Economics Bulletin

Volume 40, Issue 1

A Glass Ceiling? Gender Inequality of Top Earners in Thailand

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Abstract

This paper investigates the gender composition in the top-earning group in Thailand using the Labor Force Survey (LFS) from 1985 to 2017. We find that the presence of women in the top group has steadily increased overtime but it drops along with their age growth. We apply the standard probit model to evaluate the effect of individual characteristics on women in top-earning group and the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition to measure the changes in the gender wage gap. The results suggest the existence of glass ceiling, in which women are more likely to drop out of the top-earning group when they get older or get married and the gender wage gap increases with the age growth.

We would like to thank the National Statistical Office of Thailand, the Research Institute for Policy Evaluation and Design, and the University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce (UTCC), Thailand, for access to the data used in this paper.
Citation: Lusi Liao and Sasiwimon W. Paweenawat, (2020) "A Glass Ceiling? Gender Inequality of Top Earners in Thailand", *Economics Bulletin*, Volume 40, Issue 1, pages 500-515
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Submitted: November 27, 2019. **Published:** February 15, 2020.

1. Introduction

The recent studies of economic inequality have drawn attention to the top earners. Following Piketty (2001), which has first suggested the importance of the top income distribution to the increase in inequality, a large number of literatures start to focus on the top earners and inequality in developed countries in various aspects, such as the sources of income, the progress in the different groups, and differences across countries (e.g. Piketty and Saez 2003; Atkinson and Piketty 2007; Bertrand et al. 2010). However, despite its privotal role in aggregate economy, the gender composition of the top earners has got relatively less attention (Atkinson et al., 2016). Guvenen et al. (2014) showed the continued relative absence of women in the top-earning group and Albrecht et al. (2015) found a large gender wage gap at the top of the wage distribution, which has been referred to glass ceiling.

Our goal in this paper is to provide evidence on glass ceiling in the Thai labor market. In the last three decades, Thai women have made a remarkable progress in the labor market. The improvement of education, occupational and industrial transformation have been the major contributors to the decline in the gender wage gap, in which the wage of men and women has almost converged in the recent years (Nakavachara 2010; Mutsalklisana 2011; Liao and Paweenawat 2019a). According to the Global Gender Gap Report (2017), Thailand ranked 75th out of 144 countries, which suggested that women were still lag behind men in the aspects of economic opportunity, political leadership and promotions. However, existing studies have not gone further to explore the gender wage inequality.

The previous studies in gender inequality in Thailand have focused on the aspects in the overall gender wage gap (e.g. Bui and Permpoonwiwat 2015; Jithitikulchai 2017) and the studies relate to glass ceiling for women in reaching high positions (e.g. Sasithornsaowapa 2013; Cheaupalakit 2014). However, the glass ceiling in this paper refers to the presence of women in the top of the wage distribution (e.g. Albrecht et al. 2015; Boschini et al. 2017). This paper intends to fill the gap by focusing on the evolution of gender composition in the top-earning group over time. What's the difference between men and women in the share as top earners? Is there still gender wage gap among top earners? Due to limitation of data, our analysis is based on the assumption that the top 10% wage quantile represents the high-income group in the labor market and focuses on the changes within the group.

Using the Labor Force Survey (LFS) from 1985 to 2017, we find the presence of women in the top-earning groups has increased over the time, but the share has decreased with the age growth, while there is not much gender difference in the bottom earners. We use the standard probit regression to check the relationship of probability of women in the top 10% earning group and their characteristics including age, education, marital status. We further employ the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition (Oaxaca 1973; Blinder

1973) to investigate the gender wage gap across age groups for the top earners. Our results indicate that women tend to fall out of the top-earning group when they get older or get married and the gender wage gap for the top 10% earners has widened as age grows, which suggests possible discrimination and motherhood penalty along with women's career.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews the literatures and section 3 discusses the data. Section 4 describes the methodology and section 5 presents the results. Finally, section 6 concludes.

