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# Individual Attributes, Values and the Gender Employment Gap

Hawati Abdul Hamid and Puteri Marjan Megat Muzafar



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## Individual Attributes, Values and the Gender Employment Gap

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The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the authors and may not reflect the official position of KRI.

Authors' email address: [hawati.hamid@krinstitute.org](mailto:hawati.hamid@krinstitute.org) and [marjan.muzafar@krinstitute.org](mailto:marjan.muzafar@krinstitute.org)

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## Executive Summary

This working paper is part of studies within KRI's broader research on Gender and Care Work. The objective of this paper is to examine the effect of individual attributes and values on male and female employment in Malaysia, and to disentangle how these factors contribute differently to the employment gap. The key findings and policy implications are summarised as below:

### Key findings

#### 1. **Determinants of employment: Gender related factors distinctly affect employment odds for males and females**

- **Employment gap:** Despite advancements in educational attainment and workforce participation among women, there remains a considerable gender gap in Malaysia labour market. National statistics show that in 2023, the women's labour force participation rate (LFPR) was 56.2%, compared to 82.3% for men. Similarly, our analysis, based on WVB data from 2005 to 2020, indicates a gap of around 20%, with women having 66% lower odds of being in employment compared to men.
- **Individual characteristics and household dynamics:** Key factors influencing employment odds include education level, household characteristics, and age, which exhibits a strong inverted U-shaped relationship with employment. Interestingly, marital status alone does not significantly affect employment, but having children has a detrimental effect on women's employment prospects while enhancing those of men. Household income level significantly influences women's employment but not men, suggesting that women's employment decisions are more sensitive to household economic background. Men are likely to seek work or remain employed regardless of their financial background. This could reflect various factors, such as personal ambition, societal expectations, or a sense of responsibility.
- **Personal values and gender-role attitudes:** Personal values on gender roles have a more pronounced effect on women's labour market participation. Valuing work boosts employment for both genders, but traditional views of the housewife role significantly reduce women's employment odds. Belief in men's rights to scarce jobs increases men's employment but doesn't significantly affect women.

## 2. **Decomposition of employment gap: Differential treatment of individuals, driven by traditional gender-role bias, influences the employment gap more than differences in individual characteristics**

- **Individual endowment and coefficient effects:** The employment gap is predominantly driven by differential treatment of identical characteristics in the labour market (24.8%), rather than differences in characteristics themselves (10.5%). For instance, having children increases men's employment odds but reduces women's, underscoring the unequal treatment of similar characteristics between genders.
- **Traditional gender roles and societal norms:** The presence of children significantly influence women's employment, accounting for 41.4% of the employment gap, while attitudes on gender roles considered in this study contribute 28.9%. The subjective valuation of these aspects (coefficient effects), rather than their objective presence (endowment effects), contributes more significantly to the gap. Overall, the findings underscore the significance of gender role stereotypes in shaping women's employment, as they account for approximately 70% of the total employment gap.
- **Unexplained gap:** However, a significant portion of the gender employment gap remains unexplained by the factors considered in this study, suggesting that many other variables, such as health status, location, and labour market conditions, are at play. Future research should investigate these additional influential factors and address the unexplained disparities.

## Policy Implications

### 1. **Comprehensive support for working parents**

- To address the gender disparity, policies need to focus on removing barriers to women's participation in the workforce. This includes promoting family-friendly policies such as flexible work arrangements, affordable childcare, and parental leave policies to support women particularly those with young children, in balancing work and family responsibilities and reducing the impact of unpaid care work on employment participation.

### 2. **Addressing inequality at home**

- Additionally, policy approaches should also extend beyond intervention in the labour market. This could include encouraging men to share family responsibilities, quantifying the value of unpaid care work and enhancing educational systems that challenge gender stereotypes. These measures would not only help women pursue career opportunities more effectively but also play a crucial role in closing the employment gap and advancing gender equality in the workforce.

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## 1. Introduction

While Malaysia has made great strides toward women's empowerment, inequality between men and women in the labour market continues to persist, impeding the country from realising its full potential. Our earlier study titled, "Gender Equality in the World of Work: Status and Progress<sup>1</sup>," provides a comprehensive review of the status of men and women in Malaysia across various social, economic, and demographic dimensions. One key observation is that, despite notable advancements in women's educational attainment and increased participation in the labour market, significant disparities remain particularly in terms of employment rates, sectoral and occupational concentration, pay gaps, and career advancement between the two groups. The Global Gender Gap Index 2024 shows that Malaysia tops the list in terms of educational attainment but is ranked 102<sup>nd</sup> out of 146 countries in terms of economic participation and opportunities<sup>2</sup>.

With Malaysia's women labour force participation rate (LFPR) is still low at 56.2% compared to 82.3% for men in 2023, promoting employment especially among women has been set as one of the policy priorities under the Madani Economy Framework announced in 2023<sup>3</sup>. The government aims to increase the women's LFPR to 60% within the next ten years to further unlock women's potential in productive economic activities.

This working paper is part of KRI's research on gender and are work. The study will specifically focus on labour market participation issue against the backdrop of marginal progress made since 2015 in promoting higher women's participation and the persistent disparity observed between men and women. Narrowing this gap by addressing barrier to join the workforce will help Malaysia to fully utilise its talent pool. This, in turn, will boost productivity and economic growth, benefiting both men and women, as well as their families.

The objective of this working paper is twofold. First, it aims to study the factors influencing labour market participation in Malaysia and determine whether these effects differ between males and females. Second, considering the existing differential in the male-female employment rates, it explores the contribution of these factors in explaining the employment gap in Malaysia. In short, the first part will examine the factors influencing employment rates between males and females, while the second part explores how much and how different those factors explain the gap between the two groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Puteri Marjan Megat Muzafar and Hawati Abdul Hamid (2024)

<sup>2</sup> WEF (2024)

<sup>3</sup> PMO (2023)

To achieve these two objectives, the study first utilises a logit model for the employment determinant analysis, and then adopts a non-linear decomposition method to disentangle the contributing factors that explain the gender employment gap. This allows for a nuanced understanding of how much of the gap can be attributed to certain factors, providing a clearer picture of where interventions can be most effectively targeted to reduce the gap and promote better employment outcomes.

This paper is organised as follows: Section 2 briefly reviews the factors influencing employment from the literature. Section 3 provides the analytical framework and data used in the study. Section 4 present the empirical analysis and discusses the findings. Section 5 concludes the study and discusses the policy implications.

## 2. Gender gap in workforce

Gender gaps can manifest in various forms within the labour market, including disparities in employment rates, uneven presence of men and women across economic sectors and occupations, pay differences, and unequal opportunities for skills development and career advancement. While the factors influencing these gaps are often intertwined, there are several subtle differences in the factors that drive the gaps between those outside and inside the workforce. For example, labour force participation and employment gaps are largely influenced by barrier to entry factors such as lack of relevant skills or education, geographic immobility, as well as socioeconomic factors and personal circumstances that affect individuals' ability to join the workforce like caregiving responsibilities, health issues, and family obligations.

