Child Care in Urban Thailand

Choice and Constraint in a Changing Society

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Preface

Rapid economic development has led to vast changes in the Thai way of life. These changes are felt most sharply in Bangkok, where an increasingly diversified economy is reflected in a wide variety of family lifestyles. Women are particularly affected by these changes, as they must balance the demands of caring for their families with an increasing need to earn income. For these reasons society's youngest members are growing up in a radically different world. Fewer mothers are able to devote their time to caring for a young child, and many families must rely on new and unfamiliar forms of child care. The implications of this change for child development, educational prospects and family life are not known, but an understanding of the complex issues involved is crucial to those concerned with the future of Thai society.

The findings presented in this book make an important contribution to our knowledge about the changing circumstances for Bangkok families. This research provides vital information for policy makers and planners in the fields of education, child development, labor law and family welfare. The Institute for Population and Social Research has for over twenty years produced high quality research providing crucial insights into a changing society. This volume continues in this tradition, and it is hoped that it is valuable to those in the position to respond to Thai people's changing needs.

P. Charoenthaitawee

Prof. Dr. Pradit Charoenthaitawee
President
Mahidol University

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The shift from an agricultural and rural society to an urbanized industrial economy has a profound impact on family life. Both the function of the family and the roles of those within the family are transformed, and particularly for women, the centrality of family concerns to individual identity and livelihood may be diminished. Nevertheless, the care of young children is one of the few major functions of the family that is accepted as universal through time and across cultures. For women, child care becomes increasingly complex when the mother's role must be balanced with work outside the home. In the rural household, extended family members are often on hand to help care for young children, and agricultural work can easily be combined with child care. But the demands of the formal labor market in the urban setting mean that mothers must leave their children in the care of others when they are working, and this often means paying a non-relative for child care if family members are not available.

The relatively high status of women in Thailand, combined with a flexible social structure and rapid socioeconomic development, indicate that needs for child care are changing dramatically. Women in present day Bangkok face an entirely different set of decisions regarding work, fertility and child care than their mothers did. Labor force participation for women in the childbearing years has increased rapidly, particularly for the non-agricultural sector. In Bangkok, labor force participation for women aged 20-49 increased from 58% in 1972 to 67% in 1987, while for the country as a whole women's employment in agriculture dropped from 70% to 58% during the same period. Increasing labor force participation has occurred in the context of high levels of migration from rural areas. Bangkok's population has increased from about 3 million in 1971 to about 8 million at present. Migration is concentrated in the young adult age groups and over 60% of the 1980-85 migration stream were women. At the same time, Thailand's total fertility rate has dropped to near replacement level in a generation; the TFR dropped from 6.3 in 1965 to 2.4 in 1989, and the contraceptive prevalence rate is currently over 70% (National Statistical Office 1965, 1972, 1985, 1987, 1989; United Nations 1987; Knodel, Chamratrithirong and Debavalya 1987; Contraceptive Use Prevalence Survey 1987; Yoddumnern-Attig et al. 1992).

These economic and social changes have been accompanied by an increase in the availability of child care choices, including new forms of care that are unfamiliar to Bangkok parents. The number of nurseries and day care centers (for children under three) and kindergartens (which children enter at the age of three or three and a half)

has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1982 there were 389 nurseries/day care centers registered by the Department of Public Welfare and this figure had risen to 432 by 1992. The number of kindergartens registered by the Ministry of Education (both public and private) rose from 648 in 1982 to 752 in 1992. In addition to these there are also 427 facilities run by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration which may include both older and younger children. In total, official statistics list 1,611 nurseries and pre-schools attended by 143,791 children under the age of five in 1992 (Wongboonsin et al. 1991; Ministry of Education 1992). However many nurseries and pre-schools for young children do not register with the Department of Public Welfare or the Ministry of Education, as they would have to meet certain standards regarding their size and facilities and may be subject to taxation. For this reason many small neighborhood facilities are operated informally, and it is impossible to count the number of children in unregistered nurseries and pre-schools. In addition to conventional day care centers, some nurseries have opened that feature 24-hour care, so that parents may only take their children home on weekends or only visit them for a few hours a week. Agencies have also opened which train young women to be "nannies" (live-in babysitters) and which place them in private homes. While parents may assume that these trained nannies are preferable to hiring a young girl from up-country with no experience in child care, such agencies are not licensed by the government and may mainly function as a money-making employment agency with little regard to screening or proper training of the nannies.

These social and economic changes indicate that women are less able to combine their roles as workers and mothers, that co-residence with extended family members is less frequent, and that there is greater reliance on institutions such as day care centers and nurseries for child care. At the same time, there is great disparity in the circumstances of women in Bangkok in terms of socioeconomic status, educational attainment, degree of labor market participation and occupational type. A non-working woman, for example, may choose to care for her children herself because her family can afford to give up her income, or because she does not have the skills that would allow her to make enough income to afford paid child care. A woman working in the informal sector may be able to take her children along to work, while a factory worker is forced to pay a non-relative to care for her children or rely on day care. Additionally, the large number of in-migrants to Bangkok includes many women who migrate without their children, leaving them in the care of grandparents in rural areas. Other working women in Bangkok, even whose children are born in the city, send them to their families in their rural hometowns if they are unable to care for them. Each of these situations requires a different decision-making process as women attempt to balance the constraints of time and money with their personal goals and preferences. As Thailand undergoes rapid industrialization these issues will become increasingly prominent, and the situation of women in Bangkok reveals much about directions for change throughout the developing world.

This study examines preferences in type of care for young children with particular attention to decision-making and satisfaction with child care. We also investigate the interrelationships between child care arrangements and differentials in type of care by mother's work status, occupation, and family structure. Besides investigating women who currently have children under the age of five, the study presents retrospective

information from mothers of older children to determine how the situation has changed for Thai children over time. We also examine how child care issues affect fertility, in terms of number of children and particularly in terms of spacing, both for women with children and married women with no children. Finally, we pay special attention to emerging issues in child care for Thai families, including the role of the father and the extended family, determinants of entry into formal care, the situation of children living apart, and child care costs.

Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

- What form of child care is preferred by Bangkok women? What are the factors that women consider in deciding whether to work or to care for their child themselves? What form of care is preferred by working mothers for children of various ages?
- How do mothers select the type of care for their child, and how do they rate the quality of care that their children receive? Do mothers often have disagreements with those caring for their children?
- What is the actual form of child care for young children of various ages in Bangkok? How has child care changed over time, and how does the type of care differ by mother's education, work status and occupation? How long do women stop working for maternity leave, and how is breastfeeding affected by women's work status?
- To what extent are decisions about number of children and pregnancy timing affected by child care considerations?
- What is the father's role in caring for young children, and how has this role changed over time? Is the role of the extended family still as important as in the past?
- How many children are in formal types of care, such as day care centers, nurseries and pre-schools? At what age do women think that their child should enter school, and how does this differ by socioeconomic characteristics and work status?
- What circumstances cause women to live separately from their children? Who cares for these children, and how long do they live apart from their mothers?
- What are the costs of child care for working women, and how do these differ by type of care?

Finally, we will discuss how the findings of the study illustrate the needs of Bangkok families with young children, and how public policy may best address these needs.

Chapter 2 Previous Research on Child Care

The child care issue has received a great deal of attention from researchers in industrialized and developing countries in recent years, due mainly to increasing labor force participation of women with young children in both settings. This chapter gives a brief overview of this literature in order to place the findings of the study in perspective. Special attention is paid to research in Thailand and other Asian countries.

Research Drawn from Industrialized Countries

In the United States, labor force participation of women with young children has increased rapidly in recent years. Much of the U.S. literature on child care is concerned with the availability, costs and quality of day care facilities, and with possible government policies to aid families with young children. Research studies by social demographers and economists have used survey data to examine current use of child care by families with different child care needs and socioeconomic status characteristics. Several studies have investigated the determinants of child care choice, including the influence of family characteristics and women's work status on type of care (Lehrer 1983, 1989; Floge 1985; Leibowitz et al. 1988; Kuhlthau and Mason 1990). Others have examined the impact of child care needs on women's employment (Floge 1989), while some have treated work status and child care type as joint decisions (Hofferth and Brayfield 1991; Folk and Beller 1991). In this regard several studies have examined the impact of child care costs on women's employment (Blau and Robins 1988; Duberstein and Mason 1991; Mason and Kuhlthau 1991), and others have examined the impact of costs on fertility expectations as well (Presser and Baldwin 1980; Lehrer and Kawasaki 1985; Blau and Robins 1989). Presser (1989a; 1989b) has analyzed how parents and sometimes the grandmother balance child care with work by working different shifts.

Several studies on child care issues in Japan have appeared in recent years. In a study of women's labor force participation in Japan, Ogawa (1991) found that women who lived patrilocally were much more likely to be employed than those living neolocally, though women with young children had very low employment rates compared to those with no or older children. A study of changes in attitudes towards women's roles in Japan and Korea found that despite the weakening of expressed norms

about the gender division of household labor, men's actual participation in housework and child care remained low (Tsuya and Choe 1991).

Only a few studies in industrialized countries have examined child care preferences or the decision-making process that families make in selecting child care. Mason and Kuhlthau (1989) found that ideals about child care were influenced by opinions about gender equality and women's roles, as well as by situational variables. In a later paper they found that these ideals do have an impact on child care choice while women's income and wages do not (Kuhlthau and Mason 1990). Mason and Duberstein (1992) explore how child care problems may affect the psychological well-being of both parents and children, although little is known about how parents balance money and time constraints with the desire for quality child care. They call for further research in this area, with particular attention to the decision-making process in women's choice between work and child care and the stress that such considerations may invoke.

Research Drawn from Developing Countries

In the developing world, child care is not necessarily incompatible with mother's work, since employment tends to be informal and extended family and/or inexpensive domestic labor are often available as child care alternatives. Most have concluded that the incompatibility between work and child care begins with the shift to wage labor and industrialization. This is due to a complex set of changes that occur, including the shift of women out of agriculture and other nonformal jobs into the formal sector; migration to urban areas, which lessens family ties or at least lessens the availability of family members for child care; the increased importance of education in the job market, resulting in heightened aspirations for children; and the lessened availability of female domestic laborers when better paying modern jobs are available (Standing 1983).

An increasing number of studies set in developing countries examine child care arrangements among working women, with special attention to recent changes in women's labor force participation, child care arrangements, and the division of household labor. Oppong and Abu (1985) found that urban women in Ghana experienced the greatest conflict between their maternal and occupational roles when they worked far from home, worked long hours, and worked in the modern sector. DaVanzo and Lee (1983) had similar results in Malaysia, where women's wages and hours worked were positively related to the likelihood that persons other than the parents were taking care of children. In Brazil, Connelly et al. (1991) found that the decision to work and the choice of child care were jointly determined: the presence of young children and the availability of alternative care had a strong impact on women's employment, while such employment had a strong affect on the likelihood of non-parental care. They also found that other female members in the household often substituted for the mother's domestic labor and outside employment, but that the type of substitution differed by the age of the other female and the relationship to the mother. In urban Mexico, Wong and Levine (1991) found that the availability of low-cost child care, such as residence in an extended household, had a significant impact on mother's labor force participation; but that the presence of elderly household members

reduced the likelihood of employment. In China, Entwisle et al. (1991) found that well over half of children in urban areas were in formal day care; perhaps for this reason mother's employment status or occupation was not found to be related to the hours spent caring for children in urban areas. In rural areas, mothers employed in the industrial or service sector spent considerably less time on child care. Net of employment status, education had a positive effect on time spent on child care in rural areas. They also found that men in urban areas spent considerably more time caring for children than those in rural areas.

A few studies have examined child fostering as a child care alternative, although mainly for older children (Page 1989; Todaro and Fapohunda 1987; Ainsworth 1989). Lloyd and Desai (1991) used data from the Demographic and Health Surveys from eighteen countries to examine the proportion of children not living with their mothers. Among children under six years old, the percentage ranged from nearly zero to as high as 20% (for boys in Botswana). For Thailand the proportions for children under six were 5% for boys and 3% for girls. In terms of the proportion of young children living separately from their mothers, this places Thailand somewhat higher than Latin American countries, somewhat lower than Caribbean countries and in the mid-range among African countries.

Previous Research in Thailand

Child care has received increasing attention by Thai researchers in recent years, with particular attention to the impact of child rearing on child health and development and to the situation for women working in the formal sector. Researchers at the Institute for Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, did a major study of the child care situation in Bangkok and Chiang Mai (Wongboonsin, Mason and Choe 1991; Wongboonsin and Prachuabmoh Ruffolo 1992). While they found a considerable increase in the percentage of children in non-maternal care in Bangkok in recent years, this change could be completely explained by the rise in women's educational levels and decline in fertility. Thus child's birth cohort was not found to be significant in determining type of care when included in a multivariate model including mother's education and occupation. In Chiang Mai the results were similar though a much higher percentage of children were found to be in formal care in urban Chiang Mai than in Bangkok. They did not find a strong relationship between type of care and child illness in either setting.

There have been several other small-scale studies that examined the issue of child care for working women. A study in rural Thailand found that women tended to be less productive when they had young children but that the availability of other mechanisms, such as care by relatives or taking the child along to work, allowed most to continue their economic activities (Podhisita et al. 1990). Jaroensuk (1981) studied 120 women who worked at the Regional Electricity Authority and had at least one child aged two through five years. She found that the majority of them depended on their relatives and servants for child care. Only a very few employed a trained nurse to care for their children at home or sent them to a nursery due to the high cost. Many of

these women complained about the child-rearing methods of their relatives, who often spoiled the children. Bunyanupongsa (1987) studied the problem of child care for women working outside the home in Chiang Mai. He found that the majority of respondents (about 53%) were living in an extended family, and these working women had less of a problem with child care. For working women who lived in a nuclear family, about 40% had problems with finding a trusted person to care for their children. Both of these last two studies reported that the women expressed distrust of the non-relatives they hired to care for their children and had a problem with them often resigning. The women interviewed were very concerned about the difficulty of finding a trusted babysitter and worried about having their child cared for by others; and they felt that this affected their productivity at work. With increasing participation of women in the labor force in Thailand, the father seems to play a greater role in child care and housework than they did in the past. In a study comparing child rearing in rural and urban communities, Sirikulchayanonta (1991) reported that urban fathers did much more than rural fathers in this regard.