2. Literature review

The literatures of top-earning group have emphasized on model the Pareto tail at the top end of the income distribution in the developed countries, including studies related to the allocation of top earners by occupations (Hsieh et al 2013), fiscal policy associated with top earners (Guner et al. 2014; Badel and Huggett 2014), and the mechanism (Jones and Kim 2014). Guvenen et al. (2014) analyzed the gender composition in the top earning distribution in U.S. and suggested that the glass ceiling improved during the three decades but persisted. Female top earners were more likely to drop out of the group than male. Albrecht et al. (2003, 2015) have documented the substantial glass ceiling, a large and increasing gender wage gap at the top of wage distribution. Recent study by Butikofer et al. (2018) using Norwegian registry data found that women in top-earning group suffered more from the child wage penalty and mothers were more likely to switch to more family friendly jobs.

In developing countries, due to the limitation of data sources, little attention has been drawn on the top-earning group. Alvaredo and Piketty (2015) have discussed the limitations of data for the top incomes and inequality in the Middle East. It suggested that the income tax data with long time periods was more reliable for the analysis of top incomes than self-reported data, but such source was always not available. Hlasny and Verme (2018) suggested that the top income in Egypt followed the Pareto distribution using the Household Income, Expenditure and Consumption Survey.

Studies in Thailand have generally suggested the reduction of income inequality (e.g. Pootrakul 2013; Paweenawat and McNown 2014; Kilenthong 2016) and convergence of the gender wage gap during the recent decades (e.g. Nakavachara 2010; Liao and Paweenawat 2019a). As an exception, Vanitcharearnthum (2017) studied the top income share in Thailand and found that the degree of the concentration of income in the top 1% increased and the income inequality might be worsen. Jenmana (2018) suggested that Thailand is one of the unequal countries in the region, where the richest 10% held over 50% share of national income. However, no study has drawn attention on the gender composition in the top-earning group in Thailand.

3. Data

The data used in this paper is the Labor Force Survey from 1985 to 2017, which is conducted by the National Statistical Office (NSO) of Thailand. A stratified two-stage sampling was adopted by the survey. Only the third quarter of the year is used considering the migration of Thai workers during the dry and rainy seasons (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996). The sample is restricted to individual between 19 to 59 years old. We use the real hourly wage[1] for the analysis, which is generated from weekly earnings obtained from the survey divided by the sum of working hours per week. The occupational groups are based on International Standard Classification of Occupations 2008 (ISCO-08)[2].

Table 1 shows the basic statistics obtained from LFS for top 10% and bottom 10% wage quantile. We found that 60.7% of the top-earning group has university level education, while only 0.8% of the bottom-earning group has. Similarly, for the years of schooling, top-earning group has an average of 15.3 years, while bottom-earning group has just 5.5 years.

Figure 1 shows the share of women in the top-earning groups has increased over the last 33 years, which is consistent with the diminishing gender wage gap during the periods. In Panel A), the gap of top 10% group has dropped from around 35% in 1985 to 5% in 2017. In the Panel B), for the top 1% group, the gap persists after 2007, with an average 20% difference between men and women. Figure 2 presents the share of men and women in the bottom-earning group, which shows that the gap between men and women has become more and more equally distributed over time. Figure 3 plots the share of women and men by the age groups. Interestingly, distinct from the reduction of the gender gap across time, the gap has dropped until age 30 to 34 and started to increase as the age grows.

This gender difference in the top-earning group indicates the glass ceiling, in terms of income distribution. Based on the basic analysis, we hypotheses that women in the top-earning group are likely to drop out of the group and the gender wage gap for top earners will increase when they get older considering the negative impact of motherhood on wage (Grimshaw and Rubery 2015). Therefore, we move on to estimate contributing factors and the changes in gender wage gap for top earners across the age groups.

4. Methodology

[1] The wage is deflated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI), 2015 as the base year.

