# Sexual Orientation and Multiple Job Holding:

# Evidence from Swedish Administrative Data

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We use Swedish administrative data from 2001–2021 to study sexual orientation and multiple job holding. We identify more than 19,000 employed individuals who ever entered a legal same-sex union and compare their outcomes with those of all employed individuals who were only ever in different-sex unions. We find that sexual minority individuals are significantly more likely than otherwise similar heterosexual individuals to hold multiple jobs. We explore four mechanisms: financial constraints, self-insurance, career mobility, and job heterogeneity. We find evidence in line with self-insurance mechanisms for sexual minority men. For women, we find that career mobility is a likely explanation.

JEL Codes: J15, J22

Keywords: sexual orientation, multiple job holding

## 1. Introduction

Multiple job holding (also referred to as moonlighting) is widespread in OECD countries, with 5 to 10 percent of workers holding two or more jobs (Tazhitdinova, 2022). In the U.S., approximately 50 percent of men are dual job holders at some point in their life (Paxson and Sicherman, 1996), and more than 10 percent of workers in the UK are multiple job holders (Heineck, 2009). The rise of precarious contracts and the emergence of the gig economy have resulted in an increase in atypical work arrangements and facilitated increases in moonlighting (Katz and Krueger, 2019). While multiple job holding has been shown to play an important role in skill acquisition, human capital accumulation, and career and occupational mobility, it also impacts work-life balance, sleep, and work (and nonwork) injuries (Marucci-Wellman et al., 2016, 2014b; Panos et al., 2014; Paxson and Sicherman, 1996).

Understanding who becomes a multiple job holder is important for understanding who may be subject to the adverse consequences of moonlighting, especially as the incidence of moonlighting is likely to increase within the context of a global economy that is moving toward short-term labor models and online contract platforms. While a few studies have explored gender differences in moonlighting (Averett, 2001), most of the related research has focused on lower-skilled workers who take second jobs out of necessity (Caza et al., 2022). As a consequence of this narrow perspective, relatively limited work has investigated the incidence and drivers of multiple job holding across different groups (Campion et al., 2020). In particular, we lack a clear picture of moonlighting among sexual minority individuals, which is a group that may be at greater risk of adverse consequences from moonlighting due to their economic vulnerabilities and disadvantage in the labor market (Badgett et al., 2023).

To fill this gap in the literature, we use administrative data from Sweden to document the incidence and drivers of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals for the first time. Specifically, we use population registry data, which allows us to identify every individual who was ever in a registered same-sex relationship in Sweden from 1995–2021, and we compare outcomes for these individuals with the

associated outcomes for individuals who were only ever observed in different-sex registered relationships. The population register data also allow us to identify individuals employed by either one or multiple firms within the course of a year, which we use to identify multiple job holders. Using these data, we demonstrate that sexual minority men are approximately 8 percentage points more likely to be multiple job holders than their otherwise comparable heterosexual counterparts are, while sexual minority women are approximately 3 percentage points more likely to be multiple job holders than are their heterosexual counterparts.

We identify and analyze four potential mechanisms that may explain the greater incidence of moonlighting among sexual minority individuals. A commonly proposed explanation for holding multiple jobs pertains to *financial constraints*, namely, employees who cannot earn more in their primary job work a second job to supplement their earnings (Hirsch et al., 2016; Kimmel and Smith Conway, 2001; Shishko and Rostker, 1976; Smith Conway and Kimmel, 1998). It is well established that sexual minority individuals (especially sexual minority men) experience earnings disparities (Badgett et al., 2009); therefore, sexual minority individuals may use multiple job holding as a way to increase their income. To explore whether financial constraints drive our main findings, we explore whether disparities in multiple job holding vary across the distribution of earnings and whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to work in low-skilled second jobs. Our findings demonstrate that the disparity in sexual orientation-based multiple job holding increases in magnitude across the distribution of earnings, that sexual minority individuals are less likely to hold a second job in a low-skilled job, and that sexual minority individuals are more likely to hold a second job that is highly skilled. Broadly, these results rule out differential financial constraints as the underlying mechanism.

Second, to the extent that sexual minority individuals, especially sexual minority men, work in more unstable or lower paying occupations (e.g., creative industries, artistry, and teaching (Plug et al., 2014; Tilcsik et al., 2015)), holding multiple jobs could be a way to manage inconsistent earnings and protect from perceived *job insecurity* (Bell et al., 1997; Guariglia and Kim, 2004). In line with this, we explore the role of self-insurance as a mechanism from the perspectives of individuals and firms. First, given the higher

levels of job security among public sector workers in Sweden, one would expect that the disparity would be greater among private sector workers if theories related to job insecurity explained the differential incidence of multiple job holding of sexual minority individuals. We show that the male disparity is greater in the private sector than in the public sector. Next, we use rich firm-level data to demonstrate that firm-level labor turnover differentially predicts multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals. We find that sexual minority men are more likely than heterosexual men to take up multiple job holding following labor turnover within their firms, while this is not the case for women. Broadly, these findings provide evidence that self-insurance-related mechanisms may explain, at least in part, the greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority men.

Third, holding multiple jobs may enable sexual minority individuals to transition to new occupations if earnings penalties or discriminatory treatment in their primary job are occupationally specific (Tilcsik et al., 2015). That is, sexual minority individuals may hold multiple jobs as a conduit to greater career progression, in line with theories of multiple job holding being related to skill acquisition and career mobility (Hirsch et al., 2016; Panos et al., 2014). To identify the role of *career mobility* mechanisms, we explore the dynamics of career outcomes around the timing of multiple job holding. Our findings indicate that sexual minority men are less likely to change jobs in the years after they start moonlighting than heterosexual men are, while sexual minority women are more likely to change firms and industries. These results suggest that sexual minority women may use multiple job holding to diversify skills and enter new industries and, in turn, indicate that career mobility theories may in part explain the differential incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority women.

Finally, recent literature indicates that a key motive behind multiple job holding relates to *job heterogeneity* (Böheim and Taylor, 2004; Dickey et al., 2011). The heterogeneous jobs model indicates that the diversification of job tasks increases job satisfaction and that preferences for this diversification may motivate differential job holding (Smith Conway and Kimmel, 1998). If sexual minority individuals gain greater utility from their second job (but lower earnings), then they may hold multiple jobs to balance

earnings and job satisfaction. Relatedly, if sexual minority individuals gain greater utility from having greater task diversification, then they may be differentially likely to hold multiple jobs. To explore the role of job heterogeneity mechanisms in explaining the differential incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals, we explore whether sexual minority individuals are more likely to work in heterogeneous jobs, proxied by the industry of the primary and secondary job. We find that sexual minority individuals are more likely to work in multiple jobs in the same industry, indicating that job heterogeneity is an unlikely mechanism. The higher levels of job similarity across multiple jobs among sexual minority individuals begs the question of whether the higher incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals is simply a byproduct of sexual minority individuals working in jobs or employment sectors where multiple job holding is more common or the norm. To test this possibility, we include detailed industry and occupation variables. These results indicate that primary job industry and occupation can account for approximately half of the difference in multiple job holding compared to the estimate from the baseline specification for sexual minority men, while for women, including occupation and industry controls has little to no impact.

Finally, we study the association between multiple job holding and longer-term labor market outcomes among sexual minority men and women. Our results indicate that a greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority women is associated with better labor market outcomes. Sexual minority women who hold multiple jobs are less likely to be unemployed and enjoy greater earnings growth in the future.

Together, our findings indicate that sexual minority individuals are more likely to be multiple job holders than are their heterosexual counterparts. Our analyses provide evidence that this pattern is primarily driven by explanations related to self-insurance and the types of jobs that sexual minority individuals work in among men. For women, we find evidence that a greater incidence of moonlighting may be related to mechanisms related to career mobility. In turn, we find that a higher incidence of multiple job holding is associated with improved labor market trajectories for sexual minority women but not for men.

