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Claudia Goldin's Insights on Career and Family: Gender Pay Gap in the Philippines

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Introduction

An award winner of multiple research recognitions and recently receiving the 2023 Nobel Prize for Economics, Claudia Goldin has advanced our understanding of women's role in the labor market. Renowned as a leading economic historian and labor economist, Goldin's extensive body of work primarily focused on investigating the gender pay gap and female workforce participation in the United States (Bio for Claudia Goldin, n.d.). Serving in various directorial positions at the National Bureau of Economic Research, she was celebrated for her insightful historical analysis of contemporary economic issues. Notable among her contributions were her studies on the transformative impact of the "Pill" on women's employment patterns and the lifecycle of their careers. Through historical accounts of employment and educational outcomes of women in the United States, Goldin was able to document the challenges and opportunities that women experienced as they fought for equal representation and pay in the global labor market. Learnings from these historical accounts were best put together in her book "Career and Family: Women's Century-Long Journey toward Equity", originally published in 2021. The book examined the history of women in America as they strived to have both career and family across generations from 1878 to 1978, and their implications to the constraint that women continue to face in their journey toward equity today.

Through evolutions of gender norms, reduction in career barriers and political and social movements for the equal gender doctrine, Goldin documented that later generations of college women in the United States became less confined to their homes and more motivated to invest in their

education and undertake majors that led to professions (Goldin, 2021). A series of social and political reforms such as access to contraceptives and widespread demand for white collar occupations paved the way to a revolution where American women started to gain employment in career oriented occupations such as lawyers and medicine and where later generations increasingly pursued further education in professional and graduate schools. While there were still cases of discrimination, the central argument that Goldin held was that significant and fundamental forces in society have reduced gender inequality to have little to do with gender discrimination and occupational segregation.

However, while the book entailed that these pivotal movements have long addressed career and family barriers for women in the US in the past century, this paper asserts that the same constraints are only beginning to see changes for Filipino women in the past decade. For example, while college women from the 1940s in America have long realized the risks of depending one's future to the longevity of their own marriage and took steps to adopt career oriented goals that allowed them to be more financially independent, the Philippines remains to be the only country, aside from Vatican City, that does not allow divorce until today (Abalos, 2017). Moreover, contraceptives and abortion in the Philippines have been widely inaccessible through both funding and legalization; the consequence of which is that the gender pay gap is particularly pronounced among lower income women, who face significant challenges in overcoming these barriers.

With respect to the same narrative, this work, thus, used Goldin's insights on America's history on gender equity through her book "Career and Family" and compared it side by side through detailed documentation of the opportunities and constraints women in the Philippines faced at the same time. While the differences of our work were the lack of fundamental empirical information on the state of gender equity in the Philippines in the past century, understanding the qualitative factors that influence

employment outcomes for Filipina women is crucial for informing necessary changes to achieve gender equality in the future.

The book was divided into two halves. The first section focused on how gender inequality has evolved through changes in social and economic conditions in the US while the second half highlights the nuance and complexity of gender pay gaps that continues to persist despite the countless barriers for women falling over. This paper adopted a similar structure. The first section delved into historical documentation and comparison, while the second section pivoted towards an examination of the gender pay gap specifically within the context of the Philippines.

Part. I Historical Documentation and Comparison

Goldin contextualized the complicated history of the labor market participation of women through the labor market outcomes of five distinct generational groups of female college graduates under extensive longitude research spanning over a century of US history. Each generation was unified by the same constraint they faced and was able to experience and learn from one another as they navigated barriers in employment and education. Goldin masterfully narrated the distinction among the groups through careful and tasteful documentation of surveys, television shows, and the lives of these women throughout the century spanning from the late 1800s to the late 1900s.

Group One (Born from 1878 to 1897)

Goldin described Group One to be the least unified; women who were often faced with the decision of whether to choose having a *family* or a *career*. . This group, comprising individuals born roughly between 1878 and 1897, predominantly consisted of college-educated women who, despite their academic qualifications, seldom pursued long term careers, even among those who remained childless. Goldin mentioned that only around 30 percent of the college-graduate women of Group

One attained a career by their forties or fifties. College-graduate women in the early 20th century struggled to balance career and family due to the heavy demands of managing the household. Lacking modern appliances such as refrigerators and clothes washers made household chores time-consuming. Limited contraception led to early childbirth, forcing women to marry at an early age and to forego prospects of attaining higher degrees of education.

At the same time, while women in America had to choose between solely having a family or having a career, women in the Philippines have yet to attain the right to choose. During the late 1800s, the Philippines was under the Spanish occupation which lasted until 1898. Consequently, the Spanish colonization changed society by enforcing their moral values through the Catholic Church, which limited women's freedom, especially for married women to have roles aligned with the religious doctrine. Women were expected to be timid and reserved, focusing solely on household responsibilities, taking care of their husband and raising their children. Education for women was restricted to middle-class girls, where they learned about religion, home economics, and music (Jose & Alfaro, 2021). Moreover, divorce was regulated and it could be only granted for specific reasons such as one spouse's desire to join a religious order, adultery, or heresy (Reyes, 1953). However, this form of divorce was akin to legal separation rather than an annulment of marriage.

Group Two (Born from 1898 to 1923)

Women in America born from 1898 to 1923, which Goldin labeled as Group Two, were then described to have *career then family*, defined by women who showcased employment until their marriage. After marrying, most Group Two women had children and typically left the workforce. In contrast to Group One, Goldin narrated that this generation found higher rates of education and employment for women. This gradual shift can be particularly attributed to two factors: the introduction of labor-saving devices and the change in labor market structure in the early 20th century.

Labor-saving devices such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and electric clothes washers transformed urban households, reducing the need for time-consuming household work and allowing women to have time to engage in outside employment. Additionally, technological innovations led to an increased demand for white-collar workers, expanding opportunities for women in professional service roles such as teaching, nursing, and clerical work. Between 1900 and 1930, the number of American women in professional jobs increased significantly, shifting employment from manual labor to more skilled and safe work, incentivizing more women to participate in the labor market. As work environments improved, married women's participation in the workforce became more accepted, diminishing the social stigma previously associated with their employment.

However, this generation also faced its own share of challenges through unemployment led by the Great Depression and constraints such as marriage bars. With increasing unemployment, Goldin mentioned several stories of school districts often not hiring married women with strong teaching qualifications and were firing experienced female staff members due to having able-bodied husbands.

