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Women in the Down Economy: Impacts of the Recession and the Stimulus in Massachusetts

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A Policy Brief from the Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy, the Center for Social Policy, and the Massachusetts Commission on the Status of Women

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McCORMACK GRADUATE SCHOOL OF POLICY STUDIES

UMASS BOSTON

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY | **Women in the Down Economy: Impacts of the Recession and the Stimulus in Massachusetts**

The "Great Recession" is affecting everyone in one way or another, but not everyone is affected in the same way. Women's and men's work (both in and out of the labor force) still differs, so we can expect that the economic crisis has had a distinct impact on women as well as their families. This policy brief discusses how the down economy has differentially impacted women and men in Massachusetts and the gendered implications of federal stimulus spending. It also identifies potential opportunities to promote gender equality as the United States, and Massachusetts in particular, attempt to move beyond the "Great Recession."

THE RECESSION'S IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MASSACHUSETTS

The following outlines several interrelated and gendered impacts of the recession – effects on employment, financial implications related to the mortgage crisis, and the impact on government spending at the state and local level.

Employment Effects

Similar to national trends, Massachusetts women's unemployment rates are lower than men's, with a widening gap over the recession. These differences are largely the result of the types of jobs men and women tend to have. Women are also more concentrated in the industries that have shed fewer jobs. Yet some women are faring much worse than others. Black and Hispanic women have much higher unemployment rates than do white women. Similarly, unmarried women's unemployment rates are considerably higher than those of married women.

As a result of job loss, men's contribution to family income has been reduced in some families in the Commonwealth and women are increasingly serving as primary or equal "breadwinners." Yet women do not bring home as much of the loaf due to the wide and persistent gender wage gap. Statewide, the median earnings ratio for year-round, full-time female to male workers is .76, meaning that women may need to work harder or longer to take care of the household income gap due to male unemployment.

As unemployment rises, so does the demand for income support programs, but men's and women's usage of these programs differs. Men are much more likely to claim unemployment insurance than women, even beyond the difference reflected in unemployment rates. Since the start of the recession, there has been a significant increase in the number of households receiving food assistance (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP) and relatively minor increases in Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) caseloads. Women and children comprise the majority of beneficiaries of both programs.

Financial Implications of the Mortgage Crisis

While there are no gender-disaggregated data available to assess the distinct impact of foreclosures and the credit crunch on women in Massachusetts, national data suggest that women of color may be disproportionately impacted by the housing lending crisis. According to 2007 national Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data, low-income black women were twice as likely – and low-income Hispanic women were 1.5 times as likely – as low-income white women to receive a high-cost loan. Furthermore, moderate and high-income black women were 2.4 times and Hispanic women twice as likely as moderate and high-income white women to obtain a high-cost loan. Consequently, women of color in the Commonwealth may be much more likely than white women to face financial hardship resulting from the housing lending crisis.

*In Massachusetts, women currently comprise **7.9** percent of all workers in the construction industry and make up **2.2** percent of all construction workers.*

Impact on State and Local Government Spending

In recessions, state and local governments see needs rise and revenues fall, resulting in budget deficits. This recession has led to funding decreases in services and programs that are considered essential to the economic security of many women and families. To the degree that local aid or other state monies directed specifically to low-income communities face cutbacks, large numbers of female-headed families and their children will be affected. Almost one out of every two female-headed households in the Commonwealth is low-income. With women affected by poverty at higher rates than men, program cuts directed toward low-income individuals and families disproportionately hurt women and children.

STIMULUS: WHAT IT MEANS FOR MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), the $787 billion federal spending initiative, has mitigated the effects of the "Great Recession" through tax cuts and targeted spending. The following provides an overview of the employment and family resource impacts of funds.

Three key areas of funding could have differential or consequential impacts on women's employment opportunities: physical infrastructure; energy and environment ("Green Economy" development); and workforce development.

Physical Infrastructure

Physical infrastructure spending accounts for 8 percent of ARRA funds allocated to Massachusetts. Seventy percent of these funds are allocated directly to the construction and transportation infrastructure. In Massachusetts, women currently comprise 7.9 percent of all workers in the construction industry and make up 2.2 percent of all construction workers.

"Green Economy" Development

Monies are targeted toward improved energy efficiency, weatherization programs, superfund hazardous waste site and brownfield cleanup, renewable energy, and efficient energy research. Compared to men, women are poorly positioned to enter the green economy – just less than seven percent of all women and 26 percent of all men are currently "green ready." Occupations needed in the green economy include a range of engineers, scientists, and an array of jobs in construction and manufacturing – all occupations in which women are considerably underrepresented.

Workforce Development

Most ARRA money for workforce development is for Adult Employment and Training Activities, Youth Activities, and Dislocated Worker Employment and Training. Some data suggest that men and women should receive additional ARRA-funded services nearly equally, but the extent to which such programs are effective and help women develop skills in higher-paying and less traditional sectors is, at best, unknown.

Three categories of stimulus spending are intended to affect directly family resources and have differential impacts on women and men. These include: tax benefits; spending directed toward unemployed workers and low-income individuals, families, or communities; and funds specifically directed to reduce state budget deficits in the area of human infrastructure.

It is clear that pay equity, education and training for well-paying employment in growing sectors of the economy, and sound fiscal footing for the state and its cities and towns will be imperative for women's continued climb toward economic equality – in both the short and long term.

- The portions of the tax benefits and spending targeted to low-income households and low-income communities will disproportionately help women.

- Funding targeted to the unemployed through emergency and extended Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits will disproportionately help men.

CAN WOMEN COUNT ON ARRA?

While there is no precise way to determine who benefits more (or less) from ARRA funds, some aspects of the stimulus package clearly benefit men much more than women. Men benefit from funds directed toward physical infrastructure improvements and green economy funding, as women's employment is currently limited in both sectors. The one major area of spending that will benefit women more than men is the sizable portion of spending to states to reduce cuts to human infrastructure, where a gender gap in receipt of services and employment exists. Total ARRA funds allocated to tax benefits, support to unemployed workers and low-income individuals, families, and communities, and for workforce development will probably benefit men and women equally – although there are clear gender distinctions within spending in each of these categories (e.g., additional UI funds will go more to men, while more women will receive additional SNAP funds).

An Equitable Recovery

Both men and women have been deeply affected by the down economy, although in different ways, because of where they are employed, their earnings, and their utilization of certain government services and programs. In order to promote economic equity between women and men as recovery efforts continue, it is important to:

1. Improve current collection of information on employee job creation by including information on gender and race/ethnicity;

2. Enforce existing federal anti-discrimination provisions and leverage state procurement goals for minority and women-owned business enterprises;

3 Promote training for women in non-traditional areas in workforce development programs; and

4. Ensure that low-income women, women of color, and low-income communities are being served by ARRA funds.

It is clear that pay equity, education and training for well-paying employment in growing sectors of the economy, and sound fiscal footing for the state and its cities and towns will be imperative for women's continued climb toward economic equality – in both the short and long term.

INTRODUCTION

Recessions happen. But we do not know exactly when they will occur, how long they will last, or how severe their impact will be. What we do know is that all recessions are characterized by a decline in business activity and a rise in unemployment. Recessions also create a fiscal crisis for states. Reduced incomes and scaled-back consumption translate into decreased income and sales tax revenue – a staple of state revenues – resulting in government budget deficits. The "Great Recession" that began nationally in December 2007 was in part caused by financial speculation and excessive financial leveraging, resulting in a financial meltdown, especially in the mortgage market. The depths of the current economic crisis led the federal government to step in with massive injections of money into the financial sector and the passage of The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA). ARRA is a wide-ranging stimulus package of tax cuts, state aid for human infrastructure, increased funds for programs that serve the unemployed and those with little or no income, and investments in physical infrastructure and the green economy.

While recessions affect almost everyone in some way, their impacts are not spread evenly. Certain industries, workers, families, and communities are hit harder than others. Furthermore, as explained below, recovery from the downturn may be experienced in distinct ways and at different times.