This new evidence contributes to several distinct literatures. First, it contributes to the literature that has identified disparities in the prevalence of multiple job holding across different demographic groups. Prior work indicates that rural workers (Alden, 1971), women (Kimmel and Powell, 1999; Panos et al., 2014), younger workers (Kimmel and Powell, 1999) and racial minorities (Kimmel and Smith Conway, 2001) are more likely to be multiple job holders. We contribute to this literature by providing evidence on an understudied population, namely, sexual minority individuals. While sexual minority individuals now make up approximately 20 percent of 19- to 25-year-olds in the U.S. (Gallup, 2022), the understanding of the labor market behavior of this sizeable population is limited. The present work provides new evidence on the propensity of this understudied population to engage in atypical employment behaviors, which has important consequences (Marucci-Wellman et al., 2016, 2014b, 2014a; Panos et al., 2014; Paxson and Sicherman, 1996).

Second, we contribute to an extensive body of literature that explores the determinants of multiple job holding. Prior work has provided evidence on the role of financial constraints, career mobility, job heterogeneity, and moonlighting as self-insurance as leading explanations for multiple job holding (Bell et al., 1997; Guariglia and Kim, 2004; Kimmel and Smith Conway, 2001; Shishko and Rostker, 1976; Smith Conway and Kimmel, 1998; Tazhitdinova, 2022). We contribute to this literature by providing new evidence on how these motivations differ across heterogeneous groups. Our findings indicate that self-insurance and career mobility drive our core finding that sexual minority individuals are more likely to be multiple job holders.

Finally, we contribute to the growing literature on LGBTQ+ labor economics. Prior work has demonstrated disparities in earnings, extensive and intensive labor supplies, and occupational rankings across sexual orientations (Aksoy et al., 2019; Badgett, 1995; Badgett et al., 2021; Black et al., 2007; Sarzosa, 2023). We contribute to this literature by providing the first evidence of the propensity of sexual minority individuals to engage in atypical labor market behavior. Furthermore, building on prior work documenting sexual orientation-based labor market disparities (see Drydakis (2022) for a meta-analysis), we provide new

evidence on the association between moonlighting and the labor market trajectories of sexual minority individuals. These results demonstrate that multiple job holding is associated with a lower likelihood of unemployment and greater earnings growth for sexual minority women than for heterosexual women; however, for men, the association between multiple job holding and labor market trajectories does not significantly differ across sexual orientations. This new evidence provides novel insights into how labor market disparities develop and provides suggestive evidence that atypical labor market behavior among sexual minority women is positively associated with labor market outcomes in the longer run.

This paper proceeds as follows. The next section provides additional details regarding our Swedish administrative population register and employment record data. Section 3 presents our empirical approach. Our main results are presented in Section 4, followed by a discussion of potential mechanisms that explain our main findings in Section 5 and a discussion of the association between moonlighting and labor market outcomes by sexual orientation in Section 6. Section 7 concludes the paper.

## 2. Data

Our principal data combine information from Swedish population registers for the period 1995 to 2021 and information from employment records from 2001–2021. For the population registers, we start with 1995, as this was the first year individuals could register a same-sex relationship in Sweden.[1] For every individual older than 18 who legally resides in Sweden, we can identify whether they ever entered into a legal same-sex union (either a registered partnership or a marriage) and whether they ever entered into a legal different-sex union. Individuals who ever entered a legal same-sex union are labeled 'likely sexual minority

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[1] The introduction of registered partnership legislation for same-sex couples occurred in Sweden in 1995 (Kolk and Andersson, 2020). Registered partnership in Sweden is a legal union that provides similar rights to marriage except the opportunity to adopt a child (until 2003), access to medically assisted insemination (until 2005), and requirements of being legal residents before entering into a registered partnership (Kolk and Andersson, 2020; Rydström, 2011). In 2009, same-sex marriage legislation was introduced in Sweden. Post same-sex marriage legalization, no registered partnerships were granted, and couples that were already in a registered partnership prior to same-sex marriage legalization were given the opportunity to convert their registered partnership into marriage or could remain as a registered partnership (rather than marriage) if they so wished. In our study, we refer to registered partnerships and marriage as legal unions.

individuals' or are simply referred to as 'sexual minority individuals'. People who have entered exclusively different sex legal unions are labeled 'likely heterosexual individuals' or are simply referred to as 'heterosexual individuals'.[2] Importantly, prior work has demonstrated that most individuals in same-sex romantic relationships describe themselves as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or use other nonheterosexual terms to describe their sexual orientation (Badgett et al., 2021).[3] Because our only measure of minority sexual orientation is related to being in a relationship, we exclude individuals who never entered a legal union of any type. Given that the same individuals can be followed across time, the data generate an extensive individual longitudinal dataset.

For the multiple job holding outcomes, we link our population register data to individual administrative employment records that contain confidential information on each person's occupation and whether individuals have earnings from one or multiple employers from 2001 to 2021; we use these records to define an outcome, namely, MULTIPLE JOB HOLDER, that equals one if the individual received earnings from at least two employers in year t.[4] Conversely, individuals with a maximum of one employer in year t are not considered multiple job holders, regardless of any self-employment positions they may hold. We restrict our sample to employed individuals between 18 and 65 years old.

**3. Empirical Approach**

We estimate linear probability regression models on the likelihood of multiple job holding as a function of sexual minority status and other observed demographic characteristics as follows:

$$Y_{irt} = \alpha + \beta_1 (EVER\ IN\ A\ LEGAL\ SAME - SEX\ UNION)_i + \gamma X_{irt} + \delta T_t + \varepsilon_{irt} \qquad (1)$$

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[2] This approach is similar to that used in other Swedish register data studies (see: Aldén et al., 2015; Andersson et al., 2006)

[3] Notably, our approach to identifying sexual minority individuals does not require individuals to be currently in a legal union at the time we measure the multiple job holding outcome.

[4] Occupation data is missing until the year 2002.

where $Y_{irt}$ is the multiple job holding outcome for individual $i$ in regional category $r$ at time $t$, captured by a binary variable equal to 1 if the individual is a multiple job holder and 0 otherwise. EVER IN A LEGAL SAME-SEX UNION is an indicator equal to one for individuals ever observed to be in a legal same-sex union (i.e., registered partnership or same-sex marriage).[5] $X$ is a vector of individual demographic characteristics from the population register data: age and age squared; education (dummy variables for the following education groups: less than primary education; primary education; completed secondary education; more than secondary education but less than a bachelor's degree; bachelor's degree; advanced degree; and other/unknown educational background; with the excluded category being uncompleted secondary school education); a dummy for immigration background;[6] a dummy for being in a legal union (married or in a registered partnership); a dummy variable for having ever been legally separated;[7] and a dummy for the presence of children in the household. The X vector also includes detailed controls for geography designed to capture urban/rural differences.[8] $T_t$ are year dummies. The error term $e_{irt}$ in equation (1) is assumed to be iid. $\beta_1$ is our coefficient of interest, and it represents the relative association between sexual minority status and multiple job holding. We estimate heteroskedasticity-robust White standard errors.

## 4. Results

We present descriptive statistics of our Swedish sample in Table 1. We present the means for four groups: women exclusively observed in different sex unions (Column 1), women ever observed in same-sex unions

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[5] Note that because we drop individuals who were never in a legal union of any kind, the excluded comparison group is composed of individuals who were ever observed to be in at least one legal different-sex union and never observed to be in a same-sex relationship. If an individual was observed to be in both a same-sex and a different-sex relationship at different points of their life, then we include them in the EVER IN A LEGAL SAME-SEX UNION variable.

