribbean, African-American Some/few: African, Nigerian, Asian, Hispanic
10	1	U.S. wholesaler	None	Most/all: Nigerian, African, African-American, Caribbean, Hispanic, Asian, white
11	1	Travels abroad	4 same ethnicity	.
12	2	N/A (services)	1 family 10 same ethnicity 1 other Nigerian	Most/all: Nigerian, African, African-American Some/few: Caribbean, Hispanic
13	1	U.S. wholesaler African wholesaler	2 family	Most/all: Nigerian, African
14	4	U.S. wholesaler	None	Most/all: Caribbean, African-American Some/few: Nigerian, African

Some entrepreneurs, like persons 1 and 13, obtain their products from American and Nigerian or African wholesalers, employ family or other Nigerians in their business, and have a customer base made up of Nigerians or other Africans. They represent prime examples of what would constitute an ethnic enclave economy, but even in this small sample (and among those interviewed qualitatively) they are not the norm. Persons 3 and 7, for example, have at least part of their products shipped directly from abroad (China and Europe). Person 7 sells almost exclusively to other Nigerian customers, but person 3 also sells to Caribbean and African-American customers. They both employ family members but person 3 also employs Caribbeans. Persons 2, 5, 10 and 14 all obtain their products primarily from a large U.S. wholesaler, have either no additional employees or employ family members, but have different customer bases. Person 2 sells to primarily African-American and Hispanic customers, person 5 to both Nigerian and African-American, person 14 to Caribbeans and African-Americans, and person 10 to a diverse group of customers that includes all the previously mentioned groups in addition to Asian and white customers. The qualitative interviews conducted with a sample of thirty-two self-employed Nigerians provide important clues as to why the composition of their network of suppliers, employees and customers are so different.

Results from the qualitative interviews

Suppliers

There is incredible diversity in the sources from which respondents obtained products for their businesses. Some purchased them from large U.S. retailers, others from medium-sized African wholesalers, others had products shipped to them from Nigeria, Ghana, China, Korea, or Europe, and yet others personally traveled to any of those places to purchase their products themselves.

Well most of my uh, products do come from Africa and some come from the West Indies, uh, I do have also food items that Americans make such as the Pampers those are you know, domestic products. But probably 85% of my products came from Africa, I would say. Or West Indian.

- Iyapo, male, owns food store

You know, what we are dealing is from Korea and China. Those people they don't speak English that is a major problem. If I ask them to do this, America need this, they [get the order wrong], that's the problem. That is why I have to fly there, to tell them what I want.

- Ruth, female, owns fabric store

[His wife and himself] buy from Europe, and uh, we mix, now that we're here we are selling also African, I mean African attires, like Nigerian attire, African fashion, stuff like that.

- Ayokunle, male, owns fashion store

As experience in entrepreneurship increased, respondents sometimes changed the suppliers they obtained their products from. Edegbe's situation illustrates this. He began by

asking other Nigerians where they obtained their products, initially purchased them from a large U.S. warehouse then began obtaining some of them from an African wholesaler who brings them to his restaurant.

Uh... initially I have to go where other businesses go. I have these Nigerians who do business. So I ask them where did you buy this from, where did you buy that from? So like Jetro is a big warehouse, it's mainly all food items, everything I think of, Jetro sells that. I have to be a member, you have to have a restaurant, your tax id, before they let you in, because it's tax free. Then, we ask questions, like Africans who normally [distribute items to stores]. Because there are markets everywhere, so if you buy... like if you own the place you say I'm a Nigerian, [you call ahead] two or three weeks time so .. when hey come here normally [they bring] food items. So when they come, they give us what we paid for.

Edegbe eventually branched out to other suppliers, learning what products each could offer the best deal for.

[I buy from] wholesalers yes. Nigerians and then Americans, Spanish, I have a [supplier] that is in Washington DC. Every other Wednesday, like tomorrow he is coming with some food items. He comes this morning, ask us what do you want? There is a place where they normally drop it off, in Flatbush, and he comes back here. He is an American but he is not black, he is a white American. So I buy my stuff from anywhere I feel I have the upper hand, I will have gained. No matter who the person is.

Other business owners reached out to new and more diverse suppliers as a response to the needs and desires of their customers for specific products.

Uh, yeah when I start, mostly African things because I have African food and I have some things that belong to American distributors like some food I order from like Chrisdale, [the food] that American's eat, like cereal, iced tea, everybody drink that, and I have produce, some over there that later on I'm trying to figure what people want when the customer come in and they ask... why don't you have it? If you don't have it I will go out and buy it elsewhere... ok. I myself [am] rushed, ok let me get it. Uh, I buy some from Chrisdale, Chrisdale company, I buy some from Brownsville company, I buy some from Goya company, I buy some from Trisonic company...

- Olaniyan, male, owns food store

Employees

While there is also great diversity in the employee base of the Nigerian businesses, three patterns emerged from the qualitative interviews. First was the unpaid family labor, always referred to as "help". Second was the employment of other Nigerians, either extended family or close friends. The third was the employment of local neighborhood residents, who were rarely Nigerian and included primarily Caribbeans, but also other Africans, African-Americans and even Asians.

My sister is helping me, and it has been doing well. The only thing it's slow at the moment, it's very slow. We can't complain, some days are good, some days are bad, that's what business is about. She works part-time, she works Wednesdays and Fridays, and sometimes Saturday. She just come, she's a social worker and so she comes.

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

No, it is a small business. [My daughter helps] when she's not in the school. And uh, if I'm not feeling good, they will stay here. Or when I want to go and make purchases they will stay here.

- Ruth, female, owns African fabric store

Well initially my wife would come in, you know. Because when I started it was really rough you know, so to help out, but now there is no need for that.

- Olafemi, male, owns multiple service business

Um, fortunately, yeah I do have people there that uh, work for me. But um, my main guy traveled to Africa so while that I have a new guy, so he's kind of uh, learning the whole process. I don't really need him here you know, so what I am doing right now, I stay here most of the time, and then I have somebody that is up in Queens. Umm... actually right now I don't have any Nigerian working for me. I have Asian, I have Senegalese

- Iyapo, male, owns African food store

Business owners also lamented the lack of employees. While in the next chapter I show that while respondents often mentioned that a difficulty of running a business is having multiple demands on the money that comes in, primarily paying employees, those who do not have employees often wished they could afford to.

I cannot afford (to have employees). Like I said, I cannot, I wish 'cause sometimes I don't feel like coming, wanna stay home, but I have to think no matter how little I make, make something.

- Titilayo, woman, owns fashion store

Family employment or co-ownership was common. The previous chapter discussed how many entrepreneurs became self-employed after a long period of multiple jobs in the wage labor market. For some, the transition was facilitated because a spouse already owned the business.

Luckily it was a cross-over. I didn't know I was going to be laid off. So when I was working I established the business. So my wife and my children were initially the ones running it, they were the ones running the business. No it just felt comfortable in the sense that my wife, she has the capacity of running the business of cooking. But initially Nigerians have been, calling, telling her to cook for them. So we all saw that there were, people ask us, you are a good cook, why don't you open a restaurant for us to eat. That is how we came into it.

- Edegbe, male, owns a restaurant

Customers

With regard to customers, two strategies emerged from the qualitative interviews.

Some entrepreneurs had a primarily Nigerian or African customer base. These were the entrepreneurs who claimed that they became self-employed because they perceived a need in the Nigerian community for a particular service or product. Because the business was aimed at that population from the beginning, it is understandable that their customers are primarily coethnics.

I chose this because most of my people, Nigerians and Africans, they don't have... places. They don't have the native food to eat. So I decided to establish one that for a small portion of the society which are mainly Nigerians. We just drive around looking for places that is close to where Nigerians work. Most of them, my target then was taxi drivers, who are on Church Ave, Utica, they are people who come to the restaurant. So we decided to look for a place where they are, where they work.

- Edegbe, male, owns restaurant

For Edegbe, as the restaurant became established and known in the neighborhood, his customer base grew.

I have the belief. Because the beginning of everything is difficult, just like a child trying to walk, he or she gonna fall many times before they can start. So we knew that we just started, nobody knows what we're doing, nobody know our work, particularly the food we prepare. So that was in my head, it will wake up. And now, that it is good you have black Americans, Latin Americans coming in, Spanish coming in, they want to eat our food. So that is why I said in the long run, it will be ok, so let me stick.

For the majority, however, their customer base is defined by the population residing in the neighborhoods where their businesses are located. For those in Brooklyn, this usually meant Caribbean immigrants.

I have some Caribbean customers, I carry Caribbean items too. And I carry some kind of uh woodwork that some other... some other races come from. You know, so it's not mainly Nigerian. Especially mainly Caribbeans. My customers are many Caribbeans, only a few Nigerians.

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

When I first started, I started from a different location. And I realized that that location was not doing too good because there the foot traffic was not that encouraging, and thus I realized that uh, you know the clientele of that location was also not encouraging. Then when I ran into some of the brochure that they were renting this place out, you know, I picked up interest, completed an application, and then the owner asked you why you wanted the location, and uh, they wanted us to write business proposal, you know, which they reviewed and uh, they chose the best person whom they thought his or her business would thrive you know, in this location. So I was lucky enough, they gave me the chance, and I have been here for almost going to ten years in this very location.

- Iyapo, male, owns African food store

Because when I choose, I choose, I thought maybe I would have the only African food, but when I started I see that the community where I am, there are a lot of American people that are around here, so I need to mix it together that I can call them to my store, it won't be only African because they are the only one who would be coming down here, everybody come then.

- Olaniyan, male, owns food store

I would say... seventy percent Nigerians. [The rest] are Africans, African-American, but hopefully when we move to Utica that ratio will be diluted. Because [the neighborhood] is more of Caribbean uh, I would go into some of the Caribbean products also.

- Ayokunle, male, owns fashion store

Conclusions

The first part of this chapter presented data from the survey I conducted during fieldwork that provides some measures of how involved Nigerian immigrants are in their immigrant community. Results showed that the self-employed had higher rates of immigrant association membership, higher rates of participation in Nigerian elections, and high rates of Nigerian newspaper readership. That, coupled with the almost universal participation in a church or mosque among Nigerian immigrants, suggests that the self-employed are highly involved in their immigrant community. The associations and churches (I did not frequently visit mosques so I will not discuss them here) make many demands on their members. Financially, members must pay association dues, and the multiple churches I visited collected money up to three times per service. Time is demanded as well, for the associations have regularly scheduled meetings, and most have an annual convention. Churches have multiple services per week. Finally, in both associations and churches, expectations of reciprocity are extensive. Association members form close ties with one another, participate in multiple social activities together, and contribute to the overall maintenance of the association. Similarly, church members often take up additional roles either in the church services or in one of the many activities they organize.

The second part of the chapter focused more specifically on the composition of the business-related social networks for the self-employed as provided by the interview data. Information about suppliers of products and materials for Nigerian businesses, initially is channeled through coethnic networks. As the entrepreneurs become more experienced, they do their own research and ultimately select those suppliers who give them the best deal, the best products for the lowest price. Because these decisions are made from a purely financial standpoint, suppliers are not necessarily coethnics.

There is a strong reliance for labor on unpaid family labor (often termed “help”). This family labor was called upon in businesses that the entrepreneur could run alone but needed to step away from on occasion, or in instances where the entrepreneurs did not earn enough to pay a formal employee. Nigerian entrepreneurs also employ coethnic acquaintances or extended family members who share in the business profits. Others rely on more formal employees from the local neighborhood labor pool, who are paid a set wage on a regular basis. Given that Nigerian businesses are located in non-Nigerian neighborhoods, these employees tend to be primarily, but not exclusively, Caribbean and non-Nigerian Africans.

Finally, the composition of their customer base is tied to their original start-up strategy. Those who began their business as a way to fill a need within the ethnic community (like Edegbe’s restaurant) had primarily a Nigerian or African customer base. However, given the small number of some of these Nigerian or African establishments, once the business is known in the community their clientele extended to customers from other non-African backgrounds with the desire for these African products. A subset of these entrepreneurs, because of the nature of their businesses (like Olaniyan’s grocery store), find that their customer base

expands, not as locals begin consuming African products, but as they request that products they want are added to the business. A second business start-up strategy was to fill a perceived need in a particular neighborhood (like Olafemi's multiple services store that provides wire transfers, bill payment, prepaid phonecards, etc). The customers in these instances are the residents of the local neighborhood, again primarily Caribbean, Africans, and African-American.

