### Female Teachers: The Roots of Women's Emancipation

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### Introduction

- Two centuries ago, women had a low social standing
- Since then, women have gradually gained a presence in many areas of life
- We find that in 19th-c. Sweden, the rise of female teachers was a root of this shift

## Critical moments in women's rights history, Sweden, 1686–1921



# Occupational Structure of Sweden

Changes Relative to 1880 for Women



# Introduction

#### **Preview of Results**

- Female teachers
  - $\circ~$  Reduces women's entry into domestic work
  - Increases women's entry into non-domestic work (impact on men lower)
  - In particular women's entry into professional and clerical occupations (+24 percent relative to the baseline)
- Women who were taught by a female teacher were more active in the Woman's suffrage movement (1902-1921).

Outline

# **Historical Context**

Data

**Empirical Analysis** 

**Next Steps** 

# Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

- Church mandated system of household instruction since the Church Law of 1686
  - $\,\circ\,$  Ensured high literacy rates in the early 19  $^{\rm th}$  century
- The School Act of 1842 introduced a national primary school school system
  - Gradually ensured secular education to all boys and girls
  - Introduced educational requirements for primary school teachers
- From 1843 to 1868
  - primary school enrollment rose from 21.2% to 64.9%
  - $\circ$  average number of school days from 60 to 89

# Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The Feminization of the Swedish Teaching Profession

- In the 1840s, women were barred from public schools and teacher education
- Reforms in the 1850s and 1860s loosened these restrictions
  - **1858** Women gain the right to teach in junior schools (ages 7–8)
  - **1859** Women gain the right to teach in elementary schools (ages 9–14)
  - 1861 Female-only teachers' seminaries set up in three cities
  - **1861** The Royal Advanced Female Teachers' Seminary founded
- Female seminary teachers often educated at the Royal Seminary
- Female (male) seminarists were primarily from the middle (rural) class
- Female and male teachers had equal minimum employment benefits

# Sweden in the $19^{\rm th}$ and Early $20^{\rm th}$ Centuries

The Feminization of the Swedish Teaching Profession



# Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The Impact of Female Teachers: Hypotheses

- In their local societies, female teachers
  - embodied a rejection of pre-industrial norms
  - were the most politically active (e.g., over-representation among female suffrage elite)
- The first female teacher marks the start of the local emancipation of women
- Their impacts on school children spill over to the rest of their communities
- Female teachers might positively impact human capital in general as they come from better schooling backgrounds and higher SES families compared to male teachers



**Historical Context** 

### Data

**Empirical Analysis** 

**Next Steps** 

### Data

### Demography and occupation

- Full-count decennial censuses of Sweden 1880–1910:
  - Individual-level data on year and place of birth, place of residence, civil status, occupation, and family relationships in a household
- Teachers
  - $\circ\,$  Full-count registries of elementary school teachers in 1876, 1882, and 1889 igoplus
    - Each teacher's name, year of birth, graduation, and employment in the school district (approx 100 000 data points)

#### Women's suffrage movement 1902–1921

- $\circ\,$  Membership numbers and reports for each local chapter  $igstar{}$
- $\circ\,$  Number of signatories in the 1913–1914 petition for women's suffrage igodots  $\bigstar$

### Elections

- City council elections in Sweden 1910–1919
- $\circ\,$  Municipal elections of 1919 ★

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#### Female Teachers in 1882





### Data Preparation

- 1. Geocode school districts and places of birth
- 2. Create stable school districts 🕞
- 3. Link teachers to stable school districts of birth  $\bigcirc$
- 4. Determine when the stable school district hired its first female teacher  $\odot$

# **Summary Statistics**

### School Districts

	Registry year			
	1876	1882	1889	
# school districts (stable)	2223	2223	2223	
# school districts (in registry)	2218	2270	2364	
# schools	4519	5020	5451	
# teachers	3569	4220	5420	
% female teachers	8.01	13.27	20.79	
% school districts with female teachers	5.53	10.98	17.00	
% school districts with only female teachers	0.54	0.94	1.12	

