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Gender Economics (EE364)

Chapter 3

Theories of Family Formation

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“Gold Miss” or “Earthy Mom”?

Evidence from Thailand

Sasiwimon Warunsiri Paweenawat and Lusi Liao,
PIER Discussion Paper No. 110, 2019

1. Introduction



Higher-educated women tend to delay marriage, a common global phenomenon.

- A majority of these women on this “marriage strike” are highly educated, holding a university degree.

- In developed Asia, this group of single women with high socioeconomic status and education attainment, called “Gold Miss,” has been characterized differently compared with its Western counterparts, where women not only delay marriage, but remain single.

1. Introduction



Hwang (2016) attributes the “Gold Miss” phenomenon to the rapid growth of economy associated with the intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes

- As gender norms still treat women as the main provider of childcare and household labor, higher-educated women who prioritize their career development or personal life, rather than marriage or family, tend to stay single.
- Inspired by this argument, our study provides evidence on whether this phenomenon applies to a rapidly developing country in Asia with strong cultural background.

2. Background and the reform



Figure 1 (A) shows the increase of year of schooling and

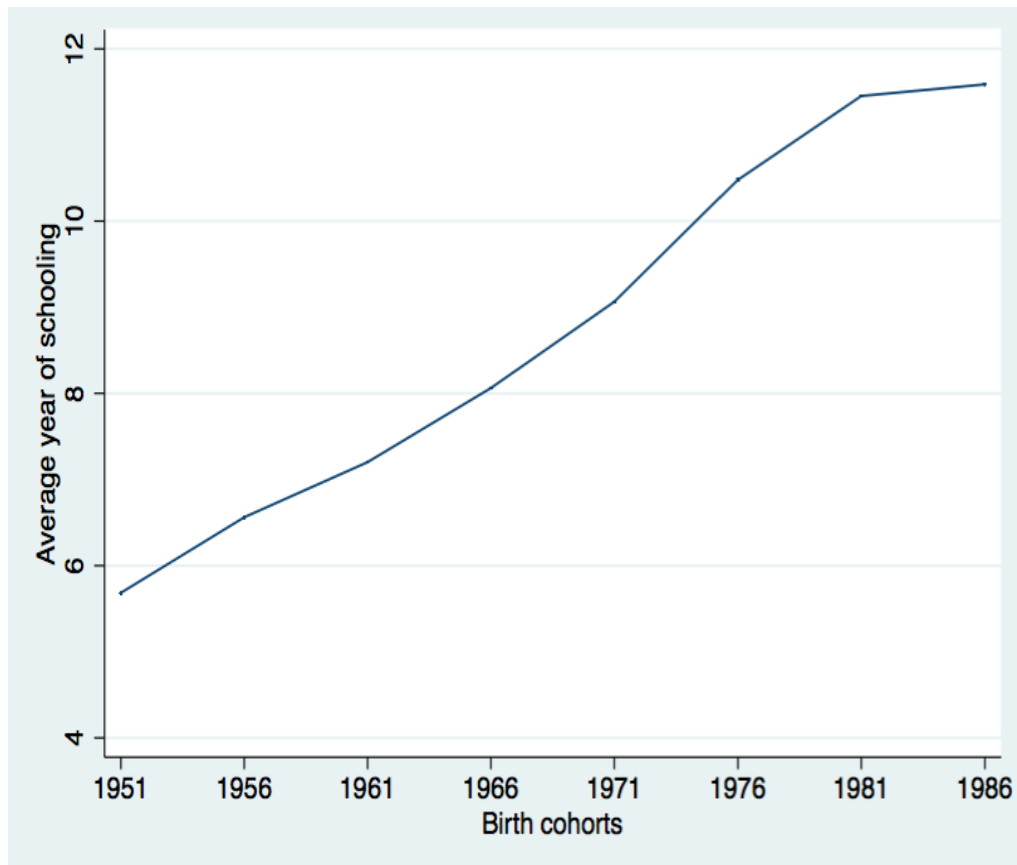


Figure 1 (B) shows the increase of share of higher educational degree for birth cohorts. The share of primary level drops over 30% for post-1970 cohorts.

