

Chapter 17 New Perspectives on Gender

Handbook of Labor Economics, Volume 4B

By Marianne Bertrand

Short Summary

This paper reviews the literature on gender difference and its implication to labour economics mainly in 2000s, focusing on *psychological* and *behavioural* aspects.

It consists of two large sections: **Gender Differences in Psychological Attitudes** and **Gender Identity**. Besides, **Women's well-being** is discussed briefly.

Section 2 focuses primarily on laboratory-based evidence regarding gender differences in: risk preferences, attitudes towards competition, the strength of other-regarding preferences (e.g. altruism), and attitudes towards negotiation. Section 3 pays attention to gender identity norm.

Key questions throughout this paper is **what are the possible factors that explain gender differences in labour market outcome?**

Motivation and Observation

- Have observed a declining but persistent **gender gap in labour market outcomes** (e.g. labour force participation, occupational choice, earnings)

Sources of these gender gap

In Altonji and Blank (1999, HLE)

1. Differences in **human capital accumulation**
 - pre-labour market entry (e.g. differences in the type of education women receive)
 - post-labour market entry (e.g. differences in accumulated experience)
2. **Discrimination** (taste-based or statistical)
 - possibly being more pronounced in some occupations

In 2000s

1. Differences in **psychological attributes and preferences** between men and women
 - Observed differences in:
 - **risk preferences** (section 2.1)
 - attitudes towards **competition** (section 2.2)
 - the strength of other-regarding preferences (i.e. **social preferences**) (section 2.3)
 - attitudes towards **negotiation** (section 2.4)
 - Only a few have shown the empirical relevance of these factors so far, though
 - Source of the differences?
 - **nurture** (social/environmental influence)
 - **nature** (i.e. biological reason)
2. Existence of social norms about *what is appropriate for men and what is for women to do*
 - Imported from social psychology literature on how an individual's social identity can influence behaviours and choices in markets
 - Implications for occupational sorting, labour force participation, and intra-household allocation of work.
 - Possible key drives of social norms: socialisation and child-rearing practices

A declining trend of women's self-reported life satisfaction

- Both in absolute and relative to men's
- Alternative measure of their well-being?

Section 2. Gender Differences in Psychological Attributes

1. Risk Attitudes/Preference

Relevance of risk preference to labour market outcome

- Empirically have shown that individuals with higher risk aversion tend to choose occupations with more stable but smaller average earnings (Bonin et al., 2017)

Question: any systematic differences in risk preferences between men and women

- Review articles: Croson and Gneezy (2009) and Eckel and Grossman (2008a)
- Mostly experimental studies in laboratory
 - Gender comparison in risky gambles choice/valuation, both with hypothetical choices and real stakes
 - Subject sample in most cases: college students
- These two review papers' conclusion: published experimental findings are broadly consistent with **women being more risk averse than men**
- Higher risk aversion amongst women is also observed in **more general population**
 - Dohmen et al. (2011, Forthcoming-a) employs a large representative survey of the German population with a complementary experiment on a representative subsample
 - Survey asks self-assessed willingness to take risk and experiment validates this
 - Finds that:
 - the subjective assessment of risk attitude seems a reliable measure of risk preference
 - gender has a quantitatively significant effect on self-assessed risk preference
 - gender gap in risk-taking varies over the life cycle
 - Men: steady decline with age
 - Women: rapid decline from the late teens to age thirty, flattening between thirty and mid-fifties, and a further drop afterwards
- Systematic gender difference in risk aversion in a few field studies, with more pronounced OVB concerns
 - Financial domain
 - More allocation of the defined contribution pension to low-risk assets amongst a large US firm employees
 - Lower proportions of risky assets holding by single women
 - Gender difference in financial knowledge partly drives the difference in risk-taking
 - Other domain
 - domain-specific risk attitudes?
 - Lower average willingness to take risk amongst women in five domains: driving, financial matters, sports and leisure, health, and career
 - Largest gap in driving and financial matters
 - Smallest gap in career

Any gender difference in overconfidence?