On the other hand, pay gaps are more directly affected by factors such as wage-setting practices, occupational segregation, professional development and career advancement opportunities, in addition to differences in work experience and education levels<sup>4</sup>. For a detailed analysis of the pay-related factors, refer to KRI's earlier work titled "The Returns to Malaysian Labour - Part II," which has included an analysis on the gender pay gap<sup>5</sup>.

This paper, however, will focus on the employment gap, which is influenced by a complex interplay of various factors that can be broadly categorized into endogenous and exogenous variables. Endogenous factors are internal to the individual and attach to personal characteristics and decisions, such as education level, career aspirations, and work-life balance preferences. Exogenous factors, on the other hand, are environmental factors that are external to the individual. These could include societal norms and individual attitudes towards gender roles, economic conditions as well as public policies and legal frameworks governing employment practices that affect labour market outcomes.

The study will explore three critical aspects that could influence employment and participation in the labour market namely individual characteristics, household characteristics, and personal values on work and gender-role attitudes.

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<sup>4</sup> ILO (2010), World Bank (2012)

<sup>5</sup> Nithiyananthan Muthusamy, Mohd Amirul Rafiq Abu Rahim, and Jarud Romadan Khalidi (2023)

## 2.1. Individual characteristics and sociodemographic background

Research consistently highlights the critical role of individual characteristics such as education, skills, age, personal aspirations as well as family background in explaining gender disparities in employment and its outcomes. Education is a key factor influencing employment. According to the human capital theory, education is viewed as an investment that can generate returns and significantly influence job outcomes<sup>6</sup>. This theory is supported by other studies demonstrating that education plays a crucial role in determining the labour force participation of both men and women<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, higher educational attainment generally leads to better job opportunities, higher wages and career advancement<sup>8</sup>.

However, despite similar or even higher educational achievements, women often face barriers that hinder their career progression compared to men. Work experience and skills acquisition also differ between genders, influenced by factors such as career interruptions for childbearing and rearing. Blau and Kahn (2000) found that differences in work experience and job tenure contribute to the gender wage gap, with women are more likely to experience career interruptions due to family responsibilities. Furthermore, Goldin (2014) emphasised that while educational attainment has equalised, women still face gender-specific challenges in the labour market, such as occupational segregation and discriminatory practices. Meanwhile, age impacts individuals' labour market behaviour at different life stages. Younger group often face higher unemployment rates and job instability while labour force participation declines in older group especially as they approach retirement<sup>9</sup>.

The first part of our study found that as women's educational attainment improves, their likelihood of participating in the labour market increases. However, a significant proportion of women with tertiary education—33.4% or 1.3 million—opt out of the labour force, representing a substantial loss of human resources in Malaysia's labour market. Similarly, a closer look at women's participation by age group shows women are still trailing behind men, although the gap has been narrowing. Women's participation exhibits a noticeable double-hump pattern, peaking in their late twenties, gradually declining, and then spiking again in their early forties before tapering off<sup>10</sup>. This trend suggests that women are re-entering the labour force for a brief period before gradually exiting again, reflecting the complex interplay between work, family responsibilities and life stages.

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<sup>6</sup> Mincer and Polachek (1974)

<sup>7</sup> Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1991), Blau and Kahn (2020)

<sup>8</sup> Becker (1994)

<sup>9</sup> Freeman (1981)

<sup>10</sup> Puteri Marjan Megat Muzafar and Hawati Abdul Hamid (2024)



## 2.2. Household characteristics and the trade-off between paid and care work

Household characteristics, including family structure, marital status, presence of children and caregiving responsibilities, significantly influence employment decisions and opportunities and affect men and women differently. Analyses of the labour force participation rates found that historically, married women with young children are less likely to participate in the labour force, while the opposite is true for men<sup>11</sup>. In 2022, the estimated prime-age (between 25 to 54 years) labour force participation rates were 96% for men and 69.2% for women. However, when examining those with young children (aged below six), women's participation rate declined to 55.6%, whereas men's participation rose to 99.8%. Similarly, Sharifah Nabilah Syed Salleh & Norma Mansor (2022) shows that marital status and the presence of young children negatively affect women's employment decision<sup>12</sup>.

In many Malaysian households, women bear a disproportionate share of unpaid care work, including childcare and elder care. KRI's 2019 study titled "Time to Care: Gender Inequality, Unpaid Care Work and Time Use Survey" showed that both paid work hours and income were negatively related to unpaid care work for women in Malaysia. Every hour spent on unpaid care labour results in less time available for market jobs and less income<sup>13</sup>. This is also reflected in women working fewer hours than men on average<sup>14</sup>. The most significant time disparity occurs between the ages of 30 and 34—coinciding with women's childbearing years—where men work on average of 3.1 hours more per week than women<sup>15</sup>. Additionally, many women would opt for part-time work or career breaks to manage family responsibilities resulting in a wage penalty for women, or often referred to as the "motherhood penalty", where mothers earn less than childless women and men<sup>16</sup>.

On the other hand, cohabitation with parents and living in the same neighbourhood enhanced women's participation in the labour force<sup>17</sup>. This underscores the importance of support systems in enabling women to engage in paid work. Data from the Malaysian Census (1970 to 2000) indicates that women with young children have higher labour force participation rates when living with extended families, compared to those residing in nuclear families<sup>18</sup>. However, women's participation could be restricted due to their responsibilities of caring for elderly parents. For instance, a study by the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development (MWFC) on working and non-working women found that care work performed by the respondents are predominantly for children and the elderly<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Puteri Marjan Megat Muzafar and Hawati Abdul Hamid (2024)

<sup>12</sup> Sharifah Nabilah Syed Salleh and Norma Mansor (2022)

<sup>13</sup> KRI (2019)

<sup>14</sup> Puteri Marjan Megat Muzafar and Hawati Abdul Hamid (2024)

<sup>15</sup> DOSM (Various years)

<sup>16</sup> Budig and England (2001)

<sup>17</sup> Shen, Yan, and Zeng (2016)

<sup>18</sup> DOSM (Various years)

<sup>19</sup> MWFC (2013)

Examining these household dynamics is crucial for identifying supportive measures, such as affordable childcare services and flexible working arrangements, to help mitigate the impact of household responsibilities on women's employment. Blau and Kahn (2007) noted that countries with more supportive family policies, such as subsidised childcare and parental leave, have higher female labour force participation rates<sup>20</sup>.