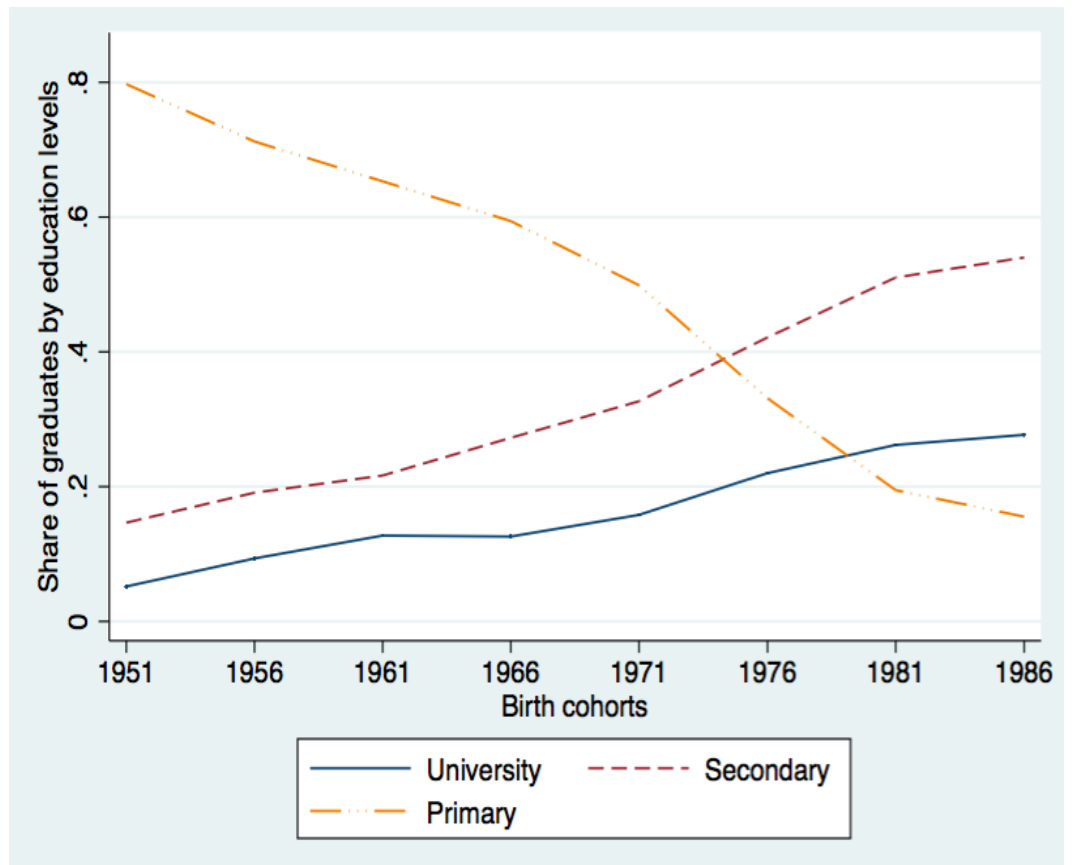
2. Background and the reform

Figure 1. The education attainments of women by year of schooling and degree

A) Average year of schooling



B) The share of graduates by education levels



2. Background and the reform

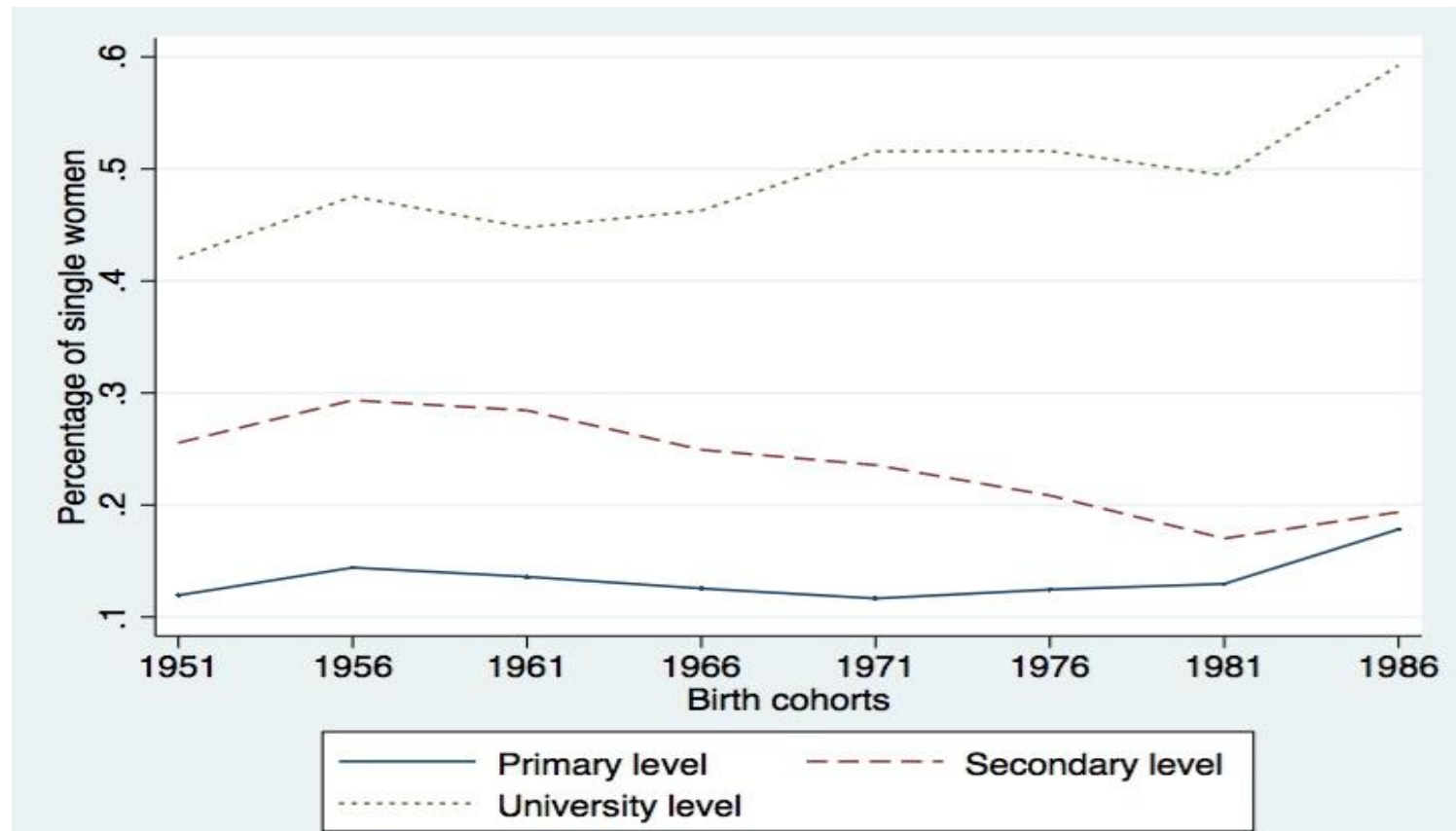


Figure 2 shows the percentage of single women age between 25 to 34 years by three education levels born during 1951 to 1992.

- There are only less than 15% of single women among those with primary education, while it is higher for those with secondary level and much higher for university level.
- The percentage of higher-educated single women has increased nearly 20% across the birth cohorts.

2. Background and the reform

Figure 2. The percentage of single women age between 25 to 34 by education levels



2. Background and the reform

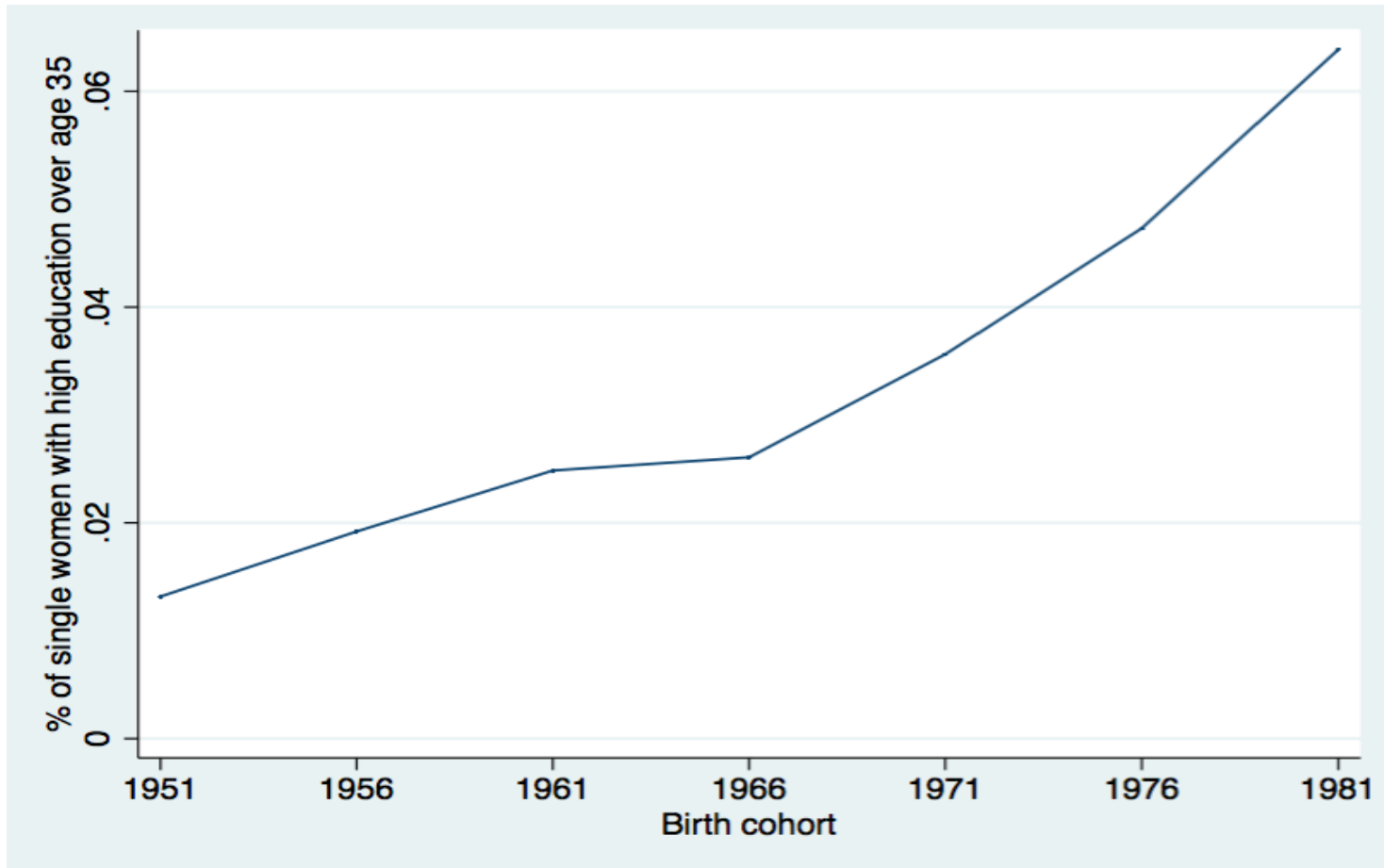


Figure 4. The percentage of single women with university or higher age over 35 (“Gold Miss” phenomenon)

Generally, with the increase in female education attainments over time, more women choose to stay single and have less or no children.

