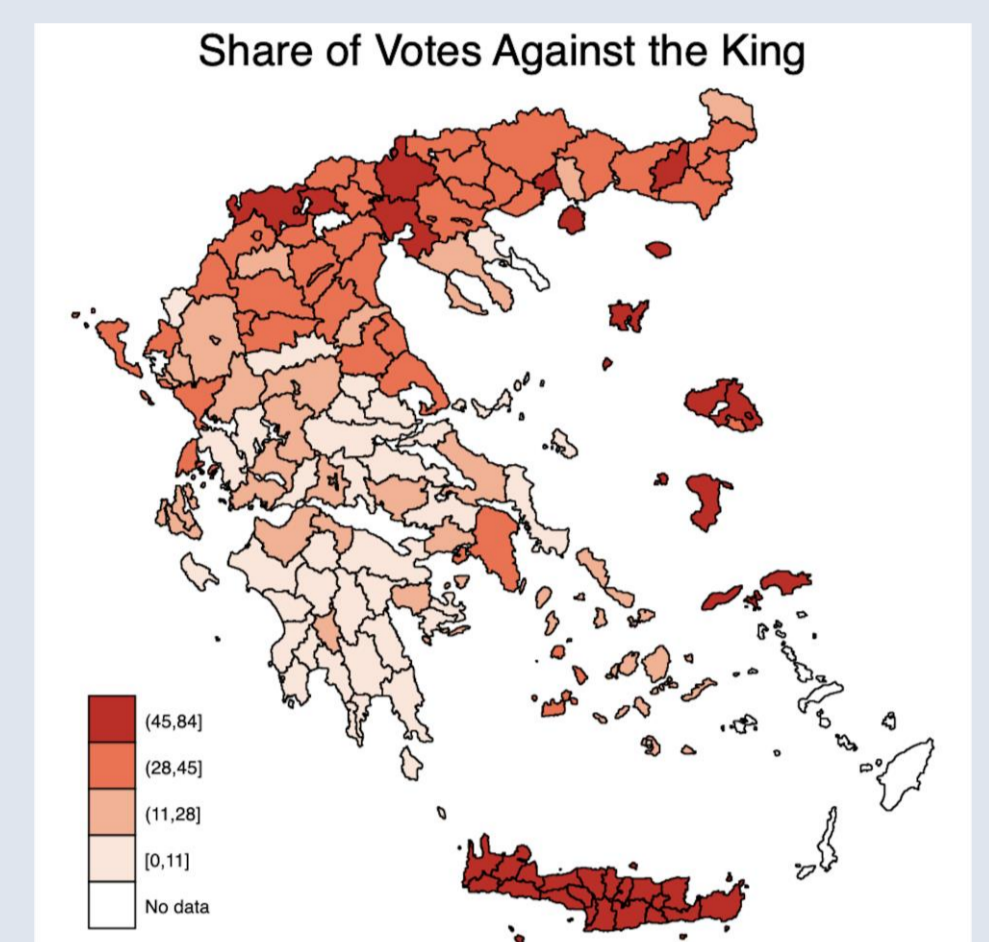


The Return of the King: Political conflict and female labor force participation

Xanthi Tsoukli. Chapter 1, PhD Dissertation.

Introduction

- What are the effects of a political conflict (violent ideological war) on women's employment?
- The political conflict: The Greek Civil War of 1946-49 between conservative supporters of the monarchy and left-wing supporters of the communists.
- The measure of political conflict: The share of votes in a referendum about the Return of the King right before the conflict (shown in the map) to show **the level of political opposition to the conservative regime**.



Why female labor force participation (FLFP)?

- My hypothesis is that opposition to the conservative regime, namely monarchy, challenges gender norms laying the basis for social change regarding women's roles in society.
- I show that women in areas exposed to left-wing ideologies participate in the labor markets in higher numbers.
- As a falsification test, I find no evidence that this political conflict affects male labor force participation.

