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The Origin and Persistence of Black-White Differences in Women's Labor Force Participation

Leah Platt Boustan and William J. Collins

The twentieth-century rise in women's labor force participation was one of the most important social changes in American history. The growth in women's market work was precipitated by and, in turn, contributed to a shift in industrial composition from agriculture and manufacturing to services; a revolution in norms and expectations about women's careers; and changes in marriage, fertility, and human capital investment. Writing this complex story—documenting it, analyzing it, and placing it into its social context—has been one of Claudia Goldin's great contributions to scholarship.

As with many other social trends, the levels and changes in female labor force participation have been notably different for black and white women in the United States. Goldin (1977, 1990) proposes that these long-standing racial differences can, in part, be traced back to a “double legacy” of slavery. The widespread poverty and low levels of education in the black population after the Civil War may have had a direct effect on the labor force participation of black women relative to white women. In addition, slavery may have had an indirect effect by shaping prevailing social norms in the black community about women's work. In particular, Goldin hypoth-

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esizes that because black women worked intensively under slavery, African Americans developed norms and expectations about women's work that were different from those of most whites and that were carried into the post-Emancipation era.¹ Goldin (1977) demonstrates that observable economic and demographic characteristics cannot account fully for black-white differences in women's labor force participation in the immediate postbellum period, which is consistent with the idea of disparate social norms about women's work by race.

In this chapter we explore how initial gaps in labor force participation, coupled with the intergenerational transmission of work behavior from mother to daughter, may have contributed to racial differences in women's labor force participation well into the twentieth century. We begin by describing trends in labor force participation rates for black and white women from 1870 to 2010. Participation in market work is the outcome of a labor supply decision that is influenced by nonlabor income, market wage offers, and nonpecuniary aspects of employment, including social stigma against women's work in particular kinds of jobs that may vary by race. The market wage offers and work conditions available to women, in turn, reflect evolving patterns of labor demand and discrimination, which again may vary by race. Guided by this framework, we document the presence of a large racial gap in participation rates even after controlling for proxies for income and wages. This unexplained gap is consistent with the hypothesis that racial differences in norms concerning women's work may have played some role in determining differences in labor market activity.

We then present new evidence that daughters who were raised by working mothers are themselves more likely to work. This intergenerational correlation may reflect the transmission of norms about women's work outside of the home from mother to daughter, although it could also be explained by the development of skills, information, or networks that are conducive to their subsequent work activity. Higher labor force participation rates for black mothers, along with the intergenerational correlation in work behavior between mother and daughter, can explain one-third of the racial gap in female labor force participation in the early twentieth century and around 10 percent of the remaining gap in the mid-twentieth century. This aspect of our chapter contributes to the growing literature on the role of "culture" in explaining variation in female labor force participation across groups

1. Weiss (1999) estimates an overall participation rate for black women (free and slave, over age fifteen) of about 82 percent in 1860. The high rate of LFP for female slaves is well documented in the historical literature. Wayne (2007) summarizes this view: "At cotton-picking time everyone, including children and the elderly, worked in the fields. A male slave from South Carolina remembered: 'Women worked in de field same as de men. Some of dem plowed jes' like de men and boys. Couldn't tell'em apart in de field, as dey wore pantalets or breeches.' Besides working in the field, women might be used as housekeepers, nannies for white children, laundresses, cooks, personal servants, caregivers for slave children (usually elderly women), or sexual mistresses for the master" (130). See also Jones (1985).

(e.g., Reimers 1985; Farré and Vella 2007; Fernández and Fogli 2009; Blau et al. 2013).

6.1 Trends in Female Labor Force Participation by Race

We begin by presenting trends in labor force participation (henceforth “LFP”) among black and white women. We confirm and extend patterns that are familiar to readers of Goldin (1990, chapter 2). Our data are drawn from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS; Ruggles et al. 2010), which are based on the federal census of population manuscripts.² Some of our analysis will focus specifically on participation by married women, for whom the changes for whites have been largest, but for the most part we present data for all women regardless of marital status to give a wider perspective on the range of women's activities.

The characterization of changes in LFP over such a long period is, of course, accompanied by some caveats. The modern concept of labor force participation was first implemented in the 1940 census, whereas earlier censuses collected occupational information for “gainful workers.” Complete consistency between these two concepts is impossible due to inherent differences in their definitions and year-to-year variation in enumerator instructions and practices. In addition to these conceptual differences, the late nineteenth-century censuses appear to undercount female workers relative to later years, particularly among married white women living on farms and those taking in boarders in urban areas. Goldin (1990, appendix to chapter 2) explores this issue in depth, drawing on a variety of sources to adjust figures for 1890. She concludes that the LFP for married women was understated by at least 10 percentage points in that year; for all women (single and married), the undercount is at least 7 percentage points. Most of our description and analysis relies on the IPUMS-based labor force variable without modification, but we have attempted some adjustments to get a sense of the potential magnitude of miscounting.³

2. The 2010 data are from the American Community Survey. See dissertations by Sobek (1997) and Roberts (2007) for detailed discussion of the census data on women's work.

3. Our attempts to account for underenumeration of women's work, particularly on farms or in boarding houses, are reported in appendix table 6A.2. In the microdata, we simply reassigned LFP for women who lived on farms or had boarders present (and were “head of household” or “spouse-of-head”), substituting the LFP rate observed in the same race/region/farm/married/boarder-status cells for later census years (1920, 1940, or 1960), all of which had more careful enumerator instructions about how to count female workers. For white women between 1870 and 1900, the adjusted rates are between 1 and 15 percentage points higher than their unadjusted counterparts, depending on the year chosen as the basis for the adjustment. Because within-cell rates are substantially higher in 1960 than previously (particularly on farms), using 1960 as the base year leads to the largest adjustments. For black women, however, the modifications lead to relatively small differences in LFP. Thus, the magnitude of the racial gap at any point in time is sensitive to adjustments for differential undercounting of white women, but it remains in all cases a sizable difference.

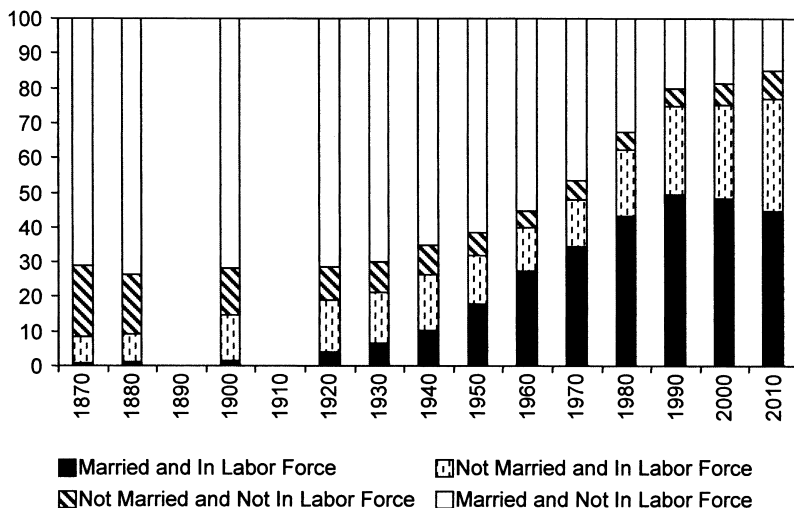


Fig. 6.1 White women's labor force participation, 1870–2010

Notes: The sample includes women age twenty-five to fifty-four. From 1870 to 1930, “participation” is determined by whether the person reported a “gainful occupation.” See the text for discussion of this issue. The 1910 census counted gainful occupations (especially for black women in agriculture) in a manner that appears to be inconsistent with earlier or later practice and is therefore omitted here. We define “married” as “married and spouse present.” In 1870, the IPUMS does not include a marital status variable, and so “married” is determined by whether the relation to household head is “spouse.”

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show participation rates in samples of black and white women, ages twenty-five to fifty-four from 1870 to 2010, taking the IPUMS coding of LFP at face value. In each census year, women are in one of four mutually exclusive categories: in the labor force and married (with spouse present); in the labor force and not married (or spouse not present); not in the labor force and not married; and not in the labor force and married. The combination of the first two groups yields the overall share of women in the labor force. Appendix table 6A.1 provides the data that underlie figures 6.1 and 6.2, along with some additional summary statistics.

A few key facts are clear from figures 6.1 and 6.2. First, the conventionally measured participation rate among black women was much higher than among white women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From 1870 to 1900, black LFP was around 40 percent, whereas white LFP was below 15 percent, with the vast majority of white workers consisting of unmarried women. Even in our upward-adjusted LFP rates, reported in appendix table 6A.2, the overall white participation rate did not reach 40 percent until 1960, almost a full century later than for blacks.⁴

4. For perspective, it is important to recognize that the LFP rate for black women was *much* higher before Emancipation. As mentioned above, Weiss (1999) estimates an overall participa-

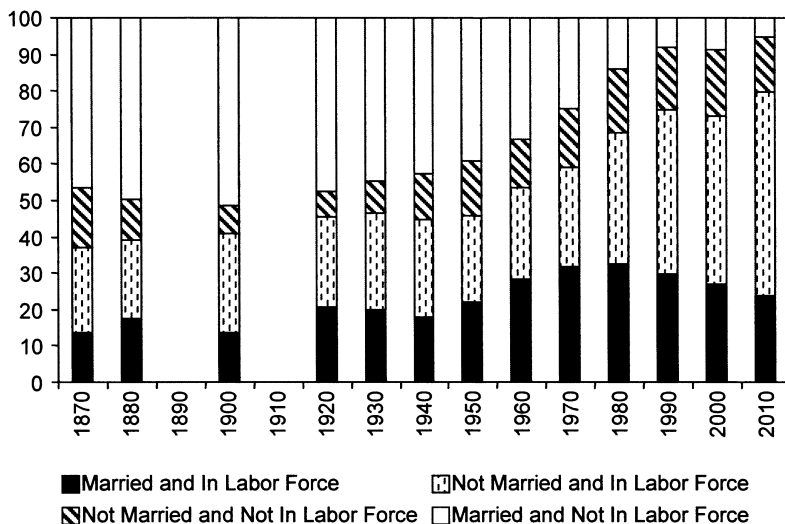


Fig. 6.2 Black women's labor force participation, 1870–2010

See notes to figure 6.1.