6. Results



It should be noticed that the negative result supports the idea that, with the increase of education attainment of women, the **“Gold Miss”** phenomenon in Thailand is on the rise.

- With the development and further increase in education, the rise of the “Gold Miss” may deepen the fertility problem.

An economic analysis of fertility (Becker, 1960)


Factors that determine the birth rate (or Determinants of fertility)

(1) deciding whether to have or not -> (2) number of children to have.

 **Gary Becker (1960)** - "Children" are the output of the household production function.

Demand for Children – Married couples will consider both the benefit (utility) and the opportunity cost of having children (or income lost from parenting time), as well as overall household income.

An economic analysis of fertility (Becker, 1960)

 The main idea is to decide on family size or the number of children to get maximum satisfaction under the budget and time constraints of the household.

Becker also proposed a trade-off between the number and quality of children.

Source - Becker, G. S. (1960). An economic analysis of fertility. In National Bureau of Economic Research (Ed.), Demographic and economic change in developed countries : Columbia University.

The concept of supply and demand in family planning (Easterlin, 1975).



Easterlin (1975) proposed the idea of motivation and cost in family planning -> the demand for having children

Three factors affect the decision to have children:

- 1 The number of children you want (or expect) is determined by socioeconomic factors, including income, costs, values, and beliefs (that affect the family size and quality of children).

The concept of supply and demand in family planning (Easterlin, 1975).

- 2 The number of children one can have (without contraception) is determined by age at marriage, woman's age, number of children a woman has, and child's survival from birth to adulthood.
- 3 Contraceptive costs – Cost in terms of monetary and non-monetary (belief and culture, social condition) aspects.

Couples are motivated to use contraceptives when the cost is low.



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Having children

📍 Economic Opportunities for spouses to have children (Blau and Winkler, 2017).

- For example, women with higher education have higher opportunity costs of having children (Becker 1985).

📍 Research in developed and developing countries found that women get higher education, women have fewer children.

- Opportunity cost of not participating in the labor market is high



Having children

- Highly educated women tend to have fewer children
- The number of children per woman, especially those with a bachelor's degree or higher, declined
- The relationship between years of schooling and the number of women's children.

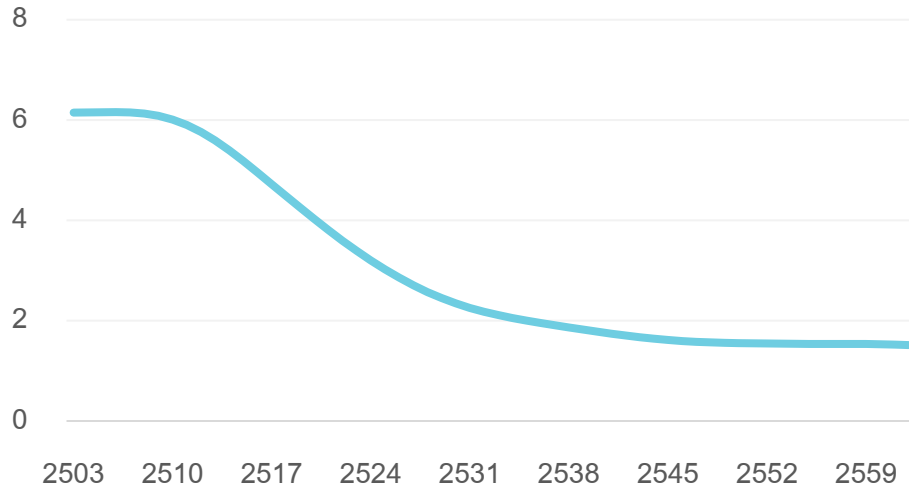


Having children

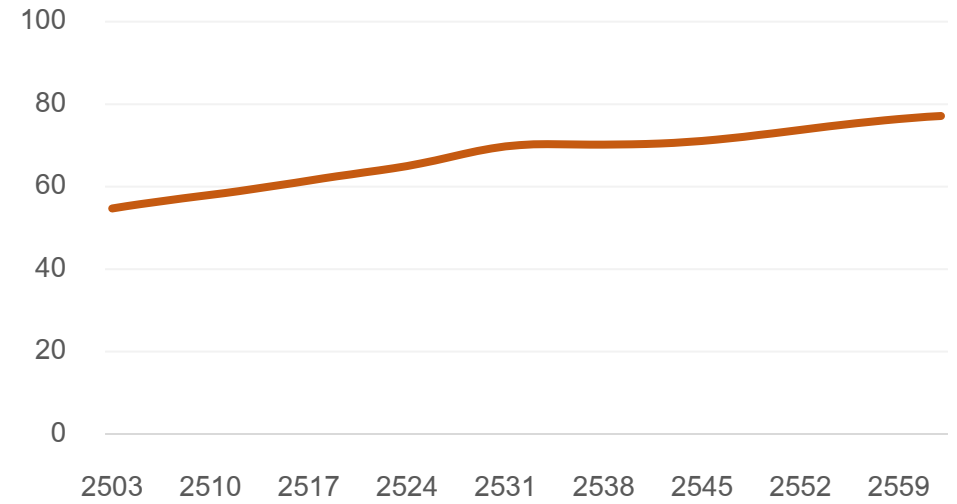
- Increased year of education reduces the number of children women
- An additional year of schooling reduced the number of children the woman had by about 0.1, with the highly educated group more likely to have fewer children.
- Consistent with findings in the UK and some European countries Fort et al. (2016) (approximately 0.15).