[2] The occupational groups include Manager and Legislators, Professional, Technicians, Clerk, Service workers, Agriculture, Craft workers, Plant and Machine, Unskilled workers. The industrial groups include Agriculture, Mining, Manufacturing, Utilities, Construction, Commercial, Transportation and Communication, Services, Others.

Firstly, the standard probit model is used to estimate the relationship between women in the top 10% earning group and individual characteristics, including age, marital status, years of schooling.

$$\Pr(Y_i = 1|X_i) = \Phi(X_i\beta_i + \varepsilon_i) \quad (1)$$

where Y_i is a binary variable that equal 1 if individual i is in the top 10% earning group and 0 otherwise. As the age distribution of top earners is heavily right skewed, which means more top earners appear in their latter career or older age, we generate Y_i based on the 8 age cohorts[3] X_i is matrix of explanatory variables, including age, marital status, years of schooling, industries, occupations, and regional dummies[4].

We use two types of Y_i to represent the share of women in top-earning groups, with and without controlling for the year effects: Model 1, Y_i the binary variable that equal to 1 if the individual i is female and in the top 10% group and 0 for the rest of the sample; Model 2, Y_i the binary variable that equal to 1 if the individual i is female an in the top 10% earning group and 0 is the male in the top 10% earning group.

Next, we employ the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition (Oaxaca 1973; Blinder 1973) to study the changes of gender wage gap in the top-earning group across age. The equations for log hourly wage are separated into two groups, men (M) and women (W), using the linear model:

$$Y_i^M = X_i^M\beta_i^M + \varepsilon_i^M \quad (2)$$
$$Y_i^W = X_i^W\beta_i^W + \varepsilon_i^W \quad (3)$$

where Y_i is the log hourly wages of individual i; X_i is the vector of explanatory variables, including age, age squared, years of schooling, marital status, industrial and occupational groups, regional dummies. Subtracting the mean of estimates of two groups obtained from above equations (2) and (3):

$$\overline{Y}^M - \overline{Y}^W = \overline{X}^M\beta^M - \overline{X}^W\beta^W = \beta^M(\overline{X}^M - \overline{X}^W) + \overline{X}^W(\beta^M - \beta^W) \quad (4)$$

The gender wage gap includes the impact of gender difference in explanatory variables, and the unexplained differential, which as summarized by Blau and Khan (2017), can be interpreted as discrimination, unmeasured productivity, risk aversion, and glass ceiling.

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[3] The 8 age cohorts include age 19-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49,50-54, 55-59, which is also used in the Oaxaca decomposition.

[4] There are 5 regional dummies including Bangkok metropolis, Central, North, Northeast and South, and 9 industries including Agriculture, Mining and quarrying, Manufacturing, Utilities, Construction, Commercial, Transportation and communication, Services, Others.

5. Results

Table 2 shows the results of probit regression. The negative coefficient of age indicates that the probability of women in the top 10% earning group deceases as the age grows. For one-year growth in age, the probability will drop by 0.9% to 1.4%. The negative effect of age is robust across the two models. The magnitude of the impact increases after controlling for the year effects. The positive coefficient of years of schooling suggests that women are more likely to get in the top 10% group if they obtain more education. The marital status is insignificant under model 1, while shows negative effect under model 2, indicating that it is less likely for married women to present in the top-earning group. Boschini et al. (2017) suggested that women were likely to exit the top income group from year to the next and the parental leave may lead women to fall behind the career development and getting discrimination in the labor market. Consistent with the previous studies that show women suffer from motherhood penalty (Waldfogel 1997; Liao and Paweenawat 2019a), the negative coefficients of age and marriage have suggested the top-earning women are likely to drop out of the group when they get older and married.