Second, the twentieth-century rise in white women's participation was primarily driven by an increase in the number of *married* workers, whereas most of the rise in black women's participation, especially after 1970, can be explained by an increase in the number of *unmarried* workers.⁵ This is not because the participation rate within the group of married black women fell or stagnated (to the contrary it increased), but rather because the share of black women who were married (with spouse present) declined sharply, from more than 60 percent through 1960 to just 29 percent in 2010. Focusing exclusively on married women would miss this important aspect of black women's labor market participation. Although selection into marriage is outside the focus of this chapter, the trend among black women is likely to be connected in complex ways to the declining share of black men in the labor force (Wilson 1990).

tion rate for black women (free and slave, over age fifteen) of about 82 percent in 1860, compared to 35 percent in 1870. The sharp postwar decline reflects the end of coercion under slavery (Ransom and Sutch 1977) and may also reflect a fall in southern wages and labor productivity (Margo 2004). Whether the remaining black-white gap is attributable to differences in observable socioeconomic variables is explored in the next section.

5. The overall LFP among whites increased by 61 percentage points from 1900 to 2000, of which 47 points can be attributed to higher participation by married women (subject to caveats about undercounts of married women's work circa 1900). Among blacks, the overall LFP increased by 32 percentage points from 1900 to 2000, of which only 13 points can be attributed to married women. From 1970 to 2010, the share of married-and-working women *declined* among blacks by 8 points (despite rising participation within the married group), but this was more than offset by the growth of the not-married-and-working group in driving an increase in overall participation.

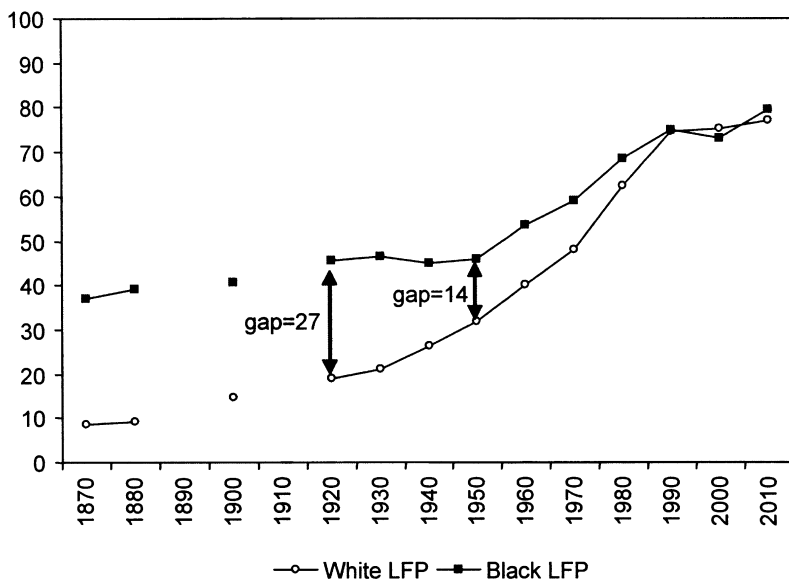


Fig. 6.3 Levels and gaps in overall LFP among women, 1870 to 2010

See notes to figure 6.1.

Third, and shown directly in figure 6.3, the racial gap in women's LFP narrowed significantly between 1920 and 1950 (from 27 to 14 percentage points), due almost entirely to an increase in the white LFP. As we discuss below, the rise in LFP among white women reflects both a shifting demand for clerical workers, as firms and the federal government grew larger and more complex, and a shifting supply of high school-educated white women. Black women, on the other hand, were generally barred from the expanding clerical sector during this period, and relatively few had had the opportunity to attend high school.⁶ After 1950, both black and white rates rose steeply and almost in parallel until 1970. Over the next few decades, the overall racial gap narrowed again and was nearly eliminated by 1990.

6.1.1 Racial Differences in the Female Occupational Distribution

Standard models of labor supply suggest that women's entry into the labor market is influenced by both income and substitution effects. A higher market wage for women, perhaps associated with higher levels of (or returns to) education or experience, or improving nonpecuniary job characteristics would tend to pull women into the labor force. On the other hand, a higher level of family income due, for example, to higher husband earnings, would

6. There were remarkably few public high schools for black students in the South in the early decades of the twentieth century.

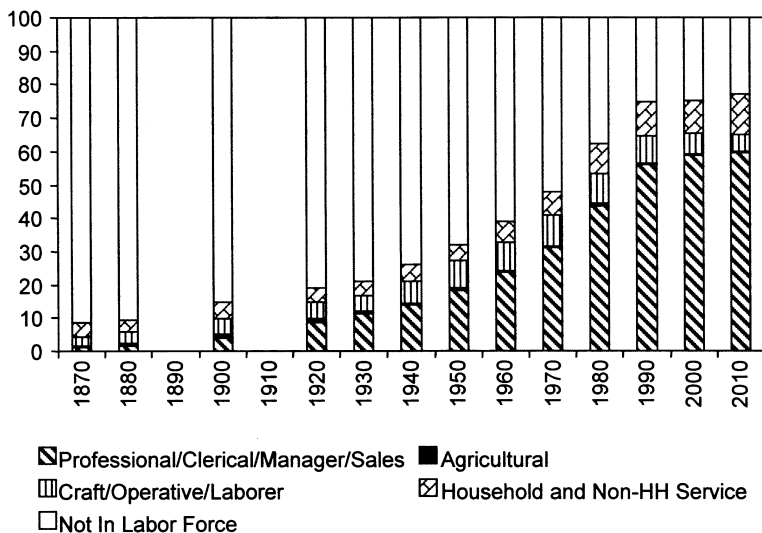


Fig. 6.4 White women’s LFP and occupational distribution, 1870–2010

lower the likelihood of a wife’s participation in the labor market because the utility gain from her marginal income would be low.

Goldin (1995) adds that women’s labor supply decisions are also influenced by prevailing social norms about market work. In the late nineteenth century, “the social stigma against wives working in paid manual labor outside the home [was] apparently widespread and strong. . . . The stigma is a simple message. Only a husband who is lazy, indolent, and entirely negligent of his family would allow his wife to do such labor” (Goldin 1995, 71). In this framework, a higher level of stigma would lead to a lower rate of labor force participation for married women, all else the same. The key idea is simply that a woman will not enter the labor force when the household’s utility loss from the stigma is greater than the utility gain from working outside the home.⁷

For white women, rising levels of education and the growing availability of “clean jobs” offered both higher wages and the opportunity to work without incurring the stigma associated with physically demanding or dirty tasks. Figure 6.4 shows the occupational distribution for white women, including a category for not-in-labor-force to provide a broad view of the range of women’s activities. It is striking that white women’s participation increased almost in lockstep with the rise in white-collar work (professional, clerical,

7. A goal of Goldin (1995) is to explain not only the twentieth-century rise in women’s LFP, but also the apparent decline in the late nineteenth century. The model with stigma attached to women’s manual labor predicts that, as average income rises in the late nineteenth century, women’s LFP will fall, thereby explaining the downward portion of the U-shaped pattern.

manager, and sales occupations). Clerical work was a key component of this growth up to 1970 (appendix table 6A.3), and clerical sector experience early in a woman's career was relatively conducive to persistent labor force participation (Goldin 1989). Women who left the workforce to raise children found that they could reenter clerical jobs later in life.

The rise of black women's labor force participation over the twentieth century was associated with some of the same forces that influenced white women, but it differed in key respects. One important difference is that black women completed high school in large numbers a full generation after white women. This educational delay was due, in large part, to the black population's concentration in the South, which lagged behind the rest of the country in education in general and undersupplied schools for black children (Collins and Margo 2006). As a result, a relatively small share of black women was prepared for office work in the early twentieth century. In addition, on the demand side of the market, discrimination against black women in clerical work delayed the rise in black women's work in this sector until the 1960s even as their educational attainment increased (Sundstrom 2000).⁸

Figure 6.5 shows that the rise in black women's LFP began to coincide with a rise in white-collar work only after 1960. The jump in black women's clerical employment from 4 percent of all black women in 1960 to 18 percent by 1980 is especially noteworthy (appendix table 6A.4); this includes a sizable increase in government employment from 1.6 to 5.3 percent of all black women. A second salient feature of figure 6.5 is that black women were heavily concentrated in agriculture and domestic service until the latter part of the twentieth century, exactly the kind of low-paying, arduous labor that was heavily stigmatized for married white women.

Not only were black women far more likely to be in the labor force than white women, especially before 1980, but they were also more likely to hold low-paying manual jobs once in the labor force. This pattern is likely explained by a combination of demand-side and supply-side forces. First, black families were poorer than white families, implying that the marginal income from female employment was more valuable. In combination with low levels of human capital and hiring discrimination in the clerical sector, high rates of black poverty would lead to a concentration of black women in "dirty jobs." Second, the stigma associated with married women's work applied to a smaller share of black women because fewer black women were married. Third, even among married women, work in manual tasks may have been less subject to stigma in the black community, perhaps because, as Goldin hypothesized, the historically high rates of women's work under

8. Goldin (1990, 147) cites the prevalence of racial discrimination in clerical employment revealed in a Women's Bureau survey of firms in 1940. Collins (2003) finds that antidiscrimination laws implemented at the state level in the 1940s and 1950s had positive effects on black women's labor market outcomes.

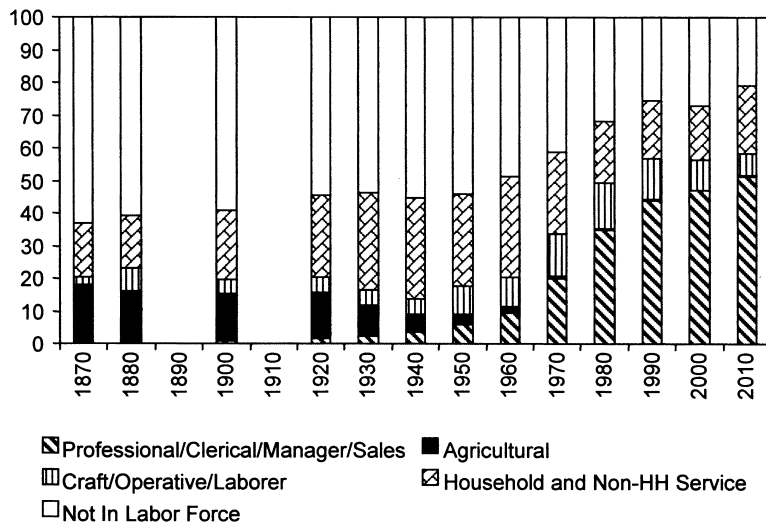


Fig. 6.5 Black women’s LFP and occupational distribution, 1870–2010

slavery shaped attitudes toward married women’s work. We explore this hypothesis in more detail in the next two sections.