Two other studies in Thailand have investigated the problems of women working in the manufacturing sector. Podhisita and Soonthorndhada (1988) examined the length of time women took off work for childbirth and the differences in absenteeism for women with and without children. Average length of time taken off was 8 days during pregnancy, 37 days for childbirth and 5 days in the first year of the child's life. Absenteeism was higher for those with children but there were no differences by the age of the children. Surprisingly, women with child care help tended to take more time off work than those without (10 vs. 8 days). A large number of their respondents were migrant women without families nearby. In a study of over 80 factories in the Bangkok Metropolitan Area, Tonguthai and Pattaravanich (1992) found that most workers were young and single, as factory management often used marriage and/or pregnancy as a reason to terminate workers. Although they received lower wages and less benefits than male workers, women had high expenses for child care: about one third relied on paid domestic help. Many women lived separately from their children; only 5% relied on day care centers, as they were few in number and located far from the workplace. Both of these studies reported that only one factory (an electronics company) provided a day care center at the workplace for their employees, and this was on an experimental basis. The authors of several studies reported that their respondents were very favorable to the idea of having day care nurseries located at their work sites, as it would be lower cost, more convenient and of psychological benefit to the women and their children. But managers and owners of the factories were less receptive to the idea, and most workers said they did not expect this type of benefit from their workplace (Bunyanupongsa 1987; Podhisita and Soonthorndhada 1988; Tonguthai and Pattaravanich 1992).

Chapter 3

Methodology

The project consisted of two phases: a qualitative component based on in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, and a quantitative phase based on data collected through a household survey of a representative sample of women in Bangkok. The qualitative data is especially effective for providing evidence on attitudes, preferences and decision-making about child care, while findings on actual type of care are mainly taken from a systematic analysis of the child care histories in the quantitative data. The two sets of data compliment each other and present a more complete picture of the situation for Bangkok families than would either strategy implemented alone.

Qualitative Data

For the qualitative phase, respondents were purposively selected to provide a broad spectrum of working women in Bangkok, both by type of work and associated social status. Respondents from three different types of employment were selected:

- White collar workers work at a formal job and hold at least a bachelor's degree; examples include professional or clerical workers in a government office, bank or hospital.
- Blue collar workers work at a formal job and may have some secondary education; examples include skilled and unskilled factory workers and those doing domestic work in the formal sector.
- Informal sector workers work on their own account without holding a formal job; examples include those doing piecework in their home, vendors on the street or in the market, and domestic workers in private homes.

Additionally, both women with young children and those with older children were included to examine if the child care situation for young children has changed in recent years.

Two types of qualitative data were collected. In-depth interviews were conducted with ten women selected to provide a broad spectrum of characteristics according to work status, occupation and age of children (Table 3.1). A wide variety of women who currently had young children were interviewed, including one whose children were

living elsewhere and a non-working woman who was caring for her children herself. We also interviewed women who had older children from a variety of work types, to explore how child care arrangements have changed over time, and one recently married white collar woman who was delaying her first child.[1] This selection scheme allowed us to examine differences in child care attitudes and experiences by age, social status and type of work situation.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of in-depth interview cases

Work status	Married 3-5 years no children	One or two children under age 5	All children age 10 or over	Total
Non-working	-	1	-	1
Informal sector	-	1	1	2
Blue collar	-	1	1	2
White collar	1	1	1	3
Children living apart	-	1	1	2
Total	1	5	4	10

In addition to the in-depth interviews, we held four focus group sessions with participants of approximately equal socioeconomic status. This is both because discussion proceeds more freely with participants of equal status and because the concerns of those of disparate statuses are so different. The three women's groups were composed of women drawn from the three different status groups described above. One focus group session was held with blue collar men with children to gain the male perspective on these issues.[2]

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were held in July and August 1990. Guidelines for both were similar; experiences and attitudes about child care situations of different types and opinions about quality and sources of conflict were probed in both settings. In the in-depth interviews, respondents were also asked to relate their life history, with special attention to decision-making about fertility and child care. In both settings, hypothetical situations were presented of women facing certain child care and/or economic constraints. By asking opinions on the best solution to the situation, this method deliberately removed respondents from their own experience and thus revealed a great deal about social norms and values. This was especially true in the focus group discussions where these situations provoked a great deal of discussion. Although questions were focused on child care for children who were under age five, for the most part the discussion was centered around children before they entered pre-school (usually at age three or three and a half). In interpreting the data, special attention was paid to differences in attitudes by socioeconomic class

and personal experience. Where appropriate, direct quotes from the respondents are used to illustrate the points discussed.[3]

Quantitative Data

The quantitative phase of the project consisted of a household survey of 1515 ever-married women in the Bangkok metropolitan area, which was conducted in December 1990 through April 1991. The sample was obtained by selecting 60 blocks at random using detailed maps which had been prepared by the National Statistical Office. These maps had been prepared for the national census in 1990 so they were quite up-to-date. Approximately 25 cases were selected per block.

While the original sampling plan was to select cases randomly, our experience in the field showed that housewives and women working in the informal sector were much more accessible than women employed outside the home. To avoid under-sampling the latter group of women, we created target guidelines for each block categorized by three work status groups. Using data from the 1987 Labor Force Survey for women in the 15-44 age group in Bangkok, the target figures were set to be 25-33% housewives, 40-50% employees working outside the home, and 20-30% informal sector workers. The interviewers generally had to return to each sample block on the weekends to follow up cases of working women, and this was found to be an effective strategy. In the final sample, 477 cases (31%) were housewives, 415 (27%) were informal sector workers and 630 (41%) were employees working outside the home.

The survey collected life history information from each respondent concerning her work, husband's work, migration, marriage and fertility. Life history data on household co-residence with family members and others after marriage was also included. Detailed child care histories were obtained for the first, second and youngest child of each respondent. This included information on type of child care, selection of care, costs, and quality of care, for the entire period of time when the child was under the age of five years old. Rather than using a single large life history matrix, which proved to be too cumbersome in the field, life history and child care history information were collected in a series of tables corresponding to sections of the questionnaire. The questionnaire is shown in Appendix 3. Much of the information presented in this report is based on the child care histories, and thus is based on a sample of children derived from the sample of women. From the sample of 1515 women, child care information was obtained for 2200 children.[4] This data set thus contains a remarkably rich set of information to explore the inter-relationships among work, child care and family.

Notes

1. Further details on characteristics of the case studies are given in Appendix 1.
2. Further details on characteristics of focus group participants are given in Appendix 1.
3. For the in-depth interviews, the interview and respondent are noted by **Q:** and **A:** respectively; for the focus groups, participants are denoted by **P.1**, **P.2**, etc. and the moderator by **Mod.**
4. For more details on the sample of children, see Appendix 2.

Chapter 4 Child Care Preferences and Decision-Making

Before examining the actual form of child care for young children in Bangkok, it is important to have a basic understanding of social norms about who is best to care for young children. Developing a framework of preferences for care provides a sharper perspective from which to view the study findings, and thus greater insight into the factors that affect the decision-making process. Both the qualitative and quantitative data contain information on respondents' preferences for care, how they selected a particular child care provider, and how satisfied they were with their care. The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions proved to be much more valuable at obtaining this type of information than the household survey, as the length of the questionnaire precluded exploring such issues in-depth. Nevertheless the quantitative data helped to confirm and support the understanding provided by the qualitative analysis.

Preferences for Care of Young Children

Opinions on the best form of care for children of various ages were discussed in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions as well as the household survey. Respondents were asked who they thought was the best person to care for a child of various ages; if the mother was chosen, they were asked what was the best second choice if the mother had to work or was not available for another reason. Results from the household survey are shown in Table 4.1 below.

A mother's choice between child care and work

As expected the mother is the first choice for care of children under one year of age, with a few (less than 4%) saying that both parents should care for the child. Most respondents in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions also voiced a preference for mothers caring for their own babies and young children. They said that the mother understands their children best, makes sure that they eat properly, and is the best person to care for them in time of illness.

Table 4.1 Opinions about ideal care for a child of various ages (N = 1515)

	Age of Child			
	Birth to 6 months	6 months to 1 year	1 - 3 years	3 - 5 years
First choice				
Mother	95	85	63	30
Both parents	4	3	2	1
Maternal grandparents	1	4	5	3
Paternal grandparents	0	1	1	0
Other/any relative	0	3	4	3
Non-relative/others*	0	3	6	2
Nursery/school	0	1	19	61
Total	100	100	100	100
If mother is not available				
Father	14	11	9	6
Maternal grandmother	39	33	24	10
Paternal grandmother	9	9	7	3
Other/any relative	24	24	16	6
Non-relative/others*	11	11	7	2
Nursery/school	1	1	2	4
Mother not chosen first	2	11	35	69
Total	100	100	100	100

*Includes answers "anyone available", "older people in the neighborhood" etc.

When, then, does the need or desire of the mother to work overtake the need for her to care for her child? A substantial minority (from 10-15%) of respondents in the household survey chose a relative or others as their first choice to care for a child over six months, presumably because it is better for the mother to work. When we probed this issue in the focus group discussions, many expressed the opinion that it is a necessity of modern life for mothers to work due to the rising cost of living. Other respondents cited reasons that the mother may work if there is a good child care alternative. A woman who worked selling fruit on the street said,

> *At first I thought that I would take care of my baby myself, and the child's* [maternal] *grandmother would sell things here; but then she started staying home so I came to sell. My mother is older so it's better for her to stay at home (to care for the child) and let me sell things.* **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

Opinions about a mother choosing to work when her income is not necessary to support the family and child care alternatives are available were solicited by presenting the following hypothetical situation:

> *A woman who works in a private company marries a man who works in private industry and has a good salary. They live with his mother, his older brother and his family, as well as several servants. Soon after marriage she becomes pregnant. She is about to receive a promotion in her job. Should she continue working or stay home and take care of the baby?*

Only a minority of respondents in the in-depth interviews felt that the woman should quit working in this situation, although the women's focus group discussions had proponents on both sides of the issue. Those who felt she should quit her job felt that mothers should only work if they are forced to for economic reasons.

> *I think she should quit her job to take care of the child. Because her husband has a good income, he has good status. Anyway getting close to your children is better. Other people taking care (of the child) is not as good as the mother taking care. Because their status is good and they're not in trouble.* **(Informal sector worker with young children)**

Others felt that there was no reason for the woman to quit, since relatives and servants were available to care for the child. Some mentioned the reasons that women may work even when the income is not badly needed by the family.

> *She should work because not working will make you feel not valuable, worthless. If she is living with her husband's family it will make her more independent if she goes out and works, and has freedom.* **(White collar woman with older children)**

> *I know of a couple, the man works, they both work; they send their kid to the man's mother. Her husband works in a bank and makes good money. It's good if they can give the child to the grandparents. It's up to each person. Some people like to work.* **(Blue collar women's focus group)**

In the informal sector women's focus group discussion, there was a great deal of discussion on this issue as indicated by the following interaction.

P.1.: *It's better to be with the child because her husband makes enough money.*
P.2.: *I think she should keep the job because at home they have enough servants.*
P.3.: *Yes, but who will raise the baby better than its own mother. We love our baby; the work shouldn't come first.*
P.2.: *We have to make a foundation for our children. Not just give them (money) day by day, that's all. The more the better so that our children won't have to work so hard like us. If you're afraid that the baby won't be warm or secure, she can come back in the evening and play with the kid and plus she has holidays where she can give time to her child; then during the week she has good servants to take care of the baby.*
Mod.: *But over here you think the mother should leave the job; why?*
P.3.: *Because we're tired from work; we want to stop and take care of the baby.*
P.1.: *Yes the new mother is excited about the baby.*
P.2.: *Yes that's true. Imagine you're breastfeeding the baby, can you leave the baby then? And some children won't drink milk from the bottle.* **(Informal sector women's group)**

This discussion clearly shows the conflicts that women face between providing their children with the high-quality care and security that only the mother can provide and planning for the child's economic future by continuing to work. While some women of lower educational attainment are willing to quit working if their husband has a well-paying job, others are insecure about their economic future if they do so. Blue and white collar women tended to see the value of working for the woman's individual development and autonomy, with some citing independence from the extended family specifically. But most made these statements in the context that good quality child care was available as an alternative.

Care by relatives

Relatives, and particularly the grandmother, were the clear second choice to the mother to care for young children. The preference for relatives' care if the mother is not available is apparent in the bottom half of Table 4.1, with nearly 50% choosing the grandmother as the best second choice for a young baby and another 24% choosing another (or any) relative. Over and over again, respondents said that they can trust their own relatives; sometimes, the grandmother was thought to be a better choice for child care than the mother if the mother could bring in a good income herself. Preference for maternal relatives was stated by many respondents; 39% chose the maternal grandmother as a best second choice for young babies versus 9% for the paternal grandmother. In fact, most reports of conflict with relatives over child care in

the in-depth interviews were with those from the paternal side and most reports of high quality care were from the maternal side.

The choice of child care becomes more difficult when no close relatives are living nearby. Living separately from young children is not uncommon for Bangkok women, as will be discussed further in Chapter 9. Those who consider having their child live apart from them must weigh the costs and benefits. This usually involves choosing between care by a relative versus a non-relative; having the child live in Bangkok versus a rural area; and of course, living with the mother versus seeing her only when she is able to visit. Many of those in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions who lived apart from their child were forced to do so by economic circumstances. Others, including some high status women, chose to have their children cared for by relatives, even if they had to live apart, rather than having to hire a non-relative in Bangkok.

Care by non-relatives

Even though relatives are the preferred form of care, many of the respondents had relied on a non-relative at some point. A substantial minority (about 11%) said that a non-relative was the best second choice to the mother for a child under one year old (Table 4.1). Clear status differences emerged in the type of babysitter preferred by the respondents in the qualitative phase of the study. Those of higher status preferred a live-in servant or a babysitter who came to their home every day, while blue collar or informal sector women often took their child to a neighbor. Across status groups, someone known to the parents directly or through a relative, friend or neighborhood contact was preferred. Some women required very high qualifications for a babysitter and higher status respondents tended to express a preference for a trained "nanny" or more formal types of care over an untrained babysitter. In some cases these higher status women began to turn to agencies who train "nannies" because they were unable to find a live-in servant through personal contacts. This type of care is very expensive, and the household survey found only a few cases (4 out of 2200) of children who were cared for by a trained babysitter.

Formal care (nurseries, day care centers and pre-schools)

Nearly one-fifth (19%) of the respondents in the household survey said that a child should enter a pre-school or nursery by age one to three years, and the majority (61%) said that a child should enter school at age three to five years (Table 4.1). In the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, several higher status women and the blue collar men stated that nurseries provided a better quality of care than in-home or outside babysitters. This is both because the people who worked there were trained and because they had better facilities, such as screens on the windows and sometimes even doctors available.

