

# The Autumn of Patriarchy

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# Motivation

“...and the bells of glory that announced to the world the good news that the uncountable time of eternity had come to an end.”

Gabriel García Márquez, *The Autumn of the Patriarch*

- Patriarchy is retreating around the world, most notably:
  1. **Falling fertility** (Guinnane 2011)
  2. **Declining marriage / dual parenthood** (Stevenson and Wolfers 2007)
  3. **Converging gender (income) gaps** (Goldin 2014)
- Existing papers that approach this phenomenon either
  - Propose distinct theories for each trend, or
  - Study two at a time (Regalia and Rios-Rull 2011, Greenwood et al. 2016)

# This paper

- This paper
  - A **unified model** to endogenize all three trends and more importantly,
  - Study their root causes and interactions
- Key model ingredients:
  1. The trade-off between fertility and female labor supply
  2. Children as the share good in family formation
  3. Gendered impacts of single parenthood

# Key findings

- Propose a novel trilemma of
  1. High fertility
  2. Universal dual parenthood
  3. Gender income equality
- Test the trilemma and establish empirical support
- Rising **factor-neutral** technology  $A_t$  generates all three trends simultaneously, complementary to previous channels
  - SBTC favoring low fertility (Fernandez-Villaverde 2000)
  - Household appliance revolution favoring singles (Greenwood et al. 2016)
  - Structural changes favoring women (Ngai and Petrongolo 2017)

# Roadmap

- The static model
- The trilemma: theory and evidence
- The dynamic model
- Conclusion

Setup and Characterization

The Static Model

# Basic setup

- Total factor productivity  $A_t$
- Individual of equal mass with gender  $g \in \{\sigma, \varphi\}$  and preference

$$u^g(c^g, n) = \left( (1 - \beta) \cdot (c^g)^{\frac{\rho-1}{\rho}} + \beta \cdot n^{\frac{\rho-1}{\rho}} \right)^{\frac{\rho}{\rho-1}} \quad (1)$$

where  $\rho > 1$  so that  $u(c, 0)$  is well-defined

- Homogeneous human capital within gender  $h_t^{\sigma}$  and  $h_t^{\varphi}$
- Human capital gap is defined as

$$\Gamma_t^h = \frac{h_t^{\sigma}}{h_t^{\varphi}} \quad (2)$$

# Marriage and fertility – men

- If single, men consume their labor income but have no children

$$V_t^{\sigma, s} = u(A_t h_t^{\sigma}, 0) \quad (3)$$

- Once married, husbands work and transfer  $\alpha_t$  share of income to wives

$$V_t^{\sigma, m} = u((1 - \alpha_t)A_t h_t^{\sigma}, n_t^m) \quad (4)$$

→  $\alpha_t$  is an endogenous outcome in the marriage market equilibrium



# Marriage and fertility – single women

- Single female solves

$$V_t^{\circ,s} = \max_{c_t^{\circ,s}, l_t^s, n_t^s} u(c_t^{\circ,s}, n_t^s) \quad (5)$$

subject to budget and time constraints

$$c_t^{\circ,s} = A_t h_t^{\circ} l_t^s \quad l_t^s = 1 - \chi n_t^s$$

- Simple consumption-fertility trade-off through endogenous labor supply

# Marriage and fertility – married women

- Wives need to balance fertility and consumption

$$V_t^{\text{♀},m} = \max_{c_t^{\text{♀},m}, l_t^m, n_t^m} u(c_t^{\text{♀},m}, n_t^m) \quad (6)$$

subject to budget and time constraints

$$c_t^{\text{♀},m} = \underbrace{\alpha_t A_t h_t^{\text{♂}}}_{\text{transfer from husband}} + \underbrace{A_t h_t^{\text{♀}} l_t^m}_{\text{own labor income}}, \quad l_t^m = 1 - \chi n_t^m$$

- Within marriage, fertility is subject to veto  $\implies$  females determine fertility
- Women receive idiosyncratic taste shock of marriage relative to being single  $\tau \sim J(\tau)$  (i.e., other considerations of marriage)