At the same time, the first feminist association in the Philippines, the Asociacion Feminista Filipina, was founded in 1905 by Concepcion Felix, consisting of educated women from wealthy families who promoted social welfare and women's involvement in public affairs (Jose & Alfaro, 2021). In 1906, Pura Villanueva Kalaw established the Asociacion Feminista Ilonga, which was the first group to advocate for women's right to vote. These associations led to women gaining the right to vote and hold public office, with the women's suffrage bill passing in 1937 after significant support from other women organizations.

As an American colony, the Philippines received support from American suffragists such as Carrie Chapman Catt and Aleta Jacobs in 1912 (Jose & Alfaro, 2021). Moreover, the late 19th-century

shift from galleon trade to a cash crop economy led to a rising middle class and more educational opportunities for women. This shift opened up jobs for women in various fields, including cigar-making, domestic work, vending, sewing, teaching, and midwifery.

Group Three (Born from 1924 to 1943)

The next group of American women which Goldin described as Group Three consisted of individuals born between 1924 and 1943, who often prioritized *family over career*. Women in this generation typically married and had children at a young age, with nearly 80% married by ages 25-29. Only around 8% remained unmarried, giving them the lowest rate of women who never married. Despite this focus on family, their employment and educational outcomes were not necessarily worse than those of earlier generations. During WWII and the postwar era, increased demand for female workers made college education more appealing for young women. College-educated women could work, marry, and have children while still utilizing their education for future job opportunities.

However, their employment choices were often oriented to allow them to focus on household responsibilities. Goldin narrated that more than half of female college graduates in the 1950s chose majors that led directly to specific occupations, such as teaching, in anticipation of balancing work and family. Teaching offered the flexibility to leave and return to the workforce without significant time conflicts with taking care of their children. These career goals primarily stemmed from traditional gender norms and the prioritization of supporting their husband's career over pursuing one's own. Goldin recounted how even her own mother, a respected New York City elementary school principal, believed preschool children were best cared for by their own mothers. As children grew older and started attending school, Group Three women were able to reenter the market; however, they faced challenges returning due to limited qualifications and job interruptions. These gaps often made it difficult to find work that matched their skills and ambitions.

On the other hand, World War II had pushed the Philippines to be under Japanese occupation during the 1940s. This colonization period was described to be a ruthless period for Filipina women, including widespread atrocities to them and their children. In a brighter light, during the Japanese occupation, a more liberal divorce law was introduced in 1943, allowing divorce on grounds such as adultery and violence (Reyes, 1953). This led to an increase in divorces during the occupation. However, after liberation, General MacArthur nullified many of the laws made, returning the divorce law to the stricter one used during the Spanish occupation.

In July 1946, the Philippines gained independence. However, many instilled religious teachings during the Spanish occupation continued to tightly influence the social traditions and political decisions taken by the country. In 1947, the Civil Code of the Philippines rejected absolute divorce, except for special provisions for Moros, and allowed only legal separation and relative divorce instead (Reyes, 1953).

Group Four (Born from 1944 to 1957)

Goldin narrated that the Group Four women, born from 1944 to 1957, on the other hand, were part of the generation who were able to prioritize establishing their career first and then have a family later on. Informed by the experiences of their predecessors, they understood the risks of focusing on a husband's career at the expense of their own, especially as divorce rates became increasingly common in the US.

With new access to effective birth control and contraceptives, this generation was given the means to focus on their careers first. The availability of the Pill in 1960 provided liberation for women, enabling them to enter careers while still having the freedom to date and maintain intimate relationships with the opposite sex.

This revolution also brought about changing perceptions towards women's role in the workplace. By 1975, the percentage of young women who anticipated being employed at age thirty-five had doubled since 1968, reaching 80% by 1980. Goldin described that this shift was influenced by witnessing the challenges and dissatisfaction experienced by their mothers' generation, as well as the resurgence of feminism and changing societal norms. As a result, young women began to envision a future with greater employment opportunities and independence, leading them to pursue higher education and careers at higher rates. These changes in social stigma and perspectives, as documented through articles and televisions of that time, drove women to pursue careers that required significant time and monetary investment, such as law, medicine, academia, finance, and management.

Identifying with this generation herself, Goldin narrated that women who graduated college in the early 1970s aimed to put career ahead of family and sought to enter high-status, high-paying professions, similar to those traditionally held by men. They prioritized professional and postgraduate education, often postponing marriage and childbearing. Moreover, college women from Group Four started to shift from education and liberal arts to more career-oriented fields such as business administration. In 1967, 5% of female graduates majored in business, which increased to 21% by 1982.

However, despite progress in employment outcomes, many in this generation were still not able to have both family and career because these women would later find problems with having children in life. Group Four women were not warned about the risks of delaying childbirth, such as the decline in conception rates after age 35 and the risk of birth defects from older eggs. The generation experienced a higher divorce rate and many women who postponed starting families ended up childless.

On the other hand, from the 1940s to the 1970s, the Philippines started to enact laws to further advance women's rights in areas such as employment, legal status, and military service (Senate Gender

and Development Focal Point System, 2023). Maternity leave benefits were extended to women in government service, including those with temporary appointments and those who were unmarried. The Civil Code gave married women flexibility in using their names and regulated property management. However, since the end of the Japanese occupation, little progress in liberalizing divorce has been made, most of which were repelled and rejected, and only two exceptions to the divorce ban exist: the 1977 Muslim Code allowed divorce for Muslims, and the 1988 Family Code recognized foreign divorces against Filipino spouses (Jacob, 2013).

The limited options for ending marriages meant that Filipino women have not yet fully recognized the risks of relying on marriage for career and family dynamics—a realization college women have long learned in the US dating back to the 1920s to 1950s. Moreover, policies on adultery and concubinage in the Philippines have also been criticized for being gender biased in the implementation (Tubianosa, 2016). Adultery was defined under Article 333 of the Revised Penal Code as a married woman having sexual intercourse with a man other than her husband, with each instance treated as a separate offense. On the other hand, a man was guilty of concubinage if he keeped a mistress in the marital home, engaged in scandalous sexual acts, or cohabited with a mistress elsewhere. The differences of these have been largely criticized since the penalties for adultery were stricter than those for concubinage, and the grounds for being accused of adultery were often less stringent compared to those for concubinage, which required more concrete evidence.