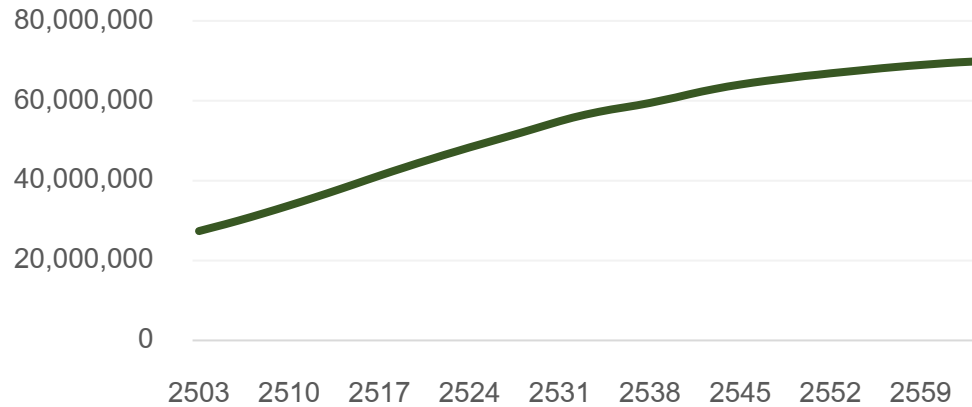
Fertility rates in Thailand



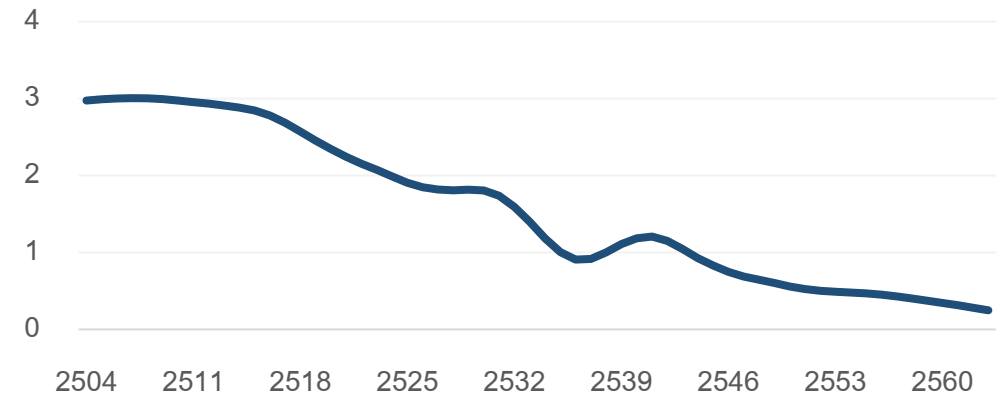
Life expectancy (years) in Thailand



Population in Thailand

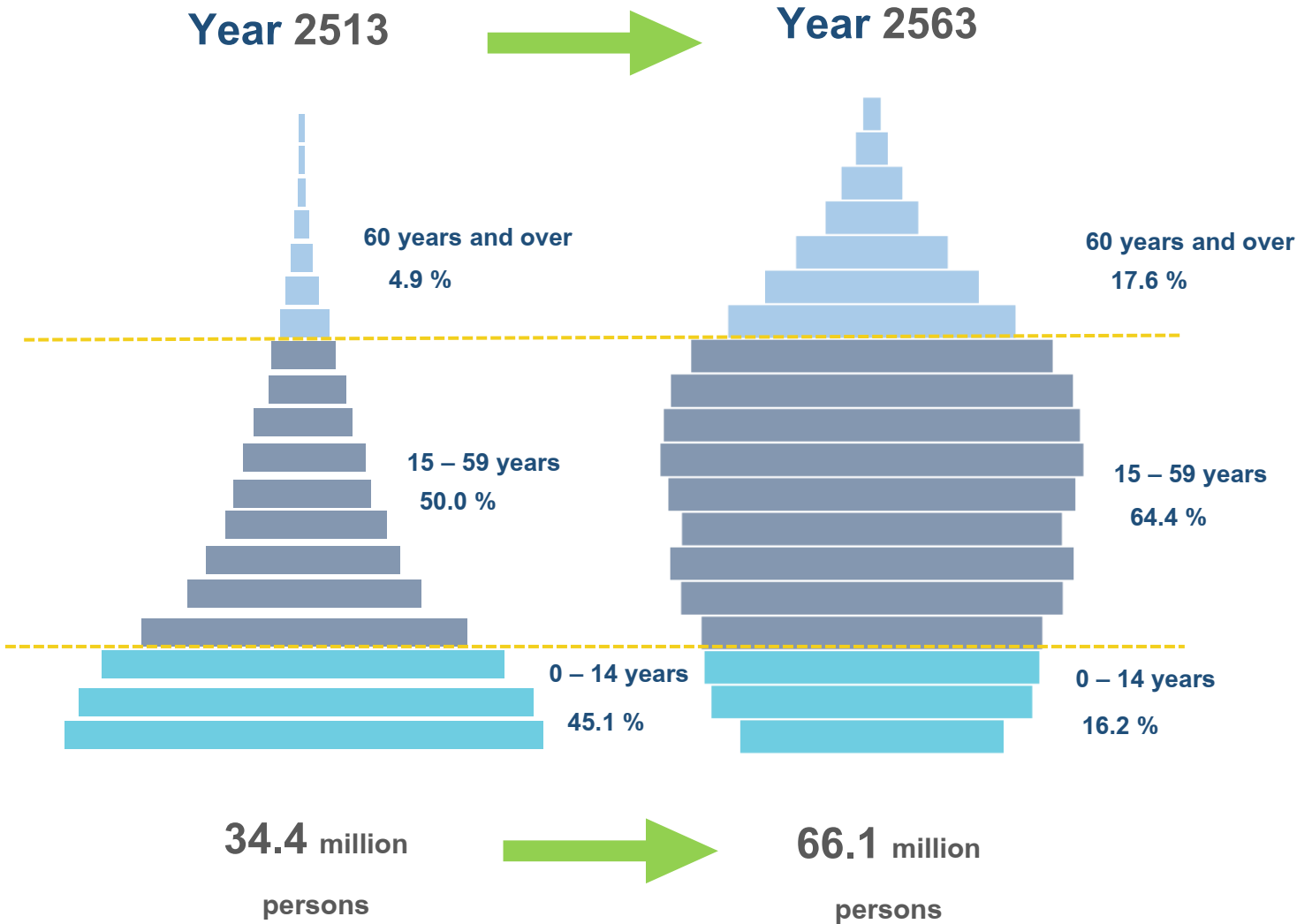


Population growth rate in Thailand



Thai population age structure

Population Forecast of Thailand 2040



60 ปีขึ้นไป



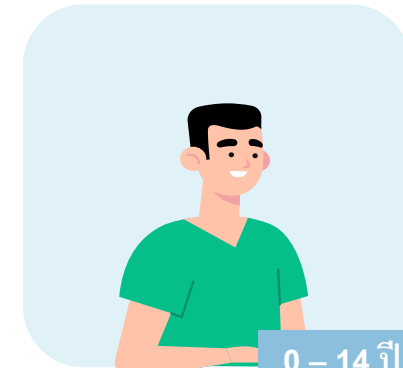
20.5 million persons (31.4%)



15 – 59 ปี



36.5 million persons (55.8%)



0 – 14 ปี



8.4 million persons (12.8%)

Factors affecting the decision to marry and have children in Thailand



- ⬡ Higher education affects the choice of women as they are less likely to find a partner who matches them in terms of income level and education. (See gold miss)
- ⬡ An increase in education allows women to enter the labor market – But it also increases opportunity cost of women's maternity & childcare leave.
 - This causes a delay in marriage and a decrease in the number of children.