# Aggregate quantities

- Let  $\mathcal{M}_t$  denote the share of women that choose to get married  
→ Aggregate fertility rate  $n_t$  and share of children with both parents

$$n_t = \mathcal{M}_t \cdot n_t^m + (1 - \mathcal{M}_t) \cdot n_t^s \quad (7)$$

$$\mathcal{D}_t = \frac{\mathcal{M}_t \cdot n_t^m}{n_t} \quad (8)$$

- Average hours worked per female is

$$l_t^{\text{f}} = \mathcal{M}_t \cdot l_t^m + (1 - \mathcal{M}_t) \cdot l_t^s = 1 - \chi n_t \quad (9)$$

- Gender income gap

$$\Gamma_t^y = \frac{y_t^{\text{m}}}{y_t^{\text{f}}} = \frac{\Gamma_t^h}{l_t^{\text{f}}} \quad (10)$$

# Marriage market equilibrium

- Men are homogeneous and are on the long side of the marriage market
- Transfer  $\alpha_t$  makes males indifferent between single and marriage

$$V_t^{\sigma^m} = u((1 - \alpha_t)A_t h_t^{\sigma^m}, n_t^m) = u(A_t h_t^{\sigma^m}, 0) = V_t^{\sigma^s} \implies \alpha_t(n_t^m) \quad (11)$$

- On the other hand,  $n_t^m$  is a function of  $\alpha_t$  from married women's utility maximization  $\implies n_t^m(\alpha_t)$
- The marriage market equilibrium is characterized by a **fixed-point problem** of  $(\alpha_t, n_t^m)$

# Determination of $\alpha_t$ and $n_t^m$

- Lemma 1: For given  $A_t$ , there exists a unique solution  $(n_t^m, \alpha_t)$

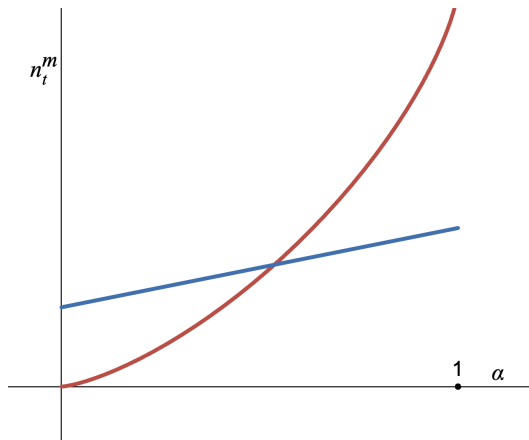


Figure 1:  $n_t^m(\alpha_t)$  (blue) and  $\alpha_t(n_t^m)$  (red)

# Marriage threshold

- There exists a threshold  $\tau_t^*$  above which women get married

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J(\tau_t^*) \quad (12)$$

- Lemma 2: The threshold  $\tau^*$  can be characterized as

$$\tau_t^* = \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \quad (13)$$

where  $\alpha_t \Gamma_t^h$  gives the “transfer potential” of males

- Lemma 2 also implies that  $\mathcal{D}_t$  is monotonically increasing in  $\mathcal{M}_t \implies$  refer to dual parenthood  $\mathcal{D}_t$  and marriage rate  $\mathcal{M}_t$  interchangeably

Theory and Evidence

The Trilemma

# Model-implied relationships

- **The trilemma:** high  $n_t$ , high  $\mathcal{M}_t$ , and low  $\Gamma_t^y$  cannot co-exist
- Relationships between  $n_t$ ,  $\mathcal{M}_t$ ,  $l_t^\circ$ , and  $\Gamma_t^y$ :

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J \left( \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \right) \quad (14)$$

$$l_t^\circ = 1 - \chi n_t \quad (15)$$

$$\Gamma_t^y = \frac{\Gamma_t^h}{l_t^\circ} \quad (16)$$



# Case 1: High fertility and dual parenthood

- With high fertility, labor supply is low

$$l_t^{\circ} = 1 - \chi n_t$$

- To achieve dual parenthood, the human capital gap cannot be too low

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J \left( \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \right)$$

- Gender income gap is necessarily high

$$\Gamma_t^y = \frac{\Gamma_t^h}{l_t^{\circ}}$$

- Traditional patriarchal societies

## Case 2: High fertility and gender income equality

- With high fertility, labor supply is low

$$l_t^{\circ} = 1 - \chi n_t$$

- For gender income gap to be low,  $\Gamma^h$  needs to be very low

$$\Gamma_t^y = \frac{\Gamma_t^h}{l_t^{\circ}}$$

- When  $\Gamma_t^h$  is very low,  $\mathcal{M}_t$  is low

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J \left( \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \right)$$