# Summary Statistics

### Teachers

	Registry year							
	1876		1882		1889			
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Age	31.70	40.20	32.61	38.75	33.89	39.86		
	(7.20)	(10.61)	(7.25)	(10.10)	(8.11)	(10.67)		
Years since graduation	6.13	16.87	7.88	15.38	10.00	16.41		
	(3.90)	(9.94)	(4.72)	(10.25)	(5.88)	(10.61)		
Years in current position	3.33	12.56	5.01	10.69	7.51	12.04		
	(3.34)	(10.17)	(3.96)	(9.30)	(5.54)	(9.21)		
School district population density	1539.15	123.06	1333.53	130.29	1688.67	169.92		
	(1788.59)	(534.60)	(1739.31)	(528.25)	(1883.52)	(632.94)		

Outline

**Historical Context** 

Data

# **Empirical Analysis**

**Next Steps** 

Fixed Effects Specification

 $\mathsf{Occupation}_{isct} = lpha_{p(s)ct} + eta imes \mathsf{FemaleTeacher}_{sr(c)} + \epsilon_{isct}.$ 

- *i*: Individual
- s: School district
- c: Birth cohort
- t: Census
- p(s): pct. of 1880 pop.
   density

- Occupation $_{isct} = 1$  if i has an occupational title
- FemaleTeacher $_{sr(c)} = 1$  if individuals born in s of school age in registry year r(c) had a female teacher
- Sample: Women of school age in  $r(c) \in \{1876, 1882, 1889\}$

(1)

#### Fixed Effects Results

Dependent variable:	Has occupation $(= 1)$								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Age: 20–29 (5)	Age: 30–39 (6)	Age: 40–49 (7)	Census: 1910 (8)	
Female teacher $(=1)$	$0.045^{***}$ (0.012)	$0.036^{***}$ (0.013)	$0.015^{***}$ (0.004)	$0.010^{**}$ (0.004)	0.006 (0.006)	$0.019^{***}$ (0.005)	$0.041^{***}$ (0.008)	$0.024^{***}$ (0.005)	
Census FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cohort FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Urban FEs	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Pct. pop. density in 1880 FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	
Censuses	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	
Cohorts	18	18	18	18	18	18	9	18	
School districts	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2219	2223	
Observations	1655853	1655853	1655853	1655853	669749	600225	263472	578374	
Control mean	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.298	0.181	0.181	0.189	

DiD with Multiple Time Periods

$$\mathsf{Occupation}_{sct} = \alpha_{st} + \gamma_{ct} + \sum_{a \neq 16} \beta_{aE_s} \times \mathbf{1}[E_s - c = a] + \epsilon_{sct}, \tag{2}$$

- Occupation<sub> $sct</sub> \equiv \overline{\text{Occupation}}_{.sct}$ </sub>
- *E<sub>s</sub>*: First year school district *s* hires a female teacher
- a: Age at treatment

- Estimator: Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021)
- Sample: Women born 1840–1880
- Identification: Parallel trends
- Control: Never treated

#### Has Occupation





#### Has Non-Domestic Occupation



#### Is Servant in Household





#### Breakdown by Sectors of Work: Women

	Avg	ATT		Reject
Sector of work	First 10 years	Next 10 years	Control mean	$\beta_{pre} = 0$
Professional	0.0025***	0.0030	0.0145	Yes
	(0.0009)	(0.0022)		
Admin and Managerial	-0.0009	$-0.0043^{***}$	0.0119	Yes
	(0.0007)	(0.0016)		
Clerical	$0.0012^{***}$	0.0026**	0.0025	No
0	(0.0004)	(0.0013)	0.00	
Sales	-0.0002	-0.0012	0.0072	NO
Service	(0.0006) 	(0.0014) -0.0237**	0 1382	No
Service	(0.0030)	(0.0102)	0.1002	NO
Agricultural	0.0020***	0.0091***	0.0085	Yes
0	(0.0007)	(0.0017)		
Production	0.0020	0.0045	0.0396	Yes
	(0.0014)	(0.0037)		

#### Breakdown by Sectors of Work: Men

	Avg	ATT		Reject
Sector of work	First 10 years	Next 10 years	Control mean	$\beta_{pre}=0$
Professional	$-0.0026^{*}$	$-0.0163^{***}$	0.0269	Yes
Admin and Managerial	(0.0015) $-0.0088^{***}$	(0.0043) $-0.0240^{***}$	0.0240	Yes
Clerical	(0.0014) $-0.0028^{**}$	(0.0035) $-0.0065^{**}$	0.0264	No
Sales	(0.0014) -0.0014	(0.0033) $-0.0104^*$	0.0277	Yes
Service	(0.0015) -0.0018	(0.0054) $-0.0057^{*}$	0.0462	Yes
Agricultural	(0.0014) 0.0369***	(0.0033) 0.1231***	0.2919	No
Production	(0.0055) 0.0015 (0.0043)	(0.0155) 0.0059 (0.0102)	0.3900	No