- Often offered as an explanation for the gender gap in risk-taking
- Men particularly exhibits overconfidence in their relative ability
- Overconfidence amongst financial investors (Barber and Odean, 2001)
 - Theoretically, an overconfident agent trades stock too much
 - Empirically shows that men trade 45% more than women, resulting in negative impacts on the relative return of their portfolio

2. Attitudes Towards Competition

Relevance of competition preference to labour market outcomes

- Highly competitive settings in many high-profile, high-earning occupations
 - in which winners are disproportionately rewarded
 - Women are said to be relatively underrepresented in those occupations

Empirical (experimental) Researches

- A few experimental papers find that
 - Women may systematically under-perform relative to men in competitive environments
 - Simply women may not prefer such environments

Gneezy et al. (2003)

Studies how men and women perform under different competitive environments

- Setting:
 - Groups of six students at the most competitive tech university in Israel (three female and male each)
 - Task: Solve mazes individually
 - Two compensation schemes
 - a. a piece rate scheme
 - Pay a fixed prize for each maze
 - b. a tournament scheme
 - Pay a prize for only the student who solves the highest number of mazes
 - c. a random tournament scheme
 - Choose the tournament winner at random
 - Implemented to rule out the possibility of a difference in risk aversion
- Result:
 - i. Piece rate: No gender difference in performance
 - ii. Mixed-sex tournament: Men strongly increase their performance but women do not

- About 40% difference
- iii. Random tournament: No different performance level with a piece rate case and no gender difference in performance
- iv. Single-sex tournament: No gender difference in performance

Niederle and Vesterlund (2007)

Studies the compensation choices men and women make in a mixed-sex environment

- Setting:
 - Task: Solve a series of additions (multiple rounds)
 - Inform participants about their own (absolute) performance but not relative one
 - Compensational scheme
 - First two rounds: Either a piece rate setting or a tournament scheme
 - Third round~: Participants choose either one they prefer in that round
- Result:
 - i. No gender difference in performance in the first two rounds
 - ii. Gender difference in compensational scheme choice
 - 3/4 of men but 1/4 of women choose the tournament
 - iii. Women in the top performance quartile in the first rounds are less likely to choose the tournament than men in the lowest quartile
- Potential Explanation for *why women stay away from a winner-take-all environment?*
 - Gender difference in overconfidence (overestimation of one's own performance rank)
 - Explains some but not all
 - Gender differences in risk preference and in aversion to negative feedback
 - No much explanatory power
 - Residual gender difference -> **competition aversion**

Niederle and Vesterlund (2008): a complementary paper

Studies the costs and benefits of **affirmative action** in a competitive environment which too few women but too many men enter

- Setting:
 - Implement a quota-like affirmative action policy
 - Tournament winners will be at least as many women as men
- Result:
 - A substantial increase in the share of women willing to participate in tournaments under the quota
 - Cost of affirmative action (<- the average ability of the tournament winners) is not as high as predicted without entry decision change
 - because this enhance the entry of high ability women
- Explanation
 - Competition becomes more gender-specific
 - Female competition aversion is lessened in gender-specific competition

Open Questions for Future Research

1. Importance of the **gender composition** of the group in which one competes against
 - Mixed results for the gender composition effect on gender difference in performance
 - Gneezy and Rustichini (2004)
 - Fourth-graders' short distance race
 - No gender gap in performance when running alone
 - Gender gap in the competitive setting (boys outpace girls)
 - Gender gap is more pronounced in the single-sex races
 - Girls speed decreases only when paired with other girls
 - Gupta et al. (2003)
 - Similar setting to Niederle and Vesterlund (2007)
 - Participants choose a payment scheme AFTER informed whether they are paired with a man or a woman
 - No gender difference in the choice by gender of a paired person
2. Competitive aversion as an **independent factor** like risk aversion and overconfidence
 - Gupta et al. (2005)
 - Risk aversion matters substantially in explaining women's compensation choices
 - Dohmen and Falk (2011, forthcoming)
 - Participants choose either of a fixed pay scheme and three variable payment schemes: piece rate, tournament, and revenue sharing
 - Gender gap in choosing the variable schemes
 - Small and statistically weak gap after controlling for gender differences in risk attitudes
3. **Robustness** of the results to higher stakes as well as to repetition and learning
 - Antonovics et al. (2009)
 - Field data from The Weakest Link (a television game show)
 - No difference in female performance by gender of one's opponent in the field
 - Difference in female performance (i.e. women perform worse) in the laboratory with typical lab stake (\$20)
 - No difference in female performance with higher stake (\$50 or more)

