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Life Satisfaction of Career Women and Housewives

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Abstract Profound changes in gender roles have taken place over the past several decades in the United States. Women's roles have changed most: women are marrying later in life and at lower rates, having fewer children, and working more outside of the household. "Career women" are the new normal and housewifery has gone out of fashion. At the same time, women have become less happy. We use the US General Social Surveys from 1972 to 2014 to explore these latest trends. We find that, until recently, women were happier to be housewives or to work part-time than full-time, especially, women who are older, married, with children, in middle or upper class, and living in suburbs or smaller places. The effect size of housewifery on subjective wellbeing (SWB) is mild to moderate, at about a fourth to a third of the effect of being unemployed. Therefore, we argue that one possible reason for the decline in average happiness for women was increased labor force participation. Yet, the happiness advantage of housewifery is declining among younger cohorts and career women may become happier than housewives in the future.

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"As woman enters into the struggle of earning a living [...] Nothing is more foreign and terrible to her original inborn nature" (Tönnies [1887] 2002, p. 166)

Gender roles in the United States have changed dramatically over the last several decades. Women used to face societal pressure to be housewives (Friedan [1963] 2010, today the opposite seems to be true: women are under pressure to have a career (Mandel 2014) and at time to also be a housewife (Hochschild and Machung 2012; Levey 2012), but the pressure to have a career appears more saliently. To be a housewife is out of vogue, to become a career woman is the new trend. About 80% of Americans agree that women should not return to their traditional roles as housewives (Parker 2015), and the majority of Americans voted to elect Hillary Clinton president. And even though she lost, most people would not argue that Clinton's only role should be that of housewife.

Several decades ago, feminist Betty Friedan ([1963] 2010) identified "the problem that has no name," the unhappiness of women in the 1950s and early 1960s due to housewifery. More recently, economist Betsey Stevenson found that the subjective wellbeing (SWB) or happiness among women has been declining since the early 1970s (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009). Economists are puzzled: Increasing consumption of households should, according to economic theory, lead to increased "utility," which is similar or even identical to happiness or subjective wellbeing (SWB) (Stutzer et al. 2004).[1]

Women became unhappy because increasingly they were giving up housewifery. We use the past tense purposely since the labor force participation has leveled off (and as argued later, it appears to not bring unhappiness any longer). The trends are shown in Fig. 1. Our explanation is opposite to that of Friedan ([1963] 2010): women were unhappy not because they were housewives; they were unhappy, because they were not housewives.

Several theories can provide explanation for declining female happiness. Feminists and proponents of female labor force participation would argue that paid labor emancipates or frees women.[2] Arguably it does, in some ways, but the cost of that freedom is often disregarded. Freedom, at least initially, often results in unhappiness (Fromm [1941] 1994; Schwartz 2004).

In addition, despite recent fashion to show otherwise, women and men are different–neither are blank slates (Gray et al. 1993; Pinker 2003; Wood and Eagly 2012). Women have a stronger bond with children: "As they say of the respective contributions of the chicken and the pig to eggs and bacon, the first is involved, but the second is committed" (Pinker 2003, p. 252). Division of labor is constrained by women's childbearing and nursing of infants, which are intrinsically

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[1]Traditionally, economists treat labor as disutility or unhappiness at the time of labor (e.g., Bryson and MacKerron 2016), but overall, they argue that the more income or consumption, the more utility or happiness, at least with diminishing returns (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2012).

[2]Of course, many feminist advocates have also argued for wage equity and against other conditions that make employment difficult for women (sexual harassment, discrimination, occupational segregation, etc).
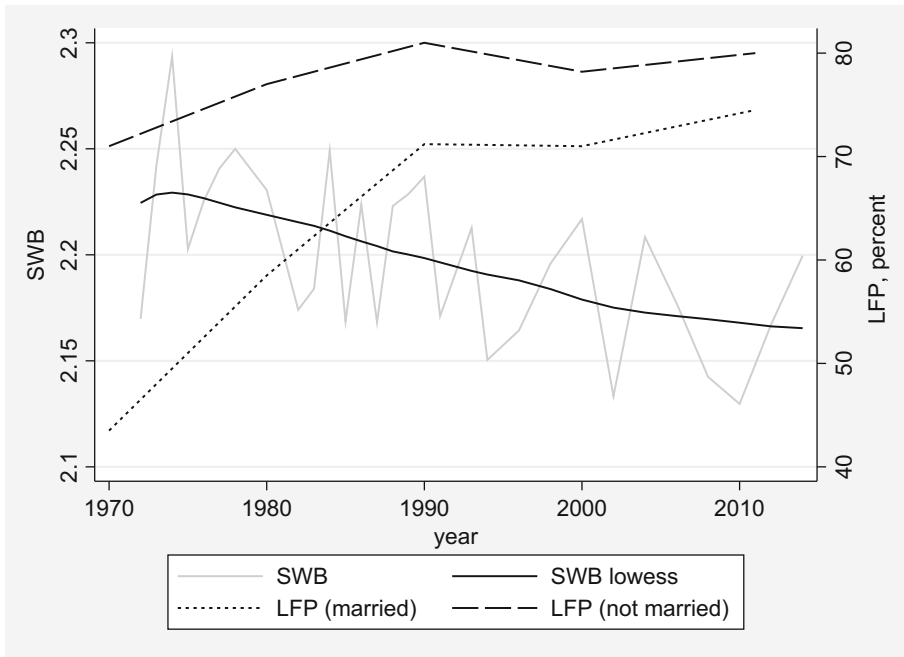
Fig. 1 Women SWB (subjective wellbeing) and LFP (labor force participation) for those who are married and not married. Note: women LFP leveled off in 1990, and women are still becoming less happy. SWB data are from GSS, and LFP data are from Cohen (2013)

time-consuming, energetically demanding and constrain women from taking on other tasks (Wood and Eagly 2012). Particularly because women's biological clocks starts ticking during the most critical time of her professional careers. Some women are taking drastic measures such as freezing their eggs to have babies when they are older. Some companies, like Facebook and Apple, are even paying for their female employees to have their eggs frozen (Sydell 2014).

Fundamentally, a woman does not necessarily gain freedom by entering the labor market, on the contrary, she actually looses freedom in some important ways. A key political determinant of SWB is "emancipation" from the market (Radcliff 2001)– political scientists have shown that being a commodity in the marketplace makes people unhappy (Lane 2000; Radcliff 2001; Pacek and Radcliff 2008a, b; Radcliff 2013; Okulicz-Kozaryn et al. 2014). Family may be one of the few institutions that are not commodified yet. A woman running away from housewifery and "freeing" herself in the labor market, becomes a commodity. In other words, emancipation or freedom from the market can be achieved though housewifery (or house-husbandry).

Working for a capitalist is not an obvious advantage over working for a husband/ spouse or for a family, capitalists cannot be altruistic by definition (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2016a). They mostly care about extracting as much value added as possible at a cost as low as possible (Marx [1867] 2010), and in terms of freedom, it is a class struggle (Harvey 2014). A husband's or spouse's intentions and actions are arguably typically

more benevolent than those of a capitalist. The advantage of the labor market over more feudal household relations is more freedom or emancipation in some ways, but less freedom or emancipation in other ways. One advantage is financial independence and more mobility–sometimes woman may became a capitalist herself, although US income mobility is grossly overestimated in popular opinion (Corak 2013, 2011, 2004). Until a career woman becomes a capitalist, she is not fully free.

Declining Female Happiness Amidst Increasing Female Labor Force Participation: Happy Housewives, Unhappy Career Women?

