

Mexican Migrant Mompreneurs and their Support Networks

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Abstract

In the following thesis I apply the concept of mompreneurship to a case study of seven Mexican migrant entrepreneurs. The women interviewed come from a heterogenous sample of various ages, industries and migration reasons. I demonstrate how the three support networks: family, cultural enclave, and non-profits and organizations encourage them to pursue both entrepreneurship and motherhood fulltime, thus applying the concept of mompreneurship. Each support network provides insight as to how the respondents interacts with support. I discuss the type of support sent by these three support networks and how the support is used by the women to manage both their roles. Additionally, I argue these three support networks influence them to pursue a contemporary version of the American Dream along with imposing a neoliberal mentality for self-productivity.

These support networks work together to provide genuine assistance and independence to the respondents that is not provided by the American economy. The aid the support networks provide to the sample of women is so they can become fully responsible for their business ownership and motherhood to create the image of a working and professional migrant woman. Yet, in doing this they are further encouraging women to increase their productivity. As the respondents are taking on both roles of motherhood and entrepreneurship, they inadvertently provide a solution to the “crisis of care.” With this thesis I also provide insight for the American context on how Mexican and Latinx women are creating their own spaces in industries where they have not been previously been able to enter. Since I cover several topics within this thesis, the thesis contributes to literature of several different fields. Overall, this thesis contributes to literature in the field woman migrant entrepreneurs and Mexican migrants. This thesis also contributes to literature about the mompreneurship and the neoliberal mentality.

Declaration of Original Research and the Word Count

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; It contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/ or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis are accurate:

Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices, etc.): 18,441
Entire manuscript: 20,307

Signed: AMBER YOVAL

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This thesis is dedicated to my entire family. To my parents, and all my siblings (including Rose, Tim, and Francisco), nieces, nephews, cousins, aunts and uncles. None of this would have been possible with your encouragement and endless support. Thank you.

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List of Abbreviations

U.S: United States

Introduction

There are currently 30.2 million small businesses in the United States (U.S.), which make up 99.9% of the business located in the United States (Pacheco, 2019). Of those 30.2 million small businesses, 2.1 million were founded by Hispanic [Latinx] immigrants (Pacheco, 2019). Of these 2.1 million businesses, 325,236 are owned by immigrant Hispanic [Latinx] women (Martinez-Restrepo & Stengel, 2017). In the following thesis I had the honor of speaking with and interviewing seven of these Latinx migrant women (out of the 325,236) who currently own a small business in the United States.

I have grown up in a country where there has always been ethnic and linguistic discrimination against the Mexican and Latinx population. Our current U.S. president, Donald Trump, built a majority of his 2016 presidential campaign on racist rhetoric against Mexican people and immigrants. I was born to Mexican immigrant parents and I identify closely with my heritage and my parent's homeland, thus I wanted to represent the Mexican people and Latinx community in my thesis. I desired to portray them in another light than they have been presented by the media and a world leader. Inspired by my background in Business Administration and my interest in representing Latinx women, I chose to focus on Mexican migrant women entrepreneurs in the United States. Specifically because of their underrepresentation in field, professionally and academically.

Many small businesses, some which are family businesses, tend to be headed by a patriarch. Often small businesses, whether founded by an immigrant or U.S. born individual, they are often founded by a man. With the rising empowerment of women in the United States to enter the workforce, many women are also becoming entrepreneurs and small business owners. In my thesis I represent how Mexican and Latinx migrant women are capable of being professional business owners. There is limited literature on Latinx migrant women and Mexican migrant women as entrepreneurs and small business owners. A lovely occurrence within Latinx communities is sometimes we connect with each other too easily; we tend to see ourselves and our families in each other. Thus, I took great interest in hearing the stories of each woman I interviewed and was in constant amazement of them.

When interviewing the seven respondents I noticed the prominent role of family and the impact culture has on these women and their businesses. Beyond sharing the start-up stories of these seven Mexican migrant women in the following thesis I demonstrate how these women are encouraged by three support networks to commit fully to being business owners and mothers. By taking on both roles fulltime I label these seven women as mompreneurs. I argue the influence to commit to both roles results from culture, family embeddedness and support from non-profits and organizations. These three support networks influence them to pursue a contemporary version of the American Dream along with imposing a neoliberal mentality of the entrepreneurial-self and high productivity (Rose, 1990). I claim the support networks provide aid to the respondents so they can become fully responsible for their business ownership and motherhood, not for the benefit of a neoliberal capitalist economy but for the representation of professional immigrant woman. These support networks work together to provide genuine assistance and independence to the respondents that is not provided by the American economy. In doing so, they inadvertently provide a solution to the “crisis of care” by encouraging both motherhood and business ownership (Fraser, 2016). My research question for this thesis is: What message do the three support networks: family, culture, and non-profits and organizations, communicate to these Mexican migrant women, that makes them commit fulltime to both roles of motherhood and business ownership?

My subsidiary intentions with the following thesis are to provide insight for the American context on how Mexican and Latinx women are creating their own spaces in industries where they have not been previously encouraged to enter. By showing how Latinx and Mexican women are forced to create their own industries, I want to deconstruct the negative stereotype of Mexican and Latinx migrants as a cheap and exploitable labor source. Due to the racialization of all brown and dark-skinned Latinx migrants in the United States, the anti-immigrant and racist stereotypes against Mexican people are often extended to them. Thus, I reference the Latinx and Hispanic population at times throughout this thesis.

Following this introduction I will provide context on the Mexican migrant population, Mexican migrant women and immigrant entrepreneurship. Following the background section, I will review the literature relevant to my thesis and summarize the discussions of relevant fields. The relevant fields I will be discussing are the impact of cultural and ethnic enclaves, and family embeddedness have on migrant women entrepreneurship. I will also discuss the neoliberal mentality in the United States and in immigrant populations and how they all relate to the concept

of immigrant entrepreneurship. In the literature review I will discuss my theoretical framework and the contribution of my thesis, specific to each of the fields previously listed. In the third chapter I will discuss my methodology, where I will discuss my sample and how I analyzed my data. My fourth chapter is the analytical chapter where I discuss the results from my interviews, my argument and the implications. The fifth chapter is the final chapter which consists of the conclusion and my contribution.

Background of Mexican Migrants

Since 2015, when current United States President, Donald Trump, announced his then campaign for the 2016 election, he propagated harmful stereotypes and prejudices of the Mexican people. Most of the stereotypes President Trump claimed of Mexican people and Mexican migrants were already being projected, he simply reignited the prejudice against the Mexican population. Racism against Mexican people has continuously existed, ever since the United States became a sovereign country. Two studies done on Mexican American entrepreneurs, Mexican women recounted their experiences with racism (García, 1995, Schmalzbeauer, 2009). Mexican people have been migrating to the United States for several generations and some families have lived in the United States since before the Mexican American wars occurred, when the land they now live on once belonged to Mexico.

The United States has advocated for the migration of Mexican people for the purpose of using them as cheap and exploitable labor. Implemented twice by the U.S., the Bracero Accord was a popular program that enforced a partnership between the U.S. and Mexico. Created specifically for the benefit of the American economy, this program invited Mexican people to the United States to work for American farmers as field laborers (Bracero History Archive, n.d.). After the second time the Bracero Accord was implemented, Mexican field workers were tired of being exploited, so labor rights activism was started by Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez (United Farm Workers, n.d.). However, the stereotype and image of Mexican migrant people as a cheap labor source has still persisted. Mexican and Latinx migrants are limited to the fulfill intense physical and manual labor for low wages in the United States. Gendered labor results from another set of stereotypes about Mexican and Latinx migrants. Similar to other immigrant women populations, Mexican women are often subject to care work, such childcare or elderly care (Isaken et. al., 2010, Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018). These expectations are shaped by American employers with the combination of

low-paid but intense physical labor, that is scarcely done by Americans, limits the kind of labor offered to Mexican migrants (Karjanen, 2008).

Due to this stereotype and image of Mexican migrants, they are not viewed to be capable of being entrepreneurs or being professionals. These stereotypes create a catch-22 for Mexican and Latinx migrants by limiting access to resources and capital for starting a business. If Mexican and Latinx migrants are viewed as not capable or view as just taking American resources, the resources will not be offered to them (Carpenter & Loveridge, 2018). When the resources are not offered to them, it is difficult for the Latinx population to start a business; the limited resources also impact the longevity of their business (Carpenter & Loveridge, 2018).

Mexican Migrant Women

As I mentioned earlier, Mexican migrants are limited by gendered labor based of Mexican stereotypes (Karjanen, 2008). Contrary to mainstream media, Mexican women who move to the U.S. do typically have work experience from back home and are likely to join the workforce in the U.S. (Gomez & Yoldi, 2017). Common with throughout global populations of migrant women, Mexican migrant women are often limited to underpaid feminized work (Cohen & Wokowitz, 2017). Though Mexican women are participating in the labor force, they are still subject to have primary childcare responsibilities (García, 1995, Dreby, 2006, Wilson & McQuiston, 2006, Schmalzbauer, 2009). Culture has impact on the way Mexican migrant women live out their lives in the U.S. (Schmalzbauer, 2009).

Depending on the type of resources Mexican women encounter in their move to the U.S. impacts their migration experience (Creighton & Riosmena, 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Schmalzbauer, 2011; Zentgraf, 2002). People who migrate to urban areas in the U.S. are more likely have access to more resources and more social networking ties (Atlan-Olcay, 2014; Schmalzbauer, 2011). As opposed to people who migrate to rural areas in the United States such as Montana and North Carolina, where resources and labor are both limited (Schmalzbauer, 2011; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Social networks and communities have great influence over the future success and stability of the migrant in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Parrado & Flippen, 2005).

The Latinx population is the largest minority, and still growing in the United States, comprising nearly 18 percent of the entire population (Flores, 2017). Thus, there is a large disparity

between how many Latinx migrant women entrepreneurs there are compared to the population size. Latinx and migrant women face an increase in barriers for entrepreneurship in the United States.

Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is often sought after because of the independence and flexibility that entrepreneurship offers. Entrepreneurship is especially enticing within immigrant communities, because there is a limited paid employment available to immigrants but there is an ethnic enclave to provide to (García-Pabón & Klima, 2017, Fisher & Lewin, 2018, Shinnar & Young, 2008). Immigrant entrepreneurship has been a gendered industry, and often family is always involved (Carpenter & Loveridge, 2018, Haynes et. al., 2009). Typically migrant men are more common to have been business owners because of the financial responsibility they have to their families. While the women in their families are more likely to be responsible for the childcare., therefore migrant women are not the usual image of an immigrant business owner. If migrant women are self-employed, they typically are vendors of some sort, either selling their own products and or re-selling other products while having childcare as their main responsibility. This type of income source is not usually considered entrepreneurship by the normative definition. Since, immigrant women have often been subject to household work and taken on informal work that is flexible, entrepreneurship for immigrant women has been a scarce. When migrant women do become business owners, their achievements are rarely noted and recognized.