Zhou (2007) provides a useful summary of the distinct types of immigrant entrepreneurs developed by scholars. So-called middlemen minorities trade between a society's elite and the masses, and historically have not settled permanently in the neighborhoods in which they operate. They also have few ties to the social structures and social relationships of the local community. Ethnic enclaves, on the other hand, are bounded by coethnicity, social structures and physical location. They typically operate in immigrant neighborhoods where coethnics dominate, and are intertwined in a complex system of coethnic social networks within a self-sustaining ethnic enclave.

Based on the described structure of the suppliers, employees and customers of Nigerian entrepreneurs, characteristics of both middlemen minorities and ethnic enclaves are found among this group. Businesses that entrepreneurs start to fill a need within the Nigerian community often rely on Nigerian labor, obtain at least part of their products from a Nigerian or other West African wholesaler, and cater to Nigerian and other African customers. These businesses have characteristics of an incipient ethnic economy. However, because Nigerians are not residentially concentrated in any particular neighborhood, the lack of geographical proximity means that the suppliers and customer base expand outside the Nigerian community to include other ethnic and nationality groups.

Those businesses that Nigerians set up to provide a missing service to a (non-Nigerian) neighborhood operate more like middlemen minority businesses. The owner is a Nigerian in primarily Caribbean and African-American neighborhoods, and provides services previously unavailable to financially insolvent people.

In Chapter 2 I mentioned the risk-bearing aspect of entrepreneurship, and strategies that Nigerian entrepreneurs use to minimize it. Under this framework, the different strategies for selecting suppliers, employees and customers appear to accomplish precisely that. Relying on suppliers that provide the best deal provides a financial cushion by reducing the cost of purchasing products and materials for the business. To keep these costs down, some entrepreneurs prefer to travel to the places where their products originate (sometimes as far as China) to ensure that they are paying for the exact product they want. Adapting their business to their customer base, whether coethnic or from the neighborhood, also helps ensure the success of the business. The consequences of these different strategies are discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, although there is no evidence of an ethnic enclave among Nigerians, the social obligations that many of the self-employed have to their immigrant community are strong. Those who are members of churches and associations invest time, money and reciprocal relationships in them. Business life appears to be separated from this, but the ethnic (non-economic) community persists.

Chapter 7

OUTCOMES OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND NETWORK USE

Introduction

This chapter explores the consequences of entrepreneurship for Nigerian immigrants. The first section compares the self-employed with wage laborers and government workers with regards to their earnings and the average number of hours they work. The second section focuses exclusively on the self-employed, and illustrates outcomes of their different network use, based on immigrants' discussion of the consequences of relying on different employees and customers. They also evaluated the success of their businesses, and the advantages and disadvantages of being self-employed.

Results from the descriptive statistics

An initial comparison of the self-employed, government workers, and non-governmental wage laborers suggests some important differences in outcomes. Table 7.1 presents a comparison of these three types of workers with respect to two measures: usual number of hours worked, and annual total income earned.

The first row displays the average number of hours respondents claimed to work each week. The self-employed worked on average 7-9 hours more per week than wage laborers and government workers. Chapter 5 (and specifically Table 5.2) demonstrated some important differences in the composition of the different job type categories, and more analysis is necessary to determine whether these differences in hours worked is truly an effect of the type of work, or of the characteristics of the individuals who make up those categories.

**Table 7.1: Weighted descriptive statistics by type of worker:
self-employed, wage laborer, and government worker^a
(unweighted *n* in parentheses).**

	Total (N=1171)	Self-employed (N=108)	Wage laborer (N=1042)	Government worker (N=130)
Usual weekly hours worked (mean)	34.67	45.02	38.32	36.50
Total earned income (median)	28,333	34,405	30,357	40,173

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

The second row of Table 7.1 displays the median total income earned for those groups. Government workers have the highest median income (\$40,173), which is expected given that government workers also have the highest levels of education (77% of government workers are college graduates compared to 72% of the self-employed and 61% of wage laborers). They are followed in earnings by the self-employed (34,405) and wage laborers (\$30,357). Again, because there are important compositional differences between job type categories, further analysis is required. I accomplish this using multiple linear regression methods.

Results from the multiple regression analysis: Hours worked

Table 7.2 presents the results of multiple regression analysis on the number of average weekly hours worked. The first column depicts the results of bivariate analyses on the effect of individual predictors on the number of hours worked. Every predictor is statistically significant except being divorced or widowed, family size, and residing in New York City. The self-employed work approximately seven more hours per week than wage laborers, men work about six more hours than women, the single work about five and a half fewer hours than those married, the college-educated work almost five more hours than the high school educated, and naturalized citizens also work almost five more hours than non-citizens.

Table 7.2: Parameter estimates for multiple regression on number of weekly hours worked.

	Bivariate	Multivariate					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Self-employed	7.09***	5.18***	6.17***	6.61***	6.00***	7.14***	4.58**
Wage(ref.)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Age	0.19***	0.14***					-0.06
Male	6.04***	5.20***					4.90***
Female (ref.)	-----	-----					-----
Single	-5.64***		-5.06***				-4.25**
Married (ref.)	-----		-----				-----
Divorced/widowed	-0.50		-2.22				-1.83
Married (ref.)	-----		-----				-----
Family size	0.00		-2.39***				-2.21***
No. of children	0.93**		2.69***				2.65***
College educated	4.41***			4.13***			2.01*
No college (ref.)	-----			-----			-----
Naturalized citizen	4.43***				2.84**		2.80**
Not citizen (ref.)	-----				-----		-----
Years in the U.S.	0.21***				0.12*		0.06
NYC residence	0.65					1.03	1.24
Not in NYC (ref.)	-----					-----	-----

Source: American Community Survey (2007)

†p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Every yearly increase in age decreases the hours worked by .19 (about 11 minutes), each additional child decreases the number of hours worked by .93 (about 56 minutes) and every additional year in the U.S. decreases the hours worked by .21 (approximately 12 minutes). Although so many of these variables are statistically correlated with the weekly hours worked, the practical implications are not that serious. The effects of the qualitative predictors range

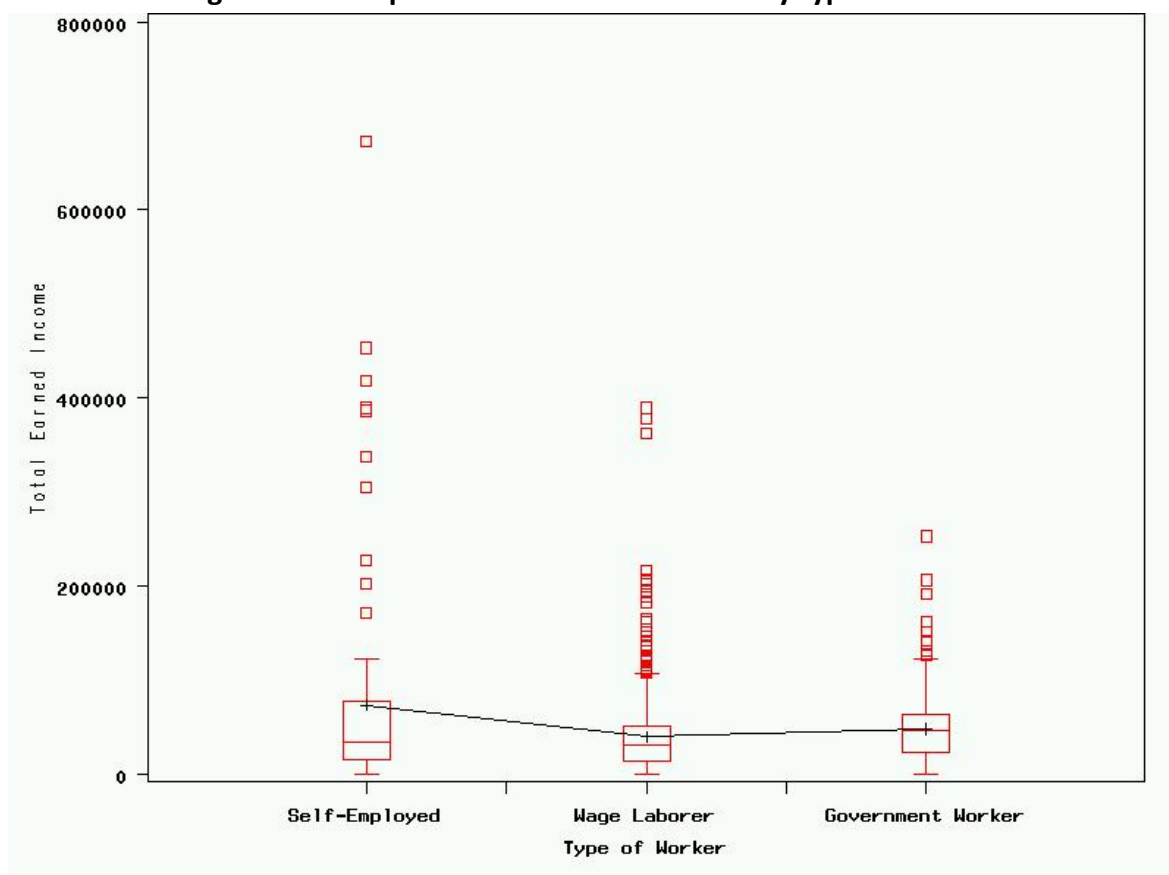
from decreasing the average daily amount of work by 48 minutes (being single) to increasing it by 52 minutes (being male). Although the effect of the quantitative variables is also small, it is not without its practical implications. These effects range from decreasing the average daily amount of work by eight minutes (number of children) to decreasing it by less than two minutes (age). Because these variables, particularly age and years in the U.S. can greatly increase over the lifetime the effect can be potentially large.

Models 2 through 6 present the multivariate analyses of the effect of self-employment on hours worked, controlling for several sets of variables. Model 2 controls for the effect of the demographic variables (age and sex), model 3 for family and household variables (marital status, family size and number of children), model 4 for education, model 5 for migration variables (citizenship and years in the U.S.), and model 6 for residing in New York City. None of these sets of predictors eliminated the effect of being self-employed, so model 7 presents the results of the full model that contains all the predictors. In this model, being male increases the number of weekly hours by almost five, being single reduces them by four and a quarter, being college educated increases them by two, every additional family member decreases them by almost two and a quarter, and every additional child increases them by over two and a half. Although these effects are small, taken together they can greatly increase the weekly hours a Nigerian immigrant works. More importantly, being self-employed remains a statistically significant predictor; they work approximately four and a half hours more per week.

Results from the multiple regression analysis: Earnings of the self-employed

One important consequence of self-employment for immigrants concerns their earnings and how these compare to those of their salaried counterparts. In Chapters 2 and 4 I discuss Portes and Zhou's (1996) finding that the superiority of the earnings of the self-employed depends on the functional form of the earnings equation. The loglinear form fit the data better, but ignored large outlier values for the self-employed. Figure 7.1 displays a box plot comparing Nigerian immigrants' total earned income values for each type of worker.

Figure 7.1: Box plot of total earned income by type of worker.



Source: American Community Survey (2007)

The box plot confirms Portes and Zhou's (1996) observation that the self-employed often have large outlying values. The boxes in the box plot represent the middle 50% of the distribution. The line inside them represents the median value. The more distant this line is from the middle of the box, the more skewed a distribution is. The boxes in this plot confirm that the earnings distribution for the self-employment is more highly skewed than that of wage laborers and of government workers. The self-employed present a wider range of outlying values as well.

Table 7.3 presents the results of multiple linear regressions on the natural logarithm of annual earnings. These analyses are appropriate to examine the average rate of return for entrepreneurship (Portes and Zhou 1996). The natural logarithm is taken to eliminate the skewed effects of the extreme outliers present in the earnings distribution of the self-employed.

The first column presents the results from the bivariate analyses of the effect of each individual predictor on the logged earnings. Number of hours worked, age, being male, family size, number of children, being college-educated, being a naturalized citizen and number of years in the U.S. all have a positive effect on the logged earnings. Being single has a negative effect. More importantly, self-employment on its own is not a statistically significant predictor of the logged earnings.

Table 7.3: Parameter estimates for multiple regression on income (logged).