#### Discussion

- Female teachers increase women's entry into professional and clerical occupations and lower their entry into domestic work.
- There is no impact on production (manual labor).
- This supports the hypothesis that female teachers served as role models for girls entering male-dominated fields.
- Effect sizes increase with time in line with an interpretation of the first female teacher the starting point of woman's emancipation locally.
- *Alternative interpretation*: Female teachers clustered around female-only teacher seminaries. Their girls could benefit from the proximity to educational opportunities.



**Historical Context** 

Data

**Empirical Analysis** 

**Next Steps** 

### Social and Electoral Effects

- We can link petition signatories and women's suffragists to the 1910 census (to be done).
- Electoral outcomes in, e.g., 1919 only exist at the district level
- Today, we explore if exposure to female teachers explains variations in our social movement and electoral outcomes:
  - Unit of analysis: Parishes and cities
  - Explanatory variable: "Treated" female population 1910 (i.e., the fraction of women in 1910 who grew up in a school district with female teachers)
- Use the 1930 census in which demographic outcomes are better measured (e.g., includes years of schooling, year of marriage, income, and wealth)

#### Women's suffrage movement

Local Chapter for Women's Suffrage 1902–1921



#### Signatories in 1913–1914 Women's Suffrage Petition



#### Politics around the time of enfranchisement

Woman Elected to City Council <1919



Male-Female Turnout Gap 1919

Female In-Person Voting 1919

#### Exploring Other Sources of Exogenous Treatment Variation

- Distance to female (male) teachers' seminaries is highly predictive of the geographic distribution of female (male) teachers
- The age of pension was nationally set to 55 years of age and 30 years of work
- This creates an opportunity for IV design that combines
  - (a) time until the age of pension of male teachers in the previous registry
  - (b) geographical distance to female seminary

### Next steps

### Understanding demographic results

	Avg	ATT		Reject
Sector of work	First 10 years	Next 10 years	Control mean	$\beta_{pre}=0$
Married	0.0166***	$0.0574^{***}$	0.5955	Yes
Age difference husband	(0.0036) 0.0811 (0.0578)	(0.0100) 0.2514 (0.1544)	-3.3535	No
Children in HH	0.0189***	0.0696***	0.5768	Yes
# children in HH	(0.0039) 0.0887***	(0.0107) $0.3814^{***}$	1.8004	No
Migrated (dummy)	(0.0224) 0.0017 (0.0040)	(0.0509) -0.0211 (0.0120)	0.3932	No
Moved to sthlm (dummy)	-0.0023	-0.0086	0.0790	Yes
Migration distance (IHS)	(0.0021) $-0.0178^{***}$ (0.0063)	(0.0070) $-0.0611^{***}$ (0.0188)	0.0146	No
# Thank you

#### Breakdown



Figure: Selected Groups of Women

Figure: Professional, Technical 1910

#### Members of the Second Chamber



Most common occupation for women in HISCO Major codes

HISCO Major	Mode: HISCO Minor 2
o Professional	Professional Midwives
1 Professional	Primary Education Teachers
2 Administrative and Managerial	Housekeeping and Related Service Supervisors
3 Clerical	Correspondence and Reporting Clerks
4 Sales	Salesmen, Shop Assistants and Demonstrators
5 Service	Maids and Related Housekeeping Service Workers Not Elsewhere Classi
6 Agricultural	General Farmers
7 Production	Sewers and Embroiderers
8 Production	Shoe Cutters, Lasters, Sewers, and Related Workers
9 Production	Workers Not Elsewhere Classified







# Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Teachers' Seminary Graduates



## Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Royal Seminary Graduates



## Sweden in the $\mathbf{19}^{\mathrm{th}}$ and Early $\mathbf{20}^{\mathrm{th}}$ Centuries

**Unmarried Governesses** 



## Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries Girls' Schools



Balance: Female vs. Male Seminary Locations 1861

	Female	Male	Unit
No. girls' schools 1860	7	9	City
Avg. no. newspapers 1860	3	2	City
Avg. pop. growth 1840–1860	0.37	0.47	City
No. bishops who affirm same-sex seminaries 1858	1	1	Diocese
Avg. no. fixed schools per parish 1839	.87	.32	Diocese
Avg. no. fixed schools per parish (excl. Stockholm) 1839	.32	.32	Diocese

*Notes:* Seminary locations as given in 1861. Female: Kalmar; Skara; Stockholm; Strängnäs. Male: Göteborg; Härnösand; Karlstad; Linköping, Lund; Uppsala; Visby; Västerås; Växjö.