I do want to define the difference between self-employment, solopreneur, business owner, entrepreneur, and mompreneurs. All seven women I have interviewed in this thesis are technically self-employed as they are employed by their own business, but I do not refer to them as self-employed because they are business owners. I do wish to highlight that Latinx migrants find work through informal self-employment such as providing care work, but this does not make them business owners. In addition, some Mexican migrants are business owners, but they are the only person employed in their business, they are referred to as solopreneurs (Pacheco Salamanca, 2019). Although I will not use the term solopreneur in my thesis, I wanted to address that being a solopreneur results from the limited amount of resources and business growth for Mexican migrants. They cannot afford to expand their business beyond hiring another individual because their business has a certain longevity. I will refer to these women as mompreneurs and entrepreneurs throughout the following thesis. Although all the women I interviewed currently

only own one business, they are involved in various other projects beyond their business. Thus, I choose to label my respondent sample as entrepreneurs in addition to business owners. All the respondents in my sample are mothers and my argument focuses on how these seven women are being encouraged to manage both roles of motherhood and entrepreneurship, fulltime, thus I refer to them as mompreneurs.

As discussed in the earlier section for Mexican migrants, more than often they are limited to physical and manual employment in the United States. Entrepreneurship provides the migrant worker the opportunity to be their own boss and not be mistreated by an employer (García, 1995). Depending on their business and industry, heavy labor will still most likely still be involved. Entrepreneurship is not the best solution for all migrants because of the limited resources available to them, especially financial capital. These businesses have made an impact in their community, some businesses even become a community asset. Commonly, these immigrant family businesses have been started by men (father, husband) for different reasons such as to avoid the harsh physical labor offered to them, to be a family man, to pursue their own interests, or to have a livable income. Usually immigrant men have been the one in their family to start the business so their wives (or other maternal family figure) can be responsible for childcare. In this thesis I discuss Mexican migrant women who do become entrepreneurs, how they become responsible for motherhood and their business entrepreneurship.

Literature Review

Mexican migrant women entrepreneurs are underrepresented in the literature of migrant entrepreneurs. Additionally, the concept of mompreneurship has scarcely been applied to migrant women entrepreneurs. I apply the concept of mompreneurship to the seven Mexican migrant women in this case study because the three support networks I identified (family, cultural enclaves, and non-profits and organizations) encourage the women to take on both the roles of motherhood and entrepreneurship fulltime. Since I apply the concept of mompreneurship my thesis will contribute to fulfill the gap of the underrepresentation of Mexican migrant women in entrepreneurship and mompreneurship. More specifically I will contribute to literature of each of the three support networks I listed. I will contribute to how family embeddedness, cultural enclaves, and non-profits and organizations each individually impact Mexican migrant women in their entrepreneurship and motherhood roles, to accept both fulltime. Lastly, as I am also arguing that

these support networks implement a neoliberal mentality on these women through the concept of the American Dream I will contribute to literature on the influence of neoliberalism on migrant women. Combining both the concept of the American Dream with a neoliberal mentality shows how women are encouraged to become as productive as possible, thus willingly accepting two fulltime roles and any additional projects. My thesis will contribute to the literature of each one of these fields individually but overall contribute to literature on Mexican migrant women entrepreneurs.

Migrant entrepreneurship is a research field that has not been left untouched. There is global research on the field of migrant entrepreneurship albeit with different intentions and contributions. Literature on gendered migrant entrepreneurship is still developing though, as a great amount of literature in the field does not consider gender. As some previous literature will show, gender does impact the entrepreneurial outcome of migrants. For the field of Mexican migrant entrepreneurship overall there is limited literature; especially, on Mexican migrant women entrepreneurs. I have already discussed what fields I will contribute to and how. Now I will demonstrate the current discussions in the field of migrant women entrepreneurship.

Current literature commonly notes that migrant women entrepreneurs have been able to start a business and receive support from their ethnic enclaves (Alvarez, 1990; Andersson & Hamarstedt, 2015). Sometimes though ethnic enclaves are not always a successful space for migrants to start their business. When the ethnic market is too small, the limited market creates a new obstacle of increasing competition between migrant entrepreneurs (Andersson & Hamarstedt, 2015). Depending on the circumstances, ethnic enclaves sometimes contribute to ethnic-based entrepreneurship. Ethnic entrepreneurship is a method where migrant women use their ethnic background and culture as a resource for their business and labor (Hedberg & Pettersson, 2011). Networking and community building with other migrant women are also a source of support for some migrant women (Zani, 2018, de Albuquerque Ferreira et. al., 2017). Although some migrant women join together in their ethnic community this is not something found in all ethnic groups. Staying within the ethnic enclave/community also sometimes suggest that the migrant entrepreneur does not have adequate resources to move beyond the enclave (González & Campbell, 2018). In the case study done on Latinx migrant entrepreneurs showed that expanding outside the enclave required more cultural knowledge about the host country than financial resources. (Campbell, 2018). While analyzing my own research I looked at the impact of cultural enclaves and ethnic

entrepreneurship in the narratives of my respondents. My analysis will add to the discussion of how cultural enclaves impact migrant women and their entrepreneurship; whether they aid or deter migrant women away from pursuing entrepreneurship.

When gender and ethnic background intersect they are used by migrant women to form their business (Hedberg & Pettersson, 2011; Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013; Lidola, 2014). In some cases the native culture is able to impact the migrant woman in her pursuit of entrepreneurship. Gender roles and stereotypes from their home country are transferred over to the host country, especially within an ethnic enclave. If entrepreneurship is going against the gender expectations in the home country's culture this will be another obstacle for the migrant women (Azmat & Fujimoto 2016; Lidola, 2014; Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013). In some cases migrant women have to conform to their expected stereotypes to be accepted by the host country, socially and in the labor market. This tactic has been discussed to sometimes benefit the migrant in terms of social expectations and employment expectations but again being harmful as this ploy sets undesired limitations, stereotypes and prejudices (Karjanen, 2008). Culture influences how migrant women are able to establish their business. Whilst analyzing my data, culture was a significant variable influencing the migrant women's ability to start her business. Culture was where the respondents in my sample got their inspiration from. Therefore, the influence of culture on migrant entrepreneurs is important to include.

Another source of support for migrant women entrepreneurs is the family. The family provides financial support, encouragement, and labor. Family has been portrayed to be a complex source of support for migrant entrepreneurial because at the same time, family is also an obstacle for the migrant women, for various reasons (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016). For Thai women entrepreneurs living in Sweden, family as a resource was not their first choice (Webster & Haandrikman, 2016). Family has been demonstrated to directly impact migrant women in their ability to start their business and to the longevity of their business (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Pacheco Salamanca, 2019). Most women started with support from their family, and support from their spouse (Munkejord, 2017). For Indian immigrant women living in Australia who desired to venture into entrepreneurship, their family still had to be the most important responsibility to them (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016). In that same case study, Indian migrant were still primarily responsible for family care, immediate and extended, whilst being a business owner. Indian migrant woman who are responsible for family care shows how family can be an obstacle because then they cannot

devote themselves entirely as desired to their business. However, because the Indian woman settled in Australia, they have been able to manage the gender role expectations of Indian culture against Australian gender roles. Migrant women sometimes use entrepreneurship as a way to easier integrate into the new culture.

Entrepreneurship has been discussed to be used migrant woman as a form of social integration and integration into the labor market of the host country (Lidola, 2014; Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013; de Albuquerque Ferreira et. al, 2017). For some women the host country does not the appropriate cultural setting for them to pursue entrepreneurial activity (Vershina et. al., 2019; de Albuquerque Ferreira, et. al., 2017; Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). Migrant women are able to use the skills learned in their home country to fulfill needs identified in their host country (de Albuquerque Ferreira et. al, 2017). Most often these skills are influenced by their culture and lead them to start a business related to their ethnic background. This is the process of ethnic entrepreneurship, which migrant women are more likely to engage with ethnic entrepreneurship (Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013; Dallal, 1994). As women engage in learning more cultural skills, they are able to bring those skills and culture from the home country to the host country. Sharing culture and ethnic tradition, that is the site where gender intersects with entrepreneurship. Some women engage in entrepreneurship because they are overqualified for the labor available to them as migrants. The women reject the feminized cheap labor and engage with feminized industries to pursue entrepreneurship to increase their income (Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013; Hedberg & Pettersson, 2011; Lidola, 2014; Webster & Haandrikman, 2016). In these type of cases migrant women appear to be pushed into entrepreneurship as the solution to integrate into the labor market (Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013; Munkejord, 2017).

Even though gendered ethnic stereotypes of migrant women appear to push (force) them into entrepreneurship, there has been discussion of many migrant women actually being pulled into entrepreneurship (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Mari et. al., 2016). Migrant women seek out autonomy and independence to work and gain their career, entrepreneurship appears to be a very nice solution. Many migrant women show an interest in entrepreneurship beyond an income source, they seek out entrepreneurship because of the ability to create a business according to their own interests (Webster & Haandrikman, 2016). For some migrant women pursuing entrepreneurship is not only about gaining an income but also about their personal interest. Thus, demonstrating how migrant women are pulled into entrepreneurship versus pushed. This humanize migrant human by showing

they have interests and passions; therefore entrepreneurship has become an increasingly common solution for women who want to pursue their passions and interests (Vershinina, 2019, Zani; 2018, Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Webster & Haandrikman, 2016). As more migrant women want to be productive and participate in the work force somehow, considering the obstacles faced, they often rely on themselves for motivation (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016). Individuality, productivity and accomplishments are all characteristics commonly motivating migrant women to pursue entrepreneurship. Migrant entrepreneurs thus are dealing with the new neoliberal regime of maximizing productivity leading to self-exploitation.

A neoliberal political regime presents citizens with some resources to encourage them to become self-governing citizens and become responsible for themselves (Ong, 2007). Catherine Rottenberg discusses the impact of neoliberal feminism on women's equality and making the individual responsible for their success (Rottenberg, 2014). A neoliberal mentality has impacted migrant women to work harder and accept individual responsibility for their life in the host country (Altan-Olcay, 2014). For most migrant women the rhetoric of needing to produce, and for them to be creative with their resources is often told to them by the host country (Altan-Olcay, 2014). Providing resources and creating community for migrant women hides the issues of choosing entrepreneurship and even the reason for migration (Altan-Olcay, 2014; Aygoren & Wilinska, 2013). Following Nikolas Rose discussion on the entrepreneurial self, migrant women are becoming increasingly self-entrepreneurial as migrant women are being given resources by the host country to pursue business ownership (Altan-Olcay, 2014; Rose, 1990).