Moreover, while annulment and declaration of nullity of marriage provided ways to substitute divorce and end marriages, it can be expensive and legally challenging (Abalos, 2017). Legal means to end marriages were rarely used due to high costs, lengthy legal processes, and uncertain outcomes. Fees for attorneys for matrimonial dissolution in Metro Manila ranged from P20,000 to P1,000,000, averaging P50,000, excluding filing fees.

There was also a strong social stigma surrounding marriage dissolution, particularly for women who are often expected to uphold the union. Studies found a double standard for women: Filipino women face stronger judgment and legal risks for extramarital affairs, while men's infidelity is more accepted (Pizarro & Gaspay-Fernandez, 2015). Women were expected to be confined to marriage, be self-restraining, and a forgiving spouse, even if their husbands are unfaithful; otherwise, they risk dishonor, violence, and criminal charges. Furthermore, in the Philippines, marriage brought together not only two individuals but also their respective families, thus marital dissolution would not just break ties between couples but may also harm family reputation.

Nevertheless, in 1970, President Ferdinand Marcos started to shift focus on contraceptives by establishing the national Population Commission (POPCOM) to address family size and population control (Mello et al., 2006). However, the Philippine government, influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, has hindered the implementation of many measures within its family planning program. Although the program was intended to provide information on both traditional and modern contraceptive methods (excluding abortion), the Church's opposition to modern family planning methods has led to limited availability and advertisement of contraceptives. As a result, only condoms were commercially advertised in the Philippines at the time (Falek, 2015).

Group Five (Born from 1958 to 1978)

Lastly, Goldin described Group Five to have similar pursuit of prioritizing career at early ages, however compared to Group Four, their career aspirations did not overshadow the potential of having a family. Born between 1958 and 1978, women in Group Five stood out for openly expressing their aspirations to balance both career and family life. These American women benefited from advances in scientific and medical knowledge, gaining insight into how fertility changes with age and affects the chance of pregnancy.

Medical advances such as IVF, GIFT, egg freezing, and chromosomal screening, combined with health insurance coverage, allowed more Group Five women to have children who otherwise couldn't. By 2018, these technologies account for 37% to 50% of the increase in first births among Group Five women compared to those women in Group Four. These technological advancements empowered many college-educated women to pursue both career and family, including having children without a husband or partner. By their late thirties, just over a quarter have achieved both career and family success.

On the other hand, while the introduction of the Pill in 1960 allowed women from Group Four and Five the means to focus on their education and career by delaying having the burden of being married and having a family at an early age, widespread access to contraceptives have only been issued starting 2012 in the Philippines.

Despite the national government establishing a new population policy emphasizing controlling population size in the late 1980s, access to contraceptives deteriorated further after 1991 when the Local Government Code of 1991 shifted power from the national government to local government units (LGU) (Mello et al., 2006). Under this code, while the Department of Health sets national family planning policies, LGUs were responsible for their implementation and funding. National funds were provided to LGUs through an Internal Revenue Allotment, which they can allocate at their discretion. The Arroyo administration's decision to withhold national funds for modern contraceptives forced LGUs to procure supplies on their own. This decentralization resulted in limited access to contraceptives due to insufficient local funding.

Only in 2012, a new reproductive health care law took effect in the Philippines mandating government funding for family planning clinics, affordable contraception, and comprehensive sex education in schools (Falek, 2015). Although delayed for 15 years by the Roman Catholic Church,

which imposed restrictions such as exempting church-affiliated hospitals from offering family planning and requiring parental consent for minors seeking contraceptives, the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act was passed in 2012. The law ensured that nearly all modern contraceptives were universally and freely accessible through government health centers (Philippine Supreme Court Upholds Historic Reproductive Health Law, 2014). It also required reproductive health education in government schools and acknowledged the right of women to receive post-abortion care.

However, although 70% of the population supports the bill, 50% of pregnancies remain unintended due to unaffordable contraceptives and restrictions on their distribution (Falek, 2015). The influence of the Catholic Church and the lack of information on the accessibility of contraceptives contributed to low contraceptive use even after the bill was passed. Additionally, the lack of government support for modern contraceptive methods, particularly in Laguna Province, Manila, and Puerto Princesa, led to anti-modern contraceptive policies. Furthermore, although women belonging to Group Five in the United States were now well-informed about contraceptive use and were now benefitting from these improved technologies to minimize the risks, recent research indicated that Filipino women and couples frequently opt against modern contraceptive methods due to concerns regarding side effects, limited awareness, and perceived inconvenience when compared to traditional alternatives (Marquez, Kabamalan, & Laguna, 2017). Analysis of pooled data from the Philippines National Demographic and Health Surveys indicated that the proportion of women using traditional contraceptive methods among current users has been stable at 30% across the surveys from 2003 to 2013. Possible explanations for this trend in the Philippines was that women continued to face barriers such as lack of access and knowledge, negative social norms around premarital sex, and the perception that modern family planning was for married women.

Part II. Gender Pay Gap in the Philippines

While Goldin documented that significant changes for gender equity were accomplished in the US, gender inequality continues to exist and the second half of the book explained the last factors needed to absolve the remaining portions of inequality. The most conventional method to quantitatively measure gender inequality was through analysis of the gender pay gap, the difference between median wage for women and men. The gender pay gap has narrowed over time but still exists across different industries. Research commonly agreed that the gender pay gap in the U.S. has remained unchanged over the years, with women earning 82 cents for every dollar men earned. However, Goldin's research on the gender pay gap revealed that the value and nature of the issue is more complex and cannot be entirely attributed to occupational segregation or discrimination. Data on America showed that two-thirds of the gender-based difference in earnings cannot be solely explained by occupational choice (Goldin, 2021). Occupational segregation, which means the difference of the occupations taken by men and women, contributed to the gender pay gap, but it was not the primary cause. Even if genders were evenly distributed across occupations, and 40-50% of men and women were shifted to different jobs to achieve gender equality, only about one-third of the gender earnings gap would be eliminated. This limited impact was due to the fact that the larger portion of the gender earnings gap existed within every occupation.

Goldin argued that the remaining problem of gender inequality in the United States is attributed to the structure of work and child care. Important years for career development coincide with essential periods in starting and raising a family. College graduates often worked in related jobs for a year or more before pursuing advanced degrees. Earning a PhD takes longer now, and promotion timelines are lengthy in fields such as law, consulting, and accounting. First promotions in the mid to late thirties occur around the same time couples may decide to get married or start having a family.

