Marriage and Misallocation: Evidence from 70 Years of US History

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Motivation

► Once married, many women shift their time from the labor market to home production

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- Once married, many women shift their time from the labor market to home production
- ▶ Does this shift enhance productivity?
 - Specialization à la Becker (1981)
- ▶ Or does it lead to misallocation?
 - Traditional gender roles make labor allocation deviate from productivity-maximizing choice

Research question

By how much do traditional gender norms in marriage constrain aggregate output?

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"Wives have to stay home and take care of the household"

This paper

► Empirical facts motivating focus on gender norms in marriage

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- ▶ Build & calibrate structural model
 - Measure gender norms in marriage
 - Perform counterfactuals

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 - Measure gender norms in marriage
 - Perform counterfactuals
- ► Reduced form analysis to validate model & explore dynamics

Contributions

1. Aggregate implications of misallocation

- Restuccia and Rogerson (2008), Hsieh and Klenow (2009), Hsieh et al (2019), Erosa et al (2017)
- → Misallocation due to gender norms associated with marriage

2. Rising Female LFP due to cultural change

- Fernandez and Wong (2014), Fernandez, Fogli, Olivetti (2004), Fernandez (2013), Fogli and Veldkamp (2011)
- → Quantify the effect of weakening gender roles on female LFP

3. Gender identity & Economics of the family

- Akerlof and Kranton (2000), Bertrand, Kamenica and Pan (2015)
- ► Chiappori, Salanie and Weiss (2017), Chiappori, Iyigun, and Weiss (2009)
- ightarrow Embed gender identity into model of household decision-making

4. How gender roles change

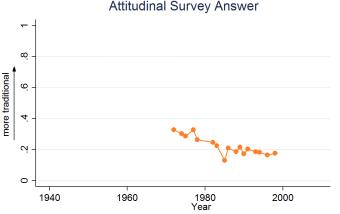
- Kuziemko, Pan, Shen, Washington (2017), Fernandez (2013), Fogli and Veldkamp (2011)
- → Use natural experiment to explore how norms change

Roadmap

- 1. Motivating facts
- 2. Model
- 3. Parameter identification
- 4. Counterfactuals
- 5. Reduced form analysis
- 6. Conclusions

Motivating facts

1. Less traditional attitudes on gender roles over time



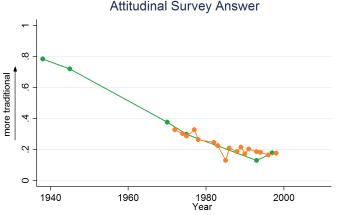
Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? Yes 0, No 1

General Social Survey



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1. Less traditional attitudes on gender roles over time



Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? Yes 0, No 1 **Gallup Polls General Social Survey**



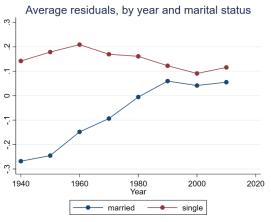


2. "Unexplained" LFP rose for married women

Residuals from:

$$LFP_{it} = X_{it}\beta + \varepsilon_{it}$$

 X_{it} : dummies for age, education, race, # of children



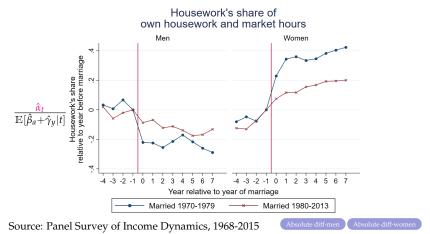
Source: US Census

→ LFP trend for married and single women different. Maybe culture?

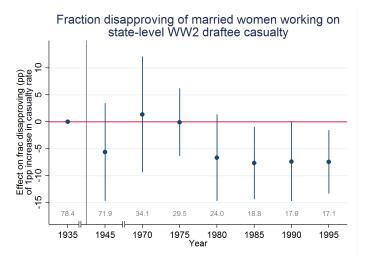
3. Once married, time use skewed towards traditional roles

Individual *i* of age *a* in year *y* at event time *t*:

$$housework_{iayt} = \sum_{j \neq -1} \alpha_j \cdot \mathbb{1}(j=t) + \beta_a + \gamma_y + \nu_{ist}$$