In the case study by Ozlem Altan-Olcay (2014), demonstrates that there are organizations that provide financial aid and business development assistance to Turkish migrant women. The organization focused on in this case study is then supporting a neoliberal mentality onto the migrant woman. The organization brings migrant entrepreneurial women together and encourage the women (in the case study) to accept individual responsibility for their actions. Simultaneously, these organizations show the migrant women to be responsible for one another, relieving the organization of any responsibility. The organization is not performing these actions in a purposeful, mischievous manner but simply the organization is shaping these women into neoliberal subjects. However, this article also acknowledges that the pushing of the neoliberal regime onto migrant women is on the basis that they are still the ones primarily responsible for family care. In this sense, neoliberalism is gendered because of the way neoliberalism pushes women to be productive in the

household and in the labor market. If women were not the ones primarily responsible for the family, then they would not be pushed to do both. As I have mentioned in my argument, there is an influence of a neoliberal mentality on the women I interviewed. Therefore, literature on neoliberalism is relevant to my thesis because of my argument on the influence of a neoliberal mentality combined with the concept of the American Dream. By providing migrants with the proper resources, they get hoped to be able to achieve their American Dream (Lopez et. al., 2018) In the beginning I include the word contemporary with the American Dream, this is because now the American Dream is changing. The concept of what the American Dream implies is changing. In this case study, the American Dream now includes women becoming entrepreneurs.

Pushing women to be productive in both the household and labor market is a concept identified as the ‘crisis of care’ by Nancy Fraser (2016). Fraser explains the ‘crisis of care’ results from contradiction laid by the capitalist system, where women are now being encouraged into the labor market but child care is lacking and being disregarded. Childcare is expensive in several areas throughout the world, so not every working woman can afford external child care. For some migrant entrepreneurial women, children are looked after by another maternal family member (Altan-Olcay, 2014). Passing childcare to another family member, childcare remains unpaid (or underpaid) and when childcare is passed to another woman within the family, childcare still remains gendered. Although, one woman in the family is defying gender roles by being a migrant entrepreneur, they are still reinforcing gendered care work (Altan-Olcay, 2014, Isaken, 2008). As the respondents in my data sample are being encouraged toward ultimate productivity, I use the concept of ‘crisis of care’ to further support the neoliberal mentality aspect these women are being influenced by.

As not every woman has access to affordable childcare professional, sometimes what occurs is that when a professional working women has children she might decide to become a stay-at-home mother, if she can afford it. Some of these women do not want to give up their career so they start working from home, most probably by opening a business. What results is the concept of a mompreneur (Orgad, 2018). For these women starting their own business implies flexibility for their childcare responsibilities. Driven by the neoliberal regime, women want to become productive citizens in the home and in the labor market, but still from home. Shani Orgad (2018) explains the rising trend for mompreneurs are women who transitioned from a professional career to becoming stay-home-moms. Once the women are confined to the home, they want to continue working on

their professional career, the easiest and most flexible manner to achieve that is through an online business. Now the women are working and are responsible for childcare fulltime. Yet, mompreneurs do not necessarily view this solution in that way. For women, Orgad (2018) argues, mompreneurship is a freeing and women feel as if they hold autonomy in both their roles. This freedom comes of course because childcare is still highly gendered, and the neoliberal regime is pushing for women to enter the workforce as well. Orgad demonstrates how the neoliberal regime is dealing with ‘crisis of care’ issue by encouraging women to increase their productivity, by bringing them back to the home. Now the home serves as the site where women are becoming exploited again, but this time in the labor market as well (Orgad, 2018). Yet, mompreneurs do not necessarily view this solution in that way.

Mompreneurship is represented to women as ‘being able to have it all,’ to work and be with their kids. However, mompreneurship ignores the actual causation of needing to have it all (or both roles) and does not question the capitalist system, (Richomme-Huet & Vial 2014). No one questions the limited options that mothers and working mothers actually have (Dillard, 2015). Dillard argues there is a new industry and discourses implemented by mompreneurs. Dillard (2015) demonstrates how mompreneurs spending more time with their children increases intensive mother (socially constructed) which then increases the responsibility women have to their family. Increases in responsibility causes the two following discourses: discourse of risk and expert discourse, by the mothers. These two discourses show the mothers perform the risks and worries they have of their children (Dillard, 2015). One of the respondents I interviewed started her business in this similar structure, where she saw a need for her child and she wanted to fulfill that need.

Kara Dillard (2015) does acknowledge how the mompreneur is a privileged position meant for the middle-class, heterosexual white woman. As neoliberalism begins to influence the migrant women, neoliberal regime impacts them through motherhood. For some migrant women, having children does not impact their business ventures and entrepreneurship (Webster & Haandrikman, 2016). For migrant women in Norway, having children is what led them to becoming entrepreneurs (Munkejord, 2017). Mai Munkejord (2017) explains that the migrant woman typically became pregnant after moving to Norway and they stayed home to become the child caretaker. For some women in the case study, after their children grew, the migrant woman wanted to enter the workforce, but for different reasons they were being employed in positions they were overqualified for. Similar to the concept of ‘motherhood penalty’ (Correll et. al., 2007), these women suffered in

re-entering the labor market because of the gap between last being employed due to childcare. The migrant women in Norway did not want to settle for their job positions so they ventured into entrepreneurship for their own interests. For most migrant women in the Norway case study (Munkejord, 2017), they started their business ventures while their children were young. Similar to some of the women whom I interviewed, they wanted to keep pursuing their professional career even after they had children. Therefore, entrepreneurship and becoming a mompreneurs was the best way to achieve professionalism as a stay-at-home mom.

Theoretical Framework

Migrant women entrepreneurship varies as there is not one homogenous experience for all. Since I was looking at various variables (support networks) that influence these seven respondents to accept both roles of entrepreneurship and motherhood, I have combined different theories to guide my overall research. Some scholars argue ethnic enclaves provide positive aid to migrant entrepreneurs as they provide a market (Alvarez, 1990; Andersson & Hamarstedt, 2015). Other scholars argue the cultural enclaves are detrimental to migrant entrepreneurs because then the migrant entrepreneur can never expand outside the enclave (González & Campbell, 2018; Andersson & Hamarstedt, 2015). I have used these two different arguments to guide my work of whether the support provided by the Mexican cultural enclave is positive, detrimental or both to my respondents.

Family has been discussed to be embedded in migrant women's business ventures. Family is constantly put first for migrant women (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016), thus family often shapes the business structure. Family also shapes the business by providing different types of support to the migrant woman business owner (Munkejord, 2017). To guide my research on family embeddedness I used these two theories (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Munkejord, 2017), to demonstrate how family can be a source of aid while concurrently being a potential obstacle for my respondents.

The neoliberal mentality has begun to influence the way migrant entrepreneurs are taught and supported. As Altan-Olcay (2014) explains, "goal of entrepreneurial women is predicted on the assumption women contribute more to the family than the men," women are becoming increasingly neoliberal subjects because they are expected to participate in the workforce and in the unpaid labor market as child care workers for their children, hence providing more to the family. Additionally, I use Nikolas Rose theory (1990) on the entrepreneurial self to show how these

women are given full responsibility for their success to become what they desire when they are given the resources and autonomy their own self success. As the three support networks I identified provide the resources for these women to become successful while being the most productive. Yet, the neoliberal mentality is not being applied for the sole purpose of a neoliberal capitalist economy but for the presentation than Latinx migrant women can achieve success.

Lastly, I build upon the concept of mompreneur to the migrant entrepreneurial population. I do this because the women in the respondent sample all involve their family (children) so closely in their business, because the respondents feel an obligation toward their family. As Orgad (2018) explains, “Rather, it continues to position mothers as the primary childcarers who are simultaneously seeking to render their home-based state economically productive.” (pg.166). Although only three women from my study are working directly from home, the concept of mompreneur still applies to them because of the high family involvement, to justify a feeling of obligation.

Methodology

My research focus and aim changed multiple times throughout preparing and conducting my research. I initially started this research with the intention to study changes in gender performance after migration for Mexican women. I aimed to research the changes that occur in the gender identity of Mexican women after migration while being entrepreneurs (Gomez & Yoldi, 2017; Creighton & Riosmena, 2013). Entrepreneurship as their career made the research more interesting because this suggested the women had some kind of independence from their household. After conducting the interview, I found my data supported a different argument which I was able to develop further than my original research intention. As explained in the introduction the focus of my research is on migrant mompreneurship. This resulted from the data I received while conducting the interviews and because all my respondents happened to be mothers, when starting their business.

Since starting my research I wanted to focus on the Mexican population in the U.S., which has not changed. Other than focusing on Mexico as the country of origin because of my identification as Mexican American, I chose Mexico because of the high Mexican population in the United States. Mexico is the largest source of immigration in the United States, thus I wanted

to expand the contemporary literature on this large American minority population (Radford, 2019). However, the research question and aim of the research changed throughout the data collection. I developed the following final research question for this thesis: What message do the three support networks: family, culture, and non-profits and organizations, communicate to these Mexican migrant women, that makes them commit fulltime to both roles of motherhood and business ownership?

Interviews

Using a qualitative data approach I conducted a case study of seven in-depth, semi-structured interviews lasting between 45-60 minutes. I do refer to quantitative data throughout the thesis as supporting literature and data but I do not refer to this data as part of my own research. The sample consisted of Mexican women who were raised in Mexico but now currently live and own their business in the U.S. Thus, the only criteria I had for this sample was the women had to be of Mexican origin, born or raised in Mexico and migrated to the U.S. at some point in their life after childhood. I deliberately wanted the women to have migrated past their childhood so they could have had some formation of a Mexican identity prior to moving to the U.S. Having a Mexican identity is significant because as previously mentioned I originally wanted my research to focus on gender ideologies and whether there are any changes in gender roles after migration. To observe whether gender roles change there would need to have been a before and after context for research. Therefore, formation of a Mexican identity was highly important. Although my research aim shifted, the Mexican identity for a before and after context of migration is still important.