Factors affecting the decision to marry and have children in Thailand



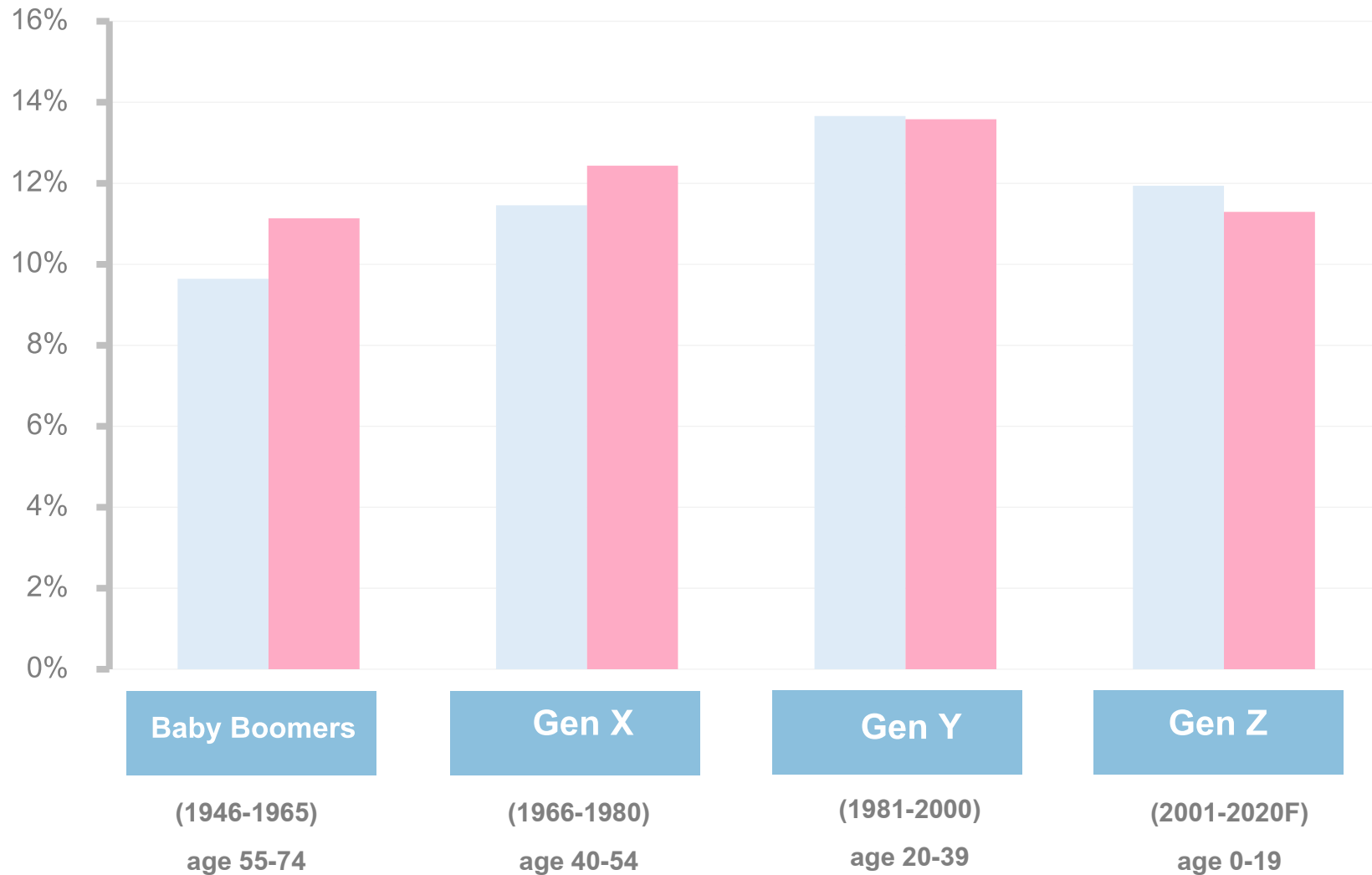
- ⬡ Although increased education contributes to an increase in income, the effect of income may be weakened.
- ⬡ If there is a need for high-quality children, it requires a high per capita investment in children.
 - Therefore, the number of children needed is decreased

Factors affecting the decision to marry and have children in Thailand

- Cost of raising children in Thailand makes married couples more likely to delay having children (or decide not to have children).
- Attitudes of highly educated young people – Change attitudes towards marriage and having children.
 - The new generation (Gen Y) tends to prioritize career advancement and personal independence.
- Lack of government assistance in raising children.

Other factors

The proportion of people in each generation in Thailand in 2020



Male



Female

Source – World Population
Prospect 2019.

Lack of government assistance in raising children



Lack of childcare facilities.



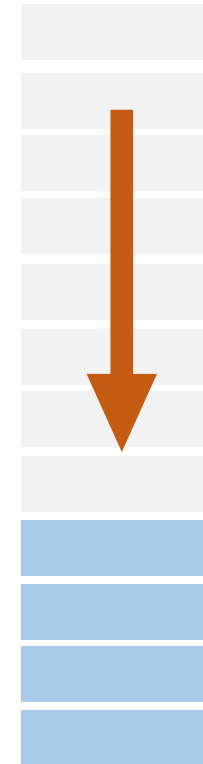
Lack of flexibility in working hours.



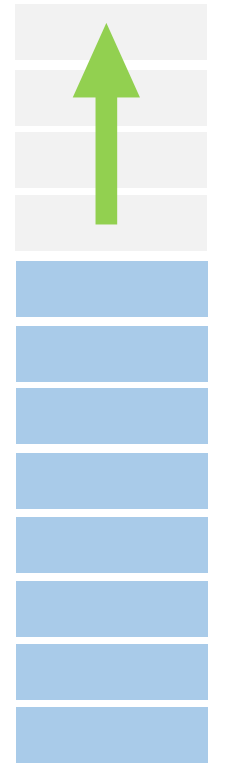
Discrimination against workers with children (mother)