- Construction, manufacturing, and business services industries generally suffer greatly at the onset of a recession. Construction typically requires large-scale financing, which often dries up in recessions. Manufactured durable goods (such as cars) are "big ticket" items that consumers put off purchasing, which drives down demand for such items. Firms, looking to cut costs, tend to reduce their use of temporary workers and other business services first. Workers in these three industries are often the first to be laid off.
- Less educated, young, black, and Hispanic workers have higher unemployment rates than employees who have more education, are white, and are older. These differences are exacerbated in recessions.
- State and local governments cut services and assistance in response to the often quick and unpredictable reduction in revenues. Those who depend on these services are most affected. Governments also reduce labor costs through retrenchment, hiring and wage freezes, and/or furloughs.
- All employers, in response to reduced demand caused by recessions, look to decrease their costs through heavier reliance on part-time employees in addition to laying off workers.
- Low-income communities tend to be disproportionately affected by foreclosures and reductions in government aid and have higher concentrations of people with high unemployment rates than moderate and high-income communities.

Beyond the differential impacts experienced by various industries and communities as well as ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups, it is important to acknowledge how this economic collapse has had distinct implications in women's lives.

This policy brief discusses how the down economy has differentially impacted women and men in Massachusetts and the gendered implications of ARRA spending. It concludes with a look to the future and the potential opportunities to promote gender equality as the United States, and Massachusetts in particular, attempt to move beyond the "Great Recession."

WHAT DOES THE RECESSION MEAN FOR MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN?

The Massachusetts economy has been severely impacted by the recession, and many women in Massachusetts have faced considerable economic stresses in this downturn. This brief focuses on three strong interrelated economic impacts by considering how women and men in the Commonwealth have fared since the onset of the recession:

- *Employment effects.* Women's and men's labor force experiences remain different in terms of occupation and industrial distribution, earnings, and hours worked. These differences result in gendered impacts on levels of employment and family income as well as the demand for government assistance.
- *Financial sector implications.* Data are not available to assess the gender dimensions of the financial collapse in 2008 and 2009, but we can explore whether or not single women hold more high-cost mortgages than single men, resulting in disparate foreclosure rates by gender.
- *Impact on state and local government spending.* Because of the safety net programs and services that government funds, many of the services and assistance financed by state and local government may be more utilized by women than men.

The following analysis addresses each type of impact and then considers the economic security and resource implications of the combined effect of the impacts for women and their families in Massachusetts.

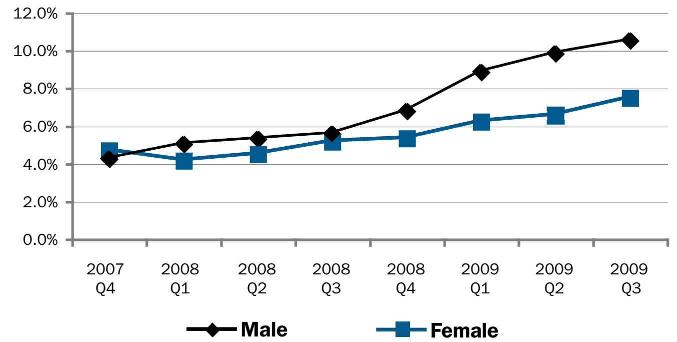
Employment Effects

The most evident effect of an economic recession on individuals and families is the loss of employment. In December 2007, at the official onset of the recession, Massachusetts' unemployment rate was 4.5 percent, compared to the national rate of 4.9 percent. Since then, Massachusetts' rates rose through September 2009, dropped for two months and then, in December 2009, increased to 9.4 percent, the highest they have been since 1977. U.S. unemployment rates peaked in October 2009 at 10.1 percent and were 10.0 percent in December 2009.[1] In just two years, Massachusetts and U.S. unemployment rates have more than doubled.

Massachusetts employer-reported data reveal that there were 3,290,800 jobs in December 2007. By December 2009, employers reported 3,164,000 jobs, translating into a loss of 126,800 jobs.[2] Figure 1 below depicts the change in employment in Massachusetts by major industry between December 2007 and December 2009. Massachusetts industries hardest hit include construction, manufacturing, professional and business services, retail trade, and the financial, real estate, rental and leasing sector. The only industry sector to experience employment gains during this time period was education, health, and social services.[3]

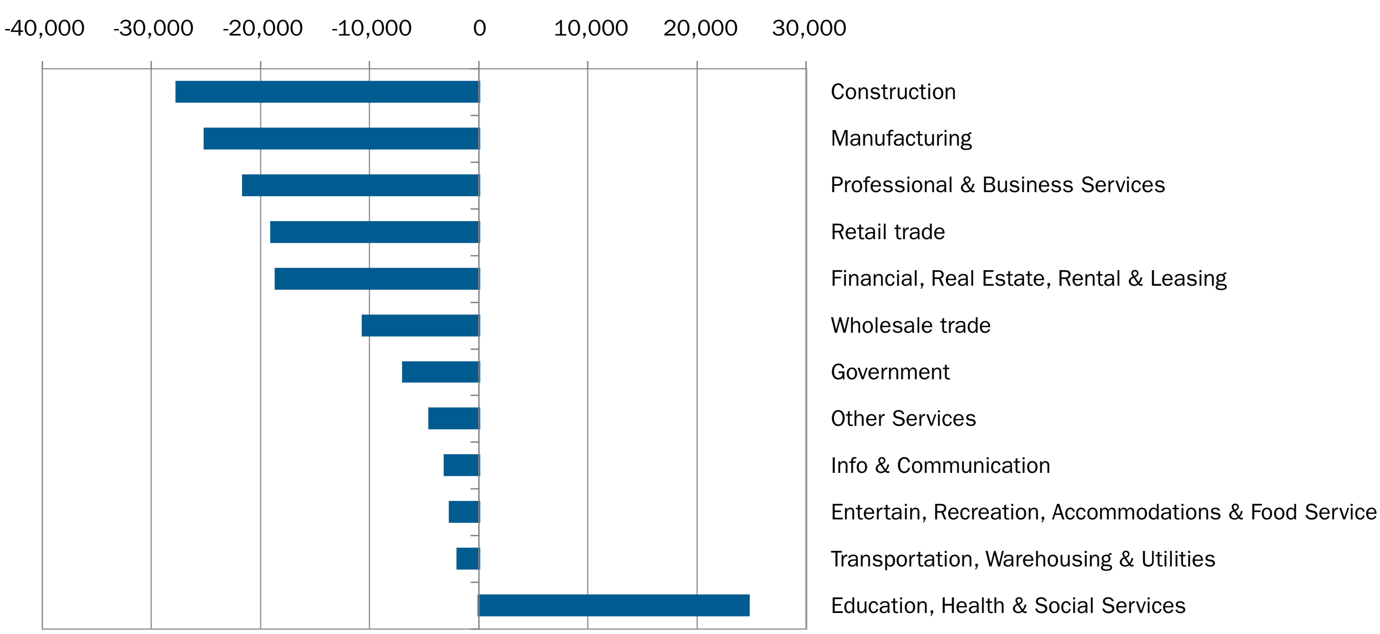
Neither the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) nor the Massachusetts Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development[4] reports monthly state unemployment rates by gender, race, or marital status. The Economic Policy Institute, a national think tank, recently compiled quarterly unemployment rates by gender for all of the states, using data from BLS and Moodys.com.[5] Figure 2 provides these quarterly unemployment rates for men and women in Massachusetts from the last quarter in 2007 (October, November, and December) through the third quarter of 2009 (July, August, and September). Similar to national trends, women's unemployment rates are lower than men's, with a widening gap over the recession. Women's unemployment rate was three percentage points lower than men's in the third quarter of 2009.[6]

FIGURE 2
Massachusetts Quarterly Unemployment by Gender, 2007–2009



Source: Economic Policy Institute, Economy Track Data, retrieved December 28, 2009 from http://www.epi.org/page/economy%20track/STATE%20UNEMPLOYMENT%20BY%20RACE.

FIGURE 1
Change in Employment by Industry in Massachusetts, December 2007–December 2009



Source: Massachusetts Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development, Current Employment Statistics (CES-790), downloaded January 29, 2010 from http://lmi2.detma.org/Lmi/lmi_ces_a.asp#aTimeFrame.

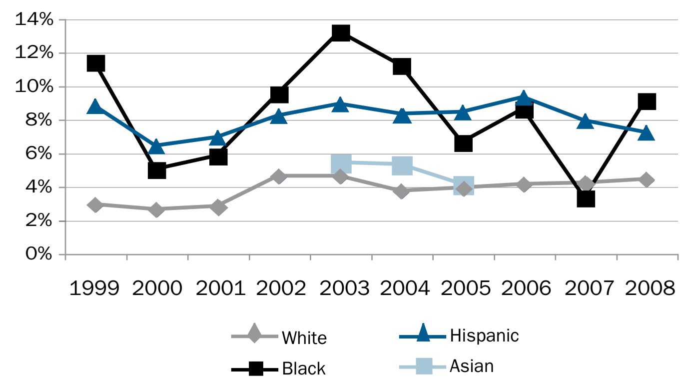
The differences in unemployment rates between women and men are largely the result of differences in the types of jobs men and women tend to have. First, women are twice as likely as men to hold part-time positions, and job losses among full-time workers have exceeded those of part-timers. In 2008, 36 percent of women workers and 18 percent of male employees in Massachusetts reported usually working less than 35 hours a week.[7] Second, women are more concentrated in the industries that have experienced fewer job losses.