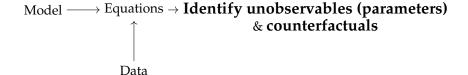


4. Temporary shock to female LFP weakens gender norms



→ Norms evolve endogenously and dynamically

The need for a model



Model

Key features of the model

- ► Individuals choose to work in market vs. home (Roy, 1951; Eaton and Kortum, 2004; Hsieh et al., 2019)
- Norms wedges lower the value of nontraditional behavior among married couples
 (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Bertrand et al, 2015)
- ► Jointly model education, marriage, labor supply (Chiappori et al, 2017; Chiappori, et al, 2018)
- ► Recursive structure simplifies parameter identification



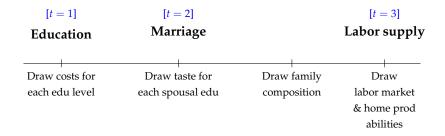
Forward-looking; returns to edu in marriage & labor market

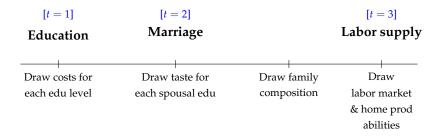


Gains: public goods, risk sharing, marital bliss Costs: subject to gender roles

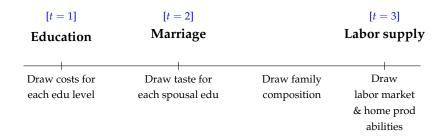


Married couples get disutility (a.k.a. "norms wedge", τ) from wives working in the market & husbands working at home





→ **Recursive** structure simplifies parameter identification (300 or 420 groups of households each year)



Solve model backwards.

[t = 3] Economic utilities (Adaptation of Chiappori et al, 2017)

Marrieds

▶ Husband m and wife f. $i \in \{m, f\}$ gets

$$u_i(Q, C_i, L_f, L_m) = \ln(Q) + \ln\left(C_i - \tau_{Fi} w_f L_f\right)$$

Singles

▶ Not subject to gender roles. *i* gets

$$\hat{u}_i(\hat{Q}_i, \hat{C}_i) = \ln(\hat{Q}_i) + \ln(\hat{C}_i)$$

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public private goods goods

disutility from wife's market work

Singles

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$$u_i(Q, C_i, L_f, L_m) = \ln(Q) + \ln(C_i - \tau_{Fi} w_f L_f)$$

▶ Pareto efficiency ⇒ couple maximizes joint output together

. . . .

 \rightarrow Indirect utilities denoted v_i

Singles

▶ Not subject to gender roles. *i* gets

$$\hat{u}_i(\hat{Q}_i, \hat{C}_i) = \ln(\hat{Q}_i) + \ln(\hat{C}_i)$$

 \rightarrow Indirect utilities denoted \hat{v}_i

[t = 3] Optimal labor supply choice: market vs. home

▶ **Singles** (person *i*)

$$\widehat{L}_i^* = \mathbb{1}(w_i \ge h_i)$$

▶ **Marrieds** (husband *m*, wife *f*)

$$L_f^* = \mathbb{1}[(1 - \mathbf{\tau}) \cdot w_f \ge h_f]$$
$$L_m^* = \mathbb{1}[w_m \ge h_m]$$

- Wages and home productivities
 - 1. group (G) component: (gender×schooling pair×family composition)
 - 2. idiosyncratic abilities: ε_i^w , $\varepsilon_i^h \stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim}$ Fréchet(θ)

$$w_i = \overline{\boldsymbol{w}}_{\boldsymbol{G}} \cdot \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_i^w, \ h_i = \overline{\boldsymbol{h}}_{\boldsymbol{G}} \cdot \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_i^h$$

Firms in the labor market

► A representative firm in this economy produces the aggregate market output *Y*^{*mkt*} from male and female labor:

$$Y^{mkt} = AL = A(L_M + L_F)$$

• L_g : total efficiency units of labor of gender g

[t=2] Marriage market choice (Building on Choo and Siow, 2006)

- ▶ *S* types of men and women, defined by their edu level
- ightharpoonup Idiosyncratic preference for each spousal type $\stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim}$ type I extreme-value
- ► In equilibrium (Supply = Demand),

$$\frac{n^{qr}}{\sqrt{n^{q0}n^{0r}}} = \frac{\mathbb{E}(v_m^{qr}) + \mathbb{E}(v_f^{qr}) - [\mathbb{E}(\hat{v}_m^q) + \mathbb{E}(\hat{v}_f^r)]}{2} + \psi^{qr}$$