[6] Immigration background is a dummy variable equal to one if the individual was not born in Sweden or if the individual's two parents are immigrants, and zero otherwise. Note that this means a person can be born in Sweden and still have immigration background.

[7] While we exclude individuals who were never in any kind of legal partnership, our sample includes individuals who were in a legal partnership for at least one year.

[8] Specifically, we include the log of the municipality population and dummy variables for urban/rural categories. Appendix Table A1 contains detailed descriptions of each category and Appendix Figures A1 and A2 show the municipalities by regional categories and sexual minority share (per 100,000) of the total population.

(Column 2), men exclusively observed in different sex unions (Column 3), and men ever observed in same-sex unions (Column 4). We present means for a variety of demographic variables from the population registers and for economic outcomes from the administrative employment data. The patterns in Table 1 confirm that sexual minority individuals are, on average, more likely to hold multiple jobs than are heterosexual individuals. For men and women, this difference is approximately 11 percentage points. Regarding demographics, Table 1 shows that sexual minority individuals are significantly younger, less likely to be currently in a legal union, and less likely to have had children than heterosexual individuals. Sexual minority individuals are also more likely to have bachelor's or advanced degrees than are heterosexual individuals, and they live in much more highly populated metropolitan areas than do heterosexual people.[9]

Table 2 presents our main estimates on sexual orientation and the likelihood of holding multiple jobs. The results for women are presented in the top panel; the results for men are presented in the bottom panel. We present unadjusted estimates in Column 1, and we sequentially add controls for observable individual-level covariates (Column 2), time fixed effects (Column 3), and geographical characteristics (Column 4).[10] Each entry is the coefficient estimate on 'ever in a legal same-sex union'; we provide an expanded set of regression coefficients in Appendix Table A2.

The results in Columns 1-4 of Table 2 confirm that there is a significant association between sexual orientation and multiple job holding that survives after demographic and geographic characteristics are controlled for. Specifically, in the top panel, we estimate that sexual minority individuals are approximately 3 percentage points more likely to be multiple job holders than are otherwise similar heterosexual women. For men in the bottom panel, we estimate an even larger difference, i.e., sexual minority men are 7.6 percentage points more likely than otherwise similar heterosexual men to be multiple job holders. As a

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[9] Appendix Figure A1 shows the highly populated metropolitan areas. Appendix Figure A2 shows the share of sexual minority employees relative to all employees aged 18-65 by municipality.
[10] Including municipality fixed effects rather than geographic characteristics does not change qualitative or quantitative patterns.

share of the relevant full sample means, these estimates are approximately 12 percent for women and 29 percent for men.[11] Thus, Table 2 provides the first evidence in the literature that sexual orientation is significantly related to multiple job holding, and these differences are large in magnitude, especially for men.

## 5. Mechanisms

Thus far, we have shown that sexual minority individuals, especially sexual minority men, are substantially more likely to be multiple job holders than are their heterosexual counterparts. However, the following natural question remains: what explains this substantial disparity? We test four mechanisms. Building on prior work that has identified financial constraints, self-insurance, career mobility, and job heterogeneity as leading motivations for holding multiple jobs, we explore whether these motivations can explain the differentially greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals.

## 5.1. Financial Constraints

Theoretical and empirical work has provided evidence that one motivation for holding multiple jobs is financial constraints. In Table 3, we explore whether this can explain the greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals. First, in Columns 1 through 4, we document the disparities in multiple job holding by income percentile. These results demonstrate that for sexual minority men, the disparity in multiple job holding is greater at the top of the income distribution (10.6 percentage points) than at the bottom of the distribution (4.3 percentage points). For sexual minority women, the disparity is relatively consistent across the income distribution (as a share of the sample mean, the disparity varies by

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[11] Results presented in Appendix Figure A3 indicate that the multiple job holding disparity has been fairly consistent over time. The findings remain consistent when restricting the analysis to individuals holding multiple jobs with the same employers in both years t-1 and t (Appendix Table A3), implying that our results are not driven by job switching.

less than 2 percent across the distribution).[12] These results suggest that financial constraints do not drive disparities in the multiple job holding.

Second, in line with Tazhitdinova (2022), we explore whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to work in a second job that is low skilled. Tazhitdinova (2022) highlights that working in such a job likely reflects financial constraints as a key motivation, as low-skilled jobs are generally low in wage and therefore unlikely to be attractive unless earnings from a person's primary job are too low. To explore this, we identify whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to hold a second job that has an above-median share of employees with a high school diploma (Column 5) or at least a bachelor's degree (Column 6) and whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to hold multiple jobs in the service sector (Column 7). These results demonstrate that sexual minority men are significantly less likely than their heterosexual counterparts to work in low-skilled jobs (proxied by having an above-median share of firm employees who have less than a high school degree) and that both sexual minority men and women are more likely to hold a second job that is highly skilled (proxied by having an above-median share of employees who have at least a bachelor's degree). Sexual minority men and women are also significantly less likely to hold a second job in the service sector. Taken together, our results imply that financial constraints likely do not explain the differential uptake of multiple jobs among sexual minority individuals.

**5.2. Self-Insurance**

Next, we explore the role of self-insurance from job loss. Prior work has consistently demonstrated that people hold multiple jobs as a way to protect themselves against job or income loss (Bell et al., 1997; Guariglia and Kim, 2004). If sexual minority individuals experience (or expect to experience) discrimination in the labor market, then they may have lower levels of perceived job security and, in turn, may protect themselves from job loss by moonlighting. Furthermore, sexual minority individuals may

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[12] In Appendix Table A4, we report the multiple job holding disparity for above and below median income from all jobs and above and below median wealth. The results are similar to those reported in Table 3. More details regarding the wealth data are provided in Appendix Table A1.

perceive their jobs to be more precarious when firms face downturns due to perceptions of discrimination. We use rich firm-level data to explore firm-level factors that are strongly correlated with perceived job security and therefore may predict the need to use multiple job holding to provide self-insurance. This allows us to explore whether sexual minority individuals differ from heterosexual individuals in their responses to increased job insecurity.

In Table 4 Columns 1 and 2, we report the results from our baseline model (Column 4 of Table 2) for people who work in the public sector and those who do not, given the well-established higher levels of job security among public sector employees. These results indicate that the greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals persists among both public and private sector employees but is greater for men among those working in the private sector.

Next, to the extent that labor turnover signals job insecurity, an employee who works for a firm with higher labor turnover may be more likely to hold multiple jobs. To explore whether this drives disparities in the take up of multiple jobs across sexual orientations, we next control for (and include interactions between sexual orientation and) measures of firm-level labor turnover. In Column 3 of Table 4, we include a new control variable that equals 1 if the individual's primary job is in a firm that reduced his or her number of employees in t-1, as well as an interaction between this control variable and sexual minority status. In Columns 4 through 6, we report the results from comparable models where the control equals 1 if the employer reduced the number of employees by at least 2 percent, 5 percent, or 10 percent, respectively. These results demonstrate that sexual minority women are significantly less likely to become multiple job holders than their heterosexual counterparts when their firm experiences labor turnover. For men, the results indicate that sexual minority men are significantly more likely to become multiple job holders than their heterosexual counterparts when their firms have increased labor turnover. That is, sexual minority men seemingly differentially respond to firm-level downturns and self-insurance against these downturns through moonlighting.

Broadly, these results demonstrate that self-insurance is an unlikely underlying mechanism explaining the differential incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority women. For men, our results provide evidence that differential rates of job insecurity may in part explain the higher levels of multiple job holding among sexual minority men. A higher labor turnover within a firm is predictive of sexual minority men becoming multiple job holders, suggesting that as job insecurity increases, sexual minority men are more responsive than their heterosexual counterparts.