Table 1 below depicts the industrial distribution of workers in Massachusetts in 2008,[8] men's and women's median earnings for year-round full-time (YRFT) workers in those industries, and the ratio of those earnings.[9] In 2008, women comprised nearly half (49.6 percent) of the non-farm labor force in Massachusetts. However, women are highly concentrated in education, health, and social services – the one industry that saw employment gains – and very underrepresented in construction, manufacturing, and wholesale trade. The construction, manufacturing, and wholesale trade industries combined experienced employment losses that accounted for just over half of the net job losses between December 2007 and December 2009. Women are also overrepresented in the financial sector ("financial, real estate, rental and leasing"), entertainment, recreation, accommodations and food services, other services,[10] and government sectors. While each of these sectors in which women are overrepresented witnessed employment losses, they collectively accounted for 27 percent of net job loss. The gendered industrial distribution of jobs combined with the higher rate of part-time employment for women has created a gendered distribution of job losses and resulted in higher unemployment rates for men than for women.

Employment Effects by Race

There are some substantial differences among women when it comes to unemployment. Most notably, black and Hispanic women have much higher unemployment rates than do white women. Similarly, unmarried women's unemployment rates are considerably higher than those of married women. Figure 3

FIGURE 3
Women's Unemployment Rates in Massachusetts by Race and Ethnicity, 1999–2008



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics, Annual Average. Retrieved January 25, 2010 from http://www.bls.gov/lau/#publications.

TABLE 1
Industrial Distribution of Massachusetts Women Workers, Median Earnings, and Ratio of Earnings for Year-Round, Full-Time (YRFT) Workers, 2008

	Percent Female in in Industry	Men's Earnings (YRFT)	Women's Earnings (YRFT)	Ratio of Women's to Men's Earnings
TOTAL NONFARM	49.6%	$56,011	$42,772	0.76
Construction	7.9%	$50,919	$45,828	0.90
Transportation, Warehousing & Utilities	24.9%	$52,956	$40,736	0.77
Wholesale Trade	31.0%	$50,919	$43,180	0.85
Manufacturing	33.2%	$57,030	$40,736	0.71
Professional and Business Services	44.1%	$73,324	$50,919	0.69
Information & Communication	44.8%	$67,214	$50,919	0.76
Retail Trade	50.1%	$42,772	$33,607	0.79
Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodations & Food Services	51.6%	$34,625	$29,533	0.85
Financial, Real Estate, Rental & Leasing	52.8%	$81,471	$46,540	0.57
Government	56.2%	$61,103	$50,919	0.83
Other Services	58.5%	$38,699	$30,552	0.79
Education, Health & Social Services	72.9%	$57,030	$41,754	0.73

Source: Authors' calculations from the Massachusetts sample of the 2008 American Community Survey downloaded from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series; Version 4.0 (Machine-readable database), Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center, 2008.
Note: YRFT includes workers who worked 50 or more weeks in the previous year and usually work 35 hours or more a week.

depicts unemployment rates in Massachusetts for white, black, Hispanic and, as available, Asian women.[11]

With the exception of the rates for black women in 2007, white women's unemployment rates were considerably lower than those of black and Hispanic women over this time period.[12] Nationally, and in Massachusetts, black and Hispanic women are generally twice as likely as white women to experience joblessness in booms and in bust periods. Clearly, the burden of unemployment is not shared equally among women.

Employment and Breadwinners

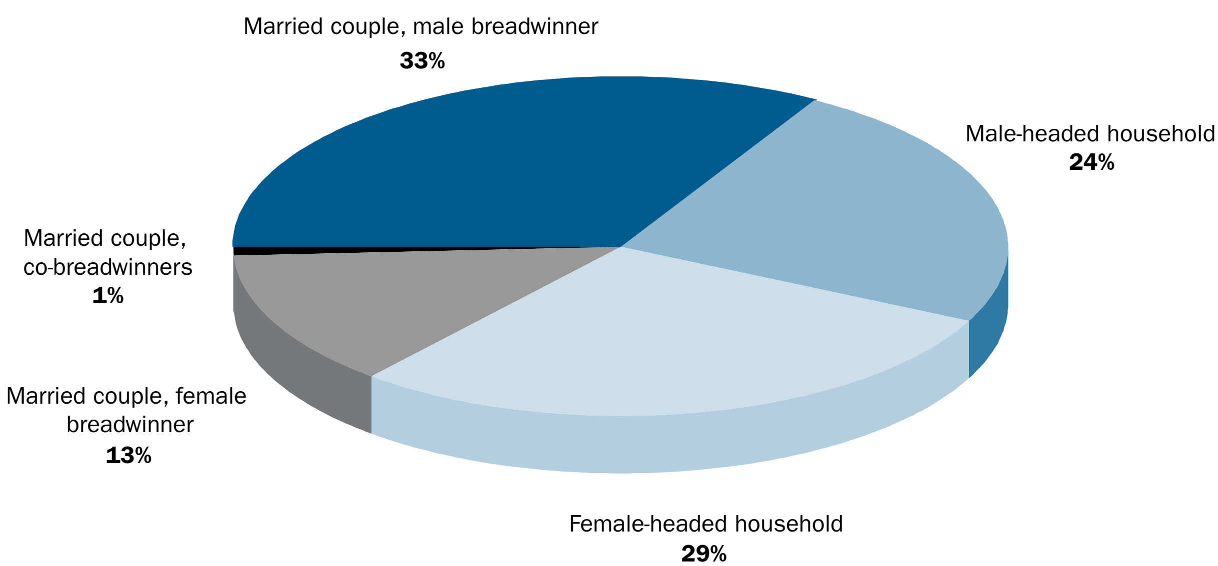
As a result of men's relatively higher unemployment rates, there has been a reduction in men's contribution to family income in some families in the Commonwealth. This highlights a growing trend toward women being primary or equal "breadwinners" in their households.[13] Figure 4 depicts the percentages of male and female breadwinner households in Massachusetts in 2008 by household type. We define a female breadwinner household as one in which a woman earns 50 percent or more of all annual earnings of the primary adults in the household.[14] Of the close to 2.2 million households in which any primary adult has earnings, 29 percent are ones in which a female is the only primary adult (and by definition the breadwinner) and, in 24 percent, men are the only primary adult. The remainder of households (48 percent) has married couples. Seventy percent of married-couple families have male breadwinners, 28 percent have female breadwinners, and, in 2 percent of married couple households, spouses report identical earnings. Overall, in Massachusetts households with earnings, women are almost as likely as men to serve as the breadwinner – 42 percent of households have female breadwinners, 57 percent have male breadwinners and in 1 percent of households men and women earn the same amounts.[15]

Yet, even while women are increasingly breadwinners, they do not bring home as much of the loaf. As Table 1 on page 7 depicts, even adjusting for hours and weeks worked, women make less than men. Statewide, the median earnings ratio for year-round, full-time female to male workers is .76 – or, put another way, women earn 76 cents to every man's dollar. When it comes to the wage gap, women fare better in some industries than others. For example, the construction industry wage differentials are minimal – and gender pay parity is close to being achieved, but only 7.9 percent of workers in the industry are women. Wholesale trade, entertainment, recreation, accommodations and food services, and government have also come closer to closing the wage gap. The two industries with the largest wage gaps are the financial sector and professional and business services. To the degree that women – whose unemployment rates are lower than men's – are picking up the slack, they will need to work harder or more to do it.