6.2 Personal Characteristics and Racial Differences in Women’s LFP, 1870–2010

This section investigates the extent to which differences in observable characteristics can account for the racial gap in female LFP over the last 140 years. In a simple model of labor supply, an individual’s decision to enter the labor force depends on a comparison of the available market wage and her reservation wage. The reservation wage, in turn, depends on the level of nonlabor income, wealth, costs associated with taking up work, and preferences. Therefore, one might expect large racial differences in women’s labor force participation to be accounted for by differences in education, location, family composition, and household economic characteristics. The portion of the gap in LFP that cannot be explained by these socioeconomic factors may be due to unobservable black-white differences in norms concerning market work.⁹

9. Interpreting the residual gap in LFP as evidence of racial differences in attitudes toward women’s work depends on having high-quality measures of nonlabor income and wealth and good proxies for reservation wages. Given the available census data, we are missing wealth information after 1870 and cannot produce accurate measures of husband’s earnings before 1940. Therefore, we urge caution in interpreting the residual gap as a true measure of racial differences in norms, but we do think it is useful to see whether the quantitative evidence that does exist in the census records is consistent with Goldin’s interpretation.

The 1870 census of population is an especially interesting place to start our investigation. It is, of course, the first post-Emancipation census. Furthermore, unlike all subsequent censuses, it includes information about the value of personal and real property (i.e., wealth). Goldin (1977) collected a random sample of census manuscripts from seven southern cities in 1870 and 1880, and found that large black-white differences in LFP remained after adjusting for differences in observable characteristics. We use the national IPUMS 1 percent sample for 1870 to present simple regressions that confirm Goldin's conclusion in a broader data set, yield some additional insights, and dovetail with our analysis for later years.

Given the scarcity of individual wage and nonwage income data in this period, we do not attempt to estimate a standard labor supply equation.¹⁰ Rather, our goal is simply to determine whether an extensive set of personal and household observables can account for the large difference in black and white LFP rates. These observables may control for a large part of slavery's "direct effect" on labor market behavior, operating through low family income, wealth, place of birth, education, and family structure. The residual difference in LFP may then reflect differences in norms or expectations about women's work outside the home, potentially an indirect product of slavery. Of course, given the scope for omitted variables and endogeneity bias, interpreting the residual requires caution and qualification. For example, black women may have been more likely to work than white women (controlling for observables) because they expected a higher likelihood of marital instability or believed that their husbands had a higher risk of unemployment or mortality, expectations that we cannot observe in census data.

Table 6.1 reports coefficients from separate linear probability model regressions of LFP on an indicator for race (black = 1) in 1870.¹¹ The base sample in panel A includes all women age twenty-five to fifty-four; panel B presents results for a subsample of married women. Within each panel, we estimate separate regressions for the entire United States, the South, and the nonfarm South to see if narrowing the basis of comparison affects the main

10. In addition to Goldin (1990), see Fraundorf (1979) and Rotella (1980) for efforts to estimate women's labor supply equations with historical data. A large literature on the topic emerged in the 1960s, including notable contributions from Mincer (1962) and Bowen and Finegan (1969). See Killingsworth and Heckman (1986) for a review of this literature and Blau and Kahn (2007) for more recent evidence.

11. The analyses in tables 6.1 and 6.2 are pooled regressions (black and white women) with a race indicator and controls for observables. The coefficient on the race indicator can be interpreted as the "unexplained" portion of a version of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition in which the intercepts for each group are constrained to be equal but opposite. See Fortin (2008) for elaboration. In this setting, we see that the unexplained portion of the gap is large relative to the overall gap in LFP. We have implemented a version of this decomposition with a detailed breakdown within the explained and unexplained categories such that the breakdown is invariant to the choice of omitted categories (Jann 2008). Much of the unexplained portion of the gap is located in the differences in the constant terms, as opposed to differences in responsiveness to observables.

Table 6.1 Race and labor force participation in 1870

	1	2	3
<i>A. All women 25–54</i>			
All US	0.284 (0.0289)	0.284 (0.0233)	0.249 (0.0222)
All South	0.320 (0.0279)	0.303 (0.277)	0.274 (0.0218)
Nonfarm South	0.330 (0.0343)	0.306 (0.0317)	0.291 (0.0295)
<i>B. Married women, 25–54</i>			
All US	0.221 (0.0374)	0.198 (0.0340)	0.158 (0.0268)
All South	0.240 (0.0383)	0.220 (0.0376)	0.149 (0.0258)
Nonfarm South	0.273 (0.0422)	0.235 (0.0393)	0.177 (0.0290)
Controls for age and birthplace	no	yes	yes
Additional controls	no	no	yes

Source: Data are from the IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2010) sample for 1870.

Notes: The IPUMS coding of labor force participation is taken at face value. Standard errors are clustered by state of birth. The base sample includes all white and black women age twenty-five to fifty-four. Column (1)'s specification includes only the race dummy, giving the unadjusted difference in participation rates. Column (2) adds fixed effects for state of birth and age. Column (3) adds controls for several other observables, including literacy, the number of own children under five, the number of own children over five (in household), marital status, city-resident status (based on IPUMS "metro" variable), farm-resident status, household wealth (four categories), and (if married with spouse present) husband's occupation. Wealth is the combination of real and personal property value. Dependent variable = 1 if in labor force.

results. The specification in column (1) includes only the race dummy, reflecting the unadjusted racial difference in participation rates. Column (2) adds fixed effects for state of birth and age, our limited set of exogenous background variables. Column (3) adds controls for several other observables, including literacy, the number of own children in the household (separate categorical variables for children under and over five years of age), city-resident status, farm-resident status, household wealth (four categories), and husband's status (nine occupational categories and a no-husband-present category).

Among women in the South, the racial difference in LFP is approximately 32 percentage points in 1870. Our extensive set of control variables and fixed effects account for very little of the racial difference, approximately 5 percentage points out of 32. The levels are slightly different in the other rows of panel A (all United States and nonfarm South), but the basic story is unchanged: observables account for little of the large racial gap in women's labor force participation in the wake of the Civil War.

Among married women who reside with their spouse, the magnitude of the base racial gap is smaller (panel B, column [1]) than in panel A. This sample composition effect reflects both the relatively high level of participation among unmarried black women and the relatively large share of unmarried women among blacks. Adjusting for observables can explain more of

the racial LFP gap for married women in panel B than for all women in panel A. Nonetheless, the residual gap in women's LFP is still greater than 15 percentage points, more than half of the unadjusted gap. The large residual gap is notable because the 1870 data provide a measure of household wealth, which is typically an omitted variable in contemporary studies of women's labor force participation.¹² The presence of a large residual gap in women's LFP, as Goldin (1977) found, is consistent with differences in social norms or stigma associated with women's work by race, which may be an indirect legacy of slavery.

The "unexplained" gap in women's labor force participation persisted for more than 100 years, although this residual narrowed alongside the overall gap. Figure 6.6 plots three sets of coefficients from regressions that are similar to those described above for a national sample of black and white women: one plot simply shows the difference in black-white LFP at each census date (unadjusted), whereas the other two show adjusted differences in LFP rates (i.e., the coefficient on black, conditional on observables). One of the adjusted plots begins in 1940 because that year is the first in which we can observe women's educational attainment in detail (as opposed to just "literacy" in earlier years).¹³ Censuses after 1870 do not provide measures of wealth, but husband's occupation and the other covariates should capture wealth differences to some extent.¹⁴

Consistent with earlier depictions of LFP rates, figure 6.6 documents a large but declining unadjusted difference in black-white LFP. The novel information in this graph is conveyed by the plots showing the size of the racial gap conditional on observables. Until 1930, controlling for observables makes little difference in the size of the racial gap. Around midcentury (1940–1970), observable differences begin to account for a larger portion of the gap, both absolutely and relative to the gap's unadjusted size. By 1990, however, the overall black-white gap is very small by historical standards, and, in contrast to the earlier years, adjustments for observables tend to *increase* the racial gap.¹⁵

12. Relative to households with zero wealth (about one quarter of the sample) and controlling for other observables (including husband's status), women from wealthier households were more likely to be in the labor force, although the coefficients vary across the subsamples of table 6.1. This pattern might reflect the endogeneity of household wealth with respect to women's past work.

13. For the "adjusted" plot that runs from 1880 to 2010 we have a literacy variable in all specifications. Up to 1930, this is based on the ability to read and write, as reported by the census enumerator. From 1940 onward, when the census did not inquire about literacy but did inquire about educational attainment, we code women as literate if they went beyond fourth grade.

14. Results from the fully specified regressions for married women in 1870 are not much different if the categorical wealth controls are omitted.

15. Starting in 1940, we are able to add more detailed educational attainment variables as controls (up to this point, literacy is the only human capital variable). Higher educational attainment is associated with higher labor force participation rates. In each year, black women lower educational attainment (on average) than white women. Therefore, adjusting for educational attainment tends to increase the coefficient on the black indicator variable.

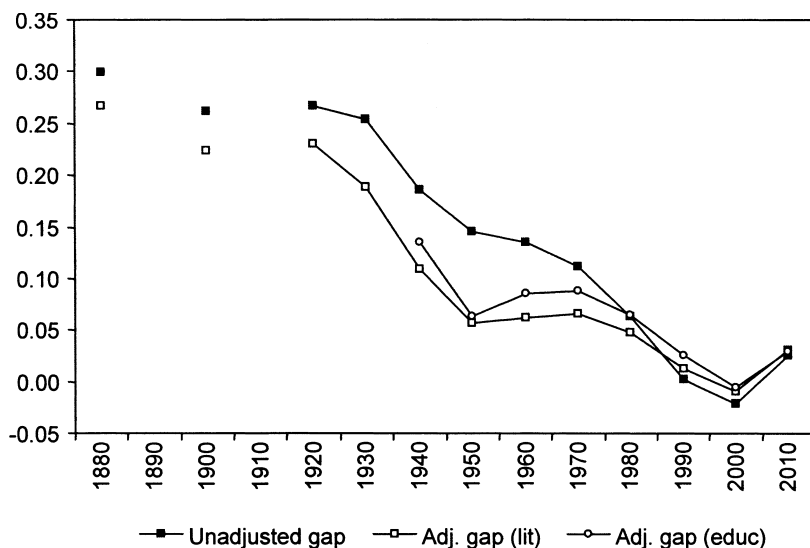


Fig. 6.6 Regression-adjusted black-white gap in labor force participation, all women

For reference, at twenty-year intervals, coefficients for key variables from linear probability models of LFP are reported in table 6.2. By 1940, there is a strong positive link between educational attainment and women's LFP, even after controlling for husband's occupation. The omitted "husband category" consists of women who were "single, never married." Relative to never-married women, LFP for married women declines from 1880 to 1920 across all categories of husbands' occupations, but then the pattern reverses, such that by 2000 the differences between married and unmarried women are small by historical standards.¹⁶ Blinder-Oaxaca decompositions corresponding to the regression specifications in table 6.2 are reported in appendix table 6A.5.¹⁷ In this setting, differences in husband's presence and

16. Table 6.2 documents few differences in the propensity of married women to work based on their husband's occupation, with the exception of the wives of farmers, farm laborers and domestic servants, all of whom were more likely to work for pay than were their other married counterparts, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Recall that the omitted husband category is never married women. Our coefficients suggest that, in 1880 for example, the wives of professional workers, craftsmen, operatives, laborers and nonhousehold service workers were all between 36 and 39 percentage points less likely to work than were never married women. Over time, the gap between married and unmarried women declines, but, conditional on being married, the effect of husband's occupation remains small.