I found the businesses and business owners randomly via the internet and social media. I spent many hours researching and trying to find Latinx migrant business owners who were of Mexican origin. This involved a lot research on about each individual business owner. I would review the company website or social media page to determine if the owner was of Mexican origin, which was determined from the informative/about section of the business. Once I confirmed the owner had migrated to the U.S. from Mexico I contacted them via email or social media to request an interview. I did not have a particular U.S. geographical location for the sample, so I reached out to respondents all across the U.S. This was because I wanted to provide insight about how the location where the migrant settles affect them (Schmalzbauer, 2011, 2009; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). The industries of the business were random; age, child status and migration were all independent

variables as well. The controlled variables were these women had to be of Mexican origin, having lived a part of their life in Mexico, long enough to form a Mexican identity and then moved to the United States where they are currently business owners.

I contacted around thirty different women, but only seven of the women I contacted were available to be interviewed. Since I am currently in Hungary and the research period for this thesis was during the COVID19 global pandemic, I could only interview these women via video chat. Thus, I conducted all interviews via Google Hangouts, except for one respondent who could not access their Google account, so we conducted the interview via a phone call via WhatsApp. I recorded the audio, with permission from my respondents. Every woman I interviewed gave permission to be identified in my research.

I developed twenty guiding questions to structure the interview, but I also asked secondary questions throughout making the interview semi-structured. The questions inferred to gender roles and gender expectations but also directly referred to their migration experience and start-up story. The first half of the questions asked about their childhood, their family growing up, and their family now. These questions were aimed to learn more about their lives pre-migration. The middle questions were focused on their decision to move to the U.S., their experience first arriving in the U.S. permanently and their subsequent decision to start a business. These questions intended to determine what kind of labor they performed in the U.S., their familial status in the U.S. and to determine what led them to starting their business. The final questions were inferring more specifically about their business; how they structure their business, what kind of support they receive from family and friends, what other kinds of resources they have access to and the future of their business. These questions were aimed to understand how as migrant women they were able to start their business.

The interviews were all held in a conversational manner, where I used the set of twenty questions as the framework to guide the interviews. I let the respondents speak for themselves and steer the direction of the interview at times. When I wanted to go back to refer to certain topic I would introduce my question as a secondary question. Three of the interviews were held in Spanish as per requested by the respondent. I was able to conduct the interviews in Spanish myself since I do speak Spanish. In the English interviews there was some Spanglish spoken throughout the interviews. After each interview was completed I listened to the audio to write my notes and transcribe their responses to the twenty questions. I also transcribed statements by the interviewees

I found relevant and had significance. For the Spanish interviews, I transcribed the quotes first in Spanish and then translated them into English. I repeatedly reviewed the audio of the interviews while building my argument in case there was any additional data I could include.

Position as a Researcher

My identity as a Spanish speaking Mexican American woman with Mexican immigrant parents allowed me to relate with the women I interviewed culturally and linguistically. Sometimes in the English interviews, there was also some Spanglish thrown in. As I relate with the women I interviewed, I did empathize with them and I did intend on representing them as honestly as I could. I do assume that because of my identity some of the women were able to open up a bit more. Although I am able to relate to the women I interviewed, I do come from the position of an outsider as I am not a migrant myself. I wanted to ensure the respondents felt comfortable and they had full authority to stop the interview and to not feel obligated to answer a particular question.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data using the audio, then I would categorize each quote into a group. As I noted in the beginning, while conducting the interviews I had already noted patterns between the women. Originally, I had five categories in which I was categorizing the quotes into, to build my argument. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, my original intention with this research was to observe the changes which occur in gender roles and gender expressions of Mexican migrant women who own a business. While analyzing my data to find quotes for my argument, after writing drafts, and with helpful feedback from my supervisor, I noticed my data was actually leaning toward a different argument. My data told the argument how these seven women are provided with the resources from their support networks, such as financial capital, human capital, encouragement, guidance and inspiration to start their business. However, the support was all geared toward being able to become a business owner while still be held responsible for their family. This is when I decide to change my argument, which is what this current thesis is about. Then I started building my argument to become more specific for which I had to narrow down my groupings into three support networks: family, cultural enclaves, and non-profits and organizations.

Results- The Seven Mompreneurs

The sample of respondents is a heterogenous group of migrant women of various ages, migration patterns, and business ownership timelines. My sample consist of seven women who

were raised in Mexico and then moved to the U.S. after early childhood. The forthcoming descriptive summary of the respondents demonstrates how the migration process is different for everyone and every migrant has their own reasons for migrating.

Four of the respondents moved to the United States between ages of 30 and 40. Three of these respondents expressed moving to the U.S. for a better quality of life and more job opportunities. One of these respondents moved to the U.S. because her job in Mexico transferred her to the U.S. Two respondents explained they moved to the United States when they were college-aged to attend university in the United States. Only one woman moved to the U.S. when she was a pre-teen, to join her mother who had been working as a field laborer in the U.S. She also happened to be the only who was born in the U.S. to Mexican parents but was raised in Mexico with her Mexican grandmother. All of the respondents have some family living in the U.S. and have family living Mexico. For some of the women they were the first to move to the U.S. and then other family members followed suit.

All the respondents granted permission to be identified in the research; I will identify them by their first name and business name. Dora, owner of Dora's Table and Vanessa, owner of Sol Book Box, both have online businesses based from their home. Dora's Table is an online culinary website based on vegan Mexican food. Through her website Dora shares recipes, resources and does partnerships with brands. Sol Book Box is a monthly subscription service of Spanish (linguistic) children's book shipped from Latin American countries. They are the only fulltime employees working for their company although they sometimes do hire independent contractors for certain tasks or projects. They are also the only two business owners outside of California; Dora is currently based in Texas and Vanessa is currently based in Arizona.

The rest of the respondents are currently based in California, along with their businesses. Brenda co-owns Latina Hustle, an online artisan shop based from her home, with her sister. Her sister was not available for the interview, but she did speak on behalf of her for some relevant parts of interview. Lilia is the owner of Genesis Bridal Boutique, a retail store specializing in formal attire for Latinx traditional parties. Lilia has been the only fulltime employee but hires one or two other people for positions within the boutique. Currently Lilia had a stylist and a store employee who mostly performs errands. Loreta, is the founder and co-owner of La Vegana Mexicana, a vegan Mexican food restaurant. Loreta has made her daughter and son each a co-owner of the restaurant.

Loreta and her two children are the sole fulltime employees in their restaurant. These three businesses are all located in Southern California.

Shifting to Northern California is where Alicia's Tamales and Mi Morena are both located. Alicia's Tamales, founded and owned by Alicia, is a tamale company based in the Bay Area that distributes tamales to grocery stores, caters for major companies and to the public. Alicia currently employs twenty-five people to carry several functions within her company, such as cooks, delivery drivers, and administrative staff. Mi Morena is a Mexican food truck based in San Francisco is owned by Lupe. She directs her business alongside her daughter, them two being the only fulltime employees. However, Lupe explains that when she has large catering orders, she hires one or two outside people for assistance.

All seven respondents were working or had work experience prior to opening their business. Three of the respondents were not participating in the paid labor force at the time of establishing their business, while the other four respondents were employed. Six of the respondents had higher education or vocation training. Three of the respondents, obtained higher education in the U.S., with two of them having a master's degree. Out of these two, one of them is currently in her final year of her doctorate program. Three of the other women had received some higher education or technical training in Mexico and two of these women had careers in Mexico within their education field. Out of the five only one of the women's educational background relates to the sector of her business. One of the women is a fulltime doctorate student, who shortly prior to opening her business left her previous employment. Four of the women were employed in other jobs at the time of starting their business. Once their business expanded and they could financially dedicate themselves to their business fulltime, they left their employment. Four of the women own businesses related to the culinary industry. One of the women owns a retail business and two of the women own an online retail shop. In total three of the women conduct their business from an online platform, while the other four women have a physical space dedicated to their business.

Four of the women started their business within the past five years. One of the women started her business within the past ten years and two of the women started their business in early 2000's. These women who started their business in the early 2000's, started their business shortly after they permanently moved to the U.S. Only one of the respondents had entrepreneurial experience prior to their current business ownership. All of the women were already mothers when

they started their business. Two of the women were stay-at-home mother's when they established their business, which influenced them to pursue entrepreneurship. In total five of the women started their business when their children were/ are young. While two of the women started their business when their children were of older age, past childhood. Five of the women discussed having a spouse or partner when they started their business while two women made no mention of having a spouse or partner. All of the women cited support from their families, in terms of financial support, providing labor and encouragement.

Mompreneurship – Analysis

I argue that the seven women whom I interviewed, are influenced to commit to both roles of motherhood and entrepreneurship, by cultural enclaves, family embeddedness and support from non-profits and organizations. Since all the women I interviewed take on both roles of entrepreneurship and motherhood fulltime I have labelled them as mompreneurs. The three support networks do this by encouraging them to pursue a contemporary version of the American Dream along with imposing a neoliberal mentality of the entrepreneurial-self and high productivity (Rose, 1990). These support networks work together to provide genuine assistance and independence to the respondents that is not provided by the American economy. The aid provided is not to create a neoliberal capitalist subject but instead for creating the image that immigrant Mexican and Latinx women can achieve entrepreneurial success and become business owners. Yet, in doing so, the support networks unconsciously provide a solution to the “crisis of care” by encouraging both motherhood and business ownership (Fraser, 2016). My research question for this thesis is: What message do the three support networks: family, culture, and non-profits and organizations, communicate to these Mexican migrant women, that makes them commit fulltime to both roles of motherhood and business ownership?

There are several different ways Mexican migrant women are supported and receive continual support when becoming business owners. Support networks are extensive and complex systems resources for these women. From my respondents I identified three distinct support networks, which do overlap at times, but each support network provides a distinct type of aid. The support provided by these networks help establish their business and expand the business. Support entails human capital, financial capital, guidance, education, and encouragement and inspiration to start their business. Although all my respondents are currently happy with their business ownership,

there are time consequences they encounter, which I will discuss near the end. I demonstrate how each support network provides genuine support for the respondents but the message being sent is to stay close to the family and keep familial responsibility first. In sending this message the support networks are encouraging the respondents to be as productive as they can be by committing to both family and entrepreneurship.

Family

All the respondents received some kind of support from their family. The support offered by the family was human capital, financial capital, encouragement, and source of inspiration. The family provides these resources for the women I interviewed, representing there is support from the family. However, the family is also an obstacle as these women all described having a responsibility toward their family (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016). All but one of the respondents identified a certain responsibility to their immediate family (children and partner). The one respondent identified familial responsibility beyond her immediate family to her mother and siblings. In the following section I will demonstrate how the family is a source of support for the respondent's business as long as the respondent does not stray away from her family. This is partly influenced by the Mexican culture because family is a major cultural value in Mexico. Putting family first is common in other migrant communities as demonstrated in the case study of Indian migrants in Australia (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016).