**5.3. Career Mobility**

Prior studies indicate that multiple job holding may be used by individuals to diversify their skills, acquire new human capital, and act as conduits for career progression. That is, prior work has demonstrated that career progression may motivate individuals to engaging in multiple job holding (Panos et al, 2014). Given the preexisting literature documenting that sexual minority men are paid less than their heterosexual counterparts (Badgett et al., 2009) and that sexual minority men try to avoid jobs that involve high levels of prejudicial coworkers (Plug et al., 2014), it may be that sexual minority individuals use multiple job holding as a way to achieve greater career progression and explore career alternatives.

To explore the role of career mobility in explaining our core findings, we study the association between the first occurrence of multiple job holding in period $t$ and several career mobility outcomes in $t+1$. These results are presented for men in Table 5 and women in Table 6. Panel A, Column 1 reports the results for whether there is a differential association between sexual orientation and changing industry in $t+1$, while Columns 2 through 4 report comparable results for differential associations with occupation changes, firm changes, and switching to being an entrepreneur as the primary job role. Column 5 reports whether there is a differential likelihood that sexual minority individuals change their primary job in $t+1$ to be one of their additional jobs in period $t$. Panels B and C provide synonymous results for $t+3$ and $t+5$.

Table 5 Panel A indicates that, in comparison to heterosexual men, sexual minority men are 3.6 percentage points less likely to change industries, 1.4 percentage points less likely to change occupations, 1.4

percentage points less likely to change firms, and 1.3 percentage points less likely to have moved from their primary job to one of their additional jobs within a year of becoming a multiple job holder for the first time. By *t+5,* sexual minority men are 6.2 percentage points less likely to have changed industries, 2.7 percentage points less likely to have changed occupations, 2.0 percentage points less likely to have changed firms, 0.8 percentage points less likely to have become entrepreneurs, and 1.4 percentage points less likely to have moved from their primary job to one of their additional jobs.

For sexual minority women (Table 6), we find evidence that sexual minority women who are multiple job holders enjoy greater career mobility than their heterosexual counterparts, at least in the short term. In the first year after becoming a multiple job holder, sexual minority women are 1.4 percentage points more likely to have changed industries and 2.6 percentage points more likely to have changed firms; however, they are approximately 0.9 percentage points less likely to have changed occupations. These patterns indicate that while sexual minority women enjoy career mobility across industries and firms following becoming multiple job holders, this does not result in changes in occupational rank, suggesting that sexual minority women are differentially making horizontal career moves.

Overall, the results in Tables 5 and 6 suggest that career mobility likely does not explain the disparity in multiple job holding engaged in by sexual minority men. In fact, sexual minority men are less career mobile than their heterosexual counterparts are in the years after becoming multiple job holders. For sexual minority women, our results provide evidence that disparities in multiple job holding may be explained by differences in career mobility and progression motivations. Our results indicate that in the years after becoming a multiple-job holder, sexual minority women are differentially likely to be career mobile.

**5.4. Job Heterogeneity**

The final mechanism for explaining the multiple job holding differentials experienced by sexual minority individuals who we explore is job heterogeneity. Prior work indicates that a key motive behind multiple job holding relates to job heterogeneity (Böheim and Taylor, 2004; Dickey et al., 2011). The heterogeneous

jobs model indicates that diversification of job tasks increases job satisfaction and that preferences for this diversification may motivate differential job holding (Kimmel and Smith Conway, 2001).

First, we explore whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to work in heterogeneous jobs. To do so, we explore whether sexual minority individuals are differentially likely to hold multiple jobs in a different industry than their primary job using 2-digit industry codes[13] (which corresponds to 87 industries). These results are presented in Table 7. We find that sexual minority men are approximately 2 percentage points (or approximately 11 percent) more likely to work in multiple jobs in the same industry. For women, we find that sexual minority women are approximately 1 percentage point (or 5 percent) more likely to work in multiple jobs in the same industry. These findings indicate that disparities in multiple job holding styles are unlikely to be driven by job heterogeneity mechanisms.

The higher levels of job similarity across multiple jobs among sexual minority individuals begs the question of whether a higher incidence of multiple job holding is simply a byproduct of sexual minority individuals working in systematically different types of jobs or in different employment sectors where multiple job holding is more common or the norm (for example, artists and technology workers commonly piece together multiple jobs due to the nature of their work). Indeed, prior work has demonstrated that sexual minority individuals are more represented in specific sectors, which may imply that sexual minority individuals are pushed into these sectors due to discrimination or may reflect occupational preferences among sexual minority individuals (Del Río and Alonso-Villar, 2019; Plug et al., 2014; Tilcsik et al., 2015; Waite and Denier, 2016). If sexual minority individuals are disproportionately likely to be in jobs where multiple job holding is the norm, then this could produce the observed association documented in Table 2. To test this, Column 2 of Table 7 presents the results from models where we augment the main baseline specification from Column 4 of Table 2 with detailed controls for industry and occupation, which we

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[13] In Appendix Table A1, we describe the industry code in greater detail. Unfortunately, we do not observe occupation of the second job, so we cannot do this same robustness check using occupation.

observe for every individual on their primary job.[14] The results indicate that controlling for industry and occupation has little to no effect on sexual orientation-based disparities in multiple job holding by women. For men, controlling for industry and occupation can account for approximately half of the difference in multiple job holding compared to the estimate from the baseline specification in Column 4 of Table 2, but a significant difference remains.

Taken together, these results indicate that the greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals is unlikely to be explained by job heterogeneity, although systematic differences in the types of jobs in which sexual minority men work (and associated norms regarding multiple job holding) can explain approximately half of the variance.

## 6. Associations between Multiple Job Holding and Labor Market Outcomes Among Sexual Minority Individuals

In the final step, we explore whether a greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals is associated with broader labor market trajectories. On the one hand, holding multiple jobs may reduce productivity in one's primary job, and multiple job holding has been shown to be associated with lower levels of wellbeing, work-life balance and sleep, all of which are positively associated with labor market outcomes (Marucci-Wellman et al., 2014b, 2014a). However, multiple job holding has also been shown to play an important role in skill acquisition, human capital accumulation, and career and occupational mobility (Panos et al., 2014; Paxson and Sicherman, 1996). Furthermore, our findings presented in Section 5.2 indicate that multiple job holding is associated with greater career mobility among sexual minority women, which in turn may be associated with better labor market outcomes. Thus, it is

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[14] Occupation data initiates from the year 2002. Consequently, there is an absence of occupation data for the year 2001, resulting in approximately 4.7 percent of observations being unavailable for analysis. The estimations presented in Column 4 of Table 2 are concentrated on the period from 2002 to 2021.

unclear whether a greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals is associated with broader labor market outcomes.

To test this, we provide estimates of the association between multiple job holding in period $t$ and two key measures of labor market outcomes (unemployment and earnings growth) in $t+1$, $t+3$ and $t+5$. These results are presented in Table 8 Panel A for women and in Panel B for men. Our results indicate that sexual minority men do not significantly differ from heterosexual men in terms of unemployment probabilities or earnings growth 1, 3, or 5 years after becoming multiple job holders. That is, a higher incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority men is not directly associated with their labor market trajectories. However, a different story emerges for women. Sexual minority women who held multiple jobs in period $t$ are 0.8 percentage points less likely to be unemployed and enjoy approximately 10–11 percent greater earnings growth by $t+5$. These results indicate that a greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority women is associated with improved labor market outcomes in the longer run.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper is the first to show that sexual minority individuals are significantly more likely to be multiple job holders than are heterosexual individuals. Having identified this new disparity, we explore four key mechanisms that may explain the underlying disparity: financial constraints, career mobility, self-insurance, and job heterogeneity.