The literature reviewed below[3] argues that there is among housewives (although some older studies found no difference), while a study by Stevenson and Wolfers (2009) documents declining female happiness. Interestingly, there is no attempt to connect these studies–no one seemed to notice that the declining proportion of housewives may help explain the decline in happiness among women.

The literature is disconnected or scattered. Widely cited Stevenson and Wolfers (2009) is, as most economic studies, detached from other social sciences (Economist 2016b; 2014; Naim 2016; Fourcade et al. 2015; Krugman 2012; Economist 2013b)–it almost only cites economic studies, overlooks other fields, and accomplishes little: it documents declining female happiness without explaining it.

Other studies such as Ferree (1984) and Treas et al. (2011) are excellent reviews providing an indepth discussion of the housewifery-career-SWB nexus, but fail to account for the broader picture that the decline in housewifery may result in the declining trend of female happiness.

Treas et al. (2011) is similar to our study, but uses cross sectional data across countries, not repeated cross sections within a country as we do. We confirm their finding that housewives and women working part-time are happier, and we broaden the scope of research by not limiting our analysis to married women only. Furthermore, both Treas et al. (2011) and Ferree (1984) omit health from their analyses, which is not only a key predictor of SWB, but also a confounder–some women are out of the labor force due to poor health. Other studies suffer from similar limitations. Beja (2014) investigates only married women, does not control for health, and excludes other SWB predictors. Likewise, Boye (2009) misses key variables such as income. Haller and Hadler (2006) find that housewives are happier, but focus mostly on other explanatory variables, while Mencarini and Sironi (2010) separate the sample by labor force participation status and do not test the difference. Finally, many older studies document the benefits and costs of both housewifery and labor force participation, and argue no substantial difference in SWB (Benin and Nienstedt 1985; Wright 1978; Freudiger 1983).

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[3]There are many studies on marital satisfaction and some on job satisfaction, but in this brief review we only limit ourselves to those that analyze overall happiness or SWB, not domain-specific satisfactions. Further, we limit ourselves to studies that specifically address the dichotomy of labor force participation and housewifery. For instance, Della Giusta et al. (2011) is omitted because it only considers household work in conjunction with labor force participation.

Thus, the literature suffers from two key limitations. First, findings are mixed–some studies find housewives to be happier than women in the labor force, while some find no difference. Second, these studies make no connection to the overall trend of declining happiness among women and fail to provide an explanation for, or to connect their findings to "the paradox of declining female happiness" (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009), which itself is already 7 years old and requires an update. The person level studies we reviewed focused on person or household level mechanisms and failed to make a broader theoretical connection elaborating on the possible reasons for this decline as we provided in the introduction. These two key limitations, in the words of Hollenbeck (2008), are "failures to create or shift consensus."

We first turn to analysis at the person level, then we will focus on the social roles and groups, and finally we will focus on the over-time analysis to connect our findings to "the paradox of declining female happiness."

Data and Method

We use the US General Social Survey (GSS) cumulative dataset (1972-2014) from gssdataexplorer.norc.org. The GSS is collected face-to-face and is nationally representative. Since 1994, the GSS is collected every other year (earlier mostly annually). The GSS is the longest running dataset for the US providing comparable snapshots of subjective wellbeing (SWB) of the US population over the long run, and thus, is ideally suited for our purpose of investigating over time changes among women.[4]

All variables are defined in Table 1. The SWB question reads, "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" and answers are coded as 1="not too happy," 2="pretty happy," and 3="very happy."

The main independent variable is labor force status, which allows us to distinguish between full-time, part-time, and housewifery. We also use a hours of work variable, which we split into several categories to explore nonlinearities. Table 1 lists typical controls used in the literature (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2016b; Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011; Valente and Berry 2016).

In addition, there are special considerations related to gender. Men can work long hours in general regardless of setting while women's working hours are determined by situation and setting, especially by the family and number of children (Greenhaus et al. 2012)–we pay special attention to marital status, and having children.[5] In case of housewifery, the socioeconomic status is of particular importance (Ferree 1984).

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[4]Panel data analysis would be a useful addition to cross-sectional results. Such data containing all necessary variables for replicating the present analysis are now being collected for the US by the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID). The limitation of PSID is, however, that it covers a much shorter span–it only started SWB questions a few years ago.

[5]Having children may affect self-reported health. For robustness, we have rerun our models without the variable *children* and the results were substantially the same; and we have also checked the variance inflation factor which was about 1.2 for these variables in the full models. Additional robustness checks are also provided by subsetting the sample by the variable *children* in Table 3.

Table 1 Variable definitions

Name	Description
SWB	*General happines* "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?"
Work status	*Labor force status* "Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?"
Number of hours worked last week	*If working, full or part time*: "How many hours did you work last week, at all jobs?"
Family income in $1986, millions	Income variables (INCOME72, INCOME, INCOME77, INCOME82, INCOME86, INCOME91, INCOME98, INCOME06) are recoded in six-digit numbers and converted to 1986 dollars. The collapsed numbers above are for convenience of display only. Since this variable is based on categorical data, income is not continuous, but based on categorical mid-points and imputations. For details see GSS Methodological Report No. 64.
Age	age of respondent
Highest year of school completed	*Highest year of school completed A*. "What is the highest grade in elementary school or high school that (you/your father/your mother/your [husband/wife]) finished and got credit for?" Code exact grade.; B. If finished 9th-12th grade or DK*: "Did (you/he/she) ever get a high school diploma or a GED certificate?" [See D below.]; C. "Did (you/he/she) complete one or more years of college for credit–not including schooling such as business college, technical or vocational school?" If yes: "How many years did (you/he/she) complete?"
White	*Race* "What race do you consider yourself?"
Number of children	"How many children have you ever had? Please count all that were born alive at any time (including any you had from a previous marriage)."
Size of place in 1000s	*Size* "Size of Place in thousands-A 4-digit number which provides actual size of place of interview."
Health	*Condition of health* "Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?"
Married	Marital status "Are you currently–married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?" Note: variable recoded to 1 if married, 0 otherwise
Female	*Respondent's sex*
Subjective class identification	"If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class?"
Year	gss year for this respondent
Cohort	year of birth
Traditionalism score:	
Women not suited for politics	"Tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women."

Table 1 (continued)

Name	Description
Man career, female housewife	"It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family."
Mother working ok for kids	"A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work."
Kids suffer if mother works	"A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works."

Women of higher class or education may have a greater opportunity cost for being a housewife–they may give up a better career. Lower class or uneducated women, on the other hand, may be better off being housewives, since the kind of job they could get is often drudgery. In addition, those in the lower stratum might be forced to work to help provide for their families. Size of place is controlled for as well–housewifery may be more socially desirable in smaller places, there are fewer paid jobs in smaller places, and people are happier in smaller places (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015). Distributions of all variables are shown in the Appendix in Fig. 4.

In addition to these variables, we also include three sets of dummy variables. Occupation dummies are based on the ISCO classification of 1-digit occupations: professional, administrative/managerial, clerical, sales, service, agriculture, production, transport, craft, and technical. Occupation dummies are important to control for because there is arguably much overlap between happiness and certain jobs, specificity of work differs widely across occupations, and many occupations vary in terms of women-friendliness or discrimination against women.

Also, there are regional or cultural differences in just about anything, hence, we include dummies for census regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, E. Nor. Central, W. Nor. Central, South Atlantic, E. Sou. Central, W. Sou. Central, Mountain, and Pacific. Notably, housewifery may be more of a cultural norm in some regions, for example, in the South. Finally, we control for year dummies.

