

THE INFLUENCE OF FAMILY IMPORTANCE ON HUMAN CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

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Abstract: Contemporary literature emphasizes the influential role of family in multidimensional aspects of society wherein stronger family ties correspond positively to various macroeconomic outcomes. Notwithstanding the differences in history and culture, certain countries exhibit dissimilar familial practices, which causes family ties to vary across economies. That is, certain cultures such as the Philippines uphold traditional beliefs where males have more right to jobs while the youth and females are expected to participate less since children will be sheltered longer while females will prefer to do housework. As such, we believe that such family relationships are responsible for intergenerational decisions when investing in human capital formation. Since some East Asian economies are culturally known to have strong family ties, characterized by importance of family, respect for parents and responsibilities to children, we suspect such households will ascribe to the Human Capital Theory as per the demonstration effect. Utilizing behavioral and socio-demographic data from the World Values Survey, we first construct our own definition of family ties by selecting five different questions from the survey which will represent our variable of interest. Considering the significant role of the family, we will only be focusing on the household's decision in human capital investment. Therefore, we implement an Ordered Probit Regression to determine whether households with stronger family ties will obtain relatively higher levels of educational attainment. Our results show that family importance and more emphasis on family life significantly increases the probability of attaining a higher level of education. Although the family affects decisions on human capital investment to a certain degree, socio-demographic variables hold an even stronger influence. Results suggest that the role of the family can be seen as an implicit factor or constraint to invest more in education while socio-demographics explicitly constrain households.

Keywords: demonstration effect; education; family; human capital theory; ordered probit

1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary literature emphasizes the influential role of family. Certainly, the family affects an individual socially, culturally, politically and economically, a concept that transcends multidimensional aspects. According to Demo, Allen & Fine (2000), the family is perceived according to how we particularly belong in one, how we observe the lives of other families and what we discern and explain a family to be. So, family membership pertains to having a sense of belongingness with a group of people closely related by blood and share a common bond. These common ties exhibit through such as mutual respect and responsibility among parents and children, in which such bonds vary across other countries.



Due to the differences in history, culture and situations, family ties exhibit stronger in other East Asian nations. In a study conducted by Alesina & Giuliano (2010), among those that the exhibit the strongest degree of family ties indicated by a positive index are the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet Nam and Singapore while those with a weak ties as shown by a negative index are the Republic of Korea, China and Japan. Moreover, Alesina & Giuliano (2010) explain the culture of strong family ties by family size and co-residence of members wherein ties tend to be stronger in family units with members living in the same household. For instance, in a country with deep regard for the family such as the Philippines, family sizes tend to be larger where members of varying age groups live together under the same roof. Also, children who are now young adults will still prefer to stay at home while the elderly will choose to live with their children. Indeed, deeper family linkages are apparent for closer ties in which variations among economies contribute to the differences in the shaping process of multi-faceted outcomes of a certain individual.

At any rate, each family represents society in a micro-level perspective determined by family relationships, behavior, incentives and expectations wherein Becker & Tomes (1994) state that there is a transmission of genetic attributes and cultural values from parents to children. Additionally, Cox & Stark (1994) introduce the *demonstration effect* and explain family importance as a central force in shaping childhood events that have strong impacts on adult life. In relation, the influence of the family extends to decisions on the investment in human capital formation. Note that the investment in education is a choice, regarded both as a consumption and investment good wherein parents make such investment decisions on behalf of their children, accentuating the role of family values (Ermisch & Francesconi, 2000).

Since investments in education are decided for by the parents, this implies that their cultural background is seen as highly positive influence in the development of the family. Interestingly again, East Asian nations have been set apart among its counterpart Western nations due to its cultural diversity in valuing the family. So, we find interest in linking East Asian cultures to macroeconomic outcomes experienced. According to Alesina & Giuliano (2010), Japan exhibits the weakest degree of family ties while the Philippines the strongest degree among the East Asian nations. However, in the year 2007, the expenditure per student (as a percentage of GDP per capita) in Japan is 21.7, 22.4 and 20.1 while in the Philippines it is 8.7, 8.8 and 9.2 for primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively (World Bank, 2012). Total public expenditure per student is a macroeconomic indicator which entails the values these institutions uphold in formation of human capital. In addition, according to the World Bank (2012), Viet Nam which is considered as being more family-oriented has a gross enrollment ratio at the tertiary level of 18% in 2007; contrastingly, South Korea is at 102% wherein the excess indicates the presence of repeaters still opting to take up higher education. Nevertheless, other countries continue to achieve high educational attainments regardless of their family culture.