Childcare subsidy



working
time



raising
children

2. Background and the reform

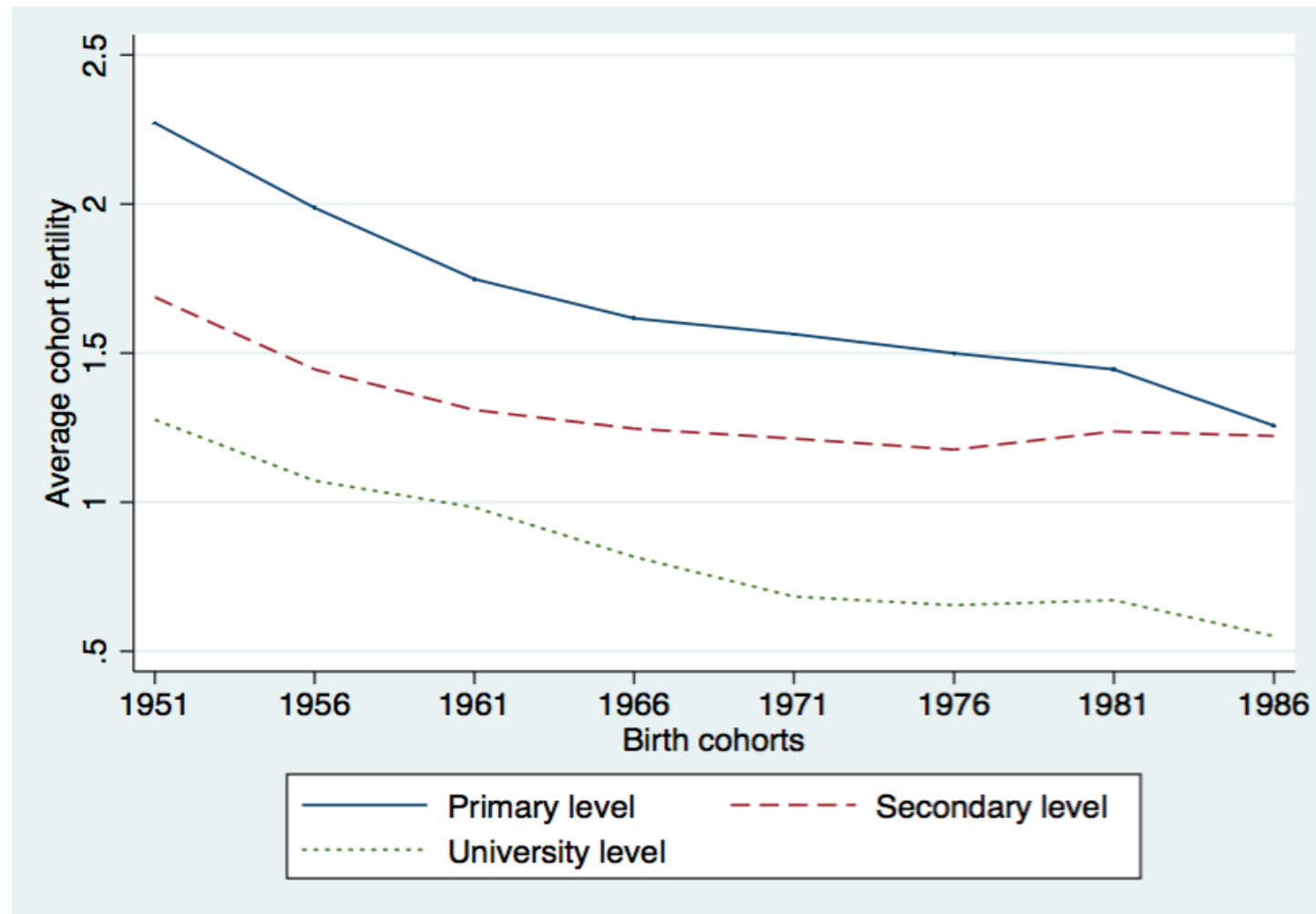


Figure 3. The average cohort fertility of women age between 25 to 34 by education levels

- The average cohort fertility of women age between 25–34 years, which has decreased in all of the three education groups.
- The gap of fertility between higher-educated women and lower-educated women has not converged.

8. Conclusion

- Our study shows that Thailand, having made remarkable progress in social and economic development recently, has seen a dramatic decline in fertility as well as a rise in the “Gold Miss” phenomenon.
- The effect of education on fertility varies by country and institutional settings, which may affect women’s opportunity cost of childbearing.
 - Our negative results may reflect a high opportunity cost of childbearing for women under the labor market condition or traditional cultures, such as flexible working arrangements not commonly offered in Thailand (Global Workforce Roundtable 2007), shortage in public childcare, and the traditional role of women as managers of household work.



**Parenthood Penalty and
Gender Wage Gap:
Recent Evidence from
Thailand**

Sasiwimon Warunsiri Paweenawat and Lusi Liao,
Journal of Asian Economics, Volume 78,
2022, 101435

1. Introduction

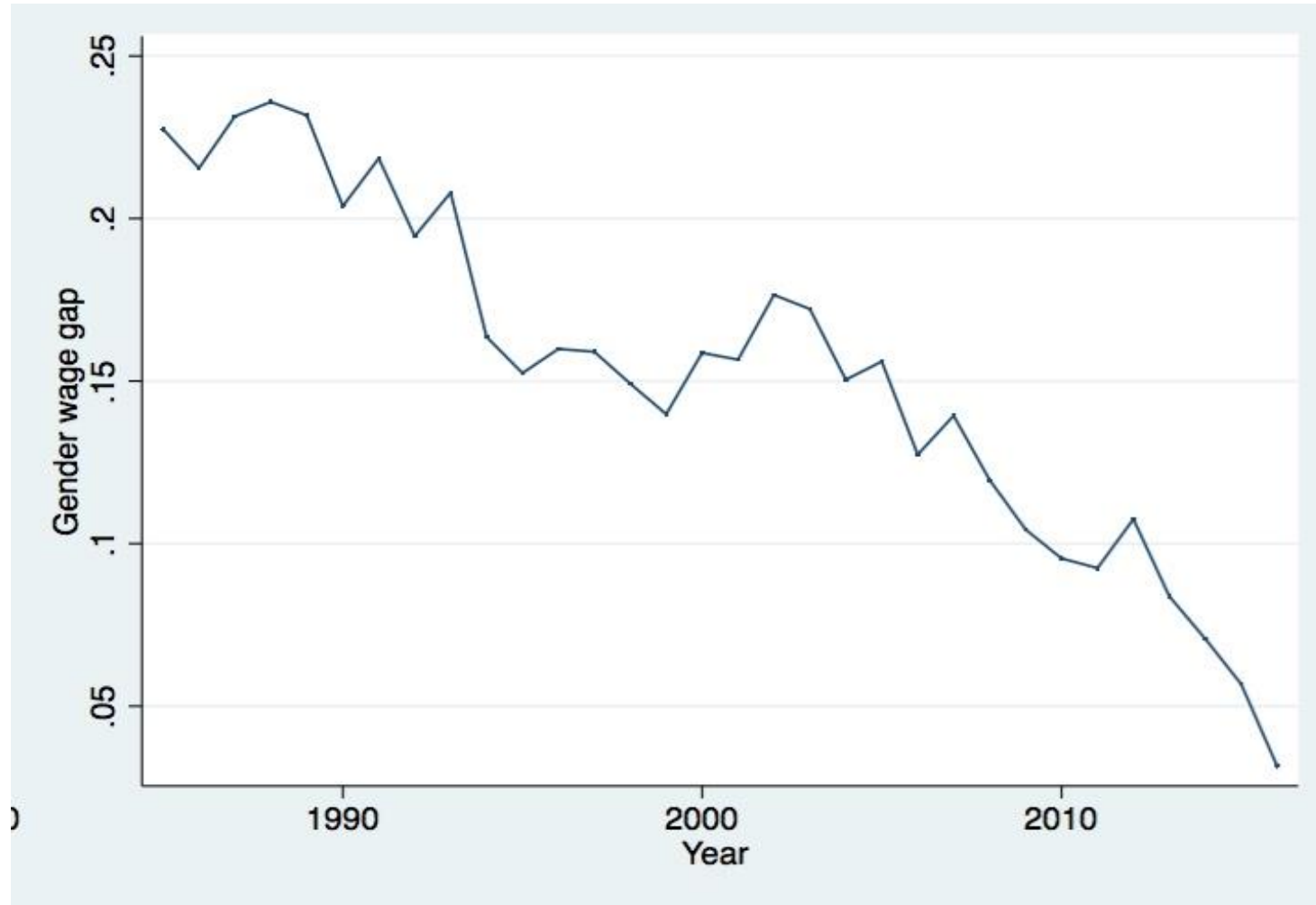


Figure1. Gender wage gap in Thailand (1985-2017)

Source: Authors' Calculation from LFS (1985-2017)