- Nordic countries

## Case 3: Dual parenthood and gender income equality

- To achieve high  $\mathcal{M}_t$ , human capital gap  $\Gamma_t^h$  needs to be high

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J \left( \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \right)$$

- To achieve low gender income gap,  $l_t^\circ$  needs to be very high

$$\Gamma_t^y = \frac{\Gamma_t^h}{l_t^\circ}$$

- To achieve very high  $l_t^\circ$ , fertility needs to be very low

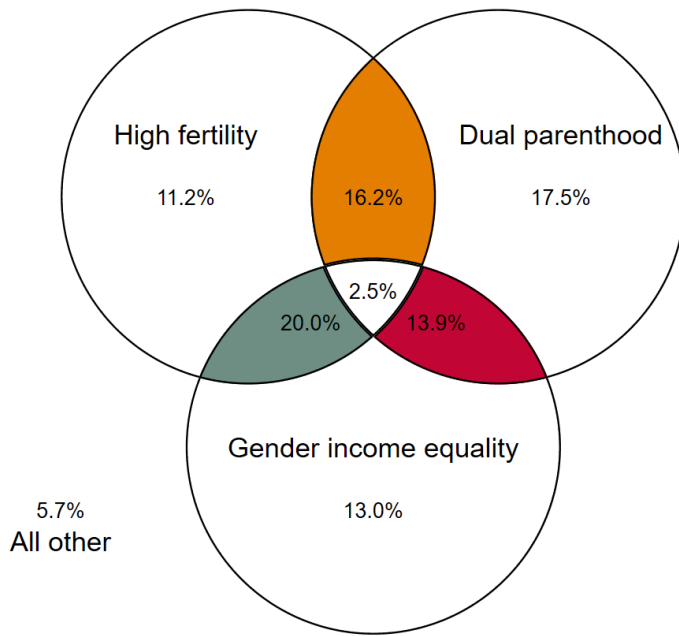
$$l_t^\circ = 1 - \chi n_t$$

# Discussions

- **Takeaway:** Even though each of the three outcomes could be a desirable policy goal, policymakers cannot have them all
  - Policies that change  $\chi$ :
    1. Raising  $\chi$  reduces  $\Gamma^y$ , but dampens  $n_t$
    2. Lowering  $\chi$  raises  $n_t$ , but boosts  $\Gamma^y$
  - Policies that change  $J(\cdot)$  could raise  $\mathcal{M}_t$ , but there is another tension between  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\Gamma^y$  from human capital formation
- In fact, countries may have only one, or even none of the three
- What does it look like in the data?

# Data source and grouping

- Fertility data from the U.N.
- Share of children born outside of marriage and gender gap in median earnings from the OECD database
- Unbalanced panel of 37 countries from 1970 to 2014, 721 observations
- Data from a broader set of developing countries (but narrower time window) delivers similar results
- Grouping based on sample medians of each variable:
  - Label as “High fertility” if  $TFR_{it} > 1.69$
  - Label as “Dual parenthood” if  $out\ of\ marriage_{it} < 31.4\%$
  - Label as “Gender income equality” if  $gap_{it} < 17.2\%$
- The random benchmark of the trinity is 12.5%



The Autumn of Patriarchy

The Dynamic Model

# Human capital dynamics

- Evolution of gender-specific human capital

$$h_{t+1}^{\text{♀}} = (h_t^{\text{♀}})^{\theta} \cdot (\mathcal{M}_t)^{\psi^{\text{♀}}} \quad (17)$$

$$h_{t+1}^{\text{♂}} = Z \cdot (h_t^{\text{♂}})^{\theta} \cdot (\mathcal{M}_t)^{\psi^{\text{♂}}} \quad (18)$$

where  $Z > 1$ ,  $\theta \in (0, 1)$  and more importantly,  $\psi^{\text{♂}} > \psi^{\text{♀}} > 0$

- Motivated by Bertrand and Pan (2013), Autor et al. (2019, 2023), Wasserman (2020), Reeves (2022), Frimmel et al. (2024)
- “The evidence supports an emerging consensus that growing up in a family without biological married parents produces more adverse consequences for boys than for girls.” — Wasserman (2020)



