

# Клаудиа Голдин

## Женщины на рынке труда

За что дали Нобелевскую премию по экономике в 2023 году?

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# Нобелевская премия по экономике 2023

The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of  
Alfred Nobel 2023

was awarded to **Claudia Goldin**

*“for having advanced our understanding  
of women’s labour market outcomes”*

Claudia Goldin

- provided the first comprehensive account of women’s earnings and labour market participation through the centuries.
- her research reveals the causes of change, as well as the main sources of the remaining gender gap.



**Claudia Goldin, born 1946 in New York, NY, USA.  
PhD 1972 from University of Chicago, IL, USA.  
Professor at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA,  
USA. An economic historian and a labor economist.**

Источник: Press release of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, October 9, 2023

# За что: акценты расширенного пресс-релиза

The U-shaped curve

Do you take this man to be your lawfully wedded husband? (marriage)

The importance of expectations

The power of the pill

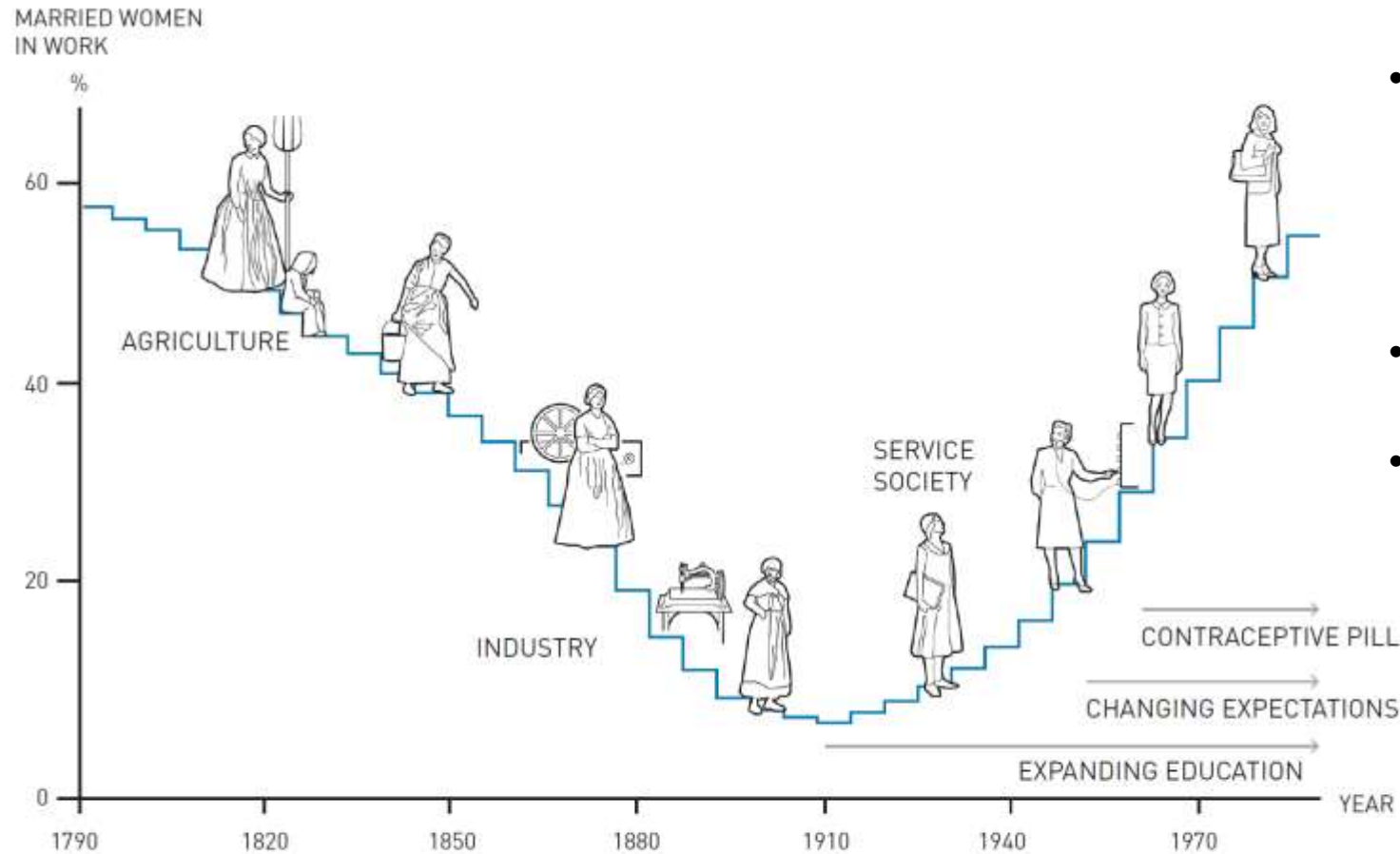
Historical earnings gaps

The parenthood effect

A glimpse of the future

# U-образная кривая участия в рынке труда

## *Understanding the Gender Gap*



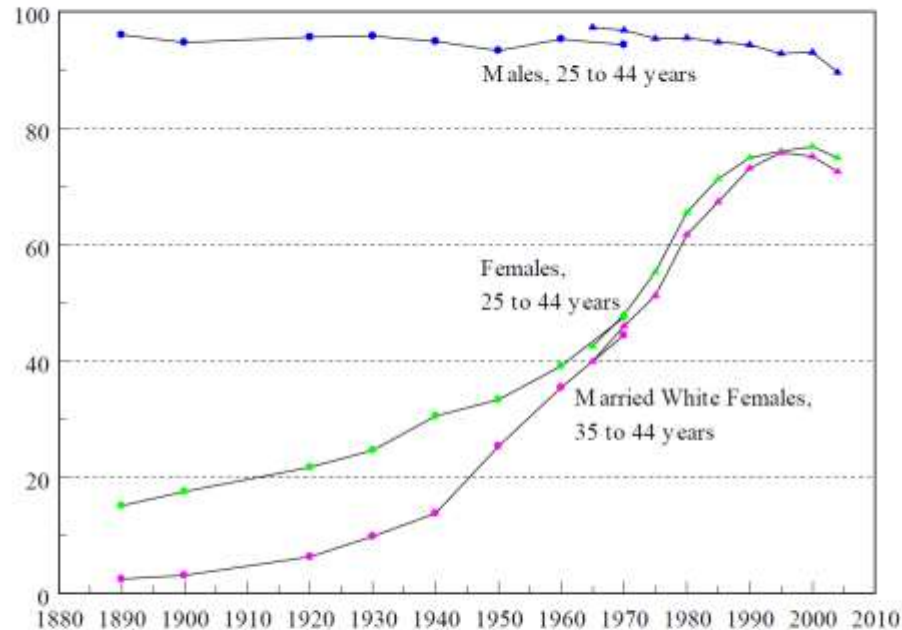
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- До выхода монографии в 1990 г. считалось, что экономическое развитие монотонно увеличивало присутствие (замужних) женщин на рынке труда
- Уточнение данных за ранние исторические периоды
- Дооценка участия в рынке труда
  - +7 pp в с/х и +37% в целом
  - статус (род занятий) **Жена** в переписи населения до 1940 означал занятость в сельскохозяйственной натуральной экономике

# Эволюция и тихая революция в LFP

## THE QUIET REVOLUTION THAT TRANSFORMED WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND FAMILY

Figure 1  
Labor Force Participation Rates for Females and Males  
by Age and Marital Status: 1890 to 2004



Sources: 1890 to 1970, Goldin (1990) from U.S. federal population census; 1965 to 2004, March Current Population Survey (CPS).

