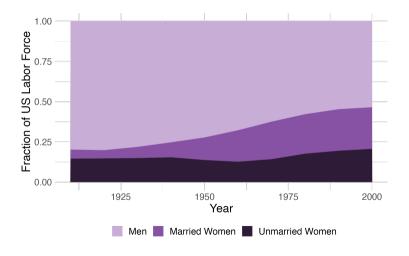
The Rise of the Working Married Woman: Evidence from U.S. Teachers in the 1930s

Amy Kim and Carolyn Tsao

September 28, 2023

Married women drove ↑ women's labor force participation (LFP) through 1900s.

Married women drove ↑ women's labor force participation (LFP) through 1900s.



- Key barrier to women's LFP before 1950's: "marriage bars"
 - Widespread ban on employment of married women
 - Enforced by over half of surveyed firms in 1931 Goldin 1988
 - In 1950's, demand for labor rose ⇒ marriage bars were lifted.
- Limited evidence on **short/long-run effects** of lifting marriage bars.

- Key barrier to women's LFP before 1950's: "marriage bars"
 - Widespread ban on employment of married women
 - Enforced by over half of surveyed firms in 1931 Goldin 1988
 - In 1950's, demand for labor rose ⇒ marriage bars were lifted.
- Limited evidence on **short/long-run effects** of lifting marriage bars.

- Key barrier to women's LFP before 1950's: "marriage bars"
 - Widespread ban on employment of married women
 - Enforced by over half of surveyed firms in 1931 Goldin 1988
 - In 1950's, demand for labor rose \Rightarrow marriage bars were lifted.
- Limited evidence on **short/long-run effects** of lifting marriage bars.

- Key barrier to women's LFP before 1950's: "marriage bars"
 - Widespread ban on employment of married women
 - Enforced by over half of surveyed firms in 1931 Goldin 1988
 - In 1950's, demand for labor rose \Rightarrow marriage bars were lifted.
- Limited evidence on **short/long-run effects** of lifting marriage bars.

- Key barrier to women's LFP before 1950's: "marriage bars"
 - Widespread ban on employment of married women
 - Enforced by over half of surveyed firms in 1931 Goldin 1988
 - In 1950's, demand for labor rose \Rightarrow marriage bars were lifted.
- Limited evidence on short/long-run effects of lifting marriage bars.

- **Question**: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- **Question**: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Question: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Question: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Question: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Question: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Question: What were the effects of lifting marriage bars on...
 - Workforce composition? (Married women's LFP, substitution away from men)
 - Firm outcomes? (Productivity, wages)
 - Household outcomes? (Fertility, husband earnings and LFP)
- Main empirical challenge: Data.
 - Census earnings data begin in 1940.
 - Minimal documentation of marriage bar enforcement. Goldin 1988

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women → Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were highly prevalent in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - Data: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states.

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were **highly prevalent** in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988.
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - **Data**: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.

- Teaching: key job for married, educated women Married Women in Teaching
 - In 1940: 31% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
 - In 2000: 12% of married women in labor force with any college were teachers.
- Marriage bars were **highly prevalent** in teaching.
 - 87% of school districts in 1942. Goldin 1988.
- Ideal occupation for studying effects of married women entering labor force.
 - **Data**: Census + Historical school district records on salaries pre-1940.
 - Identifying variation: Staggered timing of marriage bars ending across states.

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw
 4.7 ppt ↑ (21.7% ↑) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes.

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes.

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes.

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes.

Preliminary findings

- First stage: Relative to nearby "control" states, states that lifted marriage bars saw **4.7 ppt** \uparrow (21.7% \uparrow) in share of married women teachers.
- Household outcomes: No effect on spouse's occupational income score

- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Effects of lifted marriage bars on school + household outcomes.

Outline

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Data and Context
- 3. Preliminary Results
 Effects on workforce composition
 Effects on household, firm outcomes (Work in progress)
 - Effects on nousehold, firm outcomes (work in progress
- 4. Conclusion and Next Steps

Outline

1. Introduction

2. Data and Context

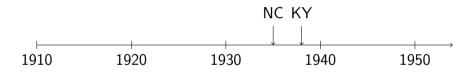
3. Preliminary Results

4. Conclusion and Next Steps

- Since 1910, \sim **75%** of teachers have been women. Teacher Trends
- Several states **lifted marriage bars in teaching** in the 1930s.
- Idea: Compare counties in states that lifted bars to counties in neighboring Southern states