Now, at the same time, 'greedy jobs' in fields of corporate, finance, and legal are providing incentive to specialize in spending hours in work through increasing rewards such as promotions and pay. When couples choose to forego these high-earning unpredictable jobs to maintain equally divided time in household responsibilities, they may face financial losses. The reality is that when the earnings of these 'greedy' jobs is comparatively large, Goldin asserts that most couples will opt to choose the higher family income and have one partner specialize at home (which is often the female) while the other works, even if it means sacrificing gender equality.

I found similar results with Goldin where the gender pay gap exists within every occupation in the Philippines, and from my findings, this extended across all income cohorts and employment characteristics. The following ***Table I*** displays the results of an OLS regression model on correlation of the daily wages of the Labor Force Survey in 2021 with respect to being a female.

Table I. Residual Gender Differences in Log of Daily Wage (PHP)

Coefficient on Female	Standard Error	R Squared	Variables Included
-0.0038	0.003299	9.23E-06	Basic
-0.0061*	0.003294	0.003704	Basic, Age
-0.1655***	0.002862	0.29152	Basic, Age, Education
-0.0878***	0.002971	0.522921	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation
-0.1073***	0.00293	0.337995	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker
-0.1231***	0.002715	0.432136	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker, Income Cohort

*Note: ***, **, * denotes 1%, 5%, and 10% significance level, respectively.*
Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

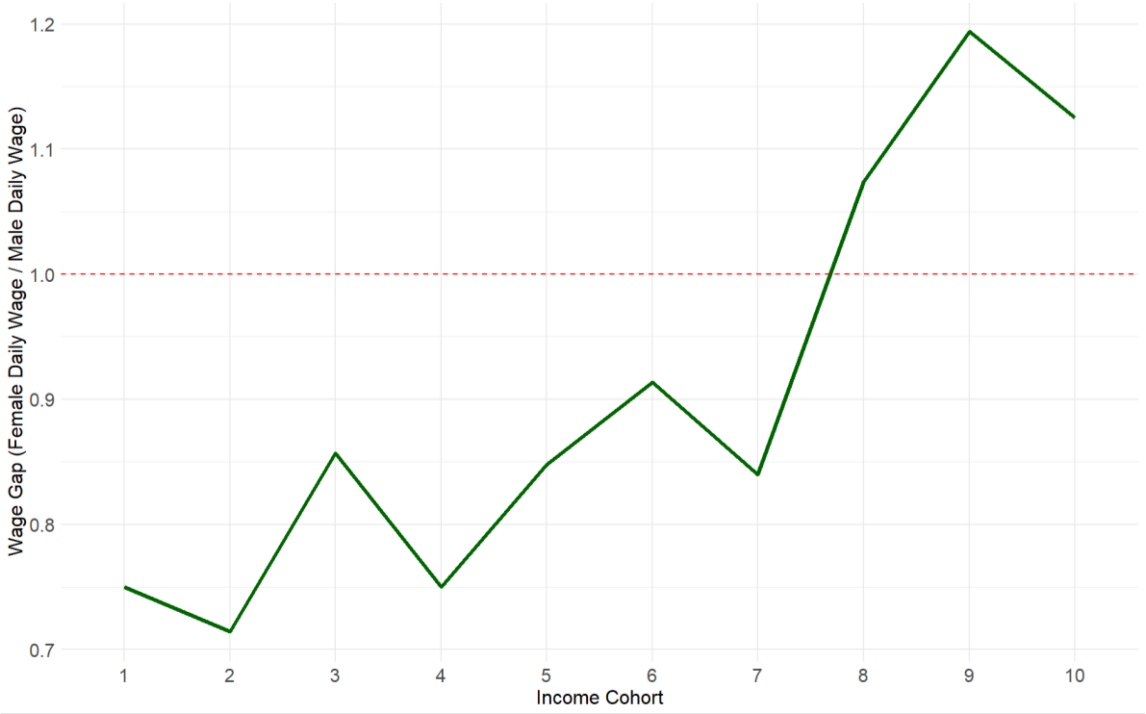
These results indicate that even when we account for the differences in occupation and income level, the gender pay gap continues to exist across the demographic. However, while this has already been emphasized by Goldin and this primary employment constraint remaining for women in the United States may also be present in the Philippines to some degree, literature in the Philippines

suggests that the observed evidence of the gender pay gap may be attributed to career barriers elsewhere. While American couples are faced with the time constraint on deciding how to allocate their time in taking care of their family or pursuing their career, this is not a significant problem in the Philippines where child care is more accessible in the country. In the Labor Force Survey in 2021 with a sample of 165,035 households, about 6,954 individuals are working as domestic cleaners and helpers and child care workers which means that at least about 1 out of 20 families in the Philippines have employed a maid or household helper. Moreover, a family centric culture in the country has led to most Filipino household families living with their grandparents, who traditionally often help with household chores and with taking care of children when parents are working. Research conducted by the University of the Philippines Population Institute (2022) discovered that 7% of children were raised by individuals other than their parents, mostly by their grandparents.

A more compelling explanation on the prevalence of the gender pay gap is that women in the Philippines continue to face traditional constraints on their careers, such as limited access to contraceptives, divorce, and abortion. Despite progressive measures such as the Magna Carta in 2009, which has upheld measures to protect the working conditions and rights for women, these fundamental constraints severely limit women's career prospects and reinforce social expectations regarding their household roles in the economy. Fortunately, compared to the problems of the US in the increasing demand for 'greedy jobs' across industries and the availability of childcare, these constraints in the Philippines—like access to modern contraceptives and legislation on abortion and divorce—are more tangible and amenable to direct intervention through policy reform and funding allocation. However, progress is hindered by the influential presence of the Catholic Church within the government, which has impeded meaningful strides toward addressing these issues.

As a result, many of these constraints have remained largely unchanged over the past century. More importantly, only those who are well-off can overcome these barriers by purchasing contraceptives privately or traveling abroad for a divorce or abortion. Meanwhile, those who cannot afford these measures continue to bear the brunt of gender inequality. The following ***Figure I*** hints us on this trend of the gender pay gap across different income cohorts.

Figure I. Gender Pay Gap (Female/Male) per Income Cohort by Median Wage (2021)



Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

The gender pay gap was most evident in the income cohorts 1 to 7 where in income cohorts 1, 2, and 4, women earn lower than 80 centavos for every peso than a man earns in the said cohort. On the other hand, this gender earnings gap was lost above income cohort 8 to 10 where women start earning more for every peso that men earn. In ***Figure II***, I tested the statistical significance of this gender pay gap by adopting the same OLS regression model across each income cohort.