Table 3 presents the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition for gender wage gap in top 10% by age groups. Generally, the gender wage gap increases across the age groups, which is consistent with our hypothesis. At age 19 to 24, the gender gap is negative, indicating women have a higher wage than men in the top-earning group. However, men surpass women after 25 years old and the magnitude increases when they get older. According to Public Health Statistics (2014), during 1990-2017, the fertility rate of Thai women is the highest at the age between 20 and 34. The average age of women having first child in Bangkok is 27.6 (NSO 2009). Besides, women tend to delay marriage if they have higher education and income (Liao and Paweenawat 2019b). The unexplained gap has accounted for a larger part in the total difference, reflecting the gender discrimination.

In addition, in order to compare workers with similar characteristics, we restrict the sample to high-skill workers[5] as a robustness check. Table 4 shows the probit estimates of high-skill women in the top 10% earning group, which are similar to the overall sample. The negative effect of marital status for high-skill women is stronger under model 2, comparing with the overall sample (-0.4 to -0.3). Table 5 presents the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition for gender wage gap of high-skill workers in top 10% by age groups. Comparing to the overall sample, high-skill group shows a higher gender wage gap across all the age groups.

In line with the glass ceiling in income distribution, women in the top-earning group in

[5] The skill is classified into three levels following Autor (2019), where Manager and legislators, Professionals, and Technicians are high-skill, Clerks, Service workers, and Plant and machine workers are middle-skill, Craft workers, Agricultural workers, and Unskilled workers are low-skill.

Thailand get lower wage than men. Although Thai women have made great progress in education and employment, they are still lag behind men in promotions and decision-making positions, even for high-educated group, indicating the existence of glass ceiling in the country, which is consistent with Cheaupalakit (2014). Lacking the public household service, for example childcare, women tend to cut back their career and prefer flexible occupations to high-wage ones.

6. Conclusion

In the last three decades, the gender wage gap in Thailand has kept decreasing and converged in the recent few years. However, based on our analysis of gender composition in the top-earning group, women's situation is not as good as it seems. The probit analysis suggests that women are likely to fall out of the top-earning group when they get older and get married. For those remaining in the top-earning group, there is an increasing gender wage gap along with age growth based on the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition results. Our results provide new and complementary evidence to the glass ceiling in Thailand. Despite the improvement of female education, social and economic status of women, the role of women in family, especially motherhood, still sets barrier for women to enter and stay in the top-earning group. Polices relating to public childcare, flexible work arrangement should be encouraged.

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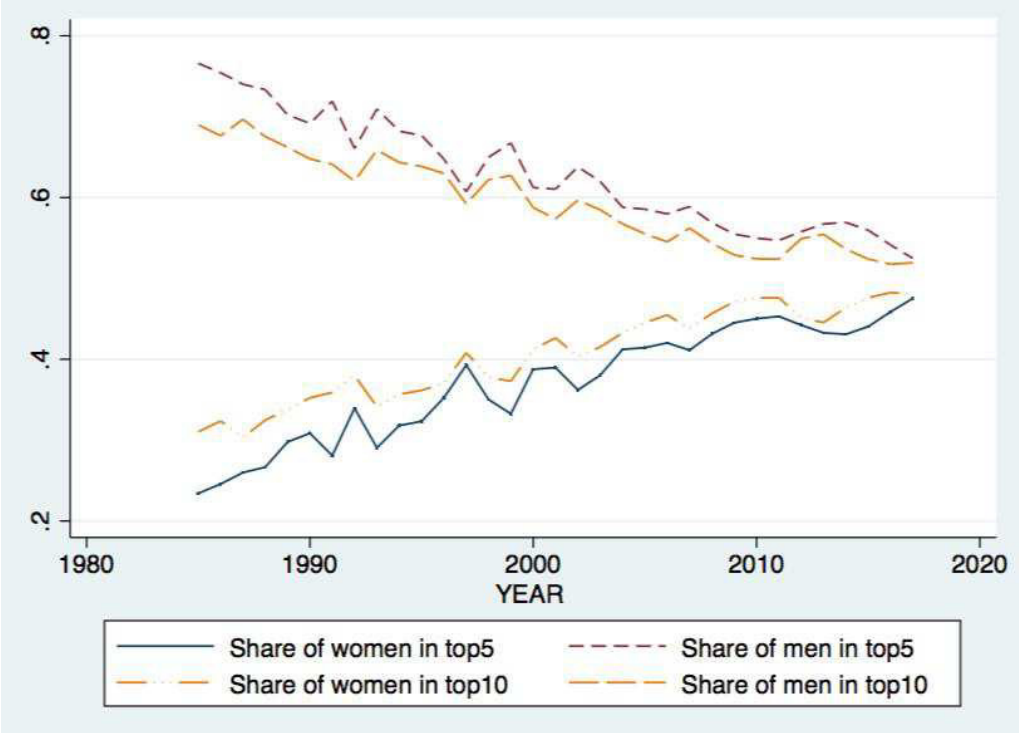
Figure1.Share of women and men in the top-earning groups