Notes: All races, marital statuses, and education groups are included unless indicated otherwise. The labor force participation rate from 1890 to 1930 is the fraction of "gainful workers" in the relevant population. The "dots" are from the census and the "triangles" from the CPS. The difference for females is small, somewhat larger for males.

Три эволюционные фазы и одна революционная

1. Независимая работница (Independent Female Worker)  
к.19в – 1920. Незамужние женщины
2. Снижение барьеров для работы замужних женщин (1930 – 1950)
  - Развитие экономики белых воротничков
  - Расширение образования
  - Запрет практик отказа в найме (marriage bars)
3. Зарождение революции (1950 – 1970).
  - Рост занятости, но все еще роль «второго работника»
  - Профессии с низкой долей OJT
    - Ожидали кратковременного присутствия на рынке труда
4. Тихая революция (1970 – ). От «просто работы» к выстраиванию карьеры. В основе:
  - Расширение горизонта планирования (horizon)
  - Изменение идентичность (identity)
  - Рост переговорной силы в семье в семье (decision making)

# Ключевые детерминанты роста LFP женщин

- Технологические революции в производстве
- Расширение общего школьного образования
- Революции в технологиях потребления/производства внутри домашнего хозяйства
- Социальные движения за права женщин
- Вторая мировая война
- Запрет практик отказа в приеме на работу и увольнения замужних женщин (1940-е) (marriage bars)
- Революция в методах планирования семьи

Переход от временного или вынужденного присутствия на рынке труда к выстраиванию карьеры

- Удлинение горизонта нахождения на рынке труда
- Обретение новой идентичности – ценности профессиональной жизни
- Усиление позиций в переговорах в семье

Рост общественного благосостояния за счет снижения общественных потерь от неиспользованных талантов (market inefficiency due to underutilization and underincentivisation)

# Marriage bars

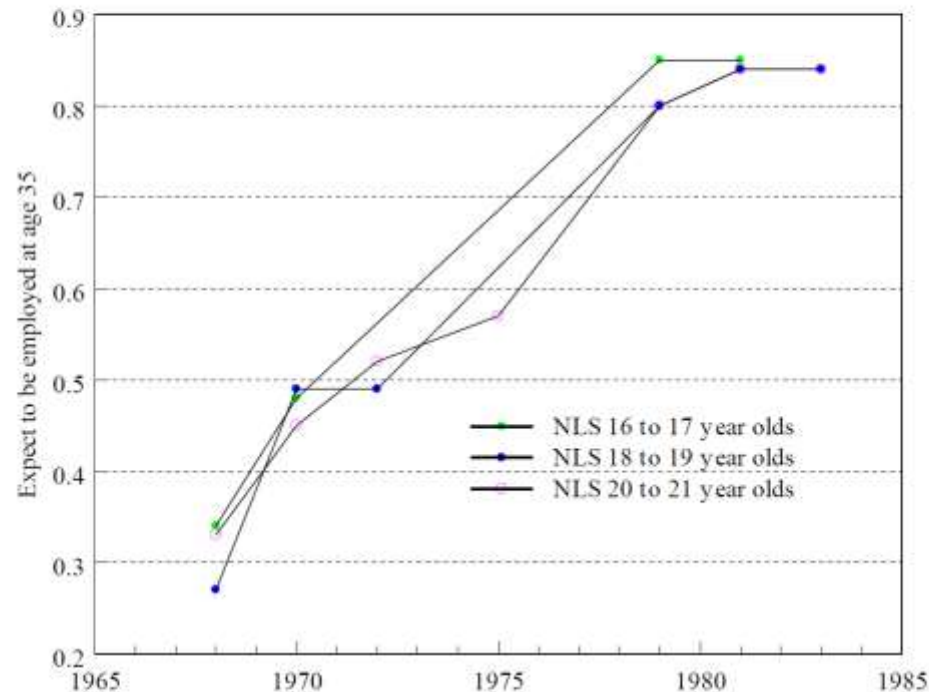
## MARRIAGE BARS: DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MARRIED WOMEN WORKERS, 1920's to 1950's