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[t = 1] Educational choice

- ▶ Idiosyncratic preference for each edu level $\stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim}$ type I extreme-value
- ► Women's educational choice:

$$\mathbb{P}(\operatorname{edu} r) = \frac{\exp\{U_F^r\}}{\sum_{s=1}^{S} \exp\{U_F^s\}}$$

where

$$U_F^r = \sum_{q=0}^S \left[\frac{n^{qr}}{F^r} \mathbb{E}(v_F^{qr}) \right] - \boldsymbol{c_F^r}$$

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$$\mathbb{P}(\operatorname{edu} r) = \frac{\exp\{U_F^r\}}{\sum_{s=1}^{S} \exp\{U_F^s\}}$$

where

expected utility from edu level
$$r$$

$$U_F^r = \sum_{q=0}^{S} \left[\frac{n^{qr}}{F^r} \mathbb{E}(v_F^{qr}) \right] - \frac{c_F^r}{\uparrow}$$
cost of attaining edu level r

[t = 1, 2] Education and marriage choice

▶ Marriage: compare expected utility, in match vs. as single

► Education: compare expected utility vs. cost for every education level

Parameter identification

- ▶ Model is fitted to
 - ▶ US decennial census, 1940-2010
 - Men & women aged 25-54, household heads or spouses of heads

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 - Parameters to be inferred: dispersion of market and home abilities (θ) , market productivity (\bar{w}) , home productivity (\bar{h}) , norms wedges (τ_F, τ_M) , marital bliss in each marriage match (ψ) , cost of schooling (c)
 - ► Variables needed: market wage, LFP, marital status, education, children

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 - ▶ Variables needed: market wage, LFP, marital status, education, children
- ► Cross-validation
 - Various attitudinal surveys (1938-2017) in Roper Polls database

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Parameter identification: steps & results

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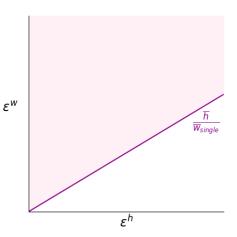
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 - \rightarrow Higher the closer the spousal education levels are
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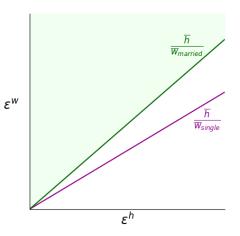
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 - \rightarrow Higher the closer the spousal education levels are
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 - ightarrow The cost of attaining the highest edu level was larger for women 1940-1990, and overturned in 2000

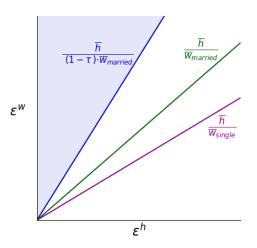
- ► **Single** (woman i): $\widehat{L}_i^* = \mathbb{1}(\overline{w}_{\text{single}} \, \epsilon_i^w \geq \overline{h} \, \epsilon_i^h)$
- ► Average wage: avrwage_{single} = $\overline{w}_{single} \left(\frac{1}{\text{LFP}_{single}} \right)^{\frac{1}{\theta}} \Gamma \left(1 \frac{1}{\theta} \right)$

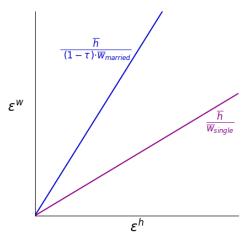


- ► Married (wife f): $L_f^* = \mathbb{1}[(1 \tau) \cdot \overline{w}_{married} \, \varepsilon_f^w \ge \overline{h} \, \varepsilon_f^h]$
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- ► Married (wife f): $L_f^* = \mathbb{1}[(1-\tau) \cdot \overline{w}_{married} \, \varepsilon_f^w \geq \overline{h} \, \varepsilon_f^h]$
- ► Average wage: $avrwage_{married} = \overline{\overline{w}}_{married} \left(\frac{1}{LFP_{married}}\right)^{\frac{1}{\theta}} \Gamma\left(1 \frac{1}{\theta}\right)$





$$\tau = 1 - \frac{avrwage_{single}}{avrwage_{\textit{married}}} \left(\frac{1 - LFP_{\textit{single}}}{1 - LFP_{\textit{married}}} \right)^{\frac{1}{\theta}}$$