Given these implications on the abovementioned macroeconomic indicators, we turn our focus in bridging family ties and higher education at a microeconomic level. The study aims to WCF-006



determine if giving prestige and value on the family will enhance human capital formation. Focusing on East Asian economies namely Japan, People's Republic of China, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Singapore and Viet Nam, we can determine whether families with stronger ties as a result of cultural baggage passed on to the next generations translate to increased investments in education. To address this concern, the following are the specific objectives:

- 1. State a working definition for the term family ties;
- 2. Establish quantitative measures for the strength of family ties using qualitative and behavioral responses from the World Values Survey (WVS); and
- 3. Measure the likelihood of an individual attaining a level of education given his or her strength of family ties

Undoubtedly, the family is an integral part of an individual's life, as it has the power to mold the individual. It is also of no question the positive externalities higher level educated individuals will generate and spillover to society in terms of more productive, highly competitive and skilled labor force. Hence, we will determine whether families of the aforementioned seven East Asian economies ascribe to the human capital theory, in which decisions in human capital investments are settled by the parents on behalf of their children, whether the former will push for higher levels of the latter's quantity and quality education regardless of various increasing costs. Due to closeness of ties, the future benefits of education are optimistically seen to be returned to the parents as a form of gratitude, respect and care from the children. In addition, the family is seen to be a financial backbone in support for higher education. So, economies that are more culturally family oriented, as a result, may invest more in education and higher accumulations of human capital compared to other nations.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Qualitative Response Model

We implement a qualitative response model, specifically an ordered probit model enabling us to determine the probabilities of the different possible outcomes of a dependent variable that is categorical and ordinal in nature.

2.2 Model Specification

To address the objectives of our study in determining the influence of family ties on the level of educational attainment of households, the data on household characteristics and demographics are sourced from the World Values Survey (WVS) through conducted by face-to-face interviews with individuals aged 18 and above. Our cross-section data is taken from the WVS of the wave 1999-2004 with 8278 observations for several East Asian economies namely



Japan, Indonesia, People's Republic of China, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, and Viet Nam, which is the base category.

The ordered probit specification of the variables influencing the level of education attainment that the household will achieve is given by:

$$EDUCA_{i} = b_{0} + b_{1}STRFT_{i} + b_{2}CNTRY_{i} + b_{3}AGEHH_{i} + b_{4}AGESQ_{i}$$
$$+ b_{5}MALEHHH_{i} + b_{6}MARRI_{i} + b_{7}EMPLO_{i} + b_{8}INCOM_{i}$$

Where:

 $EDUCA_i$ is the level of educational attainment of the household given by 5 categorical outcomes.

ſ	1 - Completed Elementary
	2 - Incomplete Secondary
$EDUCA = \prec$	3 - Complete Secondary
	4 - University without degree
Ĺ	5 - University with degree

 $STRFT_i$ is a vector of independent variables of interest measured by selecting distinct questions from the WVS that encompass the different aspects and behaviors of the family. While we include five aspects to enrich the definition of the family, instead of including all measures in one regression, we separate clearly each definition to capture its distinct effect on a particular level of education. Additionally, we are able to address the possible problem of collinearity among the family definitions. Hence, we vary the $STRFT_i$ variable depending on which aspect we want to quantify, given by the following five aspects. Consequently, we run five regressions for each definition.