Figure II. Correlation of Log of Daily Wage and Female across Income Cohorts (2021)

All points are coefficients that are significant at the alpha level of 0.01 and ***Table II*** *in the* ***Appendix*** *provides the results of these estimates when tested for their robustness.*

Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

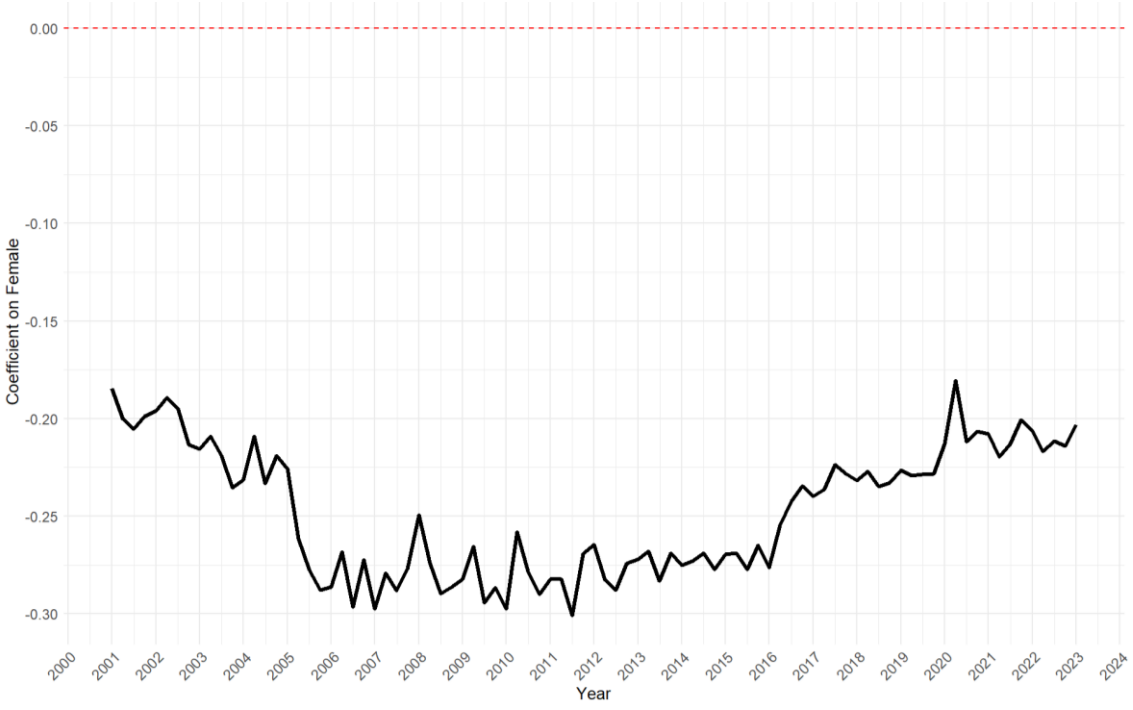
The correlation of being a female with daily wages was negative and statistically significant across all income cohorts, but was most pronounced in lowests income households where women earn about 75 centavos for every peso a man earns. The given graphs hint to us the context of the gender pay gap in the country. In comparison to income cohort 8 to 10, those in income cohort 1 to 7 have social and employment characteristics that were often associated with higher gender inequality. Most of the employment of these Filipino women centered on elementary and service occupations[1] which has an existing gender pay gap across all income cohorts[2]. While the occupations of these women changed across income cohorts, women in all income cohorts have a higher portion studying

[1] See ***Figure III*** in Appendix
[2] See ***Figure IV*** in Appendix

as college graduates compared to men[3]. Interestingly, employment among these female college graduates differed in each income cohorts[4] where in income cohorts 1 to 7, a larger portion was employed in elementary occupations while in income cohorts 8 to 10, a larger percentage of these college graduates worked as professionals.

This trend of gender pay gap in the Philippines has relatively stayed the same across time. ***Figure VIII*** shows the results from the same OLS regression for Labor Force Surveys from 2001 to 2023. Each point in the graph represents the correlation between the log of daily wages and being a female, while controlling for education, occupation, and age.

Figure VIII. Correlation between Log of Daily Wage and Female Gender from 2001 to 2023



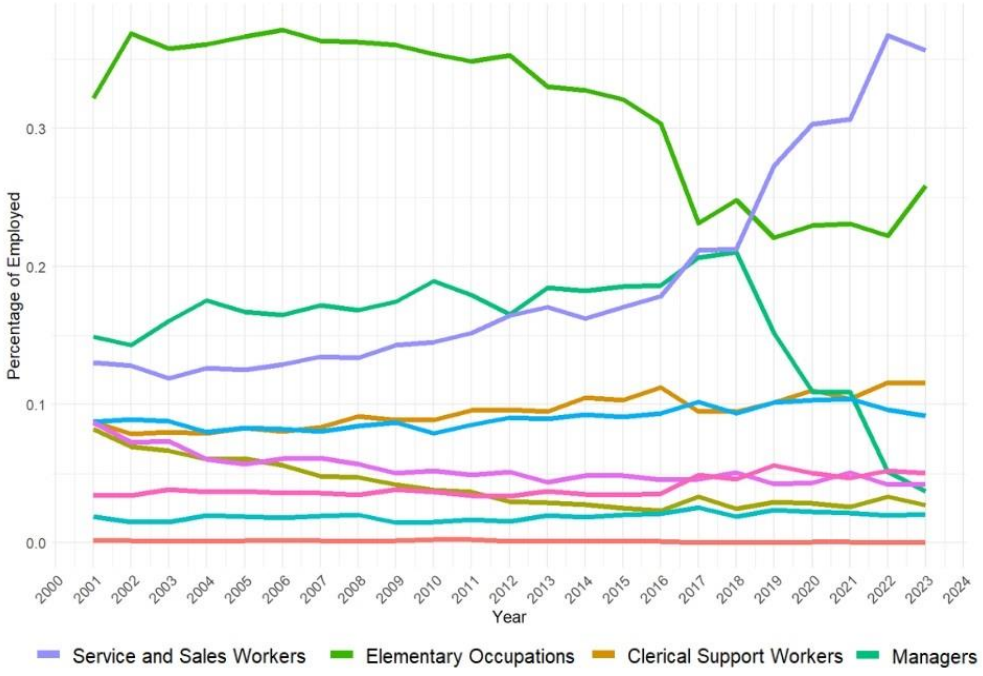
All points are coefficients that are significant at the alpha level of 0.01

Source: Author's Computation; Labor Force Surveys from 2001 to 2023

[3] See ***Figure V*** in Appendix
[4] See ***Figure VI*** and ***Figure VII*** in Appendix

The given figure argues that across the last two decades, women in the Philippines have consistently earned about 20% less for every peso a man earns even when we account for occupation and education. While political progress on women's rights has been made, the trend of employment for women indicates that the highest portion of employment was increasingly concentrated in services and elementary occupations, jobs where women relatively earn lower than men compared to other occupations. The following ***Figure IX*** shows the distribution of employment for women during the same period.