What τ captures

 τ : by how much LFP choice of marrieds differ from similar singles, not explained by wage differentials

Includes

- ▶ Preference to conform with traditional identity as wife/husband
- Differential preference for home prod for marrieds relative to singles
- ▶ Differential non-wage treatment by firms
- ▶ Preference for more home-productive women as wife
- ► Interdependence between husband & wife's LFP spousal dependence

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What τ captures

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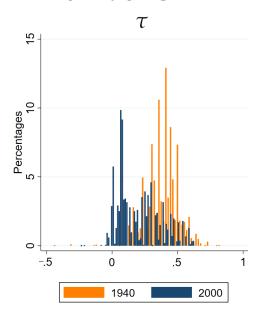
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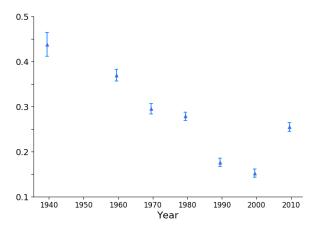
→ Arguably "gender roles"

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τ : gender norms wedges (by group)



τ : gender norms wedges



Matches the answers to various attitudinal survey questions on gender roles in marriage becoming less traditional over time



Cross-check: *τ* correlated with attitudes (state-level)

	Dependent variable τ	
	average	median
Regressed on:		
Fraction disapproving of	0.249**	0.282**
married women working	(2.21)	(2.21)
Regressed on:		
Composite attitudinal index	0.450^{***}	0.439**
-	(2.94)	(2.50)
N	51	51

^{*} p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

t statistics in parentheses; robust standard errors

Corr between attitude & time use Attitudinal index

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Counterfactual simulations



What would have happened in 2000 with norms wedge (τ) at 1940 level (% change)?

	Adjustment margins	
		Labor supply,
		marriage, and
	Labor supply	education
Education		
Women's years of schooling	-	-1.4
Men's years of schooling	-	-0.8
Selection into marriage		
Marriage rate	-	-32.2
Married women's edu/single women's edu	-	-4.1
Married men's edu/single men's edu	-	-1.2

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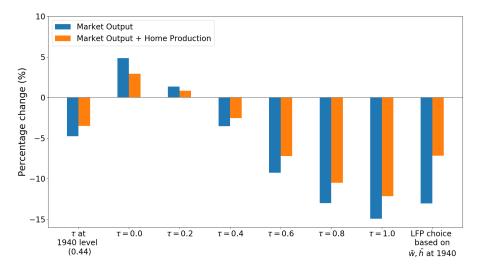
Quantifying the importance of norms

What would have happened in 2000 with female norms wedge (τ_F) at 1940 level (% change)?

	Adjustment margins	
		Labor supply,
		marriage, and
	Labor supply	education
Labor Force Participation		
Married women's LFP	-14.3	-17.5
Married men's LFP	-	-0.03
Single women's LFP	-	0.6
Single men's LFP	-	0.1
Output per head		
Married women's market output	-7.0	-13.0
Married women's total output	-2.1	-6.5
Married men's market output	-	-0.8
Married men's total output	-	-0.8
Aggregate market output	-2.0	-4.8
Aggregate markt & home output	-0.6	-3.5
Within-household gender earnings gap		
Wife's share of household market income	-11.5	-14.9

Output effects of different counterfactuals ...





Reduced form exercise

Reduced form exercise to validate model

- ▶ Want to verify model predictions when norms change
- ▶ BUT, difficult to find *direct* exogenous shock to norms
- ► Alternative approach: explore effects of a shock that *indirectly* affects norms & check that other variables change in the expected direction
 - → Model validation