	Bivariate	Multivariate					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Hours worked	0.04***						0.03***
Self-employed Wage(ref.)	0.13 -----	-0.05 -----	0.01 -----	0.05 -----	-0.02 -----	0.13 -----	-0.29** -----
Age	0.03***	0.03					0.00
Male Female (ref.)	0.31*** -----	0.22** -----					0.04 -----
Single Married (ref.)	-0.76*** -----		-0.72*** -----				-0.40*** -----
Divorced/widowed Married (ref.)	-0.11 -----		-0.16 -----				-0.22** -----
Family size	0.07***		-0.10*				-0.06
No. of children	0.12***		0.14**				0.08 [†]
College educated No college (ref.)	0.71*** -----			0.71*** -----			0.42*** -----
Naturalized citizen Not citizen (ref.)	0.42*** -----				0.18* -----		0.05 -----
Years in the U.S.	0.03***				0.02***		0.01***
NYC residence Not in NYC (ref.)	-0.04 -----					-0.04 -----	-0.04 -----

†p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Models 2 through 6 present the results of multivariate analyses on different groups of predictors: demographic characteristics (age and sex), family and household characteristics (marital status, family size and number of children), education, migration characteristics (citizenship status and years in the U.S.), and residence in New York City. Self-employment is

added to all of these models to examine the effect that each set of predictors has on the effect of self-employment. In none of these models is self-employment a statistically significant predictor of the logged earnings. Finally, model 7 presents the results of the full model, which includes all predictors including self-employment and reintroduced number of hours worked. In this model, being single and being divorced or widowed have a negative effect on the logged earnings. Being college-educated and number of years in the U.S. have a positive effect. More importantly, both hours worked and being self-employed have a statistically significant effect on the logged earnings. The results suggest that for this population, once the effect of the outliers is removed, the self-employed actually earn less than their wage earner counterparts.

Results from the qualitative analyses

The quantitative analyses showed that on average the self-employed work longer hours than wage laborers, and they earned slightly lower wages. More importantly, Figure 7.1 suggests that the self-employed have a broader range of incomes than wage laborers and government workers. This possibility for higher incomes was cited as one of the motivations for self-employment. Respondents also explained that they work as long as they need to in order to obtain a desired daily amount of money, which helps explain why they work longer hours.

Actually sometimes the sale is very low and you're trying to see if customers could come in, but I never go past eight, nine, I can't do it. I have family at home. But sometimes it's very hard working for yourself because you can have great things, if you do things right. But having a business is not really as important as keeping the business. Cuz to keep the business you have to be there for customers, you have to open when it works to open.

- Akinlabi, male, owns religious items store

We open sadly, seven days a week. And uh, Monday thru Saturdays we open nine to ten, and then Sundays we open uh, you know ten to nine, so we hope you know, pretty soon we can drop the Sundays because I'm a Christian and I don't feel too... you know, happy with myself I'm not taking my Sabbath day holy you know, so hopefully we can drop the Sunday but for now that when we operate.

- Olafemi, male, owns multiple services store

Day-to-day what we take [stock of what] is there, at the end of the day, like yesterday we went home late, so we don't do that sort of thing, how much did we make, how much did we spend, how much drinks did we serve. Things like that we check everyday. Then, uh, there are times when I leave home less than 7 in the morning to go to these stores, go and buy things that we don't have. At times I go to Bronx terminal market, go and buy [these items].

- Edegbe, male, owns restaurant

Entrepreneurs don't always anticipate the long hours. Olaniyan, a store owner, frequently lamented having to work long hours and not having any employee to help him. Yet when I asked him why he became a store owner he claimed that he did not like the long hours of his wage labor job.

I don't.... you know I don't pick the location, all that I have in mind is that I'm in the haze, ok maybe if I have a business things can be changed you understand me, the way that I thought maybe when I am working as security I work maybe 79 hours in a week you understand me, all that stress is too much on my body. And uh, I'm just thinking that maybe if I turn something around maybe things can be good and that is where I got the idea to open the store.

The long hours worked by the self-employed are not exclusively spent in the business. Several entrepreneurs discussed how they supplement their business income with occasional wage work, whenever the earnings of the business are not sufficient. Olaniyan's case illustrates this.

I open in the morning between 8 and 9, between 8 and 9 [am], but now sometimes I open up at 9, because my wife is pregnant and she about to deliver the baby soon, in Jesus name she should deliver the baby, and she's too tired and I have one, one son too that is two old years, and that one, before she would take care of him in the morning but now she complain a lot, my wife she complain a lot, that she cannot do it by herself, I need to assist her, I need to assist her, at times I need to be late, at times I need to get here after nine, at times like today I get here at 10[am]. Then when I finish here, I finish at ten [pm] sometimes, I will still drive taxi, go to the streets, if I can get \$40, \$50 to assist the business. Is hard for me to go on the street again, to distribute [advertisement] flyers, and if I want to give it to people to distribute they need to get the money, and there's more money. Nowadays at times... at times I drive around, if I close at times... like, I don't have the energy if I close at times like ten, ten-thirty, if I can drive like one hour or two hours, if God can bless me with \$50, \$30 at times, I'm satisfied. Like yesterday now, when I finish I close there like around 10 o'clock and I rushed to the streets, if I can get any change, I drive like, I think up to almost like to 1:00 [am], and I see that when I'm driving, my driving is bad you understand, and I don't want to have the accident, I don't want to kill nobody, and I got back fast to drop off the car.

When you are self-employed it is very demanding. It is very, very demanding. In the sense that in order for your business to thrive, to succeed, you have to be very, very devoted. You have to devote to the business and you have to put in extra hours. Sometimes that kind of you know, cut into the social life you know, because I have to really give it 110% percent in order for it to work. And you have to also be disciplined to know when to, you know, in terms of you know, there is no sentiment attached, you know. You want to separate this is business and this is friends, you know you don't mix business with friendship, keep it apart.

- lyapo, male, food store owner

Respondents also discussed what they saw as the results of having different types of customers and employees. In the previous chapter I discuss how the composition of customers is related to the original start-up strategy that the self-employed pursued. Some saw a demand for specific products within the ethnic community and had a primarily Nigerian customer base. Others either saw a demand in a particular neighborhood or had a business in mind that they wanted to establish and selected the location based on what building vacancies were available. These ended up with a more

ethnically diverse group of customers. Both kinds of customers, however, coethnics and noncoethnics, sometimes proved difficult. Coethnic customers relied on trust-based relationship to make greater demands on entrepreneurs or delay payments, behaviors that were resented by the business owners.

[The customers] feel that they are doing me a favor by coming here. And they forgot that I give them service, you know what I'm saying. That was a major problem I have with the Nigerians or Africans here. Not all of them. Some of them. So that... often that is... they don't want to pay more, then they grumble... and I compare my place with a Chinese restaurant, they don't even give you call before they deliver [the food]. You stand there for at least thirty minutes. Here, they think as they walk in they should be served, and leave. Forgetting that people were here before. And secondly the food we prepare is not like, uh... just like eh, buffet something. No. Some of them are in the fridge, some of them are in the freezer, have to cook them, it takes time. And they don't like that, they won't come. So what I do now is I do give them a call card, before you come, call. Call ahead of time. So I tell them, tell us what you want, and we try to do it as soon before you come.

- Edegbe, male, restaurant owner

Uh... in the past three years [Nigerian customers] pay on time. But in the past, no. they don't pay on time, you have to [chase] them. We stopped- specifically buying at credit is not good. You buy, you pay, or you charge, you know. And those old customers that we kind of trust the relationship, we still give them credit. They pay on time I would say.

- Ayokunle, male, owns African fashion store

Most of this I [used to]sell in the house. When I buy them, bring them, half the people would not pay me. Because you are in the house you wanna get rid of them. And they buy but then will ask for credit. What they owe, sometimes when I see them in the party they [hide their face]. And I'm not too aggressive when it comes to money because I feel ashamed. When I call you two times. Sometimes they complain you don't call, you have money. But when I call you two times to give me money, it's a problem, they don't pay. And they are all kind of family friends, you have to talk to them and they think you are insulting them because you are this way or this, I don't like that. It's very hard. Sometimes they will buy, they don't pay. The next function you see them they are wearing a lace from somebody else. They owe you. Instead of giving you that money they buy another one, they use that to buy from someone. So when I look at it, I don't even know what to do. These are people from Nigeria.

- Ruth, female, owns fabric store

Business owners who did not cater primarily to a coethnic customer base did not face the problems of demands and delayed payments. However, because they often established their business in poor neighborhoods they dealt with poor sales and crime.

Few months is all the grace that I'm giving [the business before closing it]. If I have to do it at home I do it home, cuz it's like, if people ask me how much I made today, twenty dollar. That's nothing to... write home about. And it's almost like that like every other day. This neighborhood is not good. Is not really good, is not good at all. But I hope it will be better maybe if understand which one to switch to.

- Titilayo, female, owns fabric store

You know the neighborhood is changing. This is a very you know, low neighborhood. There's a lot of stuff like that. So it's hard to have a real flow of the business. So you have to be worried about drug dealers, harassment, stuff like that.

- Femi, male, owns video store

Conclusions

This chapter looked at two aspects of entrepreneurship. First, it compared the self-employed to wage laborers on two outcomes: total personal income earned, and average number of hours worked per week. Data from the quantitative survey suggests that after controlling for the number of hours worked, the self-employment actually earn less than do wage laborers. In other words, the apparent earnings advantage observed when their income distributions are compared is explained by the greater number of hours that the self-employed work. There is considerably more variability in the earnings of the self-employed than there is for wage laborers and even more so than government workers. This variability does not go unnoticed by the self-employed who always hope to reach a high level of earnings. For this reason, the self-employed often work additional jobs or extra hours to meet the desired intake quotas. This is reflected in the quantitative analyses that show that entrepreneurs on average work more hours per week than other kinds of workers.

The qualitative interviews show some results from relying on different suppliers, employees and customers. The selection of suppliers based on where entrepreneurs can obtain the best deal guarantees that they keep their costs as low as possible. For some who obtain their products abroad, however, it sometimes means having to travel personally to guarantee that they are being sent specifically what they need. Relying on kin or close friends for labor also keeps costs down and assures entrepreneurs relationships of trust and mutual obligation. Although non-coethnic employees are a cost for entrepreneurs because they must always be paid their salary, most entrepreneurs who can afford to hire someone externally do so. The biggest consequence, however, is associated with the customer base. Primarily Nigerian

customers prove challenging at times for entrepreneurs. These customers, because of their close ties to the business owners, often delay payment or make enormous demands. For this reason many entrepreneurs eventually expand their customer base. Because these businesses are often located in impoverished areas, however, relying on the local neighborhood population for business also prevents the business from growing.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

This study analyzed the self-employment experience of Nigerian immigrants in New York City. Previous scholarship has found that at the individual level, many immigrants enter self-employment when they lack the human capital that is desired in the new wage labor market, particularly the ability to speak English and educational skills (Light 1984; Portes and Zhou 1999; Raijman and Tienda 1999). This does not apply to Nigerian immigrants, however, over half of whom have a college degree and virtually all of whom speak English. These characteristics of the Nigerian community reflect the highly selective nature of African, and particularly Nigerian, migration to the U.S. (Arthur 2000; Logan and Thomas 2009) and poses new challenges to the understanding of immigrant enterprise in such a population. Alternative explanations to self-employment cite structural constraints to wage labor, particularly the undesirability of a foreign-obtained education (Dodoo 1997). Some Nigerian immigrants do come with a college degree obtained in their home country, but even more common is their migration to the U.S. expressly to attend college or graduate school.

According to the multinomial regression analyses I conducted using the ACS data men have increased odds of self-employment over wage labor, but no other predictor was statistically significant. I learned through participant observation that Nigerian women are also highly entrepreneurial; because the ACS recorded only the primary occupation this particular finding is better interpreted as men having increased odds of being primary entrepreneurs. For women it may be a secondary occupation.

For most Nigerians interviewed, self-employment followed a long period in the wage labor market. This employment in the wage labor market was of two kinds. For some it involved stable work in a high-profile company, and for others it was a period of multiple jobs characterized by poor working conditions and instability. Regardless of the working conditions in the wage labor market, most entrepreneurs cited personal savings as the primary source of start-up capital when they began their businesses. Most entrepreneurs had a lifelong dream of becoming self-employed which they associate with status and opportunity. A few were forced into self-employment following layoffs or health problems. Regardless of the mechanism that led them to self-employment, a period of wage labor was common, and none of those interviewed became self-employed right after migration.