To compound the problem, women who are unmarried breadwinners have higher unemployment rates than married women. Nationally, the unemployment rate for unmarried women who support families was 13.0 percent in December 2009, compared to 5.8 percent for married women.[16]

FIGURE 4

Distribution of Male and Female Breadwinner Households in Massachusetts, 2008



Source: Authors' calculations using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey downloaded from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

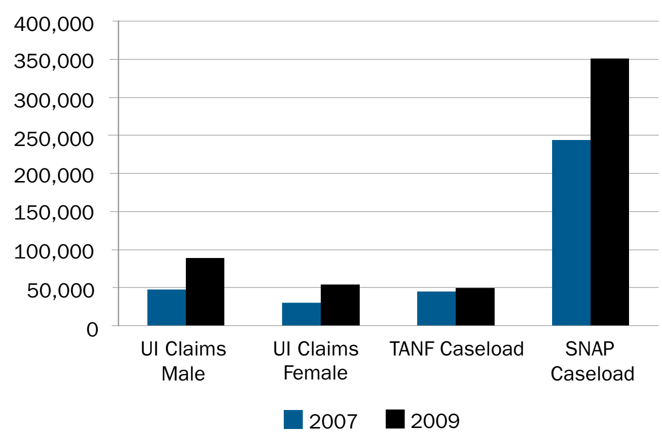
Unfortunately, the BLS does not currently report these data for Massachusetts. However, it did publish this information for 2003-2005. Table 2 below provides unemployment and labor force participation rates for women who maintain families and married women from 2003 to 2005. During this time period, before the "Great Recession," women who maintain families were more likely to be in the labor force than married women, but were twice as likely to be unemployed. Based on the relationship of these figures to overall unemployment rates, it is very likely that single mothers and the other women who maintain families are currently facing unemployment rates of over 10 percent in the Commonwealth. If women who maintain households are laid off from part-time and/or low-wage jobs, they may not be eligible for unemployment insurance. Furthermore, employment promotion changes in federal and state welfare policies during the "boom" years of the mid-1990s included stringent work requirements and time limits on benefits. With relatively high levels of joblessness for women who maintain families, these provisions are likely causing considerable hardship.

Increased Demand for Government Support

When unemployment rises, so does the demand for "safety net" programs. In the following analysis, we draw on available data on usage or indicators of usage for three important safety net programs: Unemployment Insurance claims, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) cash assistance, and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP – formerly Food Stamps). Figure 5 depicts the average monthly number of: unemployment insurance claims by gender; TANF household caseloads; and SNAP household caseloads for the years 2007 and 2009.[17] Submitting an Unemployment Insurance (UI) claim doesn't necessarily mean receipt of UI, because claimants must meet eligibility rules. Still, UI claims are an important indicator of the numbers of workers who have lost employment and are seeking assistance. Not surprisingly, the total number of average monthly UI claims and households using SNAP in 2009 are considerably higher than they were in 2007. Total UI claims increased by 82 percent (85 percent for men and 77 percent for women), while the number of households receiving SNAP has increased by 44 percent. TANF caseloads, however, have only increased by 9 percent.

There are gender differences in the use of these "safety net" programs. Men are much more likely to claim UI than women, even beyond the difference reflected in unemployment rates. Men's unemployment rates averaged about 30 percent higher than women's in the first three quarters of 2009, but men's UI claims were 66 percent higher than women's in 2009. The American Community Survey collects data on SNAP receipt.[18] Thirty-eight percent of all SNAP recipients were children in 2008. Of the adult recipients, 60 percent were women. Looking at household type, 58 percent of households receiving SNAP were female-headed, 26 percent were male-headed, and 16 percent were married couple households.[19] While we do not have state data on TANF recipients, we know that, nationally, 90 percent of adults receiving TANF are women and the vast majority of families receiving TANF are single-mother families.[20] Such a small usage of TANF during a recession (as shown in Figure 5) could be troubling, unless unemployed women serving as heads of households are alternatively receiving other forms of income, such as UI, to help support their families.

FIGURE 5
Average Monthly Unemployment Insurance Claims, TANF Caseload, SNAP Caseload, 2007 and 2009



Source: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Labor and Workforce Development and Department of Transitional Assistance.
Note: SNAP data for 2009 are through October 2009.

TABLE 2
Unemployment and Labor Force Participation Rates for Women Who Maintain Families and Married Women in Massachusetts, 2003–2005

	Women Who Maintain Families		**Married Women**	
	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation Rate
2003	7.9%	67.3%	3.8%	65.1%
2004	6.5%	70.4%	2.3%	64.0%
2005	6.4%	66.8%	2.6%	64.5%

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics, retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/lau/#tables on January 25, 2010.

Financial Sector Implications

The bursting speculative housing bubble has been an important cause of the recession and has reverberated across the entire financial sector. The impacts have been felt at the local, national, and global levels. The instability generated in the housing market is one cause of the drastic increase in foreclosures. In 2008, there were 12,000 foreclosed properties in the Commonwealth, and during the first six months of 2009, there were over 18,000 properties with foreclosure filings.[21] Just over 1 percent of all housing loans initiated foreclosure filings during the second quarter of 2009. There are no gender-disaggregated foreclosure data available.[22] However, we know that those with high-cost (including subprime) mortgages are more likely to default than those with prime-rate mortgages and there are loan data available that contain gender and race indicators.[23]

A recent analysis by The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) of 2007 national Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data by race and gender of the signer of loans found that 44 percent of all loans nationally went to women and that women were just as likely as men to have received a high-cost mortgage (about 25 percent of all loans were high-cost).[24] And while the percentages of black and Hispanic men and women receiving high-cost loans were considerably higher than those of white women and men, there are no gender differences by race or ethnicity. That is, white women were as likely to have a high-cost loan as white men. Similarly, black women were just as likely to have a high-cost loan as black men. However, there were considerable differences among women, even after adjusting for income levels. Low-income black women were twice as likely – and low-income Hispanic women were 1.5 times as likely – to receive a high-cost loan as low-income white women. Furthermore, moderate- and high-income black women were 2.4 times and Hispanic women twice as likely to obtain a high-cost loan as moderate and high-income white women. So while there is no national evidence of gender disparities in types of loans held, data suggest that there is considerable racial and ethnic inequality among women when it comes to high-cost loans. Consequently, women of color in the Commonwealth may be much more likely to face substantial financial implications associated with the housing lending crisis than white women.

Impact on State and Local Government Spending

During economic downturns, both "sides" of the budget are affected: expected revenues decline as spending needs increase. All recessions create fiscal problems for state and local governments, but the depth of this recession has created substantial need and a big blow to revenues. Unemployment, reduced work hours, and a decline in wealth have reduced both income and consumption. As a result, corporate and personal income tax and sales tax revenues have taken a quick nosedive. With increased unemployment, people are losing their employer-sponsored health insurance while those with little or no income are turning to whatever safety net programs are available, putting extreme pressure on government programs. Localities rely overwhelmingly on property taxes and state aid for their revenues – particularly to support their education systems. Similar to the state, municipalities are facing a fiscal squeeze. While property taxes are much more stable than income or sales taxes, they too are subject to the reductions that accompany economic crises. With the slowdown of new construction and renovations, cities and towns are seeing reduced revenue but the costs of maintaining services are not falling.

Given that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the state's 351 cities and towns are required to balance their operating budgets, the decrease in revenues and increased demand for services present a formidable challenge. States and localities address budget deficits through reductions in spending, increases in existing fees and/or taxes, use of stabilization funds, and utilization of a range of one-time revenue sources. This recession has been more severe than previous ones and, with it, the Commonwealth has experienced larger budget deficits. But, uniquely and fortunately in this recession, the federal government has stepped in to provide substantial assistance to states through federal stimulus funds. In putting together this year's (FY10) fiscal budget, the Commonwealth had to close a budget gap of nearly $5 billion. It did so by cutting $2.2 billion of spending, raising $875 million of additional revenues, and using one-time revenues (including stimulus money) to cover the rest.[25]

During recessions when states trim budgets, they may put off new programs, but typically must cut the services they provide. And what does the state fund? The main categories of state expenditures include: health care, aid to localities primarily for K-12 education, public safety, higher education, social services and cash assistance, transportation, corrections, and payment on debt. In many ways, the majority of state spending consists of crucial investments in our physical and human infrastructure. University of Massachusetts researchers recently measured the amount of state spending allocated to human infrastructure (referred to as the "care sector"). They found that, in FY07, close to two-thirds of the state budget helped to assure the vitality of the Commonwealth's human infrastructure, defined as expenditures on K-12 education, health care, and assistance to young children, troubled youth, disabled children and adults, and elders.[26] In addition, most of these state expenditures went directly to localities (in the form of education aid) or to private vendors (e.g., hospitals, nursing homes, and child care providers) that provide the care. Further, much of this care sector spending disproportionately went to low-income families and individuals. This is because the state provides higher levels of state aid to low-income municipalities and steps in to help meet the basic needs of individuals who do not have enough earnings, employer supports, or other income. For example, MassHealth (Massachusetts' State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) and Medicaid programs) is primarily utilized by low-income families with children and poor older adults.