Table 1  
Marriage Bars Among School Boards, 1928 to 1951  
and Firms Hiring Office Workers, 1931 and 1940

| Year                     | Do Not Retain<br>Single Women When Married |              | Do Not Hire<br>Married Women |              |
|--------------------------|--|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
|                          | Weighted                                   | Not Weighted | Weighted                     | Not Weighted |
| Teachers                 |  |              |                              |              |
| 1928                     | 47.3%                                      | 52.2%        | 61.9%                        | 61.0%        |
| 1930/31                  | 52.2                                       | 62.9         | 72.2                         | 76.6         |
| 1942                     | 58.4                                       | 70.0         | 77.7                         | 87.0         |
| 1950/51                  | 9.4  | 10.0         | 19.5                         | 18.0         |
| Clerical Workers         |  |              |                              |              |
| (Policy)                 |  |              |                              |              |
| 1931 (178)               | 25.0%                                      | 12.0%        | 36.0%                        | 29.2%        |
| Phila. (44)              | 26.4                                       | 14.3         | 40.4                         | 31.8         |
| 1940                     |  |              |                              |              |
| Phila. (106)             | 26.6                                       | 23.6         | 41.1                         | 50.9         |
| Kansas City (83)         | 28.4                                       | 15.7         | 41.7                         | 31.3         |
| Los Angeles (139)        | 9.4  | 8.6          | 24.4                         | 15.8         |
| (Policy & Discretionary) |  |              |                              |              |
| 1931                     | 34.7%                                      | 27.3%        | 51.7%                        | 52.8%        |
| Philadelphia             | 36.9                                       | 35.7         | 60.7                         | 59.1         |
| 1940                     |  |              |                              |              |
| Philadelphia             | 34.5                                       | 34.9         | 58.5                         | 60.4         |
| Kansas City              | 46.0                                       | 30.1         | 57.8                         | 43.4         |
| Los Angeles              | 25.1                                       | 15.7         | 38.8                         | 26.6         |

# Роль ожиданий и установок

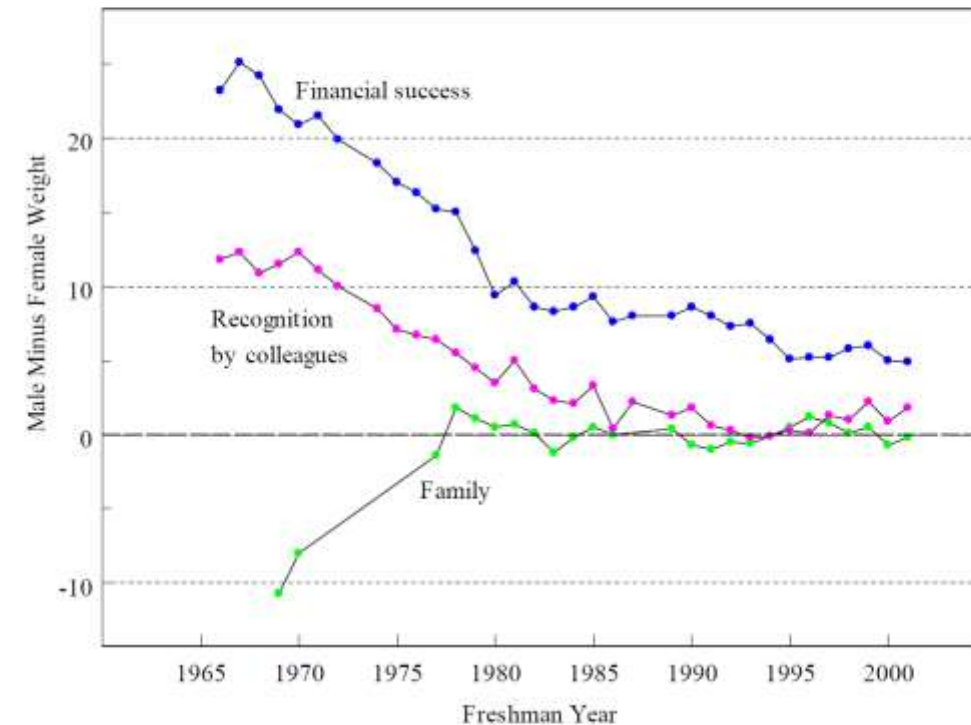
Figure 2  
Employment Expectations of Female Youth by Age: 1967 to 1984



Sources: 1968 National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women (NLS68) and 1979 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). See Goldin (2005) for details.

Notes: The NLS data are the response to whether an individual stated she expected to be in the paid labor force at age 35 and are given here for white women. The NLS data link the averages for each age group over time. Thus, the 14 to 15 year olds in the NLS68 in 1968 became 16 to 17 years old in 1970 and are linked to the 16 to 17 year olds in 1979 in the NLSY.