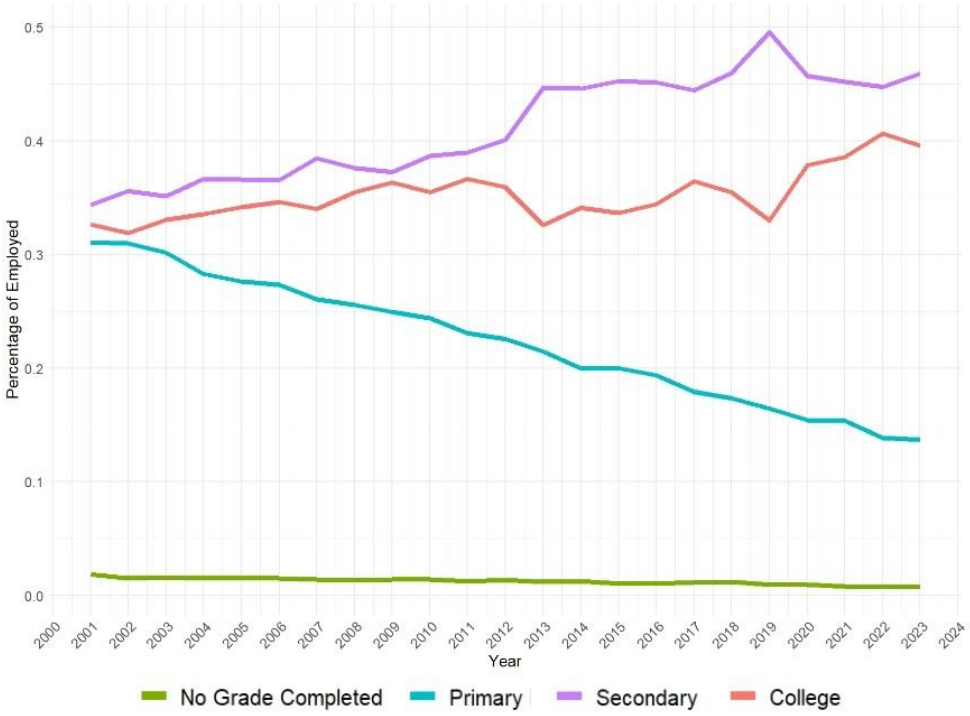
Figure IX. Trend of Employment for Women from 2001 to 2023



Source: Author's Computation; Labor Force Survey 2001 to 2023

This happens whilst the education of women across the board have been increasing over the past decades (more women are graduates of secondary and college education). This can be seen through the following ***Figure X*** on the trend of the highest education completed of Filipina women in the same timeline.

Figure X. Trend of Highest Education Completed for Women from 2001 to 2023



Source: Author's Computation; Labor Force Survey 2001 to 2023

Overall, these findings suggest that fundamental constraints that Filipina women face should be focused on the continual lack of enforcement in progressive policies that can change the perspective of women's role in the economy, which have already been implemented successfully in the United States a decade prior. While education and employment outcomes for women have been progressing, career constraints emanate through the lack of divorce, abortion, and modern contraceptives which drive gender pay gap for those in lower income brackets. However, these barriers are mostly alleviated in higher income households where women were able to achieve both career and family through better access to childcare and methods to pay for contraceptives and to leave the country for abortion or divorce.

Conclusion

Goldin's insights in "Career and Family" were instrumental in unraveling the historical constraints women in the US had to overcome to be able to have the capability to have both career and family. Her work on documentation of career and family barriers was fundamental to contextualize gender inequality as we see it in the present and ways to move forward to preserve equality. Goldin argued that significant reductions in the gender pay gap can be achieved by reshaping the labor market, particularly by restructuring jobs and compensation to allow for greater temporal flexibility. This involves removing incentives for companies to favor employees who adhere to specific or long working hours, thereby improving pay equity across genders. This has already been successfully implemented in occupations such as pharmacists and veterinary medicine.

However, the analysis in the book was limited in discussion of college women, proving to have critical limitations in the discussion of the gender pay gap in the Philippines which is primarily focused on the career constraints faced by lower income households. While Goldin did not propose concrete solutions for the gender pay gap, she identified three key ideas to address the current problems of gender inequality in the US. First, challenging social norms dictating which gender should prioritize career over family responsibilities can mitigate gender disparities. Second, prioritizing childcare in policymaking is crucial for enhancing women's participation in the labor force. Lastly, reducing the costs associated with opting for flexible job arrangements, particularly in traditionally demanding fields such as technology and healthcare, can encourage other industries to follow suit.

While these solutions would be beneficial for women in the Philippines, it is important to recognize that the story of gender inequality in the US differs from that in the Philippines. For the Philippines, it is crucial to examine constraints that impact lower income groups such as legislations that the country has implemented with regards divorce and abortions and revisit the barriers on information about modern contraceptives. As informed by Goldin's insights, these obstacles, long

addressed in the United States, require attention in the Philippines to foster a more equitable future for Filipino women in the workforce.