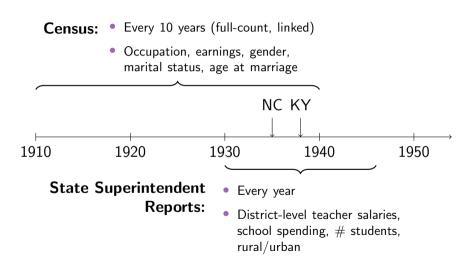
- Since 1910, \sim **75%** of teachers have been women. Teacher Trends
- Several states lifted marriage bars in teaching in the 1930s.
- Idea: Compare counties in states that lifted bars to counties in neighboring Southern states

- Since 1910, \sim **75%** of teachers have been women. \sim Teacher Trends
- Several states **lifted marriage bars in teaching** in the 1930s.



- Since 1910, \sim **75%** of teachers have been women. Teacher Trends
- Several states lifted marriage bars in teaching in the 1930s.
- Idea: Compare counties in states that lifted bars to counties in neighboring Southern states

Data



Outline

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Data and Context
- 3. Preliminary Results

Effects on workforce composition Effects on household, firm outcomes (Work in progress)

4. Conclusion and Next Steps

- Main strategy: Diff-in-diff.
- Main estimates: Treated states see 4.7 ppt ↑ in share married women teachers, relative to control states.
 - No effect on share men teachers.
- Oecomposition: Increase driven by schools employing both women married after and before marriage bar is lifted.

- Main strategy: Diff-in-diff.
- Main estimates: Treated states see 4.7 ppt ↑ in share married women teachers, relative to control states.
 - No effect on share men teachers.
- Oecomposition: Increase driven by schools employing both women married after and before marriage bar is lifted.

- Main strategy: Diff-in-diff.
- Main estimates: Treated states see 4.7 ppt ↑ in share married women teachers, relative to control states.
 - No effect on share men teachers.
- Oecomposition: Increase driven by schools employing both women married after and before marriage bar is lifted.

- Main strategy: Diff-in-diff.
- Main estimates: Treated states see 4.7 ppt ↑ in share married women teachers, relative to control states.
 - No effect on share men teachers.
- Oecomposition: Increase driven by schools employing both women married after and before marriage bar is lifted.

Strategy: Differences-in-differences design

Compare treated counties to control counties:

$$y_{ct} = \alpha_t + \beta_{s(c)} + \sum_{k \in \{1910, 1920, 1940\}} \gamma_k \times \mathsf{Treat}_{s(c)} \times \mathsf{Year}_{k=t} + \varepsilon_{ct}, \tag{1}$$

where for each county c and year t,

- Treat_{s(c)} = $\mathbb{1}[s(c) \in \{KY, NC\}]$
- Outcome y_{ct} : Share teachers married women, unmarried women, men.

Identifying assumption: Parallel trends in y_{ct} prior to marriage bars being lifted.

Strategy: Differences-in-differences design

Compare treated counties to control counties:

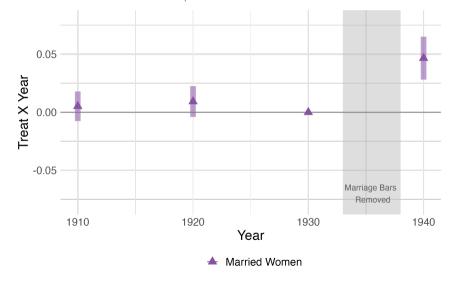
$$y_{ct} = \alpha_t + \beta_{s(c)} + \sum_{k \in \{1910, 1920, 1940\}} \gamma_k \times \mathsf{Treat}_{s(c)} \times \mathsf{Year}_{k=t} + \varepsilon_{ct}, \tag{1}$$

where for each county c and year t,

- Treat_{s(c)} = $\mathbb{1}[s(c) \in \{KY, NC\}]$
- Outcome y_{ct} : Share teachers married women, unmarried women, men.

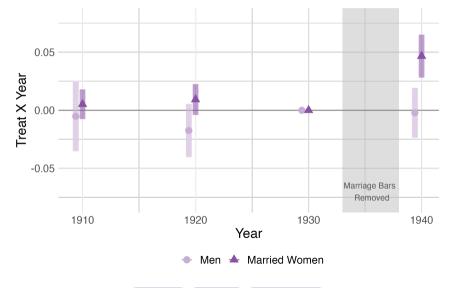
Identifying assumption: Parallel trends in y_{ct} prior to marriage bars being lifted.