In the last part of our we consider a traditionalism scale, which is based on 4 variables listed at the bottom panel of Table 1. We made an index of these variables (Cronbach's alpha is .72) using factor analysis with varimax rotation: weights were automatically assigned based on items' correlations. In considering traditionalism we followed (Marsden 1972, ch. 4), but only use items that were measured over longer period of time–many items from Marsden (1972) were available for a few years only.

We use OLS–Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters (2004) showed that in modeling SWB results are substantially the same to those from discrete models, and indeed, OLS became the default method in happiness research (Blanchflower and Oswald 2011).

Results

We start by analyzing respondents in the labor force, linking working hours to SWB in Fig. 2. Among men, those who work longer hours have higher SWB–happiest
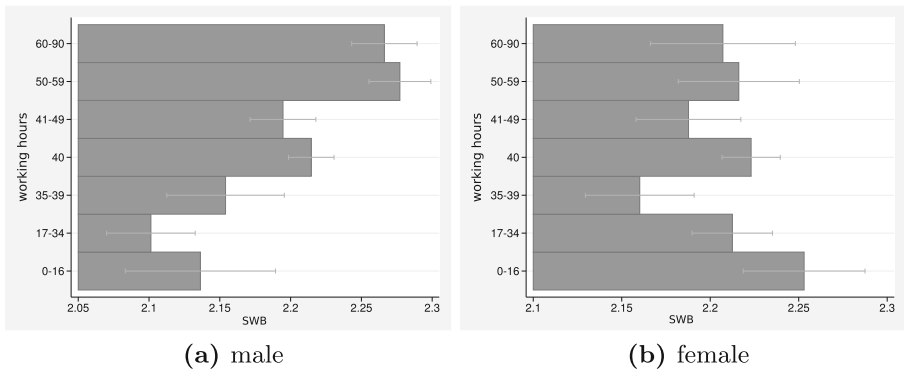
(a) male   **(b)** female

Fig. 2 Average SWB by working hours categories (only respondents in labor force; housewives excluded). 95% confidence intervals shown. Women remain less happy working more controlling for income and other SWB predictors in Appendix

are those working 50+ hours. Women, on the other hand, are more equally happy, slightly less happy in the 41-49 bracket, least happy in the 35-39 bracket, quite unhappy working 50+, and happiest working shorter hours, in the 0-16 bracket. Decreasing happiness with working hours among women holds up when controlling for predictors of happiness as shown in the Appendix. In the remainder, we focus on women only, but we extend our analysis to all women, including those outside of the labor force, and we focus particularly on housewives. By focusing on women only, we do not test differences in effect of house-wifery and house-husbandry on SWB. Such approach allows us to conduct more indepth analysis of housewifery.

Table 2 shows the regression results. Column a0 includes only the main variables of interest, working status categories. As expected (Lucas et al. 2006), unemployment brings the most unhappiness and remains the strongest work status category in elaborated specifications. Women working part-time are slightly happier than those working full-time, and this effect persists until the most elaborate last two models. Housewifery (keeping house) is insignificant in model a0, but gains significance when controlling for family income in a1. Presumably, housewifery can increase happiness only if there is enough family income. Note that the effect persist after controlling for education (a2) and number of children (a3). Housewifery remains significant throughout (except in model a5). Note that the effect size of housewifery is not particularly strong, about a fourth of the effect of being unemployed, still something not to be disregarded. Health is an important variable–its addition in a4 doubles the effect of housewifery.[6] Housewives tend to be in poorer health than full-time

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[6]Note that the sample sizes in a3 and a4 are substantially different–the health variable is missing for many cases. We have rerun model a3 for the sample used in model a4 (results are not shown) and the coefficient on housewifery was .04 only–the doubling of the coefficient from a3 to a4 is not due to the sample used, but to the inclusion of the health variable. There is also a potential issue of endogeneity with respect to the health variable. There is some disagreement about whether health predicts happiness or happiness predicts health (Diener 2015). Recent research seems to indicate that health causes happiness (Liu et al. 2016), and we treat it this way here, and also postpone health to later stages in our model elaboration.

Table 2 OLS of female SWB on work status categories

	a0	a1	a2	a3	a4	a5	a6
Work status (base: full time):							
Working part time	0.02*	0.04**	0.03*	0.03*	0.03*	0.00	−0.00
Temp not working	−0.06*	−0.06*	−0.05+	−0.05+	−0.02	−0.03	−0.00
Unempl or laid off	−0.29***	−0.23***	−0.20***	−0.20***	−0.16***	−0.13***	−0.11**
Retired	−0.03*	0.04**	−0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.04
School	0.00	0.05*	0.04	0.04	0.06*	0.09***	0.11**
Housewifery	−0.00	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.08***	0.02	0.03+
Other	−0.27***	−0.19***	−0.18***	−0.18***	−0.03	−0.02	−0.01
Family income in $1986, millions		4.35***	3.69***	3.69***	3.00***	1.48***	1.26***
Age			−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.00	−0.01***	−0.01***
Age squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00*	0.00***	0.00***
Highest year of school completed			0.01***	0.01***	0.00	0.01**	0.01**
White			0.14***	0.14***	0.12***	0.09***	0.07***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00+
Number of children				0.00	0.00	−0.00+	−0.01
Health					0.20***	0.19***	0.19***
Married						0.25***	0.26***
Year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Occupation and region dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Constant	2.21***	2.06***	1.94***	1.94***	1.36***	1.42***	1.49***
N	30652	27178	27079	27038	20131	20128	10859

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

workers (2.8 v 3.2 on the 4-step health measure), and hence, the effect of house-wifery has a downward bias picking up some of the effect of poor health when it is uncontrolled for.

Interestingly, in model a5 when controlling for being married, the positive effect of housewifery goes away (and then comes back in a6, albeit much diminished). Marital status is, of course, very important for the happiness of housewives–single housewives, especially single mothers are less happy than married ones, even when controlling for income.

In the second step we focus on key control variables, and use them to subset our sample. Results are set in Table 3, which repeats the full specification of model a6 from Table 2. Table 3 indicates that housewifery is associated with more happiness for women who are married, with children, in middle or upper class, and living in suburbs or smaller places. Note that the effect size of housewifery is stronger among

Table 3 OLS of female SWB on work status categories

	Not married	Married	No kids	Kids	Lower and working class	Middle and upper class	Suburbs and smaller places	Places bigger than 50k
Work status (base: full time):								
Working part time	0.01	−0.01	0.01	−0.01	0.02	−0.04	0.01	−0.03
Temp not working	−0.05	0.05	0.11	−0.03	−0.05	0.04	0.03	−0.06
Unempl or laid off	−0.07	−0.23**	−0.12	−0.11*	−0.13**	−0.07	−0.06	−0.17**
Retired	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.04	0.08*	−0.05
School	0.13**	0.05	0.13*	0.07	0.12*	0.08	0.07	0.17*
Housewifery	−0.04	0.07**	−0.00	0.04*	−0.01	0.05+	0.05*	−0.02
Other	−0.05	0.10	−0.12	0.02	−0.03	−0.00	0.02	−0.08
Family income in $1986, millions	2.09***	0.94***	1.38***	1.12***	2.07***	0.59*	1.00***	1.84***
Age	−0.01**	−0.01**	−0.01+	−0.00+	−0.01**	−0.01*	−0.01***	−0.01*
Age squared	0.00***	0.00***	0.00	0.00**	0.00***	0.00*	0.00***	0.00**
Highest year of school completed	0.01*	0.00	0.00	0.01**	0.01	0.01	0.01*	0.00
White	0.07***	0.05+	0.03	0.07***	0.06**	0.07**	0.05*	0.07**
Number of children	−0.01	0.00			−0.01+	0.00	−0.01	−0.00
Size of place in 1000s	−0.00	−0.00*	−0.00*	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00		
Health	0.18***	0.20***	0.17***	0.19***	0.17***	0.20***	0.18***	0.20***
Married			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Occupation, region, and year dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Constant	1.47***	1.85***	1.71***	1.32***	1.49***	1.55***	1.54***	1.43***
N	5847	5012	2594	8278	5701	5158	7309	3550

Full specification a6 from Table 2 subset on key variables

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

these categories, about a third of the effect of being unemployed. Marriage is further analyzed in the Appendix. Also, note that the inclusion of class variable would eliminate statistical significance on housewifery in models a5 and a6 in Table 2.