Being migrant women, they are sometimes encouraged to work while still holding responsibility for the household duties. All the women in my sample had participated in the labor force prior to starting their business. Family becomes involved with the actual business, which eases the women's ability to justify their entrepreneurship. By involving family, the women do not feel as they are abandoning their familial responsibility, thus becoming mompreneurs. For some women who started their business when their children were young, the children's involvement continues when they grow up. Only two of the respondents in my sample purposely started their business to still be able to care for their children. The other five women did not start their business with the intention of managing both roles. However, for some of the respondents since they were responsible for childcare and their children were young, they became responsible for childcare, their employment and starting their business. Although, there is a substantial amount of support

given by familial networks, the support is presented to ensure the women are able to dedicate themselves to their families and business, both fulltime.

Children as Inspiration and Support

In the following section I demonstrate how children are used as inspiration by their mothers for starting a business and how the children are used a source of human capital when they are older. Children (as a familial resource from the family support network) influence their mother's business and her entrepreneurial ability. All seven of my respondents started their business as mothers and emphasized they put family first. Almost all the respondents started their business with themselves as the sole source of human capital which caused the boundaries of childcare (provided by the mother) and work, overlap and sometimes this was intended. For some of these five women they had three shifts to partake in since they were employed while starting their business and were responsible for childcare. These women faced an increase in labor in the beginning stages of their business,

You know it's funny because in the day I would clean houses and be a caretaker for the elderly and then after I put son to sleep for the night, I would get to cooking from 11pm until around 3:30am and that's how I was for many years.

(Alicia's Tamales, personal communication, April 24, 2020)

Alicia partook in her "second shift" (Hochschild, 2012) by being employed and still taking care of her son whilst working a third shift to work on her business. Instead of Alicia recognizing how much work she put in to building her company, she simply cites the events as a funny memory. This shows how she accepted the roles that were given to her to achieve her entrepreneurial goal. Throughout the process of her starting her business, she would bring her children along because they were still little kids and she was their primary caretaker. She recounted this as a memory but with no acknowledgement of how much work she had to put in by taking on three major roles. From Alicia's example there are also elements of a neoliberal mentality arising. She needs to be as productive as possible to be able to achieve her entrepreneurial goal or the American Dream. Concurrently, Alicia is providing a solution to the "crisis of care" (Fraser, 2016) as she is in the workforce and the primary caretaker for her children.

Now that Alicia's children are older, they are still highly involved in her business but now as a labor source. Her children's involvement in the business has become literal because they are now a labor source for the business. Alicia integrated her children into the tamale business with unique roles her children can offer and contribute to. Demonstrated by her business timeline, when the children grow older, depending on the labor, they eventually become increasingly involved with their mother's business. Children's involvement is not simply because of their ability to work, but for the women to be close to their family. When children no longer require childcare or supervision, they are no longer involved because of childcare. Alicia wants her children to be involved in with her company shown by how she provides outlets for her children to contribute to the company, beyond physical labor. Her oldest son studied environmental sciences in college and Alicia encourages him to use his skills within her company as he is currently working to eventually make his mother's company go waste free. Contributing to business development and validating her son's ideas demonstrates how Alicia combines family and the business to support her children and provide them an outlet to exercise their abilities.

Dealing with a shorter timeline but similar children's involvement both Lupe owner of Mi Morena and Loreta from La Vegana Mexicana did not start their business until their children were older. One of the women did not start working until her children were older since she was their primary caretaker. She explained how she did not have time in between raising three children to focus on her own career, when they were little. Once she started her career, opportunities led her to open her food truck and food business. Both of these women recently started their business within the last three years. As their children are of older age, they have both enlisted the help of their children to start and be able to function their business. Their older children are involved with the administrative aspects of the business while the younger children (teenagers) are involved with manual labor. When one of the women was presented with the opportunity to transition into a brick & mortar establishment, she enlisted in the serious support from her children. She took her children's involvement so seriously, and wanted to continue to support them, she made co-owners of the business she had founded. For these women, as their children grow older, they do not then separate the family and their business. The women maintain their mompreneurship by managing their roles as mothers and business owners by enlisting their children's help in the labor aspect of their business. The children are still close and involved.

In a more typical mompreneur style (Orgad, 2018; Dillard, 2015), Vanessa owner of Sol Book Box and Dora of Dora's Table, both started an online business when they transitioned into becoming stay-at-home mothers, to avoid hindering the career they developed prior to becoming mothers. Vanessa started Sol Book Box, a monthly book subscription service, as a mother when she saw a need in the Spanish speaking community within the United States. Vanessa did not have the desire to return to the labor market when she became a mother, she capitalized on the opportunity to start her own business by wanting to help other parents facing the same dilemma,

But also I had never not worked, so that's what led me to wanting to do something. The combination of helping other parents who were experiencing the same thing I was and not being able to reconcile working for someone else, I'll just work for myself.

(Sol Book Box, personal communication, May 22, 2020)

Prior to having her children she had no issue working for someone else and away from home, but after her first child was born she just could not imagine going back to a work setting away from home and her children. She continued her professional career by opting to start her own business from home. When Vanessa explains she will just work for herself, this suggest she identifies having autonomy in her decision and still having control over career, in becoming a mompreneur. Dora and Vanessa were the only respondents to have consciously structured their business around their family. For the sake of their family and their own professional career, both were the only women who intentionally wanted to manage their roles as a mother and business owner,

The thing that I like best about blogging is that it's very flexible. So I can spend twenty hours a week on it and I'll still have an income...So it has given me a lot of flexibility to still be a mom and a professional.

(Dora's Table, personal communication, May 17, 2020)

Both women vehemently express their desire to continue their professional life while being stay-at-home mothers. Flexibility offered by the structure of online businesses represent how these women have a sense of more independence and freedom. The women then feel like they are able to devote themselves fully to both their roles. They demonstrate how they value both motherhood

and their professional career and through their online business they do not feel like they have to choose between one or the other. A neoliberal mentality (Rose, 1990) is expressed through these women as they do not want to stall their careers so these choose to continue being productive through entrepreneurship while in motherhood. Adding to Richomme-Huet & Vial (2014), the only solution for women is to take on both roles. These two respondents wanted to stay home with their kids but at the same time wanted to continue pursuing their professional careers. They chose entrepreneurship as the solution so they could continue their professional life and keep their roles as a mothers.

Both women did identify how the boundaries between being a professional and mother overlap constantly since they are doing continually doing both. The women explained they did create time frames for their children such as napping or playtime, which in this time they are dedicated to working on their business. However, these time frames are broken apart throughout the day, thus there is not necessarily one significant time block for them to dedicate fully to their business. The role of being a mother is still classified as the role which comes first, since they only work on their business when they have time.

There is a difference in the how these mompreneurs originated, some of the women deliberately wanted to manage both their roles of being a mother and a professional career, thus they chose entrepreneurship as their outlet. As they started their business with the intention of managing both roles they structured their business accordingly. While the other women learned they ultimately had to manage both their roles as they did not structure their business around their family. Thus, because these other businesses require more labor and were not structured around the family, the family becomes involved through labor.

Familial Inspiration

For these mompreneurs, family involves support in the form of inspiration from their immediate and extensive family members, and cultural influences. The support networks within family demonstrate how much family is embedded in the respondent's company. As family is a major cultural value within Mexican culture the familial closeness comes naturally. Straying too far from the family can be seen as ignoring one's obligation and dishonoring their family (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016). Sharing one's generational culture through their business is one-way support networks of family influenced and supported the respondents in their business.

For all the women interviewed, their businesses have been influenced by familial tradition. They identify learning the skills to make these products from members of their family, mostly maternal figures. Co-owner of Latina Hustle, Brenda, discussed how the Mexican cultural influence of women is still being passed and brought into American culture. Using the artisan skills she was taught by her extended family; she was influenced to start creating with those skills. Family is the source of inspiration, and attachment to heritage for Brenda. Like Brenda, the women who own restaurants are influenced by their family and culture. All three women cited learning to cook Mexican food from maternal figures within the family. Women cooking for the household is common normative role in Mexican culture and Mexican families, thus they were taught cooking skills by their family. One of the respondents who owns a dress boutique, Lilia, along with her sisters who are also independent business owners, were influenced by their mother who was a seamstress in Mexico. Only one of the women identified influence from a paternal figure in her family, explaining her father was a doctor and vegan, she has been prepared to offer delicious and health conscious food. Family culture influenced and supported these women as the businesses were based off the familial skills taught to them. Albeit, the skills the women learned from their family are highly feminized, as they mostly come from maternal figures (Cohen & Wokowitz, 2017). Since, they are feminized skills they are adapted to be for wives and mothers. Therefore, this type of influence allows for the women to easily use these skills to open their business and still assume their roles as mothers.

There Must be Family

To run their online shop, Brenda identified many actors within the family that help make this happen. Having her family highly involved assures her not to feel guilty for being a business owner and leaving her former employment, where she was able to financial support her family. As the respondents feel this responsibility toward their family, receiving support from their family demonstrates an exchange between the respondents and their family. The support will be provided as long as the respondents maintain the responsibility to their family. Brenda certainly enlists support from her family: using familial cultural traditions, her sister is co-owner, her mother-in-law provides childcare support, and her brother-in-law also creates some of the materials required. Brenda directly addressed she feels a responsibility for her entire family, not only towards her partner and child, throughout our interview. She stayed close to her Mexican culture, and then

involved her sister as the co-owner of Latina Hustle. Her family working together for the online store comforts her in knowing she is able to fulfill her familial responsibility,

It really has been an opportunity to bring my family together... Well, if my family is involved in it then I'm really not letting go of that identity because I'm still helping my family and my family is helping.

(Latina Hustle, personal communication, May 5, 2020)

When she involved her sister, Evelyn, as co-owner of Latina Hustle this allowed for her sister to be able to work from home and provide childcare for her son. Creating these opportunities for her family confirms to her she is still caring for her family. For her own daughter's childcare, since Brenda is also currently a doctoral student and her partner works fulltime, her mother-in-law is the source of childcare for her daughter. Brenda is the only business owner who identified having access to childcare as a business owner. Since her mother-in-law provides childcare for Brenda to be able to work on her business and doctoral thesis shows familial support as a labor source, and this labor assists Brenda in working on her business. Brenda has access to fulltime childcare assistance through the family, which makes childcare affordable (Isaken, 2010). Without the support of her mother-in-law, the outcomes of how Brenda manages her roles would most likely appear differently.