Figure 6  
Personal Satisfaction Factors for College Freshmen,  
Differences by Sex: 1966 to 2000



Source: Astin, et al. (2002).

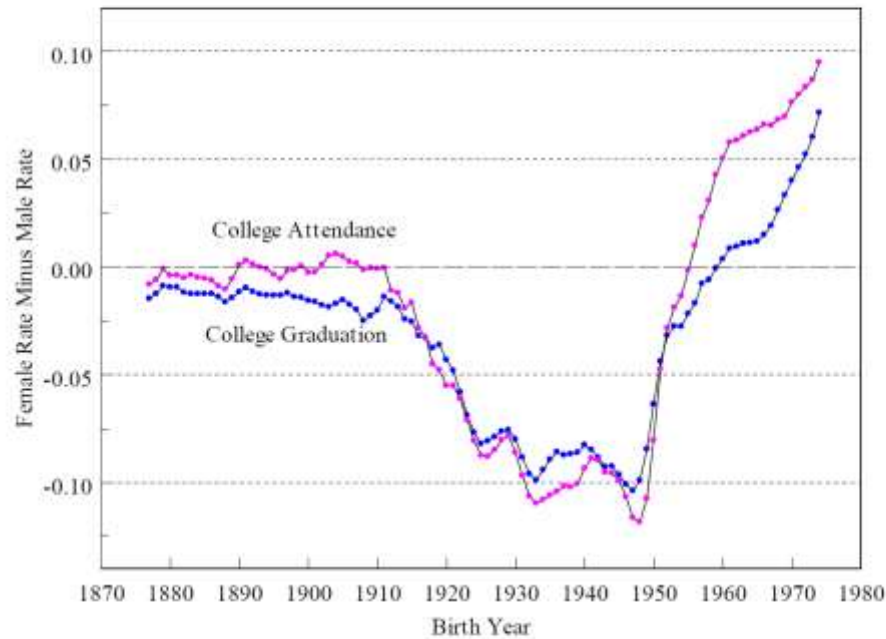
Notes: Individuals surveyed were freshmen. The data given are weighted to produce a nationally representative college freshmen average. An objective, goal, or value is given full weight (100) if the individual listed it as "essential" or "very important" and no weight (0) otherwise. Individuals could choose any number of factors from the 12 to 19 possible objectives, goals, or values listed on the survey in each year.



# Выравнивание уровня образования и рост возраста вступления в брак

Figure 3

Female Minus Male College Attendance and Graduation Rates: Birth Cohorts, 1877 to 1974

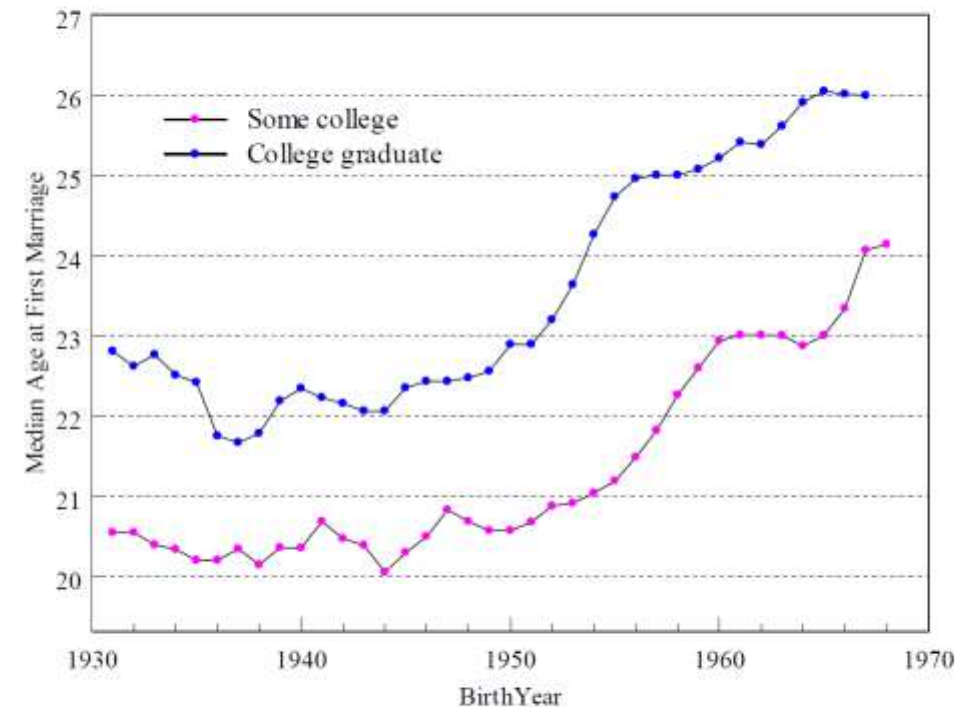


Source: 1940 to 2000 Census of Population Integrated Public Use Micro-data Samples (IPUMS).

Notes: The underlying data are the fraction of four-year college attendees or graduates by birth cohort and sex adjusted to 35 years of age for the U.S. born. College graduates are those with 16 or more completed years of schooling for the 1940 to 1980 samples and those with a bachelor's degree or higher in the 1990 to 2000 samples. The underlying samples include all U.S. born residents aged 25 to 64 years. For information on the age-adjustment regressions see De Long, Goldin, and Katz (2003, figure 1) and Goldin, Katz, and Kuziemko (2005).