### 2.3. Individual values and attitudes on work and gender role

Social norms and cultural values could also profoundly influence gender roles and employment outcomes. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) introduced the concept of identity economics, which explores how societal expectations shape individual behaviour<sup>21</sup>. In many cultures, traditional gender roles dictate that men are the primary breadwinners while women are the caregivers. These norms can limit women's career aspirations and opportunities. Inglehart and Norris (2003) highlighted that cultural attitudes towards gender equality vary significantly across countries, influencing women's participation in the labour market<sup>22</sup>. Xiao and Asadullah (2020) shows that gender-related community social norms account for about half of the unexplained component in the labour force participation gap in China<sup>23</sup>.

In Malaysia, traditional views on gender roles may discourage women from pursuing careers in certain high-paying or leadership positions<sup>24</sup>. Additionally, societal expectations around women's primary responsibility for caregiving can reinforce gender disparities in employment. Social norms and values play a pervasive role in shaping gender roles and expectations within both the household and the workplace. Cultural attitudes towards gender roles often dictate the types of jobs deemed suitable for men and women, influencing career choices and opportunities. Understanding these social norms and values is vital for addressing the root causes of gender inequality in the labour market. Efforts to shift societal attitudes and promote gender equality must be part of a comprehensive approach to closing the gender employment gap.

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<sup>20</sup> Blau and Kahn (2007)

<sup>21</sup> Akerlof and Kranton (2000)

<sup>22</sup> Inglehart and Norris (2003)

<sup>23</sup> Xiao and M. Niaz Asadullah (2020)

<sup>24</sup> Ismail and Ibrahim (2008)

### 3. Data and methods

#### 3.1. Data

This study leverages data from the World Values Survey (WVS) to examine the determinant of labour market participation of women and men in Malaysia. The WVS, initiated in 1981, is a social survey organised in waves that are conducted every five years and encompasses around 120 countries. The survey collects not only demographic and socioeconomic information but also insights into people's perceptions and values that could explain behavioural and social norms. Unlike other competing surveys such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted by the Department of Statistics Malaysia (DOSM), which also entails demographic and employment statistics, the WVS provides additional valuable information on social values. This allows us to extend our study beyond socioeconomic factors to include the influences of values and cultural factors.

The analysis in this section is conducted by pooling the WVS data from Wave 5 (2005-2009)<sup>25</sup>, Wave 6 (2010-2014)<sup>26</sup>, and Wave 7 (2017-2020)<sup>27</sup> in order to maximise the sample size<sup>28</sup>. For Malaysia, the combined sample size across these three waves consists of 3,815 respondents aged 15 to 80 years<sup>29</sup>. Considering the study's focus on the workforce, only respondents aged 15 to 64 years were included, resulting in a total observation of 3,717.

Table 3.1 presents the breakdown of demographic and socioeconomic data for the 3,717 respondents aged 15-64 years, with a nearly equal distribution of males (50.1%) and females (49.9%). Data by employment status shows that 71.1% of the total respondents are working, with a higher percentage among males (80.6%) compared to females (61.7%). Marital status shows that 61.2% of respondents are currently married, with a slightly higher percentage among females (62.5%) than males (60.0%). Regarding ethnic composition, 67.2% of the respondents are Bumiputera, with similar distributions across genders.

The age distribution indicates that the largest age group is 25-29 years, accounting for 14.1% of the total sample. Educational attainment shows that 52.5% of respondents have a middle level of education, with males slightly more represented in this category. A higher percentage of females have lower education levels (30.8%) compared to males (26.8%), while males slightly outnumber females in the upper education category (19.6% vs. 17.9%). Overall, the summary statistics indicates that the breakdown of the WVS data is broadly comparable with the distribution found in national statistics.

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<sup>25</sup> R. C. Inglehart et al. (2009)

<sup>26</sup> R. Inglehart et al. (2014)

<sup>27</sup> Haerpfer et al. (2022)

<sup>28</sup> Our analysis of individual wave to assess trends over time did not yield the expected outcomes due to sample size limitations.

<sup>29</sup> The ANOVA and MANOVA tests indicate that the samples are heterogeneous enough to be treated as pooled data.

As this paper also seeks to explore the influence of personal values and gender-role attitudes, three key questions are included as proxies, focusing on the perceived importance of work, the fulfilment derived from traditional gender roles like being a housewife, and beliefs about whether men should have priority in scarce job opportunities. On the first question, the overall distribution of responses indicates that 95.3% of respondents agreed that work is important. By gender, 96.3% of males and 94.2% of females share this view, indicating a strong consensus on the importance of work across genders, with males slightly more likely to affirm this belief. On the second question, in total, 57.0% of respondents agreed that the role of a housewife is fulfilling. More males (58.4%) compared to females (55.6%) believe that being a housewife is a fulfilling role. Finally, on the third question overall, 51.1% of respondents agreed that men have more rights to scarce jobs, while 48.9% disagreed. A higher proportion of males (62.4%) agreed with this statement compared to females (39.7%), indicating that men are more likely to believe that they should have priority in scarce job situations.

**Table 3.1: Breakdown of respondents by selected sociodemographic characteristics, 2005—2020**

		Total	Male	Female	t-value
Number of respondents aged 15-64 years		3717 (100%)	1,861 (50.1%)	1,856 (49.9%)	
Employment status	Working	71.1%	80.6%	61.7%	13.0
	Not working	28.9	19.4	38.3	
Marital status	Never married	35.5	38.2	32.7	-4.8
	Currently married	61.2	60.0	62.5	
	Previously married	3.3	1.8	4.8	
Ethnic group	Bumiputera	67.2	66.7	67.7	-0.6
	Non-Bumiputera	32.8	33.3	32.3	
Age group	15-19	9.1	8.8	9.3	2.0
	20-24	13.4	12.7	14.1	
	25-29	14.1	14.3	13.9	
	30-34	12.7	13.1	12.3	
	35-39	11.5	10.9	12.1	
	40-44	11.6	11.0	12.2	
	45-49	8.7	8.9	8.5	
	50-54	9.6	9.5	9.8	
	55-59	6.2	6.9	5.4	
	60-64	3.1	3.8	2.4	
Education level	Lower	28.8	26.8	30.8	2.5
	Middle	52.5	53.6	51.3	
	Upper	18.7	19.6	17.9	
Household income group	Low	17.8	17.1	18.5	
	Mid	66.2	66.9	65.7	
	High	16.0	16.0	15.8	
Living with parents	Yes	62.4	61.6	63.3	1.1
	No	37.6	38.4	36.6	
Number of children	0	41.0	44.0	37.9	-3.5
	1-2	26.5	25.2	27.3	
	3-4	22.7	21.5	25.0	
	>=5	10.0	9.3	10.8	
Work is important	Yes	95.3	96.3	94.2	3.0
	No	4.7	3.7	5.8	
Housewife role is fulfilling	Yes	57.0	58.4	55.6	1.7
	No	43.0	41.6	44.4	
Men have more rights on scare job	Yes	51.1	62.4	39.7	14.3
	No	48.9	37.6	60.3	

Note: Total percentage by column for each sociodemographic group, except for number of respondents.