Result: Treated states see \(\) in share married women teachers

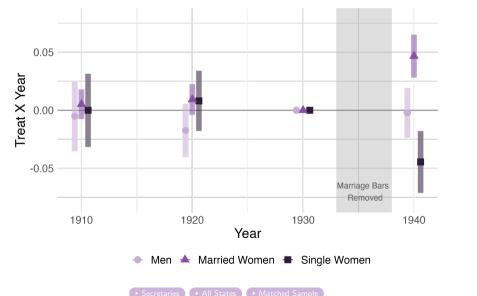




Result: Men are not pushed out by marriage bars being lifted

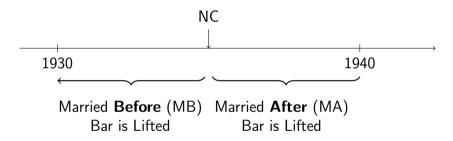


Result: Men are not pushed out by marriage bars being lifted



- Consider NC, where marriage bar lifts in 1935.
- Married women teachers in 1940 fall into one of two groups:
- Which group drove overall \(\) married women teachers in 1940 in NC (vs. SC)?
- Strategy: 2-period diff-in-diff with outcomes share teachers MB and share teachers MA

- Consider NC, where marriage bar lifts in 1935.
- Married women teachers in 1940 fall into one of two groups:

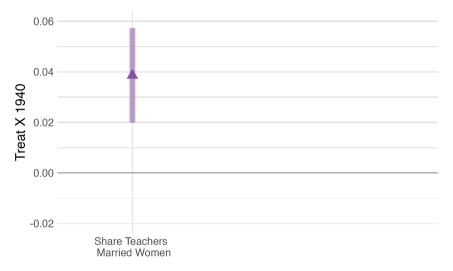


- Which group drove overall ↑ married women teachers in 1940 in NC (vs. SC)?
- Strategy: 2-period diff-in-diff with outcomes share teachers MB and share teachers MA

- Consider NC, where marriage bar lifts in 1935.
- Married women teachers in 1940 fall into one of two groups: Married Before (MB) and Married After (MA)
- Which group drove overall ↑ married women teachers in 1940 in NC (vs. SC)?
- Strategy: 2-period diff-in-diff with outcomes share teachers MB and share teachers MA

- Consider NC, where marriage bar lifts in 1935.
- Married women teachers in 1940 fall into one of two groups: Married Before (MB) and Married After (MA)
- Which group drove overall ↑ married women teachers in 1940 in NC (vs. SC)?
- Strategy: 2-period diff-in-diff with outcomes share teachers MB and share teachers MA

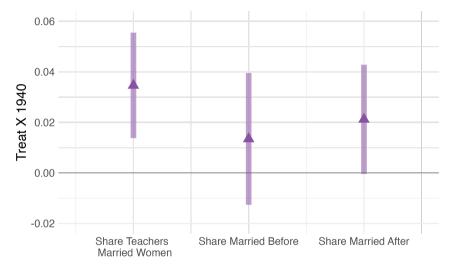
Result: Can't rule out either MB or MA



Result: Can't rule out either MB or MA



Result: Can't rule out either MB or MA



Preview of Future Work: No Effect on Husband Occupation

jinsert graph here¿

Outline

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Data and Context
- 3. Preliminary Results
- 4. Conclusion and Next Steps

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

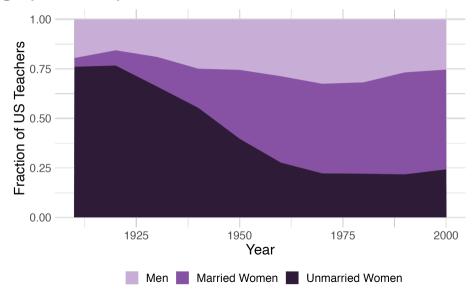
- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

This project so far

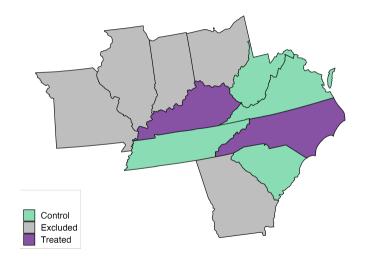
- What were the effects of lifting marriage bars in teaching on married women's LFP and households, and the teaching occupation?
- Preliminary findings:
 - Marriage bars "had bite": Lifting bars caused ↑ share married women teachers.
 - Increase driven by schools employing recently-married women.