In Chapter 4 I listed three specific hypotheses regarding entrance to self-employment. The first one expected Nigerians to enter self-employment after encountering structural barriers to wage labor. Most Nigerians enter entrepreneurship after a long period of time in the U.S., during which many acquire legalized status, educational skills, and other traits that make them attractive to the wage labor market. Qualitative data suggest that the primary driving mechanism for self-employment is a lifelong goal of being self-employed, a perception that hours worked and income can be better controlled through self-employment, and familiarity with entrepreneurship from having multiple entrepreneurial kin in Nigeria. This leads to the second hypothesis, which expected individuals with entrepreneurial kin or a history of apprenticeship to be more likely to be self-employed. The results for this are inconclusive. Problems with the survey sampling prevent me from drawing useful conclusions from the quantitative data. However, for the self-employed it is common to have kin members with

experience in business and trade. Because of this, familiarity with entrepreneurship was often mentioned during the qualitative interviews. Only the self-employed were interviewed, however, so I cannot say that those in the wage labor market and in government lack entrepreneurial extended kin.

Finally, the third hypothesis concerned household size, and predicted that the self-employed would have larger average households. Previous studies have found a positive correlation between household size, being married, having children, and self-employment. Explanations suggest that families act as an important form of social capital, pooling money, providing cheap labor, and reinforcing relationships of trust (Arthur 2000; Portes and Jensen 1989; Sanders and Nee 1996). The data from the ACS confirms that being married and having children increase the odds of being self-employed. Part of this is again due to the late entrance into self-employment that follows a period of wage labor, during which time many individuals get married and have children. The qualitative interviews also supply evidence for family as providers of labor. Some businesses were joint ventures between spouses, and others relied sporadically on what respondents termed “help” from family members. Once entrepreneurs could afford to hire workers outside the family, most chose to do so. The direct role of family members in the business is primarily limited to labor. Family members were sometimes the source of start-up capital but by far the most-cited source of this money was personal savings.

A second line of inquiry of this study concerned the business-related social networks of the self-employed, specifically the selection of suppliers, employees and customers. The literature discusses two main types of immigrant businesses, based partly on the composition of the supplier, employee and customer base. Middlemen minorities are those who trade

between a society's elite and the masses, and historically have not settled permanently in the neighborhoods in which they operate. They also have few ties to the social structures and social relationships of the local community. Ethnic enclaves, on the other hand, are bounded by coethnicity, social structures and physical location. They typically operate in immigrant neighborhoods where coethnics dominate, and are intertwined in a complex system of coethnic social networks within a self-sustaining ethnic enclave (Zhou 2007b). Information from the qualitative interviews suggested that some Nigerian entrepreneurs, including those who provided money transfer and bill payment services, and those who provided local communities with African films, acted more like middlemen minorities. Others, who say they started a business to fulfill a need within the Nigerian community, had businesses with traits similar to those of an incipient enclave economy that did not fully materialize because of the geographic dispersion of the Nigerian community in New York City.

In Chapter 4 I stated three specific hypotheses regarding the social networks of the self-employed. The first expected women to rely more on kin than men did. Given the small number of entrepreneurs sampled in my survey, the quantitative data cannot be used to test this. But there is no evidence from the qualitative interviews that this is the case. Instead, men frequently claimed to rely on their wives, sisters, or other family members to help them take care of the business. Others, like Edegbe, took over the financial aspects of his wife's restaurant when he was laid off his job as a security guard.

A second hypothesis predicted that churches and associations shaped the social networks of the self-employed and structured them to be homogeneous with regards to ethnicity and socioeconomic class. Most of the associations are hometown or ethnic-based, so

they do help shape the local social networks of Nigerian immigrants. Many Nigerians told me that their national identity is very important to them and internal divisions don't matter, yet most mentioned people of their same ethnicity as their close friends, and only in isolated cases does marriage between Nigerians of different ethnicities occur. Similarly, most Nigerian churches offer at least one weekly service in a local language. Because of this, churches often separate immigrants along ethnic lines as well. These networks, however, are not necessarily the people that the self-employed rely on when it comes to their businesses. Those businesses that did not cater specifically to the Nigerian community relied on the local neighborhood for labor and customers, who were often Caribbean or non-Nigerian African. Not a single business owners interviewed claimed to recruit workers from their church or association.

Similarly, the third hypothesis expected the self-employed to rely primarily on coethnics as customers for their businesses. Again, the qualitative interviews suggest the opposite. Even those business owners who catered originally to a Nigerian customer base found themselves with a more diverse group of customers. Because these businesses are not located in any sort of Nigerian or even pan-African neighborhood, Nigerian businesses attract locals who either want to consume African products or who request that the products offered are expanded to meet their needs and wants.

Finally, the analyses of the consequences of self-employment suggest that entrepreneurs can potentially obtain higher earnings than both government workers and wage laborers, which is part of its attraction for Nigerian immigrants. Business ownership, however, requires a sacrifice of time and effort, and this is reflected by the higher number of hours that entrepreneurs work.

In Chapter 4 I listed three hypotheses regarding the outcomes of self-employment. The first expected kin-based business to have a lower profit because of obligations towards family members. The second expected non-kin businesses to be older. The small number of entrepreneurs captured by the quantitative survey I conducted in the field cannot be used to adequately address the specific earnings or age of different types of businesses. However, the qualitative data provide some insights. Having family members as employees is less costly for entrepreneurs. Despite this, the tendency is for the self-employed to hire outside the kin group whenever they can afford to do so. Another hypothesis expected social networks to be largely homogeneous and to reproduce socioeconomic differences within the community. This is not supported to the extent that the primarily coethnic networks are mostly called upon in social settings. For those business owners who do rely on coethnics, however, the entrepreneur-customer relationship becomes more sensitive as close ties are sometimes taken advantage of by some coethnic customers.

Following Plattner's (1985) categorization of market relationships, this study finds that what works best for individual entrepreneurs is a combination of both personal and impersonal relationships. Personal relationships based on trust are particularly useful with employees who handle money and affect how the business is run. These people are also willing to work for little or no pay. Impersonal ties, however, are most desirable when dealing with suppliers and customers as transactions are taken care of immediately. When personal ties exist with customers who are members of the entrepreneur's church or association, customers have the advantage and can potentially make demands or delay payments. Similarly, having impersonal ties with suppliers guarantees that entrepreneurs can demand the product and negotiate the

price they want. A combination of personal ties with employees, and impersonal ties with suppliers and customers ensures that the entrepreneur has an advantageous position in the network.

Some of the hypotheses of this study could not be better tested because of the limitations of the study. These limitations were of two main types: research design and data collection. Because the data were collected during one year of fieldwork, I designed the project as a correlational cross-sectional study. While this design is adequate for studies seeking to understand relationships between different variables (Spector 1981) it is not suitable for establishing causality. Longitudinal data would be most appropriate for understanding the employment transitions that immigrants go through, and for modeling the pathways into self-employment. In addition, because the qualitative interviews were only conducted with a sample of currently self-employed Nigerians, it is impossible to determine whether the employment pathways and previous experience with self-employment discussed does not similarly apply to current wage laborers or those not in the labor force. Data collection, particularly the number of surveys conducted, was hindered by high levels of distrust in the Nigerian community. Because of the geographical dispersion of Nigerians in the city, establishing rapport with the community became a difficult task. This could only be accomplished at church services and social activities, but even so, the specific individuals whom I encountered on each visit frequently changed. Scholars who want to study the Nigerian community in New York City would greatly benefit from a commitment to conduct long-term recurrent fieldwork so that there is additional time to gain the trust of community members.

This project leaves new questions unanswered. Future directions necessarily have to take into account and improve upon the limitations of this study. One of the findings was that the lack of residential concentration in this population hindered the creation of ethnic enclaves. One possible line of inquiry pertains to the causes for this lack of residential concentration, and specifically how this affects enclave formation. Second, family was found to be important as a source of labor. While some entrepreneurs called upon a family member to watch over the store for a few hours, others joined their spouse's business after being laid off work, and others were part of a spousal joint venture from the beginning. Another potential line of inquiry, therefore, is to compare the relationships and gender roles in households where one spouse is self-employed, where none are self-employed, and where spouses share a business. Finally, given the incursion of Nigerian immigrants into primarily African-American and Caribbean neighborhoods, a follow-up study can consider the economic and social relationships among those groups and how their coresidence affects their ethnic identity as well.

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Appendix A: Interview schedule for qualitative interviews

1. First I will ask you some questions about how you opened your current business
 - a) Why did you choose to be a business owner?
 - b) Why did you choose to own this particular business?
 - c) How did you become a business owner? (education and work path)
 - d) What was your **first job** in the U.S.? How did you find it? Did you like it? Did you plan on leaving or you were laid off? What about subsequent jobs?
 - e) How much formal education do you have? Where did you study? Were you working at that time?
 - f) How long did it take you to open it? (from when you decided to do it until you did)
 - g) How did you obtain the money to open it?
 - h) Do you have a business partner?
 - i) Did you encounter any problems along the way?
 - j) Have you ever requested a business-related loan? What was the outcome? Is it still open?
 - k) Was this the same trade informant had in Nigeria?
 - Yes:** How does it compare to doing it in the U.S.?
 - No:** Why did you change it once you came to the U.S.?
 - l) Did any of your family members in Nigeria own businesses?
 - m) Was this the first job you had after migrating, or how did you come to it?
 - n) Have you ever had other businesses? What happened with them?
 - o) Has this business always been located here? If not, why did you move?
 - p) Do you consider your business successful or profitable?
 - Yes:** What do you think you did to make it so?
 - No:** Why not? Why do you continue? When would you decide to close it?
 - q) Was it profitable at the beginning?
 - a. **Yes:** Why?
 - b. **No:** Why did you continue?
 - m) Do you live near your business? Why or why not?
2. Now I will ask you some questions about what it's like to operate your business.
 - a) Do you currently have another job besides your business?
 - b) Do you currently own more than one business?
 - c) What service/product does your business offer?
 - a. **One:** Why focused on one?
 - b. **Several:** Why not focus on one?
 - d) Do you have other employees, who are they, how did you find them?
 - e) What are some obstacles that you encounter in running your business?
 - f) Do you aim your business mainly at Nigerians or non-Nigerians? Why?
 - g) What language do speak the most in your business?
 - h) Where do you obtain the products that you need for your business?
 - i) How do you advertise your business?
 - j) What products sell the best?

- k) Are there some specific days/months/seasons when business is better?
- l) What are your days and hours of operation and how strict are those?
- m) Can you describe a typical day for me? What do you do all day long?
- n) What would you do if you had to step out of your store for an emergency one day? Can someone watch the store for you?

3. I will ask you some questions about your family life

- a) Why did you move to the U.S. in the first place? Who came with you?
- a1) Where you single while working/studying? When did you get married? When did you have kids?
- b) Who do you live with here/now?
- c) What do they do?
- d) Do you have more relatives in New York or the U.S.?
- e) Do you have family in Nigeria? Where?
- f) Do you send money home or help out? How?
- g) Has anyone in your family helped you out with your business in any way?
- h) Are you doing what you expected to be doing in the U.S. or something different? Why?
- i) How did you first enter the country? With what kind of VISA?
- j) Do you have citizenship or residency now? What year did you obtain it?
- k) Do you vote in US elections? Nigerian elections?

4. I will ask some questions about your community life

- a) Do you belong to a religious group here? Which one?
- b) Was it the same one you belonged to in Nigeria?
Yes: Any differences between the one here and the one in Nigeria?
No: Why did you switch?
- c) What activities do you do with the church?
- d) Do you belong to any association or community group?
Yes: Which ones? Is it Nigerian? Why did you join? What do you do in it?
No: Why not?
- e) What activities do you do with the group?
- f) Has anyone from church/group helped your out with your business in any way?
- g) Has your Pastor/Imam helped people find jobs? Do they organize workshops for health, business ownership, job-finding, etc?

5. Finally, I will ask you a couple of questions about business-ownership in general.

- a) What do you think are some of the advantages of being self-employed?
 - b) What do you think are some of the disadvantages of being self-employed?
- Within the Nigerian community, do you think that the experience of owning a business is similar for men and women? For Nigerians of different ethnic groups? For Nigerians of different religions?

Appendix B: Quantitative Survey Form



Family Processes and Self-Employment Among Nigerian Immigrants in New York City

January – December 2007
Pennsylvania State University



Thank you for agreeing to take part in my survey! It should take you about 30 minutes to complete it. Please return it to me as soon as possible. You can just put it in the envelope I provided and seal it.