17. The usual caveats about decompositions apply here, as well. See Fortin, Lemieux, and Firpo (2011) for an extended discussion. In addition to the mechanical (but important) issues related to the choice of coefficient vectors, omitted categories, and linear versus nonlinear methods, we note that some of the variables in our regressions are likely endogenous to women's labor force participation. We present the decomposition results for descriptive purposes.

Table 6.2 Linear probability models of women's LFP, 1880–2000

	1880	1900	1920	1940a	1940b	1960	1980	2000
Black	0.267 (0.019)	0.223 (0.011)	0.230 (0.009)	0.112 (0.008)	0.120 (0.008)	0.076 (0.008)	0.054 (0.009)	0.001 (0.011)
Husband categories								
Absent spouse	-0.091	-0.133	-0.176	-0.179	-0.165	-0.236	-0.101	-0.097
Separated	—	—	—	—	—	-0.013	0.016	0.017
Divorced	-0.012	0.033	0.016	0.007	0.019	0.080	0.109	0.047
Widowed	-0.087	-0.055	-0.110	-0.129	-0.115	-0.031	-0.017	-0.064
Professional	-0.359	-0.501	-0.574	-0.497	-0.501	-0.311	-0.097	-0.051
Farmer	-0.261	-0.440	-0.482	-0.452	-0.439	-0.319	-0.159	-0.015
Craftsmen	-0.362	-0.500	-0.572	-0.507	-0.490	-0.288	-0.087	-0.020
Operatives	-0.363	-0.494	-0.550	-0.468	-0.448	-0.233	-0.056	-0.015
Service (hh)	0.015	-0.206	-0.292	-0.206	-0.189	-0.126	0.092	—
Service (non-hh)	-0.386	-0.510	-0.535	-0.455	-0.438	-0.197	-0.015	0.015
Farm laborer	-0.297	-0.461	-0.501	-0.446	-0.426	-0.224	-0.084	-0.010
Laborer	-0.365	-0.496	-0.538	-0.490	-0.468	-0.230	-0.048	-0.010
Does not work	-0.336	-0.453	-0.497	-0.403	-0.389	-0.253	-0.136	-0.146
Literate	-0.016	-0.009	0.001	0.049	—	—	—	—
Years of school								
N/A or none	—	—	—	—	-0.131	-0.347	-0.366	-0.299
1–4 years	—	—	—	—	-0.070	-0.182	-0.216	-0.206
5–8 years	—	—	—	—	-0.049	-0.095	-0.175	-0.257
9 years	—	—	—	—	-0.036	-0.051	-0.148	-0.214
10 years	—	—	—	—	-0.026	-0.035	-0.113	-0.173

11 years	—	—	—	—	-0.026	-0.016	-0.081	-0.160
12 years (omitted)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 year college	—	—	—	—	0.012	0.012	0.041	0.063
2-3 years college	—	—	—	—	0.040	0.028	0.050	0.103
4 years college	—	—	—	—	0.068	0.074	0.077	0.110
5+ years college	—	—	—	—	0.123	0.179	0.161	0.170
1 child under 5	-0.022	-0.026	-0.061	-0.138	-0.139	-0.221	-0.223	-0.129
2 child under 5	-0.032	-0.040	-0.075	-0.162	-0.162	-0.303	-0.383	-0.253
3+ child under 5	-0.036	-0.042	-0.087	-0.173	-0.171	-0.341	-0.462	-0.333
1 child over 4	-0.021	-0.016	-0.034	-0.076	-0.071	-0.057	-0.038	0.011
2 children over 4	-0.021	-0.013	-0.041	-0.106	-0.099	-0.105	-0.075	-0.012
3+ children over 4	-0.029	-0.011	-0.034	-0.111	-0.101	-0.124	-0.105	-0.056
N	81,662	131,920	198,743	277,727	277,727	342,983	423,501	537,356

Source: Data are from IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2010), and we take the IPUMS coding of labor force participation at face value.

Notes: The sample includes all women, age twenty-five to fifty-four. All regressions include fixed effects for state of birth and age, city-resident status (based on IPUMS "metro" variable), and farm-resident status. The omitted "husband category" consists of single, never-married women. Occupation categories are based on the IPUMS "occ1950" codes. The omitted educational attainment category (highest grade completed) is twelve years. Standard errors clustered by state of birth are reported under the coefficient for "black"; others are omitted to save space but the full results are available on request. Dependent variable = 1 if in labor force.

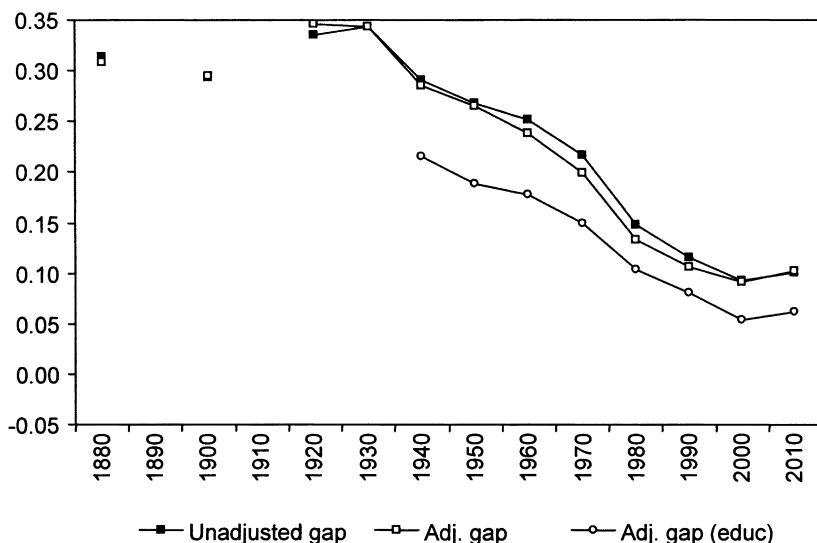


Fig. 6.7 Regression-adjusted black-white gap in “dirty jobs,” all women

Notes: “Dirty jobs” are defined as craft, operative, laborer, household service, and nonhousehold service (e.g., janitors, cleaners, hospital attendants, cooks, waitresses), as opposed to “clean jobs” in the categories of professional, clerical, managerial, and sales, and the not-in-labor force category.

occupation account for some portion of the racial difference in women’s LFP, which is consistent with the expectation that for most of US history single women and women married to men in relatively low-earning occupations are more likely to work for pay than others. The estimated contribution ranges from 4 percentage points in the early twentieth century to 7 percentage points in 1960, but differences in other observables tend to have little explanatory power. As noted earlier, given that education is positively associated with LFP, racial differences in educational attainment cannot explain the relatively high level of black women’s participation.

Figure 6.7 shows that the racial gap in the likelihood of working “dirty jobs” was large throughout most of the twentieth century, even with controls for marital status, husband’s occupation, number of children, birthplace, and literacy or highest grade of education. From 1940 onward, we see that controlling for years of educational attainment accounts for a sizable share of the gap, though a nontrivial share remains unexplained despite a pronounced decline in agricultural and household-service employment as a share of all women’s work (Bailey and Collins 2006).¹⁸

In sum, for at least 100 years after Emancipation, black women partici-

18. Restricting the sample to non-Hispanic whites has little impact on the size of the conditional gap in the late twentieth century relative to what is shown in figure 6.7.

pated in the labor force at significantly higher rates than white women. Prior to 1950, observable characteristics fail to account for a large share of this gap, suggesting that something else that is correlated with race mattered, and that it mattered more in the decades immediately after the Civil War than later in the twentieth century. Racial differences in the probability of being raised by a working mother, an indirect legacy of the high rates of women's work under slavery, might help account for this pattern. The next section shows that daughters of working mothers were more likely to work themselves.

6.3 Evidence on Intergenerational Transmission

Thus far, we have presented indirect evidence that racial differences in social norms about women's work may have contributed to the generation and perpetuation of the racial gap in female LFP. In particular, we interpreted the presence of a residual in a regression of women's LFP on a set of socioeconomic traits as suggestive evidence that other factors, including perhaps social norms, are needed to explain the racial participation gap. In this section, we present more direct evidence about the role of historical differences in women's work in sustaining the racial gap in women's work behavior over time. Specifically, we demonstrate a strong association between the work activity of mothers and daughters in both the late nineteenth century, a generation after Emancipation, and in the mid-twentieth century. The link between mothers' and daughters' behavior is large enough to explain up to a third of the black-white gap in female LFP a generation or more after slavery.

Racially distinct attitudes and expectations about women's work outside the home provide one explanation for the observed correlation in work behavior between mothers and daughters. Social norms about women's work (and many other social phenomena) are transmitted to children, in part, through interactions with their parents (Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997). These norms may be transmitted tacitly, as young women observe the work behavior of their mother, or they may be actively conveyed through conversation and exhortation. Alternatively, an intergenerational correlation between mothers and daughters may reflect other means by which parents influence their children. For example, working mothers may provide their daughters with skills or a labor market network, which could increase their economic return to market work. Although we cannot econometrically distinguish between the transmission of attitudes and norms, on the one hand, or of skills and information on the other, estimating the reduced-form relationship between the work behavior of mothers and daughters is interesting in its own right and may help account for racial differences in the propensity to work outside of the home.

Our analysis is related to a series of recent papers that has investigated

the role that “culture,” broadly defined as beliefs or preferences, plays in explaining differences in women’s market work across groups (Fernandez and Fogli 2009; Blau et al. 2013; Farré and Vella 2007). Because attitudes about women’s work are formed in a particular economic context, it is an empirical challenge to disentangle the effects of culture from those of economic conditions. For this reason, the recent literature has focused on the work behavior of immigrants. Immigrants leave the economic environment in which their preferences were first formed but may still carry with them specific attitudes or norms shaped in their source country. Consistent with this hypothesis, Fernandez and Fogli (2009) show that the LFP of immigrant women is correlated with lagged female LFP in their source country, and Blau et al. (2013) find an association between the LFP of first- and second-generation immigrant women from the same country of origin.