Aspect	Description
Family importance	$VERYIMPORTANT_i$ and $RATHERIMPORTANT_i$ are dummy variables that indicate the degree of importance the household head treats the family. It assumes a value of 1 for the respective regard for family importance, and 0 otherwise. Note that the base category is both considering the family as not very important and not important at all.
Parental duties	<i>RESPBEST</i> _{<i>i</i>} is a dummy variable that pertains to whether the household head believes that parents have the duty to do their best for their children at the expense of own well-being while <i>RESPLIFE</i> _{<i>i</i>} pertains to the belief that parents have a life of their own and should not sacrifice personal well-being for the sake of their children.
Respect and love parents	<i>RESPECTALWAYS</i> _{<i>i</i>} and <i>RESPECTEARNED</i> _{<i>i</i>} are dummy variables indicating the beliefs and level of respect in the household. If it is always, one must always love and respect parents regardless of their qualities and faults. On the other hand, if it is earned, one does not have the duty to respect and love parents due to their behavior and attitudes.
One of main goals in life has been to make my	$PROUDSTRONGA_i$ and $PROUDA_i$ are dummy variables indicating one of the main goals in life is to make parents proud. Categories assume a value of 1 if the



parents proud	household head strongly agrees or agrees with the statement and 0 otherwise. Note that the base category pertains to the responses disagree and strongly disagree
More emphasis on family life	$EMPHGOOD_i$ and $EMPHBAD_i$ indicate family perception on the emphasis of family life. It assumes a value of 1 whether family Emphasis is considered as a good or bad thing and 0 otherwise.

 $CNTRY_i$ is a vector of the seven country dummies for East Asian economies namely the People's Republic of China (*PRCH_i*), Japan (*JAPN_i*), Indonesia (*INDO_i*), South Korea (*SKOR_i*), the Philippines (*RPHL_i*), Singapore (*SING_i*) and the base country Viet Nam (*VIET_i*). *AGEHH_i* refers to the age of the household head at the time of interview, *MALEHHH_i* pertains to the sex of the household head, *MARRI_i* is a vector reflecting marital status, *EMPLO_i* is a vector representing employment status, and *INCOM_i* is the level of income.

3. **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Treating the family as very important as well as giving more emphasis on family life increases the likelihood of attaining a higher level of education (achieving completed secondary and university levels). It can be construed that the family may be a source of inspiration or motivation in higher attainments. One of the benefits of higher levels of education includes 'prestige' and denotes high value for the self. Truly, if an individual considers the family as valuable, then the same individual would consider himself or herself valuable as well.

Across all East Asian economies, results show that the overall impact of demographic variables exhibits a larger influence over educational attainment as compared to the different aspects of family ties. They have varying effects and significance levels as well as posit more consistent results across all educational attainments. It is true that to a certain degree, familial relationships have the ability to impact decisions on educational investment, but these decisions are ultimately constrained and determined by various demographic variables. We find results on age, sex and income levels to be consistent with literature (Ermisch & Francesconi, 2000; Tullao & Rivera, 2008; Alesina & Giuliano, 2010; Donkoh & Amikuzuno, 2011). For instance, females have a higher tendency of attaining higher education. In addition, household heads at a higher income level have a higher probability to have attained tertiary education. On the other hand, we may explain the inconsistencies among the significant variables for marital status and employment status as follows. All in all, we find that the lack of power of certain aspects of family ties is more than compensated for by the relevant socio-economic characteristics of the household heads.

4. CONCLUSION

Undeniable is the influential role of the family. It has been argued to have implications on both macroeconomic and microeconomic outcomes, such as human capital accumulation,



wherein we perceive that closer family ties will translate to higher levels of educational attainment. As per the human capital theory and the demonstration effect, households will continue to invest in higher education as long as marginal benefits exceed marginal costs alongside an override of family relationships between parents and children. Subsequently, we construct an empirical definition of family ties by utilizing five aspects: family importance, parental duties, respect and love for parents, making parents proud and more emphasis on family life, all of which we believe constitute its overall measure. Using qualitative responses from the World Values Survey, we use an ordered probit model for each sub-definition of family ties and determine the likelihood of an individual attaining each of the five educational outcomes.

Our results hold only for the seven East Asian economies of interest. Overall, the different results for the five sub-definitions of family ties converge to a general result for the effect of family ties on an individual's level of educational attainment. We find family importance and more emphasis on family life to increase the level of educational attainment wherein we posit that valuing the family translates to valuing the self as well. However, we stress that the demographics matter more, and these are attuned to country specific factors. Concurrently, we also stress that while we may understand the concept of the family, we know that there is no one definition that will encompass each of the East Asian economies, let alone all cultures.