For women, we provide evidence that this disparity is likely related to career mobility motivations. Sexual minority women who become multiple job holders are differentially likely to be career mobile. In turn, multiple job holding is associated with better labor market outcomes among sexual minority women in the longer run, reducing the incidence of unemployment and increasing earnings growth.

For men, we provide suggestive evidence that the greater incidence of multiple job holding is likely driven by self-insurance mechanisms. Sexual minority men are more likely to take up a second job when their firm

experiences labor turnover. Furthermore, accounting for job-based norms accounts for approximately half of the overall disparity.

From a policy perspective, the varied drivers and outcomes associated with a greater incidence of multiple job holding among sexual minority individuals suggest different policy responses. On the one hand, our research shows that some sexual minority individuals, in particular sexual minority men, use multiple job holding as a hedging strategy against insecurity—especially because they are more likely to be in jobs with less job security—without gaining other benefits in terms of labor market trajectories. Consequently, some policy measures should focus on enhancing the working conditions and income stability of individuals in precarious jobs. On the other hand, other sexual minority individuals, notably sexual minority women, engage in multiple job holding for career-related reasons, especially for horizontal career moves, often enjoying better labor market outcomes in the longer run. This evidence calls for policy initiatives that support, or at a minimum, do not penalize (e.g., in terms of taxation or pension benefits) multiple job holding.

Our study is subject to several limitations, many owing to the data used. Although the population registers provide us with very large samples and high confidence in the individuals we identify as sexual minority individuals, a consequence of our use of entry into legal same-sex unions to identify sexual minority individuals is that we cannot identify sexual minority individuals who were never observed to have entered legal same-sex unions. Our definition also prevents us from identifying sexual minority individuals in same-sex couples who chose not to register their relationships with the Swedish government. Since we know from other research that bisexual individuals are disproportionately likely to enter different sex relationships if they enter relationships at all, our data on likely sexual minority individuals are also very likely to not identify a large share of partnered bisexual individuals. We encourage future studies to further advance our understanding of these groups.

The study was conducted in Sweden, which is a progressive country that was among the first in the world to legally recognize same-sex relationships and grant sexual minority individuals significant rights. While the data landscape in Sweden provides interesting opportunities due to available administrative linkages (such as those used in the current study), future work should explore opportunities to understand the relationship between minority sexual orientation and multiple job holding from other contexts.

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**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, Employed individuals Aged 18-65 Years**

|  | (1) Women exclusively in DSC | (2) Women ever in SSC | (3) Men exclusively in DSC | (4) Men ever in SSC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Has multiple jobs in a year | 0.244 | 0.347*** | 0.261 | 0.368*** |
| Age | 43.929 | 35.980*** | 44.389 | 41.371*** |
| Immigration background | 0.205 | 0.160*** | 0.206 | 0.252*** |
| Currently in legal union | 0.672 | 0.417*** | 0.664 | 0.446*** |
| Childbearing | 0.473 | 0.310*** | 0.463 | 0.049*** |
| Less than primary education | 0.028 | 0.003*** | 0.040 | 0.010*** |
| Primary education | 0.067 | 0.061*** | 0.097 | 0.066*** |
| Uncompleted secondary school education | 0.232 | 0.116*** | 0.257 | 0.163*** |
| Completed secondary education | 0.199 | 0.243*** | 0.211 | 0.199*** |
| More than secondary education, but less than a bachelor's degree | 0.166 | 0.191*** | 0.156 | 0.171*** |
| Bachelor's degree | 0.293 | 0.363*** | 0.213 | 0.354*** |
| Advanced degree | 0.011 | 0.019*** | 0.019 | 0.029*** |
| Other/unknown education | 0.004 | 0.004* | 0.008 | 0.009** |
| Already divorced | 0.177 | 0.194**** | 0.163 | 0.165 |
| Population, municipality | 134,610 | 238,006*** | 135,778 | 341,796*** |
| Firm size | 10,367 | 12,081*** | 5,242 | 10,367*** |
| Agricultural | 0.004 | 0.004*** | 0.012 | 0.004*** |
| Manufacturing | 0.070 | 0.059*** | 0.206 | 0.054*** |
| Construction | 0.010 | 0.012*** | 0.095 | 0.013*** |
| Service | 0.293 | 0.323*** | 0.420 | 0.451*** |
| Healthcare | 0.299 | 0.251*** | 0.080 | 0.176*** |
| Public and administration | 0.284 | 0.297*** | 0.135 | 0.241*** |
| Other sectors | 0.039 | 0.054*** | 0.052 | 0.062*** |
| Metropolitan | 0.312 | 0.483*** | 0.315 | 0.647*** |
| Cities with high access | 0.406 | 0.351*** | 0.408 | 0.233*** |
| Cities with low access | 0.076 | 0.043*** | 0.076 | 0.028*** |
| Rural with high access | 0.121 | 0.079*** | 0.119 | 0.061*** |
| Rural with low access | 0.077 | 0.041*** | 0.075 | 0.029*** |
| Rural with very low access | 0.007 | 0.004*** | 0.007 | 0.002*** |
| Number of unique individuals | 2,073,191 | 11,259 | 2,023,442 | 8,022 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 29,021,883 | 179,090 | 27,114,809 | 113,228 |

Author calculations from Sweden population register from 2001 to 2021. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 indicate the statistical significance of the difference in means between Column 1 and Column 2 or Column 3 and Column 4.

**Table 2: Sexual Minority Men and Women are More Likely to be Multiple Job Holders**

|  | (1)<br>**No controls** | (2)<br>**+<br>Year Fixed Effects** | (3)<br>**+ Demographic<br>Characteristics** | (4)<br>**+<br>Geographical<br>Characteristics** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women**<br>Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.104***<br>(0.001) | 0.105***<br>(0.001) | 0.033***<br>(0.001) | 0.030***<br>(0.001) |
| Sample mean | 0.244 | 0.244 | 0.244 | 0.244 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.038 | 0.039 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 |
| **Men**<br>Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.107***<br>(0.001) | 0.108***<br>(0.001) | 0.080***<br>(0.001) | 0.076***<br>(0.001) |
| Sample mean | 0.261 | 0.261 | 0.261 | 0.261 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.022 | 0.023 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 |
| Year fixed effects? |  | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? |  |  | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? |  |  |  | X |

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from the Sweden population register linked to the Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Table 3: The Role of Financial Constraints in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding among Sexual Minority Individuals**

| | (1)<br>&lt;25% Median Earnings | (2)<br>25% - 50% Median Earnings | (3)<br>50-75% Median Earnings | (4)<br>&gt;75% Median Earnings | (5)<br>Share of Employee's in MJ with &lt; HS diploma | (6)<br>Share of Employee's in MJ with at least a bachelor's degree | (7)<br>Second Working Position in the Service Sector |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women** | | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.031*** | 0.035*** | 0.022*** | 0.026*** | -0.001 | 0.007*** | -0.062*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.002) |
| Sample mean | 0.270 | 0.225 | 0.209 | 0.274 | 0.247 | 0.210 | 0.351 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.063 | 0.062 | 0.030 | 0.019 | 0.267 | 0.305 | 0.051 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 7,302,576 | 7,303,092 | 7,299,142 | 7,296,163 | 7,129,982 | 7,129,982 | 7,129,982 |
| **Men** | | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.043*** | 0.069*** | 0.089*** | 0.106*** | -0.022*** | 0.023*** | -0.066*** |
| | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) |
| Sample mean | 0.308 | 0.233 | 0.244 | 0.260 | 0.274 | 0.175 | 0.410 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.040 | 0.021 | 0.014 | 0.018 | 0.308 | 0.380 | 0.050 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 6,809,835 | 6,809,487 | 6,803,806 | 6,804,909 | 7,112,843 | 7,112,843 | 7,112,843 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standards errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from Sweden population register linked to Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Table 4: The Role of Self-Insurance in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding among Sexual Minority Individuals**