If you have any questions or want more information please contact me:

Email: leilar@pop.psu.edu

Phone: (814) 574-0382.

I have also enclosed a **consent form** that has some information about my project. It also says that:

1. Anything you answer on this survey is **strictly confidential**. Nobody else will ever see this information and I will never use your individual information.
2. You can **skip any question you prefer not to answer**. Simply leave it blank and go on to the next one. If possible, however, I ask that you please answer all questions.

Please keep one copy and **sign the other one** and return it to me along with the survey. If you prefer not to sign it, that is ok too.

Finally, I enclosed my business card. Keep it! It has my contact information and my personal website address. When I finish my project I will post a summary report there, and you can read what I learned about your community!

Before we begin I have two short questions:

1. Where do you reside? ☐ Manhattan ☐ Brooklyn ☐ Bronx ☐ Queens ☐ Staten Island ☐ Other

2. If you have one or more businesses, where is it located?

☐ Manhattan ☐ Brooklyn ☐ Bronx ☐ Queens ☐ Staten Island ☐ Other

Ok, let's begin!

Part A: Demographic Characteristics of the Members of the Household

1. I would like some general information about the people in your home. Please list **all** the people who reside in your home **beginning with yourself first**. Also, list any **children of yours who do not currently reside with you**. Fill out the following information about them. If there are more than 8 people in your home please add them on a separate piece of paper.

ID	Sex	Age	Relationship to you	Marital Status	Education Completed	Country born in	Tribe or ethnicity
1	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	THIS IS YOU	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/JD/MD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
2	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
3	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
4	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
5	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
6	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
7	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
8	<input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> female	Age _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Child <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Technical <input type="checkbox"/> College <input type="checkbox"/> MS/MBA/MD/JD/PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Bini <input type="checkbox"/> Igbo <input type="checkbox"/> Edo <input type="checkbox"/> Yoruba <input type="checkbox"/> Hausa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

2. If you are married, how long have you been married? _____
3. If your family practices a religion, please list it: _____
4. If your family attends services at a church or mosque, please list it: _____
5. If any of your children do not reside with you, please tell me where they live: _____
6. Approximately how many more family members do you have in the U.S.? _____

Part B: Migration History

For this section, I need some information about your migration history. Please answer the questions below:

1. What year did you first come to live in the U.S.?	Year: _____
2. After the first migration, did you return to live in Nigeria for some time?	YES NO (circle one)
3. If yes , what year did you last come to live in the U.S.? (if you replied no to question #2, leave this blank)	Year: _____
4. The first time you migrated, did you come directly to New York City?	YES NO (circle one)
5. If no , what city did you first arrive to? (if you came directly to NYC leave blank)	City: _____
6. What year did you move to New York? (if you came directly to NYC leave blank)	Year: _____
7. Under what status did you first enter the U.S.?	Choose one: <input type="checkbox"/> Tourist/visitor <input type="checkbox"/> Student visa <input type="checkbox"/> Green card <input type="checkbox"/> Refugee status <input type="checkbox"/> Religious visa <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
8. Are you currently a U.S. citizen or permanent resident?	YES NO (circle one)
9. If you are a citizen or resident, what year did you obtain that status? (if not a citizen nor resident, leave blank)	Year: _____
10. Do you hold citizenship of another country?	YES NO (circle one)
11. If yes , please list the other country of citizenship (if only one country of citizenship, leave this blank)	Country: _____
12. Have you ever lived for over 6 months in a country besides Nigeria or U.S.?	YES NO (circle one)
13. If yes , please list them (if you only lived in Nigeria or the US leave blank)	Country: _____ Country: _____
14. If you are married and/or have children , please tell me when they migrated. (if you are single or have no kids, leave blank)	<input type="checkbox"/> With me <input type="checkbox"/> Before me <input type="checkbox"/> After me
15. What was the main reason you decided to migrate to the U.S? (you may check all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> To study <input type="checkbox"/> To open a business <input type="checkbox"/> To join family here <input type="checkbox"/> For job opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> To open/join a church (or mosque) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

Part C: Employment History

I would like to learn about the **current job(s)** you have. I made room for up to 2 jobs. Please give a **short** description of the job (such as “student”, “food store owner”, “cab driver”), and fill out the other information.

1. YOUR current job(s):

Job description	What kind of job is it? (choose one)	Years at this job	How did you find this job?
Job: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed or business owner <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else, not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable/other: _____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> I started it or asked for it myself <input type="checkbox"/> A Nigerian friend told me about it <input type="checkbox"/> A non-Nigerian friend told me about it <input type="checkbox"/> Through a church (or mosque) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Job: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed or business owner <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else, not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable/other: _____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> I started it or asked for it myself <input type="checkbox"/> A Nigerian friend told me about it <input type="checkbox"/> A non-Nigerian friend told me about it <input type="checkbox"/> Through a church (or mosque) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

2. I would like an idea of the earnings you receive from your current job(s). Please circle the letter that describes how much you earn. If you have more than one job, select the category that shows your combined earnings.

Income category	Monthly earnings	Annual earnings
A	Less than \$500	Less than \$6,000
B	\$501 - \$1,000	\$6,001 - \$12,000
C	\$1,001 - \$1,500	\$12,001 - \$18,000
D	\$1,501 - \$2,000	\$18,001 - \$24,000
E	\$2,001 - \$2,500	\$24,001 - \$30,000
F	\$2,501 - \$3,000	\$30,001 - \$36,000
G	\$3,001 - \$3,500	\$36,001 - \$42,000

Income category	Monthly earnings	Annual earnings
H	\$3,501 - \$4,000	\$42,001 - \$48,000
I	\$4,001 - \$4,500	\$48,001 - \$54,000
J	\$4,501 - \$5,000	\$54,001 - \$60,000
K	\$5,001 - \$5,500	\$60,001 - \$66,000
L	\$5,501 - \$6,000	\$66,001 - \$72,000
M	\$6,001 - \$6,500	\$72,001 - \$78,000
N	Over \$6,500/month	Over \$78,000 a year

3. Finally, I would like to know about all the other jobs you have ever had **before your current one(s)**. Please list all the jobs you had, (in any country), and fill out the information about them. If you were a student include that.

	Job	Year started	Years worked	Country located in	Type of job
1	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
2	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
3	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
4	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
5	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
6	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
7	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
8	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

6. Your SPOUSE's current job(s): (if you are single or separated you may leave this page blank)

I would like to learn about the **current job(s)** your **spouse** has. I made room for up to 2 jobs. Please give a **short** description of their job (such as "student", "food store owner", "cab driver"), and fill out the other information in the table.

Job description	What kind of job is it? (choose one)	Years at this job	How did you find this job?
Job: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else, not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable/other: _____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> They started it or found it themselves <input type="checkbox"/> A Nigerian friend told them about it <input type="checkbox"/> A non-Nigerian friend told them about it <input type="checkbox"/> Through a church (or mosque) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Job: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for someone else, not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable/other: _____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> They started it or found it themselves <input type="checkbox"/> A Nigerian friend told them about it <input type="checkbox"/> A non-Nigerian friend told them about it <input type="checkbox"/> Through a church (or mosque) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

7. I would like an idea of the earning your **spouse** receives from their current job(s). Please circle the letter that describes how much they earn. If they have more than one job, select the category that shows their combined earnings.

Income category	Monthly earnings	Annual earnings
A	Less than \$500	Less than \$6,000
B	\$501 - \$1,000	\$6,001 - \$12,000
C	\$1,001 - \$1,500	\$12,001 - \$18,000
D	\$1,501 - \$2,000	\$18,001 - \$24,000
E	\$2,001 - \$2,500	\$24,001 - \$30,000
F	\$2,501 - \$3,000	\$30,001 - \$36,000
G	\$3,001 - \$3,500	\$36,001 - \$42,000

Income category	Monthly earnings	Annual earnings
H	\$3,501 - \$4,000	\$42,001 - \$48,000
I	\$4,001 - \$4,500	\$48,001 - \$54,000
J	\$4,501 - \$5,000	\$54,001 - \$60,000
K	\$5,001 - \$5,500	\$60,001 - \$66,000
L	\$5,501 - \$6,000	\$66,001 - \$72,000
M	\$6,001 - \$6,500	\$72,001 - \$78,000
N	Over \$6,500/month	Over \$78,000 a year

8. Finally, I would like to know about all the other jobs your spouse had **before their current one(s)**. Please list all the jobs they had, (in any country), and fill out the information about them. If they were a student include that.

	Job	Year started	Years worked	Country located in	Type of job
1	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
2	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
3	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
4	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
5	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
6	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
7	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
8	Job: _____	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> The UK <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Work not for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Work for wages <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

Part D: Consumption of Household Resources

For this part, I list some activities. Please place an X by the person who does these activities. **You may choose more than one person.** If this activity is not done by anyone in your home, please select “nobody”.

Activity	Who does this activity?
1. Sends money to family in Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
2. Sends money to family elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
3. Gives donations to church (mosque)	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
4. Pays rent or mortgage	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
5. Pays bills (car, electricity, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody

Part E: Household Division of Labor

For this part, I list some household activities. Please place an X by the person who does them. **You may choose more than one person.** If this activity is not done by anyone in your home, please select “nobody”.

Household activity	Who does this activity?
1. Cooks meals	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
2. Shops for groceries	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
3. Washes the dishes	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
4. Does laundry	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
5. Takes children to school	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody
6. Takes car(s) for repairs	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Other person <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody

Part F: Household Decision-Making

For this part, I list some decisions. Please tell me who made this decision. If it does not apply to your home, choose “does not apply”.

Decision	Who made this decision?
1. Move to the U.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> You alone <input type="checkbox"/> Both of you together <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse alone <input type="checkbox"/> Each of you independently <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply
2. Live in your current home	<input type="checkbox"/> You alone <input type="checkbox"/> Both of you together <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse alone <input type="checkbox"/> Each of you independently <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply
3. Attend the church you do (or mosque)	<input type="checkbox"/> You alone <input type="checkbox"/> Both of you together <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse alone <input type="checkbox"/> Each of you independently <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply
4. Work in your current jobs	<input type="checkbox"/> You alone <input type="checkbox"/> Both of you together <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse alone <input type="checkbox"/> Each of you independently <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply
5. Plans to return or stay in the U.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> You alone <input type="checkbox"/> Both of you together <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse alone <input type="checkbox"/> Each of you independently <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply

Part G. Social Networks and Social Activities

For this part, I have listed some social activities. Please tell me which members of your home participate in them by placing an X next to them.

Social activity	Household member (you may choose more than one)
1. Participates in one or more Nigerian associations.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
2. Participates in a non-Nigerian association.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
3. Follows Nigerian news or reads Nigerian newspapers.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
4. Follow U.S. news or reads American newspapers.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
5. Votes in Nigerian elections.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
6. Votes in American elections.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else

Now I list some questions about your friendships. Please tell me which members of your home have these friendships by placing an X next to them. These questions refer to **close friends** only, not casual acquaintances.

Friendship Type	Household member (you may choose more than one)
7. Has a close Nigerian friend of the same ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
8. Has a close Nigerian friend of another ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
9. Has a close non-Nigerian African friend.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
10. Has a close non-African friend.	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
11. Has a close friend in your church (or mosque).	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else
12. Has a close friend in another church (or mosque).	<input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> Your children <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody <input type="checkbox"/> Your spouse <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else

Part H. Business Module

Please answer these questions:

1. Does anyone in your family in Nigeria own a business?	YES	NO	(circle one)
2. Did you ever work in someone's business in Nigeria ?	YES	NO	(circle one)
3. Have you ever owned a business or been self-employed for some time?	YES	NO	(circle one)

If you answered **“no”** to question 3, you may end the survey now. The following questions are only for people who have been self-employed at some point. Thank you! Please return this questionnaire to me.

If you answered **“yes”** to question 3, please continue with a few more questions.

4. For each business you have **ever** owned, please complete the following information about them. You may list up to five businesses.