- With \$50 or more stake, women perform better when they face men than face women (opposite for with \$20)
- Vandegrift and Yavas (2009)
 - Not much explanatory power of gender for tournament scheme entry decision when
 - individual repeatedly face the same task and compensation choices
 - they can learn their actual relative ability

3. Social Preferences

- Argued that women are more socially minded than men
 - e.g. stronger redistributive preference

Experimental Studies

- Three types of experiments are used:
 - Public good experiments
 - Ultimatum experiments
 - Dictator experiments
- A difficulty in interpreting and comparing the results of many of the public good and ultimatum experiments
 - Some include *financial risk* while others do not
 - Risk aversion can drive results
 - Some involve choices with *the judgement of others* while others do not
 - Possible gender difference in caring about others' judgement to one's behaviour
- Significant gender difference in social orientation in the experimental studies that possibly rule out risk and anonymity issues
 - Dictatorship experiments: less confounded
 - Results in dictatorship experiments are consistent with women giving away more than men

Field Studies

- Have observed that higher level of **altruism** and stronger preferences for redistribution amongst women
- Indirect evidence from observed gender differences in political orientation
 - Women are more left-leaning than men today
 - Political gender gap has changed over time
 - Trend may be related to an increase in divorce risk and decline in marriage
 - Economic, rather than pure psychological, explanation is more plausible
- Direct evidence:
 - Funk and Gathmann (2009)
 - Setting:
 - Exploits time-variation in the adoption of female suffrage across Swiss cantons
 - Studies voting behaviour on a broad range of policies
 - Result:
 - Female voting has a substantial impact on the composition of spending
 - Stronger support for redistributive policies and public health spending
 - But not on the total government spending size
 - Alesina and Giuliano (2009)
 - Uses survey data
 - Finds that women are more pro-redistribution than men
 - even after controlling political ideology

4. Attitudes towards negotiation

- Negotiation: a competition over resource distribution
- Meta-analyses in late 1990s point out the importance of *situational or contextual factors* for gender differences in negotiation
 - Gender difference is highly dependent on the context

Bowles et al. (2005)

- Whether subjects are told negotiations for themselves or for others matter for gender gap in negotiation outcomes
 - Women's performance improves when negotiating for others
 - No difference for men
 - Interpretation:
 - Entitlement literature: women may feel less deserving
 - More backlash expectations amongst women
 - More feeling of obligation towards others for women
- *Situational ambiguity* matters
 - Difference in information provision about a good agreement

- Women performs worse with less information

Small et al (2007)

- Examines any gender difference in initiating negotiation
- Setting:
 - Lab experiment that subjects are paid to *the lowest amount possible* after a word game
 - Analyse whether participants ask for higher payment from the experimenter
- Result:
 - Women ask less often than men
 - No gender gap when framed as an opportunity to *ask* rather than *negotiate*
- Interpretation:
 - Women may be more intimidated by the *negotiation* language
 - *Negotiation* might be viewed as inconsistent with the norms of politeness (c.f. politeness theory)

Bowels et al. (2007)

- Examines any gender difference in initiating negotiation
- Setting and Result:
 - Subjects evaluate male and female candidates that did or did not negotiate for their compensation, in written and video-based.
 - Women that initiate negotiation receive systematically worse evaluation
 - Male evaluators report being more willing to work with women who accepted than with who attempted to negotiate, regardless of women's perceived ability
 - No such pattern for female evaluators
 - Subjects are asked to take the candidate's perspective
 - Female subjects are less likely to negotiate in the presence of a male evaluator
 - No such pattern for female evaluator
 - Gender of the evaluator: a key driver of the gender gap
 - Cannot fully explained by: nervousness, the anticipation of backlash, the strength of the participants' gender identity

5. Empirical Implication for Labour Market Outcomes

Manning and Saidi (2010)

- Setting:
 - British Workplace Employees Relations Survey (1998~2004)
 - Information on the use of performance at the occupation-level within establishments
- Result:
 - Fewer women are in those occupations and establishments that use variable pay, BUT quantitatively small
 - **No significant effect** of the gender mix in a job on the responsiveness to performance pay