It is also essential to note that the country dummies are indicative of the varying capacities of East Asian economies to achieve a higher educational attainment. These unobserved heterogeneity can be ascribed to the different standards, facilitation, and provision of education. Although we are not able to analyze the differential effects of family ties on educational attainment as we did not use any interaction effects, it can be construed that each economy can define family ties differently based on their culture and values. Furthermore, we need to consider certain institutions that are available to specific countries such as the schools and the government in easing the possibility of higher educational attainments. That is, achieving a higher educational attainment can be facilitated by a lot of other factors, whether economic, behavioral, or psychological. However, it is still strongly determined by perseverance and hard work to achieve educational goals in which the family may serve as a form of motivation and inspiration to do so.

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APPENDIX 7.

Table 1: Summary of Variable and Notations

Parameter	Description
Strength of Family Ties	Dummies
VERYIMPORTANT	1 if the household head regards the family as very important: 0 otherwise
RATHERIMPORTANT	1 if the household head regards the family as rather important: 0 otherwise
RESPBEST:	1 if the household head believes that the parents' duty is to do their best for their children
	even at the expense of their own well-being. () otherwise
RESPLIFE:	1 if the household head believes that parents have a life of their own and should not be
	asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children: 0 otherwise
	usited to such the own went being for the sake of their emiliten, o other wise
RESPECTAL WAYS	1 if household head believes that one must always love and respect parents regardless of
	their qualities and faults: 0 otherwise
RESPECTEARNED.	1 if household head believes that one does not have the duty to respect and love parents
KESI LETEMAVED _i	who have not earned it by their behavior and attitudes: 0 otherwise
	who have not carried it by their behavior and attitudes, o other wise
PPOUDSTPONCA	1 if household head strongly agrees that a main goal in life is to make his/her parents
TROUDSTRONOA	r in nousenoid nead strongry agrees that a main goar in me is to make ins/net parents
PROLIDA	1 if household head agrees that a main goal in life is to make his/her parents proud: 0
ΠΚΟΟDΑ _i	otherwise
	Uniciwise
EMPUCOOD	1 if household head perceives more emphasis on family life as a good thing; 0 otherwise
EMDHPAD	1 if household head perceives more emphasis on family life as a bad thing. O otherwise
$EMITIDAD_i$	I in nousehold head perceives more emphasis on ranning me as a bad uning, o otherwise
Counter Dummion	
Lountry Dummes	1 if household is from Indonesia, 0 otherwise
	1 if household is from Japan 0 otherwise
	1 if household is from the Deeple's Depublic of Chine: 0 otherwise
	1 if household is from the People's Republic of China, 0 otherwise
KPHL _i	1 if nousenoid is from the Philippines; 0 otherwise
SKOR _i	1 if household is from South Korea; U otherwise
$SING_i$	1 if household is from Singapore; U otherwise
M	
Marital Status Dummle	
MAKKIED _i	1 if nousehold head is married; 0 otherwise
DIVORCEDi	1 if household head is divorced; U otherwise
$SEPARATED_i$	1 if household head is separated; 0 otherwise
$SINGLE_i$	1 if household head never married; 0 otherwise
Employment Status Du	mmies
$FULLIIME_i$	1 if nousenoid head is employed full time; 0 otherwise
PARTTIME _i	1 if household head is employed part time; 0 otherwise
SELFEMP _i	1 if household head is self-employed; 0 otherwise
$HOUSEWIFE_i$	1 if household head is a housewife; 0 otherwise
STUDENT _i	1 if household head is a student; 0 otherwise
$UNEMP_i$	1 if household head is unemployed; 0 otherwise
Income Level Dummies	
LOW_i	1 if household is categorized to earn low income; 0 otherwise
$HIGH_i$	1 if household is categorized to earn high income; 0 otherwise



Other Socio-Demographic Variables

AGE_i	Age of the household head
$AGESQ_i$	Squared age of the household head
$MALEHHH_i$	1 if household head is male; 0 otherwise