WW2 casualties as an indirect shock to gender norms

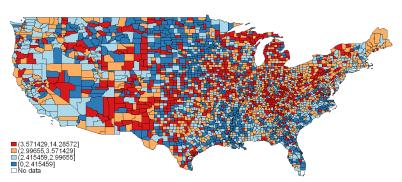
- WW2 induced change in gender norms via temporarily higher FLFP (Fernandez, Fogli, and Olivetti, 2004)
- ► High draftee casualties have two direct effects:
 - ▶ labor market: male labor supply ↓
 - ▶ marriage market: widows ↑
 - \rightarrow Through these effects, induce one-off increase in FLFP.
- ► Gender norms evolve as more women work (Fernandez, Fogli, and Olivetti, 2004; Fogli and Veldkamp, 2011; Fernandez, 2013; Bisin and Verdier, 2000 & 2011)
- ▶ One-off shock may propagate over the long-term via cultural change

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Reduced form empirical specification

► County-level casualty measure:

$$\textit{casualty}_{\textit{c}} = \frac{\textit{drafted and killed}}{\textit{drafted}}$$

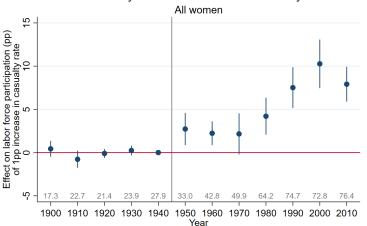


▶ Difference-in-differences framework

$$Y_{ict} = \alpha_c + \lambda_t + \sum_{t \neq 1940} \beta_t \times casualty_c + X_{ict} \gamma + \epsilon_{ict}$$

Female LFP gradually increases





Source: US Decennial Census, 1900-2010

Story of one-off shock to FLFP \rightarrow long-term cultural change

Attitudes

alternative channels

- Attitude index less traditional
- ▶ Women's work
 - ► Gradual ↑ in married women's market work
 - ▶ Within household, gradual ↑ in wife's share of hours & income
 - ► Temporary ↑ in single women's market work

Only married women affected in the long term

- Men's work
 - Men's employment barely affected
- Marriage
 - ▶ Marriage rate ↑
 - ▶ Gradual ↑ in average edu of married women

Gender norm as cost to marriage, stronger for higher ability women

- Wages
 - ▶ Female wage ↓

As more women work, working women less positively selected

Back to model - adding dynamics, using WW2 results

Economywide dynamics: τ responds to past female LFP

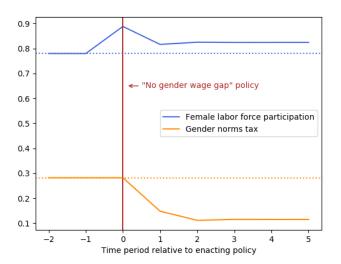
$$\underline{\Delta}\tau_t = f(\underline{\Delta}FLFP_{t-1}, FLFP_{t-1}) + \nu_t$$

- Assumptions:
 - Casualties changed FLFP in 1950 and nothing else
 - Effect only propagates via changes in norms
- ► Estimatimation strategy:
 - minimize

$$\sum_{t}$$
 (DiD coeff, FLFP_t – change in FLFP_t in model due to $\underline{\Delta}\tau_{t}$)²

Dynamic counterfactuals

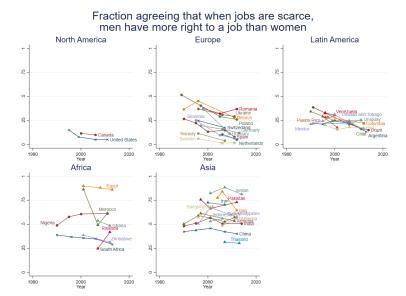
What would happen in 2010 if women were paid male wages, one-off?



50

Conclusions

Relevance of changing norms around the world



Source: IPUMS International

Conclusion

- We do not learn about development only from developing countries
- Rather, we can also learn from a developed country that has undergone large historical changes
 - Gender norms wedges declined significantly in US, 1940-2000
 - Gender norms matter for aggregate output
 - One-off policy inducing a large rise in female LFP may bring economy to a new equilibrium with higher female LFP
- ▶ 1 in 10 countries of the world have female LFP lower than 1940 US

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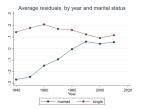
APPENDIX

"Unexplained" female LFP, married vs. single return

Residuals from:

$$LFP_{it} = X_{it}\beta + \varepsilon_{it}$$

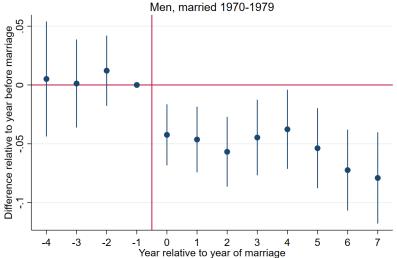
 X_{it} : dummies for age, education, race, # of children