Field Evidence on the Impact of Competitive Pressures on Male and Female Performance

- Paserman (2007)
 - Setting:
 - Tennis players' reaction to competitive pressures in Grand Slam tournaments
 - Only single-sex environment
 - Result:
 - Women are more likely than men to commit unfroced errors at critical points
 - Women's first serves become more conservative at critical points
- Laby (2008b)
 - Setting:
 - High school teachers' performance in an academic subject-specific rank-order tournament
 - Rewarded according to the relative performance of their classes on a test at the same school
 - Result:
 - No evidence that female teachers do worse under the tournament schme
 - No evidence that female teachers' performance relates to the gender mix of the comparison group
 - Differences from lab experiments
 - Time frame under which the task has to be performed
 - 15 mins of maze solving vs months of teaching
 - Experience with the task at hand
 - Tpes of men who become teachers might be a very selected group
 - What is directly measured is kids' performance rather than the teacher's input
- Ors et al. (2008)
 - Setting:
 - Performance in the competitive entry exam to the Haute Ecole de Commerce (HEC) in France
 - Admission rate: about 10%
 - Compare it with the performance in...
 - National high school exam (with less competitive and less stressful)

- First year of courses at HEC for the admitted students
- Result:
 - Women perform more poorly than men on the stressful and competitive entry exam
 - Performance distribution for men has much fatter tails
 - BUT the performance of women first-order-stochastically dominates that of men in other two situations
 - Consistent with lab evidence

Field Evidence on Negotiation Aversion of Women

- A few studies have shown that **women are less likely to initiate negotiations**
 - Babcock and Laschever (2003)
 - Studies graduating professional school students
 - Finds that 7% of female students and 57% of male tried to negotiate their initial compensation offers
 - Babcock et al. (2006)
 - Female are less likely than men to initiate negotiation amongst working adults as well as amongst MBA students on their job offer
 - No gender difference in negotiated starting salaries in low-ambiguity industries
 - Gender gap in high-ambiguity industries
 - Greig (2008)
 - Studies investment bankers at a major US investment bank
 - Finds that
 - Women report a lower propensity to negotiate on behalf of themselves
 - A correlation exists between one's negotiation propensity and one's rate of advancement and seniority
 - No significant correlation between negotiation propensity and performance
 - Gender gap in negotiation may be a reason of female under-representation at senior levels
 - Blackaby et al. (2005)
 - Studies promotion and pay patterns by gender in the UK academic labour market for economists
 - Finds that
 - Gender gaps in promotions and in the number of outside offers after controlling productivity
 - A correlation between number of outside offers and earnings for men, but not for women
 - Fortin (2008)
 - Studies the role of greed and altruism in explaining gender wage gap
 - Uses longitudinal data to capture psychological characteristics in a pre-market environment
 - Finds that
 - Women score higher on the factors that predict financially less attractive labour market outcomes
 - e.g. more altruistic
 - Gender gaps in those factors have shrunk, particularly in ambition and leadership
 - Manning and Swaffield (2008)
 - Studies the importance of psychological factors in explaining the gender wage gap in early-career wage growth in the UK
 - proxies for the psychological factors prior to labour market entry
 - Finds that a set of psychological factors matters to the gender gap BUT much less than human capital factors
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6. Other Personal Traits

Big Five model

1. Extroversion
 2. Agreeableness
 3. Conscientiousness
 4. Neuroticism
 5. Openness to experience
- Gender differences are documented
 - **Women are more agreeable and more neurotic than men** in psychology literature

Mueller and Plug (2006)

- Studies the effects of personality traits on earnings by gender
- Gender differences in the Big Five personality traits
 - Higher **agreeableness**, **neuroticism**, extroversion and openness
- Gender differences in the return to personality traits
 - Positive returns to openness for both men and women
 - Positive returns to being not agreeable for men
 - Positive returns to being conscientious for women
 - Only 3~4% of the gender gap in earnings is explained by gender differences in *mean personality traits* and in *returns to those personality traits*.
 - **Antagonism** (not agreeable) is a key driver of this gender gap by Oaxaca-type decomposition

- Personality traits matter to earnings heterogeneity as much as cognitive ability does but much less than other factors like education

Niederle and Yestrumskas (2008)