# Channel 1: Rising opportunity costs of children

- Lemma 3: When  $\rho > 1$ ,  $n_t^m$  and  $\alpha_t$  both decline in  $A_t$

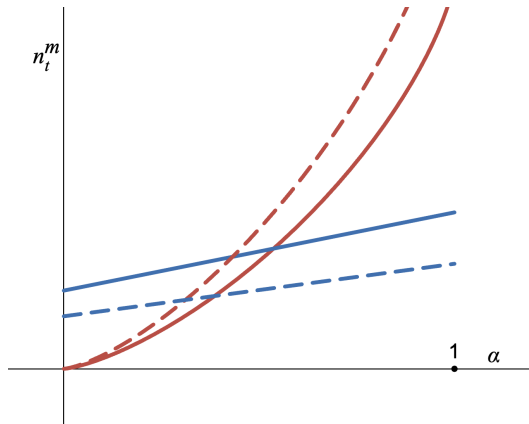


Figure 2:  $n_t^m(\alpha_t)$  (blue) and  $\alpha_t(n_t^m)$  (red)

# Dynamic interactions between $\Gamma^h$ and $\mathcal{M}$

- From marriage market equilibrium

$$\mathcal{M}_t = 1 - J \left( \frac{1}{1 + \alpha_t \Gamma_t^h} \right)$$

- From human capital dynamics

$$\Gamma_{t+1}^h = Z \cdot (\Gamma_t^h)^\theta \cdot (\mathcal{M}_t)^{\psi^\sigma - \psi^\varphi}$$

which implies in steady-state

$$\Gamma^h = Z^{\frac{1}{1-\theta}} \cdot (\mathcal{M}_t)^{\frac{\psi^\sigma - \psi^\varphi}{1-\theta}} \implies \frac{d\Gamma^h}{d\mathcal{M}} > 0 \quad (19)$$

## Channel 2: Declining $\alpha_t$ triggers a spiral

- Lemma 4: Declining  $\alpha_t$  reduces long-run  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\Gamma^h$

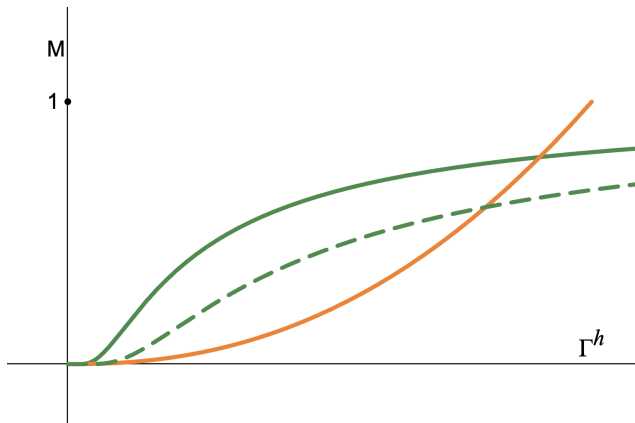
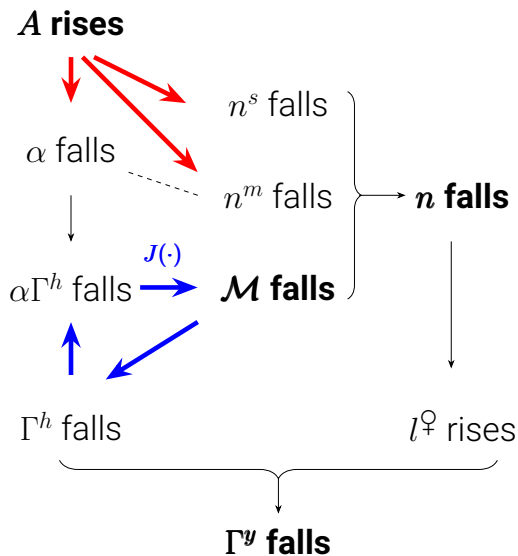