Lilia, owner of Genesis Bridal Boutique, had two of her sisters already living in Orange County, California prior to her moving to the United States. Both her sisters also already had established their clothing stores in Santa Ana, in where she would assist them with. By herself getting involved in her sisters businesses she was simultaneously learning for her future business and being used as a labor resource for her sisters. Prior to Lilia, permanently moving to the United States, when she would visit her sisters, they were occupied with their businesses. To spend time with them, she worked alongside them at their store. She, herself became a labor resource for her sisters.

Shortly after she permanently moved to the United States, she opened her business and her sisters were a source of support. At first she and children were living with one of her sisters. Her sisters also provided supplies for her business until she was able to payback them back, and Lilia established her store in the same area as her sisters stores. In regard to financial support, Lilia's

mother provided a \$5,000 loan in the beginning. Being a migrant entrepreneur, she used these resources and limited savings she had to start her business, to provide a secured future for her sons. Further, as Lilia was the primary caretaker and financial stability for her sons, she was in need of support, for the sake of her family and business. Being the sole primary caretaker for her children, along with the support of her family, has encouraged Lilia to manage both her role fulltime.

Family involvement is still important to Lilia today. At the time of interview, we were in the midst of the 2020 coronavirus global pandemic, so she had started selling face masks (to protect against COVID-19) to keep her business afloat. Through this new business venture she has been able to support her family by providing them with labor,

I've been able to provide a job for my family, as well. Get my sisters involved, my sons and their kids. We've been working as a family to do this. I feel good, we started making masks and with the revenue we're able to pay people.

(Genesis Bridal Boutique, personal communication, May 10, 2020)

She is gratified to be able to include her family and provide them with work, demonstrating the loyalty she has toward them. Family is still close to her and through continuing to combine family and her business, she is fulfilling her responsibility toward them. Also, although her son is older, he is also working alongside her in her store. Reiterating my argument, these women continue to provide an outlet for their children. Her loyalty and continual responsibility toward her family illustrates the influence of Mexican culture in the American setting.

Family is viewed by all the women as a support network that has continued to support them and their business. Once Alicia's business started to expand, her husband began to help her, and now he permanently works for company. Discussing the status of her business today, she identified her business as a family business, due to the involvement of her children and husband. Alicia has created this company to support her family and has expanded to provide jobs for her family, which she is pleased with. Apart from her family, she has 25 other people employed in her business whom she identifies as family. Identifying her team as family shows how family within Mexican culture is so embedded, she can so easily associate her team with family, extending the definition of family.

Alicia highly praises her team and their contribution to her business, as much as saying she would be nothing without them. Family is viewed as the resource by Alicia that helps her maintain her business. Alicia, much like all the other women interviewed mentioned the support and help they have received from their families. Familial support consists of various people and networks, Lupe was inspired to start Mi Morena by seeing her sister-in-law have her own restaurant. She was inspired by seeing another woman within her family, who had similar roles of being a mother and a business owner. Her sister-in-law represented to Lupe how she could become a mompreneur, managing her familial responsibility and her business. Observing the representation of her sister-in-law, Lupe, saw herself capable of taking the initiative to start her business to help support her family financially. She was met with encouragement from her sister-in-law on her business venture, teaching her more about becoming a business owner,

Yes, she did support me. She would tell me if I could do it, to do it.
She showed me how to work so that it wouldn't be too exhausting
on me. Because the labor is very hard. But yes she supported
me. She's a good person.

(Mi Morena, personal communication, May 18, 2020)

Here another family member with similar roles inspired Lupe in becoming a business owner and was continually provided with support by her sister-in-law. The support made the process of starting and owning the business more manageable for Lupe. Lupe appreciates all the support she has received from her family, making it clear they have been involved in her business since the beginning. Family is a source of aid for her by providing guidance, labor and financial support. However, as well simply being provided the encouragement shows how important family is for these women. All the familial support they are presented with is too stay close to their families.

There are different kinds of support presented to the women who intentionally started a business to also focus on childcare. Although Vanessa (Sol Book Box), currently still manages most of the labor involved in her monthly book subscription business, she started her business with the support of her husband and parents. Vanessa started her online business to be able to manage her role as a mom and professional career, thus the labor is less intensive since she needed to be able to manage the entirety of the business herself. Her husband did initially support her by helping her in processes she did not know how to for her business before. Her parents also presented her

with \$1,000 startup fund. As she started her business, she shipped out the products all on her own, and this is the labor-intensive activity her family participates in. Here family is involved as she is a stay-at-home mother and the business is relatively young, she did not need to hire someone else to help, so her family became the resource to help her with the minimal physical work. Now that her business is in the third year and is expanding, she has hired a contractor for the packaging of the products. As her business and responsibilities are growing, she is prepared to hire more people as her main focus is still raising and being with her children.

Dora's (Dora's Table) experience with family support was different because her online culinary blog was not making a revenue right away, so her business venture was initially perceived as a hobby by family. Dora was committed on eventually making her blog into a business to support her family, when her business did make a profit her family began to support her culinary blog. Dora had a professional background in culinary arts, which she chose because of the creative aspect and the knowledge from growing up with restaurateur parents. Although she was not fully immersed into the restaurant growing up, this connection made it easier for her to choose culinary arts as her profession, showing she was influenced by the environment she had grown up in. Dora actually currently works in her father's restaurant, she now has to manage three roles, as a mother, being employed and business owner. Managing three different roles demonstrates the influence of a neoliberal mentality. By needing to support her family and working with her family, she being as productive as she can. Of the women who were married, they were all in heterosexual marriages, they all discussed that their husband's encouraged them to start their business. Financial support and labor participation were the type of support provided by their husbands.

Cultural Enclave

Cultural enclaves provide support to these women by providing a market and a source of inspiration. The cultural enclaves are also the sites where these women are able to justify their business purpose. As discussed in the literature review, migrant women often lack the confidence as a business owner (Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Mari et. al., 2016; González & Campbell, 2018). There is the discussion of whether a cultural enclave damages (González & Campbell, 2018) a migrant-owned business or whether they help the migrant entrepreneur (Zani, 2018; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Shinnar & Young, 2008; Alvarez, R. M., Jr.,1990). The respondents are influenced by their culture when creating their products and often times the products are sold to

someone in the same cultural enclave, demonstrating culture as a resource. Within the Mexican population and Latinx population in the United States there is a strong sense of community. The women interviewed all own businesses which are specific and inspired by Mexican culture, but the intended market is not limited to the Mexican population. In this section I demonstrate how culture helps impact the migrant entrepreneur.

When Alicia, owner of Alicia's Tamales first moved to San Francisco, she was amazed by all the diversity she witnessed inspiring her to share her own culture. As she had her traditional familial skills of making tamales, she was able to share her Mexican culture through food. Alicia was inspired by the diversity she encountered in San Francisco and inspired by her Mexican culture to start her own business. Alicia used her own culture as a resource to add to the culture in San Francisco. Alicia being an immigrant and mother was resourceful in combining the resources she had access to in the United States and from back home to create her company, being able to care for her children and work when starting her business. Lupe (Mi Morena) is also based out of San Francisco, she explains since Mexican cuisine is vast and diverse, there is will always be culture to share with the American population. Sharing Mexican food is the same way culture is used by all the women who are working in the culinary industry.

Loreta (La Vegana Mexicana) and Dora (Dora's Table) work in offering vegan Mexican food. Their target market is not necessarily the Mexican population but most of the reward comes from being able to provide vegan Mexican food to the Mexican people who are no longer able to eat their traditional food. As veganism within the Mexican and Latinx communities are increasing there is rising need of veganized food. Food often brings people together within the Mexican culture, since veganized versions of popular Mexican foods are not widely offered, Dora and Loreta are fulfilling this need from their culture. Dora is continuously inspired to expand her blog because of how much her blog helps other people, especially people within the Mexican or Latinx culture. The need she sees inspires her to continue working on spreading her message for delicious vegan and health conscious Mexican food. Both Dora and Loreta, recognize the gap of healthy food options for people of color and low-income communities. Their business serves as the outlet to spread the message and contribute toward Mexican culture,

It makes me work also in a way thinking that I also still need to provide healthy food, you know? And especially to people of color you know? People who have less access to healthy foods.

(La Vegana Mexicana, personal communication, May 1 ,2020)

Both women justify their business ownership with a sense of responsibility they have to keep offering healthy vegan food to the cultural enclave. These women do not view their business simply as a way to make money, but with an altruistic purpose. The purpose of business is being supported by the cultural community, reassuring these women that their business is important. The business no longer serves to satisfy just familial responsibility but also a responsibility to the cultural enclave. This demonstrates the influence of neoliberal mentality as now their productivity is increasing due to these women needing to fulfill a need they see in the community. All these immigrant women have access to culture, from Mexico and then use their culture as a resource. In addition, as shown above these women are adding to the culture for the Mexican and Latinx population in the United States.

Albeit Vanessa is not sharing vegan Mexican cuisine with Sol Book Box but she is fulfilling the need many bilingual households in the United States need, well-written and culturally representative Spanish children's books. Vanessa is motivated by this need which supports her business as the purpose, which shows the neoliberal mentality of motherhood creating and providing better products for her children (Dillard, 2015). Sol Book Box has a societal goal in cultivating the Spanish bilingual culture children are raised in the United States. Children of Spanish speaking migrants, most of whom are from Latin American origin, only grow up speaking Spanish. Reading and writing in Spanish is often a skill rarely practiced. Support for her business is from these bilingual households she is contributing to. Her message is to spread the importance of equipping children with the correct resources to be literate in the language of their parents native tongue. The message being spread by these women's businesses represent the neoliberal need to make their business as productive and useful for society, thus their business needs to have a purpose.

Mexican traditions transfer over to American society, Lilia (Genesis Bridal Boutique) provides the materials to continue practicing these traditions. Her dress boutique offers several styles of dresses for *quinceanera*, and culturally Catholic events. These types of dresses being

offered are all unique to Mexican, Latinx culture and Catholicism. Catholicism is a major religion in Mexico that heavily influences the culture (Donoso, J.C., 2014), becoming difficult to separate one from the other, hence culturally Catholic events. Lilia's business is located in historic downtown Santa Ana, a Latinx ethnic enclave in Orange County, California. Being located in an ethnic enclave and providing culture specific formal wear, culture supports her business and she supports the culture; keeping tradition alive in the United States. The restaurant, La Vegana Mexicana, is also located in downtown Santa Ana, becoming a contemporary addition to the historic ethnic enclave. Using their own culture, these women were able to use culture as a resource for their business innovations.