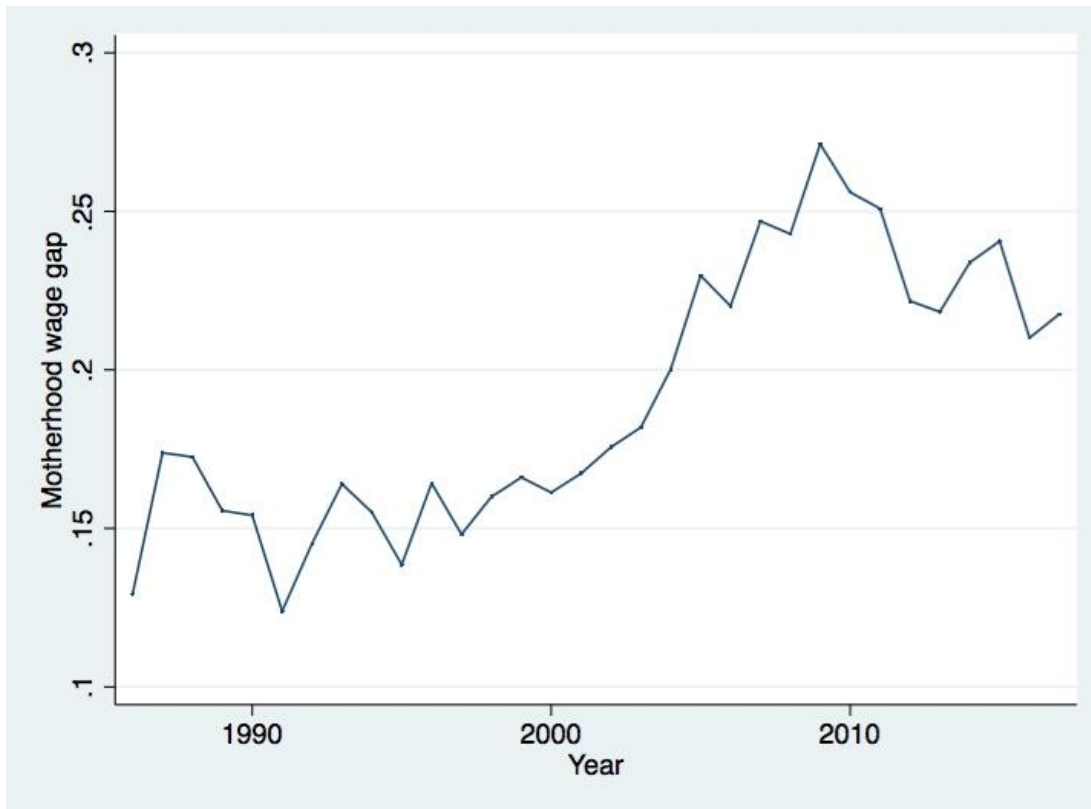
1. Introduction



Even though Thailand has been experiencing a convergence in the gender wage gap over the last three decades, the gap between mothers/mother-workers and non-mothers/non-mother workers has increased approximately 10% over time, while for males, the changes are relatively small.(Figure3)




1. Introduction

Figure 3. Motherhood & Fatherhood wage gap in Thailand (1985-2017)





5. Results

5.2 Parenthood wage gap

-  Overall, the parenthood wage gap for both mothers and fathers over the three decades show wage penalty
-  Table 5 The negative results indicate that those without children earn a higher wage than those with children for both the married and unmarried groups, suggesting a negative impact of motherhood on women's wages.
-  The result is consistent with previous studies on motherhood penalty (Becker 1981, 1985; Waldfogel 1997; Glauber 2008; Juhn and McCue 2017).

5. Results

-  Table 7 The negative results indicate the existence of fatherhood penalty across each cohort and age group, which is distinct from the fatherhood bonus found in developed countries.
-  An exception in the literature on fatherhood wage gap is Cools and Strom (2014), who find wage penalty for fathers in Norway, indicating men's increasing involvement in child rearing and a large share of fatherhood penalty can be explained by the duration of parental leave.

Teenage Pregnancy

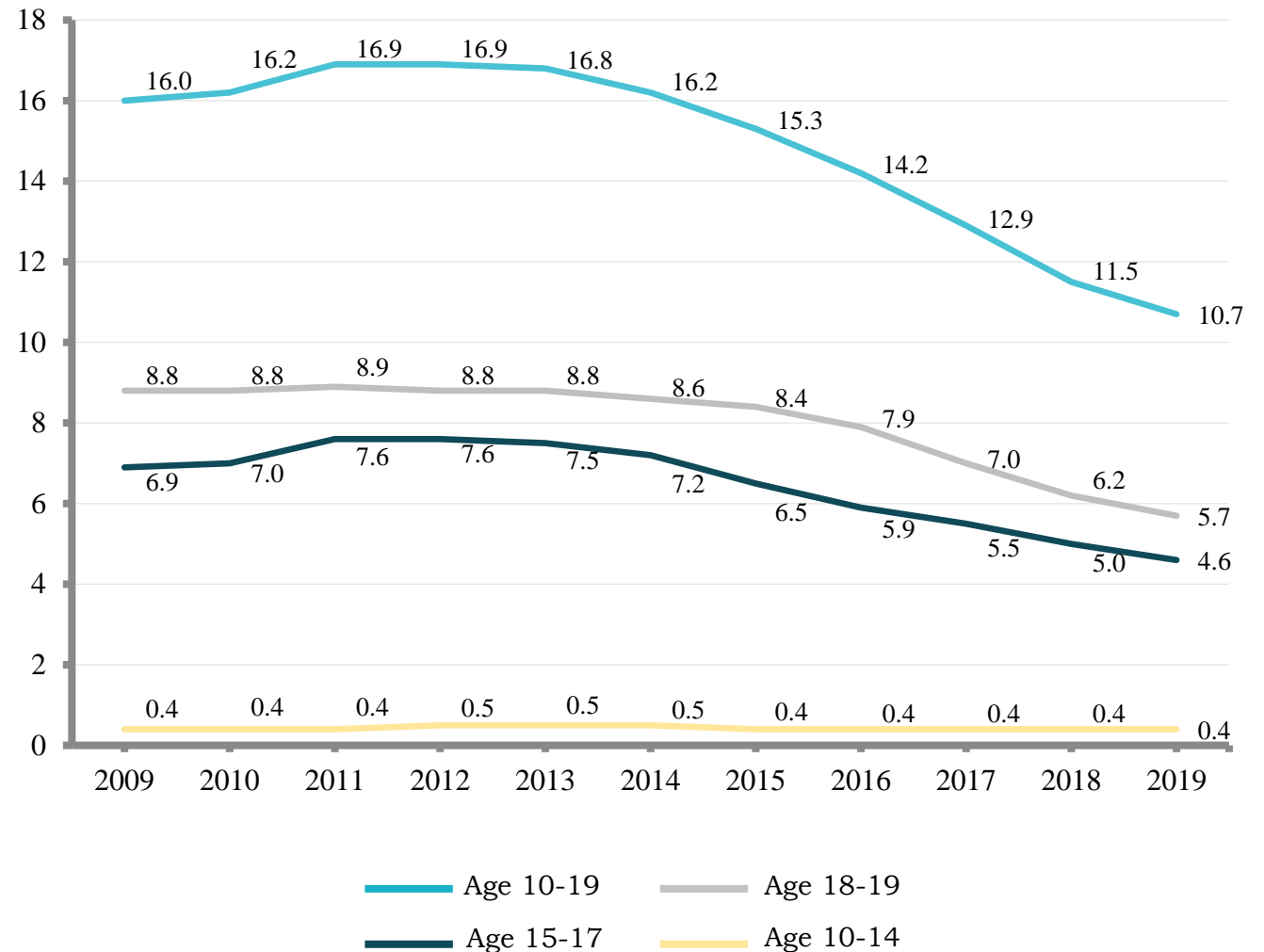
- Teen pregnancy—an unprepared for pregnancy—is a big problem needing solution in Thailand.
- This is tending to decline continuously now. The rate in Thailand is higher than the world standards (more than 10%).



Source: Ministry of Public Health (2019).