In the next part of the analysis, we incorporate time in order to revisit the initial discussion of trends shown in Fig. 1–we want to be able to extend the analysis beyond the level of a household and incorporate broader trends. It is important to incorporate time so that we can tie our person level results back to the initial discussion on the societal paradox of declining happiness among women (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009). We interacted the collapsed 3-step work status categories, full-time employment, part-time employment, and housewifery with year, age, and cohort. This also enables us to relate to alternative hypotheses, for example, that women are unhappy at work because of discrimination. Also, older women, those who were born in earlier cohorts, arguably hold more traditional views about gender roles and are less "emancipated" and affected by fashion to be career women, and hence, may be happier housewives.

Figure 3 shows results by year, age and cohort–age and cohort effects are statistically significant and have the largest effect sizes for housewifery. Older housewives and those born in earlier cohorts are happier than women working part-time or full-time.

Younger generations and younger women are less happy to be housewives. This is not necessarily the effect of lower discrimination (over-time results in first panel
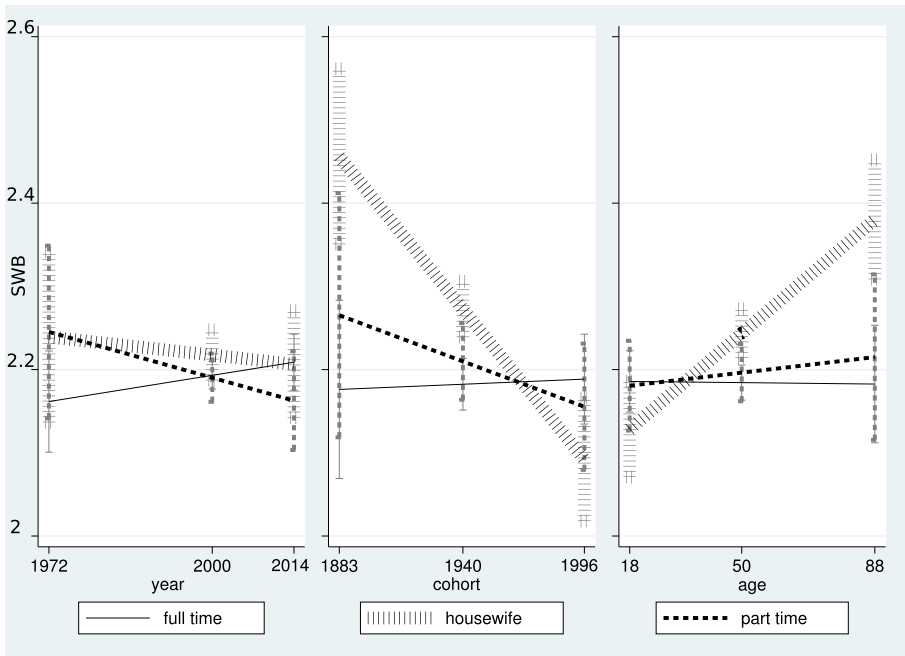

Fig. 3 Predicted SWB with 95% confidence intervals. Estimates are based on full models (#6) from Tables 9, 10, and 11 in the Appendix

of Fig. 3 remained relatively flat), rather perhaps generational changes, especially changing values, are driving the results. The first panel of graph in Fig. 3 shows the results against year: there is not much difference across work status categories, and there are only slight changes over time—women working full-time are becoming more happy, while housewives and women working part-time are becoming less happy. These trends are statistically insignificant in more elaborate specifications, but if the trends continue, soon career women will actually become happier than housewives. Hence, we may be witnessing the beginning of a new paradox, "the decline of housewives' happiness," to paraphrase Stevenson and Wolfers (2009).

Yet, housewives are becoming less happy not necessarily because there is something intrinsically wrong with housewifery, it may be simply that housewives are frowned upon as housewifery is frowned upon—as more women join the labor market and are now filling traditionally men-occupied career positions, and adopting men's attitudes towards work, housewives may feel socially undesirable.

In the last part of analysis we examine evolution of traditionalism over time. From Table 4 we see that more traditional women are happier, but becoming less happy (traditionalism score × year). The addition of health variable in column 3 results in a smaller sample size, but the traditionalism score × year remain significant. The coefficients become insignificant when dummies are added in column 4, however note that the signs and magnitudes are very stable on the traditionalism score × year across specifications. This indicates that additional controls do not change conclusions, but it is simply missing data and a smaller sample that result in statistical insignificance.[7] The time span is different–as shown in the last row of Table 4, models 4 and 4a only have data available for 1988-2014, but again, the magnitude of the traditionalism score × year is stable even for shorter time periods.

Discussion

"The hard-won freedom of choice has imprisoned women. I just see an exhausted generation trying to do it all." (Koster 2009)

"I have no choice, I have to work, I don't love my career, my childminder is taking half my salary and I'd rather bring up my children myself but I can't afford to" (Koster 2009)

We agree with the key message of a classic feminist book, "The Feminine Mystique" (Friedan [1963] 2010): housewifery should not be everything in the life of a woman, particularly given the increasing levels of SWB derived from having a career among

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[7]Model 4a uses the same sample as model 4, but without dummies and the health variable to examine whether the addition would reduce significance in model 4. The results are still insignificant in 4a even without these controls, hence we conclude that it is rather due to a smaller sample. Model 4b uses the sample from model 2 and the results are significant, and of the same magnitude even when controlling for work status and region dummies. In short, the addition of the occupation dummies removes statistical significance due to missing data and due to a reduced sample size in model 4, but not due to their attenuating effect, because even without these controls in model 4A and using the same sample, the results are still insignificant.

Table 4 OLS of SWB on traditionalism score (higher means more traditional) for women

	Traditional0	Traditional1	Traditional2	Traditional3	Traditional4	Traditional4A	Traditional4B
Traditionalism score	2.9442*	3.0981*	3.2251*	3.6631*	3.4198	2.9918	3.1405*
Year	−0.0007	−0.0013*	−0.0007	0.0013+	0.0025*	0.0008	−0.0005
Traditionalism score × year	−0.0015*	−0.0015*	−0.0016*	−0.0018*	−0.0017	−0.0015	−0.0016*
Family income in $1986, millions		3.4829***	1.9901***	1.4300***	1.3082***	3.5713***	2.0305***
Age		−0.0098***	−0.0147***	−0.0097***	−0.0086**	−0.0088**	−0.0138***
Age squared		0.0001***	0.0002***	0.0001***	0.0001**	0.0001**	0.0001***
Highest year of school completed		0.0149***	0.0166***	0.0070*	0.0066+	0.0161***	0.0161***
White		0.0917***	0.0594***	0.0447*	0.0503*	0.0899***	0.0622***
Number of children		0.0034	−0.0044	−0.0037	−0.0066	0.0014	−0.0044
Size of place in 1000s		−0.0000***	−0.0000***	−0.0000***	−0.0000***	−0.0000***	−0.0000***
Married			0.2380***	0.2218***	0.2260***		0.2321***
Health				0.1867***	0.1850***		
Work status and region dummies	no	no	no	no	yes	NO	yes
Occupation dummies	no	no	no	no	yes	NO	NO
Constant	3.5096**	4.7228***	3.3984**	−1.0529	−3.7268+	0.3846	2.7496*
N	13837	12213	12212	7247	5495	5495	12212
Years available	77-14	77-14	77-14	77-14	88-14	88-14	77-14

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

younger generations. Perhaps, when women attain full freedom (they are still discriminated by men), and when society is truly decommodified (men and women are not commodities or voluntary slaves anymore), women can be truly happy not being housewives.