Latina Hustle is an online market, but the owners are based out of the greater Los Angeles area. Prior to the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, the owners would participate in physical vendor events, where they would meet our Latinx and Mexican vendors. Becoming a part of the community of Latinx vendors Brenda explains the community found. Within this cultural community, vendors support each other and share about each other. As mompreneurs, this support helps them promote each other and spread their business. In this way the cultural enclave is a great resource because they are able to find support for their business and for their identity as a working mom. Ethnic culture brings people together within this community, creating their own safe space to support themselves. Similarly another woman explained how the Latinx population in the United States has to create their own communities to thrive,

Just like me, there's a lot of Latino bloggers who are doing the same thing, and we've kind of created our platform... Each one of us has created our own platform so that we can speak for ourselves.

(Dora's Table, personal communication, May 17, 2020)

The cultural and ethnic community has to create their own safe space and platform to be heard in the United States. This is helpful for women who are becoming Latina mompreneurs because they can find the support from other women with similar roles and learn from each other. The cultural community of Latinx vendors and bloggers are creating safe spaces for where these women can come together and have the discussions for how they manage their roles and identity. As I mentioned in the introduction, this shows how Latinx women have to fight of their own representation. They are achieving the contemporary version of the American Dream seeking

representation where they belong. Culture influences the creation of the business, the continual support, and support as migrant women. Community can be easily created because of how much family is embedded into Mexican culture.

Non-profits and Organizations

Non-profits and organizations are a form of support network that is not cultural nor familial but provided great support for some of the women to establish their business. At the same time these women are contributing to organizations or hope to eventually create alongside their business. For the women interviewed, these organizations had a significant impact on starting their business by supporting them as mothers, migrants and women. As this support network is a resource and concurrently the respondents are contributing or hope to contribute towards, there are two sections; Organizations as a Resource and Contributions.

Organizations as a Resource

Both Alicia (Alicia's Tamales) and Lupe (Mi Morena) were supported by the non-profit called La Cocina. Based in San Francisco, La Cocina supports minority and immigrant population to jumpstart their business. Both women were extensively provided aid and education by La Cocina for their business venture. As well, Lupe's sister-in-law started her business by being a graduate of La Cocina's program. This organization brings together the diverse immigrant and minority entrepreneurs in Northern California. For Lupe, La Cocina was the only non-profit which she came into contact with, and since the next step of her business is involved directly with them she is not actively seeking out other organizations. However, for Alicia she actively sought out various types of support from this support network, she was provided with financial and structural support by several organizations. Both women are expressed great appreciation for the organizations who have supported them. To seek out these resources Alicia reasoned there should be help in this country (United States), hinting at being motivated by the American Dream concept. She sought out the resources and encountered organizations focused on helping women, ethnic minorities, and immigrants,

I would like to share something with you to include. One has to find the resources. I told myself, "I have to find the resources." and so I found that organization that helps me with the business plan. Then I found *La Cocina*. Since you're a super small business, where you

have no capital, you need to find organizations that will believe in your business and make you a loan. I have five organizations which I love so much: Alas para las Mujeres Latinas, La Cocina, MEDA (Mission Economic Development Agency), MAS (Mission Asset Funds), and Opportunity Fund...They are like banks but with hearts. They think a lot about how to help you.

(Alicia's Tamales, personal communication, April 24, 2020)

Multiple organizations were listed by Alicia which helped her, and for different reasons. This shows the various steps and the long process Alicia took to get her business to where it is now. The non-profits mentioned represent all the different aspects of starting a business and how much help an immigrant woman entrepreneur needs to start the business, because of her other responsibilities. Due to their other responsibilities, familial and cultural, these women cannot devote their fulltime towards expanding and growing their business. These organizations and non-profits fulfill that gap. When Alicia discussed bringing her children to a tasting event when she was applying for aid from La Cocina, demonstrates how the organization allowed her children to attend the meeting because they understood she had no other option for childcare. The organization is also reinforcing the migrant women to accepting their roles as mothers fulltime in addition to becoming business owners.

Since these resources have been focused Northern California, Vanessa (Sol Book Box) shows how there is also some support for migrant women in Phoenix, Arizona. She jumpstarted her business when she won a contest hosted by Hispanic television network, Univision. Univision is a global Hispanic television network but predominately serves the Latinx population in the United States. The contest was an opportunity for entrepreneurs to start their dream business. The American Dream is being promoted by Hispanic and Latinx networks. Although she was able to start her business with resources provided by the contest, she had the idea to start this business before that. The contest was simply scheduled at a good timing. Univision partnered with local non-profit, Seed Spot, to conduct the entrepreneurial training. The trainings were conducted in Spanish due to the partnership with Univision, this provided the opportunity for the Latinx and migrant population to receive aid for their advancement in the United States. Since Vanessa was inspired to start this business because she wanted an outlet to continue her professional career, Univision and Seed Spot aided her in transitioning into a business owner, while taking care of her

child. Thus, Vanessa controlled this aspect of being a fulltime mom and business owner concurrently. Since Univision is a Spanish network and Vanessa explained the trainings were in Spanish, this contest was aimed for migrants. This demonstrates how the organizations are influencing the neoliberal mentality of productivity and the entrepreneurial self to migrants. The four other respondents: Lilia (Genesis Bridal Boutique), Loreta (La Vegana Mexicana), Dora, (Dora's Table) and Brenda (Latina Hustle) made no mention of having support from a non-profit or organization.

Organizations to Contribute

As some of the businesses have altruistic messages, the business owners also want to contribute to some type of organization or create their own type of organization. The need to contribute elsewhere beyond their own family and business demonstrates the women's high desire to be productive. As some of the respondents use their business as the platform to spread their message, they already are contributing to a community. Demonstrated previously by Dora (Dora's Table) and Loreta (La Vegana Mexicana), they use their business as way to spread the message of healthy eating for Latinx and Mexican community. Dora's business is a resource in itself by providing recipes and information on vegan Mexican food. Loreta wants to continue using her business as the platform to advocate for healthy eating. She expressed her passion of helping others and how she uses this need to continually motivate her in advancement of business. Both these women have a message to spread with their business.

Following the culinary industry, Alicia would like to use her business for benevolent reasons as well. Although her message is not related to the business she still wants to use the platform of her business to contribute to her surround community. She answered the following when asked about the future of her business,

I would like to start an organization, not sure what kind yet but maybe to help DACA students. Like a foundation to help...there is the homeless population, women who need help. There is a lot where someone can help.

(Alicia's Tamales, personal communication, April 24, 2020)

Alicia identified several communities within society in which she can help. She does not view her company with the purpose to simply provide another income to her household, she leads

her business with the intention of providing to the community and those around her. Brenda of Latina Hustle also wishes to eventually use her business as a platform to start a non-profit or community organization. She would like to contribute to the community where she sees many gaps. Brenda herself identifies the importance of community for support and wants to then provide support to the communities.

Vanessa from Sol Book Box has also been using her business as a platform to further spread her message of bilingual households and resources. She has started working other projects to further expand this message and build into the community. She hopes to collaborate with the non-profit, Seed Spot, which trained her in entrepreneurship, to provide more Spanish resources. As they do not offer their services in Spanish, the Latinx and Spanish population are left out. Her trainings were conducted in Spanish because of the partnership between Univision and Seed Spot. In this way her online business can be further understood as an organization with resources.

Spreading a message, providing resources and support are goals of the women interviewed. They are not simply using their business as a source of income; they also want to help their community. These women have found meaning and purpose in their business beyond provided extra income for their family. In this way they are justifying their business ownership by having a humanitarian purpose attached to their business now. As explained earlier by Latina Hustle founder, her business is not used simply as a source of income but as an opportunity to help others, bring her family together and now her business is demonstrated as the platform to further contribute to the Latinx community.

There is always this sense of giving back. We don't do this just to make money, there is always a deeper personal meaning.

(Latina Hustle, personal communication, May 5, 2020)

Culture now, to avoid being self-serving. The perception these Mexican women have of themselves make them feel they need to give back and be used by others, to not just focus on themselves. Faith and religion impact the way these woman perceive themselves and their business venture. Three of the women related the success of their business to their faith. If they view themselves as having been successful, they feel indebted to give back. Faith has been a common theme throughout some of the respondents, such as having hope from some sort of religious faith. As well talking about the

blessings they have been presented with, thus providing *blessings* to their community. Co-owner of Latina Hustle explained the sense of “Catholic guilt” influencing their need to give back. Some of the women have identified their faith as a resource, to keep them motivated and associating their success again to something or someone, other than themselves. By viewing their business not just as a company but as a platform to spread a message and to give back, they place a higher benevolent value on their business. This then justifies their business and business ownership because they are no longer simply working for the income and their family, but for the community.

Intersection of Migration and Support Networks

Cooking within the family, in Mexico is typically still assigned to the mother/wife. However, the transitions from women’s cooking being unpaid to paid and considered professional is not smooth, in both Mexico and the United States. Dora had worked to build up her professional career in the culinary industry prior to becoming a mother. She had made room for herself in the American culinary industry, but once she became a stay-at-home mom, her place was quickly gone. The high need for commitment on behalf of women in the culinary industry as discussed by Dora shows how there is still not an easy transition from unpaid cooking to paid cooking for women. She understands the high barriers of entry into the professional kitchen faced by women in both Mexico and the United States. Dora grew up observing her father’s restaurant where women were not encouraged to enter. Even now as she returns to work part-time in her father’s restaurant, still located in Mexico, she faces sexist biases,

If in the restaurant business, it’s male dominated and when I did work in the restaurant business, and even now as I return to it with my father, there’s a lot of, I guess it’s discrimination because I’m a woman. Especially in Mexico, cause my dad’s restaurant is in Mexico, there’s still a lot of *machismo*...and in the U.S. it still exists but now it’s more, it’s kinda hidden. Kinda hidden under politeness.

(Dora’s Table, personal communication, May 17, 2020)

Dora demonstrates how women in Mexico, are not allowed or encouraged to participate in the professional kitchen. With the support of the communities presented: family, non-profits and the ethnic enclaves, they are able to create the new industry of women who are transitioning into paid culinary works as their own business owners. Even as mompreneurs, these women are able to

participate in professionalism of paid culinary work because they have created the way for themselves with the support of their communities. In Mexico tradition, the mother, maternal figure is limited to cooking within the household. With assistance from the three support networks, they have been able to break the barriers of entry into the culinary industry in the American context for migrant women and Mexican migrant women.