Others had more negative impressions and experiences with nurseries. Women working in the informal sector said that they preferred the flexibility of a babysitter

over the more formal and expensive care provided at a nursery. Many respondents, from all status groups, felt that children need more individual care.

> *I don't know why the babies sleep together and wake up at the same time. I heard that they give the babies tranquilizers.* **(Factory women's focus group)**

> **P.1.:** *I once sent my child to a nursery, a legal, registered nursery. I was hoping that the nursery would be of good quality, about the food and about how they took care of children of different age groups. I was expecting that they would know what kind of food to give to babies according to their level of development but they did not really do it that way. They just did what was convenient for them.*
>
> **P.2.:** *I have seen a nursery during the mealtime feeding 5-6 kids with 1 spoon, 1 plate.*
>
> **P.3.:** *The children that are sent to a nursery usually get sick, prone to colds. Some nurseries try to tempt the parents by installing air conditioners. I think that is not very good for the children because usually children get chronic colds and they lose their appetite.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

While most respondents thought that children should enter pre-school by about age three, a general dislike was expressed for bringing younger children to a formal setting. Parents were generally concerned about having no control over what the children ate and whether they ate, and disliked the fact that the children had to sleep at the same time. This viewpoint came from a belief that young children need more individualized care, as well as from rumors and direct experiences with poor quality nurseries. Differentials in preferences for school entry are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Selection of Child Care Providers

Besides investigating parents' preferences for child care, the study explored the selection process that parents used to find someone to care for their child. In the household survey respondents were asked how they chose the particular relative, non-relative or school to care for the child. Their reasons, shown in Table 4.2, are clearly based on the hierarchy of preferences outlined above. Most who had a relative care for their child said that they chose a person who they knew and trusted (50%), or who had time to care for the child (19%). If a non-relative was chosen, the most frequent answer was that they were known and trusted (25%); but more than one-fifth (21%) said that they could not find anyone else (presumably a relative) to care for the child. Other common answers for non-relatives were that the person had experience with

children (14%), that a relative or friend recommended the person (14%) or that the person lived nearby (12%).

Table 4.2 Selection of child care by type

	Relative	Non-relative	School/ nursery
Know and trust person/school	50	25	9
Person has time to care for child	19	-	-
Cannot find anyone to care for child	13	21	3
Has experience/good with children	7	14	1
Near the house/convenient	5	12	54
Good reputation	-	1	20
Loves children	6	9	-
Relative/friend recommended	-	14	5
Want child to learn	-	-	4
Inexpensive	-	-	4
Clean/good character	-	4	1
Total	100	100	100
(N)	(637)	(367)	(887)

In the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions respondents were asked the qualities they would look for if they must find a non-relative to care for their child. Most said that the babysitter must be someone that is known to their family, or at least recommended by someone who they know well. As discussed above, there were clear status differences in the type of babysitter preferred, as upper status women would choose a live-in servant if possible and those with less income often relied on a neighbor. These differences also emerged in our discussions of the method of acquiring a babysitter. Women working in informal sector jobs tended to live in neighborhoods where people were known to each other, and they found a babysitter through informal networks of friends, neighbors and relatives. They also counted on this network to report on how well the babysitters cared for their child.

Mod.: *How do you know if the person loves children?*
P.1.: *It has to be someone we can trust.*
P.2.: *Usually people tell you. We have to take the kid first and then wait to have the people around the house tell us how the babysitter treats our baby.*
P.1.: *And if she doesn't do a good job we can bring the baby back.*
(Informal women's focus group)

Women of higher status also relied on networks of relatives and friends, particularly in finding a live-in servant from upcountry.

> *This babysitter used to take care of my mother's friend's child and then she babysat my uncle's child and then she babysat my child. My mother who lives up-country takes care of all that. She found the girl and taught her how to take care of the baby.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

In the past, it was easy to find young women from up-country to provide this kind of care, but with changes in the Thai economy it has become very difficult.

> **P.1.:** *In the past it was very easy (to find a babysitter) and they didn't even demand a salary, they were happy with what they could get (room and board only).*
> **P.2.:** *Now it's very difficult. They usually want a place where they can just do housework. If the job involves taking care of a baby they don't want it.*
> **P.3.:** *Yes, most girls now want to go to work in a factory. If the salary is about the same as in a factory they would choose the factory and if the child is very active and they have to work hard they won't come at all.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

For schools or nurseries, convenience/location was the reason given by the majority of respondents in the household survey (54%). This most likely presumes that the parents had already decided that the child would enter a school or nursery facility, whether because the child had reached a certain age, because there was no one else to care for the child, or for another reason. Having a good reputation (20%) was also a frequent reason given for choosing a particular school/nursery. These findings mirror those from the qualitative phase of the study; those respondents who had experience with taking their young child to a nursery had usually tried one in their neighborhood, or one recommended by a friend or relative.

Satisfaction with Child Care

Respondents in the household survey were also asked to rate the quality of care that their child received, whether from a relative, non-relative, or formal facility, on a scale of 1 (not good at all) to 5 (very good). The results were not particularly informative, as most types of care were rated as "good." We also asked whether the respondent had ever had a problem with the child care provider (Table 4.3). Again few women reported having any disagreement, from only 8% for nurseries/pre-schools to 16% for

non-relatives. Still the results correspond closely to those from the qualitative study, where such conflicts were discussed in-depth.

Table 4.3 Disagreements with child care providers

	Maternal	Paternal	Other Relative	Non-Relative	School
No problem	91	86	90	84	92
Spoiling the child	4	5	2	1	-
Not paying attention to child	-	-	1	5	1
Too strict/harsh	1	-	1	2	2
Problem about feeding	2	4	3	2	-
Not clean/bad environment	-	2	1	5	1
Bad quality teaching	-	-	-	-	2
Too much pressure to learn	-	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous problems	2	3	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(290)	(181)	(166)	(367)	(887)

Care by relatives

Many women were extremely satisfied with the care their relatives gave their children, especially when the maternal grandmother cared for the child. Often they said "they raise them like their own children;" "they take care of her better than me;" "they won't even let me hit my child." But despite the general preference for care by relatives, many women expressed both major and minor sources of conflict with them. As noted above, most reports of conflict were with relatives from the paternal side and most reports of high quality care were from the maternal side. This result is confirmed in the household survey, where 14% reported a problem with the paternal grandmother versus 9% with the maternal grandmother. This response follows the traditional Thai pattern of post-marital residence, where the preference is for the husband to move in with the wife's parents for at least a short period of time. Several women stated this explicitly.

> **Q:** *Did you ever have a disagreement with your husband about the children?*
>
> **A:** *No, from when the eldest child was born to the youngest, because there is nobody around. My husband is from another province and came to live with me; all his relatives are far away, so there is no problem.* **(Blue collar woman with older children)**

Minor sources of conflict included over-feeding the child or feeding the wrong foods, letting the child have their own way too much or otherwise spoiling them, and not speaking properly to the child. In all cases, major conflicts involved neglect rather than abuse. However, some of the neglect reported was quite severe.

> *One day I went to the house and saw my (two-year-old) son watching T.V. alone. I asked my son where his (paternal) grandmother was and he said that she went out. When she came home she said she'd been to the market. Can you believe this, she was gone four hours. I was so mad that I had to take time off work that day and I brought my son home.* **(Factory women's focus group)**

The continuing theme in reports of conflict however is that mothers cannot complain to relatives directly. This is mainly due to the Thai tradition of respect to older relatives, and the desire to avoid conflict especially with in-laws. But respondents also stated that they cannot complain because they depend on their relatives for child care.

> **Mod.:** *Then what did you do; did you take the child back to her?*
> **P.1.:** *Yes, I needed to because I have to work. Then my husband complained to her and asked her why she did that. It was very lucky that I could walk to check on my son.* **(Factory women's focus group; same respondent as above)**
>
> **P.1.:** *Sometimes they* [paternal relatives] *let my baby play alone, they don't follow him around. I am not very happy about it.*
> **Mod.:** *And what do you do?*
> **P.1.:** *I don't do anything, I just get frustrated and I ask my older kids to take care of him.*
> **Mod.:** *If you see your mother or your mother-in-law treat your children some way you don't like what would you do, would you take the children back (home)?*
> **P.1.:** *We can't do that.*
> **P.2.:** *The grandmother would cry, they won't like it.* **(Informal women's focus group)**

One white collar woman explicitly said that it is better to have a non-relative care for the children for this reason.

> *If we leave it to grandmothers (to care for the child) when they do something that we don't approve of we cannot tell them, even though we know in theory how a child should be raised. We can tell the babysitter to do what we want. The babysitter won't let the child have its own way too much.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

Two hypothetical situations involving family conflict were presented. One involved a sister-in-law mistreating a child and one asked the best person to care for a new baby when conflict had led to living separately from the extended family. Most respondents opted for indirect means of expressing differences of opinion. And some continued to express a preference for relatives' care even in situations where there is a conflict.

> *Even if you had a conflict (in the past), you're still related. You can trust your own relatives.* **(Informal women's focus group)**

> *Now that you have a grandchild for your parents, they will be nice to you.* **(Factory women's focus group)**

But most expressed a desire for autonomy from the family if there was a conflict, even if a non-relative had to be hired to care for the child.

> *They must be able to decide, don't go along with the parents and brothers and sisters. I think when the child grows up a little they should find someone that they can trust and take the child out for someone to take care of in their house.* **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

It should be noted however that independence from relatives seemed easier to express in hypothetical situations than in actual experience, and that the network of obligations among extended families is still strong among the women we interviewed.

Care by non-relatives

While some respondents reported that they had found high quality and trusted babysitters for their children, the household survey found that reports of conflict with non-relatives were higher than for all other types. The most common sources of conflict were not paying attention to the child (5%) or not being clean (5%). A general feeling of mistrust was present in discussions of finding a non-relative to care for young children. This was expressed both in actual experiences of neglect and abuse by babysitters and in "horror stories" heard from others.

> *Sometimes during the daytime she would leave my child alone. My younger sister told me that she just didn't care. She would stay in the house and let my child run around outside on the street; my younger sister would have to run after her and grab her. Sometimes she would feed her hard rice. I didn't see it with my own eyes because I have to come here and sell things. But my sister had a peek on the weekends when she wasn't in school. But I didn't say anything to her; I was*

afraid because I couldn't find anybody else to babysit. **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

These young girls, we can't trust them because sometimes they drop our baby and we do not know. We worry about our baby's brains because we've heard about the case that the baby was dropped and the child became retarded. **(White collar women's focus group)**

But some women reported good experiences with babysitters, and that indeed the babysitter had become like a member of the family.

With this babysitter it's sabay (relaxed and comfortable). I trust the babysitter; she can take care of the child better than me. On her day off she comes for a visit too. **(White collar woman with young children)**

Formal care

Nurseries and day-care centers are a fairly new phenomenon in Bangkok, and only a few of our respondents in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions had taken their child to a nursery or day care center. Those whose children were attending a nursery at the time of the interview were quite satisfied with the quality of care their children were receiving. Some other respondents without direct experience with formal care generally thought that the quality of nurseries was good. Many respondents equated a nursery, even for young children, with a school; they felt that their child would "learn something" by attending a nursery with other children. This attitude is encouraged by much of the advertising for nurseries in Bangkok; and even very young children attending a day care center often wear uniforms.

Others however had more negative impressions and experiences with nurseries.

P.1.: *I took my oldest daughter to a nursery when she was two and a half years old so that she would learn something. The neighbor said that they saw the teacher whip my child with a belt. So I brought my baby home after only one day. I paid already too.*

P.2.: *Far away from the parents' eyes and ears.*

P.3.: *I used to take care of children, and I would take them to a place like that. Every morning and afternoon the babies would cry for their mother.*

P.2.: *Yes, the fact that the children didn't want to go. There must have been something wrong. Young children remember these things forever. If they know the place is not good they will never want to go.* **(Factory women's focus group)**

> *I took my older daughter to a nursery for one week and my daughter cried every day. So I went to check during the naptime. They have a regulation to bring a pillow and mattress to the nursery and we bought a good one, but in the end they made my child sleep on the floor and gave my child whatever pillow was there. And they leave the children, hardly taking care of them. What the heck kind of nursery is that? It was 1100 baht a month, and they would send my child home dirty; her hair was a mess. Sometimes they sent her home with wet pants. It was not good at all, and so I took her out.* **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