Housewifery used to be an expectation and career was frowned upon (Friedan [1963] 2010), however, it seems that this trend has gone too far in the opposite direction, even to the point that extreme "gender feminists" argue that no woman should be a housewife (Pinker 2003). We believe that there is nothing wrong with being a housewife if a woman makes that choice, just as there's nothing wrong if a man decides to become a house-husband. In fact, to be happy, women may want to stay away from the labor market. Housewives can still be genuinely happy in the 21st century, and there is some good advice on how to achieve housewife's happiness (e.g., Aplacetonest 2014). Importantly, being a housewife avoids being a commodity in the market as discussed earlier. Yet, another solution would be to decommodify the labor market as opposed to avoiding it. A more aggressive working environment is not necessarily a better environment, and as research shows, it is not happier. For instance, women (and men) in Scandinavia are less commodities of the market as compared to the United States (Scruggs and Allan 2006), and are happier (Okulicz-Kozaryn et al. 2014).

In addition, as always, there are many explanations, and decline in housewifery is not the only reason for declining female happiness. For instance, Herbst (2011) suggests that the reason might be the erosion in social and civic engagement, interpersonal trust, and financial security. Perhaps a broader underlying development of rising commercialization, commodification, and inequality is responsible for the declining happiness (Okulicz-Kozaryn et al. 2014). When looking at the family unit, perhaps the uneven division of labor in the household could be influencing women's happiness: often times it falls on the women to do most household chores and if they have to work outside of the home from 9 to 5 like their husbands or spouses, and do all household chores on top of that, it could certainly contribute to their unhappiness. Thus, for husbands/spouses the trade off is to either contribute to household chores or suffer with an unhappy career woman: "happy wife, happy life." On the other hand, some housewives might believe that the division of labor is a fair one and this mindset can contribute to their happiness. In addition, high expectations or aspirations may be also responsible for female unhappiness. Today, women are more free, equal, and have an easier work within the household (Stevenson and Wolfers 2009), but higher expectations may outweigh the positive developments according to the well-known happiness formula: Happiness=experience or achievement − expectations or aspirations. Today, aspirations are at an all time high and continue to rise (Twenge 2014)–even younger girls have higher expectations. Already at a very young age, they are expected to play the violin and piano, to do horseback riding, soccer, ballet, take tutoring, and so forth (Tugend 2011; Economist 2016a), not to mention the increasing pressure at school to do well, often times to the point of suicide (Rosin 2015). Technological improvements have made things worse is some ways—people are not only comparing themselves to each other in the real world but also in the cyber world, on social media, and video outlets (Roberts 2011; Economist 2013a; Aplacetonest 2014). This rise in expectations combined with relative deprivation can have a significant impact on overall happiness, particularly among women.

The current solution for equality is to make women adopt men's behavior and attitudes when it comes to work. But an alternative solution, largely overlooked, is to make the work environment more women-friendly, communal, and collective. Rather than requiring women to become more assertive to be able to compete with men, perhaps we should make the work environment less aggressive. This will probably lead to positive results since we know that communal welfare societies are happier ((e.g., Radcliff 2013).

Unsurprisingly, however, in a capitalistic society, it pays off monetarily for a woman to display the same characteristics as men, particularly when entering jobs that are traditionally male-dominated. Aggressiveness, assertiveness, and confidence results in promotions (O'Neill and O'Reilly 2011). Women who act like men (assertive, independent, etc) are more likely to succeed (Wessel et al. 2014). This seems like a good strategy, and as a result, career women may become happier as they better adapt to the work environment; at the same time, nothing is more foreign to their nature (Tönnies [1887] 2002). Yet over time, due to adaptation things become easier, particularly when more and more women follow this strategy; and this is precisely what we find–housewives and more traditional women used to be happier, but the trend is now going in the opposite direction–they are becoming less happy over time.

Women should be able to compete for jobs held traditionally by men, just as men should be able to compete for traditionally female-dominated careers without discrimination. Most importantly, there needs to be more income redistribution and welfare policies to ensure equal chances for both genders. As nobody should be penalized for their race, nobody should be penalized for their gender. Policies are needed to make it easier for workers, especially, women to balance family and work (Douthat 2009). Among developed nations, the United States is the only country not mandating paid maternity leave at the federal level for new mothers and does not offer paternity leave (Kurtzleben 2015). Even in developing countries, we find more progressive policies in support of workers juggling their careers and families. In Brazil, for example, maternity leave is 6 months, paid, without prejudice to salary or job security, and fathers get 15 days of paid leave as well. The lack of paid maternity leave, disproportionately affects women starting their careers and families. We cannot pretend that men and women do not differ, neither that both are equally equipped to compete in the labor market. Not recognizing that people are fundamentally unequal can lead to more inequality (Sen 1992), when the burden of taking care of children falls heavily on women.

This study is positive, not normative: it simply states that housewives are happy (albeit becoming less so); it does not urge women to be housewives. There may be other considerations that are against housewifery. Indeed, what makes us happy is not always the right thing to do (Linden 2011). If a woman wants to, she must be able to compete without discrimination for traditionally male-occupied jobs such as economists, surgeons, or presidents. But she cannot be pressured to do so. Women should be free to make a choice whether to have a career or to be a housewife. Thus, we cannot expect that there will be a 50-50 men-women proportions in every, or even in most occupations. There will always be a disproportion in numbers due to choice and preferences, and we should be careful not to just blatantly call any uneven distribution discrimination.

Likewise, lower pay among women is not necessarily a result of discrimination only[8]–some women may simply prefer less demanding and less stressful jobs or prefer to work part-time, because they are not happier working full-time (although becoming happier). Indeed, it is arguably one reason why there are fewer women in full-time labor force–as we argue here, females are unhappy in such jobs.

The emancipation of women, and feminism in general, are clearly a progress in most respects, but happiness may not be one of them. In the United States, housewives are happier than career women in recent years. This finding is important and worth reporting given popular wisdom and intuition (Friedan [1963] 2010). Yet, it needs to be highlighted that the effect size of housewifery on SWB is small, and more importantly, it is decreasing–the trend is in the opposite direction, towards the happiness of career women. This would also indicate a weakness in biological explanation because its effect should be constant.

But are career women becoming genuinely happy? As with working hours for men, it is not necessarily that men who toil long hours are genuinely happier (eudamonic, having good life) than those working just full-time (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011), but it may simply be that they are forced to work long hours to make a living (Fischer 2008).

Working more than one wants to, is still better than not making enough money in a capitalistic society. People arguably derive more happiness from being miserable at work and not having enough time for their family and other things, than from not being able to afford their necessities. But it could be better. American workers, both men and women, work too much (Schor 2008), and can afford to work less as Keynes predicted about 100 years ago (Keynes [1930] 1963) if we fix capitalism (Radcliff 2013; Piketty 2014) or replace it (Harvey 2014).