The other three women (Loreta, Lupe and Alicia) who own a restaurant have all been able to cook professionally, transitioning their cooking from unpaid to paid labor. The division of labor between the businesses allows for these three women to dedicate themselves to the cooking and improving. With the labor provided by their children they are able to focus on the cooking aspect of their business, bringing representation of Mexican women as professionals and migrants as professionals. These women are creating and contributing to a new industry and community where Latina women who want to be involved in the food industry can do so with lower sexism and challenging the sexist barriers of industry. Although they did not directly discuss this, their developments cannot go unnoticed. These women have been successful at managing their roles of being mothers while transitioning those same familial skills into paid labor. Yet, they are responsible for fulfilling their familial needs.

Brenda has also been able to start her business with support she has received in the American setting. As previously discussed, Brenda started Latina Hustle with influence from her heritage. However, unique to her is she started her business of Mexican artisan crafts as a hobby for selfcare. Selfcare for her mental health influenced her to start her business but is a different reason than her family's financial necessity to start selling artisans. This difference comes from the contemporary American social understanding of mental health, which Brenda speaks on,

My sister and I... we understand mental health generationally, it's different right? Our generation is more open about it but also in America they're a little more open about it. So talking about it to my mom or my *tias*, they're like "*aye estas loca.*"

(Latina Hustle, personal communication, May 5, 2020)

This shows how moving to the United States and learning within the American cultural system, Brenda has different consideration on mental health than her family members who have not learned about mental health in the American context. Starting the business for selfcare of mental

health is different than the reason why her family members started selling crafts, which Brenda acknowledged. From her experience living in the United States and getting an American education, Brenda approaches mental health differently than some of her family. Migration encouraged Brenda and her sister to have a different perspective on mental health, to openly discuss mental health for the sake of health.

Consequences of Family Time

In the beginning I discussed how some of the women interviewed started their businesses to be able to keep their professional career while providing childcare for their children. With this structure in mind, for these women their professional career was intended to be shaped around their family life. For the women who started their business not to for the sake of flexibility, struggled to make sense of their boundaries. Since Dora's Table is an online business, Dora acknowledges the flexibility she has results from the type of business she owns, which allows her to fulfill her mother duties and now allows her to work a second job; she recently started working part-time in father's restaurant. Due to the type of business she owns, since she can dictate when she works and there is not a high amount of physical labor required. Flexibility implies independence as she is able to work how and when she wants. Dora's business originated with the idea to be able care for children while working from home. Thus, when explains the time devoted toward her business, she has a set time boundary and does not feel guilt with the time spends on each of her other roles. Even though there are boundaries between childcare and working, as both Dora and Vanessa explained, their business is now simply a part of their life. Their business does not require too much of their attention and does not require their attention all the time so they can have the business almost in the background. However, when there are free moments from childcare, they take this time work on their business and whenever else they can find the time. Their roles as mothers are not against their role as a business owner. Since both women are now expanding to work beyond childcare and their business, these new roles are not negotiating against their already existing roles.

For two other women, Lupe and Lilia, both restaurant owners, they both struggle to feel satisfied in their responsibility toward their family and business. They both started their business as a source of income, so time flexibility was not a variable. None of the women mentioned seeking out or being provided with childcare assistance when they became business owners. Lilia discusses she ultimately decided to settle in the United States because she observed a higher quality of life

for her sons. She chose to move to the United States to secure a better future for her sons but then when explain the time devotion her business required, she wonders if she made the best decision,

In reality, the business absorbs a lot of my time. Sometimes, I think I haven't even had a proper life. My sons for example, sometimes the older one tells me, "Mom, you never gave yourself the time to be with us. You spent all your time working." And I tell him "Yeah son, well I had to provide the roof and the food. If I spent all my time with you guys where would I get the money for all the expenses." [To which she explains her son's reply] "Yes, I understand but you weren't there for us." And that does hurt. So one asks them self, "How much has it actually been worth?"

(Genesis Bridal Boutique, personal communication, May 10, 2020)

Although she moved to the United States to secure a better life for her sons, due to her business absorbing her time, she feels like she did not fully fulfill her familial responsibility. However, Lilia was the sole source of financial income for her family, their primary caretaker and a business owner. These are three roles which sometimes do not overlap but Lilia has had to negotiate herself between all three of them. Lupe identified how with her sister's business and now herself, the business just absorbs most of her time, limiting her social and family life. Alike, Lupe of Mi Morena discusses how she also sometimes feels she sacrifices family time to dedicate time toward her business. Cooking again is cited to be her responsibility within the family, sometimes she cannot achieve this duty. Lupe recognizes owning a business as a mother and having a family is not easy. She is still left with familial responsibility and thus she finds fulfilling both of her roles tough. There is more work involved, even as her kids are older, she still has obligations toward her family.

Although Latina Hustler co-owner Brenda did not start her business to avoid stalling her professional career, she still wants her daughter to be involved and see her mother working, to set an example. This suggest she feels an obligation to be as involved with her daughter as she can be; even though she is a fulltime business owner and doctorate student. Brenda is the only business owner to mention having fulltime childcare which makes spending time with her daughter easier because the childcare is then flexible. Her mother-in-law, the child caretaker for her daughter, joins Latina Hustle at the vendor events so Brenda can spend time with her daughter and for her daughter to see her mom in her multiple roles, beyond being a mother. Having access to childcare is clearly

not a resource everyone has access to and even with childcare Brenda wants her daughter to witness her mother working to see the identity and capability of a woman. When I asked Brenda how she was able to manage her multiple responsibilities she responded by saying, “It takes a village.” (Latina Hustle, personal communication, May 5, 2020).

Implication of these Mexican Migrant Mompreneurs

Family, cultural enclaves and non-profits and organizations all provide grand support for these women to start their business and to continue their business, but by keeping the support closely related to family. Support being offered for these women is for them to advance and create a higher quality of life for themselves, their family and fellow community. The women cannot be separated too much from their family, due to Mexican culture but then culture aids as the connector to not stray too far from family obligation. Since family is such a significant cultural value in Mexico and still present in the American context, the virtue of family guides how these women are shaped by the three support networks. Staying close to culture is not random because through culture they are able to stay close to their family and heritage but these women feel the need to stay close to their family because of their culture. Then the three support networks convey the message to these women that they can be mothers and business owners, devoting themselves fulltime to both. As mentioned by two women there are two identities clashing, the Mexican and the American. The cultures and expectations of women are different in each country thus, the message sent to women of pursuing both entrepreneurship and motherhood is not as likely in Mexico. The three support networks I discussed I suggest could not be provided in Mexico, except family. Since the cultural enclaves are based on Mexican and Latinx unity in the United States, this would not be found in Mexico. The third support network of non-profits and organizations would be very limited as well because of the funding and resource already limited in the Mexico.

Conclusion

In this thesis I performed a case study about seven Mexican migrant women who are managing motherhood and entrepreneurship roles, both at the same time. I identified three support networks which provide them with financial support, encouragement, physical labor, guidance and a market to provide product to. The three support networks are: family, cultural enclave, and non-profits and organizations. Familial support networks provide financial aid, labor, encouragement

and independence, as long as the women maintains her family first. The family support network provided the woman with various types of support, but for the women this meant they had to put family first in return. Everything the women did, they did for their families. Familial responsibility and support were encouraged by culture. Cultural enclaves provided a market to provide to. Thus, the cultural enclaves are supporting the women by producing demand and giving them a reason to have their business. The cultural enclave is the site where the women also increase their productivity by being responsible to their ethnic community. Lastly, the non-profits and organizations the women come into contact with encourage them by guiding them in their business development. Although, these women were mothers at the time they were provided with the opportunity for business development they took on both roles of motherhood and business ownership.

I also discussed the how the concept of the American Dream is being combined with a neoliberal mentality to increase the productivity of the migrant woman. The combination of a neoliberal mentality and pursue of American Dream make these women work harder by encouraging them to want to take on motherhood and entrepreneurship fulltime because they can have “it” all. The support networks do not intend to create a capitalist neoliberal subject. The support provided is to properly equip migrant women to become independent business owners for their personal achievement to show that migrant women can be business owners.

Contribution

As I have mentioned several times throughout my thesis there is not one standard migration experience. Although as researchers we observe the patterns, these patterns cannot be applied to everyone. This is the purpose of intersectionality. Overall my thesis contributes to the small field about Mexican migrant women entrepreneurs living in the United States. My findings in thesis are consistent with other existing discussions on migrant entrepreneurs, migrant women entrepreneurs and Latinx women. This thesis contributes to the discussion of how cultural enclaves serve as a support network by providing a market to supply product to. Additionally, within the cultural enclave migrant women entrepreneurs find encouragement from other people in the similar position or background, that these women deserve to be entrepreneurs and they can be. This thesis contributes to literature on the important role of non-profits and organizations for migrant entrepreneurs. There are limited resources for migrant entrepreneurs, especially when the migrant

comes from a condemned country or ethnic group. My thesis also adds to the literature on the role of family and family embeddedness, and how they affect the women's entrepreneurial pursuits and business structure. As I discussed the combination of a neoliberal mentality with the pursuit of the American Dream this contributes to literature of migrant communities being influenced by a neoliberal mentality. Finally, this thesis helps eradicate the stereotyping that Latinx and Mexican migrant women are expected to fulfill the underpaid and easily exploitable labor in the United States.

Limitations

A Limitation for this research was I had a small specific sample for my case study. Since I was living abroad I was only able to come into contact with a certain kind of migrant woman, one who had her business information online, meaning the migrant entrepreneur could access technology and had a reason to put their business information online. There are other types of Mexican migrant business owners who have smaller or larger businesses but there was no way to contact them. Another limitation was the time of interviews. I only conducted one interview with each respondent that last forty-five minutes to an hour. Thus, there is much more data which I could not obtain from just one interview.

Call for Further Research

As just mentioned, the interviews were short but these women had so much information to tell. With just these seven women, there could be several other research topics. The lives and lifestyles of Mexican migration, Mexican migrant entrepreneurs and the Mexican people living in the United States is changing. The research field for Mexican and Latinx migrants needs to catch up and fill the many gaps which still exist. My thesis only contributes to a small portion of the field, but on a very specific set of women. There are many areas for further research even within just my respondent sample, such as conducting the data for gender expressions and gender ideologies, as per my original research intention. Calling for further research does not imply that my data is not valid, simply my thesis is not enough. There is still so much academic research which needs to be done for Latinx migrants, especially since in the United States they are one of the largest growing populations.

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