Method

- Difference-in-differences model:

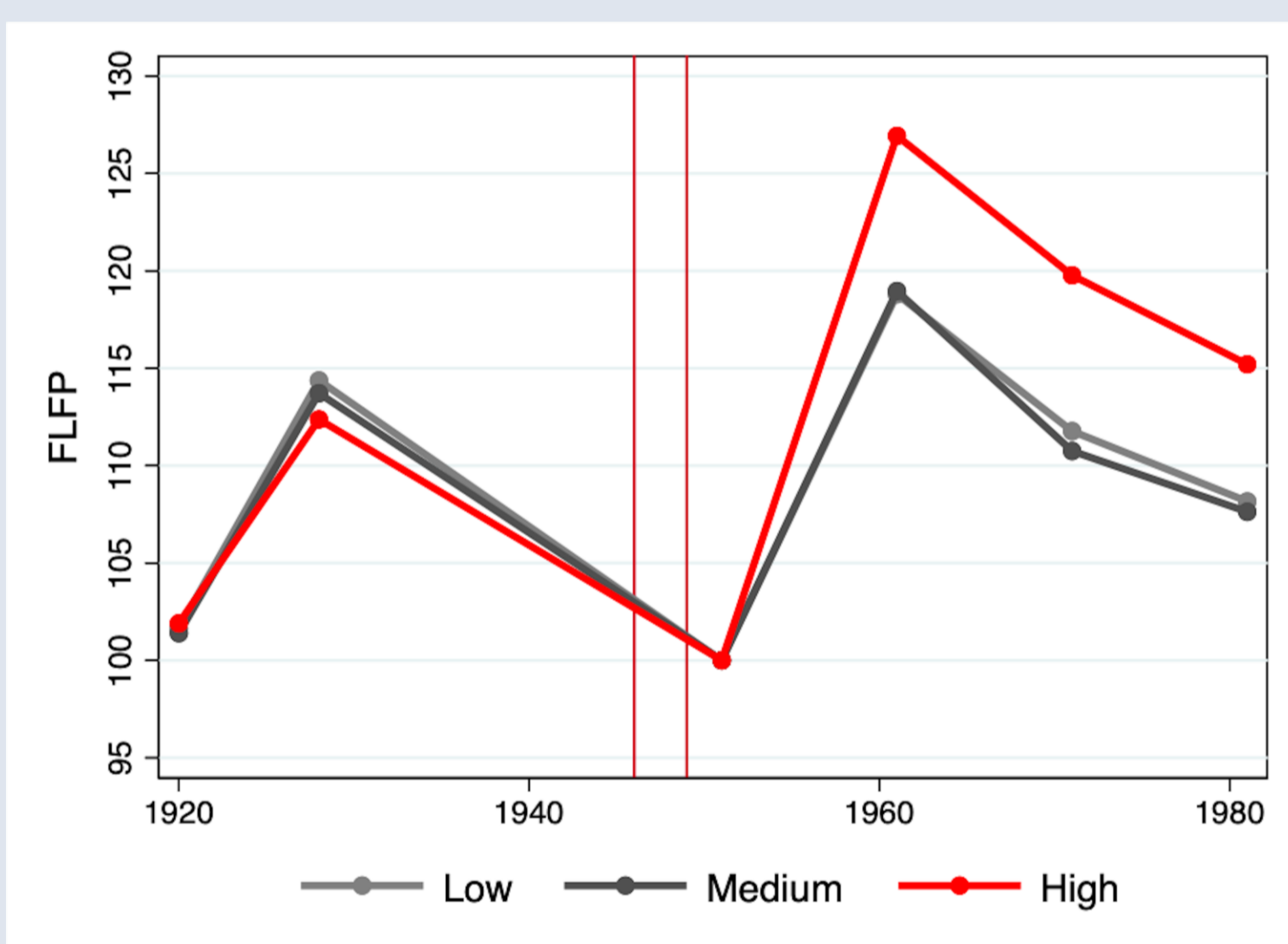
$$FLFP_{pt} = \beta PoliticalOpposition_p \times post1949_t + \gamma_p + \delta_t + \epsilon_{pt}$$

β : the change in percentage points of the female labor force participation as the level of political opposition increases

- Figure on the left: Each line corresponds to a group of areas with a defined level of political opposition (low, medium, or high). FLFP is normalized to 100 in 1951. The vertical red lines indicate the years of the civil war (1946-1949).

A. Before political conflict: FLFP similar in all areas

B. After political conflict: FLFP higher in areas with more opponents to monarchy



Results

- Figure on the right: The coefficients on pre-war years are close to zero and not statistically significant, suggesting that there are no pre-war trends in FLFP. The effects in the years following the war are positive and significant. In provinces that experienced a 10% increase in political opposition, the increase of the FLFP rate ranges from 1.9 pp in 1961 to 1.8 in 1971 to approximately 1.5 in 1981.
- **Main finding:** areas with more left-wing opponents to the conservative regime, experienced an increase in female labor force participation after the civil war was over and this increase persists over time.
- Mechanism: I find that areas opposed to the conservative regime have a lower demand for church attendance, and this could indicate they are less conservative.