#### Data Sources: Teach



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#### Data Sources: Teach



### Data Preparation

#### Creating Stable School Districts

- Starting from out newly created year accurate polygons for all school district and birth places (boundaries change significantly between 1840-1880).
- We create stable school districts:
  - 1. Their union covers all of Sweden, are pairwise disjoint, and have boundaries unchanged over time
  - 2. Each school district in 1876, 1882, and 1889 belong to exactly one stable school district
  - 3. Individuals born in the same place between 1840 and 1880 belong to the same, single stable school district

#### Data Preparation

Linking Teachers to Individuals

- Let  $p_i$  be the birth parish birth year combination of individual i
- Let  $S^t$  be the set of school districts in registry t.
- A stable school district is a collection of  $\{p, s\}$
- Thus for i with  $p_i$  all of the teachers present in any s in your stable school district are potential teachers.

### Data Preparation

#### First Female Teacher

- Let  $t_0(S_i)$  be the first year in which a stable school district  $S_i$  hired a female teacher
- We measure  $t_0(S_i)$  as the minimum start year of teachers who work in  $S_i$
- $t_0(S_i)$  is measured with error since we have not digitized all registers of teachers

#### Data Sources

#### Identifying School Districts With Female Teachers Using Census Data

# Here we compare the 1889 register with the 1890 census to confirm that using occupation data from the census to identify elementary school teachers is unreliable:

Table: Occupation string

*Table:* HISCO minor group 133

Census				Cens	sus
Register	1	0	Reg	gister 1	0
1	131	278	1	331	78
0	56	1926	0	1268	714

#### Fixed Effects Results: Share of female teachers

Dependent variable:	Has occupation (= 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Age: 20–29 (5)	Age: 30–39 (6)	Age: 40–49 (7)	Census: 1910 (8)	
Share female teachers	$0.108^{***}$ (0.025)	$0.093^{***}$ (0.028)	$0.049^{***}$ (0.011)	$0.040^{***}$ (0.012)	$0.036^{**}$ (0.016)	$0.058^{***}$ (0.010)	$0.089^{***}$ (0.014)	$0.064^{***}$ (0.010)	
Census FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cohort FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Urban FEs	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Pct. pop. density in 1880 FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	
Censuses	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	
Cohorts	18	18	18	18	18	18	9	18	
School districts	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2219	2223	
Observations	1655853	1655853	1655853	1655853	669749	600225	263472	578374	
Control mean	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.298	0.181	0.181	0.189	

#### Fixed Effects Results: Men

Dependent variable:	Has occupation (= 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Age: 20–29 (5)	Age: 30–39 (6)	Age: 40–49 (7)	Census: 1910 (8)	
Female teacher $(=1)$	$0.030^{**}$ (0.015)	$0.052^{***}$ (0.013)	$0.032^{***}$ (0.006)	$0.017^{***}$ (0.005)	$0.053^{***}$ (0.010)	$0.023^{***}$ (0.004)	0.003 (0.002)	$0.015^{***}$ (0.003)	
Census FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cohort FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Urban FEs	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Pct. pop. density in 1880 FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	
Censuses	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	
Cohorts	18	18	18	18	18	18	9	18	
School districts	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2219	2223	
Observations	1606054	1606054	1606054	1606054	661183	579404	239884	549430	
Control mean	0.748	0.748	0.748	0.748	0.616	0.898	0.962	0.944	

#### Fixed Effects Results: Same-Sex Teacher Effect

Dependent variable:	Has occupation (= 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Age: 20–29 (5)	Age: 30–39 (6)	Age: 40–49 (7)	Census: 1910 (8)	
Female teacher $(=1)$	$0.015^{***}$ (0.005)	$-0.016^{***}$ (0.004)	$-0.018^{***}$ (0.004)	-0.007 (0.005)	$-0.048^{***}$ (0.008)	-0.004 (0.004)	$0.037^{***}$ (0.007)	0.008 (0.005)	
Census FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cohort FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Urban FEs	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Pct. pop. density in 1880 FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	
Censuses	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	
Cohorts	18	18	18	18	18	18	9	18	
School districts	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2219	2223	
Observations	3261907	3261907	3261907	3261907	1330932	1179629	503356	1127804	
Control mean	0.488	0.488	0.488	0.488	0.456	0.534	0.556	0.557	