Source: US Census

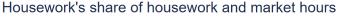
Division of labor by gender upon marriage

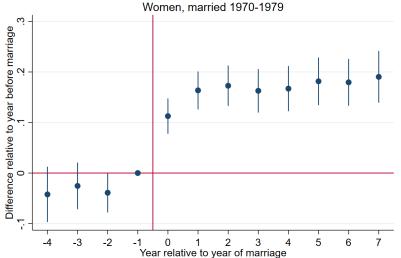




Source: PSID Return

Division of labor by gender upon marriage





Source: PSID Return

2. Corr: traditional attitudes & low married women's LFP

	Married w	Dependent variable Married women's LFP Single women's LFP	
	(1)	(2)	
Fraction agreeing that when jobs are scarce,	-0.436***	-0.959*	
men have more right to a job than women	(-3.49)	(-1.75)	
Wave in sample	5 (2005-2009)	All (1989-2014)	
Wave dummies	-	\checkmark	
Country dummies	-	\checkmark	
N	41	149	

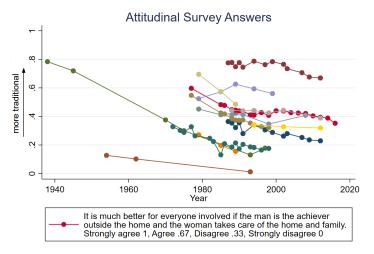
t statistics in parentheses; * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Robust SE for column (1), and SE clustered by country for column (2)



Jay Euijung Lee Marriage and Misallocation

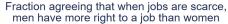
3. Over time: less traditional attitudes on gender roles

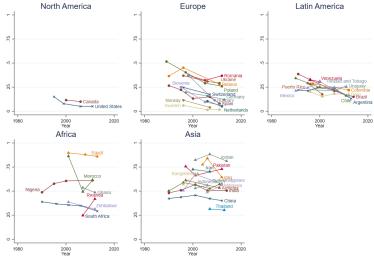


Source: Gallup Polls, Virginia Slims Survey, PEW Values Survey, General Social Survey



3. Over time: less traditional attitudes on gender roles





Source: World Values Survey

Variation in attitudes by individual characteristics

Do you approve of a married woman working in industry/business if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

				1 11	0		
			Shapley				Shapley
	Average	F-statistic	decomp (%)		Average	F-statistic	decomp (%)
Year				Education			
1930-1939	0.77			Middle school or lower	0.41		
1940-1949	0.71			High school drop-out	0.29		
1970-1979	0.26	6.5	20.1	High school	0.20	88.1	64.6
1980-1989	0.16			College drop-out	0.14		
1990-1999	0.14			College or higher	0.09		
Marital status				Number of children			
Married	0.19			0	0.14		
Widowed	0.28			1	0.17		
Divorced	0.18	4.5	3.2	2	0.18	4.0	13.6
Separated	0.19			3	0.21		
Never married	0.15			4 or more	0.27		
Sex				Age			
Male	0.20	7.4	0.8	20-29	0.23		
Female	0.18	7.4	0.6	30-39	0.26	1.0	6.7
Race				40-49	0.29	1.0	0.7
White	0.28			50-59	0.33		
Black	0.25	13.5	5.5				
Other	0.21						



Economic utilities Return

Marrieds

▶ Husband m and wife f. $i \in \{m, f\}$ gets

$$u_i(Q, C_i, L_f, L_m) = \ln(Q) + \ln\left(C_i - \tau_F w_f L_f - \tau_M h_m (1 - L_m)\right)$$

- Q: public consumption
- C_i : i's private consumption
- L_i: i's LFP indicator

- w_i : i's market wage
- h_i : i's home productivity
- τ_{Fi} : *i*'s disutility from $L_f = 1$
- τ_{Mi} : *i*'s disutility from $L_m = 0$