6.3.1 Nineteenth-Century Data

We begin our analysis of the intergenerational correlation of women’s work behavior by investigating the generation of daughters born immediately after Emancipation. We focus on the birth cohorts of 1866 to 1884, all of whom were old enough to participate in the labor force in 1900. For this group, we ask whether women whose mothers were born into slavery were themselves more likely to engage in market work in adulthood. Data are drawn from the 5 percent IPUMS sample of 1900. Although mother’s slave status is unknown, we assume that black daughters whose mothers were born in the South are the direct descendants of slaves (see also Sacerdote 2005).¹⁹

In particular, we estimate

$$(1) \quad I(\text{daughter works}) = \alpha + \beta_1 I(\text{black}) + \beta_2 I(\text{mother born in South}) \\ + \beta_3 [I(\text{mother born in South}) * I(\text{black})] \\ + \gamma_1 I(\text{born in South}) \\ + \gamma_2 [I(\text{born in South}) * I(\text{black})] + (X')\Delta + \varepsilon.$$

The dependent variable is an indicator equal to 1 if the daughter participates in the labor force in 1900. The coefficient β_1 identifies the racial gap in labor force participation. Coefficient β_2 compares the work behavior of all women, both white and black, whose mothers were born in the South. The coefficient of interest is β_3 , which isolates any additional effect of having a mother who was born in the South for black women. We interpret β_3 as reflecting the effect of being a descendant of slaves. Daughters of former slaves differ from daughters of free blacks both in the likelihood that their own mothers worked, which may have influenced their own attitudes about the value and

19. The youngest daughter in the sample was sixteen years old in 1900. As long as her mother was at least twenty years old at the time of her birth, her mother would have been born under slavery.

Table 6.3 Mother's slave status and daughter's LFP, 1900

Gender	Women	Women	Women	Men
Birth cohort	After 1865	After 1865	Before 1865	After 1865
Region	Full South	Deep South	Deep South	Deep South
Mother south * black	0.045 (0.014)	0.092 (0.012)	0.004 (0.013)	0.004 (0.008)
Mother born in south	-0.092 (0.003)	-0.105 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.002)
Born south * black	0.186 (0.013)	0.113 (0.011)	0.046 (0.013)	0.045 (0.007)
Born in south	-0.054 (0.003)	-0.044 (0.004)	0.029 (0.003)	0.011 (0.002)
Black	0.094 (0.010)	0.134 (0.006)	0.234 (0.007)	-0.017 (0.004)
<i>N</i>	440,177	440,177	220,497	445,387
Ages in 1900	16-34	16-34	45-64	16-34

Source: Estimates from 1900 IPUMS 5 percent sample.

Notes: Columns (1) and (2) include daughters born after Emancipation (birth cohorts of 1866 to 1884). Column (3) contains daughters born before Emancipation (birth cohorts of 1836 to 1855). Column (4) contains sons born after Emancipation. In column (1), the South includes all states in the three southern census regions. In columns (2) to (4), the South excludes the border states of DC, DE, MD, MO, OK, and WV. All regressions include a quadratic in son's or daughter's age and an indicator for literacy. Dependent variable = 1 if in the labor force.

suitability of women's work, and also, perhaps, in other aspects of family background such as accumulated wealth. The coefficient β_3 estimates the net effect of these various differences between the descendants of slave and free blacks.

Daughters of southern-born mothers are themselves more likely to live in the South. We therefore control for the daughter's own place of birth (alone and interacted with race) to account for contemporaneous regional differences in industrial composition or agricultural practice that may influence women's labor force participation. We also include a quadratic in age and a dummy variable for literacy in the vector *X*.

Results for this estimation are reported in table 6.3. The first column uses an expansive definition of the South, while the second column excludes the "border states."²⁰ In both cases, we find that black daughters whose mothers spent their first few decades (or more) under slavery are themselves 5 to 9 percentage points more likely to be in the labor force, even after controlling for daughter's region. The relationship is stronger if we contrast daughters

20. The expansive definition of the South includes all states in the three southern census regions. The narrower definition excludes the District of Columbia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Despite the fact that slavery was legal in the border states, the slave population in these areas was unlikely to work on large plantations or in the cultivation of cotton where the norm of women's work was the most well developed (Jones 1985).

whose mothers grew up in the Deep South to mothers who grew up either under freedom or in a border state. In both cases, we find that white daughters whose mothers came of age in the antebellum South were *less* likely to work outside the home, perhaps because they absorbed a white southern attitude that work outside of the home was fit only for slaves.²¹

In the early twentieth century, black women were 27 percentage points more likely than white women to be in the labor force (see figure 6.3). Therefore, our estimates imply that up to 33 percent of the black-white gap in female LFP may be attributed to the intergenerational effects of slavery, which include both the direct effect of slavery on household wealth as well as the indirect effect of slavery on attitudes toward women's work (= 9/27).

Columns (3) and (4) provide suggestive evidence that mother's slave status influences daughter's work behavior through transmission of attitudes, skills, or networks between mother and daughter, rather than through the direct effect of slavery on later socioeconomic status. Column (3) considers an older cohort of daughters born between 1836 and 1855. Members of this cohort were old enough to have worked as slaves and absorbed the bundle of norms about the skills related to women's work inherent in the slave system on their own. Therefore, after controlling for daughter's own place of birth, we do not expect mother's place of birth to have an additional effect on daughter's work behavior due to transmission between mother and daughter—and, indeed, we find no association between mother's slave status and daughter's labor force participation in this older cohort. Column (4) looks instead at sons born after Emancipation. We do not expect a mother's slave status to influence her son's propensity to work given the strong norm of near-universal male LFP in both the slave and nonslave economy. Reassuringly, mother's slave status has no effect on son's behavior either.

6.3.2 Mid-Twentieth-Century data

The nineteenth-century data allow us to observe work behavior of the descendants of slaves and free people in the first generation after Emancipation. Through the intergenerational transmission of work behavior, the higher female participation rates under slavery may have persisted into the second and third generations after slavery. To assess this possibility, we examine data from the first cohort of young women in the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS), which was initiated in 1968. These women (the daughters, in our analysis) were born between 1944 and 1954; their mothers were typically born between 1910 and 1930. In other words, many of their mothers belonged to the second generation after Emancipation, while the daughters belong to the third (or fourth) generation.

21. In the antebellum South, white women primarily engaged in home production. "Southern white women of all classes managed farms, homes, children, and sometimes slaves . . . they were responsible for tasks such as organizing the household, food production, attending to the medical needs of their families, and educating their own children" (Wayne 2007, 135).

At the survey's inception, women were asked a series of questions about their family background, including whether or not their mother worked for pay during their own teenage years. Women were then resurveyed and asked to report on aspects of their own work and family life every three years until the early 1990s. We investigate a series of associations between the work behavior of mothers and daughters, asking: Does growing up with a working mother change a daughter's expectations about working for pay? Are women whose mothers worked during their formative years more likely to work themselves? And is this relationship equally strong for all women or is it particularly powerful for black women, perhaps because the values transmitted by a working mother are reinforced by more affirming attitudes toward women's work in the wider black community?

We address these questions in a set of regressions relating a daughter's work behavior to an indicator for whether or not her mother worked when she was fourteen years old. In particular, we estimate

$$(2) \text{ Daughter's behavior}_{iy} = \alpha + \beta I(\text{black})_i + \gamma_1 I(\text{mother worked at age } 14)_i + \gamma_2 [I(\text{mother worked})_i * I(\text{black})_i] + (\mathbf{X}_{1i}') \Delta + (\mathbf{X}_{2iy}') \Theta + \varepsilon_{iy}.$$

Our main dependent variable is an indicator variable equal to 1 if daughter *i* works for pay in calendar year *y*. We estimate this relationship in six separate years, beginning in 1977 when the typical respondent was twenty-eight years old and ending in 1993, when she was forty-four years old. We also consider other aspects of a daughter's work and family life that could be influenced by her mother's work behavior, including her expectations about engaging in market work later in life (elicited at the modal age of nineteen) and her marital and fertility history.

The explanatory variable of interest is an indicator for whether a respondent's mother worked for pay when she was fourteen years old (in the modal year of 1963). We interact this indicator with a race variable equal to 1 for black respondents to test whether the association between mother's and daughter's work behavior was stronger in the black community. In some specifications, we also include vectors of family background characteristics (\mathbf{X}_{1i}) or contemporaneous measures of a daughter's economic circumstance (\mathbf{X}_{2iy}). The family background characteristics include mother's and father's educational attainment, father's occupation (in four categories), a dummy variable for whether the daughter lived with both of her parents at age fourteen, and an indicator for whether the daughter had a library card at age fourteen, a common measure of family resources and commitment to education.²² Contemporaneous economic measures consist of the daughter's

22. We classify father's occupation into four categories as follows: high white collar (professional, managerial), low white collar (clerical, sales), high blue collar (craftsmen, operatives), low blue collar (service, labor).

educational attainment, her marital status, and the presence of children in her household. All regressions are weighted to account for the fact that the NLS oversampled poor households.

Table 6.4 reports characteristics for the 3,565 daughters in our sample, 24 percent of whom are black. In 1977, at the average age of 28, 55 percent of the white women and 61 percent of the black women were in the labor force, a 6-percentage-point gap in participation by race. By 1991, when the typical respondent was 42 years old, the labor force participation rate rose to 72 percent for whites and 74 percent for blacks.

The racial gap in LFP was larger among mothers of sample women: 36 percent of white mothers and 50 percent of black mothers worked for pay when their daughters were fourteen, in the modal year of 1963. These figures, which are derived from daughters' recollections in the first survey period (1968), match labor force participation rates for married women for this year reasonably well (according to interpolations between the 1960 and 1970

Table 6.4 Summary statistics for NLS sample

Variable	Whites	Blacks
Age in 1977	27.71 (3.13) <i>2731</i>	27.63 (3.11) <i>834</i>
LFP in 1977	0.55 (0.50)	0.61 (0.49)
LFP in 1991	0.72 (0.45) <i>2236</i>	0.74 (0.44) <i>592</i>
Mother worked at age 14	0.36 (0.48)	0.50 (0.50)
Years of education (1982)	13.37 (2.42) <i>2,421</i>	12.36 (2.48) <i>718</i>
Any children in 1977	0.66 (0.47)	0.73 (0.44)
Any children in 1991	0.73 (0.44)	0.74 (0.44)
Currently married in 1977	0.76 (0.43)	0.50 (0.50)
Currently married in 1991	0.74 (0.44)	0.40 (0.49)
Library card at age 14	0.79 (0.41)	0.50 (0.50)
Mother's years of education	11.23 (2.74) <i>2530</i>	9.25 (3.03) <i>701</i>

Notes: Cells report sample means with standard deviations in parentheses. The number of observations used to calculate means for selected variables are reported in italics to demonstrate attrition over time.

census years, 35 percent of white married women and 45 percent of black married women were in the labor force in 1963).