Source: World Value Survey: Wave 5 R. C. Inglehart et al. (2009), Wave 6 R. Inglehart et al. (2014) and Wave 7 Haerpfer et al. (2022)

### 3.2. Analytical framework

As mentioned earlier, to examine factors affecting employment among males and females and the factors' contributions to employment gap, three sets of independent variables were taken namely: (1) individual characteristics, (2) household characteristics and (3) individual values on work and gender role.

We begin by analysing the determinants of the working status of all respondents, first encompassing both genders, using a logit model specification as follows:

$$y_i = \alpha_0 + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j X_{ij} + u_i \quad [1]$$

The outcome variable  $y$  is a dummy variable which takes a value of 1 for individuals with "working" status (full time, part time and self-employed) and 0 otherwise (retired, housewife, students and unemployed).

Meanwhile, the explanatory variables comprise of 11 factors that can be categorised into three groups as follows:

- (1) individual characteristics:** sex, marital status, ethnic group, age, and education level
- (2) household characteristics:** household income group, number of children they have, and whether they are living with parents or not.
- (3) individual values on work and gender role** on the following three questions/statements:
  - i) How important is work in your life? (Yes/No)
  - ii) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay (Agree/Disagree)
  - iii) When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women (Agree/Disagree)

For the definition of the variables and our reclassification of responses, refer to Table 6.1 in the Appendix section.

Our first stage analysis begins by regressing the logit model in Equation [1], using pooled data and incorporating a gender dummy variable. However, this might mask the differences in the effect of various factors between genders. To unpack this, we conduct a determinant analysis for each gender to identify any differing impacts of the explanatory factors between the two groups as per Equation [2] and Equation [3] below. In this regard, this study extends the work by Audrey and Sharon (2024), which examines the effects of personal attributes and gender-role attitudes, focusing on women labour force participation<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Audrey and Sharon (2024)

At the same time, the pooled analysis that show employment gap between gender may overlook the fact that same characteristics can affect the working status of each gender differently. Hence, we undertake a decomposition analysis by extending the classical Blinder<sup>31</sup> and Oaxaca<sup>32</sup> decomposition method and modified it for non-linear model<sup>33</sup>.

This second stage analysis aims to disentangle the effects of the variables into two components. The first component is the endowment effect, which explains the employment gap due differences in the characteristics or observed attributes of each group. These characteristics could include variables like education, age, and marital status. For example, if males and females have different levels of these characteristics, the characteristics effect measures how much of the gender gap in employment is due to these differences.

The second component is the coefficient effect, which explains the employment gap due to differences in the returns to these attributes. For example, even if males and females have the same attributes such as same level of education and age, they might behave differently or might face different incentives or barriers that affect their labour force participation. These could include cultural norms, workplace environment and discrimination. Hence, the coefficient effect measures how much the gender gap in employment is due to differences in the way characteristics are incentivised or penalised in the labour market.

In the context of a logit model, the analysis involves decomposing differences in the log-odds or probabilities of the outcome, which follow these steps:

- (1) Estimate the logit models separately for males (m) and females (f).

$$\bar{y}_m = \alpha_m + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j X_{jm} + u_i \quad [2]$$

$$\bar{y}_f = \alpha_f + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j X_{jf} + u_i \quad [3]$$

- (2) Compute the predicted probabilities for each group using the estimated coefficients and simulate the counterfactual probabilities for females' using the males' coefficients.

Based on the existing literature, the employment rate of females is expected to be less than male. Hence, we have chosen males as the reference group and females as the comparison group. Thus, the endowment effect reflects a counterfactual comparison of the difference in outcomes from the males' perspective (i.e. the expected difference if males were given females' distribution of characteristics). The coefficient effect reflects the counterfactual comparison of outcomes from females' perspective (i.e. the expected difference if females experienced males' responses to the explanatory variables).

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<sup>31</sup> Blinder (1973)

<sup>32</sup> Oaxaca (1973)

<sup>33</sup> Powers, Yoshioka, and Yun (2012)

- (3) Decompose the difference in the predicted probabilities between males and females into two portions, the first portion due to differences in observed characteristics (endowment) and the second portion due to differences in the returns to characteristics (coefficient).

$$\overbrace{\bar{y}_f - \bar{y}_m}^{\text{Total gap}} = \overbrace{\sum \beta_f (\bar{x}_f - \bar{x}_m)}^{\text{Endowment}} + \overbrace{\sum \bar{x}_m (\beta_f - \beta_m)}^{\text{Coefficient}} + \overbrace{(\alpha_f + \alpha_m)}^{\text{Constant}} \quad [4]$$

- (4) Calculate the proportional contributions of the endowment and coefficient effects to determine how much of the observed gap between the two groups stems from differences in characteristics (endowments) and how much is due to differences in the valuation of these characteristics (coefficients).

The overall decomposition coefficient is expected to be negative. As the endowment summand is driven by the difference of attributes of females relative to males ( $\bar{x}_f - \bar{x}_m$ ), a negative sign means females have less advantageous characteristics. Meanwhile, as the coefficient summand is driven by the difference of returns to females relative to males, ( $\beta_f - \beta_m$ ), a negative sign means that females have lower returns or incentives to their characteristics due to behavioural effects, discrimination, and other environmental factors in the labour market. Negative coefficients would amplify the overall decomposition effect and widen the gap. On the flipside, positive coefficients are favourable for females and will narrow the employment gap between the two groups.

The details of the non-linear Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method adopted in this study can be found in Powers, Yoshioka, and Yun (2012). However, the step-by-step procedures can effectively be achieved by using statistical software. We utilise the Stata package, *mvdcmp*, for carrying out the multivariate decomposition for logit model, which is comparable to existing Stata packages<sup>34</sup>, such as *oaxaca*<sup>35</sup>, *gdecomp*<sup>36</sup>, *fairlie*<sup>37</sup>, and *nldecompose*<sup>38</sup>. One key feature of *mvdcmp* is that it provides the detailed decomposition and standard errors for both the characteristics component and the coefficient component for the predicted model.

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<sup>34</sup> Powers, Yoshioka, and Yun (2012)

<sup>35</sup> Jann (2008)

<sup>36</sup> Bartus (2006)

<sup>37</sup> Jann (2006)

<sup>38</sup> Sinning, Hahn, and Bauer (2008)

## 4. Key Findings

### 4.1. Determinants of male and female employment status

We begin by presenting the estimation results on the factors influencing employment status using the logit model (Table 4.1). Model 1 is the result by pooling both genders, while Model 2 and 3 are the analyses specifically for males and females respectively. The results are reported in terms of odd ratios that indicate the likelihood of the outcome in the comparison group relative to the reference group.