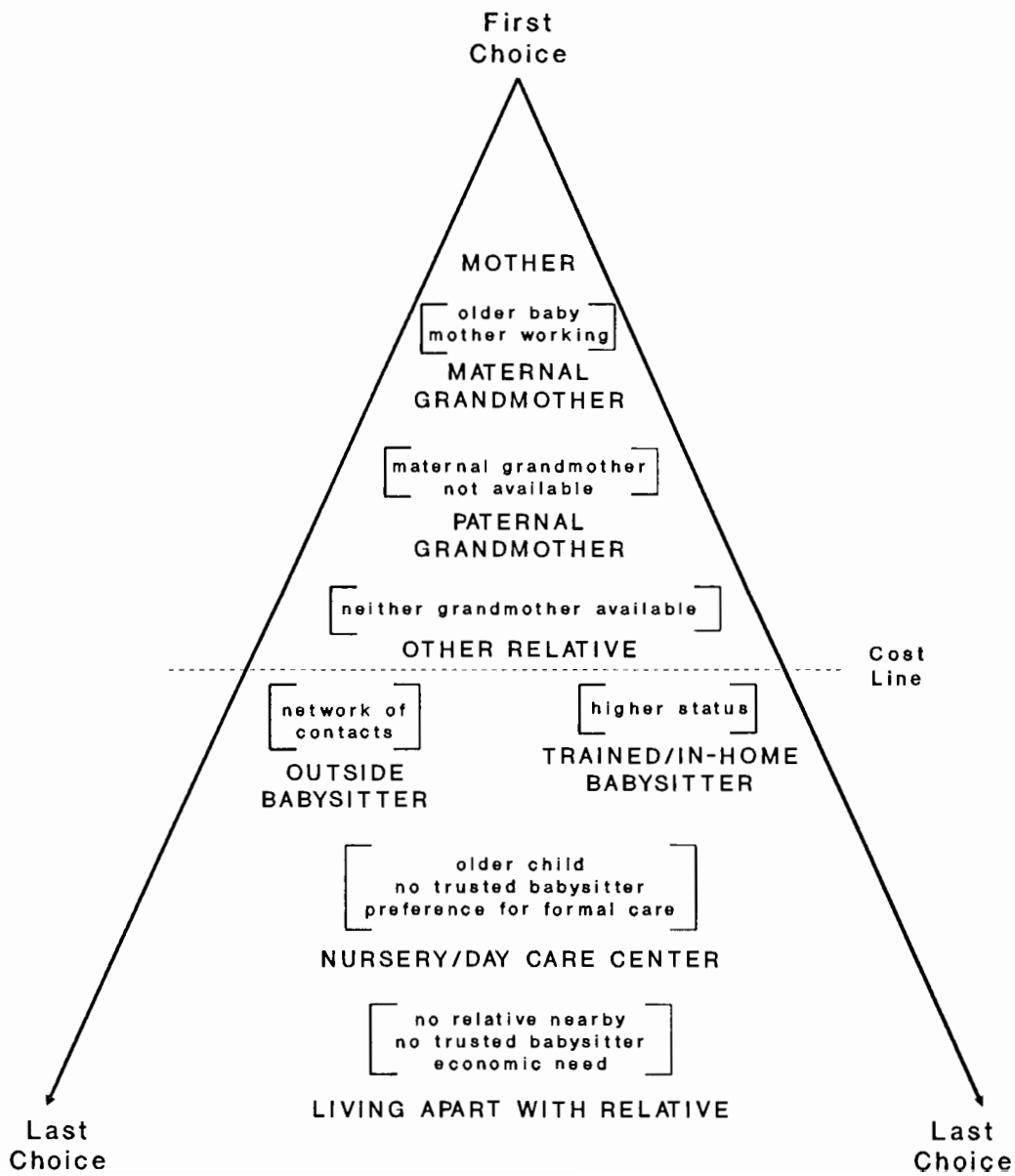
It appears that the quality of nurseries and pre-schools in Bangkok varies a great deal, and that high fees do not guarantee good quality care. Respondents generally had more positive comments about their children's pre-schools than about experiences with nurseries; in fact they seemed to know much less about the schools once the children reached this age, and said mainly that the schools "seemed to be good."

A Model of Child Care Decision-Making

While there is some degree of consensus among parents about the ideal form of care, particularly for the youngest children, there are many considerations which dictate the actual form of care chosen. The qualitative phase of the research clearly showed that the priority for working parents is to have someone they can trust to care for their children, if not a relative then someone recommended by a relative or otherwise known to them. Determinants of the form of care chosen thus include not only the economic status of the family, but also the availability of relatives and the informal networks of non-relatives available as babysitters. While we had assumed that living apart from young children was a last resort dictated by economic necessity, we found that even some high status women chose to send their children to relatives up-country if they did not have a trusted babysitter in Bangkok. Thus the rapidity of socioeconomic change has resulted not only in new choices but in unfamiliar challenges for working parents.

For these reasons, the model of child care decision-making that we have developed (Figure 4.1) is in the form of a prism. As women move farther away from their first choice of child care, they are faced both with more choices and more factors to consider. Costs (which may be real costs, opportunity costs, or emotional costs) only become a factor if no relative is available to care for the child. While some of the considerations (listed in brackets) that women must make in their decision-making are based on economic status, others are based more on personal preference. And as the choice of child care moves further away from the apex of the prism, the clarity of the choice becomes more fuzzy and the decision-making process less defined. This model forms the background of the findings presented below.

Figure 4.1 A model of child care decision-making



Chapter 5 Type of Child Care: Household Survey Results

The model of child care decision-making presented in the previous chapter provides a foundation for examining the findings of the household survey, which are based on complete child care histories for the first, second and youngest child of the women respondents.[1] After presenting detailed information on type of child care by age, trends in type of care over time, and differentials by mother's education, we turn our attention to the situation of the children of working women. Choices about type of care should be viewed both in light of the preferences described above and the constraints that women face in combining their work and family life.

Type of Care by Age

Table 5.1 presents findings from the household survey on type of child care experienced by children at age six months and one, two, three and four years. It is seen that the proportion of children cared for by their mother decreased with age, from 62% of children at age six months to 28% at age four. Even at age six months, only 39% of children were cared for by a non-working mother; another 23% were cared for by a mother who combined work and child care in the home or outside. Care by relatives in the home was the second largest category of care up until age three (about 16%) and the most common caregiver was the maternal grandparents. In total, up until age three more than one-fifth of children (about 22%) were cared for in the home by a relative or non-relative; when combined with those cared for by their mother, from 80-85% of children under age three were cared for in their own home.

Turning to the 15-20% of children under age three who were not cared for at home, it is seen that more than half of them (from 8-10%) lived separately from their mothers, and most of these lived outside Bangkok. Only about 3% were cared for by a relative outside the home and only 4% by a non-relative, with very few in a nursery facility at these young ages. In other words, if a mother did not have a relative or babysitter to care for her child at home, she was as likely to live separately from the child as to find a child care arrangement (whether a relative, babysitter or nursery) where she picked up the child every day after work.

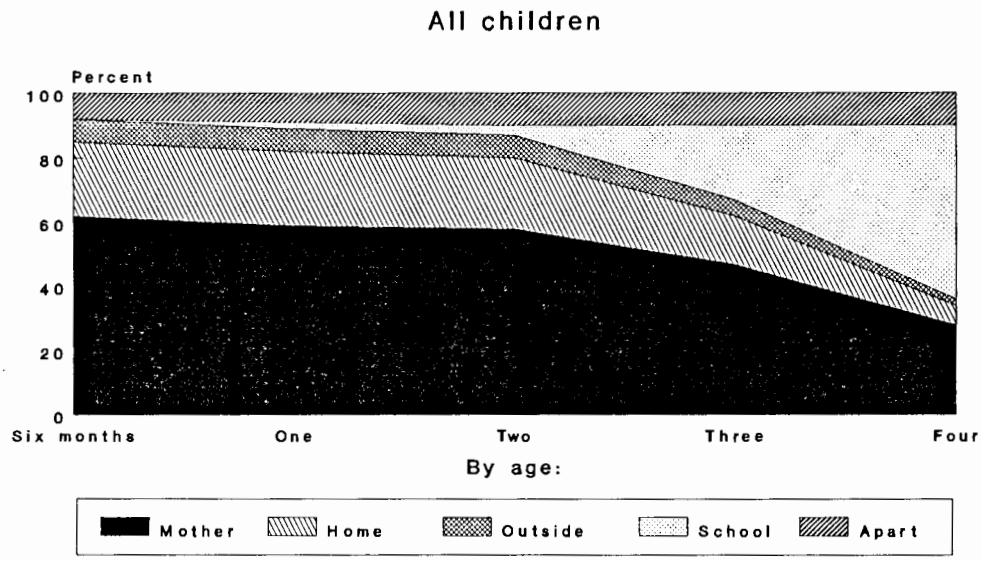
Table 5.1 Child care at various ages

	Age of child				
	6 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
Mother	***61.7***	***58.8***	***57.8***	***47.3***	***28.3***
Not working	*(38.7)*	*(35.9)*	*(33.7)*	*(26.9)*	*(15.8)*
Alone	35.9	33.5	31.6	25.7	15.1
With relatives/others	2.8	2.4	2.1	1.2	0.7
Working at home	*(20.9)*	*(20.6)*	*(21.6)*	*(17.3)*	*(10.4)*
Alone	18.3	18.1	19.0	15.5	9.1
With relatives/others	2.6	2.5	2.6	1.8	1.3
Taking child to work	*(2.1)*	*(2.3)*	*(2.5)*	*(3.1)*	*(2.1)*
Care by others at home	***22.9***	***23.3***	***22.2***	***15.2***	***6.2***
Relatives	*(16.8)*	*(17.1)*	*(15.9)*	*(12.2)*	*(5.4)*
Father	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.7
Maternal grandparents	6.4	6.5	5.9	4.6	2.3
Paternal grandparents	4.1	4.5	4.4	3.2	0.8
Other relatives	5.3	5.2	4.8	3.4	1.6
Non-relatives	*(6.1)*	*(6.2)*	*(6.3)*	*(3.0)*	*(0.8)*
Informal care outside the home	***7.0***	***7.4***	***6.6***	***4.5***	***1.8***
Relatives	*(2.6)*	*(3.3)*	*(3.1)*	*(2.2)*	*(0.8)*
Maternal grandparents	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.4
Paternal grandparents	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.3
Other relatives	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.1
Non-relatives	*(4.4)*	*(4.1)*	*(3.5)*	*(2.3)*	*(1.0)*
Nursery/school	***0.4***	***1.6***	***3.5***	***23.4***	***53.7***
Living apart	***7.9***	***8.7***	***9.9***	***9.6***	***10.1***
In Bangkok	*(3.1)*	*(3.1)*	*(2.9)*	*(2.4)*	*(2.6)*
With relatives	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.5
With non-relatives	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.1
Outside Bangkok	*(4.8)*	*(5.7)*	*(7.0)*	*(7.2)*	*(7.5)*
With relatives	4.7	5.6	6.9	7.2	7.3
With non-relatives	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	*(1908)*	*(1825)*	*(1632)*	*(1488)*	*(1353)*

For older children, a substantial number of those age three started preschool (23%) and by age four over half (53%) were in school. But the percentage living separately remained at about 10% at these ages, implying that most children did not return to Bangkok to begin pre-school.

Figure 5.1 gives a picture of the distribution of type of care over the first five years. It shows the steady decline in care by the mother and corresponding increase in nursery/pre-school attendance. Care by others in the home or outside the home also declined with age, while living apart, though relatively less frequent, remained fairly constant over the age span.

Figure 5.1 Type of care by age



Trends Over Time

Table 5.2 shows trends over time in type of child care at various ages by looking at care for different birth cohorts. In general, and perhaps surprisingly, we do not find dramatic recent changes in child care arrangements for children under age three. Care by the mother dropped sharply for births after 1977 as compared with earlier cohorts, but has not changed much since that time. For children under age three, this decline is matched by a corresponding increase in the percent cared for by others at home or outside.

Table 5.2 Care at various ages by birth cohort

	Year of Birth				Total
	Before 1977	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1990	
Age 6 months					
Mother	66	60	61	61	62
At home	20	22	25	23	23
Outside home	5	6	6	9	7
Nursery	1	0	0	1	0
Living apart	8	11	7	6	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(279)	(397)	(580)	(652)	(1908)
Age 1 year					
Mother	63	58	60	58	59
At home	20	22	24	24	23
Outside Home	5	8	7	9	7
Nursery	1	1	2	2	2
Living apart	10	12	8	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(285)	(403)	(586)	(551)	(1825)
Age 2 years					
Mother	63	56	57	56	58
At home	20	21	24	22	22
Outside home	5	8	5	8	7
Nursery	1	2	4	5	3
Living apart	11	13	9	8	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(285)	(404)	(592)	(351)	(1632)
Age 3 years					
Mother	53	44	46	**	47
At home	17	15	14	**	15
Outside Home	2	6	4	**	4
School	17	22	28	**	24
Living apart	11	13	8	**	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(290)	(416)	(598)	(**)	(1304)
Age 4 years					
Mother	32	26	28	**	28
At home	8	6	5	**	6
Outside Home	1	3	2	**	2
School	47	53	57	**	54
Living apart	12	12	8	**	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(296)	(421)	(613)	(**)	(1330)

** Insufficient cases.

For those age three and four, there is a clear trend for an increasing percentage of children to attend nursery/pre-school. Of those born before 1977, 16% attended school at age three while 28% of those born 1982-86 did so; for age four the percentage rose from 47 to 57%. Even among two-year-olds, the percentage in formal care rose slightly (from 1% to 5%).

For all age groups the peak in the percentage living separately occurred for the 1977-81 birth cohort. The reasons for this trend are not known; it may be that this was a period of heavy in-migration to Bangkok. There does seem to be evidence of a slight decline in the percentage of children living apart since that time, especially for older children: from 11-13% of those born 1977-81 to 6-8% of recent birth cohorts. This may be because children are more likely to be placed in formal care rather than sent to live elsewhere.

Type of Care by Mother's Age and Education

To simplify our presentation, for the remainder of the chapter we examine differentials in child care for children age two only. Table 5.1 above showed little difference in type of care between children aged six months and one and two years, and so this age group is illustrative of the entire period of the child's first three years. Age two is a particularly active age when it is difficult for women to combine work and child care, but when most feel the child is too young to enter a nursery or pre-school. Entrance into formal care, which is the most important change for children age three to five, is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Mother's age at a child's birth is strongly related to her educational attainment, which is also an indicator of her socioeconomic status. Chronological age may also measure of a woman's years of experience in the labor market, and also the availability of older relatives such as the grandmother to care for young children. Table 5.3 examines child care at age two years by mother's age at the time of the child's birth. It is seen that children of younger mothers were most likely to be cared for by a non-working mother, while children of older mothers were most likely to have a mother who combined work and child care. The result of these patterns is that children of mothers in the middle age group (25-29) were the least likely to be cared for by their mother. Of children not cared for by their mother, those with a young mother were much more likely to live apart: 16% of those born to a mother under age 20 lived apart at age two, vs. 12% whose mother was age 20-24 and only 5% for those with mothers over age 30. Children of older mothers were correspondingly more likely to be cared for at home, and the percentage being cared for by a non-relative increased with mother's age. They were also more likely to be in a formal facility at age two, likely due to the higher educational attainment of older mothers.

Table 5.4 examines child care at age two years by mother's educational level, for the total sample and for the sub-sample of children of working women. Looking at the total figures first, it is seen that children of more educated mothers were less likely to be cared for by their mother. This is especially true for children of university-educated mothers, where only 15% were cared for by their mother at age two. Over half (58%)

of children whose mothers had a secondary education and over two-thirds (68-70%) of those with primary education were cared for by their mother.