Our family background measures reveal large differences in the socioeconomic status of the households in which white and black respondents were raised. Only 50 percent of black women held a library card at age fourteen, compared to 79 percent of white women, and the mothers of black women had two fewer years of education than their white counterparts (9.2 versus 11.2 years). By the daughters' generation, the racial gap in educational attainment had declined but had not disappeared. Black daughters completed one fewer year of schooling than white daughters (12.4 versus 13.4 years). In addition, black daughters were more likely to have children in their twenties (despite little difference in the probability of ever having a child), and were less likely to be married both in their twenties and in their thirties.

Table 6.5 investigates the relationship between a daughter's labor force participation in 1977 at the average age of twenty-eight and her mother's work behavior during the daughter's childhood. Model 1 contains only dummy variables for race and for having a working mother during one's teenage years, and the interaction between the two. We find that daughters of working mothers are 3.4 percentage points more likely to be working themselves at age twenty-eight; this relationship is statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Having a working mother has an even stronger effect on one's own propensity to be in the labor force for black women although the interaction between race and mother's work cannot be statistically distinguished from zero.

These estimates suggest that nearly 10 percent of the black-white labor force participation gap in 1977 can still be explained by intergenerational transmission of labor force behavior from mother to daughter. Black mothers were 14 percentage points more likely than white mothers to be in the labor force in 1963, and, by our estimate, women with working mothers are 3.4 percentage points more likely to be in the labor force themselves.²³ Together, these figures imply that intergenerational transmission can explain 8 percent of the black-white participation gap in 1977 ($= [0.14 \text{ mother's gap} * 0.034 \text{ effect of mother's work}] / 0.06 \text{ gap}$).²⁴

Model 2 controls for our family background measures to account for the fact that growing up with a working mother may be an indication of a

23. In Model 1, which contains limited controls, it appears that the effect of mother's work may be stronger for black daughters. However, after controlling for family background in Model 2, this interaction disappears.

24. Another way to assess the economic significance of this intergenerational correlation is to ask: How many more daughters would have been in the labor force in 1977 if their mothers had worked to the same degree as mothers work today? In the data, 56 percent of the daughter's generation worked in 1977 (properly weighted for racial composition). If 75 percent of their mothers had worked in 1963, rather than only 37.5 percent, our estimate implies that the daughter's LFP rate would have increased to 57.3 percent ($= 37.5 \text{ additional points of mother's work} * 0.034 \text{ effect of mother's work}$).

Table 6.5 **Mother's work and daughter's LFP in 1977 (at average age = 28)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Mother worked (<i>R</i> age 14)	0.034* (0.018)	0.036* (0.020)	0.033* (0.020)	0.054*** (0.018)
Mother worked \times black	0.031 (0.056)	0.007 (0.064)	0.006 (0.063)	0.014 (0.058)
Black	0.041 (0.039)	0.087* (0.046)	0.078* (0.046)	0.034 (0.042)
Library card at 14		0.041* (0.024)	0.009 (0.024)	-0.009 (0.022)
Mother's education 9-12		-0.003 (0.026)	-0.031 (0.026)	-0.028 (0.024)
Mother's education >12		0.005 (0.036)	-0.056 (0.036)	-0.063* (0.033)
Father's education 9-12		0.037 (0.024)	0.017 (0.024)	0.000 (0.022)
Father's education > 12		0.078** (0.033)	0.034 (0.033)	-0.003 (0.031)
Lives w/ both parents (age 14)		0.011 (0.040)	-0.016 (0.039)	-0.010 (0.036)
Own education = 12			0.124*** (0.031)	0.112*** (0.029)
Own education >13			0.258*** (0.033)	0.165*** (0.031)
Any children				-0.360*** (0.021)
Previously married				0.251*** (0.027)
Never married				0.133*** (0.027)
Constant	0.487*** (0.030)	0.319*** (0.059)	0.237*** (0.060)	0.594*** (0.044)
Dummies for father's occup.	N	Y	Y	Y
Observations	3,565	2,994	2,994	2,990

Notes: Cells report coefficients from a regression of daughter's labor force participation in 1977 on mother's work and other covariates for the NLS sample. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. In addition to the reported covariates, all regressions include dummy variables for daughter's age in 1977 (average = 28 years old). Mother's work activity and other family background characteristics are reported by the daughter in 1968 and refer to the year in which the daughter was fourteen years old. The daughter characteristics added in Models 3 and 4 are measured in 1977. Dependent variable = 1 if in labor force.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

family's socioeconomic circumstances, which could itself influence a daughter's propensity to work, either through attitudes or through a daughter's acquisition of human capital. Daughters from families of higher socioeconomic status—those with a library card or those whose father graduated from high school—are more likely to work, perhaps because they have more skills and thus can earn higher wages for doing so. However, these factors have no effect on the core relationship between mother's and daughter's propensity to work.²⁵

Model 3 controls for a daughter's own educational attainment to assess whether mother's work behavior has a direct effect on a daughter's LFP beyond any indirect effects it may have on a daughter's human capital acquisition.²⁶ Daughters who have graduated from high school (college) are 12 (24) percentage points more likely to be in the labor force than are high school dropouts. Yet, adding daughter's educational attainment to the model does not weaken the relationship between mother's work behavior and daughter's labor force attachment. However, we do note that accounting for a daughter's educational attainment eliminates any association between our family background measures and a daughter's propensity to be in the labor force, suggesting that the relationship between socioeconomic status and labor force participation operates through investments in human capital.

Model 4 demonstrates that a daughter's labor force participation is strongly related to her own family circumstance. Daughters with children in the household are 36 percentage points less likely to be currently in the labor force. Daughters who never married (or who are widowed or divorced) are 13 (25) percentage points more likely to be in the labor force than are those who are currently married. Somewhat surprisingly, accounting for a daughter's domestic situation *increases* the association between a daughter's and her mother's labor force participation by 60 percent. This pattern is consistent with findings below demonstrating that daughters of working mothers are more likely to be currently married and to have a child living at home.

Thus far, we have considered the effect of a mother's work behavior on her daughter's outcomes in 1977 when daughters were in their mid to late twenties. The influence of one's mother's example may be strongest in these years because daughters are still relatively young and thus turning to their parents for guidance. In addition, women's labor force participation tends to increase over the life cycle as their children age, leaving less scope for individual factors (like differences in mother's work behavior) to generate differences in outcomes (Goldin 1990).

Figure 6.8 graphs the estimated effect of having a working mother on

25. Model 2 requires us to drop the 557 women who do not report one or more of the family background items. Results are nearly unchanged if we rerun Model 1 for this reduced sample.

26. A daughter's educational aspirations could be directly influenced by her mother's work behavior; in this sense, educational attainment is an endogenous variable (as are marital and fertility history in Model 4).

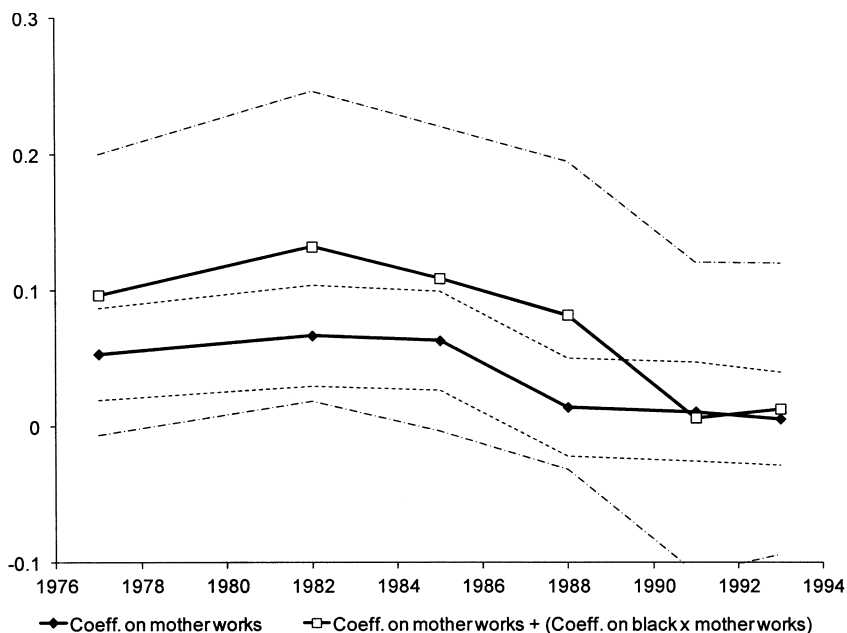


Fig. 6.8 Relationship between work behavior of mothers and daughters, coefficients from regressions using NLS data, 1977–1993

Notes: Coefficients on “mother works” and the interaction of “mother works” and a dummy variable for “black.” Estimates of regression reported in table 6.5, Model 4, for each survey wave between 1977 and 1993. Modal daughter is twenty-eight years old in 1977 and forty-four years old in 1993.

a daughter’s propensity to be in the labor force according to the baseline specification (Model 1) in six survey years: 1977, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, and 1993. We find a strong and stable association between a mother’s work behavior and her daughter’s labor force attachment in the 1970s and early 1980s. In these years, daughters in the NLS cohorts are still likely to have young children at home (average ages of 28, 33, and 36). However, in the late 1980s and 1990s, when the daughters are older, we no longer find that a daughter’s labor force participation is related to her mother’s work behavior. The coefficient on mother’s work at age fourteen, as well as the interaction between mother’s work and race, fall nearly to zero for daughters between the ages of thirty-nine and forty-five. Because we are only able to follow a single cohort in the NLS, we cannot identify whether the declining association between mother’s and daughter’s work behavior is a period or an age effect. Our data are consistent with the possibility that the example set by one’s own mother has become less relevant over time as female LFP became more commonplace. Alternatively, it could be that having a working mother

as a role model is particularly important to a woman's decision to couple work with child rearing but is less relevant for women without children or women with older children, many more of whom work outside of the home.