Figure 4

Median Age at First Marriage for Birth Cohorts of Female College Graduates and Attendees: 1931 to 1968 Birth Years



Sources: Current Population Survey, Fertility and Marital History Supplement, 1990 and 1995.

Notes: Three-year centered moving averages are shown.

# The pill: революция в противозачаточных средствах и рост профессионального образования

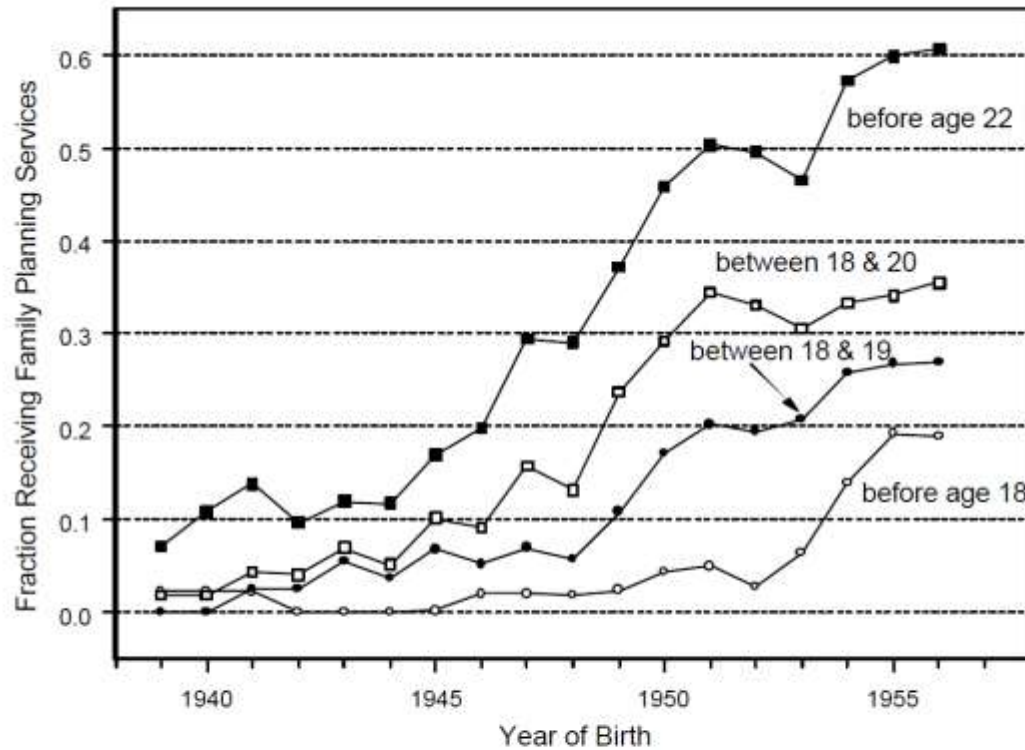
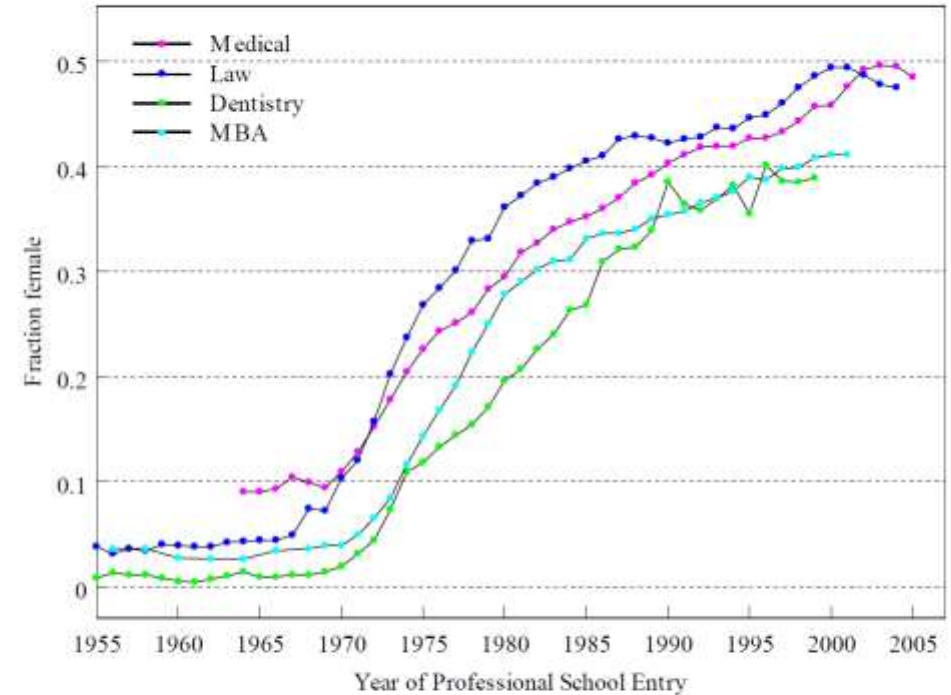


Figure 2: Fraction of College Graduate Women Receiving Family Planning Services at Various Ages, among Those Not Married by Age 22

Source: *National Survey of Family Growth, Cycle III, 1982* (ICPSR 1985).