Table 5.3 Child care at age two by mother's age at child's birth

	Mother's age at birth of child					Total
	<20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35+	
Child care type						
Mother	59	62	53	55	65	58
Non-working	(34)	(39)	(32)	(26)	(29)	(34)
Working	(25)	(23)	(21)	(29)	(36)	(24)
Home						
Relative	17	13	20	14	12	16
Non-relative	2	3	8	14	9	6
Outside home						
Relative	4	3	4	2	2	3
Non-relative	2	4	4	5	3	4
Nursery	1	3	4	5	5	4
Living apart	16	12	8	5	5	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(197)	(577)	(549)	(243)	(66)	(1632)

For children of working mothers, it is seen that combining work with child care is strongly related to education. Over half (52%) of two-year-olds whose mothers had less than primary graduation and were working were cared for by their mother, but only 6% of those with university-educated mothers were in this category. Care by relatives in the home was quite common for those whose mothers had at least a secondary education (31-37%), and a high proportion of children of university-educated mothers were cared for by a non-relative in the home (25%). This re-emphasizes the findings of the qualitative phase of the study, which found that higher-status women prefer a live-in servant to care for their children. Children of mothers who completed some secondary school had the highest percentage living apart (21%), which is in contrast to the finding in Table 5.3 which showed children of the youngest mothers were most likely to live apart. As expected from the qualitative evidence on preferences, those whose mothers had a university education had the highest percentage attending a nursery at age two (8%).

Table 5.4 Type of child care at age two by mother's educational level, for all children and for children of working mothers

	< Primary Grad.	Primary Grad.	Secondary	University	Total
Total					
Mother	69	68	58	15	56
Not working	(38)	(38)	(43)	(8)	(33)
Working	(32)	(29)	(15)	(6)	(23)
Home					
Relative	13	11	16	34	17
Non-relative	0	3	4	23	6
Outside home					
Relative	3	3	2	5	3
Non-relative	1	3	4	5	4
Nursery/school	4	3	3	7	4
Living apart	10	9	13	11	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(101)	(952)	(223)	(297)	(1573)
Working mothers					
Mother	52	48	24	6	34
Home					
Relative	22	20	31	37	26
Non-relative	--	4	9	25	10
Outside home					
Relative	3	5	4	6	5
Non-relative	2	6	9	5	6
Nursery	5	3	2	8	4
Living apart	16	14	21	13	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(60)	(522)	(105)	(265)	(952)

Type of Care by Father's Characteristics

Though husbands and wives are usually quite similar in terms of education and occupational status, characteristics of the father are important indicators of a family's economic position. While women make substantial contributions to household income in Thailand, the husband's earning status is a significant determinant of the ability of a mother to forgo working to care for the child or conversely, to pay for alternative child care if she wishes to work. While Table 5.5 shows similar patterns of child care by father's education to that seen for mothers, the differentials are not as sharply drawn. This is to be expected since mother's education is a stronger determinant of her work status and child care needs. Thus 31% of children whose father had a university education were cared for by their mother, compared with only 15% of those whose mothers attended university. Care by a nursery is strongly related to father's education, but somewhat surprisingly the fact that the father has a high education does not have an impact on the percentage of children living apart.

Table 5.5 Child care at age two by father's educational level

	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Mother	70	57	31	58
Non-working	(40)	(38)	(17)	(34)
Working	(30)	(19)	(16)	(24)
Home				
Relative	11	17	26	16
Non-relative	1	7	17	7
Outside home				
Relative	3	2	4	3
Non-relative	3	4	4	4
Nursery	2	4	7	4
Living apart from mother	11	9	9	10
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(813)	(381)	(387)	(1581)

In Table 5.6 we examine type of care by father's occupation. Those with fathers in a high status occupation are least likely to be cared for by their mother and most likely to be in a nursery. Children whose fathers worked in services or manufacturing were more likely to be cared for by their mother, but also had a high percentage living apart. Those whose fathers worked in sales were most likely to be cared for by their mother (67%), but a high percentage of this care was by working mothers (32%); this is likely because these families have their own business. The few cases of children whose father was not working had a high percentage cared for by a relative at home (40%), and for 8% this relative was their father. Children of fathers who did not live with the child's mother are examined separately here; in most cases the parents were separated or divorced. A high percentage in this category were living apart from their mother (24%), and in only one case the child was living with the father but separately from the mother. Very few of those living with their mother were cared for by them, and especially few by a non-working mother (24%), indicating that these are likely to be single parent families where the mother is solely or mainly responsible for supporting the child.

Table 5.6 Child care at age two by father's occupation

	Father Living with Mother						Father Not Living with Mother	Total
	Prof/ Tech.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Ser- vice	Manu- facture	Not- working		
Mother	27	43	67	57	53	44	42	56
Non-working	(17)	(31)	(35)	(34)	(39)	(32)	(24)	(34)
Working	(10)	(12)	(32)	(23)	(24)	(12)	(18)	(22)
At home								
Relative	28	23	10	19	14	40	19	17
Non-relative	25	12	6	4	2	--	5	7
Outside home								
Relative	1	2	5	2	4	--	3	3
Non-relative	4	10	--	6	2	4	9	4
Nursery	7	4	4	2	3	--	--	4
Apart from mother	9	7	8	11	11	12	24	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(163)	(155)	(261)	(133)	(726)	(25)	(80)	(1513)

In general, while characteristics of the father help to determine the socioeconomic status of the household, the findings indicate that it is the mother's work status that is the strongest determinant of type of child care.

Child Care for Working Mothers

The remainder of the chapter examines the sub-sample of children whose mothers were working when they were less than five years old. As seen above, children of more educated mothers were less likely to be cared for by their own mother, as she was more likely to be working and less likely to be able to combine child care and work. Type of care may also vary a great deal by occupation and work status, both because of the differences in preferences described above and the different constraints placed on working women based on their work and financial status.

Length of maternity leave and breastfeeding

Table 5.7 below shows the length of time that women stopped working to give birth by their work status, work place and occupation. In total over half of working women (53%) stopped working for 30 days or less; another 33% took from 1-2 months, with only about 14% stopping work for longer than 60 days.

Looking at the results by work status, it is seen that leave times generally conform to the regulations of private companies (usually 30 days) and government ministries (45 days until recently).[2] Most private employees (57%) took 30 days or less though a substantial minority (29%) took from 31-60 days. The majority of those working as a government employee (64%) took 31-45 days leave, though many (26%) took even less than this. Women who worked in the informal sector outside the home, either on their own account or in a family business, had a larger percentage taking either very short (8% less than 16 days) or longer (29% two months or more) leave times. These were largely sales workers, and it is likely that those without a relative to care for the child had to balance the length of time they could afford to take off work with the need for paid child care. Women working at home tended to take little time off from work, likely because it was easy for them to combine work and child care.

Regarding occupation, among private employees professional/administrative workers tended to take the least amount of time off (71% one month or less). A large percentage of manufacturing employees (24%) stopped working for two months or more; it is likely that these women quit their jobs and then started working again, since many manufacturing companies have strict rules requiring workers to be single and may even fire workers who become pregnant (Tonguthai and Pattaravanich 1992). Among those working at home, service workers (such as hairdressers and dressmakers living in a shophouse) tended to take very short leaves (67% one month or less), with sales and manufacturing workers stopping work for a relatively longer time.

Table 5.7 Length of maternity leave by work status, work place and occupation

	1-15 days	16-30 days	31-45 days	46-60 days	>2 months	Total	(N)
Private Employees outside the home	**2**	**55**	**17**	**12**	**14**	**100**	**(430)**
Profession/admin	0	71	16	5	8	100	(63)
Clerical	2	56	28	9	5	100	(128)
Sales	5	54	15	15	12	100	(41)
Services	3	52	17	9	19	100	(58)
Manufacturing	3	49	6	18	24	100	(140)
Goverment employees	**2**	**24**	**64**	**9**	**1**	**100**	**(152)**
Own/account family workers* outside the home	**8**	**45**	**7**	**12**	**29**	**100**	**(76)**
Home workers	**10**	**47**	**12**	**12**	**19**	**100**	**(275)**
Sales	5	51	18	9	17	100	(94)
Services	19	48	6	9	19	100	(54)
Manufacturing	9	44	9	17	21	100	(127)
Total	5	48	22	11	14	100	(984)

* Mainly Sales Workers

Regulations on the length of maternity leave have a strong impact on the ability of mothers to breastfeed their babies. As shown in Table 5.8, more than half of non-working women (51%) breastfed their babies for at least six months; only 16% did not breastfeed at all and only 13% for one month or less. Home workers breastfed their babies for about the same length of time as those who did not work. But more than half of employees working outside the home breastfed for a month or less or not at all (58%). Corresponding to the leave times discussed above, among employees professional/administrative mothers breastfed for a relatively shorter time and manufacturing workers relatively longer. Government employees had a higher percentage breastfeeding for at least two months than private employees (52 vs. 42%). It is clear that women find it difficult or impossible to breastfeed when they work in the formal sector, and that the strict leave policies in this sector inhibit this important source of nutrition and child development. Yet own account/family workers working outside the home had the shortest duration of breastfeeding (22% did not breastfeed at all and 37% one month or less), reflecting their financial inability to take much time away from work.

Table 5.8 Length of time child was breastfed by mother's work status

	Not breastfed	One month or less	2-5 months	6 months or more	Total
Not working	16	13	20	51	100
Employees outside the home	17	41	22	20	100
Profession/admin	16	57	10	17	100
Clerical	16	48	25	11	100
Sales	17	44	20	19	100
Services	14	36	26	24	100
Manufacturing	19	28	23	29	100
Goverment employees	19	29	38	14	100
*Own/account family workers outside the home**	22	37	24	17	100
Home workers	12	15	22	51	100
Sales	12	19	37	22	100
Services	11	17	19	53	100
Manufacturing	13	12	11	64	100
Total	16	23	23	38	100

* Mainly Sales Workers

Type of care by mother's work status and occupation

Table 5.9 shows the type of care at age two for children of working mothers by their mother's work status, work place and occupation. In total nearly a third (32%) of these children were cared for by a mother who combined work and child care. The majority of the rest were cared for at home by a relative (27%) or non-relative (11%); but a substantial proportion (15%) were living apart from their mother.

Table 5.9 Child care for children age two by work status, work place and occupation

	Outside the home						Own account family workers	Working at home				Total
	Employee/government worker											
	Prof./ Admin.	Cler- ical	Sales	Ser- vices	Manu- facturing	Total		Sales	Ser- vices	Manu- facturing	Total	
Mother	0	0	7	13	8	4	35	77	76	87	82	32
At home	69	62	43	49	44	55	35	10	12	3	7	38
Relative	(40)	(44)	(33)	(44)	(36)	(40)	(25)	(7)	(10)	(1)	(4)	(27)
Non-relative	(29)	(18)	(10)	(5)	(8)	(15)	(10)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(11)
Outside home	12	17	26	14	15	16	7	0	2	6	3	11
Relative	(5)	(7)	(14)	(3)	(6)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(5)	(2)	(5)
Non-relative	(7)	(10)	(12)	(11)	(9)	(9)	(5)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(6)
Nursery	7	7	7	3	3	5	1	7	6	0	3	4
Living apart	12	14	17	22	31	19	22	7	4	5	5	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(113)	(156)	(42)	(64)	(143)	(518)	(104)	(93)	(50)	(130)	(273)	(901)

Private or government employees working outside the home were rarely able to combine work and child care, but a large percentage of their children were cared for by someone else at home. The percentage cared for by a relative at home was similar across occupations, but those with mothers in white collar occupations (professional/ administrative or clerical) were especially likely to be cared for by a servant at home (18-29%). These children were also more likely to attend a nursery (7%). For children of women in blue collar occupations (services or manufacturing), a large percentage were living apart from their mothers (22-31%). These results reflect how the difficulty for private employees to find child care varies by their financial status: nearly all are unable to combine work and child care, but those who cannot find a relative to care for their child and cannot afford to pay a nursery or non-relative may be forced to live separately.

As evidenced by the flexibility in maternity leave seen above, women working in a family business or on their own account were often able to combine child care and work, even though they worked outside the home. About one-third (35%) of these children were cared for by their mother, but another 22% were living apart, reflecting these women's lower income status. Children whose mothers worked at home were for the most part cared for by their mothers (82%), especially for those whose mothers did manufacturing work at home (87%). Relatively more children of sales workers at home attended a nursery (7%) or lived apart (7%).

Discussion

For the most part, we have found that the pattern of child care for children under five closely conforms to the preference schedule described in Chapter 4. A high percentage of children were cared for by their mothers or a relative when they were under age three, and a majority entered pre-school by age four. We found little change over time in type of care, except that recent cohorts were more likely to enter a pre-school or nursery at an earlier age. There were significant differences in type of child care by mother's age and education, though both of these variables are strongly related to mother's work status. Older mothers were more likely to be able to combine work and child care, while children of younger mothers were more likely to live apart. Children of more educated mothers were less likely to be cared for by their mother, but were often cared for at home by a relative or non-relative.

Many working mothers were able to combine child care and work: nearly a third of children of working mothers aged two were cared for by their mother. But this percentage varied greatly by the mother's type of work, and women working outside the home often resorted to living separately from their children, especially those in lower status occupations. The policies of private companies and government agencies are clearly reflected in the short maternity leaves and breastfeeding times of employees working outside the home. Children of mothers working at home were breastfed for almost the same length of time as those of non-working mothers. Overall it may be said that women who work outside the home have had to choose participation in the formal labor market over spending time with their children, even when they were very

young babies. Those fortunate enough to live with a relative may make this choice without worrying about their child's welfare; and higher status women with the resources to pay for a live-in babysitter may also feel satisfied with their child care situation. But a high percentage of children with mothers in blue collar occupations or working on their own account were forced to live separately. The implications of these findings are discussed further in Chapter 11.

Notes

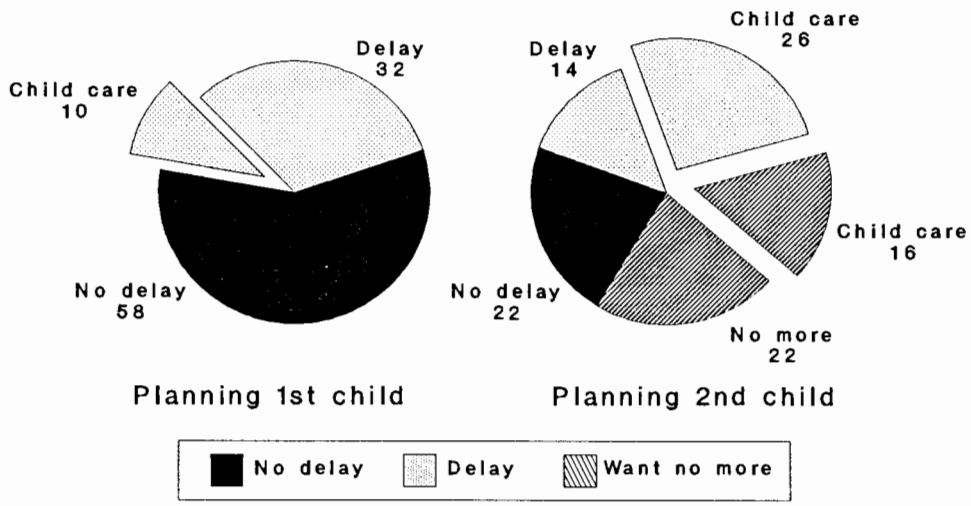
1. Further details on the sample of children see Appendix 2.
2. For private companies, the labor law states that permanent employees (who worked for at least 180 days) must be given 30 days sick leave with pay and an additional 60 days of leave without pay. In the past government workers were given 60 days with pay (30 days plus an additional 30 with a doctor's advice), and an additional 30 days without pay. Recently this was extended to 60 days maternity leave with pay plus an additional 30 days if another type of leave is used (e.g., sick leave); they may then take another 150 days of leave without pay without losing their position. For state enterprises the regulations vary but the minimum is 30-60 days with pay.