While there are no data on the gender composition of those receiving care through Medicaid and other types of state services to poor and low-income people and families, we do know the percentages of people and families who are poor and low-income in Massachusetts. The percentages of men and women who are poor and who are low-income by age are depicted in Table 3. To be counted as poor, individuals must live in a family whose income is below the federal poverty level (FPL). Because the FPL is considered well below the amount needed to meet basic needs, many researchers, advocates, and policymakers prefer to also know who is low-income – calculated as having income that is 200 percent of the FPL.[27] Children and individuals 65 years and older are more likely to be poor and low-income than are "working-age" adults and women are more likely to be poor or low-income than men. Women 65 and older have particularly high poverty rates. In fact, women comprise two-thirds of all adults 65 and older who are poor and low-income.[28] Table 4 provides the percentages of all, poor, and low-income families by family type. Just fewer than 22 percent of all female-headed families are poor, compared to three percent of married-couple families and 11 percent of male-headed families.[29] Almost one out of every two female-headed households in the Commonwealth is low-income. And while female-headed households comprise nearly 20 percent of all families, they are close to 60 percent of all poor families and 48 percent of all the low-income families in the state. With women affected by poverty at higher rates than men, program cuts directed toward low-income individuals and families disproportionately hurt women and children.

TABLE 3

Percent of Massachusetts Females and Males Who Are Poor and Low-Income by Age, 2008

	Percent Poor		Percent Low-Income	
Age	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
Under 18 years old	11.8%	12.0%	26.0%	26.8%
18-64 years old	9.9%	7.8%	20.9%	17.4%
65 years and older	11.5%	7.7%	34.4%	22.7%
All	10.6%	8.8%	24.0%	20.3%

Source: Authors' calculation using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey.

This recession has led to funding decreases in services and programs that are considered essential for the economic security of many women and families. In January 2010, the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center released a report on the impact of state budget cuts on women that highlights cuts to child care, training services associated with receipt of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), public higher education, and adult basic education. These programs disproportionately serve women and have been cut in this recession (as well as the previous one), impeding important pathways for women to improve their earnings capacity.[30]

Additionally, it is important to consider how budget cuts have trickled down to communities and disproportionately affected women living in areas with relatively high poverty rates. Female-headed households are disproportionately represented in low-income communities. We looked at the family composition of ten large cities in Massachusetts that have poverty rates over twice that of the state average. The percentage of female-headed families in these ten large cities ranges from 29 percent in Lowell to 41 percent in Lawrence, compared to the statewide average of 19 percent.[31] While 20 percent of all families live in these ten cities, 39 percent of all single-mother families do. Chapter 70 funds – state aid to ensure that municipalities meet minimum per-pupil education expenditures – help all communities, but poorer communities receive more aid. To the degree that local aid or other state monies directed specifically to low-income communities face cutbacks, large numbers of female-headed families and their children will be affected.

TABLE 4

Percent Poor and Low-Income Families and Percent of All, Poor, and Low-Income Families, by Type of Family, 2008

	Percent of All Families	Percent Poor	Percent of All Poor Families	Percent Low-Income	Percent of All Low-income Families
All Families	100.0%	7.3%	100.0%	17.9%	100.0%
Married couple	74.3%	3.1%	31.8%	10.3%	42.4%
Female-headed	19.5%	21.9%	58.7%	44.4%	48.2%
Male-headed	6.3%	10.9%	9.5%	26.8%	9.4%

Source: Authors' calculation using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey.

Summary

This recession has cut a wide swath across the Commonwealth. Both men and women have been deeply affected by the down economy, although differently. Men's levels of unemployment exceed that of women's, but the mortgage crisis and the fiscal crisis will together affect women more than men. Further, there are considerable differences in the impact among women. Women of color and women heading households face higher unemployment rates, an increased risk of foreclosure, and bear more negative consequences of budget cuts than white and married women.

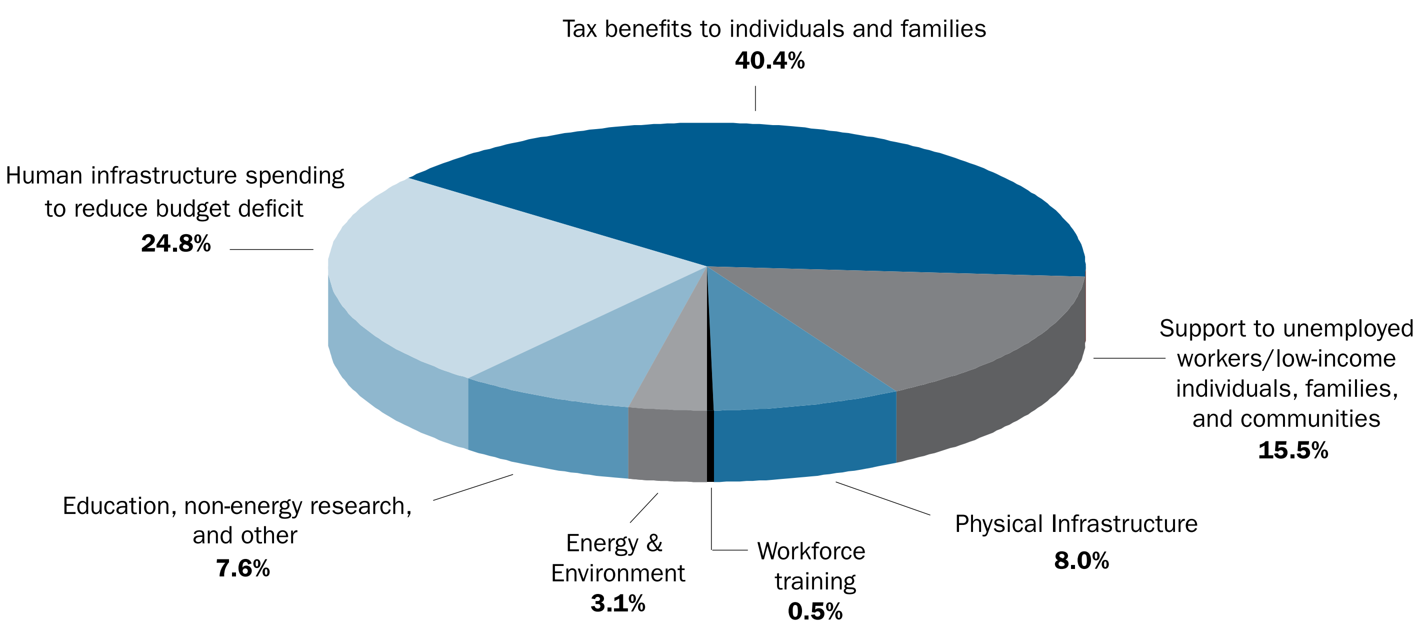
This recession has been particularly deep, as unemployment rates have not been this high since the 1970s. And it has been unusually long – 24 months since the recession began, compared to the eight-month downturn periods in the recessions of the early 1990s and 2000s. However, unlike previous recessions, the federal government has played a particularly important role in helping to alleviate its effects. The 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment (ARRA) Act has provided unprecedented federal spending. We now take a closer look at the gender impacts of ARRA.

WHAT DOES ARRA OFFER MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN?

ARRA, the $787 billion federal spending initiative signed in February 2009, has mitigated the effects of the "Great Recession" through tax cuts and targeted spending. Massachusetts is slated to receive a total of $14.4 billion, with most of it used in FY09 and FY10. The Commonwealth's "Massachusetts Recovery" website[32] provides details about how this money has been allocated. To date, the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center (MBPC) has produced the most thorough and accessible analyses of ARRA money allocated for and already spent in Massachusetts.[33] Figure 6 shows the distribution of these funds based on MBPC's October 2009 analysis of funds to the Commonwealth, recategorized to best understand the gender impacts.

In order to assess the impact of stimulus spending on women in the Commonwealth, we discuss the likely impacts of spending on women's employment potential and the effects of the federal dollars on family resources more generally. While employment potential and family resources are related, it is important to take into account the variation in family composition in order to understand how stimulus funds may affect families differently.

FIGURE 6
Distribution of Total ARRA Funds Awarded to Massachusetts



Source: Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009: *Federal Stimulus in Massachusetts October 2009 Update*, Appendix (pp 68-78), 2009, retrieved January 25, 2010 from http://www.massbudget.org/file_storage/documents/ARRA101409.pdf.