Singles

▶ Not subject to gender roles. *i* gets

$$\hat{u}_i(\hat{Q}_i, \hat{C}_i) = \ln(\hat{Q}_i) + \ln(\hat{C}_i)$$

general form public consumption indir

Jay Euijung Lee Marriage and Misallocation

The general form of the utility function



$$u_i = H\Big(f(Q)C_i - r(Q)\big[\tau_F w_f L_f + \tau_M h_m(1 - L_m)\big] + g_i(Q)\Big)$$

where the following conditions hold:

Conditions

- C1) *H* is strictly increasing and strictly concave
- C2) $(H')^{-1}$ is homogeneous or logarithmically homogeneous

C3)
$$2p(f')^2 - p \cdot f \cdot f'' + [(1 - \tau_F)w_f L_f + (1 - \tau_M)h_m(1 - L_m)](r''f' - r'f'') - f'g'' + g'f'' > 0$$
, where $g(Q) \equiv g_m(Q) + g_f(Q)$

Married couple's utility maximization problem



$$\max_{Q,C_f,C_m} Q(C_f + C_m - \tau_F w_f L_f - \tau_M h_m (1 - L_m))$$
s.t. $pQ + C_f + C_m = w_m L_m + w_f L_f + h_m (1 - L_m) + h_f (1 - L_f)$

Jay Euijung Lee Marriage and Misallocation

Optimal public and private consumption

$$Q = \frac{w_{m}L_{m} + (w_{f} - \tilde{k})L_{f} + (b_{m} - \tilde{h})(1 - L_{m}) + b_{f}(1 - L_{f})}{2p}$$

$$= \frac{w_{m}L_{m} + kw_{f}L_{f} + hb_{m}(1 - L_{m}) + b_{f}(1 - L_{f})}{2p}$$

$$C = pQ + \tilde{k}L_{f} + \tilde{h}(1 - L_{m})$$

return

Intra-household allocation & indirect utilities return

Marrieds

► For Pareto efficiency, couple acts as single decision unit maximizing joint marital output budget constraint

$$\max_{Q,C} Q(C - [k_f + k_m]L_f - [h_f + h_m](1 - L_m))$$
 s.t. $pQ + C = w_mL_m + w_fL_f + b_m(1 - L_m) + b_f(1 - L_f)$

- w_i : i's market wage, b_i : i's home productivity
- ▶ Efficient risk sharing \Rightarrow ratio of MU of private consumption equals endogenously determined Pareto weight μ

$$\frac{\partial u_m}{\partial C_m} = \mu \frac{\partial u_f}{\partial C_f}$$

Indirect utilities

$$v_m = 2 \ln Q + \ln p + \ln \frac{1}{1+u}, \quad v_f = 2 \ln Q + \ln p + \ln \frac{\mu}{1+u}$$

Singles

Separate budget constraints for market & home-produced goods

The maximization problem is equivalent to solving

$$\max_{Q,C,Y,B}(Q+Y)(C+B-\tilde{k}L_f-\tilde{h}(1-L_m))$$

s.t.

$$pQ + C = w_m L_m + w_f L_f$$

$$pY + B = b_m (1 - L_m) + b_f (1 - L_f)$$

- ► Y: the non-rival, public component of home production (e.g. cleaning of communal area, or food preparation for children)
- ▶ $B \equiv B_m + B_f$: the total consumption of the private component of home production (e.g. cleaning of private space, laundry of clothes)

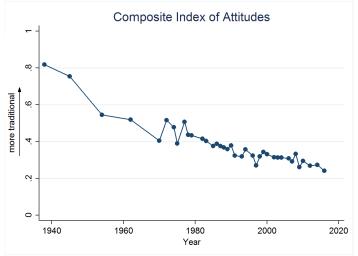
return

Selection issues in comparing marrieds to singles

- ► I use singles' labor supply behavior as a benchmark to compare marrieds' labor supply behavior
 - → Selection problem: marrieds and singles are different
 - 1. Market wages \rightarrow incorporated into the model
 - 2. Home productivity \rightarrow fall in τ_F , τ_M over time is underestimated, so my counterfactual computation is a lower bound
 - 3. Gender role attitudes \rightarrow fine as long as calibrating the norms wedge applying to marrieds