| | (1) Primary Job = Public Sector | (2) Primary Job Does Not = Public Sector | (3) Any Labor Turnover in t-1 | (4) 2% or more Labor Turnover in t-1 | (5) 5% or more Labor Turnover in t-1 | (6) 10% or more Labor Turnover in t-1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women** | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.036*** | 0.029*** | 0.030*** | 0.030*** | 0.032*** | 0.031*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Firm reduced no. employees | | | -0.055*** | -0.013*** | 0.028*** | 0.066*** |
| | | | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Firm reduced no. employees * ever in a legal same-sex union | | | 0.001 | 0.000 | -0.008*** | -0.008** |
| | | | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
| Sample mean | 0.231 | 0.249 | 0.244 | 0.244 | 0.244 | 0.244 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.040 | 0.039 | 0.042 | 0.039 | 0.040 | 0.041 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 8,289,644 | 20,911,329 | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 | 29,200,973 |
| **Men** | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.062*** | 0.075*** | 0.076*** | 0.070*** | 0.068*** | 0.070*** |
| | (0.003) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Firm reduced no. employees | | | -0.065*** | -0.053*** | -0.038*** | -0.016*** |
| | | | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Firm reduced no. employees * ever in a legal same-sex union | | | 0.001 | 0.016*** | 0.029*** | 0.038*** |
| Sample mean | 0.310 | 0.254 | 0.261 | 0.261 | 0.261 | 0.261 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.025 | 0.022 | 0.028 | 0.026 | 0.024 | 0.023 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 3,681,628 | 23,546,409 | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 | 27,228,037 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standards errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from Sweden population register linked to Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Table 5: The Role of Career Mobility in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding Among Sexual Minority Men**

| | (1) Change in Industry | (2) Change in Occupation | (3) Firm Change | (4) Entrepreneur | (5) MJ = Primary Job |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Panel A: T+1 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | -0.036*** | -0.014** | -0.014* | -0.001 | -0.013* |
| | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.008) | (0.003) | (0.007) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.292 | 0.195 | 0.444 | 0.030 | 0.284 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.043 | 0.032 | 0.017 | 0.008 | 0.007 |
| Number of individual observations | 916,132 | 916,132 | 916,132 | 916,132 | 916,132 |
| Panel A: T+3 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | -0.058*** | -0.018** | -0.018** | -0.009*** | -0.016** |
| | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.003) | (0.008) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.433 | 0.372 | 0.613 | 0.052 | 0.277 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.081 | 0.053 | 0.042 | 0.008 | 0.008 |
| Number of individual observations | 833,136 | 833,136 | 833,136 | 833,136 | 833,136 |
| Panel A: T+5 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | -0.062*** | -0.027*** | -0.020** | -0.008** | -0.014* |
| | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.004) | (0.008) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.530 | 0.470 | 0.693 | 0.064 | 0.275 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.084 | 0.067 | 0.053 | 0.007 | 0.009 |
| Number of individual observations | 761,005 | 761,005 | 761,005 | 761,005 | 761,005 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standards errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from Sweden population register linked to Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan. Considering the limited sample size, we used the one-digit industry classification encompassing agriculture, construction, healthcare, manufacturing, public sectors and administration, service, and other sectors.

**Table 6: The Role of Career Mobility in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding Among Sexual Minority Women**

| | (1)<br>Change in Industry | (2)<br>Change in Occupation | (3)<br>Firm Change | (4)<br>Entrepreneur | (5)<br>MJ = Primary Job |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Panel A: T+1 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.014** | -0.009* | 0.026*** | 0.001 | -0.003 |
| | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.001) | (0.006) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.234 | 0.184 | 0.409 | 0.014 | 0.261 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.043 | 0.032 | 0.021 | 0.004 | 0.005 |
| Number of individual observations | 906,624 | 906,624 | 906,624 | 906,624 | 906,624 |
| Panel A: T+3 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.004 | -0.003 | 0.024*** | 0.002 | -0.003 |
| | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.006) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.346 | 0.346 | 0.567 | 0.023 | 0.252 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.079 | 0.057 | 0.060 | 0.004 | 0.005 |
| Number of individual observations | 824,326 | 824,326 | 824,326 | 824,326 | 824,326 |
| Panel A: T+5 | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.001 | 0.003 | 0.024*** | 0.001 | -0.007 |
| | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.006) |
| | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.419 | 0.441 | 0.640 | 0.028 | 0.250 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.087 | 0.077 | 0.078 | 0.003 | 0.005 |
| Number of individual observations | 757,539 | 757,539 | 757,539 | 757,539 | 757,539 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standards errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from Sweden population register linked to Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan. Considering the limited sample size, we use the one-digit industry classification encompassing agriculture, construction, healthcare, manufacturing, public sectors and administration, service, and other sectors.

**Table 7: The Role of Job Heterogeneity in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding Among Sexual Minority Individuals**
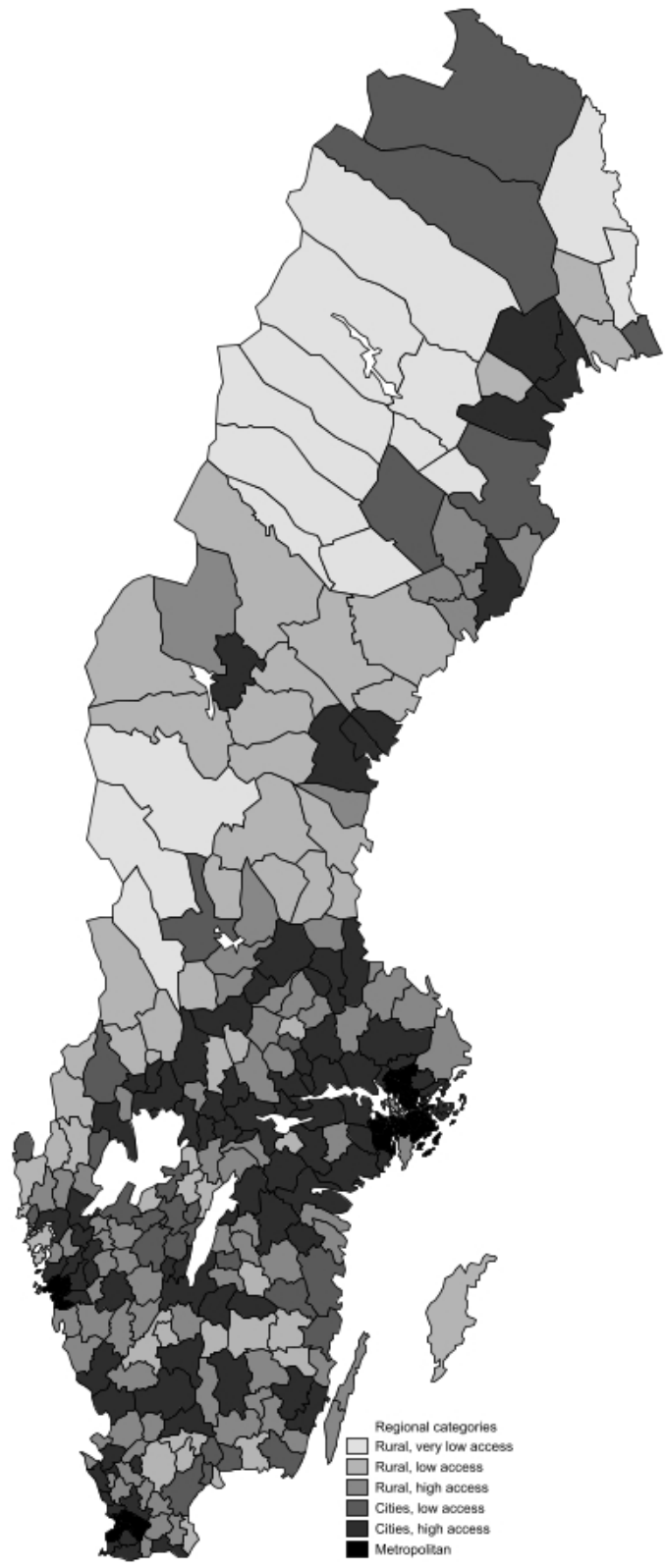
| | (5)<br>**Primary and Secondary Job are in the Same Industry** | (6)<br>**MJH + Industry and Occupation FE's** |
|---|---|---|
| Women | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.012*** | 0.027*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| | | |
| Sample mean | 0.222 | 0.243 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.012 | 0.049 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 7,129,982 | 27,708,771 |
| Men | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.022*** | 0.038*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| | | |
| Sample mean | 0.205 | 0.259 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.011 | 0.044 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 7,112,843 | 25,755,922 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X |