Appendix

Table II. Residual Gender Differences in Log of Daily Wage (PHP) by Income Cohort (2021)

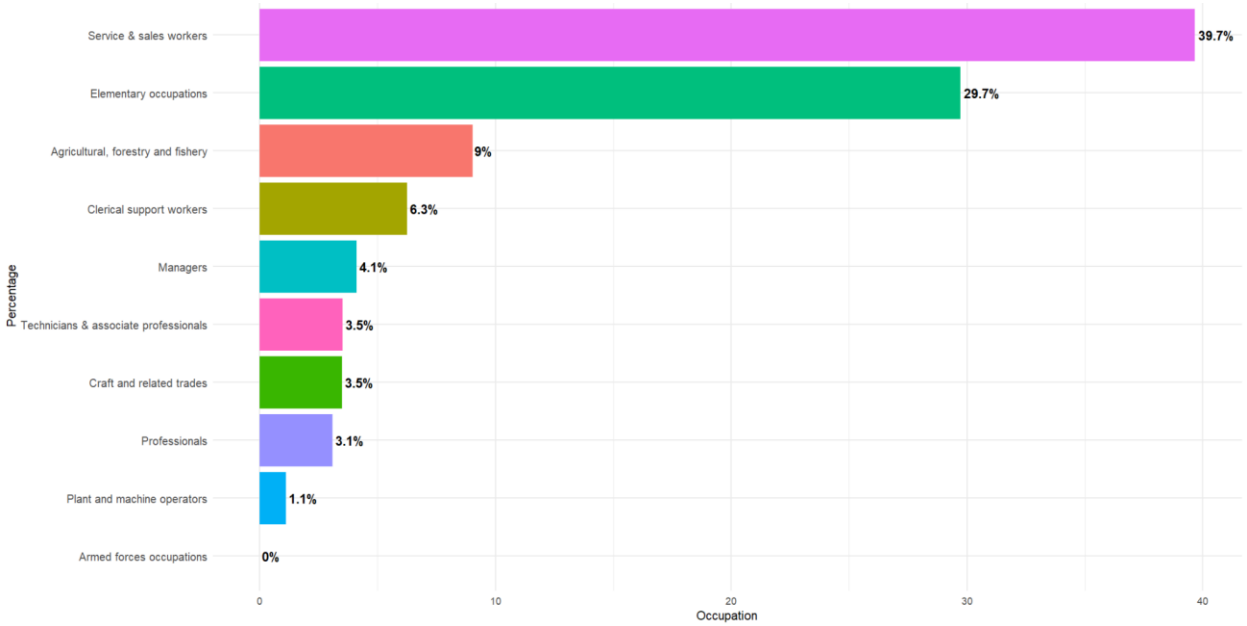
Coefficient on Female	Standard Error	R Squared	Variables Included	Income Cohort
-0.2977***	0.009397	0.086858	Basic	1
-0.3095***	0.009372	0.100702	Basic, Age	1
-0.3181***	0.009341	0.120175	Basic, Age, Education	1
-0.141***	0.012026	0.272126	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	1
-0.252***	0.010795	0.132749	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	1
-0.2893***	0.008382	0.087507	Basic	2
-0.2948***	0.008386	0.092473	Basic, Age	2
-0.314***	0.008353	0.121652	Basic, Age, Education	2
-0.1464***	0.010684	0.286933	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	2
-0.2512***	0.009424	0.136649	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	2
-0.2755***	0.007855	0.085841	Basic	3
-0.2777***	0.007857	0.087889	Basic, Age	3
-0.2976***	0.007796	0.124031	Basic, Age, Education	3
-0.1378***	0.00959	0.299631	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	3
-0.2407***	0.008466	0.142894	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	3
-0.2266***	0.00779	0.057802	Basic	4
-0.227***	0.0078	0.057886	Basic, Age	4
-0.2581***	0.007746	0.101143	Basic, Age, Education	4
-0.1303***	0.009462	0.295843	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	4

-0.2061***	0.008293	0.122604	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	4
-0.2054***	0.007718	0.048337	Basic	5
-0.204***	0.007715	0.050304	Basic, Age	5
-0.2472***	0.007602	0.116758	Basic, Age, Education	5
-0.1194***	0.008954	0.323595	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	5
-0.189***	0.007902	0.153357	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	5
-0.1258***	0.007818	0.01749	Basic	6
-0.1257***	0.007808	0.020058	Basic, Age	6
-0.1832***	0.00761	0.110285	Basic, Age, Education	6
-0.1044***	0.008566	0.346621	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	6
-0.1413***	0.007782	0.151472	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	6
-0.0493***	0.007874	0.002649	Basic	7
-0.0505***	0.007861	0.006395	Basic, Age	7
-0.125***	0.007554	0.132368	Basic, Age, Education	7
-0.079***	0.007939	0.413655	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	7
-0.0828***	0.007553	0.195042	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	7
0.0284***	0.008196	0.000774	Basic	8
0.0262***	0.008192	0.003387	Basic, Age	8
-0.0776***	0.007695	0.174765	Basic, Age, Education	8
-0.0452***	0.007774	0.457501	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	8

-0.0559***	0.007538	0.240926	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	8
0.0716***	0.008667	0.004163	Basic	9
0.0723***	0.008669	0.004617	Basic, Age	9
-0.0507***	0.007816	0.235324	Basic, Age, Education	9
-0.0262***	0.007543	0.514299	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	9
-0.0261***	0.007487	0.329436	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	9
-0.0447***	0.010575	0.001012	Basic	10
-0.0487***	0.010419	0.030632	Basic, Age	10
-0.1157***	0.008691	0.33276	Basic, Age, Education	10
-0.0364***	0.008195	0.57101	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation	10
-0.0562***	0.008437	0.405718	Basic, Age, Education, Occupation, Class of Worker	10

*Note: ***,**,* denotes 1%, 5%, and 10% significance level, respectively.*
Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

Figure III. Distribution of Employment of Filipina Women by Occupation of Income Cohorts 1 to 7 (2021)