Employment Impacts

We identify three key areas of funding that could have differential or consequential impacts on women's employment opportunities. These are: physical infrastructure; energy and environment ("Green Economy" development); and workforce development.

Physical Infrastructure

Physical infrastructure spending accounts for 8 percent of ARRA funds allocated to Massachusetts. This category includes spending for public transportation, highway and bridge infrastructure, public housing improvements, community health care center construction, lead paint removal, drinking water improvements, and hazardous waste reduction. Seventy percent of these funds are allocated directly to the construction and transportation infrastructure. Those trained for or already employed in the construction industry will be the primary beneficiaries of these funds. In Massachusetts, women currently comprise 7.9 percent of all workers in the construction industry and make up 2.2 percent of all construction workers.

"Green Economy" Development (Energy and Environment)

Many are looking to the development of alternative energy as an important investment in the country's future, and Massachusetts is a leader in this area. Monies are targeted toward improved energy efficiency, weatherization programs, superfund hazardous waste site and brownfield cleanup, renewable energy, and efficient energy research. However, just over 3 percent ($452 million) of total anticipated ARRA spending in the Commonwealth will be utilized in the area of energy and the environment, so the employment impacts are likely to be limited, at least in the near future.

The green economy sector is estimated to employ 27,000 workers in Massachusetts.[34] The United States Department of Labor provides a list of occupations in 12 different areas of the Green Economy sector.[35] Using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the ACS, we estimate that 16.5 percent of all workers currently have jobs that are identified as those needed in this sector. Presumably these workers would need little, if any, general training to be qualified for a green economy job. However, compared to men, women are poorly positioned to enter the green economy – just under 7 percent of all women and 26 percent of all men are currently "green ready." Occupations needed in the green economy include a range of engineers, scientists, and an array of jobs in construction and manufacturing. These are all occupations in which women are considerably underrepresented.

Workforce Development

Recessions are typically a time when many workers seek to "tune up" or acquire new skills. Most ARRA money for workforce development is targeted toward three different groups: Adult Employment and Training Activities (mostly through One Stop Career centers); Youth Activities (with a focus on employment for at-risk youth); and Dislocated Worker Employment and Training targeting laid-off workers.[36] The amount of spending on workforce development programs and services is comparatively small, totaling $71 million, but far exceeds the amount budgeted for such activities in the FY10 state budget.

The state collects data on how many women and men are served by a range of workforce development programs. In FY08, the Work Investment Act (WIA) programs (One-Stop Career Centers; Low-Income Adults; Dislocated Workers; National Emergency Grants; and Low-Income Youth), which are similar to those funded by ARRA funds, served just over 207,000 people and 48 percent of those served by these programs were women.[37] This suggests that men and women should receive additional ARRA-funded services nearly equally. However, the degree to which such programs are effective and help women develop skills in higher-paying and less-traditional sectors is, at best, unknown.

Family Resource Impacts

Three categories of stimulus spending are intended to affect directly family resources and have differential impacts on women and men. These include: tax benefits; spending directed toward unemployed workers and low-income individuals, families, or communities; and funds specifically directed to reduce state budget deficits in the area of human infrastructure.

Tax Benefits

Just over 40 percent of all ARRA money allocated to Massachusetts is in the form of tax benefits. Two types of tax benefits are estimated to provide 87 percent of the total benefits conferred to Massachusetts households. The change to the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) provides 43 percent of the tax relief, which benefits higher-income taxpayers, while the "Making Work Pay" tax credit is targeted to low-income wage earners. The gender effects of both tax-benefit changes are difficult to discern. However, based on the data in Table 4 on page 11, the portions of the tax benefits targeted to low-income households will disproportionately help women.

Support to Unemployed Workers and to Low-Income Individuals, Families, and Communities

Just over 15 percent of ARRA funds coming to Massachusetts are specifically directed at unemployed workers and low-income individuals, families, or communities. Half of these funds are dedicated to serving the unemployed through emergency and extended Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits and the extension of health care insurance to unemployed workers. Men are more likely to be unemployed than women and they are also more likely to be eligible for UI. As depicted in Figure 5 on page 9, men are more likely to make UI claims, so it is not surprising that they would be disproportionately served by these funds. In addition to ARRA funds dedicated to emergency and extended UI benefits, some ARRA funds are dedicated to modernize the UI systems to cover more low-wage and part-time workers as well as workers who leave employment because of compelling family reasons.[38] Massachusetts already includes those workers in UI coverage, but nationally these provisions may prove to be very beneficial to women.

The other half of these support funds are primarily allocated to programs that assist poor and low-income individuals and families. These include food and nutrition programs (such as SNAP), TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families), child care for poor and low-income children, and education, housing, and health care funds to low-income communities. As discussed earlier, because women are more likely to be poor than men, and female-headed households are much more likely to be poor and low-income than other families, these funds will disproportionately help women.

Maintaining the State's Human Infrastructure – State Deficit Reduction

A substantial portion of ARRA funds is earmarked for states to help balance their budgets, and the majority of these funds must be spent on Medicaid and education. These funds have helped the state avoid making more drastic cuts. The Center for Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that, nationally, ARRA funds have allowed states to close about one-third of total state budget shortfalls this fiscal year.[39] The Commonwealth will receive close to $3.6 billion (one-quarter of the total amount of ARRA funding coming to Massachusetts) to be used for deficit reduction. Almost three out of every four of those dollars help to cover the costs of health care for Massachusetts residents for which the state is responsible.

Without these funds, public education, health care providers, and nursing homes would have been cut much more substantially. This would have resulted in further service cuts and/or steeper fee increases, leading to more people not receiving needed care and/or paying more for services and having less for other basic needs. Low-income families and seniors are the most likely to receive Medicaid services, so ARRA funds for these services are disproportionately serving women.

There are also employment effects of these funds. These funds have helped stave off additional layoffs and additional furloughs, and prevent more reductions in work hours for state and local government employees as well as private sector employees whose jobs depend on this funding.

Women are much more likely than men to be workers in hospitals, health care centers, nursing homes, and public schools. Three-quarter of all employees in the care sector (private and public) are women.[40] Therefore, these ARRA funds have helped and will disproportionately help women who work in education and health care.

While ARRA funds have provided substantial support to states to secure their human infrastructure, these funds are temporary and, without new federal legislation, will not continue to be available after 2010. The state's fiscal outlook is not encouraging and the end of these funds will mean further budget cuts, especially in areas where cuts have been minimized, such as aid to municipalities. Cities and towns are already preparing for deep cuts, making layoffs almost inevitable.[41] Given that 62 percent of local government employees are women, the impact of the recession on female municipal workers could be significant.[42]

ARRA: The Bottom Line for Massachusetts Women

While there is no precise way to determine who benefits more (or less) from ARRA funds, our analysis points to some aspects of the Act that will clearly benefit men much more than women. Men will benefit from funds directed toward physical infrastructure improvements and green economy funding, as women's employment is currently limited in both sectors. The one major area of spending that will benefit women more than men is the sizable portion of spending to states to reduce cuts to human infrastructure, where a gender gap in receipt of services and employment exists. Total ARRA funds allocated to tax benefits, support to unemployed workers and low-income individuals, families and communities, and for workforce development will probably benefit men and women equally – although there are clear gender distinctions within spending in each of these categories (e.g., UI funds will go more to men, while more women will receive SNAP funds). There is also a subtle gap in the way in which this spending is viewed in terms of the longer-term impact in the state. Generally, funds for physical infrastructure and the green economy have been characterized as "investments" in the future, while funds targeted to states have been characterized as money to help close the budget gap rather than preserving our human investments.

ARE THERE OPPORTUNITIES TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUITY?

ARRA expenditures provide an important injection of funds and employment into the Commonwealth. Both women and men have faced economic losses in this recession. Based on the information we currently have available, both women and men will benefit from portions of ARRA expenditures—however, sometimes in different ways.

Can Women Count on ARRA?

Below are a few ways ARRA funds could promote women's equity.

- Improve current collection of information on employee job creation by including information on gender and race/ethnicity.