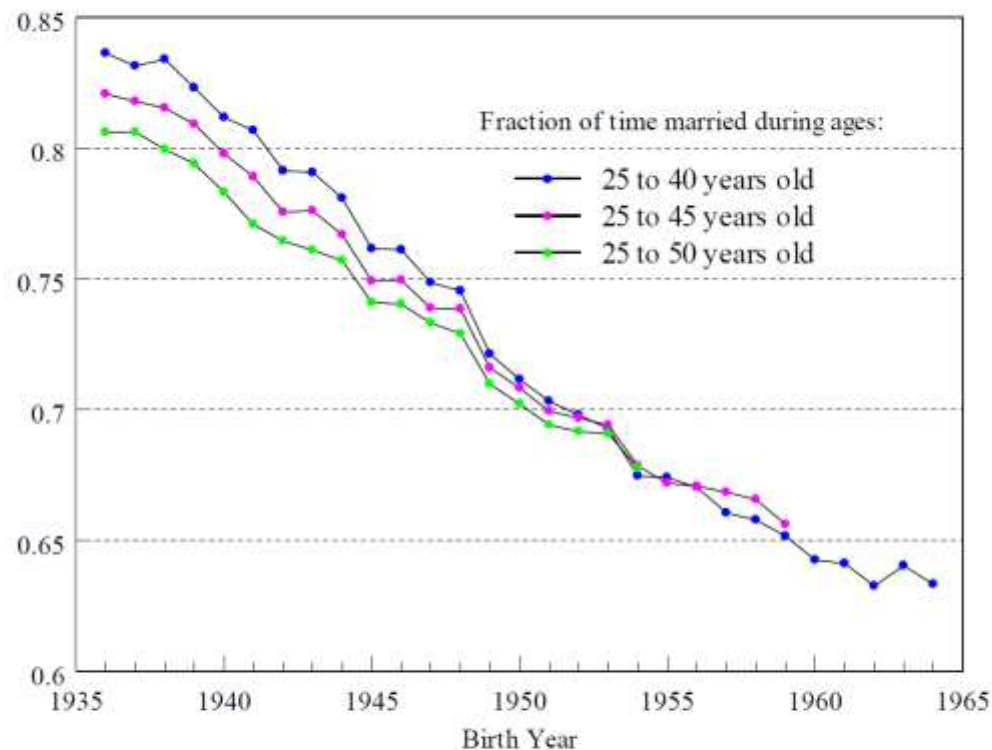
Figure 5  
Fraction Female among First Year Students in Professional Programs:  
1955 to 2005



Sources and Notes: First-year law students from the American Bar Association website: <http://www.abanet.org/legaled/statistics/femstats.html>. First-year medical students (to 1994) from *Journal of the American Medical Association* (various years 1978 to 1998) and (from 1994 to 2005) from the American Association of Medical Colleges website <http://www.aamc.org/data/facts/2005/2005summary.htm>. First-year dentistry students extrapolated from dental degrees awarded lagged four years, from U.S. Department of Education, NCES (2005, table 257). Masters in Business Administration first-year students extrapolated from MBA degrees awarded lagged two years, from U.S. Department of Education, NCES (2005, table 278).

# Падение доли времени в браке: экономическая самостоятельность

Figure 9  
Fraction of Years Spent Married for All Women



Source: March Current Population Survey (CPS), 1962 to 2004.

Notes: All education groups and all races are included. "Married" includes all who were listed as married, independent of whether the spouse was present. The data begin with age 25 years and end with age 50 years. A missing cell (25 year olds in 1961) was created by extrapolation.

# Разрыв в доходах: тихая революция принесла плоды

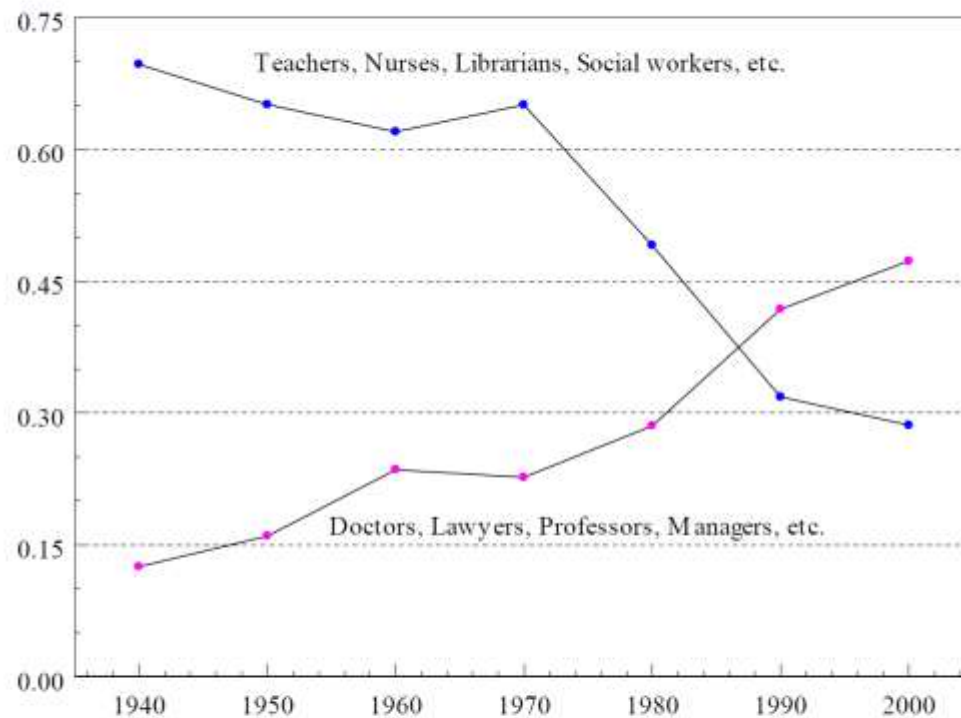
Figure 7  
Woman's Earnings as a Percentage of Men's Earnings: 1960 to 2003



Sources: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/p40.html>

Notes: Based on median earnings of full-time, year-round workers fifteen years old and over of March of the following year. Before 1989 earnings are for civilian workers only.