What kind of business was it?	What country was it located in?	What year did you open it?	How did you open it?	What year did it close?	Why did it close?
Business: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> My own savings <input type="checkbox"/> A family loan <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card <input type="checkbox"/> Bank loan <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> I moved <input type="checkbox"/> Poor sales <input type="checkbox"/> Bankruptcy <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> It's still open
Business: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> My own savings <input type="checkbox"/> A family loan <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card <input type="checkbox"/> Bank loan <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> I moved <input type="checkbox"/> Poor sales <input type="checkbox"/> Bankruptcy <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> It's still open
Business: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> My own savings <input type="checkbox"/> A family loan <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card <input type="checkbox"/> Bank loan <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> I moved <input type="checkbox"/> Poor sales <input type="checkbox"/> Bankruptcy <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> It's still open
Business: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> My own savings <input type="checkbox"/> A family loan <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card <input type="checkbox"/> Bank loan <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> I moved <input type="checkbox"/> Poor sales <input type="checkbox"/> Bankruptcy <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> It's still open
Business: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> My own savings <input type="checkbox"/> A family loan <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card <input type="checkbox"/> Bank loan <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Year: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> I moved <input type="checkbox"/> Poor sales <input type="checkbox"/> Bankruptcy <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> It's still open

If all the businesses you have ever owned are closed, and you **do not currently own one nor are self-employed**, you may end the survey now. The following questions are only about current businesses. Thank you! Please return this survey to me.

If you are **currently** self-employed or own a business, please continue with the last few questions.

5. How many employees does your current business have? (if you have more than one business, list all the employees combined)	Number: _____
6. How many of these workers are family members?	Number: _____
7. How many of these workers are Nigerians of your same ethnicity ?	Number: _____
8. How many of these workers are Nigerians of another ethnicity ?	Number: _____
9. How many of these workers are African but not Nigerian?	Number: _____
10. How many of these workers are Caribbean ?	Number: _____
11. Do you have any unpaid workers? (apprentices, volunteers, or other)	YES NO (circle one)
12. If you do have unpaid workers, are they family members?	YES NO (circle one)
13. Have you ever requested a business-related loan (regardless of the outcome)?	YES NO (circle one)

14. If you answered **yes to the previous question**, please fill out the following table about your loans. You may list up to three loan requests. If no, skip this question.

Lender (check one)	Amount requested	Reason for loan (check all that apply)	Interest rate	Outcome (check one)
<input type="checkbox"/> Bank <input type="checkbox"/> Credit union <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Amount: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> To start/open it <input type="checkbox"/> To expand it <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	_____ %	<input type="checkbox"/> Loan was denied <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, still open <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, paid it back
<input type="checkbox"/> Bank <input type="checkbox"/> Credit union <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Amount: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> To start/open it <input type="checkbox"/> To expand it <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	_____ %	<input type="checkbox"/> Loan was denied <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, still open <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, paid it back
<input type="checkbox"/> Bank <input type="checkbox"/> Credit union <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	Amount: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> To start/open it <input type="checkbox"/> To expand it <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	_____ %	<input type="checkbox"/> Loan was denied <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, still open <input type="checkbox"/> Granted, paid it back

15. I would like to know the **approximate net earnings** from your business. This is the amount of money you earn from it, after expenses and salaries have been paid. Please check the **one** box that best describes the earnings from your business (if you have more than one, select the combined earnings). You can find the amount by day, week, month, or year, whichever you are familiar with.

✓	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annually
A. <input type="checkbox"/>	Right now, my business has negative earnings (I spend more on it than it pays back).			
B. <input type="checkbox"/>	I am not sure of how much my business earns.			
C. <input type="checkbox"/>	Less than \$50/ day.	Less than \$350/ week.	Less than \$1,500/month.	Less than \$18,000 a year
D. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$50 - \$100	\$351 - \$700	\$1,501 - \$3,000	\$18,001 - \$36,000
E. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$101 - \$200	\$701 - \$1,400	\$3,001 - \$6,000	\$36,501 - \$72,000
F. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$201 - \$300	\$1,401 - \$2,100	\$6,001 - \$9,000	\$72,001 - \$108,000
G. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$301 - \$400	\$2,101 - \$2,800	\$9,001 - \$12,000	\$108,001 - \$144,000
H. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$401 - \$500	\$2,801 - \$3,500	\$12,001 - \$15,000	\$144,001 - \$180,000
I. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$501 - \$600	\$3,501 - \$4,200	\$15,001 - \$18,000	\$180,001 - \$216,000
J. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$601 - \$700	\$4,201 - \$4,900	\$18,001 - \$21,000	\$216,001 - \$252,000
K. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$701 - \$800	\$4,901 - \$5,600	\$21,001 - \$24,000	\$252,001 - \$288,000
L. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$801 - \$900	\$5,601 - \$6,300	\$24,001 - \$27,000	\$288,001 - \$324,000
M. <input type="checkbox"/>	\$901 - \$1000	\$6,301 - \$7,000	\$27,001 - \$30,000	\$324,001 - \$360,000
N. <input type="checkbox"/>	Over \$1,000/ day	More than \$7,000/week	Over \$30,000/month	More than \$360,000 a year

16. Please tell me where you obtain the products/supplies for your business. Check all that apply. If your business involves providing only a service, and involves no products, then select “no provider”.

- ☐ A large American wholesale store.
- ☐ A Nigerian wholesaler
- ☐ A non-Nigerian but African wholesaler

- ☐ A Caribbean wholesaler
- ☐ Products shipped directly from Nigeria
- ☐ Products shipped directly from other African countries
- ☐ Products shipped directly from a European country
- ☐ Products shipped directly from China
- ☐ I travel personally to Nigeria to bring them
- ☐ I travel personally to other countries to bring them
- ☐ My business involves no provider
- ☐ Other: _____

17. Please think back to the customers or clients you have had in the last few weeks. Indicate whether none, a few, some, most, or all were the following people:

Customers	How many were from there?
Nigerians of your ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Nigerians of another ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Other Africans	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Caribbeans	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
African-Americans	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Anglo-Americans	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Hispanic	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Asians	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them
Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Very few <input type="checkbox"/> Some <input type="checkbox"/> Most <input type="checkbox"/> All of them

18. Lastly, please tell me the main reason you decided to open your current business(es). *Check all that apply.*

- ☐ I grew up around business people/ traders and they are familiar to me.
- ☐ It was the only job I could find in the U.S.
- ☐ I decided to open it after being laid off a job in the U.S.
- ☐ I like the independence of not working for someone else.
- ☐ I opened it after retiring to have more income.
- ☐ Other (*specify*): _____

You have completed the survey. Thank you for participating and helping me out with my Ph.D. project!
Please return this completed survey to me as soon as possible.

Please remember, if you have any questions or concerns you may contact me:

Email: leilar@pop.psu.edu
Phone: (814) 574-0382

Appendix C: List of American Community Survey industries

Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting

- Crop production
- Animal production
- Forestry except logging
- Logging
- Fishing, hunting, and trapping
- Support activities for agriculture and forestry

Mining

- Oil and gas extraction
- Coal mining
- Metal ore mining
- Nonmetallic mineral mining and quarrying
- Not specified type of mining
- Support activities for mining

Utilities

- Electric power generation, transmission and distribution
- Natural gas distribution
- Electric and gas, and other combinations
- Water, steam, air conditioning, and irrigation systems
- Sewage treatment facilities
- Not specified utilities

Construction

- Construction

Manufacturing

- Animal food, grain and oilseed milling
- Sugar and confectionery products
- Fruit and vegetable preserving and specialty foods
- Dairy products
- Animal slaughtering and processing
- Retail bakeries
- Bakeries, except retail
- Seafood and other miscellaneous foods, n.e.c.
- Not specified food industries
- Beverage
- Tobacco
- Fiber, yarn, and thread mills
- Fabric mills, except knitting
- Textile and fabric finishing and coating mills
- Carpets and rugs
- Textile product mills except carpets and rugs
- Knitting mills
- Cut and sew apparel
- Apparel accessories and other apparel
- Footwear
- Leather tanning and products, except footwear
- Pulp, paper, and paperboard mills
- Paperboard containers and boxes

Miscellaneous paper and pulp products
Printing and related support activities
Petroleum refining
Miscellaneous petroleum and coal products
Resin, synthetic rubber and fibers, and filaments
Agricultural chemicals
Pharmaceuticals and medicines
Paint, coating, and adhesives
Soap, cleaning compound, and cosmetics
Industrial and miscellaneous chemicals
Plastics products
Tires
Rubber products, except tires
Pottery, ceramics, and related products
Structural clay products
Glass and glass products
Cement, concrete, lime, and gypsum products
Miscellaneous nonmetallic mineral products
Iron and steel mills and steel products
Aluminum production and processing
Nonferrous metal, except aluminum, production and processing
Foundries
Metal forgings and stampings
Cutlery and hand tools
Structural metals, and tank and shipping containers
Machine shops; turned products; screws, nuts and bolts
Coating, engraving, heat treating and allied activities
Ordnance
Miscellaneous fabricated metal products
Not specified metal industries
Agricultural implements
Construction mining and oil field machinery
Commercial and service industry machinery
Metalworking machinery
Engines, turbines, and power transmission equipment
Machinery, n.e.c.
Not specified machinery
Computer and peripheral equipment
Communications, audio, and video equipment
Navigational, measuring, electromedical, and control instruments
Electronic components and products, n.e.c.
Household appliances
Electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies, n.e.c.
Motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment
Aircraft and parts
Aerospace products and parts
Railroad rolling stock
Ship and boat building
Other transportation equipment
Sawmills and wood preservation

Veneer, plywood, and engineered wood products
Prefabricated wood buildings and mobile homes
Miscellaneous wood products
Furniture and fixtures
Medical equipment and supplies
Toys, amusement, and sporting goods
Miscellaneous manufacturing, n.e.c.
Not specified industries

Wholesale Trade

Motor vehicles, parts and supplies
Furniture and home furnishing
Lumber and other construction materials
Professional and commercial equipment and supplies
Metals and minerals, except petroleum
Electrical goods
Hardware, plumbing and heating equipment, and supplies
Machinery, equipment, and supplies
Recyclable material
Miscellaneous durable goods
Paper and paper products
Drugs, sundries, and chemical and allied products
Apparel, fabrics, and notions
Groceries and related products
Farm product raw materials
Petroleum and petroleum products
Alcoholic beverages
Farm supplies
Electronic markets, agents and brokers
Miscellaneous nondurable goods
Not specified trade

Retail Trade

Automobile dealers
Other motor vehicle dealers
Auto parts, accessories, and tire stores
Furniture and home furnishings stores
Household appliance stores
Radio, tv, and computer stores
Building material and supplies dealers
Hardware stores
Lawn and garden equipment and supplies stores
Grocery stores
Specialty food stores
Beer, wine, and liquor stores
Pharmacies and drug stores
Health and personal care, except drug, stores
Gasoline stations
Clothing and accessories, except shoe, stores
Shoe stores
Jewelry, luggage, and leather goods stores
Sporting goods, camera, and hobby and toy stores

- Sewing, needlework and piece goods stores
- Music stores
- Book stores and news dealers
- Department stores
- Miscellaneous general merchandise stores
- Florists
- Office supplies and stationary stores
- Used merchandise stores
- Gift, novelty, and souvenir shops
- Miscellaneous stores
- Electronic shopping and mail-order houses
- Electronic shopping
- Electronic auctions
- Mail-order houses
- Vending machine operators
- Fuel dealers
- Other direct selling establishments
- Not specified trade

Transportation and Warehousing

- Air transportation
- Rail transportation
- Water transportation
- Truck transportation
- Bus service and urban transit
- Taxi and limousine service
- Pipeline transportation
- Scenic and sightseeing transportation
- Services incidental to transportation
- Postal service
- Couriers and messengers
- Warehousing and storage

Information and Communications

- Newspaper publishers
- Publishing, except newspapers and software
- Software publishing
- Motion pictures and video industries
- Sound recording industries
- Radio and television broadcasting and cable
- Internet publishing and broadcasting
- Wired telecommunications carriers
- Other telecommunication services
- Internet service providers
- Data processing, hosting, and related services
- Libraries and archives
- Other information services
- Data processing services

Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, and Rental and Leasing

- Banking and related activities
- Savings institutions, including credit unions
- Non-depository credit and related activities

Securities, commodities, funds, trusts, and other financial investments
Insurance carriers and related activities
Real estate
Automotive equipment rental and leasing
Video tape and disk rental
Other consumer goods rental
Commercial, industrial, and other intangible assets rental and leasing

Professional, Scientific, Management, Administrative, and Waste Management Services