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. Author calculations from the Sweden population register linked to the Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan. Occupation data originate from the year 2002. Consequently, the estimations presented in Column 4 of Table 2 are concentrated on the period from 2002 to 2021. Industry is classified into two categories (e.g., accommodation; food beverage service activities; retail; wholesale trade, except for motor vehicles and motorcycles; education; creative, arts and entertainment activities; sports activities and amusement and recreation activities).
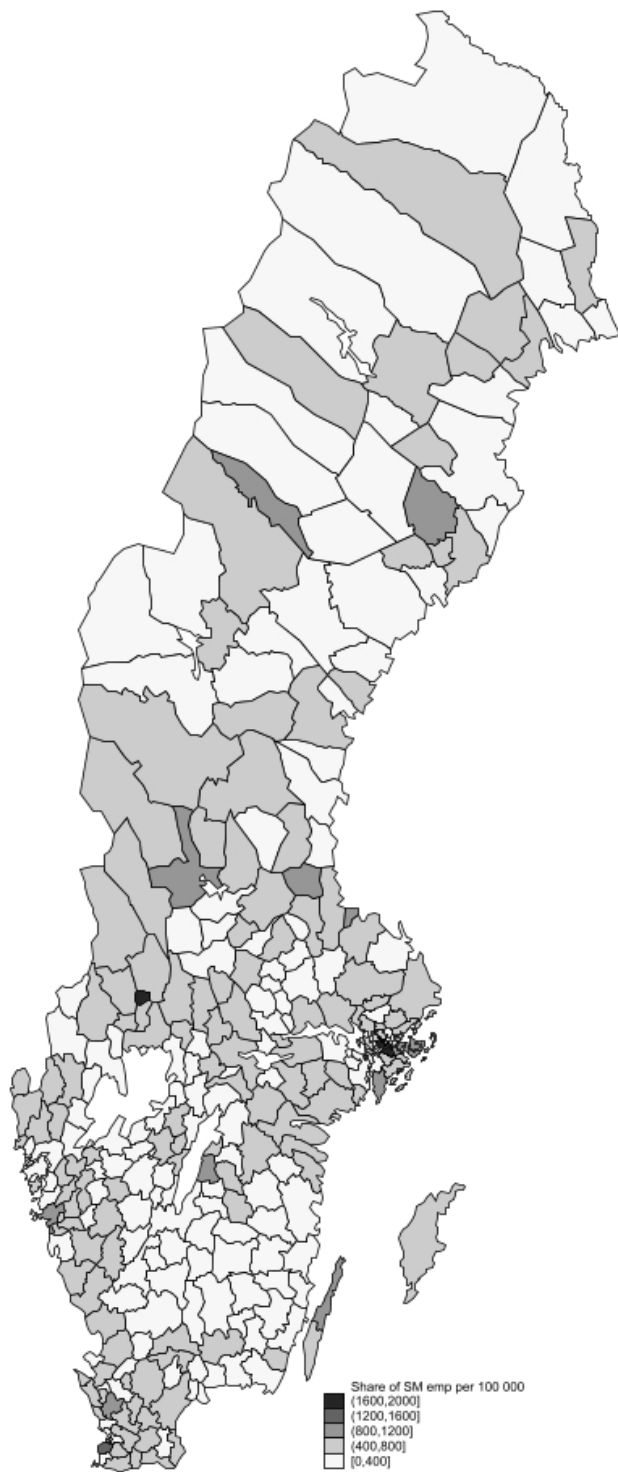
**Table 8: Association between Multiple Job Holding and the Labor Market Outcomes of Sexual Minority Individuals**

| | (1) Unemployment in t+1 | (2) Unemployment in t+3 | (3) Unemployment in t+5 | (4) Earnings Growth t+1 | (5) Earnings Growth t+3 | (6) Earnings Growth t+5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Women** | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | -0.001 | -0.005 | -0.008** | 0.017 | 0.081 | 0.292*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.029) | (0.059) | (0.085) |
| | | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.036 | 0.078 | 0.087 | 1.547 | 2.093 | 2.619 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.010 | 0.021 | 0.026 | 0.026 | 0.037 | 0.049 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 936,402 | 882,309 | 814,678 | 906,624 | 824,326 | 757,539 |
| **Men** | | | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | -0.002 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.027 | 0.061 | -0.010 |
| | (0.003) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.036) | (0.086) | (0.097) |
| | | | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.039 | 0.085 | 0.100 | 1.405 | 1.930 | 2.423 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.008 | 0.018 | 0.023 | 0.036 | 0.054 | 0.072 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 940,941 | 879,295 | 806,621 | 916,132 | 833,136 | 761,005 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standards errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from Sweden population register linked to Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Regional categories**

- ☐ Rural, very low access
- ☐ Rural, low access
- ☐ Rural, high access
- ☐ Cities, low access
- ☐ Cities, high access
- ■ Metropolitan

**Appendix Figure A1:** Population Areas in Sweden

**Appendix Figure A2: Share of Sexual Minority Employees (per 100,000) of the Total Employed Population by Municipality in 2021**
Notes: This figure is the share of sexual minority employees relative to all 18-65 employees by municipality.
Individuals who were not aware of their sexual orientation were excluded from this sample.

**Appendix Figure A3: The Role of Macroeconomic Uncertainty in Explaining the Higher Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding Among Sexual Minority Individuals**

| Panel A: Men | Panel B: Women |
|---|---|
|  |  |
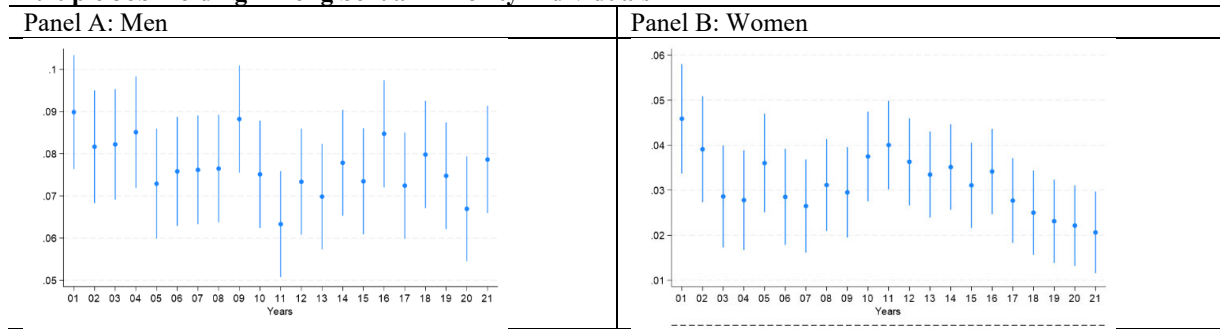
See Table 1. Each legend refers to a unique specification. Specifications are based on Column 4 of Table 1. The bars represent 95 percent confidence intervals.