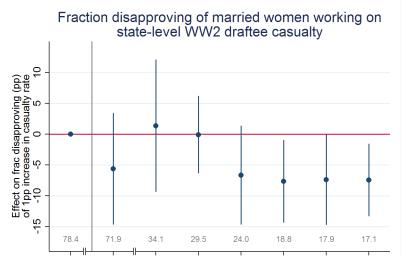
Composite index of attitudes (All questions)



Source: Gallup Polls, Virginia Slims Survey, PEW Values Survey, General Social Survey



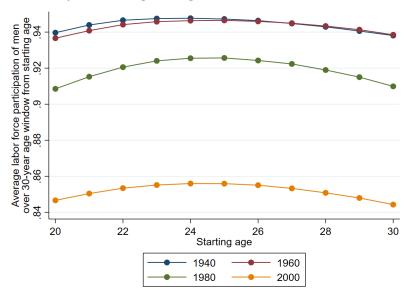
WW2 casualties gradually change attitudes





Year

Economically active age range



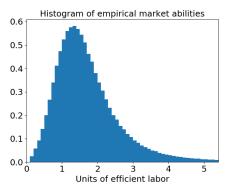


71

θ : measure of dispersion of market & home abilities \blacksquare



 MLE based on the distribution of real hourly wages, adjusting for selection into labor market

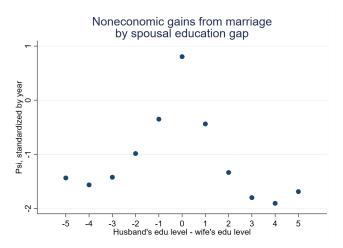


$\hat{ heta}$	1.837***	
	(18.31)	
N	3570573	

t statistics based on standard errors clustered by sex in parentheses * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Similar to Hsieh et al (2018)'s estimate of 1.52 for the dispersion of abilities across occupations, and their choice to use 2 for conducting counterfactuals

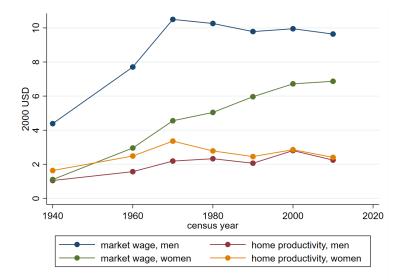
ψ : Noneconomics gains to marriage match return



Matches the well-documented assortative matching by education

\bar{w}, \bar{h} : group component of wage & home productivity





Strong corr between attitude index & time allocation

	1(Wife works)	Wife's weekly market hours	Husband's share of housework
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Attitude	-0.217***	-18.44****	-0.144***
	(-2.92)	(-5.08)	(-2.97)
N	4158	4108	1573

t statistics in parentheses; *** p < 0.01, **** p < 0.001

Attitude $\in [0,1]$, with higher value indicating more traditional gender role attitudes

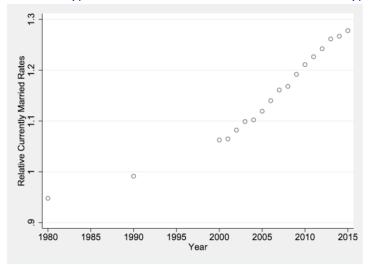
Includes individual FE, state FE, year FE. SE clustered at the individual level

Results robust to controlling for age, age², youngest child's age,

number of children, household size

Data: Work and Family Life Study, 1980-2000 [tell]

Relative marriage rate of educated women increasing



Source: Bar et al (2018)



Cross-elasticity between spouses' LFPs likely stable over time

ightharpoonup Elasticity of L_f w.r.t. husband's earnings quite stable over time



Residualized for own and spousal years of schooling, number of children under 18, number of children under 5, family size, age, race, US county dummies



Alternative channels of long-term effects of WW2 casualties

- Gender ratio fell, increasing husbands' bargaining power
 - ▶ But men have more traditional views
- Increased the stigma of remaining single
 - But this would predict a decrease in married women's labor force participation, because it affects the marginal man's marriage choice more
- Female wage increased
 - But female wage did not increase. Could it be that observed female wage did not increase because higher female wage induced lower ability women to start working? It is unlikely that indirect effect dominates the direct effect.
- ► Increased marketization of home production, which induces higher ability women to get married more (Bar et al, 2018)
 - But the number of children fell
- Birth control pill enabled family planning
 - But availability of birth control pill should not be correlated with casualties