Teenage Pregnancy

The share of adolescent pregnancy in Thailand (2009-2019)



TO MORROW

today

คนไทย ไม่อยากมีลูก

จุดเริ่มต้นวิกฤตขาดแคลนแรงงาน

รศ.ดร.ศศิวิมล วรกุลศิริ ปริญญาตรี | กอหน้ญา ไอศดา พิศสุวรรณ
คณะเศรษฐศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ | ผู้ดำเนินรายการ

วันนี้ **LIVE** เวลา 17.30 น. เป็นต้นไป

workpointTODAY

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mty_E0cX8ho

การเงินธนาคาร

“Marriage strike” หญิงไทยรุ่นใหม่พร้อมใจกันโสด

ผู้หญิงที่มีการศึกษาสูงจะแต่งงานน้อยลง ผู้หญิงที่มีการศึกษาสูงถ้าจะเลือก “โสดภาพ” ในการเลี้ยงดูลูกมากกว่า “จำนวน” ทำความรู้จักปรากฏการณ์ “Marriage Strike” อีกครั้ง

ในปัจจุบัน สัดส่วนผู้หญิงที่เป็นโสดในวัยหนุ่มสาวเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างต่อเนื่อง กลายเป็นประเด็นที่ได้รับความสนใจทั่วโลก จากบทความ ทำไมเมืองไม่แต่งงาน? ผลกระทบของการศึกษาคือการตัดสินใจแต่งงานและมีการแต่งงานของไทย จาก สถาบันวิจัยเศรษฐกิจป๋วย อึ๊งภากรณ์ โดย ศศิวิมล วรกุลศิริ ปริญญาตรี มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ นำเสนอผลการศึกษาในประเทศไทย

โดยพบว่า ผู้หญิงที่มีการศึกษาสูง โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งกลุ่มที่สำเร็จการศึกษาในระดับปริญญาตรีขึ้นไปนั้น มีแนวโน้มที่จะแต่งงานช้าลง เรียกว่าปรากฏการณ์ดังกล่าวว่า “Marriage Strike” ซึ่งสามารถพบได้ในหลายประเทศทั่วโลก

พบว่า 50-60% ของผู้หญิงไทยที่สำเร็จการศึกษาระดับปริญญาตรีขึ้นไปเป็นโสด และมีเพียง 15-20% ของผู้หญิงไทยที่จบชั้นมัธยมศึกษาและ 10-15% ของผู้หญิงไทยที่จบชั้นประถมศึกษาเป็นโสด

นอกจากนี้ ผู้หญิงที่มีการศึกษาสูงยังเลือก “โสดภาพ” ในการเลี้ยงดูลูกมากกว่า “จำนวน” ดังนั้นของพ่อแม่เลี้ยงดูลูกที่เพิ่มขึ้น ทำให้อุปสรรคนี้แนวโน้มที่จะชะลอการมีลูกหรือตัดสินใจไม่มีลูกเลย ชุมชนจาก งานวิจัยล่าสุดของ Chamchan et al. (2019) ชื่อว่า การเลี้ยงดู 1 คน (อายุ 0-14 ปี) อยู่ที่ประมาณ 1.57 ล้านบาท โดยผ่านการเลี้ยงดูบุตรที่เพิ่มขึ้นตามระดับรายได้ของครัวเรือน

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#Knowledge นอกจากคอร์สโคเคอร์เรนซ์ที่กำลังดังหนักแล้ว ในช่วงปลายปีที่ผ่านมามีอีกกราฟที่ดังหนักไม่แพ้กัน อย่างกราฟจำนวนประชากรที่เกิดในประเทศไทยระหว่างปี 2536-2564 ที่ถูกแชร์ในโลกโซเชียลอย่างกว้างขวางจาก ดร.ชัยวัฒน์ สมิใจจันทร์ ผู้อำนวยการศูนย์นวัตกรรมหุ่นยนต์และระบบอัตโนมัติ สถาบันการจัดการปัญญาภิวัฒน์

โดยในปีที่ผ่านมาประเทศไทยเกิดใหม่เพียง 544,570 คนเท่านั้น

ประเทศไทยกำลังก้าวเข้าสู่ภาวะขาดแคลนแรงงานในอีกไม่ช้า จากกราฟมาถ่วงถ่วงกันของ สิ่งของผู้วัยสมบูรณ์ และอัตราการเกิดที่ต่ำลงเรื่อยๆ ซึ่งขนาดที่สำคัญมาจากการเจริญเติบโตช้า หากอัตราการเกิดยังไม่เพิ่มขึ้น “ในอีก 20 ปีประชากรไทยจะเหลือเพียง 36 ล้าน”

คำถาม คือ กำลังเกิดอะไรขึ้นกับสัดส่วนประชากรไทยกันแน่ ทำไมไทยถึงกำลังเข้าสู่ภาวะขาดแคลนแรงงานและสำคัญที่สุดคือทำไมคนไทยไม่อยากมีลูก

[เกิดอะไรขึ้นกับสัดส่วนประชากรไทย]

ถ้าหากย้อนกลับไปดูจะเห็นว่า สัดส่วนประชากรไทยในปัจจุบันเปลี่ยนไปจากเมื่อ 50 ปีที่แล้วมาก

ยอดสูงสุดสัดส่วนประชากรไทยในปี 2513
อายุ 0-14 ปี สัดส่วน 45.1%
อายุ 15-59 ปี สัดส่วน 50%
อายุ 60 ปีขึ้นไป สัดส่วน 4.9%

สรูป จุดเริ่มต้นวิกฤตขาดแคลนแรงงาน
รายได้ไม่พอ สวัสดิการไม่มี
สาเหตุ คนไทยไม่อยากมีลูก

<https://www.facebook.com/moneyandbanking/photos/a.152876834772390/4914440515282641/>

Exercise

1) In economic theory, marriage and divorce decisions are based on analysis of the benefits and costs of staying married (X) and staying married to this person (Y). Applying this concept, explain the theoretical costs and benefits of divorce using examples of accompanying events.

2) A study in Thailand by Paweenawat and Liao (2018) found an increase in marriages across educational levels (educational hypergamy), especially among wives with less education than their husbands (hypergamy). Examine assortative mating based on education level and the country in which wives are more educated than husbands (hypogamy) and discuss factors affecting such matches. Furthermore, what kind of matches do they have? Does this relationship affect the country's economic condition or society? How?

Exercise

3) A study by Paweenawat and Liao (2019) found that in Thailand, level of education affects women's chances of marriage, but it does not greatly affect a man's chances of marriage. Studies from around the world on the issue have not yet reached definitive conclusions. Please give examples of research studies on this issue in other countries that support or contradict the results of the Paweenawat and Liao (2019) study.

4) Discuss the interconnection of Gary Becker's concept of having children (1960), Richard Easterlin's concept of household planning (1975), and economic opportunities. How are they connected to affect the decision to have children and family planning? Provide your discussion with examples?

Exercise

5) Expenses or the cost of raising children today make married couples more likely to not have children or reduce the number of children they want. This belief also affects Thailand's population structure. Please provide examples of research on the current cost of raising children in Thailand. Does this cost affect the current decision to have children in Thailand? If the student is a policy maker, what solution do you suggest to this problem?

6) The lack of government assistance in raising children and lack of adequate parental welfare make the decision to have children in Thailand more difficult, and thus lowering the birth rate in the country. Please provide an example of a country that provides parents with welfare. Is there a relationship between welfare and the birth rate in the country? Is there any country worldwide where even though the welfare of parents is low, the birth rate is still high? Why? Discuss this issue.

Exercise

7) Currently, the government in Thailand has many policies to encourage people to marry and have children. Please provide an example of such a policy. In addition, is the policy sufficient to motivate a spouse? What policies do you propose? How can they help solve this problem?

8) Explain the difference between the Motherhood Wage Penalty and the Fatherhood Wage Bonus. Describe the factors contributing to this situation. Give examples of countries and discuss this issue.

9) The issue of teenage pregnancy in Thailand is one of the main problems the government wants to solve. Please provide an example of countries experiencing this problem and study what policies can help solve it. Can these policies be applied in Thailand? If so, how?