Future research

The topic of female happiness is broad and relatively under explored–there are many directions for future research. Cross-cultural comparisons are important, notably cross-cultural happiness of housewives. As argued here, decommodification of labor in general, can alleviate uncertainty and hardship of paid labor. Such hypothesis can be tested across countries, where there are different degrees of commodification. For instance, childcare provision and family leave policies differ widely across countries.

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[8]Of course, women are often discriminated against and are paid less than a man for the very same job. Discrimination can arise as a result of discriminatory biases of employer (Becker 2010). A study by Wood et al. (1993) analyzed lawyers who graduated from the University of Michigan, and even after controlling for hours worked, and a list of worker qualifications and other covariates, including family status, race, location, grades while in law school, and detailed work history data, such as years practiced law, months of part-time work, and type and size of employer, they found that male lawyers earned 13 percent more. Even in academia, a MIT report found differential treatment of female professors, with women receiving less despite having equal professional accomplishments as their male colleagues (MIT 1999). Many other studies, analyzing men and women in the same profession have found significant gender pay gap by occupation. See for example, (Hegewisch et al. 2012; Corbett and Hill 2012). Women are also less likely to negotiate salary and succeed in negotiations (e.g., Zarya 2016, Babcock and Laschever 2007, Bowles 2016).

Likewise, "traditionalism" or bias against women in the workplace differ widely across countries.

Culture also matters within the US. Specifically, race, ethnicity, and kin matter–different social groups have different gender roles and understand housewifery differently. For instance, most Poles and Brazilians, also many who immigrated into the US, have still a "traditional" view of gender roles: a woman's role is to be a housewife (anecdotal evidence). In such "traditional" social groups housewives may be happier. Likewise, bias against women in the workplace differs not only cross-culturally, but also within the US. Finally, it would be interesting to investigate the happiness of housewives and career women in same-sex marriages/relationships and whether it is analogous to the results we found. We analyzed married and unmarried women without accounting for their sexual orientation as this information was not available for most years.[9] Future research, therefore may differentiate geographically (e.g., "traditional" South), or by occupation (e.g., "traditional" male occupations), or sexual orientation, and so forth.

As pointed out in the paper, the role of expectations or aspirations is critical. We only proxy some of it very indirectly by using education, size of place, and social class variables, but future research should try to capture it better. It is clearly one of the most important factors for the housewifery-happiness nexus: women with high career aspirations are unlikely to be happy keeping their house. A related issue that should be considered is that of the stress to maintain a work-family balance. Career ambitious women may not only suffer from housewifery per se, but also from work-family imbalances (Williams 2001), especially if they are married with children.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of interests   Disclosure of potential conflicts of interest: none

Ethical Standard   Research involving human participants and/or animals: no

Informed Consent   Informed consent: n/a

Funding   Funding: none

Appendix

Figure 4 shows the variable distributions. If a variable has more than 10 categories, it is classified into 5 bins.

Table 5 shows cross-tabulation of marital status and work status for females.

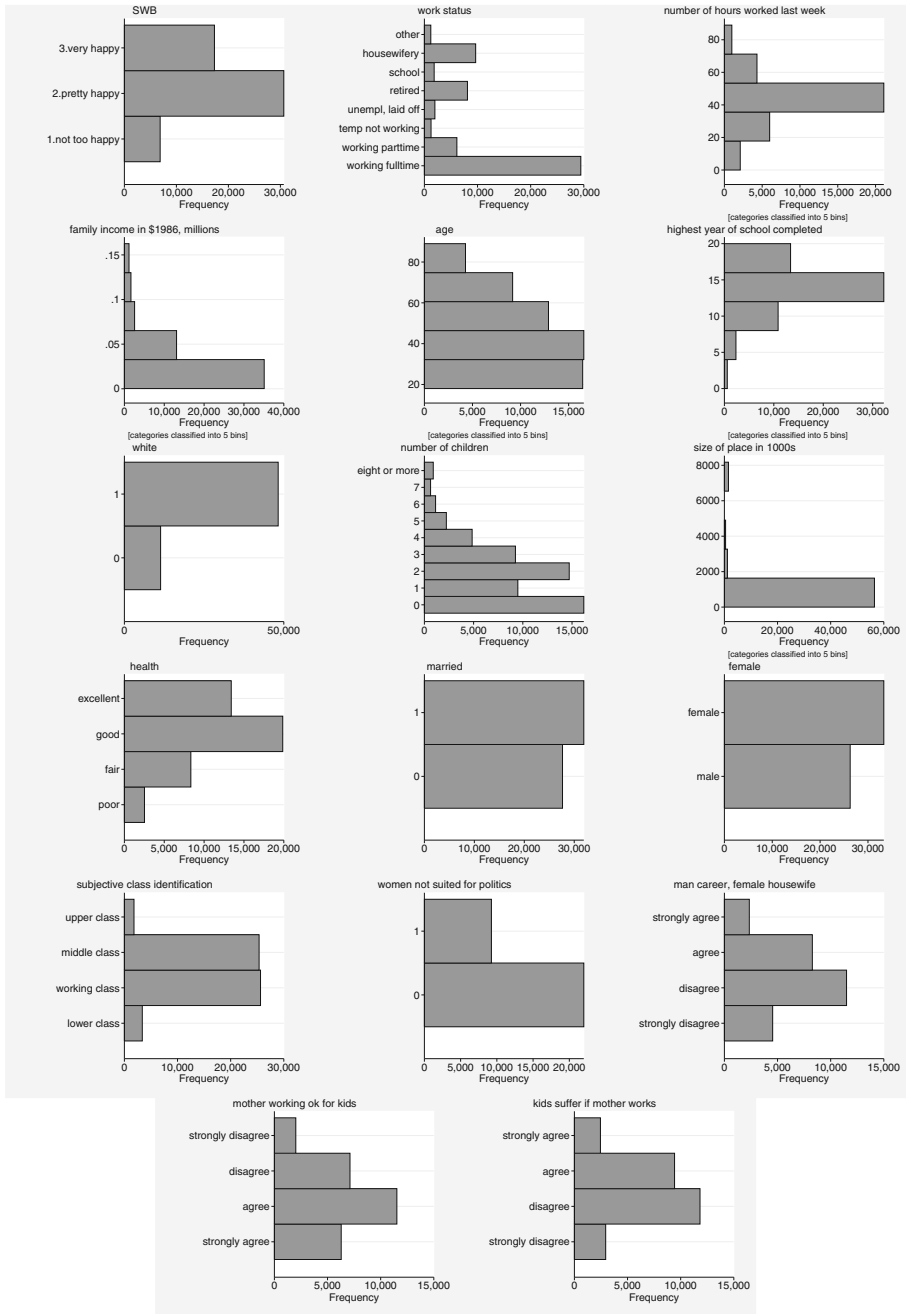[9]The GSS started to ask questions on sexual orientation only in their last four survey in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014.

Fig. 4 Variables' distribution

Table 5 Cross-tabulation of marital status and work status for females

| Work status | Marital status | | | | | Total |
	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Never married	
Working fulltime	6,237	581	2,597	586	2,966	12,967
Working parttime	2,369	345	428	150	864	4,156
Temp not working	353	58	106	31	128	676
Unempl, laid off	167	40	161	61	295	724
Retired	1,113	1,925	454	75	274	3,841
School	240	13	95	36	643	1,027
housewifery	6,057	1,575	574	337	742	9,285
Other	176	142	133	46	118	615
Total	16,712	4,679	4,548	1,322	6,030	33,291

Marriage

Marital status is critical to this study–more and more women postpone or drop marriage altogether. Marriage is also closely correlated (over past several decades) with labor force participation–see Fig. 5–and there is clearly a tradeoff for women when considering to have a family and/or a career (Williams 2001).