Figure 8  
Occupations of College Graduate Women, 30 to 34 Years Old: 1940 to 2000



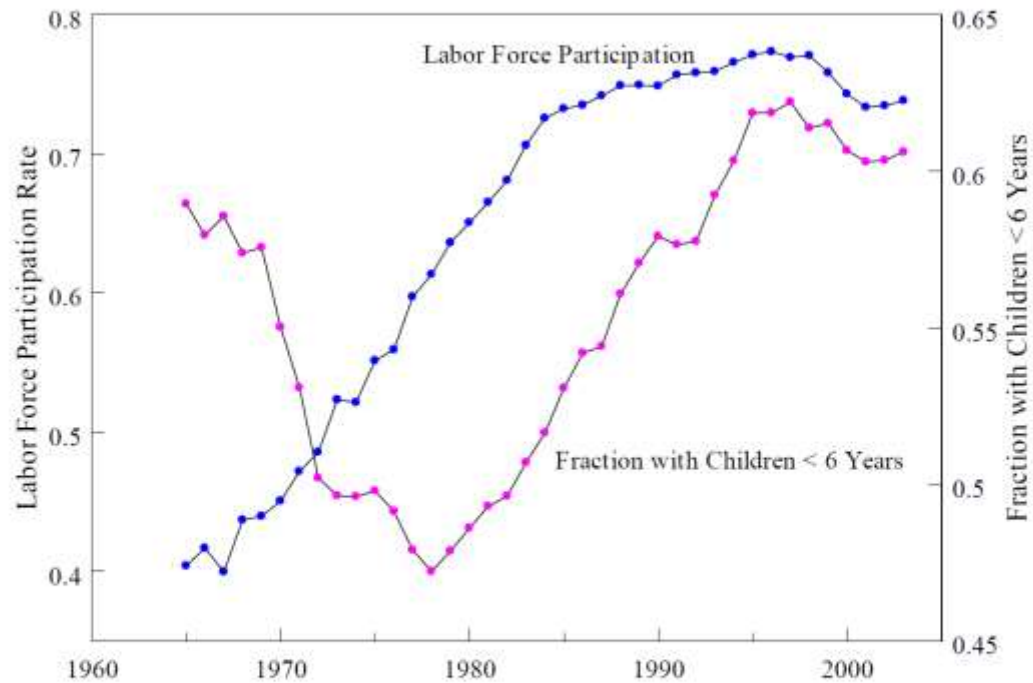
Sources: Integrated Public Use Micro-data Sample of the U.S. Federal Population Census, 1940 to 1960; March Current Population Survey 1970 to 2000.

Notes: The occupations in the two groups are: (1) grade school teachers, nurses, librarians, social or religious workers, and secretaries and other clerical workers; and (2) doctors, lawyers, professors, managers, and scientists.



# Тихая революция выдохлась?

Figure 10  
Labor Force Participation and Fraction with Young Children for  
33 to 37 Year Old Married, College Graduate Women: 1962 to 2004



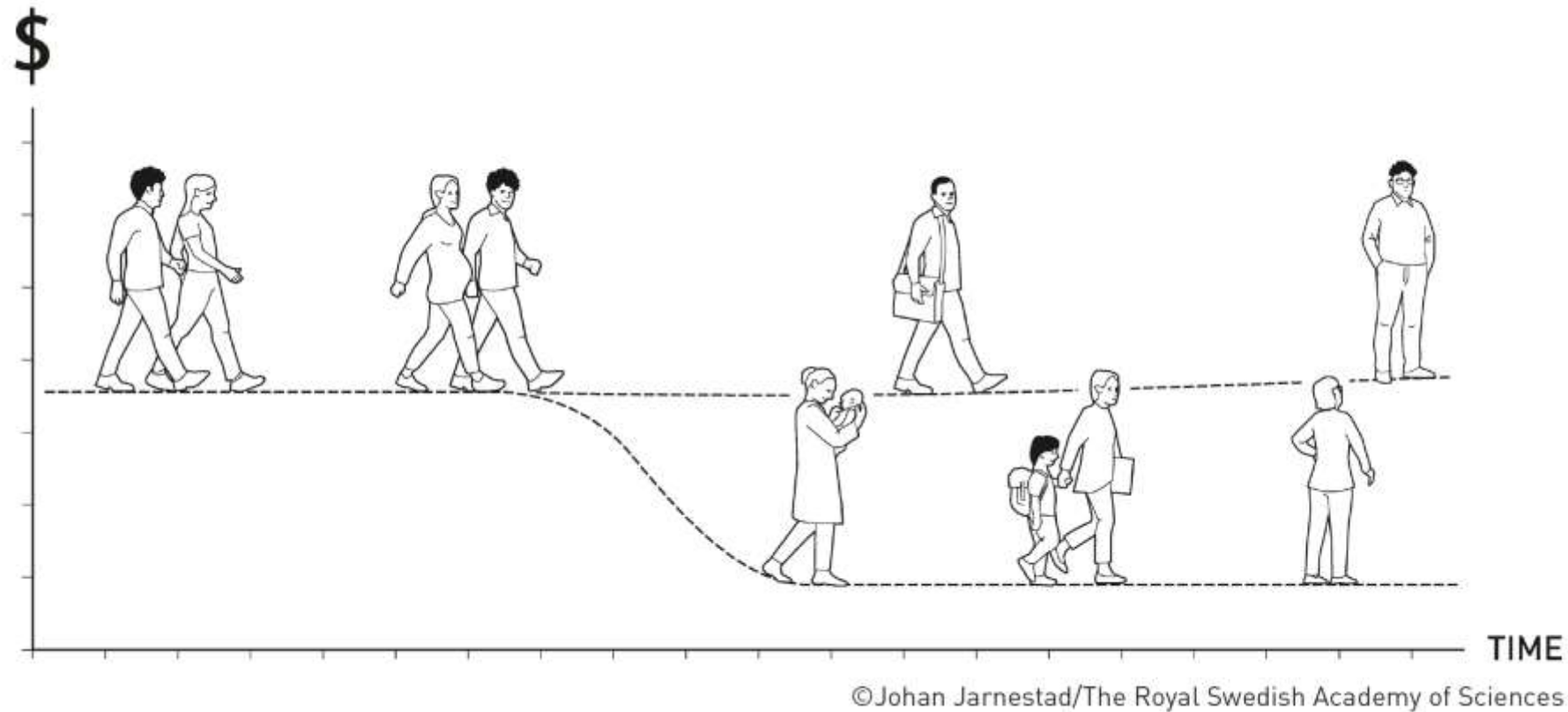
Source: March Current Population Survey (CPS), 1962 to 2004.