 Table 3.1: Family importance

	Marginal Effects After Ordered Probit				
Variable	Completed	Incomplete	Complete Secondary	University without	University with
	Elementary	Secondary		degree	degree
VERYIMPORTANT _i	-0.0104*	-0.0077**	0.0080	0.0367*	0.0134*
RATHERIMPORTANT _i	-0.0054	-0.0032	0.0045	0.0192	0.0066
INDO _i	-0.0056	-0.0034	0.0047	0.0202	0.0070
JAPN _i	-0.0154***	-0.0136*	0.0110***	0.0540***	0.0209***
PRCH _i	-0.0065**	-0.0041	0.0054**	0.0232**	0.0081**
<i>RPHL</i> _i	-0.0145***	-0.0123	0.0105***	0.0508***	0.0194***
SKOR _i	-0.0242***	-0.0268**	0.0147***	0.0832***	0.0357***
SING _i	0.0041	0.0011	-0.0040	-0.0151	-0.0047
AGE_i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0002	-0.0001
$AGESQ_i$	0.0000**	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000**	-0.0000*
MALEHHH _i	0.0031	0.0010	-0.0030*	-0.0115*	-0.0036*
MARRIED _i	0.0005	0.0002	-0.0004	-0.0017	-0.0005
DIVORCED _i	-0.0056	-0.0034	0.0047	0.0201	0.0069
SEPARATED _i	-0.0019	-0.0009	0.0017	0.0069	0.0023
SINGLE _i	0.0068*	0.0011	-0.0071*	-0.0258*	-0.0077
$FULLTIME_i$	0.0069***	0.0011	-0.0072**	-0.0259***	-0.0077**
$PARTIME_i$	0.0029	0.0009	-0.0028	-0.0107	-0.0033
$SELFEMP_i$	0.0003	0.0001	-0.0003	-0.0010	-0.0003
<i>RETIRED</i> _i	-0.0121***	-0.0096	0.0091***	0.0428***	0.01589**
HOUSEWIFE _i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0000
STUDENT _i	0.0180***	-0.0087	-0.0239***	-0.0738***	-0.0191***
UNEMP _i	0.0044	0.0011	-0.0044	-0.0164	-0.0050
LOW_i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0000
HIGH _i	-0.0035	-0.0019	0.0030	0.0126	0.0042
Predicted Probability	0.0966	0.3392	0.1162	0.2105	0.0348
*** Significant at the 1%					
** Significant at the 5%					
* Significant at the 10%					



Table 3.2: Parental duties

	Marginal Effects After Ordered Probit				
Variable	Completed	Incomplete	Complete Secondary	University without	University with
	Elementary	Secondary		degree	degree
$RESPBEST_i$	-0.0038	-0.0034	0.0028	0.0136	0.0052
$RESPLIFE_i$	0.0025	0.0017	-0.0020	-0.0089	-0.0032
INDO _i	-0.0075*	-0.0074	0.0050*	0.0261*	0.0104*
$JAPN_i$	-0.0186***	-0.0233***	0.0100***	0.0632***	0.0288***
$PRCH_i$	-0.0059**	-0.0055	0.0041**	0.0206**	0.0080**
$RPHL_i$	-0.0163***	-0.0195**	0.0092***	0.0554***	0.0245***
SKOR _i	-0.0034***	-0.0362***	0.0117***	0.0857***	0.0424***
$SING_i$	0.0000	0.0022	-0.0027	-0.0120	-0.0042
AGE_i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0000
$AGESQ_i$	0.0033**	0.0000	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**
$MALEHHH_i$	0.0004*	0.0022	-0.0026*	-0.0116*	-0.0041*
MARRIED _i	-0.0055	0.0003	-0.0003	-0.0013	-0.0005
DIVORCED _i	-0.0018	-0.0051	0.0038	0.0192	0.0075
<i>SEPARATED</i> _i	0.0073	-0.0015	0.0013	0.0064	0.0024
$SINGLE_i$	0.0073*	0.0039	-0.0063*	-0.0264*	-0.0089
$FULLTIME_i$	0.0075***	0.0040	-0.0065**	-0.0270***	-0.0091**
$PARTIME_i$	0.0032	0.0022	-0.0026	-0.0114	-0.0040
$SELFEMP_i$	0.0003	0.0002	-0.0002	-0.0010***	-0.0004
$RETIRED_i$	-0.0129***	-0.0143*	0.0078***	0.0441	0.0187**
$HOUSEWIFE_i$	0.0001	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0002	-0.0001
$STUDENT_i$	0.0200***	-0.0001	-0.02223***	-0.0773***	-0.0224***
$UNEMP_i$	0.0048	0.0030	-0.0040	-0.0173	-0.0060
LOW_i	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0004	-0.0002
HIGH _i	-0.0037	-0.0032	0.0026	0.0129	0.0049
Predicted Probability	0.0911	0.3359	0.1208	0.2302	0.0416
*** Significant at the 1%					
** Significant at the 5%					