Panel A) Share of women and men in the top 5% and top 10%



Panel B) Share of women and men in the top 1%

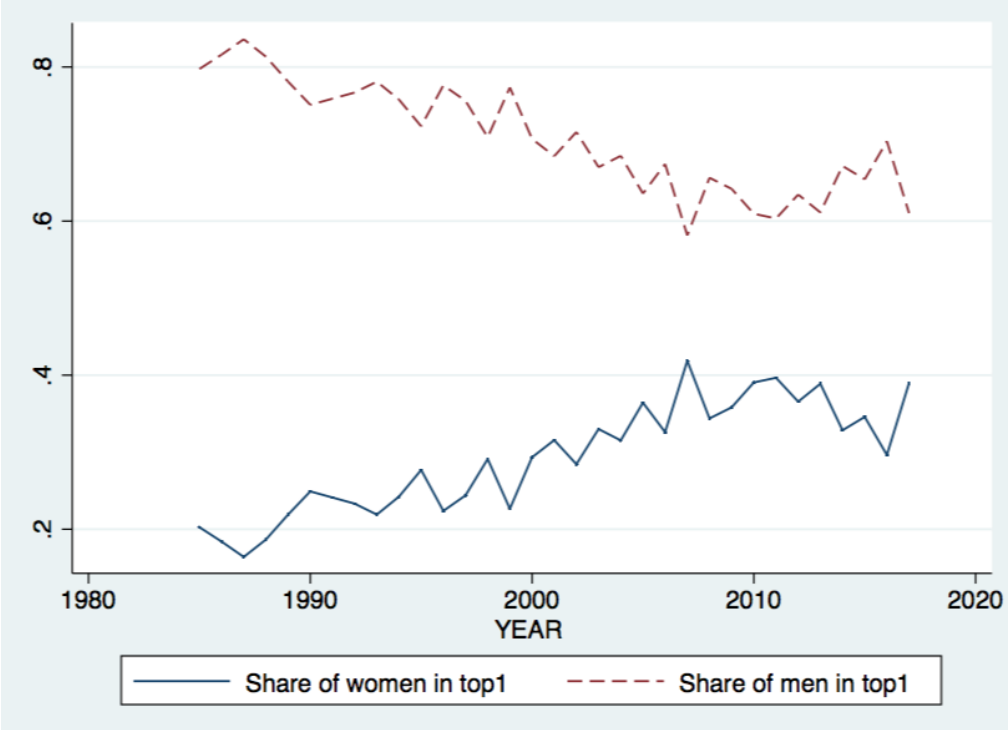


Figure 2. Share of women and men in the bottom 10%

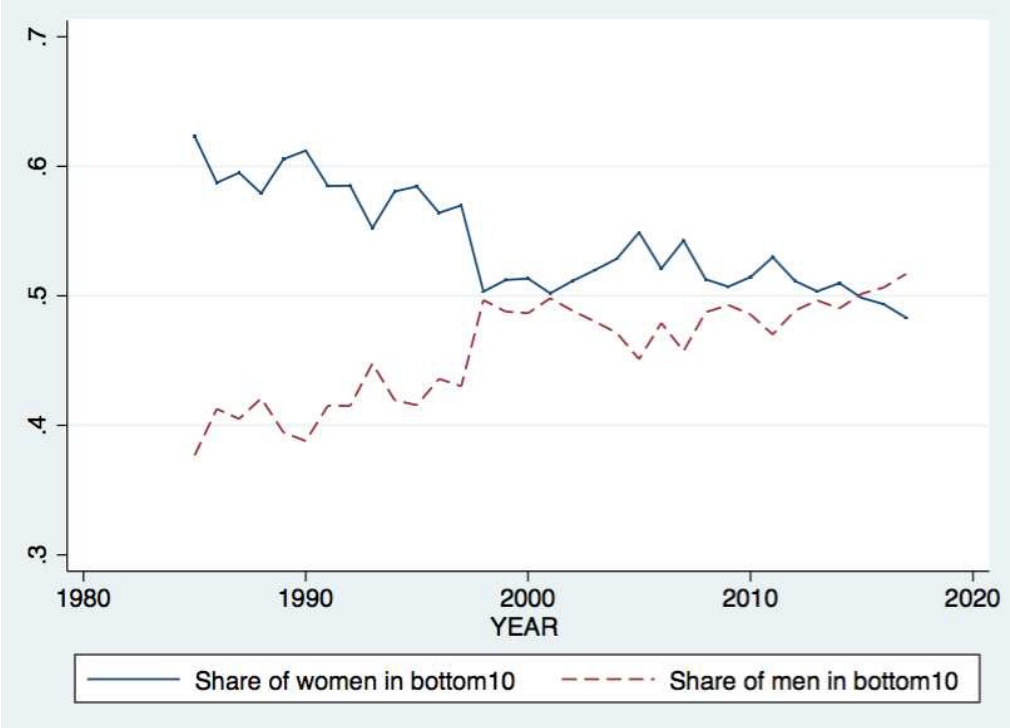


Figure 3. The share of women and men in the top 10% by age groups

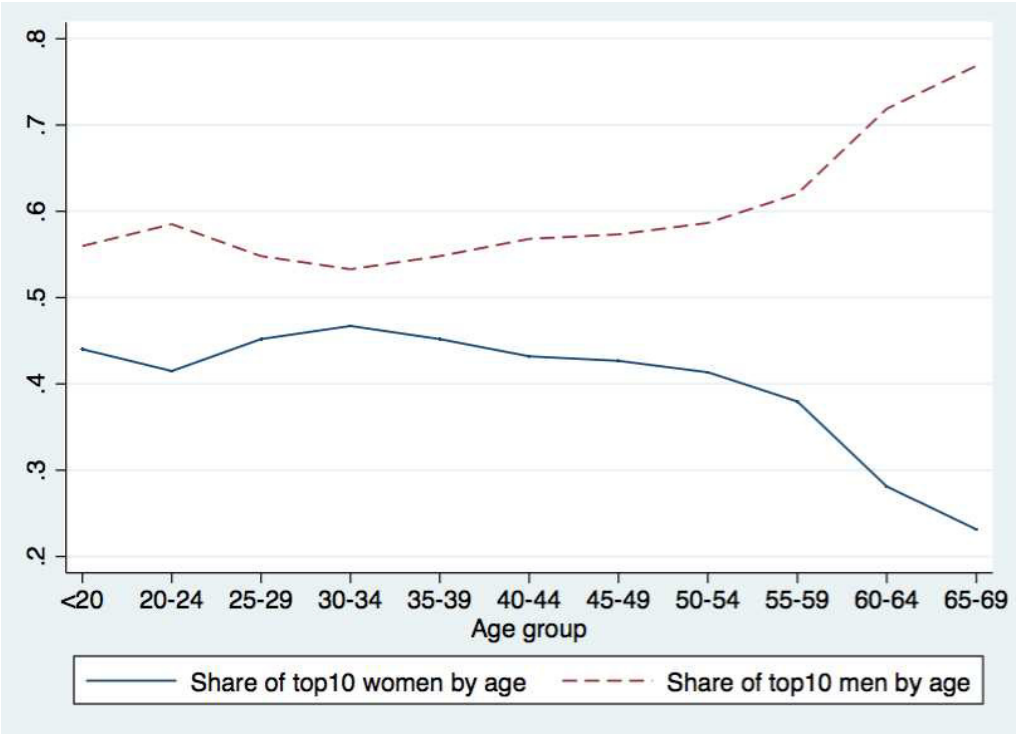


Table1. Basic stat: LFS 1985-2017

	Top 10%		Bottom 10%	
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
Log hourly wage	5.311	0.361	2.478	0.499
Primary level	0.026	0.160	0.792	0.406
Secondary level	0.260	0.439	0.188	0.391
University level	0.607	0.488	0.008	0.090
Years of schooling	15.288	2.734	5.449	3.204
Age	46.242	7.918	38.224	10.908
Sex	0.464	0.499	0.579	0.494
Married	0.787	0.410	0.668	0.471
Observations	118,112		97,692	

Table 2. Probit estimates of women in the top 10% earning group

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Model 1		Model 2	
Age	-0.0108***	-0.0142***	-0.00923***	-0.0115***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Years of schooling	0.154***	0.145***	0.0226***	0.0120***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Marital status	-0.00787	-0.00918	-0.329***	-0.310***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Control for year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Control for regions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control for industries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control for occupations	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	522,201	522,201	114,913	114,913