**Table 4.1: Logit estimates of the determinants of male and female employment**

	Model 1 Pooled	Model 2 Male	Model 3 Female
Number of observations, n	3696	1850	1846
Pseudo R2	0.183	0.3042	0.1147
	<b>Odds ratio</b>	<b>Odds ratio</b>	<b>Odds ratio</b>
<b>Individual characteristics</b>			
<b>Sex: Male</b>			
Female	0.339***		
<b>Marital status: Never married</b>			
Currently married	1.057	1.404	0.870
Previously married	0.954	0.644	0.991
<b>Ethnic group: Non-Bumiputera</b>			
Bumiputera	0.827**	0.752*	0.820*
<b>Education level: Low</b>			
Middle	1.372***	1.096	1.622**
Upper	1.307**	0.785	1.659**
<b>Age group: 15-19</b>			
20-24	4.157***	3.448**	4.398**
25-29	14.392***	18.145**	11.907**
30-34	17.203***	37.914**	12.374**
35-39	18.748***	28.341**	14.989**
40-44	16.862***	22.242**	13.138**
45-49	19.173***	9.445**	18.722**
50-54	11.266***	4.424**	12.310**
55-59	9.294***	2.481*	13.637**
60-64	2.330*	0.552	4.242**
<b>Household characteristics</b>			
<b>Income group: Low</b>			
Mid	1.319**	1.316	1.267
High	1.613***	1.159	1.781**
<b>Living with parents: No</b>			
Yes	0.832*	0.483**	1.116



<b>Number of children: 0</b>			
1-2	0.751	2.130	0.642
3-4	0.461***	1.217	0.393**
>=5	0.380***	0.664	0.403**
<b>Values and gender-role attitudes</b>			
<b>Work is important: No</b>			
Yes	4.057***	3.657**	3.978**
<b>Housewife role is fulfilling: No</b>			
Yes	0.690***	0.912	0.612**
<b>Men have more rights on scarce job: No</b>			
Yes	1.051	1.373*	0.974
_cons	0.181***	0.21**	0.073**

Source: World Value Survey: Wave 5 R. C. Inglehart et al. (2009), Wave 6 R. Inglehart et al. (2014) and Wave 7 Haerpfer et al. (2022)

Notes:

1. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1.0%, 5.0% and 10.0% levels, respectively.
2. An odds ratio (OR) represents the change in odds of the outcome occurring for a one-unit increase in the predictor variable. OR = 1 means the predictor has no effect on odds; OR > 1 increases odds; OR < 1 decreases odds.

We will first discuss the results from Model 1 of the pooled regression. As shown in Table 4.1, the coefficient for the female dummy is less than one, confirming a significant gender gap in employment. An odds ratio of 0.339 indicates that females are significantly less likely to be in employment, with a 66.1% lower chance of employment compared to males.

Overall, the results indicate that age, education level, and certain household characteristics significantly influence employment odds. Females, Bumiputera and those with more children and living with parents generally are less likely to be in employment compared to the reference groups. On the other hand, the age profile appears to have the strongest positive effect on employment, with the regression results demonstrating an inverted U-shaped relationship between age and employment. This implies that the effect of age on employment increases up to a certain point and then decreases afterward.

Interestingly, marital status appears to have no significant effect on employment status. However, as individuals start to have children, the subsequent analysis will reveal how the impact of having children differs between genders. The insignificant effect of marital status alone is consistent with H. Kleven et al (2023) comparative analysis study of the child penalty across various countries. The study found that marriage penalties are significant mainly in low-income countries, weaken as countries transition to middle-income status, and almost disappear when they reach high-income status<sup>39</sup>. Similarly, ILO (2020) report indicates that childbearing, more than marriage, affects labour force participation<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Kleven, Landais, and Leite-Mariante (2023)

<sup>40</sup> Azcona et al. (2020)

Moving on to the individual values and gender-role attitudes, the pooled result indicates that those who place a high value on work are four times more likely to be working. With regards to the question “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay”, the result is found to be statistically significant and less than one. This indicates that those individuals who consider the housewife role to be fulfilling are less likely to be working compared to those who consider otherwise. However, the result is not significant on the question “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women”. This suggests that there may be no underlying biases or societal attitudes toward gender roles in the context of employment and economic security, especially during economic downturns or periods of high unemployment.

Next, we compare the results from Model 2 and Model 3 to delve deeper into gender differences. While both males and females show an increased likelihood of being in employment as they age, males tend to have higher odds among the younger and mid-range age groups (late 20s and 30s years old). On the other hand, females show a more uniform odds across stages of age, with higher odds for those aged 45 years and above compared to males. As the mean age at birth of first child and mean age of childbearing in Malaysia are at 27.9 and 31 years old respectively<sup>41</sup>, this pattern aligns with the common household structure where women may re-enter the workforce as their children grow older.

In terms of household characteristics, the results show that household income as a proxy to economic background does not significantly impact male employment, but it does have a significant effect on female employment. This suggests that males are less influenced by their economic status when making employment decisions. Males are likely to seek work or remain employed regardless of their household income status. This could reflect various factors, such as personal ambition, societal expectations, or a sense of responsibility. In contrast, household income appears to play a more significant role in female employment status. The odds of females being employed appear to be greater among those in higher household income brackets. The reverse explanation is also likely, especially in dual-income families, where higher household income is a result of women working and contributing.

In terms of the presence of children in the family, the overall results discussed earlier indicate that having more children generally decreases the odds of employment. However, there is a stark contrast in how this affects men and women. For males, having children increases their odds of employment by more than two times. However, this positive effect diminishes or becomes insignificant when they have a larger number of children. This suggests that having a child plays a prominent role in males' decision to work compared to not having a child, but the effect disappears as the number of children increases, possibly due to the increased demands and responsibilities associated with raising multiple children.

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<sup>41</sup> Source: DOSM (2023), UN (2022)

In contrast, having children generally decreases the odds of employment for females. The negative impact becomes more pronounced as the number of children increases, with a statistically significant reduction in employment odds for those with three or more children. Similar to other studies<sup>42</sup>, this finding highlights the differing impacts of parenthood on employment between males and females, with females facing significant employment challenges as their number of children increases.

Living with parents generally decreases employment odds, and it is even more pronounced among males. However, this factor is not significant in influencing working decision among females. Research indicates that young men living with their parents face lower employment probabilities, possibly due to cultural expectations or reduced motivation to seek independence<sup>43</sup>. However, this factor does not significantly influence employment decisions among females. Women living with parents may not experience the same pressures or constraints, and their employment decisions are likely influenced by a broader range of factors, such as childcare responsibilities or societal norms regarding women's roles in the workforce<sup>44</sup>.

Focusing on individual value and attitude component, it is found that individuals who believe that work is important have over four times the odds of working compared to those who do not share this belief. This indicates a strong association between valuing work and being employed. The odds are marginally higher for females at almost 4.0 compared to males at 3.7. This reflects that both sexes are significantly influenced by the value they place on work, with females showing a comparable level of impact.