Chapter 6 Child Care and Fertility

Within one generation, Thailand has experienced a dramatic drop in family size, and this is particularly true for Bangkok women. The 1990 Census found that the average number of children born to ever-married Bangkok women was 2.35, vs. 2.96 for the country as a whole. Although the fertility decline means that Thai women spend fewer years tied down with the care of young children, it also means that fewer older children are available to care for their younger siblings. As discussed further below, a decline in co-residence with the extended family may also make it more difficult for mothers to find a relative to care for a young child. Combined with the rising cost of living, the increasing need for women to contribute to family income, and escalating time pressures for Bangkok residents, it seems likely that child care concerns would begin to have an influence on women's fertility planning. We explored these issues both in the qualitative and quantitative phases of the project.

Child care considerations may affect fertility in various ways. Women may limit the number of children they have because they have no one to care for them and cannot afford to stop working; they also may delay their first or subsequent births due to child care factors. For Bangkok women, especially those who work, the two-child family has become the almost universal norm. Respondents who were interviewed in-depth were asked how many children they would have if they had no financial worries; almost all replied that they would still have no more than two. Most cited limitations on their own energy and their wish for a secure future for their children as their reasons for limiting their family size. Respondents in the household survey were also asked about their current fertility preferences as to the number of children they planned to have and whether they were currently delaying the next birth. If they were delaying their first or subsequent birth they were asked the most important reasons for delaying. The results are shown in Figure 6.1. About 40% of women with no children were delaying their first birth, and of these about one fourth said that child care concerns were a primary or secondary reason that they were delaying. As expected, child care issues were a major concern for women who already had one child. More than one third (38%) of those with one child said they planned to have no more children, and nearly half of these said that child care concerns, such as child care expenses or having no one to care for a baby, were major reasons for not wanting another child. Of those who planned to have a second child, about two-thirds were delaying the second birth and of these nearly two-thirds listed child care as a major reason for delaying.

Figure 6.1 Current fertility planning



The household survey asked women when they began to think about or plan for child care for each of their children. They were asked to choose between four categories of child care planning: 1) that they delayed pregnancy due to child care concerns; 2) that they thought about child care before becoming pregnant but didn't delay pregnancy; 3) that they thought about child care after becoming pregnant; or 4) that they did not think about or plan for child care for this child. Of course, women who already had a satisfactory child care arrangement, such as co-residence with a relative, may have described themselves as being in the fourth category. Table 6.1 shows evidence that child care has become of increasing concern to Bangkok women, as the percentage who said that they delayed pregnancy or at least thought about child care has dramatically increased for recent birth cohorts. While only 13% of first births and 22% of second births before 1977 were delayed for this reason, one third (33%) of first births and over half (53%) of second births after 1986 were delayed. As expected, the percentage delaying or at least planning for child care is much higher for second births than for first births.

Of interest is the difference in child care planning for women of different educational backgrounds, shown in Table 6.2. As expected, women of higher educational level, who are also more likely to be working, were more likely to delay and to think about child care arrangements for their first child. But there is very little difference in spacing or planning for the second child by educational level. This may be because better educated women also are more likely to have the resources to pay for alternative arrangements; they may already have a satisfactory child care arrangement in place for their first child. Women of lower socioeconomic status may have a much harder time finding child care for their second child; they may be relying on an older relative such as the grandmother who is unable to handle two young active children, for example.

Table 6.1 Child care planning by child's birth cohort, first and second births

	Year of Birth				Total
	Before 1977	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1990	
First Child					
Thought about child care before becoming pregnant					
Delayed pregnancy due to child care problems	13	17	24	33	25
Didn't delay pregnancy	20	25	27	23	24
Thought about child care after becoming pregnant	5	5	7	10	7
Didn't think about or plan for child care	62	53	42	34	44
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(189)	(240)	(335)	(453)	(1217)
Second Child					
Thought about child care before becoming pregnant					
Delayed pregnancy due to child care problems	22	34	41	53	41
Didn't delay pregnancy	15	23	17	17	18
Thought about child care after becoming pregnant	7	6	4	5	5
Didn't think about or plan for child care	56	37	38	25	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(95)	(140)	(190)	(255)	(680)

Table 6.2 Child care planning by mother's educational level, first and second births

	Educational Level				Total
	Less than Primary	Primary Grade	Secon-dary	University	
First Child					
Thought about child care before becoming pregnant					
Delayed pregnancy due to child care problems	15	25	23	27	25
Didn't delay pregnancy	22	22	20	31	24
Thought about child care after becoming pregnant	4	7	9	7	7
Didn't think about or plan for child care	59	46	48	35	44
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(54)	(674)	(211)	(278)	(1217)
Second Child					
Thought about child care before becoming pregnant					
Delayed pregnancy due to child care problems	35	43	41	38	41
Didn't delay pregnancy	25	16	15	24	18
Thought about child care after becoming pregnant	5	4	8	8	5
Didn't think about or plan for child care	35	37	36	30	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(43)	(403)	(107)	(127)	(680)

Respondents who were interviewed in-depth were asked whether they had thought about who would care for their child, either before they got pregnant or after they were pregnant. For the first child, most said that they had not thought about child care before getting pregnant, in some cases because the child was unplanned.

> *It's like we got married and I wanted to have a child and my husband wanted to have a child; just one is good. So we never thought about it when we had the first child. Then for the second child we thought we shouldn't have it yet because we weren't ready and we were in (financial) trouble; but for the first one we didn't think.* **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

Others had a relative available to care for the child, and in some cases this directly affected their decision-making about fertility.

> *First I wanted to wait for years (to have the first child) but my husband's mother said she was getting old and if I did not have a baby soon she would not take care of it because she would be too old.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

> *I waited for four years (to have the second child) until I could find someone to care for it and then my husband's mother said to have another one, so I did. She cared for the first child in her home and I went to see the child on weekends. For the second one she said she would come live in our home to take care of it so we decided to have it.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

Others found that the plans they made for the child did not work out in reality. Several (especially the lowest income women) thought they would care for their child themselves and then found that economic circumstances dictated that they work. Others had counted on the grandmother to care for the baby, but later found that this was not possible due to health reasons or because she was working herself.

Our findings confirm that child care is an increasingly important issue for Bangkok families, and that it is a major reason for delaying and/or limiting births. This is particularly true for the second birth, and multivariate analysis should shed further light on this process.

Chapter 7 Role of the Father and the Extended Family

While the mother is usually listed as the first choice for care of young children, many feel that the preferred situation is to have the involvement of many family members in child care and socialization. The participants in the focus group sessions clearly felt that family closeness was important for child development. Support of other family members is particularly important when the mother is working outside the home, and we investigated how this may be changing recently for Bangkok families.

Father's Participation in Care of Young Children

With increasing participation of women in the labor force, it seems likely that fathers would play a greater role in child care than they have in the past. As discussed above (Table 4.1), a substantial number of respondents in the household survey said that the father was the best second choice to the mother if she was not available; the proportion ranged from 14% for babies under 6 months to 6% for 3-5-year-olds. At young ages, a substantial minority would choose the father as the second choice (11-14%). Yet very few fathers were found to be directly responsible for child care when the mother was working (less than 1% in each age category).

In the in-depth interviews, respondents were asked about the father's degree of involvement in childrearing, and if they believed that fathers should share responsibility for child care. Most said that the father's involvement was important for their child's development, for them to feel warm and secure. When asked how much their husbands helped in caring for young children, most said that their husband's helped "when they are free." None of the women interviewed in the qualitative phase of the study relied on their husbands for regular care of young children while they were working, although a few said that their husband picked up the child from school. But although the women said that their husbands do not help them much, they also did not expect more involvement because they considered child care to be their own major responsibility. Conflicts reported about childrearing were about disciplining or spoiling the child rather than not helping with child care.

A men's focus group discussion was included in the study in order to examine men's involvement in and attitudes towards the care of young children. For the most part, the men's group did not have a great deal to say about these issues, although some

participants reported more involvement than others. While the men generally agreed that they should take equal responsibility for child care, they seemed to be more involved with their older children than with young babies. When asked opinions about various forms of child care, they seemed to have little experience with decision-making, aside from a few "horror stories" they had heard about babysitters or nurseries. It should be noted however that several of these men had wives who did not work and cared for their children full time. The main issues of concern to the men were about expenses and about disciplining children. Respondents in the household survey were asked specifically about the degree to which fathers were involved in various child care activities for the first, second and youngest child. Only results for the first child are presented here. As shown in Table 7.1, responses varied by type of activity. Fathers were much more likely to play with the child or take them out for fun than to be involved in routine care such as taking a bath or feeding, or to do domestic tasks such as cleaning or washing clothes. Nearly a third (30%) said that the father took care of the child when the mother was not there either every day or every time the mother was not there.

Table 7.1 Degree of participation of fathers in various child care activities for the first child

	Never	Some times	Often	Every day/ every time	Total	(N)
Playing with, taking out for fun	8	27	40	22	100	(1295)
Looking after when mother is not there	19	29	23	30	100	(1295)
Getting up at night	25	31	24	19	100	(1296)
Giving a bath, feeding	25	33	30	13	100	(1296)
Taking to school	24	36	19	21	100	(490)
Cleaning, washing clothes	38	29	23	11	100	(1296)

Examining the degree of participation by father's educational level, it is seen that those with more education were more likely to participate in child care (Table 7.2); but the results varied by activity. Nearly 80% of men at the university level played with their child or took them out for fun, compared with 58% of those with a primary education; and the respective figures for getting up with the child at night were 53% and 39%. But the range by educational level for other activities was much narrower: 51-57% for looking after when the mother was not there, 39-45% for giving a bath/feeding, and 30-38% for cleaning/washing clothes.

Table 7.2 Percent of fathers who participated in child care of the first child often or every day/every time, by activity and father's educational level

	Educational Level			Total
	Primary Grade or less	Secondary/ adult education	University	
Playing with, taking out for fun	58	58	78	66
Looking after when mother is not there	51	53	57	53
Getting up at night	39	44	53	44
Giving a bath, feeding	39	45	45	42
Taking to school	35	40	45	40
Cleaning, washing clothes	30	36	38	33
(N)	(590)	(324)	(338)	(1252)

Interestingly, an examination of change in father's involvement over time shows a lesser degree of change in these same (more mundane) activities (Table 7.3). In other words, men are now much more likely to play with their children then in the past (74% for children born since 1986 vs. 48% for those born before 1972) but only somewhat likely to bathe/feed them (49% vs. 37%).

Table 7.3 Percent of fathers who participated in child care of the first child often or every day/every time, by activity and birth cohort of child

	Year of Birth				Total
	Before 1977	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1990	
Playing with, taking out for fun	51	61	66	74	64
Looking after when mother is not there	46	47	59	57	53
Getting up at night	35	37	47	47	43
Giving a bath, feeding	33	37	45	49	42
Taking to school	33	38	45	46	40
Cleaning, washing clothes	25	26	36	37	32
(N)	(229)	(266)	(353)	(447)	(1295)

The focus group sessions revealed similar differences in father's participation by social status. The informal sector women's focus group maintained that the main responsibility of the man is to bring income into the household.

P.1.: *If he doesn't want to help, if we force him then we end up quarrelling so it's better for us to do it alone.*
Mod.: *You don't think the responsibility should be 50:50 between husband and wife?*
P.1.: *It's more like 80:20.* **(Informal sector women's focus group)**

Women in the blue collar worker's focus group discussion also said that their husbands were not very involved in raising the children.

Most of the husbands take part in the liquor circle party. I get fed up with it. He thinks that "Mae-Khong" (local whisky) is better than his baby. **(Blue collar women's focus group)**

Women in white collar occupations also said that childrearing was mainly their responsibility, although they reported more involvement than the other groups.

In the morning he doesn't help at all. I do it alone. He puts on his clothes and goes to wait for me with a frown. **(White collar woman with young children)**

Mod.: *I want to ask you: 7-8 people said that they do everything themselves, why do you say that your husband gets up at night (with the baby)?*
P.1.: *I am busy so I give him the responsibility to put the baby to bed and that prevents him from going out at night. No matter how late he comes home, he knows that he has the responsibility and if he doesn't put the baby to bed the baby doesn't sleep, so the baby would wait. So I use this technique.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

Since educational attainment has also risen over time in Thailand, it would be interesting to examine how much of the trend in increasing participation of fathers shown in Table 7.3 is due to increased education. Still, we have seen that the care of young children, and decision-making about their care if the mother is working, is largely seen as the mother's responsibility by both men and women. This is in contrast to studies in the U.S. which show increasing involvement by fathers, who are often listed as the best second choice to the mother for care of young children (Kuhlthau and

Mason 1990). Clearly, working women in Bangkok have conflicting demands on their time when they have young children; but we heard few complaints about lack of help from husbands.

The Role of the Extended Family

When we discussed recent changes in child care in the in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions, one of the major issues that emerged is that of increasing "family distance." This includes both that the extended family now lives far away and that parents have less time to spend with their children. Family distance is seen to have two main effects on children: that they have to be more self-reliant at a younger age, and that they are raised in a less warm and secure atmosphere.