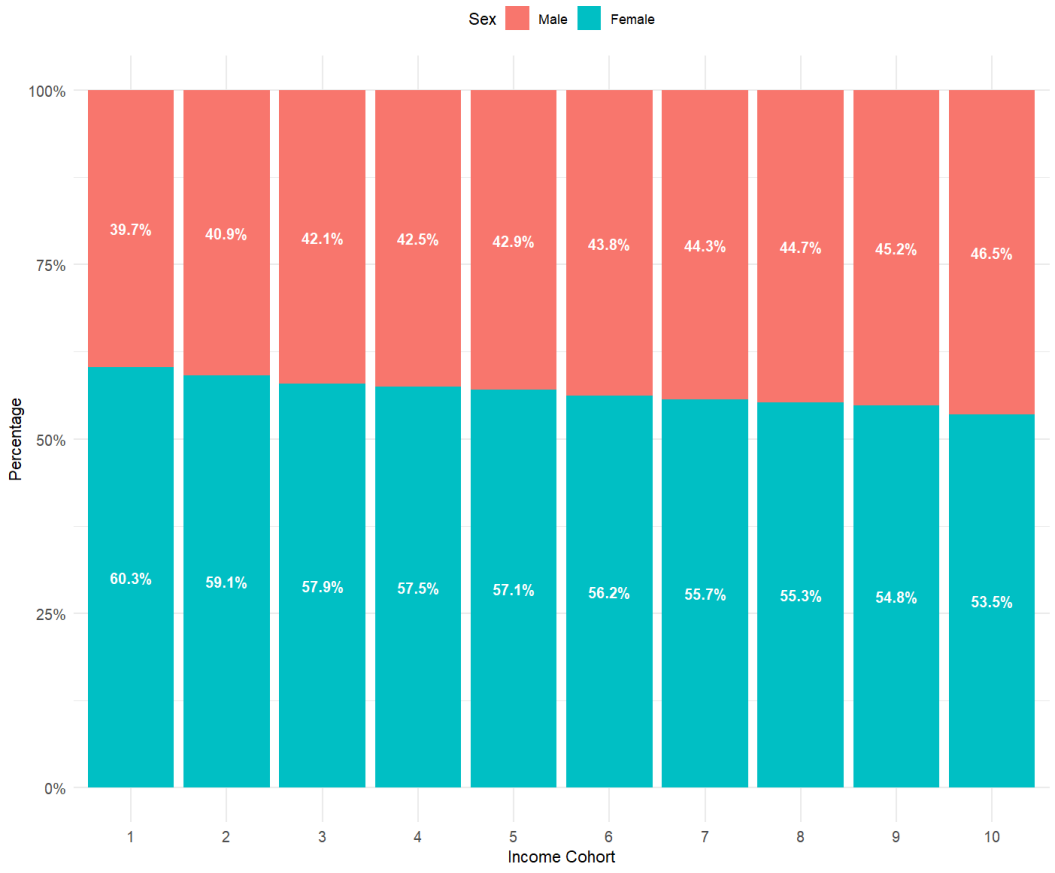


Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

Figure IV. Gender Pay Gap (Female/Male) per Income Cohort by Occupation by Median Wage (2021)

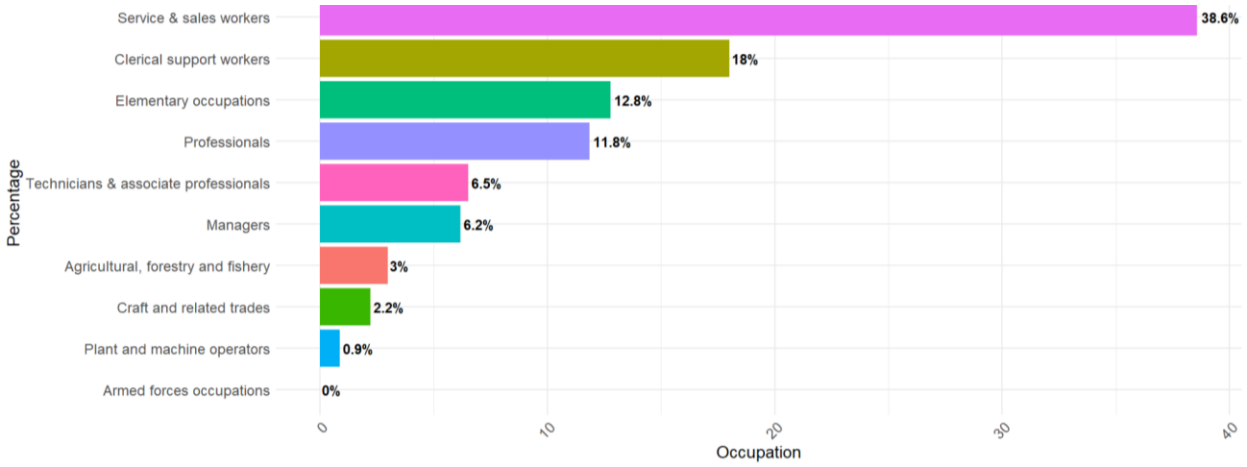
Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

Figure V. Share of Gender in College Graduates by Income Cohort and Sex (2021)



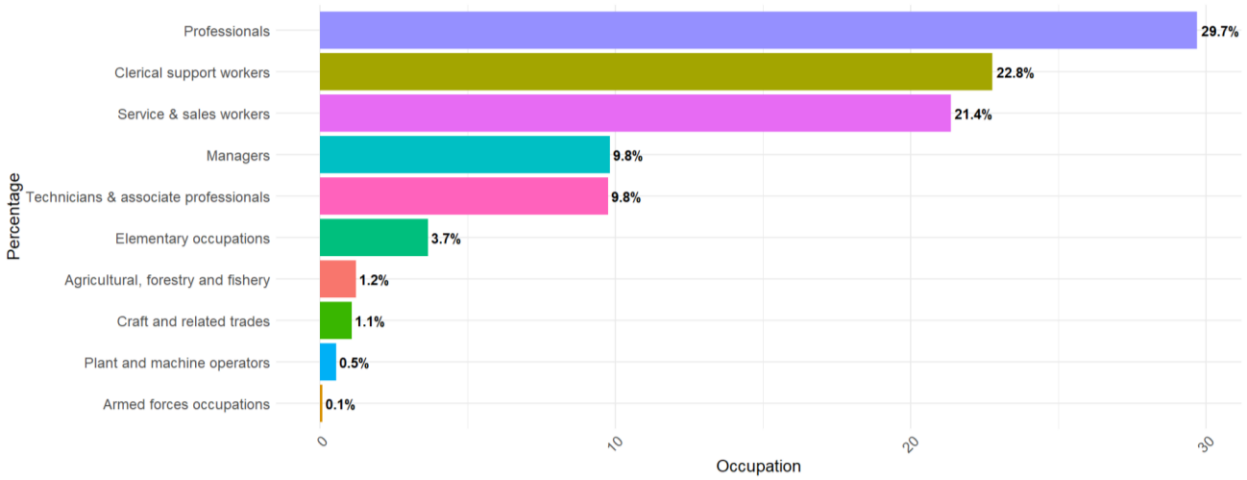
Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

Figure VI. Employment of Female College Graduates by Occupation in Income Cohorts 1 to 7



Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

Figure VII. Employment of Female College Graduates by Occupation in Income Cohorts 8 to 10



Source: Author's Computation; Family Income and Expenditure Survey - Labor Force Survey 2021

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