- Studies female lower desire to seek challenges through experiments
- Finds that
 - Women avoid higher difficulty levels on a task even without gender differences in ability and beliefs in own ability
 - Gender differences in risk aversion and confidence can fully explain this gender gap
 - Suggests that this might be related to women's under-representation in high profile occupations

Borghans et al. (2005)

- Focuses on *interpersonal skills*, arguing that technological and organisational changes have induced an increase in the demand for interpersonal skills
- Shows that the importance of people tasks increased rapidly between the late 1970s and the early 1990s
 - This shift in demand might be beneficial to women
 - Occupations in which people tasks are more important employ more women
 - Possible contribution to the decline in the gender wage gap in the same period

Gender difference in Behavioural Problems

- Gender differences in the incidence of behavioural problems between boys and girls in school age, but **Why?**
 - Hypotheses:
 - a. Women are better than men at delaying gratification
 - Small but significant difference
 - b. Women experience puberty and maturation earlier
 - Kindergarten' emphasis on didactic knowledge moving from experiential knowledge might have a detrimental effect on boys though this development difference
 - BUT no strong evidence for the hypothesis that starting kindergarten at an early age is detrimental to boys
- Gender differences in the behavioural problems matter for the gender gap in college attendance
 - Non-cognitive behavioural factors can explain most of the female advantage in college enrollment

Personality Traits and Preference Parameters

- Gender difference in emotional or affective reaction to risk (Croson and Gneezy, 2009)
 - Indeed, women experience more stress, fear or dread in situations with risk or possible negative outcomes
- Women underestimate large probabilities of gains more strongly (Fehr-Duda et al., 2006)
 - May be linked to risk aversion
 - Other studies have shown that women also overestimate the probability of negative outcomes
- Personality traits predict risk aversion (Borghans et al., 2009)
 - Less agreeable, more neurotic and more ambitious is associated with lower levels of risk aversion
 - BUT controlling for these psychological traits does NOT explain much of the gender gap in risk aversion

7. Where Gender Differences Come From?

- **Biological differences** matters
 - e.g. menstrual cycle -> disadvantage for women
- Medical progress has reduced the gender gap in education and labour force participation?
 - technology has reduced the influence of the biological differences
 - Availability of **oral contraceptives** increased the likelihood of college-educated women choosing further investment in log-duration professional education (Goldin and Katz, 2002)
 - **Legal access to the pill** for young unmarried women increased their labour force participation (Bailey, 2006)
 - Medical improvements in **maternal health** and the introduction of **infant formula** increased the labour force participation of married women of child-bearing age
- Gender difference in preferences and personality traits -> biological roots (*nature*) or environmental influence (*nurture*)?
 - Their relative importance has important policy implications
 - If *nurture* is stronger, educational reform might work
 - If *nature* is stronger, affirmative action policy or further medical and pharmaceutical advancements would be relied on

Nurture

Non-Cognitive Skills

- Gneezy et al. (2008)
 - Compares two societies to see if women behave differently or not
 - Two societies:
 - a. Maasai in Tanzania
 - Patriarchal society... "women are said to be less important than cattle"
 - b. Khasi in Northeast India
 - Matrilineal with inheritance and clan membership following a female lineage

- Women: household head and make all important economic decisions
- Conducts experiments measuring **competition** aversion
- Result:
 - Same gender patterns as in the West in Maasai
 - Exactly opposite pattern in Khasi
 - Against *nature* view with caution
 - Evolutionary explanation is still possible
- Booth and Nolen (2009a)
 - Studies **risk** aversion in a sample of English 15-year-olds
 - Shows risk aversion depends on their attendance to a single-sex to mixed-gender school
- Booth and Nolen (2009b)
 - Studies **competition** aversion in the same sample
 - Shows girls from single-sex schools behave more like boys
 - No differences within boys by school type
 - Less concern to evolutionary distance but still selection concern