> *Well in those days the people who raised us were our mothers, grandmothers; from the time we woke up till the time we went to bed everything went on very naturally. I felt secure and safe and I didn't have much to think about; what I learned was mainly from my mother and my father's mother. They told me which people we should get to know, they told us what was suitable. But the children nowadays, they have to adjust themselves to the situation because they are not raised close to their mothers.* **(White collar women's focus group)**

> *In the past the family lived together- it was more warm. Parents had time to take care of their children more. For example, children must help themselves more nowadays: dress by themselves, eat by themselves.* **(Blue collar worker with young children)**

These comments stem from the widely held perception that extended family co-residence is less common than in the past, especially for Bangkok families who have migrated from rural areas. To investigate this issue, the household survey collected information on the family members that respondents had lived with since marriage. Contrary to expectation, we found no recent change in the percent of young children living in an extended family household (Table 7.4). Of those born before 1977, 48% lived in an extended household at age two and the percentage has varied little across birth cohorts. This percentage was about evenly split between maternally extended and paternally extended households, although the proportion living in a maternally extended family has increased slightly recently. Combined with the fact that most children living apart from their mothers live with their grandparents (discussed in detail below), we may conclude that over half of young Thai children live with extended family members. Very few children were living in a single-parent household at this young age (less than 2%).

Table 7.4 Household type at age two by birth cohort

	Year of Birth				Total
	Before 1977	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1990	
Single parent	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Nuclear	**40**	**38**	**43**	**42**	**41**
Extended	**48**	**47**	**47**	**49**	**47**
Maternal extended	23	21	25	27	24
Paternal extended	25	26	22	22	23
Not living with mother	**11**	**13**	**9**	**8**	**10**
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
(N)	**(285)**	**(404)**	**(592)**	**(351)**	**(1632)**

Table 7.5 examines differences in child care by household type. Only children who lived with their mothers are examined here. As expected, care by a relative at home is quite common for those living in an extended family (32% for maternal and 22% for paternal). Children living in a nuclear family are more likely to be cared for by their mother, and especially by a non-working mother. Children from single-parent households were often cared for by a non-relative such as a neighbor outside the home.

Table 7.5 Child care at age two by family type

	Husband Present			Husband Not Present		Total
	Single	Maternal Extended	Paternal Extended	Single Parent	Extended	
Mother						
Non-working	41	31	38	38	26	37
Working	30	21	28	27	20	27
Home						
Relative	7	32	22	-	43	18
Non-relative	8	8	5	4	8	7
Outside home						
Relative	6	1	1	8	-	3
Non-relative	5	2	2	23	3	4
Nursery	3	5	4	-	-	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(668)	(359)	(382)	(26)	(35)	(1470)

Although increasing family distance is widely felt in modern day Thailand, and though the difficulty women express in finding someone to care for young children is certainly real, we find continuity in household co-residence with extended family members over the past fifteen to twenty years. Since we only asked about family members who were living in the respondent's household, it may be that there has been a decline in family members living nearby which is not captured by these figures. In fact, neolocal residence with the extended family is the ideal in Thailand rather than co-residence, and housing constraints in Bangkok have reduced the ability of extended families to live together for some time. It may be also that, as has been found in the U.S., grandmothers are also increasingly busy working outside the home (Presser 1989b).

Discussion

When women must work long hours working outside the home, as well as commuting in Bangkok's often paralyzing traffic, it is likely that they will rely on their families more for help in domestic work than they have in the past. We have found evidence that husbands do tend to help more with child care than they have in the past, although the amount of menial chores that they do remains low. This finding is supported by other research (Bunyanupongsa 1987; Sirikulchayanonta 1991). And contrary to common belief, we have seen that parents with young children often live in an extended family situation, where there are other female family members who may help with child care and other domestic tasks. We will return to these issues in the final chapter.

Chapter 8 Formal Care: Nurseries, Day Care Centers and Pre-schools

Much of the concern about changes in care of young children has been addressed to the issue of formal care, including nurseries, day care centers and pre-schools. As was seen in Table 5.2, earlier entrance into formal types of care is indeed the most major change in child care for Bangkok children. We found that our respondents did not make a clear distinction between the various types of formal care. Even children as young as 18 months were described as going to "school" while some as old as age four were reported as attending a "nursery." For this reason we have combined the various types of formal care and examined their characteristics according to the age of the child rather than the type of facility.

Respondents varied as to the age they felt it was best for a child to enter school or attend a nursery (Table 8.1). Overall 19% felt a formal facility was the best form of care for a child age one to three years and 61% for a child age three to five years. Those who were born in Bangkok were more likely to say that a child should be in formal care by age three to five (65% vs. 58%). There is a clear pattern by education, as those with higher education were more likely to say that a child should be in formal care at an early age. The same holds true for occupation, especially in the three to five-year age category: 63-74% of those in professional, clerical or sales occupations felt that a child should be in formal care by this age compared to only 37% for agriculture, 55% for manufacturing and 58% for non-working women.

Table 8.2 examines the percent of children entering school by a given age by various characteristics.[1] Overall, about 10% entered formal care by the age of three and the percentage jumped steadily up to the age of four and a half years: 25% by age three and a half, 39% by age four, and 57% by age four and a half. Sharp differences in the time of entry into formal care are seen by characteristics of the children and their mothers. First-born children were most likely to attend a nursery or enter school at a young age; about four times the percentage of first-born children attended formal care by age three when compared with third or higher-parity children (12% vs. 3%). By age five, 61% of first-born, 57% of second-born and 50% of third or higher-born children had entered formal care; while there is still a difference at this age, it is much smaller than at younger ages. Further evidence of the trend for children to enter formal care at younger ages is also shown: about 11% of recently born children had been in formal care by age three compared with 7% of those born before 1982. The biggest change over time is in the percentage entering preschool by age four (43% for the 1982-86 birth cohort vs. 34% for those born before 1977).

Table 8.1 Percent of women who chose formal care as the ideal form of child care at age 1-3 and 3-5 years, by birth place, educational level and current occupation (N=1515)

	Age 1-3 years	Age 3-5 years
Total	**19**	**61**
Birthplace		
Outside Bangkok	18	58
Bangkok	20	65
Education		
Some primary	17	47
Primary grade	17	55
Secondary	21	69
University	22	71
Occupation		
Professional/technical	20	63
Clerical	24	74
Sales	19	64
Service	21	58
Manufacturing	16	55
Agriculture	11	37
Not working	19	58

Table 8.2 Life table estimates of the percent of children entering formal care by age and by parity, birth cohort, mother's education and mother's occupation

	By Age 3	By Age 3 1/2	By Age 4	By Age 4 1/2	By Age 5	(N)
Total	**10**	**25**	**39**	**57**	**58**	**(2003)**
Parity						
1	12	28	43	59	61	(1108)
2	9	25	38	55	57	(623)
≥ 3	3	13	28	48	49	(272)
Cohort						
Before 1977	7	18	34	50	51	(271)
1977-81	7	23	38	55	57	(384)
1982-86	12	19	43	61	62	(570)
1987-91	11	(**)	(**)	(**)	(**)	(778)

cont.

Table 8.2 Life table estimates of the percent of children entering formal care by age and by parity, birth cohort, mother's education and mother's occupation (cont.)

	By Age 3	By Age 3 1/2	By Age 4	By Age 4 1/2	By Age 5	(N)
Mother's education						
< Primary	7	10	21	36	37	(105)
Primary	6	19	31	48	49	(1158)
Secondary	8	29	44	68	69	(335)
University	22	48	72	86	88	(405)
Occupation year of child's birth						
Prof./tech./ admin.	20	45	67	81	85	(156)
Clerical	19	46	68	80	80	(230)
Sales	12	26	47	67	68	(273)
Service	9	22	39	51	51	(139)
Manufacture	7	18	27	45	45	(325)
Not working	5	20	30	50	52	(820)

** Insufficient cases.

Sharp differences in entry into formal care are seen by mother's education and occupation. More than 20% of children of university-educated mothers entered formal care by age three, compared to only 6-7% in the other educational categories. By age five fully 88% of children of university-educated mothers were in school compared to 37% of those with less than primary graduation. Similar results are seen by occupation: children of mothers working in manufacturing or services had the lowest percentages entering school (45-51% by age five), and those whose mothers were white collar occupations had the highest rate of school entry (80-85%).

Besides looking at these characteristics, it is of interest to see whether children in less "preferred" child care situations were more likely to enter formal care at an early age. For example, those being cared for by their mother or another relative at home may be less likely to enter school than those being cared for by a non-relative. This transition is examined in Table 8.3 by looking at the percent who entered school based on the type of care in the previous year. At age three, nearly all (94%) of those already in formal care at age two continued. Those being cared for by a non-relative at age two, whether in the home or outside, were most likely to enter formal care at this age (50% and 38%). Those being cared for by a relative were also more likely to enter formal care than those cared for by their mother (26-28% vs. 17%). Only 10% of children who were living apart at age two returned to live with their mothers and enter formal care at age three, implying that such care is not affordable for these families and/or that no one is available to

care for the child when they are not in school. The same general patterns are seen for the percentage in formal care at age four, with children cared for by their mothers and or living apart at age three being least likely to enter formal care by the following year.

Table 8.3 Percent attending formal care by age and type of child care the previous year

	% attending school At age 3	(N)
Total	**23**	**(1542)**
Child care at age 2		
Mother		
Non-working	17	(563)
Working	17	(342)
Home		
Relative	26	(232)
Non-relative	50	(98)
Outside home		
Relative	28	(43)
Non-relative	38	(50)
Nursery/school	94	(50)
Living apart	10	(164)

	% attending school At age 4	(N)
Total	**53**	**(1378)**
Child care at age 3		
Mother		
Non-working	38	(399)
Working	40	(255)
Home		
Relative	51	(158)
Non-relative	65	(43)
Outside home		
Relative	59	(29)
Non-relative	52	(29)
Nursery/school	99	(326)
Living apart	13	(139)

Since the majority of children now enter pre-school by age four, early school entry can be said to be a way of life for Bangkok families. Still we have seen significant differences in the entry into formal care by socioeconomic status, and this has major implications for children's future educational attainment and success. As a rapidly expanding trend in modern Thailand, these facilities deserve attention from those concerned with child development. Policy implications of the trend to early school entrance are discussed further in Chapter 11.

Notes

1. Life table estimates of the percent of children entering formal care by a given age are used so that the experience of those who were less than 5 years old by the time of the survey could be included.

Chapter 9 Children Living Separately from Their Mothers

It is not uncommon for mothers to live apart from their children in Thailand, even when they are very young. Every focus group discussion had at least one participant who had lived apart from their children; and besides the two cases who were purposively selected for the in-depth interviews because they had lived apart from their children, several other cases had done so. The most common pattern was for children to be sent to the maternal relatives (usually grandparents) in the mother's rural hometown. However a great deal of variation existed in the women's situations, with some children living with paternal relatives and some remaining behind in a rural area when the mother migrated to Bangkok alone.

Who Children Live With

As seen above, the household survey found that a substantial percentage of children (16%) lived separately from their mother for at least a month before reaching the age of five. As shown in Table 9.1, more than two-thirds of those who lived separately from their mothers (70%) lived outside of Bangkok. The majority lived with their maternal grandparents (60% of those living in Bangkok and 83% of those living outside). Only a very small percentage lived separately from their mother but with their father, whether because of a divorce or for another reason. Of those who lived in Bangkok, more than one fifth (22%) lived with non-relatives, about evenly divided between a babysitter and a nursery facility (11% each).

Characteristics of Children Living Separately

Table 9.2 shows the percentage of children who lived separately from their mother at age two by various characteristics. The first-born child, who may also be an only child, was the most likely to have lived apart at this age (13%). This is likely due to two reasons: (1) that women who did not have a satisfactory child care arrangement

were less likely to go on to have a second child, and (2) because the first child may be sent to live elsewhere when a second or subsequent child is born. High parity children were least likely to live separately, probably in part because women with many children were less likely to be working.

There is no clear pattern by mother's education, but some indication that children of more educated mothers had a higher tendency to live separately. This is likely because work status and occupation have a greater impact on the likelihood of living separately than education, as seen in the lower half of the table. Children of non-working women and those whose mother worked at home were least likely to live separately; those whose mothers worked outside the home in blue collar occupations were most likely. Children whose mothers worked outside the home on their own account or for their family, who were mainly in low-paying sales occupations, also had a high percentage living apart. Those whose mother was born outside of Bangkok were somewhat more likely to live apart at this age (12% vs. 7%), though the difference is not as great as might be expected.

Table 9.1 Who children lived with and location for children living apart

	Bangkok	Outside Bangkok	Total
Total	30	70	100
Father	2	1	1
Maternal grandparents	40	60	54
Paternal grandparents	24	28	27
Other relatives	12	9	10
Non-relatives	11	1	4
Nursery	6	1	3
Others	5	-	2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
(N)	**(102)**	**(236)**	**(338)**

Table 9.2 Percent of children who lived apart from their mothers at age two, by various characteristics

	%	(N)
Total	11	(1728)
Parity		
1	13	(944)
2	9	(550)
≥3	4	(234)
Mother's education		
< Primary grade	11	(121)
Primary grade	10	(1053)
Secondary	13	(242)
University	12	(312)
Mother's work status		
Employee		
Outside the home	21	(448)
At home	6	(135)
Government/State Enterprise	10	(142)
Family		
Outside the home	18	(63)
At home	6	(32)
Self-employed	10	(259)
Not working	4	(649)
Mother's occupation		
Professional/technical	12	(129)
Clerical	14	(175)
Sales	13	(281)
Service	13	(132)
Manufacturing	17	(305)
Agriculture	11	(72)
Mother's birthplace		
Bangkok	7	(690)
Outside Bangkok	12	(936)

Reasons for Living Separately

Parents may decide to live separately from their child for several reasons: because they are working and have no one else to care for the child; because they cannot afford to pay for someone to care for the child; or because they prefer to have the child cared for by a relative rather than by a non-relative in Bangkok. For migrant women, often this occurred when the woman was new to the city.

> *I didn't know anyone. First I asked my husband's sister to take care of the child and she didn't really want to do it, so I sent him back home (to the maternal grandmother). Then she became attached to the child.* **(Factory women's focus group)**

We also interviewed women who migrated to Bangkok on their own, leaving young children behind.

> *At the beginning I came to work at a house in Bangkok. My child was too small, I didn't dare to bring him to Bangkok to care for; I was afraid that the boss would get mad.* **(Informal sector woman with older child)**

Sending a young child elsewhere to live with relatives is viewed as a difficult choice but one that is often in the best interests of the child. In the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, we found no consensus of opinion about whether it was best to try to stay with young children at all costs or to live separately. Two hypothetical situations were presented where the mother was faced with severe economic and family constraints, with the choice of sending the child to a rural area. In one case the woman was recently married and was a construction worker; in the second the woman was divorced and sold flowers on the street. About half of the respondents said the construction worker should send the child back home, with the rest saying she should hire a neighbor or try to care for the child herself. In the case of the divorced woman, respondents were about evenly split between hiring a neighbor, sending the child up-country, and quitting work to return up-country herself. Those who advised sending the child up-country mainly felt that this was the best situation for the child, even though it was difficult.