**Appendix Table A1: Detailed Description of the Data and Variables**

| Variables | Description |
|---|---|
| Multiple job holding | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual has at least 2 employers, and 0 otherwise. |
| Ever-in same-sex legal union | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual has ever been in a same-sex legal union, and 0 otherwise. |
| Age | Continuous variable that is equal to the individual age. |
| Childbearing | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual has at least one child under 18 years old, and 0 otherwise. |
| Currently in legal union | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is in legal union (married or in a registered partnership) at year t, and 0 otherwise. |
| Divorced already | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual has previously separated from a legal union (divorced or separated from registered partnership), and 0 otherwise. |
| Educational categories | Categorical variable that takes the value: |
| Less than primary education | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is less than primary education, and 0 otherwise. |
| Primary education | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is primary education, and 0 otherwise. |
| Uncompleted secondary school education | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is secondary education (less than 2 years), and 0 otherwise. |
| Completed secondary education | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is secondary education (3 years), and 0 otherwise. |
| More than secondary education, but less than a bachelor's degree | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is more than secondary education (less than 2 years), and 0 otherwise. |
| Bachelor's degree | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is bachelor level, and 0 otherwise. |
| Advanced degree | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is doctoral or licentiate, and 0 otherwise. |
| Other/unknown education | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual's highest educational achievement is unknown, and 0 otherwise. |
| Firms | Variable indicating the identification number of all firms created by entrepreneurs. |
| Firm size | Variable indicating the number of employees. |
| Immigration background | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is not born in Sweden or the individual's two parents are immigrants, and 0 otherwise. |
| Industry two-digits | Categorical variable that classifies worker's firms into 87 distinct categories based on their respective industries (e.g., accommodation; food beverage service activities; retail; wholesale trade, except from motor vehicles and motorcycles; education; creative, arts and entertainment activities; sports activities and amusement and recreation activities). |
| Industry one-digit: | |
| Agriculture | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the agricultural industry, and 0 otherwise. |
| Construction | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the construction industry, and 0 otherwise. |
| Healthcare | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the healthcare industry, and 0 otherwise. |
| Manufacturing | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the manufacturing industry, and 0 otherwise. |
| Public sectors and administration | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the public sector or administration sector, and 0 otherwise. |
| Service | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly working in the service industry, and 0 otherwise. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other sectors | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the individual is mainly not working in the agricultural, construction, healthcare, manufacturing, public administration, service industry, and 0 otherwise. |
| Occupation | Categorical variable of the worker's occupation (e.g., legislators, chief executives, senior government officials, managers, high-skilled workers, clerks, technicians, low-skilled workers, armed forces). |
| Municipality population | Continuous variable representing the adult municipality population in which the individual is living. |
| Regional category | Categorical variable that takes the value: |
| Metropolitan | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if located in municipalities with less than 20 percent of their population in rural areas and a total population of at least 500,000 in adjacent municipalities. |
| Cities with high access | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if located in other municipalities outside metropolitan with less than 50 percent of their population in rural areas and at least 50 percent of their population having less than a 45-minute journey to an agglomeration with at least 50,000 inhabitants. |
| Rural areas with high access | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if located in municipalities with at least 50 percent of their population in rural areas and at least 50 percent of their population having less than a 45-minute journey to an agglomeration with at least 50,000 inhabitants. |
| Rural areas with low access | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if located in municipalities with at least 50 percent of their population in rural areas and less than 50 percent of their population having less than a 45-minute journey to an agglomeration with at least 50,000 inhabitants. |
| Rural areas with very low access | Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if located in a municipalities with their entire population in rural areas and with at least an average 90-minute journey to an agglomeration with at least 50,000 inhabitants. |
| Net wealth | Continuous variable: total market value net wealth of the individual is the sum of the total market value financial assets (bank account balance; interest, mixed and equity funds; shares, quoted options; bonds; domestic and foreign endowment insurance; and securities) and the sum of real estate assets (houses, agricultural, industrial, domestic, foreign, land properties) of the individual minus the total market value debt (mortgage, individual, and student debt) of the individual. The variable is denominated in SEK. The wealth variable exists from 1999 and was discontinued after the wealth tax repeal in 2007, as financial institutions were no longer obliged to report individuals' assets and liabilities to the tax authorities. |

**Appendix Table A2: Sexual Minority Status and Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding; An Expanded Set of Coefficient Estimates from Table 2**

|  | (1) Women | (2) Men |
|---|---|---|
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.030*** | 0.076*** |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Age | -0.014*** | -0.015*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Age$^2$ | 0.000*** | 0.000*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Immigration background | 0.001*** | 0.016*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Currently in legal union | -0.037*** | -0.003*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Childbearing | -0.040*** | -0.014*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Less than primary education | -0.019*** | -0.035*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Primary education | -0.012*** | -0.016*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Completed secondary education | 0.022*** | 0.004*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| More than secondary education, but less than a bachelor's degree | 0.032*** | 0.013*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Bachelor's degree | 0.035*** | 0.036*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Advanced degree | 0.183*** | 0.168*** |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Other/unknown education | -0.087*** | -0.097*** |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Already divorced | 0.044*** | 0.037*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Population, municipality (ln) | 0.001*** | 0.004*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Cities, high access | -0.021*** | -0.007*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Cities, low access | -0.029*** | -0.004*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Rural, high access | -0.004*** | 0.001** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Rural, low access | -0.011*** | 0.013*** |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Rural, very low access | 0.040*** | 0.099*** |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Sample mean | 0.244 | 0.261 |
| R-squared | 0.039 | 0.023 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 29,200,973 | 27,228,037 |
| Demographics? | X | X |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X |
| Geographical characteristics? | X | X |

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from the Sweden population register linked to the Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Appendix Table A3: Sexual Minority Individuals are More Likely to be Multiple Job Holders with the Same Employers in Years t-1 and t**

| | (1)<br>**Same Employers in Years t-1 and t** |
|---|---|
| Women | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.008*** |
| | (0.001) |
| | |
| Sample mean | 0.098 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.004 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 29,200,973 |
| Men | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.051*** |
| | (0.001) |
| | |
| Sample mean | 0.101 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.006 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 27,228,037 |
| Year fixed effects? | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X |

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$. Author calculations from the Sweden population register linked to the Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.

**Appendix Table A4: The Role of Individual Factors Related to Self-Insurance in Explaining the Increased Likelihood of Multiple Job Holding among Sexual Minority Individuals**

| | (1)<br>**Below Median Income (all jobs)** | (2)<br>**Above or Equal Median Income (all jobs)** | (3)<br>**Below Median Wealth** | (4)<br>**Above or Equal Median Wealth** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.034*** | 0.026*** | 0.021*** | 0.057*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
| | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.247 | 0.241 | 0.292 | 0.212 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.064 | 0.022 | 0.057 | 0.033 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 14,595,606 | 14,605,367 | 5,173,447 | 5,173,470 |
| Men | | | | |
| Ever in a legal same-sex union | 0.057*** | 0.097*** | 0.070*** | 0.092*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
| | | | | |
| Sample mean | 0.271 | 0.252 | 0.313 | 0.243 |
| Adj-R-squared | 0.033 | 0.014 | 0.023 | 0.022 |
| Number of individual-year observations | 13,610,085 | 13,617,952 | 4,983,392 | 4,983,397 |
| Year fixed effects? | X | X | X | X |
| Demographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X |
| Geographic characteristics? | X | X | X | X |

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Author calculations from the Sweden population register linked to the Sweden business register. Education base: uncompleted secondary school education. Regional category base: metropolitan.