Cognitive Skills

- **Spatial ability** (Hoffman et al., 2010)
 - Correlated with engineering course success and decision to major in physical sciences
 - Compare two societies as above
 - Shows men outperforms women in a patrilineal society (the Karbi) but not such gap in geographically and ethnically close matrilineal society in Northeast India (the Khasi)
- **Role model effects**
 - Assignment to a same-sex teacher improves both the children's performance (girls and boys) and the teacher's perception of the student's performance
 - Studied by within-children cross-subject assignment, within-student and within-instructor variation
 - Assignment to female professors for the introductory math and science classes improves female students' performance as well as their majoring decision in science, math, or engineering
 - Studies with random assignment as well as within-course and student variation
 - No such role model effect by **mother** (Fryer and Levitt, 2010)
 - Uses panel data of 20,000 children from kindergarten to fifth grade
 - Finds that a set of variables capturing parental behaviour and expectations do not explain the gender gap in math scores amongst young children
- **Socialisation to environmental forces**
 - Cross-country variation in the degree of sexism and 15-year-old girls' skills in math and reading comprehension (Guiso et al., 2008)
 - No gender difference in math and larger gender difference in reading (favors women) in more gender-equal societies
 - No such pattern when including the middle-eastern countries (Fryer and Levitt, 2010)
 - More single-sex schools in the middle-eastern states

Nature

Hormone (testosterone level)

- Have shown that testosterone levels and behavioural outcomes are related:
 - Willingness to take financial risk (Dreber and Hoffman, 2007)
 - Exploits **2D:4D** ratio (the ratio of the lengths of 2nd finger and 4th finger)
 - Gender difference in career choice (financial sector) amongst MBA students disappears when controlling for testosterone levels (Maestripie et al., 2009)
- Note that these researches are NOT causal
 - One's testosterone level may be affected by their and their parents' environmental (including socioeconomic) factors

Section 3. Gender Identity

- Persistence of the gender differences in labour market outcomes may be explained by social norms about *what is appropriate for men and women to do*, respectively
 - This may induce differential gender sorting across occupations
- Concept of **identity** has been imported from social psychology to economics
 - Seminal paper: Akerlof and Kranton (2000)

1. Theoretical Foundations

Akerlof and Kranton (2000)

- Defines **identity** as *one's sense of self, or of belonging to one or multiple social categories*
- Proposes a model where one's identity directly enters the utility function
 - One's identity can influence economic outcomes because the deviation from the behaviour compatible with identity is assumed to decrease utility

Some applicatoins

- Labour force participation
 - Norms that *mean work outside and women work home*
 - Occupational segregation by gender
 - Some occupations are viewed as male jobs
 - For women, their decisions to take those jobs are in conflict with their gender identity
 - For male workers in those occupations, accepting women as co-workers may threatens their gender identity
 - A microfoundation for reduced-form discrimination models (e.g. Becker, 1971)
 - Related to Goldin (2002)'s pullution theory of discrimination
 - Assumes that men derive utility also from *how their image is affected by where they work and who they work with*
 - Goldin's model is closer to a **statistical discrimination** model
 - Akerlof and Kranton's model is closer to a **taste-based discrimination** model
 - Allocation of housework tasks between spouses
 - Norms that *mean work outside and women work home*
 - Men's gender identity is threatened if their wives work in the labour market, especially if they do well
 - This may make men threaten women to do a larger share of the housework
 - Opposite prediction to the **bargaining model**
 - A monotonic negative relationship between women's reltive labour market earnings and their relative contribution to housework activities
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2. Testing the Relevance of Gender Identity Model to Labour Market Outcome

Fortin (2005)

- Setting:
 - Uses data from the World Value Surveys
 - 25 OECD countries for 10 years
- Result:
 - Social representation of each gender is stable across cohorts and over time
 - Social representation predicts women's labour market outcomes well
 - Less egalitarian attitudes also predicts the outcomes well
 - Declining both across cohorts and over time
 - *Mother's guilt* is closely related to a women's labour force participation

Fortin (2009)

- Setting:
 - Within US data for 30 years
- Result:
 - Evolution of gender role attitudes over time map well with the evolution of female labour force participation
 - Gender rols attitudes became less traditional untill the mid-1990s
 - The trend reversed in the mid-1990s
 - HIV/AIDS crisis might be responsible?

Charles et al. (2009)

- Setting:
 - Construct a measure of male sexism across US states
- Result:
 - A strong relationship between men's sexism and gender wage and employmen gaps
 - Controlling for men's sexism makes women's own view little predictive of their labour market outcomes
 - Attitudes of the **median** man matters
 - Consistent with Becker's tast-based discrimination model

Booth and van Ours (2009)

- Investigate Australian couples
 - Finds a patterns in the relationship between male shares of market work and housework that is consistent with Akerlof and Kranton's model more than a standard household specialisation model
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3. Empirical Determinants of Gender Identity Norms

What drives gender identity?