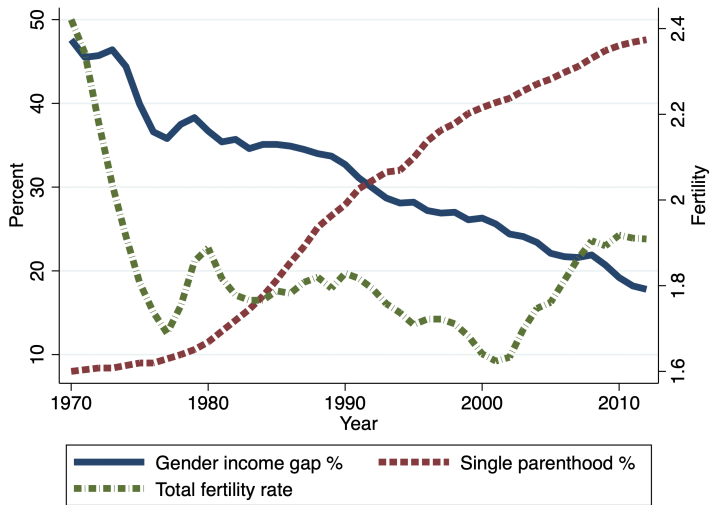
Figure 3:  $\mathcal{M}(\Gamma^h; \alpha)$  (green) and  $\Gamma^h(\mathcal{M})$  (orange)

# The autopsy of patriarchy

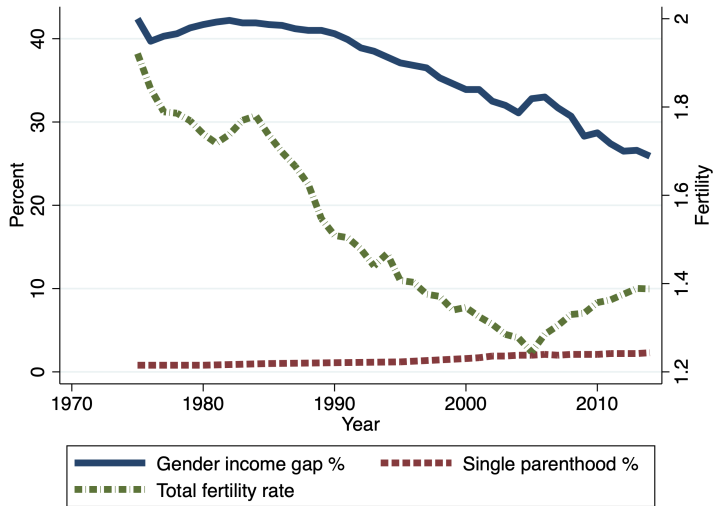


1. The demise of patriarchy is the inevitable result of technological progress
2. Differences in  $J(\tau)$  lead to distinct timing and patterns across countries

# The case of the U.K.



# The case of Japan



# Is gender equality in childcare a way out?

- If both genders share the same childcare burden, then  $\Gamma^y = \Gamma^h$
- There is still a tension between  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\Gamma^y$  because high  $\mathcal{M} \Rightarrow$  high  $\Gamma^h$
- To reconcile high  $\mathcal{M}$  with low  $\Gamma^y$ , men need to take **more** childcare responsibilities than women
  1. How feasible is this?
  2. Is it an efficient allocation of labor when  $\Gamma^h$  is high?
  3. Because men have the outside option of staying single and having no children,  $\alpha$  needs to be low  $\Rightarrow$  low  $\mathcal{M}$ ?
- Empirically, no precedent yet

# Conclusion

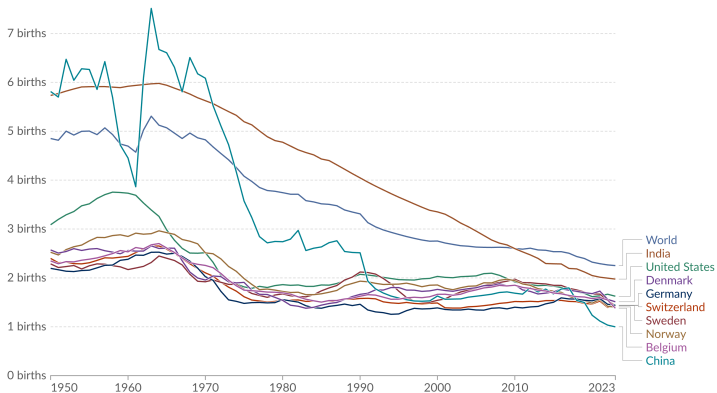
- A unified model of the transition from patriarchal to egalitarian societies
- Establish and validate [the trilemma](#): high fertility, dual parenthood, gender income equality
- Rising TFP is sufficient to generate the transition
- Social norms result in differential pace across countries



# Appendix

## Fertility rate: children per woman

The fertility rate<sup>1</sup>, expressed as the number of children per woman, is based on age-specific fertility rates in one particular year.