* Significant at the 10%



Table 3.3: Respe	ct and love	parents
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	Marginal Effects After Ordered Probit					
Variable	Completed	Incomplete	Complete Secondary	University without	University with	
	Elementary	Secondary		degree	degree	
<i>RESPECTALWAYS</i> _i	-0.0045	-0.0040	0.0033	0.0159	0.0061	
<i>RESPECTEARNED</i> _i	-0.0042	-0.0036	0.0030	0.0147	0.0056	
INDO _i	-0.0072*	-0.0068	0.0049*	0.0252*	0.0099*	
$JAPN_i$	-0.0179***	-0.0217***	0.0099***	0.0608***	0.0271***	
$PRCH_i$	-0.0058**	-0.0053*	0.0041**	0.0204**	0.0079**	
$RPHL_i$	-0.0156***	-0.0181***	0.0091***	0.0534***	0.0232***	
SKOR _i	-0.0250***	-0.0345***	0.0118***	0.0839***	0.0408***	
SING _i	0.0037	0.0023	-0.0031	-0.0133	-0.0046	
AGE_i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0002	-0.0001	
$AGESQ_i$	0.0000**	0.0000	-0.0000***	-0.0000*	-0.0000**	
MALEHHH _i	0.0033*	0.0021	-0.0037*	-0.0117*	-0.0041*	
$MARRIED_i$	0.0002	0.0001	-0.002	-0.0007	-0.0003	
DIVORCED _i	-0.0056	-0.0051	0.0040	0.0197	0.0076	
<i>SEPARATED</i> _i	-0.0018	-0.0014	0.0013	0.0063	0.0023	
$SINGLE_i$	0.0074*	0.0037	-0.0065*	-0.0267*	-0.0089*	
$FULLTIME_i$	0.0075***	0.0038	-0.0066**	-0.0271***	-0.0091***	
$PARTIME_i$	0.0033	0.0021	-0.0027	-0.0118	-0.0041	
SELFEMP _i	0.0004	0.0003	-0.0003	-0.0014	-0.0005	
RETIRED _i	-0.0126***	-0.0136**	0.0078***	0.0432***	0.0181**	
HOUSEWIFE _i	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0003	-0.0001	
STUDENT _i	0.0199***	-0.0008	-0.0225***	-0.0770***	-0.0222***	
UNEMP _i	0.0049	0.0029	-0.0042	-0.0177	-0.0061	
LOW _i	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0004	-0.0002	



HIGH _i	-0.0036	-0.0030	0.0026	0.0126	0.0048
Predicted Probability	0.0916	0.3361	0.1204	0.2287	0.0411
*** Significant at the 1%					
** Significant at the 5%					
* Significant at the 10%					