In order to understand the potential opportunities, we first need to know if women and girls are included as recipients of ARRA funding in areas in which they are underrepresented. But we face challenges monitoring ARRA impacts and therefore in leveraging funds to ensure they will be used to promote gender equity. There are clear and extensive ARRA reporting procedures by the federal government to help ensure accountability. However, less than half of all of ARRA spending must be reported to the federal government. For example, funds going to Medicaid, student financial aid, or for tax credits are not subject to federal reporting requirements. Further, only "prime recipients" – non-federal entities that receive ARRA federal awards directly from the federal government – must report, and also these entities require "sub-recipients" (the entity that has the same goals and objectives to deliver on behalf of the prime recipient) to do some of the reporting. Prime recipients are required to report on job creation, but they do not have to report on the gender or race/ethnicity of those who received the jobs.[43] However, in Massachusetts, the administration has required all recipients and all spenders of funds down the line to gather demographic information in the interest of transparency and analysis of ARRA spending and jobs.

We know very little about what types of firms have received federal contracts through ARRA funds. As of October 2009, 3.1 percent went to women-owned businesses, even though they represent 28.3 percent of all businesses.[44]

- Enforce existing federal anti-discrimination provisions and leverage state procurement goals for minority- and women-owned business enterprises.

All contractors receiving ARRA funds are subject to employment compliance guidelines, including anti-discrimination provisions, if they receive more than $10,000. Construction contractors have additional requirements to take affirmative-action steps, although those provisions have historically had little "teeth." Stepped-up efforts by the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance may help ensure that women and people of color are represented among those receiving jobs affiliated with ARRA construction awards. Since 2004, Massachusetts municipalities must incorporate Minority Business Enterprise and Women Business Enterprise goals in construction projects funded by the state.[45] This legislation might provide useful guidelines to apply to ARRA construction funds.

- Promote training for women in non-traditional areas in workforce development programs.

With less than 7 percent of women in "green ready" occupations, there is a tremendous opportunity to start training women – especially women without college degrees – in well-paying jobs for the future. Specifically, workforce development funds could be used to funnel more women into non-traditional training opportunities.

- Ensure that low-income women, women of color, and low-income communities are being served by ARRA funds.

The gendered impacts of the recession and of the distribution of ARRA funding are most strongly felt by low-income women and children, women maintaining families, and women of color. In order to promote gender equality and strengthen women's economic security, it is important that there be more robust and deliberate efforts to ensure that ARRA funds and other recovery efforts are reaching these women, families, and communities. In April 2009, the Vermont Legislature adopted language to this effect in its ARRA legislation.[46] Massachusetts may take a similar approach to ensuring an equitable recovery if another federal stimulus package is passed.

After ARRA

Most ARRA funding for the Commonwealth will be allocated and/or used by the end of 2010. It is not clear what will happen next. This brief demonstrates that there are several key differences in the way the recession and recovery efforts affect women and men. Based on the gendered implications identified here, we end with a few key questions about our immediate future that will undoubtedly affect women's and men's economic status in the long term.

- While it appears that financial institutions have regained their footing, employment has not yet rebounded nor has credit been extensively extended to homeowners facing foreclosure. Massachusetts did not gain any jobs after the last recession.[47] Are we in store for another "jobless recovery" in Massachusetts, and what will that mean for women and girls? How long will the fiscal crisis last and continue to affect a vital set of supports for unemployed workers and low-income women and their children who need these supports even when employed?

- Job-creation policies seem to be the next major item on the Obama administration's agenda. Will those policies create equal opportunities for women and men to obtain those jobs? Will the education and training needed to ensure living wage employment for women be available? Can political, business, and not-for-profit sector leaders make a political and public "pitch" that low-income women, women of color, and women living in low-income communities be included and encouraged to participate in workforce development efforts and apply for jobs geared toward physical infrastructure and green energy projects?

- If women's unemployment rates remain below those of men, women will continue to serve as key financial contributors to their families' well-being. The typical female worker still makes considerably less than her male counterpart. Is it time to revisit pay equity legislation to ensure that women earn "half a loaf"?

- The education and health care sectors are the only ones experiencing employment expansion in the Commonwealth, which bodes well for women workers seeking employment. Many jobs in these sectors provide good wages or career ladders to better jobs. Will women who want to find work in these sectors be able to find and/or afford the required technical skills and education?

- If the green economy is going to be an important engine for growth in the Commonwealth, how can we ensure that more women are "green ready"?

- Will the Commonwealth have a sufficient fiscal base to meet the growing demands in the care sector to ensure a strong human infrastructure?

- Did employment-promotion policies in the Commonwealth's welfare changes enacted in the 1990s go too far, especially in light of high unemployment rates among women who maintain families and very low levels of increased usage of TANF?

- Will women of color, who disproportionately receive high-cost loans and now face foreclosure, be able to get financial assistance to keep their homes?

Conclusion

Over the next year or so, as more data become available about the financial and employment situation of women and men and families in the Commonwealth, we will be better able to assess the differential impacts of this recession on women and men. However, even without that information, it is clear that pay equity, education and training for well-paying employment in growing sectors of the economy, and sound fiscal footing for the state and its cities and towns will be imperative for women's continued climb toward economic equality.

A comprehensive and updated list of available resources related to the gendered implications of the recession and ARRA may be found on the Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy website: www.mccormack.umb.edu/centers/cwppp/index.php.

Endnotes

1 Data on Massachusetts from Massachusetts Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development, Labor Force and Unemployment Rates, retrieved from files available at http://lmi2.detma.org/Lmi/Unemployment.asp. Data on U.S. from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey, retrieved from files available at http://www.bls.gov/cps/.

2 Massachusetts Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development. Current Employment Statistics (CES-790). Downloaded November 25, 2009 and January 27, 2010 from http://lmi2.detma.org/Lmi/lmi_ces_a.asp#aTimeFrame.

3 These are all private sector industries. The data for jobs reported in federal, state and local government are recorded under the industrial category "Government." Virtually all the employment gains in the "Education, Health Care, and Social Service" industry category were in health care.

4 The Massachusetts Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development receives data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

5 Economic Policy Institute, Economy Track Data available at http://www.epi.org/resources/economy_track_data.

6 Annually reported unemployment rates by gender in Massachusetts through 2008 indicate that women's unemployment rates have been lower than men's throughout the 2000s, fluctuating around a difference of 1 percentage point.

7 Authors' calculation using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey downloaded from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 4.0 [Machine-readable database], Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2008 (Steven Ruggles, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander).

8 These data include all wage or salary earners, including self-employed, and are based on the American Community Survey, which is a household survey. Data in Figure 1 do not include self-employed as they are from the employer survey Current Employment Survey (CES-790). The ACS does not include a government industry category that corresponds to the CES-790 government industry category, but does indicate if workers hold jobs for federal, state or local government levels. We pulled all government workers from their ACS industry category and counted them as being in the industry labeled "Government." For example, a public school teacher would appear in the ACS "education service" industrial category and be classified as a local government worker. For Table 1, this worker is counted under "Government."

9 This includes workers who worked 50 or more weeks in the previous year and indicated that they usually work 35 hours or more a week. This adjusts for hours worked and is the ratio of earnings most commonly used in popular discussions of the gender wage gap.

10 This category includes jobs in industries that provide repair, religious, personal and household services.

11 The Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes annual data on employment status by state and includes information by age, gender, race and ethnicity. For three years only (2003-2005), it also published rates by marital status and for Asians.

12 All data provided by race/ethnic and gender are labeled "preliminary"; however, they are never updated. For the years 2003-2005, the BLS includes an error range for the unemployment data, indicating a high degree of variance for non-white women. This suggests that the 2007 unemployment rate for black women may be an unreliable estimate.

13 A recent Pew Research Center report highlights the growth in the number of wives whose income exceeds that of their husbands, from 4 percent in 1970 to 22 percent in 2007 ("New Economics of Marriage: The Rise of Wives" January 19, 2010, retrieved January 20, 2010 at http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1466/economics-marriage-rise-of-wives?src=prc-latest&proj=peoplepress).

14 Primary adults vary by household and family type. There is one primary adult in single adult families or single adults living on their own. For married couple families, we consider both spouses (regardless of gender) as primary adults. For all other families (i.e., families in which there are more than one adult who are related but are not married to each other), we take the self-identified head of the household as the primary adult.

15 Authors' calculations from the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey downloaded from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. The measure includes only positive earnings of the primary adults in the household. Families are defined as one or more related persons residing in the housing unit. Primary adults include the head of the household and a spouse (if present). We treat each unrelated person or unrelated family in a household as a separate family. Including all other earners in families reduces the percentage of families in which the primary female adult in the family earns half or more of total earnings to 39 percent (the percentage of male breadwinners is 54 percent, so that in 7 percent of families the other earners (combined) bring home the majority of earnings in families).