Table 6.6 explores the channels through which a mother's work behavior influences her daughter's own labor force attachment. Following Goldin (2006), we suspect that having a working mother changes daughters' expectations about the course of their own lives. Rather than presuming that they will marry and specialize in home production, daughters of working mothers may expect that they too will work outside of the home, as their mothers did. As a result, they may be more likely to invest in human capital

Table 6.6 Mother's work and other daughter outcomes

	Dependent variables					
	Expectation housewife	Highest grade	College degree	Ever married	Age at first marriage	Age at first birth
Mother worked	-0.049** (0.019)	0.017 (0.091)	-0.006 (0.017)	0.017* (0.010)	-0.637*** (0.187)	-0.491** (0.243)
Mom work x black	0.015 (0.064)	0.005 (0.300)	0.042 (0.056)	0.009 (0.031)	-0.290 (0.647)	0.028 (0.770)
Black	-0.237*** (0.046)	0.145 (0.218)	0.007 (0.041)	-0.096*** (0.023)	1.695*** (0.476)	-0.520 (0.561)
Library card at 14	0.005 (0.023)	0.891*** (0.110)	0.064*** (0.021)	-0.011 (0.011)	0.585*** (0.223)	0.825*** (0.287)
Mother's edu. 9-12	0.052** (0.026)	0.602*** (0.120)	0.050** (0.023)	0.021* (0.012)	-0.227 (0.246)	0.925*** (0.315)
Mother's edu. > 12	0.035 (0.035)	1.641*** (0.165)	0.240*** (0.031)	0.024 (0.017)	0.583* (0.342)	2.679*** (0.440)
Father's edu. 9-12	-0.006 (0.023)	0.432*** (0.110)	0.053** (0.021)	-0.029** (0.011)	1.140*** (0.225)	0.521* (0.288)
Father's edu. > 12	-0.001 (0.032)	1.122*** (0.153)	0.184*** (0.029)	-0.043*** (0.016)	1.659*** (0.315)	1.585*** (0.407)
Lived with 2 parents	-0.028 (0.039)	0.770*** (0.182)	0.101*** (0.034)	-0.004 (0.019)	0.072 (0.373)	1.049** (0.477)
Constant	0.588*** (0.057)	11.348*** (0.274)	0.088* (0.052)	0.972*** (0.029)	20.102*** (0.561)	20.369*** (0.705)
Observations	2,735	2,636	2,636	2,913	2,720	2,608

Notes: Regression follow the format of Model 2 in table 6.5, with the exception of the dependent variables. "Expectation housewife" is measured from a survey question of what the daughters expect to be doing at age thirty-five. The question is asked in 1968, when the daughters were, on average, nineteen years old. "Highest grade" and "ever married" are measured in 1982 when the daughters were, on average, thirty-three years old. "College degree" is constructed from "highest grade" and is equal to one for women who completed sixteen years or more of schooling.

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

to increase the return to this market work and may delay marriage until after completing their schooling.

We find some evidence consistent with these conjectures but other patterns that are quite contrary to them. As expected, column (1) demonstrates that daughters of working mothers are 4.9 percentage points less likely to expect that they would be housewives when they reach the age of thirty-five, even after controlling for other family background measures. These expectations are elicited in the first survey wave when the daughters are, on average, nineteen years old. Yet despite expecting a higher rate of future labor force participation, daughters of working mothers do not attain more years of education on average and are no more likely to graduate from college or attain a postbaccalaureate degree (last result not shown). Even more surprisingly, mother's work is associated with a *higher* probability of ever marrying and, among those who do marry, with *earlier* ages of first marriage and first child birth (by 0.5 to 0.6 of a year).²⁷ In contrast, having a father or mother who graduated from high school raises the age of first marriage and first birth by one to two years, respectively; similarly, living with both parents in childhood and having a library card at age fourteen are also associated with delay of childbearing.

The positive association between mother's work and early marriage is somewhat of a puzzle. Perhaps daughters whose mothers worked outside of the home have adopted a more equitable view of marriage and do not associate marriage with specialization in home production. In that case, the cost of marrying in terms of foregone earnings or independence would be lower and, therefore, these daughters would be more likely to marry and to do so at younger ages. Alternatively, this early marriage may simply reflect the fact that poorer families are more likely to have two working parents and that daughters from a lower socioeconomic status background are more likely to marry and engage in childbearing at younger ages.

6.4 Conclusion

Large racial differences in women's labor force participation persisted for more than 100 years after the Civil War. Following Goldin (1977), we hypothesize that these differences might, in part, reflect an indirect legacy of slavery that operated through differences in social norms about women's work in arduous occupations. We find that well into the twentieth century only a portion of the racial difference in women's LFP (or in their work specifically in physically demanding jobs) can be attributed to differences in observable characteristics, which is consistent with the presence of some

27. That daughters of working mothers marry at younger ages (and, for this reason, are less likely to be in the labor force) explains why controlling for marital status *augments* the relationship between mother's work and daughter's labor force participation in table 6.5.

persistent propensity toward work outside of the home that initially derived from the institution of slavery.

Any legacy of slavery on any subsequent work behavior must be transmitted across generations. We present two separate analyses that further test the intergenerational transmission of female labor force participation. In 1900, it appears that women born to ex-slaves were significantly more likely than other black women to be in the labor force. Later in the twentieth century, the NLS data reveal that daughters of working mothers were more likely to work themselves even when controlling for a number of background characteristics. Both patterns are consistent with the possibility that the higher rates of female LFP under slavery persisted into the second and third generation after Emancipation through a process of intergenerational transmission.

The structural transformation of the US economy and rapid gains in educational attainment greatly expanded the scope for women's work in relatively "clean" jobs. White women started moving into such jobs in the early decades of the twentieth century, but black women did not make large inroads in white-collar work until after World War II. Thereafter, participation rates for both white and black women increased as white-collar jobs became more prevalent, such that by the end of the twentieth century, the racial gap in women's labor force participation had greatly narrowed. A small residual difference remained in terms of employment in less prestigious occupations, perhaps a last trace of a long-standing difference in social norms with respect to such work.

Appendix

Table 6A.1 Women's labor force participation by race, 1870–2010

	1870	1880	1900	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
<i>A. White women, age 25–54</i>													
In LF and married	0.60	1.27	1.58	4.15	6.42	10.09	17.99	27.62	34.48	43.04	49.53	48.29	44.71
In LF and not married	7.93	8.05	13.02	14.72	14.66	16.15	13.88	12.31	13.60	19.22	25.22	26.90	32.32
Not in LF and not married	20.52	17.08	13.77	9.76	8.88	8.70	6.53	4.90	5.25	4.96	4.93	6.14	7.86
Not in LF and married	70.96	73.61	71.63	71.36	70.03	65.06	61.60	55.17	46.66	32.78	20.32	18.68	15.11
Overall LFP	8.52	9.31	14.60	18.88	21.08	26.24	31.87	39.93	48.08	62.26	74.75	75.18	77.03
Percent of married in LF	0.83	1.69	2.16	5.50	8.40	13.43	22.60	33.36	42.50	56.77	70.91	72.11	74.74
Percent of not married in LF	27.87	32.02	48.60	60.14	62.26	64.99	68.01	71.55	72.13	79.49	83.64	81.41	80.44
Share of married in pop.	71.55	74.88	73.21	75.52	76.46	75.16	79.59	82.79	81.15	75.83	69.84	66.96	59.82
<i>B. Black women, age 25–54</i>													
In LF and married	13.81	17.59	13.68	20.61	19.84	17.72	21.90	28.39	31.97	32.51	29.56	26.89	23.89
In LF and not married	23.10	21.66	27.12	24.89	26.56	27.15	23.98	25.01	27.14	36.09	45.35	46.19	55.68
Not in LF and not married	16.60	11.01	7.78	6.97	8.71	12.38	14.80	13.35	16.22	17.33	17.14	18.23	15.19
Not in LF and married	46.49	49.74	51.42	47.53	44.89	42.75	39.31	33.26	24.67	14.07	7.95	8.69	5.24
Overall LFP	36.91	39.25	40.80	45.50	46.40	44.87	45.88	53.40	59.11	68.60	74.91	73.08	79.56
Percent of married in LF	22.90	26.12	21.02	30.25	30.65	29.30	35.78	46.05	56.44	69.80	78.80	75.57	82.00
Percent of not married in LF	58.20	66.30	77.70	78.13	75.30	68.68	61.83	65.21	62.59	67.56	72.57	71.70	78.56
Share of married in pop.	60.30	67.33	65.10	68.14	64.74	60.47	61.21	61.64	56.64	46.58	37.51	35.58	29.13
<i>C. US-born white women, age 25–54</i>													
In LF and married	0.47	1.01	1.47	3.85	6.37	9.94	18.02	27.61	34.65	43.43	50.04	49.17	45.63
In LF and not married	6.40	6.96	12.86	15.26	15.24	16.66	13.86	12.16	13.55	19.32	25.36	27.32	32.80
Not in LF and not married	23.22	18.88	14.70	10.38	9.20	8.62	6.29	4.83	5.13	4.67	4.78	5.83	7.67
Not in LF and married	69.91	73.15	70.97	70.51	69.19	64.77	61.84	55.39	46.67	32.58	19.82	17.68	13.90
Overall LFP	6.87	7.97	14.33	19.11	21.61	26.60	31.87	39.77	48.20	62.75	75.40	76.49	78.43
Percent of married in LF	0.67	1.36	2.03	5.18	8.43	13.31	22.56	33.26	42.61	57.13	71.63	73.56	76.66
Percent of not married in LF	21.60	26.93	46.65	59.51	62.35	65.89	68.78	71.57	72.53	80.54	84.15	82.41	81.05
Share of married in pop.	70.38	74.17	72.44	74.36	75.56	74.71	79.85	83.00	81.32	76.01	69.86	66.85	59.53

Source: Microdata are from IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2010).

Notes: “Overall LFP” is the sum of “In LF and married” and “In LF and not married” categories. Participation rate conditional on marital status are reported in row labeled “Percent of married in LF” and so on.

Table 6A.2 **Alternative series of women's labor force participation by race, 1870–1920**

	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
	<i>Based on 1920 cell-specific rates</i>						
White women	11.47	12.14	15.75	17.80	18.88	20.77	25.51
Married	2.79	3.11	3.24	4.78	5.50	8.09	12.48
Single	37.16	39.04	49.94	55.52	60.14	61.93	64.94
Black women	40.39	41.86	43.95	49.52	45.50	47.65	47.66
Married	28.05	29.06	25.92	33.80	30.25	32.16	31.80
Single	62.81	68.23	77.60	81.54	78.13	76.08	71.93
	<i>Based on 1940 cell-specific rates</i>						
White women	13.07	13.72	17.09	19.07	19.94	21.69	26.24
Married	4.91	5.24	5.08	6.49	6.88	9.27	13.43
Single	37.21	39.00	49.90	55.55	60.21	62.02	64.99
Black women	38.37	38.71	39.73	45.60	41.39	44.45	44.87
Married	26.72	26.20	22.06	30.09	26.51	29.37	29.30
Single	59.53	64.50	72.68	77.19	73.20	72.13	68.68
	<i>Based on 1960 cell-specific rates</i>						
White women	22.48	23.13	25.04	26.00	26.08	26.71	30.69
Married	15.58	15.98	14.23	14.47	13.93	14.94	18.52
Single	42.89	44.45	54.59	59.45	63.54	64.96	67.51
Black women	40.25	42.06	43.18	49.22	45.02	47.42	47.29
Married	30.69	32.26	29.09	36.88	33.34	35.21	34.45
Single	57.62	62.26	69.46	74.35	70.00	69.82	66.93

Source: Microdata are from IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2010).