Individuals who perceive the housewife role as equally fulfilling as working for pay is found to have lower odds of being employed compared to those who do not have the same values. This suggests that having such values may reduce labour market participation. For males, those who consider the housewife role as fulfilling have slightly lower odds of employment, although this result is not statistically significant. This indicates that for men, the perceived fulfilment of a partner's role does not significantly impact their employment odds. Meanwhile, females who perceive the housewife role as fulfilling have significantly lower odds of employment (about 38.8% lower). This suggests that for females, embracing the housewife role strongly correlates with lower participation in the workforce, reflecting traditional gender roles.

The gender differences in egalitarian values, particularly regarding men's and women's access jobs, are explored using the responses to the question, "Men Have More Rights to Scarce Jobs", as a proxy. For males, the believe that they have more rights to scarce jobs have significantly higher odds of working (i.e. 1.37 times greater compared to men who do not believe so). This suggests that this belief may positively influence their job-seeking behaviour or job retention. Meanwhile, females show no significant change in employment odds based on this belief, indicating that their working status is not affected by whether they believe men have more rights to scarce job or not. Other barriers or incentives may play a more critical role in affecting their job opportunities and work decisions.

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<sup>42</sup> Lundberg and Rose (2000); Gash (2009); Waldfogel (2004); Budig and Hodges (2010); Kùhhirt and Ludwig (2012)

<sup>43</sup> Pew Research (2016)

<sup>44</sup> Bell and Blanchflower (2011)

To summarize the findings on the individual values component, the results indicate the following: First, placing a high value on work increases likelihood of working for both males and females, suggesting that work is universally valued across genders and positively influences employment decisions. Second, while both genders show lower odds of working if they consider the housewife role fulfilling, the adverse impact on employment is only significant and much stronger for females. This suggests that traditional roles may influence female's workforce participation more than males. Third, the belief in men's rights to scarce jobs increases employment odds for males. Although this belief would reduce females' chances of securing those jobs, the result is not statistically significant.

Overall, the employment determinant analysis illustrates that the gender dynamics in job market, as well as individual and household profiles, distinctly affect working odds for males and females. Furthermore, traditional views on gender roles have a more pronounced effect on women's labour market participation<sup>45</sup>.

## 4.2. Decomposition of male-female employment gap

We now proceed with the decomposition analysis to examine how varying characteristics and values influence the gender gap in employment and how identical characteristics behave or are treated in the labour market. As mentioned earlier, this involves breaking down the differences in the employment rates between males and females into two components namely the endowment effect and the coefficient effect. The analysis would enable us to estimate the relative contribution of the two components as well as the contribution of the individual factor in explaining the employment gap.

A large endowment effect suggests that the employment gap is primarily due to differences in characteristics such as education and skill levels. Policies could then focus on equalising these characteristics, such as improving educational opportunities for females. Meanwhile, a large coefficient effect indicates that even when men and women have similar characteristics, employment rates still differ because these characteristics are rewarded differently. This suggests that factors such as discrimination and values related to traditional gender roles may lead to unequal returns on the same attributes. Policies could then focus on addressing these systemic issues, such as enforcing anti-discrimination laws, promoting gender equality in the workplace, and shifting gender norms at the grassroots level through education and awareness campaigns.

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<sup>45</sup> Broadly, our findings for the case of women employment are consistent with the work by Audrey and Sharon (2024).

## Overall decomposition result

Table 4.2 presents the overall decomposition result with a predicted value of -0.1862, indicating an employment gap of 18.6% between males and females after accounting for both the endowment and coefficient effects<sup>46</sup>.

**Table 4.2: Non-linear Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition estimates of male-female employment gap**

Decomposition effect	Value	Share	z	p-value
Endowment (explained portion)	<b>-0.0196</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>-3.26</b>	<b>0.001</b>
Coefficient (unexplained portion)	-0.1668 <sup>A</sup>	<b>89.6%</b> <sup>B</sup>	<b>-11.88</b>	<b>0.000</b>
<b>Overall</b>	<b>-0.1862</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>-14.44</b>	<b>0.000</b>

Notes:

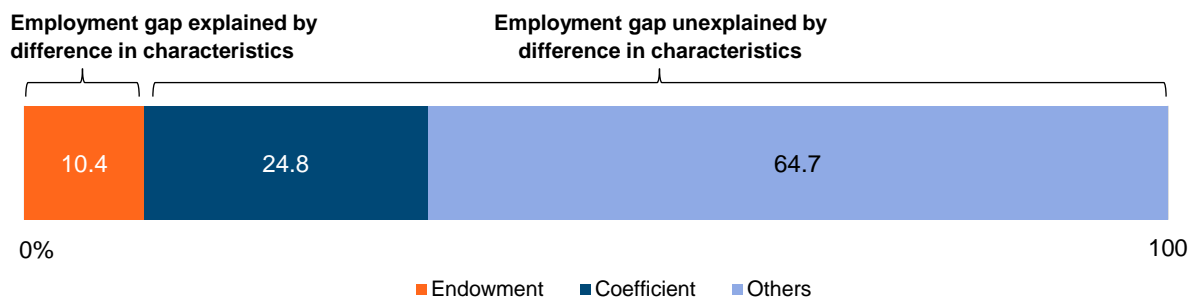
<sup>A</sup> Of which: coefficient value (-0.0462), intercept value (-0.1205)

<sup>B</sup> Of which: coefficient share (24.8%), intercept share (64.7%)

The decomposition result indicates that the gap is largely driven by differences in the rewards to the characteristics of males and females (coefficient effect), rather than differences in the characteristics themselves (endowment effect). Only 10.4% is explained by differences in the characteristics of females and males.

Meanwhile, the remaining 89.6% remains unexplained by the differences in the characteristics included in our study, with the difference in constant (intercept or baseline logits) accounting for most of this. More specifically, 24.8% is attributable to the coefficient effects of variables considered in the model, while the remaining 64.7% are due to other factors not covered in this study (Figure 4.1).

**Figure 4.1: Decomposition of male-female employment gap**



Ignoring the constant, it is still apparent that the coefficient effect is more than double the endowment effect. This suggests that even if males and females have the same characteristics (such as both having a family or having same education level), the employment status can differ due to how these characteristics are valued or perceived differently for each gender.

For males, being married and having children might positively influence employment because married men are often perceived as more stable and responsible, leading to better employment opportunities and higher wages. Conversely, this attribute might negatively influence employment for women because of traditional gender roles stereotyping where women with children are expected to take on more family and caregiving responsibilities, leading employers

<sup>46</sup> The observed employment gap between males and females is 18.9%

to perceive them as less committed or available for work. Essentially, this differing effect is confirmed by the finding in the earlier section, which shows an opposite effect of the presence of children on the employment of men and women.