Figure 6 shows interesting patterns. Being a housewife, provided one has a husband/spouse, is the best a woman can do for her happiness. Category 'other' has a slightly bigger happiness advantage, but standard errors are much bigger, and it is unclear who is included in this generic category.

There is a very interesting drop for married women who are unemployed, quite counter-intuitive because the dip is much larger for married women than unmarried, and one would expect unemployment to have a more dramatic effect on happiness of women who are unmarried. One explanation could be relative deprivation (relative
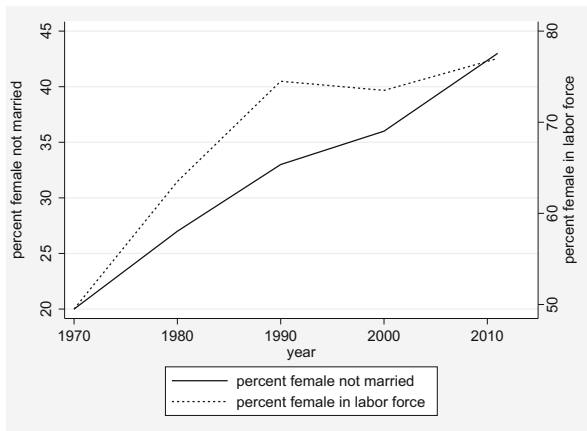

Fig. 5 Marital status and labor force participation of women, ages 25-54 (Cohen 2013)
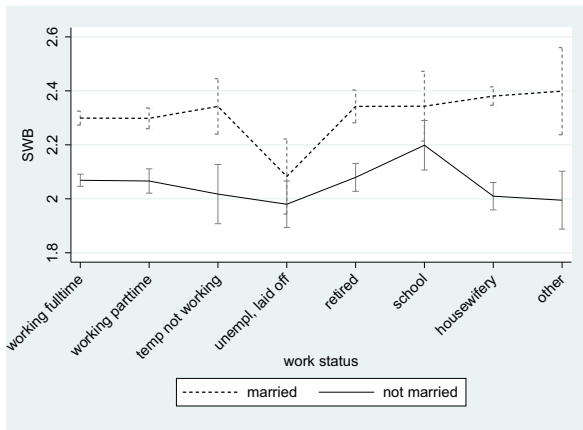
Fig. 6 Predicted values from specification mar6 in Table 6

to husband/spouse), or perhaps lost of face or honor. Exploring further this result is beyond the scope of this study, but is an interesting area for future research (Table 6).

Results Using Hours for both Sexes as Opposed to Work Status Categories for Women Only

This section presents results using hours worked for both sexes as opposed to work status categories for women only. Only persons who work > 0 hours are included, i.e. only persons working part-time or full-time.

As shown in the first panel in Fig. 7, men are happier to work longer hours and women are happier to work shorter hours, controlling for other predictors of SWB. The second panel in Fig. 7 shows a more nuanced relationship: interestingly, women are equally happy to work either 40 or <16 hours per week and less happy to work in other brackets (Tables 7 and 8).

Booth and Van Ours (2008, 2009) also find that women are happier working part time. Rätzel (2009) found that overemployment is worse for women and underemploymet is worse for men.

Results Showing Interactions with Year, Age, and Cohort

Here only women who are either working full-time, part-time, or housewives are retained. Table 9 shows the interactions with year: part-timers and housewives are happier than full-timers, but housewives are becoming less happy over time. Results become insignificant in yr4 when controlling for health.

In Table 10 the part-time coefficient and interaction with cohort loose significance in the more elaborated specifications, but housewifery remains strongly significant.

Table 6 OLS of women SWB on work status categories interacted with marital status

	Mar0	Mar1	Mar2	Mar3	Mar4	Mar5	Mar6
Married	0.26***	0.20***	0.21***	0.21***	0.23***	0.23***	0.23***
Work status (base: full time):							
Working parttime	−0.02	−0.00	−0.02	−0.02	0.00	0.00	−0.00
Temp not working	−0.13***	−0.12***	−0.12**	−0.12**	−0.07+	−0.07+	−0.05
Unempl, laid off	−0.23***	−0.21***	−0.18***	−0.18***	−0.13***	−0.13***	−0.09*
Retired	0.02	0.04*	−0.07***	−0.07***	−0.02	−0.02	0.01
School	0.09***	0.10***	0.07*	0.07**	0.12***	0.12***	0.13**
housewifery	−0.13***	−0.10***	−0.11***	−0.11***	−0.04*	−0.04*	−0.06*
Other	−0.29***	−0.25***	−0.25***	−0.25***	−0.09*	−0.09*	−0.07
Interactions:							
Married × working parttime	0.04+	0.03	0.03	0.03	−0.00	−0.00	0.00
Married × temp not working	0.12*	0.12*	0.11*	0.11*	0.09	0.09	0.09
Married × unempl, laid off	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	−0.04	−0.04	−0.13
Married × retired	0.02	0.04	0.07*	0.07*	0.04	0.04	0.03
Married × school	−0.10*	−0.07	−0.07	−0.07	−0.15*	−0.15*	−0.09
Married × keeping house	0.13***	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***	0.09***	0.09***	0.14***
Married × other	0.25***	0.25***	0.24***	0.23***	0.22**	0.22**	0.17+
Family income in $1986, millions		2.66***	2.12***	2.12***	1.49***	1.49***	1.25***
Age			−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.01***
Age squared			0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Highest year of school completed			0.02***	0.01***	0.01**	0.01**	0.01**
White			0.10***	0.10***	0.08***	0.08***	0.07***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00***	−0.00+
Number of children				−0.01*	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
Health					0.19***	0.19***	0.19***
Occupation, region, and year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Region, and occupation dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Year and region dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Constant	2.08***	2.02***	2.03***	2.03***	1.45***	1.45***	1.52***
N	30642	27174	27075	27034	20128	20128	10859

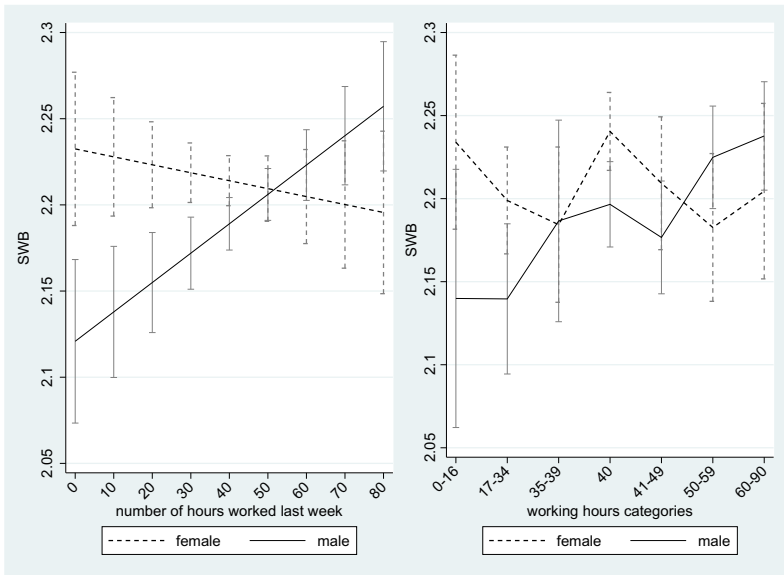+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Fig. 7 Predicted SWB with 95% confidence intervals. Estimates are based on full models (#6) from Tables 7 and 8