Notes: To create an alternative LFP series back to 1870, we first estimate within-cell participation rates for all women (25–54) in 1920, 1940, and 1960 categorized by interactions of race, farm, south, married, and has-boarders status. “Has boarders” is 1 for women who are household heads or spouses of household heads who reside with at least one person whose relation is coded “other nonfamily” in the IPUMS. Then, for women who lived on farms or had boarders in each census year, we replaced their IPUMS reported LFP with the cell-specific rate observed in 1920, 1940, or 1960.

Table 6A.3 Women's LFP and occupational distribution by race, 1870–2010

	1870	1880	1900	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
	<i>A. White women, 25–54</i>												
Professional/clerical/manager/sales	1.12	1.66	3.87	8.60	11.46	14.00	18.37	23.59	31.12	43.74	56.04	58.77	59.46
Agricultural	0.53	0.76	1.32	1.05	0.79	0.49	0.84	0.56	0.35	0.51	0.44	0.35	0.39
Craft/operative/laborer	2.67	3.49	4.71	5.07	4.36	6.41	8.05	8.62	9.38	9.20	8.00	6.35	5.00
Household and non-HH service	4.21	3.40	4.70	4.16	4.48	5.11	4.51	5.95	7.14	8.69	10.19	9.65	12.05
Not in labor force	91.48	90.69	85.40	81.12	78.92	74.00	68.23	61.28	52.01	37.87	25.34	24.88	23.10
	<i>B. Black women, 25–54</i>												
Professional/clerical/manager/sales	0.09	0.22	0.74	1.64	2.43	3.40	5.97	9.48	20.17	34.84	43.95	47.04	51.51
Agricultural	17.98	15.96	14.70	14.13	9.40	5.63	3.22	1.80	0.79	0.29	0.24	0.09	0.08
Craft/operative/laborer	2.21	6.77	4.09	4.47	4.68	4.86	8.27	9.01	12.83	14.41	12.64	9.28	6.90
Household and non-HH service	16.64	16.30	21.27	25.25	29.89	30.76	28.27	30.99	25.15	18.73	17.73	16.43	20.81
Not in labor force	63.09	60.75	59.20	54.50	53.60	55.34	54.26	48.71	41.06	31.73	25.45	27.15	20.70
	<i>C. US-born white women, 25–54</i>												
Not in labor force	93.13	92.03	85.67	80.89	78.39	73.64	68.22	61.45	51.89	37.37	24.67	23.55	21.66
Professional/clerical/manager/sales	1.10	1.69	4.38	9.84	12.85	14.97	18.89	23.93	31.65	44.91	57.18	60.61	62.58
Agricultural	0.67	0.92	1.52	1.18	0.88	0.51	0.88	0.57	0.35	0.49	0.41	0.32	0.27
Craft/operative/(nonfarm) laborer	2.50	3.27	4.77	4.61	4.01	6.08	7.70	8.24	9.01	8.64	7.74	6.15	4.55
Household and non-HH service	2.59	2.09	3.67	3.47	3.87	4.80	4.30	5.81	7.09	8.60	9.99	9.37	10.93

Source: Data are from the IPUMS (Ruggles et al. 2010).

Notes: A small number of women who are counted as “in labor force” but without an occupation are omitted from this sample. Therefore, the “not in labor force” row does not necessarily match results in appendix table 6A.1. Occupation codes are based on the IPUMS “occl1950” coding scheme.

Table 6A.4 Women's detailed occupational distribution, 1870-2010

	1870	1880	1900	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
<i>A. White women, 25-54</i>													
0	Not in labor force	91.48	90.69	85.40	81.12	78.92	74.00	68.23	61.28	52.01	37.87	25.34	23.10
1	Professional	0.73	1.06	2.01	3.03	3.83	4.12	4.57	5.62	8.71	13.79	20.04	23.36
1.5	Teacher	0.57	0.80	1.32	1.77	2.24	2.26	2.03	2.44	3.34	4.78	5.62	5.81
1.6	Other professions	0.16	0.27	0.68	1.26	1.59	1.86	2.54	3.18	5.37	9.02	14.42	19.55
2	Clerical	0.03	0.05	0.73	3.37	4.80	6.45	9.15	12.73	16.73	21.21	22.19	18.92
3	Craft	0.32	0.30	0.39	0.44	0.37	0.45	0.65	0.61	0.98	1.49	1.70	1.13
4	Operative	2.31	3.04	4.11	4.25	3.65	5.71	7.19	7.81	7.97	6.99	5.36	3.17
4.5	Manufacturing	0.87	1.19	1.54	2.71	2.55	4.53	5.90	6.68	6.61	5.51	3.66	1.64
4.6	Laundry	0.01	0.05	0.09	0.20	0.31	0.35	0.44	0.36	0.23	0.12	0.09	0.07
4.7	Other operatives	1.43	1.80	2.48	1.34	0.79	0.83	0.84	0.77	1.13	1.36	1.59	1.45
5	Laborer	0.04	0.15	0.21	0.37	0.33	0.25	0.22	0.20	0.42	0.72	0.94	0.70
6	Service household	3.80	2.76	3.20	2.31	2.15	2.20	0.91	0.93	0.61	0.40	0.41	—
7	Service nonhousehold	0.41	0.65	1.50	1.85	2.32	2.91	3.60	5.02	6.52	8.29	9.78	12.05
8	Manager	0.25	0.39	0.53	0.73	0.96	1.29	1.65	1.73	1.87	4.68	9.01	10.48
9	Sales	0.10	0.16	0.60	1.46	1.87	2.14	3.01	3.51	3.80	4.05	4.80	4.71
10	Farmers and farm laborers	0.53	0.76	1.32	1.05	0.79	0.49	0.84	0.56	0.35	0.51	0.44	0.39
<i>B. Black women, 25-54</i>													
0	Not in labor force	63.09	60.75	59.20	54.50	53.60	55.34	54.26	48.71	41.06	31.73	25.45	20.70
1	Professional	0.02	0.12	0.43	0.95	1.53	2.12	2.77	4.13	7.92	12.23	14.76	19.46
1.5	Teacher	0.02	0.10	0.37	0.76	1.15	1.69	1.72	2.36	3.52	4.72	4.44	4.09
1.6	Other professions	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.20	0.38	0.44	1.04	1.77	4.39	7.52	10.32	15.37
2	Clerical	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.25	0.31	0.50	1.90	3.97	9.96	18.40	21.54	19.99
3	Craft	0.00	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.14	0.21	0.32	0.42	0.93	1.65	2.09	1.25
4	Operative	0.54	0.85	1.65	3.02	3.54	4.02	7.10	8.00	11.07	11.43	9.27	6.66
4.5	Manufacturing	0.12	0.15	0.15	1.04	1.13	1.85	3.71	4.58	7.97	9.16	6.73	4.47
4.6	Laundry	0.00	0.06	0.43	0.62	1.45	1.21	2.35	2.26	1.53	0.51	0.38	0.15
4.7	Other operatives	0.42	0.63	1.06	1.36	0.96	0.95	1.04	1.16	1.57	1.77	2.04	2.18
5	Laborer	1.67	5.87	2.38	1.38	1.00	0.64	0.84	0.59	0.84	1.33	1.27	0.93
6	Service household	14.30	12.91	15.01	21.02	24.85	26.07	19.24	18.82	9.70	2.40	1.00	—
7	Service nonhousehold	2.34	3.39	6.26	4.23	5.04	4.69	9.04	12.17	15.45	16.34	16.73	16.43
8	Manager	0.03	0.07	0.15	0.32	0.41	0.43	0.71	0.60	0.72	2.39	5.03	6.48
9	Sales	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.13	0.18	0.35	0.60	0.78	1.58	1.81	2.62	3.31
10	Farmers and farm laborers	17.98	15.96	14.70	14.13	9.40	5.63	3.22	1.80	0.79	0.29	0.24	0.08

Table 6.A.5 **Decompositions of differences in women's LFP, 1880–2000**

	1880	1900	1920	1940A	1940B	1960	1980	2000
White	0.0931	0.1460	0.1888	0.2624	0.2624	0.3993	0.6226	0.7518
Black	0.3925	0.4080	0.4550	0.4487	0.4487	0.5340	0.6860	0.7307
Difference	-0.2994	-0.2620	-0.2663	-0.1863	-0.1863	-0.1347	-0.0634	0.0211
Explained (due to differences in Xs)								
Literacy or education	-0.0109	-0.0044	0.0002	0.0119	0.0236	0.0384	0.0278	0.0238
Children	0.0018	0.0005	-0.0046	-0.0119	-0.0115	-0.0033	0.0062	-0.0015
Husband	-0.0229	-0.0385	-0.0422	-0.0547	-0.0591	-0.0712	-0.0345	-0.0111
Age	-0.0063	-0.0028	-0.0039	-0.0074	-0.0070	-0.0011	-0.0033	-0.0030
Farm and metro	0.0006	0.0090	0.0192	0.0092	0.0085	-0.0072	0.0026	0.0036
Birth states	0.0055	-0.0025	-0.0046	-0.0217	-0.0206	-0.0145	-0.0083	0.0101
Total explained	-0.0321	-0.0387	-0.0358	-0.0746	-0.0661	-0.0590	-0.0095	0.0220
Total unexplained	-0.2673	-0.2233	-0.2304	-0.1117	-0.1202	-0.0757	-0.0539	-0.0009

Notes: In this context “explained” refers to the differences in LFP accounted for by racial differences in observables weighted by a vector of coefficients that corresponds to the regressions in table 6.2. Negative values in the “explained” rows imply that racial differences in that set of characteristics contribute to the racial gap (e.g., differences in husband’s presence and occupation tend to explain part of the LFP gap). The subcategories under “explained” each represented several variables. For instance, “children” captures the influence racial differences summed across all the relevant “child” variables in table 6.2. The decomposition method follows Fortin (2008) and is implemented with Stata’s “Oaxaca” command with “pooled” and “categorical” options applied, as described by Jann (2008). This approach dovetails with table 6.2, but of course other decomposition methods could be chosen.

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