Notes: Three-year centered moving averages are shown. "Married" means currently married although not necessarily with a spouse present. "College graduate" means greater than or equal to four years of college.

При стабильном уровне LFP  
рост доли женщин  
с детьми младше 6 лет

Барьеры негибкости рабочего графика

# Parenthood effect (эффект родительства)



Штраф за материнство (за отцовство штрафа нет )

# Штраф за материнство: есть ли надежда?

Table 1  
Total Out-of-Work Spells among Graduates of Selective Colleges and Universities:  
Entering Class of 1976

| Total out-of-work spells<br>(excluding for education) | Women  |                  |                     |                          | Men    |
|---|--------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------|
|   | All    | With<br>children | Without<br>children | Prof. or grad.<br>degree | All    |
| 0   | 0.585  | 0.501            | 0.765               | 0.705                    | 0.859  |
| 0.5 years   | 0.0351 | 0.0366           | 0.0315              | 0.0340                   | 0.0222 |
| > 0.5 to 1 years                                      | 0.0745 | 0.0703           | 0.0837              | 0.0738                   | 0.0513 |
| > 1 to 2 years  | 0.0713 | 0.0751           | 0.0629              | 0.0557                   | 0.0360 |
| > 2 to 5 years  | 0.109  | 0.139            | 0.0446              | 0.0759                   | 0.0228 |
| > 5 to 15.5 years                                     | 0.125  | 0.178            | 0.0125              | 0.0557                   | 0.0084 |
| Mean years not working                                | 1.55   | 2.08             | 0.410               | 0.808                    | 0.244  |
| Number of observations                                | 10,663 | 7,241            | 3,308               | 2,440                    | 10,890 |

Source: Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, College and Beyond data set, entering class of 1976.

Notes: Sample includes only those who received a bachelor's degree from 1978 to 1985. Of those women with a graduation date listed in the survey 98 percent received their degrees between 1978 and 1985 and 94 percent did between 1979 and 1981. Out-of-work spells are defined in the survey as those greater than 6 months each. The possible reasons for no work include: family responsibilities, layoffs, retirement, could not find a suitable position, did not want to work, and personal illness. Spells that were solely for educational reasons are excluded here. Professional or graduate degrees include doctorates (e.g., Ph.D.), professional degrees (e.g., M.D., D.S.S., D.V.M.), and law degrees but not master's degrees (e.g., M.A., M.B.A.). "Children" is the number listed by the respondent and may include adopted or stepchildren (or be missing).

## Источники штрафа за материнство:

- Недоинвестирование в ЧК в связи с перерывами в работе
  - растущая нацеленность на сочетание карьеры и материнства
- Требование длинного непрерывного рабочего дня, штраф за выбор гибкого режима работы
  - новые отрасли несут с собой большую гибкость
- Дискриминация/сегрегация
  - инфорсмент законодательства, рост общественного неприятия
  - pollution theory of discrimination – новые отрасли более сбалансированы

# Уроки для молодых (и не очень) исследователей

- Преимущества широкой временной перспективы
  - долгосрочные тенденции помогают корректно интерпретировать текущие события
    - экономический историк
- Преимущества понимания широкого контекста
  - анализ в контексте процессов технологического, экономического и социального развития
  - роль изменений социальных институтов, формальных и неформальных
- Внимание к данным
  - ограничения источника данных и измерителей (что на самом деле измеряем?)
  - использование разных источников, дополнения и корректировки данных
    - экономический историк и экономист в области рынка труда
- Поиск того, что скрывается за средними.
  - когортные эффекты могут быть велики
- Умение рассказать непротиворечивую историю
- Увлеченность своей областью, но и открытость к смежным