1. **Innovations in contraception and the introduction of Pill**
 - Women's adult indetities were less influenced by traditional gender roles and more by career considerations (Goldin, 2006)
2. **Family environment**
 - A relationship between a young female's attitudes towards working women and her background characteristics (e.g. religious affiliation, parents' educational and woking background) (Vella, 1994)

- Men grown up in families with working mothers might contribute to the female labour force participation (Fernandez et al., 2004)
 - Exploits exogenous variation in mother's labour force participation stemmed from male draft across US states (as Acemoglu et al., 2004)
 - Men whose mothers worked are more likely to have working wives
 - Mother's view on the female role in the market and family affects her children's attitudes in labour force participation (Farre and Vella, 2007)
 - Women's cultural background matters to their labour force participation and fertility (Fernandez and Fogli, 2009)
 - Uses female labour force participation and fertility rate in the American women's country of ancestry as cultural proxies
 - Spousal culture also matters to women's labour force participation
3. **Schooling environment**
- Adolescent girls in a coed environment might reinforce their traditional female identity (Maccoby, 1990 and 1998)
 - Girls who attend single-sex schools are less likely to hold traditional gender role views
 - College environment also matters (Dasgupta and Asgari, 2004)
 - Compares college-age women both before and after their first year at either a coeducational or a women's college
 - No difference at college entry
 - Those at the coeducational college show higher levels of gender stereotyping
 - Exposure to female professors reduces this development
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4. Does Gender Identity Drives Psychological Attributes?

- Gender identity norms are possibly responsible for gender differences in psychological attributes (e.g. risk aversion)
 - People expect women to be docile and generous (Eagly, 1987)
 - Men expect women to be more risk averse than they truly are
 - Socially constructed gender norms?
 - Gender identity and preferences -> mixed results
 - Benjamin et al. (2010, forthcoming)
 - Experimentally manipulates one's salient identity
 - Shows no gender salience effects on patience or risk aversion
 - Boschini et al. (2009)
 - Gender priming affects altruistic behaviour only in mixed-gender groups
 - Men responds to the priming but women do not
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Section 4. Women's Well-being

- Improvements of women's educational and labour market outcomes -> Well-being for women?
 - Stevenson and Wolfers (2009)
 - Uses US General Social Survey from the early 1970s to the present
 - Finds that **women have become less happier over time**
 - both absolutely and relative to men
 - Similar patterns exist in European countries
 - Possibly through the changes in family structure over time?
 - e.g. an increase in single mothers
 - BUT the trends are similar regardless of education or whether single parents or not
 - Today's women are possibly emotionally struggling in more complicated lives and with more objectives in life
 - Today's women are possibly shifting their reference when answering subjective well-being question
 - Also possible with higher aspirations of women
 - Lalive and Stutzer (2010)
 - Examines various communities in Switzerland that differed in their voting in a national referendum on an equal rights amendment to the Constitution
 - This may capture the degree of traditional gender role views
 - Finds that in the communities with a larger share of the equal rights amendment supporters...
 - Smaller gender wage gap
 - lower level of overall life satisfaction amongst women
 - Aguiar and Hurst (2007)
 - Uses time use data in the US between 1965 and 2003
 - Finds that both men and women have experienced a decline in total work (including household work)
 - Men decreased market work but increased non-market work
 - Women exhibited the opposite changes
 - Krueger (2007)
 - Uses Aguiar and Hurst's time use data with *experienced utility* data
 - the Day Reconstruction Method (DRM)
 - Survey participants report their activities in the prior day and their feeling to a random subset of the activities
 - Compute average pleasantness of various activities
 - Finds that
 - For men, a gradual decline in the proportion of time spent in unpleasant activities

- For women, no detectable trend in the same proportion

Section 5. Conclusion: Future Research

- Empirical relevance of psychological attributes for actual outcomes
- How the psychological factor fit within the time series of women's improvements in education and professional achievements
- Why wpmen are now surpassing men in educational attainment
- How differentially women and men evaluate the quality of their life