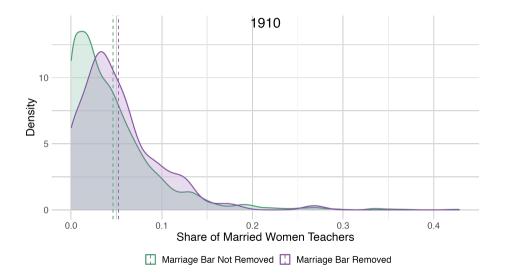
- Characterizing the married women employed after marriage bars are lifted.
- Digitizing teacher salary data pre-1940.
- Additional outcomes from superintendent reports: educational attainment, school funding

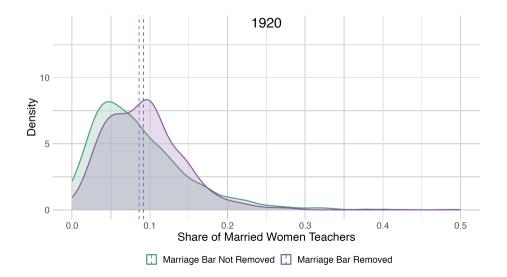
Demographic Composition of Teachers Over Time Creture

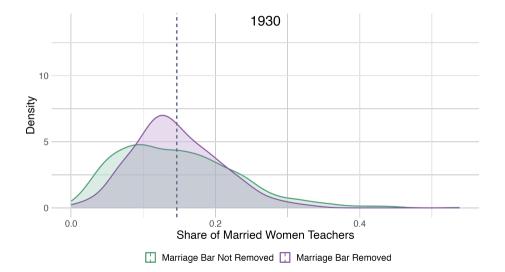


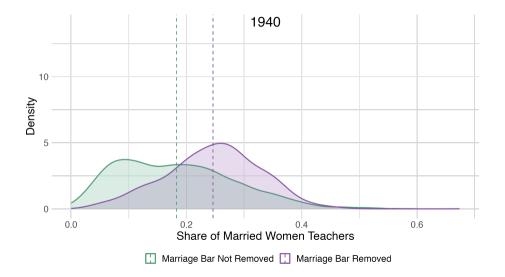
Treated vs. Neighboring Control States • return



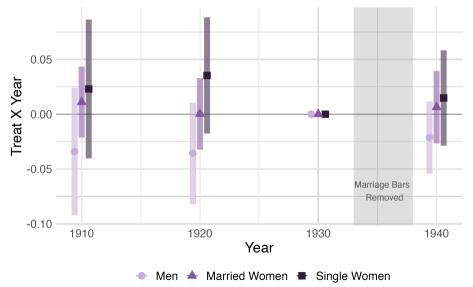




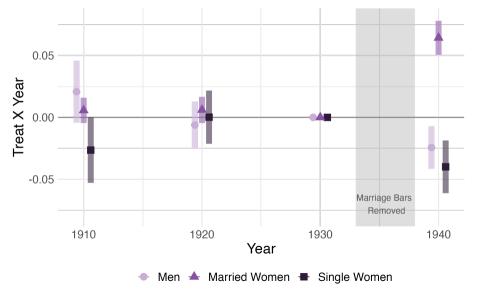




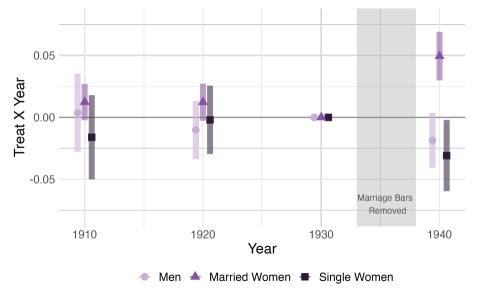
Marriage Bar DiD Results for Secretaries (return)



Marriage Bar DiD Results with All States as Control Greturn

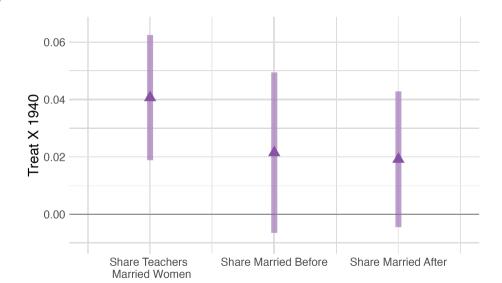


Marriage Bar DiD Results with Matched Sample Creture



Share Married Women Decomposition with Matched Sample





Decomposing the \(\gamma\) in share married women teachers \(\square\)

 H_0 : Unmarried women are "pushed out" of teaching at extensive margin.

• i.e. $M \uparrow \text{ driven by } MB \uparrow$.

 H_1 : $M \uparrow$ is driven by $MA \uparrow$, i.e. women getting married after t - k and either

- continuing to teach (intensive margin)
- **beginning** to teach (extensive margin)