16 This includes women with no spouse present and living with another family member (so it excludes women living on their own). Data from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic News Release, Table A-7 retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.t07.htm, January 25, 2010. Data for women who maintain families are not seasonally adjusted.

Endnotes *(continued)*

17 Data for UI claims retrieved July 25, 2009, November 25, 2009 and January 25, 2010 from http://lmi2.detma.org/Lmi/claimant.asp; data on TANF caseloads retrieved January 25, 2010 from http://www.mass.gov/?pageID=eohhs2terminal&L=4&L0=Home&L1=Researcher&L2=Basic+Needs&L3=Financial+Assistance&sid=Eeohhs2&b=terminalcontent&f=dta_r_finassist_tafdc&csid=Eeohhs2; and data on SNAP caseloads include data through October for 2009, retrieved January 28, 2010 from http://www.mass.gov/?pageID=eohhs2terminal&L=4&L0=Home&L1=Researcher&L2=Basic+Needs&L3=Food+%26+Nutrition&sid=Eeohhs2&b=terminalcontent&f=dta_r_finassist_fs&csid=Eeohhs2.

18 Food Stamp receipt is underreported in the American Community Survey, with just under 218,000 households reporting receipt compared to an actual average receipt of just over 279,000 in 2008.

19 Authors' calculation using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the ACS downloaded from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

20 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, TANF Eight Annual Report to Congress, June 2009, retrieved January 28, 2010 from http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/data-reports/index.htm.

21 2008 data from Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, Inc., "Massachusetts Foreclosed Properties Initiative to Preserve Homes and Revitalize Communities," press release, March 16, 2009 (www.chapa.org/pdf/CHAPApressreleasefinal.pdf). 2009 data from RealityTrac, "Massachusetts Reports Over 18,000 Properties with Foreclosure Filings in Fist Half of 2009 (http://74.125.93.132/search?q=cache:kmOlbv1I8UJ: www.realtytrac.com/contentmanagement/library.aspx%3Fchannelid%3D13%26itemid%3D7062+foreclosures+massachusetts+total&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

22 Unfortunately, we have no information about how foreclosures or the credit crunch are affecting men and women differently in Massachusetts. Individual records on foreclosures in Massachusetts list names of those holding the mortgage, but not gender.

23 Loan data collected under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) indicate the race and the sex of the signer of the loan and if the loan was at prime or high-cost rates.

24 National Council of Negro Women, *Assessing the Double Burden: Examining Racial and Gender Disparities in Mortgage Lending*, June 2009. Retrieved January 25, 2010 from www.ncnw.org/images/double_burden.pdf.

25 Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, "MassBudget Brief: Fiscal Year 2011 Budget Preview," October 2009, retrieved from http://www.massbudget.org/documentsearch/findDocument?doc_id=693, January 15, 2010.

26 Randy Albelda, Mignon Duffy, and Nancy Folbre, *Counting on Care Work: Human Infrastructure in Massachusetts*, University of Massachusetts 2009. Available at http://countingcare.org/documents/counting_on_care_web_0909.pdf.

27 In 2008, the FPL for a single adult was $10,991 and for a family of three was $17,163 (U.S. Census Bureau, "Poverty Thresholds for 2008 by Size and Family and Related Children Under 18 Years"), retrieved from http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/threshld/thresh08.html, January 15, 2010.

28 This information is not contained in Table 3, but comes from information compiled for the table.

29 Families are defined as two or more persons who are related to one another by blood, marriage, or adoption and live in the same housing unit. Female-headed families are ones in which an unmarried woman heads the family. It can include other related adults and/or children. Similarly, male-headed families are ones in which an unmarried man heads the family.

30 Sadaf Knight, Kristina Richardi and Doug Howgate, "An Unstable Ladder: How the Fiscal Crisis Is Threatening Education and Work Support Programs for Many Women," Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, January 2010, retrieved January 25, 2010 from http://www.massbudget.org/file_storage/documents/UnstableLadder011210.pdf

31 The cities are: Boston, Chelsea, Fall River, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, New Bedford, Springfield and Worcester. All have family poverty rates ranging from 14.9 percent to 27.1 percent, compared to a statewide rate of 7.1 percent. Data are averages from 2006-2008 from the Massachusetts sample of the American Community Survey retrieved online from American Factfinder website of the U.S. Census Bureau, January 15, 2010. http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en), Table B17010.

32 http://www.mass.gov/?pageID=stimhomepage&L=1&L0=Home&sid=Fstim.

33 There are various reports about ARRA in Massachusetts at the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center's webpage (click on Fiscal Health & Budget Transparency for most of these reports). For our analysis we relied mostly on the appendix in *The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009: Federal Stimulus in Massachusetts October 2009 update*, October 2009, retrieved January 25, 2010 at http://www.massbudget.org/documentsearch/findDocument?doc_id=695.

34 Gavin, Robert. 2009b. "Alternative fuels aren't boosting state economy yet." *Boston Globe*, November 11. Retrieved November 20, 2009 at http://www.boston.com/business/articles/2009/11/11/alternative_fuels_arent_boosting_state_economy_yet/.

Endnotes *(continued)*

35 This information is available at ONET – the online version of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. The 12 areas are: Agriculture and Forestry; Energy and Carbon Capture and Storage; Energy Efficiency; Energy Trading; Environmental Protection; Government and Regulatory Administration; Green Construction; Manufacturing; Recycling and Waste Reduction; Renewable Energy Generation; Research, Design, and Consulting Services; and Transportation. These jobs can be found at http://online.onetcenter.org/find/green?n=0&g=Go.

36 Massachusetts Policy and Budget Center, *The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009: Federal Stimulus in Massachusetts October 2009 update* (p. 35).

37 Commonwealth Corporation (on behalf of the Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development), *Annual Performance Report of Massachusetts Workforce Development Services and Programs*, November 2008.

38 National Employment Law Project, "Federal Stimulus Funding Produces Unprecedented Wave of State Unemployment Insurance Reforms," Updated December 2, 2009. Retrieved January 22, 2010 from http://www.nelp.org/page/-/UI/UIMARoundup1209.pdf?nocdn=1.

39 Iris Lav, Nicholas Johnson, and Elizabeth McNichol, "Additional Federal Fiscal Relief Needed to Help States Address Recession's Impact." Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, December 18, 2009, retrieved January 15, 2010 at http://www.cbpp.org/cms/index.cfm?fa=view&id=2988.

40 Albelda, Duffy, and Folbre, op. cit.

41 Peter Schworm, "Schools bracing for deep cutbacks," *Boston Globe*, January 13, 2010.

42 Authors' calculation using the 2008 Massachusetts sample of the ACS downloaded from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

43 Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, "Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies, June 22, 2009." Retrieved November 12, 2009 from www.whitehouse.gov/omb/assets/memoranda_fy2009/m09-21.pdf.

44 Kerwin Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, University of Ohio, "Transparency and Tracking" FairRecovery.org. Retrieved January 15, 2010 http://fairrecovery.org/?page_id=5.

45 State Office of Minority and Women Business Assistance "Construction Reform," retrieved January 15, 2010 at http://www.somwba.state.ma.us/content/construction/constructionReform.aspx.

46 Act 54 (2009) The Vermont Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 contains the following provision: Sec. 3. ARRA FUNDS; ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR WOMEN

(a) While all Vermonters are suffering from the current economic downturn, research indicates that women and female-headed households are likely to bear a disproportionate share of the hardship. As a result of longstanding discrimination and economic disadvantage, they often have fewer personal assets to sustain them through periods of unemployment, and they tend to feel cutbacks in traditional, public safety-net programs more acutely than men do, particularly in times of economic crisis. The general assembly, therefore, encourages that the recession's disparate impact on women and children be taken into consideration in the awarding of federal funds under the ARRA to the extent allowable by law. (b) The VOESR shall report the number of jobs created and retained by industry as required by federal law for the purpose of determining the number of jobs that are likely to benefit women. Retrieved from www.leg.state.vt.us/docs/2010/Acts/ACT054.pdf, February 27, 2010.

47 The peak of employment in Massachusetts before the last recession was 3,384,000 in February 2001. The peak of employment before this recession took hold was 3,300,100 in May 2008. New England Federal Reserve, Indicators, Seasonally Adjusted Payroll Employment, Massachusetts, retrieved January 25, 2010 at http://www.bos.frb.org/economic/neei/neeidata/empstn.csv.


Careers

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