Table 7 OLS of SWB on interaction of working hours with gender

	hrs0	hrs1	hrs2	hrs3	hrs4	hrs5	hrs6
Female	0.161***	0.146***	0.148***	0.142***	0.155***	0.136***	0.112***
Number of hours worked last week	0.003***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
Female × number of worked last week hours	−0.004***	−0.003***	−0.003***	−0.003***	−0.003***	−0.002***	−0.002**
Family income in $1986, millions		3.268***	2.901***	2.884***	2.595***	1.447***	1.268***
Age			−0.009***	−0.011***	−0.007**	−0.012***	−0.013***
Age squared			0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
Highest year of school completed			0.007***	0.008***	0.001	0.004**	0.003
White			0.110***	0.113***	0.101***	0.071***	0.062***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000
Number of children				0.010***	0.009**	−0.008**	−0.007+
Health					0.194***	0.188***	0.184***
Married						0.242***	0.254***
Occupation, region, and year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Constant	2.089***	2.010***	1.991***	2.006***	.392***	1.432***	1.563***
N	31551	29283	29217	29160	21624	21622	13428

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Table 8 OLS of SWB on interaction of working hours categories with gender

	hrsC0	hrsC1	hrsC2	hrsC3	hrsC4	hrsC5	hrsC6
Female	0.122***	0.120***	0.141***	0.133***	0.125***	0.108**	0.094*
Working hours brackets (base: 0-16):							
17-34	−0.035	−0.034	−0.015	−0.018	−0.027	−0.020	−0.000
35-39	0.018	0.017	0.055	0.051	0.042	0.028	0.047
40	0.078**	0.061*	0.095**	0.093**	0.083*	0.060+	0.057
41-49	0.058*	0.035	0.064*	0.062*	0.058+	0.043	0.037
50-59	0.141***	0.090**	0.117***	0.113***	0.095**	0.082*	0.085*
60-90	0.130***	0.079**	0.107***	0.103***	0.103**	0.093**	0.098**
Interactions:							
Female × 17-34	−0.009	−0.009	−0.023	−0.019	−0.003	−0.000	−0.035
Female × 35-39	−0.112**	−0.102*	−0.122**	−0.115**	−0.100*	−0.069	−0.096
Female × 40	−0.111**	−0.100**	−0.119***	−0.112**	−0.092*	−0.046	−0.050
Female × 41-49	−0.127***	−0.104**	−0.124**	−0.118**	−0.117**	−0.067	−0.061
Female × 50-59	−0.179***	−0.162***	−0.186***	−0.176***	−0.170***	−0.116**	−0.136*
Female × 60-90	−0.181***	−0.156***	−0.172***	−0.163***	−0.157***	−0.101*	−0.127*
Family income in $1986, millions		3.224***	2.879***	2.861***	2.583***	1.437***	1.254***
Age			−0.010***	−0.01***	−0.008***	−0.013***	−0.014***
Age squared			0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
Highest year of school completed			0.007***	0.008***	0.001	0.004**	0.003

Table 8 (continued)

	hrsC0	hrsC1	hrsC2	hrsC3	hrsC4	hrsC5	hrsC6
White			0.111***	0.115***	0.103***	0.073***	0.064***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000
Number of children				0.010***	0.009**	−0.008**	−0.007+
Health					0.194***	0.188***	0.184***
Married						0.241***	0.254***
Occupation, region, and year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Constant	2.136***	2.034***	2.018***	2.035***	1.434***	1.477***	1.595***
N	31551	29283	29217	29160	21624	21622	13428

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Table 9 OLS of female SWB on interaction of year and collapsed 3-step work status categories

	yr0	yr1	yr2	yr3	yr4	yr5	yr6
3 work status categories (base: full time):							
Part time	2.857	2.066	1.963	1.971	2.501	2.408	6.181
Housewife	3.515*	3.762*	3.472*	3.506*	1.592	1.205	3.835
Year	−0.001	−0.001**	−0.001**	−0.001**	−0.001*	−0.000	0.001
Interactions:							
Part time × year	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.003
Housewife × year	−0.002*	−0.002*	−0.002*	−0.002*	−0.001	−0.001	−0.002
Family income in $1986, millions		4.370***	3.722***	3.727***	3.130***	1.560***	1.435***
Age			−0.007***	−0.007***	−0.004+	−0.010***	−0.011***
Age squared			0.000***	0.000***	0.000**	0.000***	0.000***
Highest year of school completed			0.014***	0.014***	0.004+	0.007**	0.005+
White			0.135***	0.136***	0.124***	0.087***	0.071***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000
Number of children				0.002	0.002	−0.004	−0.008+
Health					0.195***	0.189***	0.185***
Married						0.254***	0.259***
Region, and occupation dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Constant	3.514***	4.717***	4.863***	4.863***	3.728***	1.693	−0.732
N	24442	22028	21965	21934	16404	16403	8490

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Table 10 OLS of female SWB on interaction of cohort and collapsed 3-step work status categories

	coh0	coh1	coh2	coh3	coh4	coh5	coh6
3 work status categories (base: full time):							
Part time	2.343+	2.235+	2.075	2.059	2.445	1.788	2.128
Housewife	0.434	2.567**	2.261*	2.173*	3.826***	4.860***	6.551***
Cohort	−0.001*	−0.000	−0.000	−0.001	−0.001*	−0.002**	0.000
Interactions:							
Part time × cohort	−0.001+	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Housewife × cohort	−0.000	−0.001*	−0.001*	−0.001*	−0.002***	−0.002***	−0.003***
Family income in $1986, millions		4.381***	3.570***	3.588***	3.054***	1.373***	1.329***
Highest year of school completed			0.014***	0.013***	0.003+	0.006**	0.005
White			0.141***	0.139***	0.124***	0.090***	0.076***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000
Number of children				−0.003	0.001	−0.007*	−0.010*
Health					0.196***	0.192***	0.188***
Married						0.243***	0.250***
Region, and occupation dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Constant	3.740***	2.743***	2.745***	2.926***	2.992***	4.245***	1.149
N	24348	21988	21965	21934	16404	16403	8490

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Table 11 OLS of female SWB on interaction of age and collapsed 3-step work status categories

	age0	age1	age2	age3	age4	age5	age6
3 work status categories (base: full time):							
Part time	−0.018	−0.022	−0.025	−0.023	−0.019	−0.030	−0.015
Housewife	0.011	−0.035	−0.015	−0.015	−0.030	−0.134***	−0.123*
Age	0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	0.000	0.001	−0.000
Interactions:							
Part time × age	0.001	0.001+	0.001+	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Housewife × age	−0.000	0.002**	0.002*	0.002*	0.003***	0.004***	0.004***
Family income in $1986, millions		4.379***	3.611***	3.619***	3.079***	1.385***	1.313***
Highest year of school completed			0.012***	0.012***	0.002	0.006**	0.005
White			0.148***	0.148***	0.132***	0.090***	0.076***
Size of place in 1000s			−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.000
Number of children				−0.000	0.002	−0.007*	−0.010*
Health					0.198***	0.193***	0.189***
Married						0.244***	0.251***
Region, and occupation dummies	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Year dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Constant	2.176***	2.083***	1.838***	1.839***	1.332***	1.226***	1.377***
N	24348	21988	21965	21934	16404	16403	8490

+p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001, robust std err

Finally, in Table 11 the interaction of part-time dummy with age is weakly significant or mostly insignificant, whereas the interaction of housewife dummy with age is insignificant in base model (age0) but gains significance in more elaborate models.

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