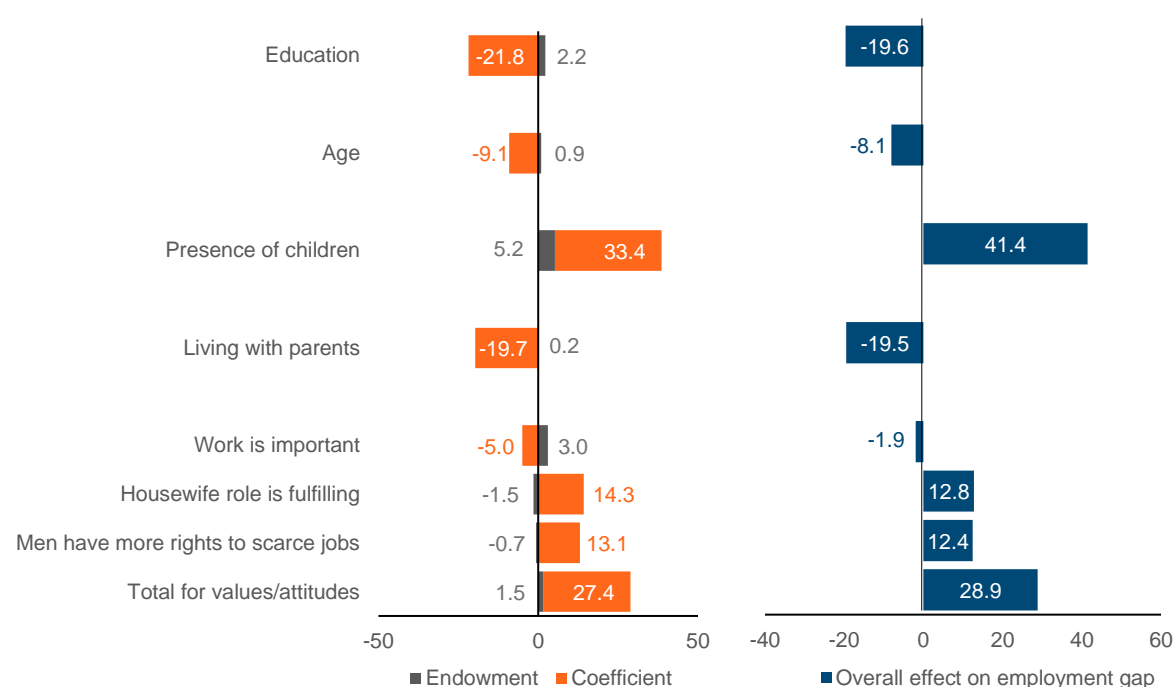
Similarly, higher education levels among males may result in significant positive effects on employment, as higher qualifications are often directly linked to better job prospects and higher earnings. While higher education also benefits females, its positive effect might be smaller compared to males, as females might face additional barriers such as stigmatisation and gender discrimination or limited access to certain high-paying industries.

Overall, the relatively higher contribution of the coefficient effect compared to the endowment effect implies that, although equalising the attributes between females and males will help reduce the employment gap observed in Malaysia, it is unlikely to be reduced substantially unless the unexplained systemic issues are addressed. This could involve either women being treated more equally like men, or men acting more like women, or vice versa.

### *Detailed decomposition result*

For the detailed decomposition, we focus on the contribution of education, age, having children, living with parents, and the composite effect of individual values and attitudes on work and gender role to the gender employment gap. For the detailed results of all variables on these two components, refer to Table 6.2 in the Appendix section.

**Figure 4.2: Decomposition of the contribution to male-female employment gap, by selected statistically significant variables**



Note:

A positive sign indicates a disadvantage for females and is expected to increase the employment gap. Meanwhile, a negative sign indicates an advantage for females and is expected to reduce the gap.

Firstly, with regard to education, the sign is negative for the endowment effect and positive for the coefficients effect. This suggests that males generally have an educational advantage over females, which has marginally widened the employment gap by 2.2%. However, when both genders are equally educated, they are not treated the same and face different incentives and barriers to participating in the labour market. Interestingly, this works to the advantage of females, and the net effect helps to narrow the employment gap by 19.6%. Considering that Malaysia has nearly achieved gender parity in education, this underscores the importance of ensuring equal access to education and equal treatment in the labour market to reduce gender-based employment disparities<sup>47</sup>.

Secondly, the age factor displays varying dynamic in affecting the employment gap. In terms of the endowment effect, females are particularly at disadvantaged during middle age<sup>48</sup> and in early stages of labour market entry<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, being in the age range of 25 to 34 years old and later at 55 years and older is advantageous for females, as they are more likely to be in employment. Overall, the interactions between age and endowment-coefficient effects help to narrow the gender gap by around 8.0%.

Thirdly, the determinant analysis in the Section 4.1 reveals that having children has a detrimental effect on females' employment prospects while enhancing those of males. Furthermore, the impact is compounded for females with a greater number of children. The decomposition result indicates that the presence of children contributes to 41.4% of the employment gap. Breaking down the two effects, the endowment result shows that having a different number of children explained about 5.2% of the gap between males and females. Meanwhile, women are still "penalised" even if they have the same number of children as men, with the coefficient effect contributing about 33.4% of the gap. This indicates that motherhood is a significant barrier for women in participating in the labour market. Thus, policies aimed at increasing employment among women should focus on addressing this constraint, particularly in terms of providing accessible and affordable childcare support and flexible working arrangements.

Fourthly, regarding the "living with parents" factor, the gap is largely contributed by the coefficient effect (-19.7%) rather than the endowment effect (0.2%, which is not significant). This indicates that the impact of living with parents on employment is not simply due to whether individuals live with their parents or not. Instead, the key issue is how living with parents affects males and females differently. Earlier result in Section 4.1 shows that living with parent adversely affect the odds of males to be working, while the effect on females is not statistically significant. This has resulted in a net effect that narrows the employment gap, primarily due to the adverse impact of male employment.

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<sup>47</sup> WEF (2024)

<sup>48</sup> Approximately between 35 to 54 years old

<sup>49</sup> 20 to 24 years old



Finally, in terms of values, it was found that the subjective valuation of these aspects (coefficient effects), rather than their objective presence (endowment effects), contributes more significantly to the gap. On the question whether “work is important”, the result indicates that a significant number of individuals of both genders rated work as an important aspect of life. This contributes to narrowing the employment gap marginally by 1.9%, with 3.0% attributed to endowment effects and -5.0% to coefficient effects.