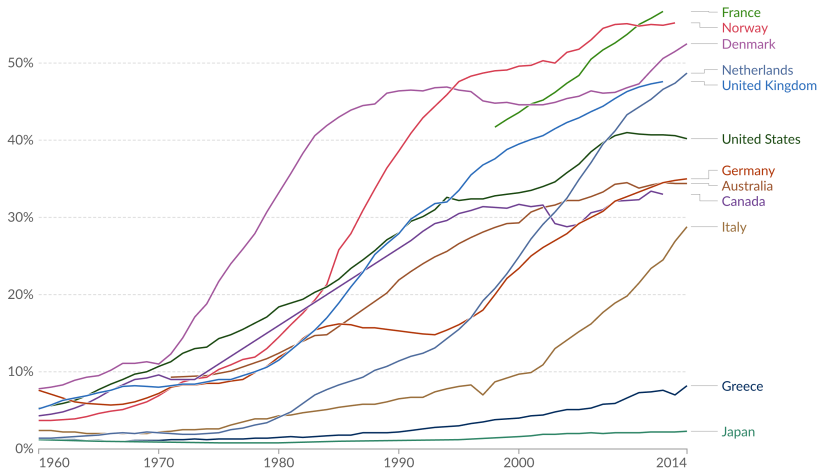
Data source: UN, World Population Prospects (2024)

OurWorldinData.org/fertility-rate | CC BY

**1. Fertility rate:** The total fertility rate is a period metric. It summarizes fertility rates across all age groups in one particular year. For a given year, the total fertility rate represents the average number of children that would be born to a hypothetical woman if she (1) lived to the end of her childbearing years, and (2) experienced the same age-specific fertility rates throughout her whole reproductive life as the age-specific fertility rates seen in that particular year. It is different from the actual average number of children that women have. The fertility rate should not be confused with biological fertility, which is about the ability of a person to conceive. [Read more: Fertility rate](#)

# Share of children who were born outside of marriage

Share of all children born to mothers who were not married at the time of birth.

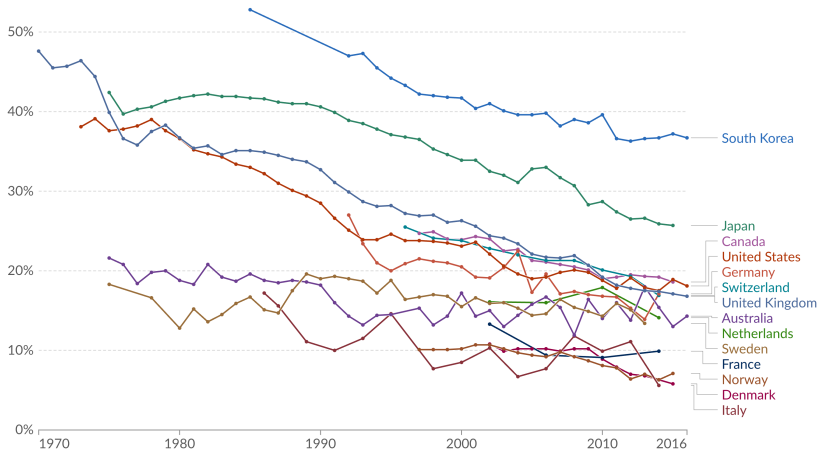


Data source: OECD Family Database

OurWorldinData.org/marriages-and-divorces | CC BY

# Unadjusted gender gap in median earnings, 1970 to 2016

The gender wage gap is unadjusted and is defined as the difference between median earnings of men and women relative to median earnings of men. Estimates refer to full-time employees and to self-employed workers.



Data source: OECD, Gender Wage Gap (2017)

OurWorldinData.org/women-rights | CC BY

# Some examples

$D$  – dual parenthood,  $G$ : gender income equality,  $F$  – high fertility

- None: Austria, United Kingdom 1995-2003
- Only  $D$ : Canada, Switzerland, Germany 1992-2006, Japan, South Korea
- Only  $G$ : Germany 2009-2014, Hungary, Portugal
- Only  $F$ : United States 1994-2013, Finland
- $D + G$ : Greece, Italy, Poland
- $F + G$ : Belgium, Norway, New Zealand, Sweden
- $F + D$ : United Kingdom 1970-1994, Israel, USA 1973-1993
- $F + D + G$ : Australia 1991-2003 ( $F + G$  afterwards)

# Number of Outcomes Achieved

[back](#)