Legal services
Accounting, tax preparation, bookkeeping and payroll services
Architectural, engineering, and related services
Specialized design services
Computer systems design and related services
Management, scientific and technical consulting services
Scientific research and development services
Advertising and related services
Veterinary services
Other professional, scientific and technical services
Management of companies and enterprises

Educational, Health and Social Services

Elementary and secondary schools
Colleges, including junior colleges, and universities
Business, technical, and trade schools and training
Other schools, instruction and educational services
Offices of physicians
Offices of dentists
Office of chiropractors
Offices of optometrists
Offices of other health practitioners
Outpatient care centers
Home health care services
Other health care services
Hospitals
Nursing care facilities
Residential care facilities, without nursing
Individual and family services
Community food and housing, and emergency services
Vocational rehabilitation services
Child day care services

Arts, Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodations, and Food Services

Independent artists, performing arts, spectator sports and related industries
Museums, art galleries, historical sites, and similar institutions
Bowling centers
Other amusement, gambling, and recreation industries
Traveler accommodation
Recreational vehicle parks and camps, and rooming and boarding houses
Restaurants and other food services
Drinking places, alcohol beverages

Other Services (Except Public Administration)

Automotive repair and maintenance

- Car washes
- Electronic and precision equipment repair and maintenance
- Commercial and industrial machinery and equipment repair and maintenance
- Personal and household goods repair and maintenance
- Footwear and leather goods repair
- Barber shops
- Beauty salons
- Nail salons and other personal care services
- Drycleaning and laundry services
- Funeral homes, cemeteries and crematories
- Other personal services
- Religious organizations
- Civic, social, advocacy organizations and grantmaking and giving services
- Labor unions
- Business, professional, political and similar organizations
- Private households

Public Administration

- Executive offices and legislative bodies
- Public finance activities
- Other general government and support
- Justice, public order, and safety activities
- Administration of human resource programs
- Administration of environmental quality and housing programs
- Administration of economic programs and space research
- National security and international affairs

Active Duty Military

- U.S. Army
- U.S. Air Force
- U.S. Navy
- U.S. Marines
- U.S. Coast Guard
- U.S. Armed forces, branch not specified
- Military reserves or national guard

Appendix D: List of American Community Survey occupations

Management Occupations

Chief Executives
Chief executives and legislators
General and Operations Managers
Legislators
Advertising and Promotions Managers
Marketing and Sales Managers
Public Relations Managers
Administrative Services Managers
Computer and Information Systems Managers
Financial Managers
Human Resources Managers
Industrial Production Managers
Purchasing Managers
Transportation, Storage, and Distribution Managers
Farm, Ranch, and Other Agricultural Managers
Farmers and Ranchers
Constructions Managers
Education Administrators
Engineering Managers
Food Service Managers
Funeral Directors
Gaming Managers
Lodging Managers
Medical and Health Services Managers
Natural Science Managers
Postmasters and Mail Superintendents
Property, Real Estate, and Community Association Managers
Social and Community Service Managers
Managers, All Other
Miscellaneous managers including postmansters and mail superintendents

Business Operations Specialists

Agents and Business Managers of Artists, Performers, and Athletes
Purchasing Agents and Buyers, Farm Products
Wholesale and Retail Buyers, Except Farm Products
Purchasing Agents, Except Wholesale, Retail, and Farm Products
Claims Adjusters, Appraisers, Examiners, and Investigators
Compliance Officers, Except Agriculture, Construction, Health and SAfety, and Transportation
Cost Estimators
Human Resources, Training, and Labor Relations Specialists
Logisticians
Management Analysts
Meeting and Convention Planners
Other Business Operations Specialists

Financial Specialists

Accountants and Auditors
Appraisers and Assessors of Real Estate
Budget Analysts
Credit Analysts
Financial Analysts
Personal Financial Advisors
Insurance Underwriters
Financial Examiners
Loan Counselors and Officers
Tax Examiners, Collectors, and Revenue Agents
Tax Preparers
Financial Specialists, All Other

Computer and Mathematical Occupations

Computer Scientists and Systems Analysts
Computer Programmers
Computer Software Engineers
Computer Support Specialists
Database Administrators
Network and Computer Systems Administrators
Network Systems and Data Communications Analysts
Actuaries
Mathematicians
Operations Research Analysts
Statisticians
Miscellaneous Mathematical Scientists and Technicians
Miscellaneous mathematical science occupations, including mathematicians and statisticians

Architecture and Engineering Occupations

Architects, Except Naval
Surveyors, Cartographers, and Photogrammetrists
Aerospace Engineers
Biomedical and agricultural engineers
Chemical Engineers
Civil Engineers
Computer Hardware Engineers
Electrical and Electronics Engineers
Environmental Engineers
Industrial Engineers, including Health and Safety
Marine Engineers and Naval Architects
Materials Engineers
Mechanical Engineers
Mining and Geological Engineers, Including Mining Safety Engineers
Nuclear Engineers
Petroleum Engineers
Petroleum, mining and geological engineers, including mining safety engineers
Engineers, All Other
Miscellaneous engineers including nuclear engineers
Drafters
Engineering Technicians, Except Drafters

Surveying and Mapping Technicians

Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations

Agricultural and Food Scientists

Biological Scientists

Conservation Scientists and Foresters

Medical Scientists

Astronomers and Physicists

Atmospheric and Space Scientists

Chemists and Materials Scientists

Environmental Scientists and Geoscientists

Physical Scientists, All Other

Economists

Market and Survey Researchers

Psychologists

Sociologists

Urban and Regional Planners

Miscellaneous Social Scientists and Related Workers

Miscellaneous social scientists including sociologists

Agricultural and Food Science Technicians

Biological Technicians

Chemical Technicians

Geological and Petroleum Technicians

Nuclear Technicians

Other life, physical, and social science technicians

Miscellaneous life, physical, and social science technicians, including social science research assistants and nuclear technicians

Community and Social Services Occupations

Counselors

Social Workers

Miscellaneous Community and Social Service Specialists

Clergy

Directors, Religious Activities and Education

Religious Workers, All Other

Legal Occupations

Lawyers

Lawyers, and judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers

Judges, Magistrates, and Other Judicial Workers

Paralegals and Legal Assistants

Miscellaneous Legal Support Workers

Education, Training, and Library Occupations

Postsecondary Teachers

Preschool and Kindergarten Teachers

Elementary and Middle School Teachers

Secondary School Teachers

Special Education Teachers

Other Teachers and Instructors

Archivists, Curators, and Museum Technicians

Librarians

Library Technicians

Teacher Assistants

Other Education, Training, and Library Workers

Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations

Artists and Related Workers

Designers

Actors

Producers and Directors

Athletes, Coaches, Umpires, and Related Workers

Dancers and Choreographers

Musicians, Singers, and Related Workers

Entertainers and Performers, Sports and Related Workers, All Other

Announcers

News Analysts, Reporters and Correspondents

Public Relations Specialists

Editors

Technical Writers

Writers and Authors

Miscellaneous Media and Communication Workers

Broadcast and sound engineering technicians and radio operators

Broadcast and Sound Engineering Technicians and Radio Operators, and media and communication equipment workers, all other

Photographers

Television, Video, and Motion Picture Camera Operators and Editors

Media and Communication Equipment Workers, All Other

Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations

Chiropractors

Dentists

Dieticians and Nutritionists

Optometrists

Pharmacists

Physicians and Surgeons

Physician Assistants

Podiatrists

Registered Nurses

Audiologists

Occupational Therapists

Physical Therapists

Radiation Therapists

Recreational Therapists

Respiratory Therapists

SpeechLanguage Pathologists

Therapists, All Other

Veterinarians

Health Diagnosing and Treating Practitioners, All Other

Clinical Laboratory Technologists and Technicians

Dental Hygienists

Diagnostic Related Technologists and Technicians

Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics
Health Diagnosing and Treating Practitioner Support Technicians
Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses
Medical Records and Health Information Technicians
Opticians, Dispensing
Miscellaneous Health Technologists and Technicians
Other Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations

Healthcare Support Occupations

Nursing, Psychiatric, and Home Health Aides
Occupational Therapist Assistants and Aides
Physical Therapist Assistants and Aides
Massage Therapists
Dental Assistants
Medical Assistants and Other Healthcare Support Occupations, except dental assistants

Protective Service Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Correctional Officers
First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Police and Detectives
First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Fire Fighting and Prevention Workers
Supervisors, Protective Service Workers, All Other
Fire Fighters
Fire Inspectors
Bailiffs, Correctional Officers, and Jailers
Detectives and Criminal Investigators
Fish and Game Wardens
Parking enforcement workers
Miscellaneous law enforcement workers
Police and Sheriff's Patrol Officers
Police Officers
Transit and Railroad Police
Animal Control Workers
Private Detectives and Investigators
Security Guards and Gaming Surveillance Officers
Crossing Guards
Miscellaneous protective service workers, except crossing guards, and including animal control workers
Lifeguards and Other Protective Service Workers

Food Preparation and Serving Occupations

Chefs and Head Cooks
First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Food Preparation and Serving Workers
Cooks
Food Preparation Workers
Bartenders
Combined Food Preparation and Serving Workers, Including Fast Food
Counter Attendant, Cafeteria, Food Concession, and Coffee Shop
Waiters and Waitresses
Food Servers, Nonrestaurant
Dining Room and Cafeteria Attendants and Bartender Helpers
Miscellaneous food preparation and serving related workers including dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers

Dishwashers

Host and Hostesses, Restaurant, Lounge, and Coffee Shop

Food Preparation and Serving Related Workers, All Other

Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Housekeeping and Janitorial Workers

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Landscaping, Lawn Service, and Groundskeeping Workers

Janitors and Building Cleaners

Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners

Pest Control Workers

Grounds Maintenance Workers

Personal Care and Service Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Gaming Workers

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Personal Service Workers

Animal Trainers

Nonfarm Animal Caretakers

Gaming Services Workers

Motion Picture Projectionists

Ushers, Lobby Attendants, and Ticket Takers

Miscellaneous Entertainment Attendants and Related Workers

Funeral Service Workers

Barbers

Hairdressers, Hairstylists, and Cosmetologists

Miscellaneous Personal Appearance Workers

Baggage Porters, Bellhops, and Concierges

Tour and Travel Guides

Transportation Attendants

Child Care Workers

Personal and Home Care Aides

Recreation and Fitness Workers

Residential Advisors

Personal Care and Service Workers, All Other

Sales Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Retail Sales Workers

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Non-Retail Sales

Cashiers

Counter and Rental Clerks

Parts Salespersons

Retail Salespersons

Advertising Sales Agents

Insurance Sales Agents

Securities, Commodities, and Financial Services Sales Agents

Travel Agents

Sales Representatives, Services, All Other

Sales Representatives, Wholesale and Manufacturing

Models, Demonstrators, and Product Promoters

Real Estate Brokers and Sales Agents

Sales Engineers

Telemarketers

Door-to-Door Sales Workers, News and Street Vendors, and Related Workers
Sales and Related Workers, All Other

Office and Administrative Support Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Office and Administrative Support Workers
Switchboard Operators, Including Answering Service
Telephone Operators
Communications Equipment Operators, All Other
Bill and Account Collectors
Billing and Posting Clerks and Machine Operators
Bookkeeping, Accounting, and Auditing Clerks
Gaming Cage Workers
Payroll and Timekeeping Clerks
Procurement Clerks
Tellers
Brokerage Clerks
Correspondence Clerks
Court, Municipal, and License Clerks
Credit Authorizers, Checkers, and Clerks
Customer Service Representatives
Eligibility Interviewers, Government Programs
File Clerks
Hotel, Motel, and Resort Desk Clerks
Interviewers, Except Eligibility and Loan
Library Assistants, Clerical
Loan Interviewers and Clerks
New Account Clerks
Order Clerks
Correspondent clerks and order clerks
Human Resources Assistants, Except Payroll and Timekeeping
Receptionists and Information Clerks
Reservation and Transportation Ticket Agents and Travel Clerks
Information and Record Clerks, All Other
Cargo and Freight Agents
Couriers and Messengers
Dispatchers
Meter Readers, Utilities
Postal Service Clerks
Postal Service Mail Carriers
Postal Service Mail Sorters, Processors, and Processing Machine Operators
Production, Planning, and Expediting Clerks
Shipping, Receiving, and Traffic Clerks
Stock Clerks and Order Fillers
Weighers, Measurers, Checkers, and Samplers, Recordkeeping
Secretaries and Administrative Assistants
Computer Operators
Data Entry Keyers
Word Processors and Typists
Desktop Publishers