Meanwhile, questions that are more “gendered” in nature—that ask about “the importance of the housewife role” and “men’s greater rights to scarce jobs”—have a more substantial effect on the employment gap, and both are largely attributable to coefficient effects. The results indicate that the three value/attitudinal variables account for 27.4% of the coefficient effect, while differences in values held by the two gender groups (endowment effect) contribute only 1.5% (see Table 6.2). This underscores the significance of personal values on work and gender role as important determinants of women’s employment, given that these variables account for approximately 28.9% of the total employment gap in Malaysia.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper examines the factors influencing employment differences between males and females in Malaysia and explores how these factors contribute differently to the employment gap. Findings of the study indicate that gender dynamics significantly influence employment odds, with women 66.1% less likely to be employed than men. The employment gap is primarily driven by differential treatment in the labour market, influenced by gender biases, rather than differences in individual characteristics, with factors like motherhood as well as values and attitudes on gender roles disproportionately affecting women.

Addressing gender disparities in the labour market requires policies to address these systemic issues, focusing on equal educational opportunities, affordable childcare, flexible work arrangements, and shifting societal norms and traditional gender roles towards gender equality. Additionally, policy approaches should also extend beyond intervention in the labour market. This could include encouraging men to share family responsibilities, quantifying the value of unpaid care work and enhancing educational systems that challenge gender stereotypes. These measures would not only help women pursue career opportunities more effectively but also play a crucial role in closing the employment gap and advancing gender equality in the workforce.



## 6. Appendix

**Table 6.1: Definition and classification of outcome and explanatory variables**

Category	Variable	Corresponding WVS codes	Description	Type	Reclassification
<b>Outcome variable</b>					
	working	X028	Employment status	Binary	<b>0 – not working:</b> retired (4), housewife (5), students (6), unemployed (7) <b>1 – working:</b> full time (1), part time (2), self employed (3), others (8)
<b>Explanatory variables</b>					
<b>Individual characteristics</b>	sex	X001	Sex	Binary	<b>0 – Male</b> <b>1 – Female</b>
	maritalstatus	A007	Marital status	Binary	<b>0 – never married:</b> single/never married (6) <b>1 – currently married:</b> married (1) and living together as married (2) <b>2 – previously married:</b> divorced (3), separated (4), widowed (5)
	ethnicgrp	X051	Ethnic group	Binary	<b>0 – Non-Bumiputera</b> <b>1 – Bumiputera</b>
	educ	X025R	Ordinal dummy variable for educational level recoded (X025R)		<b>1 – lower</b> <b>2 – middle</b> <b>3 – upper</b>
	agegrp	X003	Age group in 10 years range	Ordinal	<b>0 – 15-19</b> 1 – 20-24 2 – 25-29 3 – 30-34 4 – 35-39 5 – 40-44 6 – 45-49 7 – 50-54 8 – 55-59 9 – 60-64 10 – >=65
	agesq	X003	Squared value of age as a proxy for working experience	Continuous	continuous age sq data
<b>Household characteristics</b>	hhincgrp		Subjective household income group.  Incomes include wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes, before taxes and other deductions.	Ordinal	<b>1 – low:</b> 1st, 2nd, 3rd step <b>2 – mid:</b> 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th step <b>3 – high:</b> 8th, 9th, 10th step
	numchild	X011	How many children do you have?	Ordinal	<b>0 – has no child</b> 1 – 1-2 2 – 3-4 3 – >=5
	liveparents	X026	Do you live with your parents (yes/no)?	Binary	<b>0 – no</b> <b>1 – yes</b>
			agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree		1 – agree (1)

Category	Variable	Corresponding WVS codes	Description	Type	Reclassification
<b>Social norms and values</b>	famimp	A001	How important is FAMILY in your life? very important, rather important, not very important or not important at all	Binary	<b>0 – not very important (3) and not at all important (4)</b> 1 – very important (1) and rather important (2)
	hswife	D057	Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree	Binary	<b>0 – disagree (3) and strongly disagree (4)</b>  1 – agree strongly (1) and agree (2)
	jobscare	C001	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree	Binary	0 – disagree (2)  1 – agree (1)

Source: World Value Survey: Wave 5 R. C. Inglehart et al. (2009), Wave 6 R. Inglehart et al. (2014) and Wave 7 Haerpfer et al. (2022)

**Table 6.2: Detailed decomposition results**

Explanatory variables	[1] Due to difference in endowment (E)	[2] Due to difference in coefficients (C)	[3] Endowment share (%)	[4] Coefficient share (%)
<b>Constant</b>		-0.12053 *	0.0	64.7
<b>Marital status: Never married</b>				
Currently married	-0.00078	-0.03268	0.4	17.6
Previously married	-0.00005	0.00090	0.0	-0.5
Subtotal (Marital status)			0.4	17.1
<b>Ethnic group: Non-Bumiputera</b>				
Bumiputera	-0.00046 *	0.00658	0.2	-3.5
<b>Education level: Low</b>				
Middle	-0.00234 ***	0.02390 *	1.3	-12.8
Upper	-0.00172 ***	0.01672 ***	0.9	-9.0
Subtotal (Education level)			2.2	-21.8
<b>Age group: 15-19</b>				
20-24	0.00375 ***	0.00354	-2.0	-1.9
25-29	-0.00124 ***	-0.00682	0.7	3.7
30-34	-0.00353 ***	-0.01668 **	1.9	9.0
35-39	0.00684 ***	-0.00792	-3.7	4.3
40-44	0.00651 ***	-0.00664	-3.5	3.6
45-49	-0.00219 ***	0.00691	1.2	-3.7
50-54	0.00124 ***	0.01109 **	-0.7	-6.0
55-59	-0.00874 ***	0.01353 ***	4.7	-7.3
60-64	-0.00437 ***	0.00892 ***	2.3	-4.8
Subtotal (Age group)			0.9	-9.1
<b>Subtotal (individual characteristics)</b>			3.4	-30.9
<b>Income group: Low</b>				
Mid	-0.00057 *	-0.00285	0.3	1.5
High	-0.00015 ***	0.00783	0.1	-4.2
Subtotal (Income group)			0.4	-2.7
<b>Living with parents: No</b>				
Yes	-0.00041	0.03664 ***	0.2	-19.7
<b>Number of children: 0</b>				
1-2	-0.00185 *	-0.03447 **	1.0	18.5
3-4	-0.00493 ***	-0.02771 **	2.6	14.9
>=5	-0.00291 ***	-0.00529	1.6	2.8
Subtotal (Number of children)			5.2	33.4
<b>Subtotal (household characteristics)</b>			5.6	13.7
<b>Work is important: No</b>				
Yes	-0.00562 ***	0.00923	3.0	-5.0
<b>Housewife role is fulfilling: No</b>				
Yes	0.00281 ***	-0.02656 **	-1.5	14.3
<b>Men have more rights on scarce job: No</b>				
Yes	0.00126	-0.02438 *	-0.7	13.1
<b>Subtotal (social norms and values)</b>			1.5	27.4

Notes:

1. A positive coefficient sign indicates a disadvantage for females and is expected to increase the employment gap. Meanwhile, a negative sign indicates an advantage for females and is expected to reduce the gap.
2. Subtotals take into account the contributions of statistically significant variables only

## 7. References

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