Table 3. Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition for gender wage gap in top 10% by age groups

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Age19-24	Age25-29	Age30-34	Age35-39	Age40-44	Age45-49	Age50-54	Age55-59
Total difference	-0.0151**	0.0462***	0.0598***	0.0639***	0.0612***	0.0739***	0.0769***	0.0605***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Endowments	-0.0315***	0.00626***	0.0134***	0.0218***	0.0220***	0.0195***	0.0267***	0.0257***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Coefficients	0.0351***	0.0438***	0.0515***	0.0492***	0.0436***	0.0560***	0.0558***	0.0431***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Interaction	-0.0187***	-0.00388	-0.00507**	-0.00704***	-0.00436	-0.00165	-0.00561	-0.0084
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Observations	15,250	18,623	18,325	17,660	15,320	12,648	9,300	6,170

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4. Probit estimates of high-skill women in the top 10% earning group

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	-0.00708***	-0.0102***	-0.0114***	-0.0136***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Years of schooling	0.228***	0.222***	0.0358***	0.0240***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Marital status	0.0054	0.0132*	-0.426***	-0.404***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Control for year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Control for regions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control for industries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control for occupations	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	167,218	167,218	88,556	88,556

Table 5. Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition for gender wage gap of high-skill workers in top 10% by age groups

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Age19-24	Age25-29	Age30-34	Age35-39	Age40-44	Age45-49	Age50-54	Age55-59
Total difference	0.0684***	0.0713***	0.0799***	0.0804***	0.0722***	0.0846***	0.0789***	0.0629***
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Endowments	0.0105***	0.00613**	0.0196***	0.0325***	0.0321***	0.0255***	0.0273***	0.0258***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Coefficients	0.0670***	0.0550***	0.0552***	0.0536***	0.0454***	0.0590***	0.0567***	0.0442***
	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)
Interaction	-0.00915*	0.0102***	0.00507*	-0.00580*	-0.00532	9.37E-05	-0.005	-0.00715
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Observations	7,095	12,864	14,270	14,777	13,259	11,268	8,526	5,742

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1