Insurance Claims and Policy Processing Clerks
Mail Clerks and Mail Machine Operators, Except Postal Service
Office Clerks, General
Office Machine Operators, Except Computer
Proofreaders and Copy Markers
Statistical Assistants
Office and Administrative Support Workers, All Other
Miscellaneous office and administrative support workers including desktop publishers

Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers/Contractors of Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Workers
Agricultural Inspectors
Animal Breeders
Graders and Sorters, Agricultural Products
Miscellaneous agricultural workers
Miscellaneous agricultural workers including animal breeders
Fishers and Related Fishing Workers
Fishing and hunting workers
Hunters and Trappers
Forest and Conservation Workers
Logging Workers

Construction Trades

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Construction Trades and Extraction Workers
Boilermakers
Brickmasons, Blockmasons, and Stonemasons
Carpenters
Carpet, Floor, and Tile Installers and Finishers
Cement Masons, Concrete Finishers, and Terrazzo Workers
Construction Laborers
Paving, Surfacing, and Tamping Equipment Operators
Pile-Driver Operators
Operating Engineers and Other Construction Equipment Operators
Construction equipment operators except paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators
Drywall Installers, Ceiling Tile Installers, and Tapers
Electricians
Glaziers
Insulation Workers
Painters, Construction and Maintenance
Paperhangers
Pipelayers, Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters
Plasterers and Stucco Masons
Reinforcing Iron and Rebar Workers
Roofers
Sheet Metal Workers
Structural Iron and Steel Workers
Helpers, Construction Trades
Construction and Building Inspectors
Elevator Installers and Repairers
Fence Erectors

Hazardous Materials Removal Workers
Highway Maintenance Workers
Rail-Track Laying and Maintenance Equipment Operators
Septic Tank Servicers and Sewer Pipe Cleaners
Miscellaneous Construction and Related Workers
Miscellaneous construction workers including septic tank servicers and sewer pipe cleaners

Extraction Workers

Derrick, Rotary Drill, and Service Unit Operators, Oil, Gas, and Mining
Derrick, rotary drill, and service unit operators, and roustabouts, oil, gas, and mining
Earth Drillers, Except Oil and Gas
Explosives Workers, Ordnance Handling Experts, and Blasters
Mining Machine Operators
Roof Bolters, Mining
Roustabouts, Oil and Gas
Helpers--Extraction Workers
Miscellaneous extraction workers including roof bolters and helpers

Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Mechanics, Installers, and Repairers
Computer, Automated Teller, and Office Machine Repairers
Radio and Telecommunications Equipment Installers and Repairers
Avionics Technicians
Electric Motor, Power Tool, and Related Repairers
Electrical and Electronics Installers and Repairers, Transportation Equipment
Electrical and electronics repairers, transportation equipment, and industrial and utility
Electronic Equipment Installers and Repairers, Motor Vehicles
Electronic Home Entertainment Equipment Installers and Repairers
Security and Fire Alarm Systems Installers
Aircraft Mechanics and Service Technicians
Automotive Body and Related Repairers
Automotive Glass Installers and Repairers
Automotive Service Technicians and Mechanics
Bus and Truck Mechanics and Diesel Engine Specialists
Heavy Vehicle and Mobile Equipment Service Technicians and Mechanics
Small Engine Mechanics
Miscellaneous Vehicle and Mobile Equipment Mechanics, Installers, and Repairers
Control and Valve Installers and Repairers
Heating, Air Conditioning, and Refrigeration Mechanics and Installers
Home Appliance Repairers
Industrial and Refractory Machinery Mechanics
Maintenance and Repair Workers, General
Maintenance Workers, Machinery
Millwrights
Electrical Power-Line Installers and Repairers
Telecommunications Line Installers and Repairers
Precision Instrument and Equipment Repairers
Coin, Vending, and Amusement Machine Servicers and Repairers
Commercial Divers
Locksmiths and Safe Repairers

Manufactured Building and Mobile Home Installers

Riggers

Signal and Track Switch Repairers

Helpers--Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers

Other installation, maintenance, and repair workers including commercial divers, and signal and track switch repairers

Production Occupations

First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Production and Operating Workers

Aircraft Structure, Surfaces, Rigging, and Systems Assemblers

Electrical, Electronics, and Electromechanical Assemblers

Engine and Other Machine Assemblers

Structural Metal Fabricators and Fitters

Miscellaneous Assemblers and Fabricators

Bakers

Butchers and Other Meat, Poultry, and Fish Processing Workers

Food and Tobacco Roasting, Baking, and Drying Machine Operators and Tenders

Food Batchmakers

Food Cooking Machine Operators and Tenders

Computer Control Programmers and Operators

Extruding and Drawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Forging Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Rolling Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, metal and Plastic

Cutting, Punching, and Press Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Drilling and Boring Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Grinding, Lapping, Polishing, and Buffing Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Lathe and Turning Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Milling and Planing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Machinists

Metal Furnace and Kiln Operators and Tenders

Model Makers and Patternmakers, Metal and Plastic

Molders and Molding Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Multiple Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Tool and Die Makers

Welding, Soldering, and Brazing Workers

Heat Treating Equipment Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Lay-Out Workers, Metal and Plastic

Plating and Coating Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic

Tool Grinders, Filers, and Sharpeners

Metalworkers and Plastic Workers, All Other

Miscellaneous metal workers and plastic workers including milling and planing machine setters, and multiple machine tool setters, and lay-out workers

Bookbinders and Bindery Workers

Job Printers

Prepress Technicians and Workers

Printing Machine Operators

Laundry and Dry-Cleaning Workers

Pressers, Textile, Garment, and Related Materials

Sewing Machine Operators

Shoe and Leather Workers and Repairers
 Shoe Machine Operators and Tenders
 Tailors, Dressmakers, and Sewers
 Textile Bleaching and Dyeing Machine Operators and Tenders
 Textile Cutting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Textile bleaching and dyeing, and cutting machine setters, operators, and tenders
 Textile Knitting and Weaving Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Textile Winding, Twisting, and Drawing Out Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Extruding and Forming Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Synthetic and Glass Fibers
 Fabric and Apparel Patternmakers
 Upholsterers
 Textile, Apparel, and Furnishings Workers, All Other
 Miscellaneous textile, apparel, and furnishings workers except upholsterers
 Cabinetmakers and Bench Carpenters
 Furniture Finishers
 Model Makers and Patternmakers, Wood
 Sawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Wood
 Woodworking Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Except Sawing
 Woodworkers, All Other
 Miscellaneous woodworkers including model makers and patternmakers
 Power Plant Operators, Distributors, and Dispatchers
 Stationary Engineers and Boiler Operators
 Water and Liquid Waste Treatment Plant and System Operators
 Miscellaneous Plant and System Operators
 Chemical Processing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Crushing, Grinding, Polishing, Mixing, and Blending Workers
 Cutting Workers
 Extruding, Forming, Pressing, and Compacting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Furnace, Kiln, Oven, Drier, and Kettle Operators and Tenders
 Inspectors, Testers, Sorters, Samplers, and Weighers
 Jewelers and Precious Stone and Metal Workers
 Medical, Dental, and Ophthalmic Laboratory Technicians
 Packaging and Filling Machine Operators and Tenders
 Painting Workers
 Photographic Process Workers and Processing Machine Operators
 Semiconductor Processors
 Cementing and Gluing Machine Operators and Tenders
 Cleaning, Washing, and Metal Pickling Equipment Operators and Tenders
 Cooling and Freezing Equipment Operators and Tenders
 Etchers and Engravers
 Molders, Shapers, and Casters, Except Metal and Plastic
 Paper Goods Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
 Tire Builders
 Helpers--Production Workers
 Production Workers, All Other
 Other production workers including semiconductor processors and cooling and freezing equipment operators
Transportation and Material Moving Occupations
 Supervisors, Transportation and Material Moving Workers

Aircraft Pilots and Flight Engineers
 Air Traffic Controllers and Airfield Operations Specialists
 Ambulance Drivers and Attendants, Except Emergency Medical Technicians
 Bus Drivers
 Driver/Sales Workers and Truck Drivers
 Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs
 Motor Vehicle Operators, All Other
 Locomotive Engineers and Operators
 Railroad Brake, Signal, and Switch Operators
 Railroad Conductors and Yardmasters
 Subway, Streetcar, and Other Rail Transportation Workers
 Sailors and Marine Oilers
 Sailors and marine oilers, and ship engineers
 Ship and Boat Captains and Operators
 Ship Engineers
 Bridge and Lock Tenders
 Parking Lot Attendants
 Service Station Attendants
 Transportation Inspectors
 Other transportation workers
 Miscellaneous transportation workers including bridge and lock tenders and traffic technicians
 Conveyor Operators and Tenders
 Crane and Tower Operators
 Dredge, Excavating, and Loading Machine Operators
 Hoist and Winch Operators
 Conveyor operators and tenders, and hoist and winch operators
 Industrial Truck and Tractor Operators
 Cleaners of Vehicles and Equipment
 Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand
 Machine Feeders and Offbearers
 Packers and Packagers, Hand
 Pumping Station Operators
 Refuse and Recyclable Material Collectors
 Shuttle Car Operators
 Tank Car, Truck, and Ship Loaders
 Material Moving Workers, All Other
 Miscellaneous material moving workers including shuttle car operators, and tank car, truck, and ship loaders

Military Specific Occupations

Military Officer Special and Tactical Operations Leaders/Managers
 First-Line Enlisted Military Supervisors/Managers
 Military Enlisted Tactical Operations and Air/Weapons Specialists and Crew Members
 Military, Rank Not Specified
 Unemployed, last worked 5 years ago or earlier or never worked

VITA
Leila Rodríguez

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

2009	Ph.D. in Anthropology and Demography The Pennsylvania State University
2004	M.A. in Anthropology and Demography The Pennsylvania State University
2002	B.A. in Anthropology The University of Costa Rica

SELECTED TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Graduate Lecturer (Instructor), Introduction to Cultural Anthropology
Teaching Assistant, Comparative Social Organization

SELECTED RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

01/2007 – 12/2007	Doctoral Dissertation Fieldwork, Economic Adaptation of Nigerian Immigrants New York, New York
06/2005 – 08/2005	Social Science Analyst Demographic and Behavioral Sciences Branch, NICHD (NIH)
07/2004 – 05/2005	Research Assistant, Context, Identities, and Outcomes: A Pilot Study of Dominicans in Reading, Pennsylvania The Pennsylvania State University, Population Research Institute
01/2002 – 07/2002	Research Assistant, Nicaragua- Costa Rica- United States Migration Ethnosurvey University of Costa Rica, Central American Population Center

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

2008	Rodríguez, Leila "Flujos Migratorios y Contextos de Recepción: Guatemaltecos en Cuatro Destinos" <i>Revista Centroamericana de Ciencias Sociales</i> 5(1)5-42 Julio 2008
2008	Cohen, Jeffrey, Leila Rodríguez , Margaret Fox and Maria Puente "Gender and Migration in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca" <i>International Migration</i> 46(1)79-101
2006	Jensen, Leif, Jeffrey H. Cohen, Jacqueline Almeida Toribio, Gordon F. DeJong, and Leila Rodríguez "Ethnic Identities, Language, and Economic Outcomes of Dominicans in Reading, Pennsylvania: a Research Note" <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 87(5)1088-1099
2005	Rodríguez, Leila and Jeffrey H. Cohen "Generations and Motivations: Russian and Other Former Soviet Immigrants in Costa Rica" <i>International Migration</i> 43(4)147-65
2005	Cohen, Jeffrey H. and Leila Rodríguez "Remittance Outcomes in Rural Oaxaca, Mexico: Challenges, Options and Opportunities for Migrant Households" <i>Population, Space and Place</i> (11) 49-63

SELECTED AWARDS

2007	National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant
2006	Research and Graduate Studies Office (Pennsylvania State University) dissertation support grant
2005	Africana Research Center (Pennsylvania State University) dissertation research grant
2005	Hill Fellowship for dissertation research (Anthropology Department)
2008	Pennsylvania State University Spirit of Internationalization Award
2007	Pennsylvania State University Graduate Student Service Award
2006	Pennsylvania State University Norman and Ardeth Frisbey International Student Award
2004	Society for Economic Anthropology Harold K.Schneider Student Paper Prize Honorable Mention