	Marginal Effects After Ordered Probit				
Variable	Completed	Incomplete	Complete Secondary	University without	University with
	Elementary	Secondary		degree	degree
<i>PROUDSTRONGA</i> _i	-0.0009	-0.0009	0.0006	0.0032	0.0013
PROUDA _i	-0.0002	-0.0017	0.0001	0.0006	0.0002
INDO _i	-0.0071	-0.0081	0.0042	0.0143	0.0104
$JAPN_i$	-0.0169***	-0.0233***	0.0081***	0.0570***	0.0283***
$PRCH_i$	-0.0059**	-0.0065*	0.0036**	0.0203**	0.0085*
$RPHL_i$	-0.0159***	-0.0215***	0.0078***	0.0546***	0.0254***
SKOR _i	-0.0254***	-0.0400***	0.0097***	0.0843***	0.0450***
$SING_i$	0.0036	0.0031	-0.0027	-0.0128	-0.0048
AGE_i	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0001
$AGESQ_i$	0.0000**	0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**
$MALEHHH_i$	0.0034*	0.0029*	-0.0024*	-0.0118*	-0.0045*
$MARRIED_i$	0.0002	0.0002	-0.0002	-0.0008	-0.0003
DIVORCED _i	-0.0059	-0.0065	0.0036	0.0201	0.0084
SEPARATED _i	-0.0016	-0.0016	0.0011	0.0056	0.0022
SINGLE _i	0.0078*	0.0056	-0.0061*	-0.0275*	-0.0100*
$FULLTIME_i$	0.0076***	0.0056**	-0.0060**	-0.0270***	-0.0098***
$PARTIME_i$	0.0034	0.0029	-0.0024	-0.0118	-0.0045
$SELFEMP_i$	0.0003	0.0003	-0.0002	-0.0010	-0.0004
<i>RETIRED</i> _i	-0.0130***	-0.0166**	0.0068***	0.0439***	0.0201***
$HOUSEWIFE_i$	-0.0001	-0.0001	0.0000	0.0002	0.0001
STUDENT _i	0.0209***	0.0049	-0.0210***	-0.0782***	-0.0243***
$UNEMP_i$	0.0050	0.0040	-0.0037	-0.0185	-0.0065
LOW_i	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0003	-0.0001
$HIGH_i$	-0.0037	-0.0039	0.0023*	0.0127	0.0052
Predicted Probability	0.0879	0.3330	0.1231	0.2416	0.0460
*** Significant at the 1%					
** Significant at the 5%					
* Significant at the 10%					

Table 3.4: One of main goals in life has been to make parents proud



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Table 3.5.	• More	emphasis o	n tamil	v lite
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	Marginal Effects After Ordered Probit						
Variable	Completed	Incomplete	Complete Secondary	University without	University with		
	Elementary	Secondary		degree	degree		
$EMPHGOOD_i$	-0.0072***	-0.0059**	0.0053**	0.0252***	0.0095***		
$EMPHBAD_i$	0.0048	-0.0036	0.0038	0.0169	0.0062		
INDO _i	-0.0070	-0.0058	0.0052	0.0246	0.0092		
$JAPN_i$	-0.0164***	-0.0185***	0.0102***	0.0563***	0.0235***		
PRCH _i	-0.0055**	-0.0043	0.0042**	0.0193**	0.0071*		
$RPHL_i$	-0.154***	-0.0161***	0.0098***	0.0533***	0.0220***		
SKOR _i	-0.0246***	-0.0323***	0.0130***	0.0835***	0.0384***		
$SING_i$	0.0039	0.0019	-0.0035	-0.0141	-0.0047		
AGE_i	0.0001	0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0002	-0.0001		
$AGESQ_i$	0.0000**	0.0000	-0.0000***	-0.0000*	-0.0000*		
$MALEHHH_i$	0.0031*	0.0016	-0.0028*	-0.0114*	-0.0038*		
MARRIED _i	0.0003	0.0002	-0.0002	-0.0010	-0.0003		
DIVORCED _i	-0.0057	-0.0045	0.0043	0.0201	0.0074		
<i>SEPARATED</i> _i	-0.0019	-0.0013	0.0015	0.0066	0.0023		
SINGLE _i	0.0073*	0.0028	-0.0069*	-0.0269*	-0.0086*		
$FULLTIME_i$	0.0073***	0.0028	-0.0069**	-0.0268***	-0.0085***		
$PARTIME_i$	0.0033	0.0018	-0.0029	-0.0120	-0.0040		
SELFEMP _i	0.0004	0.0003	-0.0004	-0.0015	-0.0005		
$RETIRED_i$	-0.0123***	-0.0118*	0.0083***	0.0426***	0.0169**		
HOUSEWIFE _i	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0003	-0.0001		
STUDENT _i	0.0190***	-0.0039	-0.0229***	-0.0752***	-0.0207***		
UNEMP _i	0.0048	0.0022	-0.0042	-0.0172	-0.0056		
LOW_i	-0.0001	-0.0001	0.0001	0.0004	0.0001		



HIGH _i	-0.0036	-0.0026	0.0029*	0.0129*	0.0047
Predicted Probability	0.0936	0.3377	0.1188	0.2212	0.0384
*** Significant at the 1%					
** Significant at the 5%					
* Significant at the 10%					