#### Has Occupation: TWFE



Has Occupation: Not Yet Treated as Control



Has Occupation: Men



#### Has Non-Domestic Occupation: TWFE



Pre-trends p-value = .2321

#### Has Non-Domestic Occupation: Not Yet Treated as Control



#### Has Non-domestic Occupation: Men



Pre-trends p-value = .000345

#### Has Non-Domestic Occupation: TWFE



#### Has Non-Domestic Occupation: Not Yet Treated as Control



#### Has Non-domestic Occupation: Men



#### Data

#### A List of Signatures From the 1913–1914 Petition for Women's Suffrage



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### Definition

#### Definition of "Emancipation of Women" in Oxford Reference

The achievement of complete (a) economic, (b) social, (c) political and (d) religious equality of women with men.

#### On Women's Rights in Hannusch et al. (2022)

Women have gradually gained rights in many areas of life, and this legal expansion has been closely intertwined with economic development. [W]e distinguish between four types of women's rights—economic, political, labor, and body.

#### Breakdown by Sectors of Work: Alternative measures

	Avg	ATT		Reject
Sector of work	First 10 years	Next 10 years	Control mean	$\beta_{pre}=0$
Admin and Managerial (not servant)	-0.0004 (0.0006)	-0.0039** (0.0016)	0.0089	Yes
Service (not servant)	0.0004 (0.0013)	0.0032 (0.0038)	0.0325	No
Agricultural (adjusted)	-0.0003 (0.0033)	0.0081 (0.0089)	0.3232	No

#### Breakdown by Sectors of Work: Alternative measures

	Avg	ATT		Reject
Sector of work	First 10 years	Next 10 years	Control mean	$\beta_{pre}=0$
Admin and Managerial (not servant)	-0.0088*** (0.0014)	-0.0240*** (0.0035)	0.0240	Yes
Service (not servant)	-0.0016 (0.0014)	-0.0054* (0.0032)	0.0459	Yes
Agricultural (adjusted)	-0.0075** (0.0038)	-0.0157* (0.0085)	0.3978	No

#### Demographics: Men

Sector of work	Treatment effect	Std. Err.	Pre-trends p-value	Control mean
Married	$0.0237^{***}$	$0.0525^{***}$	0.5617	Yes
	(0.0037)	(0.0091)		
Age difference husband	0.0401	-0.0282	1.4594	Yes
	(0.0645)	(0.2057)		
Children in HH	$0.0248^{***}$	$0.0553^{***}$	0.4804	Yes
	(0.0043)	(0.0102)		
# children in HH	$0.1090^{***}$	$0.2860^{***}$	1.4892	Yes
	(0.0226)	(0.0605)		
Migrated (dummy)	-0.0018	-0.0141	0.3821	Yes
	(0.0041)	(0.0138)		
Moved to sthlm (dummy)	$0.0035^{*}$	0.0087	0.0734	Yes
	(0.0021)	(0.0064)		
Migration distance (IHS)	$-0.0182^{**}$	-0.0288	0.0251	Yes
	(0.0080)	(0.0254)		

#### Event Study Treatment Variation



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## Related Literature and Contribution

• Female education, social change, women's emancipation, and the broader emancipation of historically marginalized groups.

(Althoff and Reichardt, 2024; Bühler, Vollmer, and Wimmer, 2024; Fernández, 2013; Goldin, 2021; Nekoei and Sinn, 2021)

- Determinants of human capital (Goldin, 2024) and many more.
- Feminization of the teaching profession and the impact of female teachers on female students in the early development of national primary education. (Cappelli and Quiroga Valle, 2021; Card et al., 2022; Florin, 1987).

## Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The Rise of Mass Schooling

Year	Enrolment ratio (%)	School year in days	Teachers	Schools	
1812	5.4	36			
1814				957	
1839			1,537	1,516	
1843	21.2	60			
1847				2,785	
1868	64.9	89	7,045	6,919	
1890	72.9	122	13,508	10,563	
1910	75.3	166	21,585	14,894	

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