> **P.1.:** *I think she must send the children back.*
> **P.2.:** *Won't she miss them?*
> **P.3.:** *She can go see them occasionally; she has to try to put up with it, get used to it.*
> **P.1.:** *Yes that's what they do now, take the children back home to their grandmothers.*
> **P.3.:** *Yes, and get used to it; what a time.* **(Informal women's focus group)**

Others disagreed with sending a young child away, even under dire economic circumstances.

> *If she takes them to another province she can visit them only once a year. It's a long time. Some people cannot separate from their children. If she can cut her heart out she can do it. Nowadays you have to struggle to survive.* **(Informal sector woman with young children)**

The household survey asked women who had lived apart from their children their reasons for doing so. Answers differed little by whether the child was living separately within Bangkok or outside (Table 9.3). The most frequent answer (45%) was that the mother was working and there was no one to care for the child. Some said that the mother had migrated to work (11%), implying that the children were left behind when she migrated to Bangkok. A substantial number (16%) said that the mother had too many children to take care of; as discussed above, this is likely because the oldest child is sent to live separately when the second or subsequent child is born. A substantial number (17%) also said that a relative or the child themselves decided that the child should live elsewhere.

Table 9.3 Reason for child living apart

	Bangkok	Outside Bangkok	Total
Nobody to care for child	42	46	45
Mother has many children	14	17	16
Mother migrated for work	10	11	11
Family/economic problem	4	3	4
Relative wanted child/Child wanted to live elsewhere	17	18	17
Better environment/Convenient	4	3	3
Child given up for adoption	7	2	3
Other	7	2	3
Total	70	30	100
(N)	(236)	(102)	(338)

Age at Separation and Length of Time Apart

Most children who lived separately from their mother did so at a rather young age, as shown in Table 9.4. About 30% were one month old or less and another 31% were from 1-11 months old. Although fewer second children lived apart, those who did tended to be separated at a young age (43% less than one month old). High parity children tended to be separated when they were somewhat older (although very few

high-parity children lived separately). The fact that first-born children tended to be slightly older implies that they were sent to live separately when they reached an age where the mother could no longer combine work and child care. Second-born children were often following an older sibling who was already living elsewhere.

Table 9.4 Age at which children began to live separately from their mothers, by parity

	Parity			Total
	1	2	≤3	
Age				
One month or less	27	43	20	30
1-11 months	33	24	27	31
12-23 months	14	12	20	14
2 years or older	26	21	33	25
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(242)	(82)	(15)	(339)

Table 9.5 shows estimates of the length of time children lived apart by the age that they were first separated.[1] More than half (57%) remained separated for three years or more; only about 20% spent less than a year apart. The older the age at separation, the more likely the child was to spend a longer period apart; about two-thirds of those who separated when they were at least two years old were separated for more than 3 years. While about 25% of those who separated when age less than one year remained separated for less than a year, over half did not return to live with their mother within three years.

Table 9.5 Life table estimates of the length of time living apart by age child began living apart

	Length of Time Apart				Total	(N)
	<1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	≤3 years		
Age						
One month or less	25	6	19	50	100	(103)
1-11 months	24	8	13	55	100	(105)
12-23 months	20	13	8	59	100	(47)
2 years or older	13	13	7	67	100	(84)
Total	21	9	13	57	100	(388)

Frequency of Contact and Support

Children who lived separately from their mother but within Bangkok were visited frequently by their mother: 22% saw their mother every day and another 54% were visited every week (Table 9.6). For those living outside of Bangkok, only about 14% saw their mother once a week; about a third were visited 1-3 times per month but 20% saw their mother once a year or never. Of those who said they never visited their child, most were separated for only a brief period, or had only recently moved away at the time of the survey.

Table 9.6 How often mother visited child by location

	Bangkok	Outside Bangkok	Total
Every day	22	1	7
Every week	54	13	25
2-3 times/month	5	7	6
Every month	5	28	21
2-3 times/year	2	27	19
Once a year	1	7	6
Not usual	4	5	5
Never	7	12	11
Total	100	100	100
(N)	(102)	(236)	(338)

Finally, children who were living apart may have been fully supported by their parents, sent money only occasionally, or essentially been completely supported by another family. For mothers whose children had lived apart, we asked if they had ever sent money or other things such as food, clothing or toys to their children (Table 9.7). About one-fourth said that they never sent money for their children's care; but some of these may have had children who had only been living apart for a short time at the time of the survey. The majority said that they sent money to their child monthly, but the average amount sent was small (only 130 baht in Bangkok and 101 baht outside). About 10% sent money only 1-3 times a year or at no usual interval. Most said that they also sent other things to their children. For the most part giving money and other goods to the child was associated with a visit by the mother; the generally small amounts of money given indicate that the child was mainly supported by the family they were living with. Children who were living with nonrelatives were sent slightly more than those living with relatives (about 180 baht per month).

Table 9.7 Support given to children living separately by location

Frequency of sending	Bangkok		Outside Bangkok		Total	
	Average Amount	Percent	Average Amount	Percent	Average Amount	Percent
Money (in baht)						
Never	0	33	0	21	0	25
More than once a month	15	7	40	2	25	4
Monthly	130	55	101	63	109	60
2-3 times a year	20	1	109	6	103	4
Yearly	-	-	505	3	505	2
Not usual	372	4	242	5	277	5
Other items						
Never		40		32		34
More than once a month		24		4		11
Monthly		14		25		22
2-3 times a year		4		12		9
Yearly		1		3		2
Not usual		17		24		22
(N)		(102)		(236)		(339)

Discussion

The results indicate that children who live separately from their mothers usually do so for a substantial period of time, and usually begin living apart when they are very young. The reason for this is often that there is no one to care for the child while the mother works; and this is borne out by the fact that children whose mothers work in the formal sector are especially likely to live apart. Often women feel that it is better for the child to be cared for by relatives since she has little time to spend with them; and it should be remembered that 30% of those living separately lived elsewhere in Bangkok. Still, many children are essentially adopted by the family they live with, since their mother may only see them once a year and send only small amounts of support. Since there appears to be a slight trend for children to be less likely to live apart in recent years, it may be that formal facilities are allowing more children to stay with their parents. But the strong preference for relatives' care, even when the child must live separately, should be kept in mind when formulating solutions to Bangkok families' child care needs.

Notes

1. Life table methods were used to obtain the proportion continuing to live apart for a given length of time, in order to include information from children who were still living apart at the time of the survey.

Chapter 10

Costs of Child Care

For several reasons it is difficult to measure the costs of child care for young children. As we have seen, most child care is informal, either by a relative or the parents. Even when relatives are paid for their care, such payment may be informal or not on a regular basis. When examining costs of formal care, it is difficult to obtain "average" costs because the type and frequency of payment for such care varied a great deal. Some facilities were paid by the day, some by the month, by the term or by another time period. Some nurseries or schools included the cost of food and/or insurance in their tuition costs while some charged an extra amount for this; and some parents had to pay the cost of a bus service while some did not. Also, some parents were required to pay "tea money" (*patjia*) to enroll their children in an elite school. Hence there is no way to summarize the total cost of child care, and the following tables give only a general idea of the costs expended.

Table 10.1 summarizes the payment status and approximate monthly cost for informal types of care at age six months and two years. Of relatives who care for the child at home, only about a third were paid for their care; for those outside the home, only about half were paid. Nearly all of non-relatives were paid, whether in the home or outside. But there was a wide range in the amount of payment, with some paying as little as 100 baht[1] per month for a relative's care and some as much as 5000 baht. The median amount of payment for relatives who were paid was about 600 baht per month if they cared for a 6-month old child in the home and about 700 baht if outside the home. Non-relatives in the home were paid more than relatives (median 800 baht), while those outside were paid less (600 baht). This is likely due to differences in socioeconomic status between those in different types of care, since care by a non-relative outside the home is not preferred by those of higher status. In general costs for a two-year old child were slightly less than those for a 6-month old baby.

Table 10.2 shows costs of formal care, for all ages and for two different age groups. In order to show differences in costs for a day care facility for younger children and a pre-school, costs for a child age less than three years and for a child at least four years old are presented. Costs for "tea money" (*patjia*) and insurance are not reported here; only 3% reported that they paid "tea money" and the amount ranged from 500 to 20,000 baht. Only 2% reported that they paid for insurance, and the

amounts paid were generally small. Only those who paid for formal care by the month or by the term are included in the table; a small percentage of respondents paid by the day or by the year. Looking at the totals for all ages first, it is seen that nearly all respondents (95%) had to pay some tuition cost, while 39% also had food costs and 29% paid for bus service. Some paid only a small cost for tuition, of 100 baht per month or per term; the maximum reported was 3500 baht per month or 15,000 baht per term. Average costs were fairly low: 450 baht per month or 1500 baht per term. In general costs for younger children were higher than for older children (average 600 vs. 300 baht per month or 2450 vs. 1500 baht per term).

Table 10.1 Payment status and approximate montly cost for informal care at age 6 months and 2 years

	Total		Of Those Who Pay			
	Percent who pay	(N)	Mini-mum	Maxi-mum	Median	(N)
Age 6 months						
At home						
Relative	31	(334)	100	5000	600	(103)
Non-relative	95	(169)	120	5000	800	(161)
Outside the home						
Relative	49	(68)	200	4000	700	(33)
Non-relative	98	(88)	150	2000	600	(86)
Age 2 years						
At home						
Relative	31	(266)	100	5000	600	(83)
Non-relative	96	(145)	120	2500	800	(139)
Outside the home						
Relative	49	(63)	200	2000	500	(31)
Non-relative	97	(62)	250	1500	600	(60)

Table 10.2 Average cost of formal care by time period, type of cost and child's age

	% Who Pay	Per Month				Per Term			
		Minimum	Maximum	Median	(N)	Minimum	Maximum	Median	(N)
All ages									
Tuition	95	100	3500	450	(133)	100	15,000	1500	(626)
Food	39	50	2400	300	(98)	100	3000	900	(193)
Bus	29	60	2200	250	(124)	100	4500	800	(110)
Age less than 3 years									
Tuition	96	120	3500	600	(69)	200	15,000	2450	(88)
Food	30	60	1500	200	(21)	350	3000	1000	(27)
Bus	29	60	800	300	(23)	150	2800	900	(24)
All ages									
Tuition	94	100	2700	300	(67)	100	15,000	1500	(574)
Food	42	50	2400	300	(87)	100	3000	900	(187)
Bus	31	60	2200	225	(114)	100	4500	800	(97)

Keeping in mind the difficulties in estimating costs outlined above, Table 10.3 gives rough estimates of the cost per month of child care for a two year old child by various categories. In total only 25% of children were in paid care at this age; the overall mean is only 198 baht, but the mean for those in paid care was much higher at 816 baht per month. The percent of children in paid care and the amount of payment increased sharply by mother's education, with the biggest jump for university educated mothers. Fully 60% of children of university educated mothers were in paid care, and the average cost for those who paid was over 1000 baht per month. The same differentials are seen by mother's occupation, both in terms of percent who paid and the cost variation. Children of Bangkok natives had slightly higher cost care.

We find a clear increase over time in both the percent of children in paid care and the cost of such care. Very few children born before 1977 were in paid care (15%) and the cost of such care averaged only about 500 baht per month; for recent cohorts nearly one-third (31%) were in paid care with an average cost of nearly 1000 baht. These figures likely reflect the greater participation of women in the labor force in recent years, though it should be remembered that we found only very slight change over time in type of child care (Table 5.2). Since only a small percentage of children, even of recent cohorts, were in formal care at this age (about 5%) these figures likely reflect greater reliance on non-relatives and perhaps a greater likelihood of paying relatives for child care than in the past.

Table 10.3 Mean costs per month for child care at age two by various characteristics (children who live with their mothers only)

	Total			Those Who Pay	
	% Who pay	Mean cost (baht)	(N)	Mean cost (baht)	(N)
Total	**25**	**198**	**(1463)**	**816**	**(355)**
Education of mother					
Less than primary grade	12	47	(98)	386	(12)
Primary grade	16	96	(896)	603	(142)
Secondary	22	164	(204)	761	(44)
University	60	626	(265)	1056	(157)
Occupation of mother					
Prof./admin.	68	713	(106)	1049	(72)
Clerical	69	643	(138)	935	(95)
Sales	25	178	(204)	755	(48)
Service	29	208	(106)	760	(29)
Manufacturing	28	167	(231)	595	(65)
Not working	6	40	(572)	630	(36)
Birth place of mother					
Outside Bangkok	23	178	(822)	776	(189)
Bangkok	27	225	(636)	861	(166)
Birth cohort					
Before 1977	15	76	(253)	522	(37)
1977-81	25	181	(352)	725	(88)
1982-86	25	200	(536)	824	(133)
1987-90	31	301	(322)	998	(97)

With the shift to earlier entry into pre-school and other types of formal care, it is likely that child care expenses for young children will increase. Still, our findings provide evidence that child care costs are still quite low for most families. Many

children are cared for by relatives at no or low cost, and even costs for non-relatives and formal care were modest. It should be remembered also that higher status children were more likely to attend nurseries and pre-schools, and thus that the choice to enter such care may be made by parents who can easily afford them. As early school entrance becomes the norm however, middle class families may be hard pressed to allow their children the same opportunities.

Notes

1. One baht is approximately equivalent to 0.04 US$ or 25 baht = 1 US$.

Chapter 11 Summary, Discussion and Policy Implications

We have presented an abundance of both qualitative and quantitative information on child care issues for Bangkok families. This information is based on in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and life histories of a representative sample of Bangkok women. The findings point out a number of concerns about the increasing complexity of family life for Bangkok families and particularly for working women.

Major Findings

The most important points resulting from this study are summarized below.

- Care by the mother is overwhelmingly preferred for young children, with care by relatives and particularly the grandmother as a strong second choice. There is a general mistrust and uneasiness expressed about having a non-relative care for a young child, and apprehensiveness about the lack of individual attention provided in nurseries or day care centers.

- For the most part, we may conclude that these preferences are fulfilled for most Bangkok children: 80-85% of those age three or younger were cared for in their own home, most by their mother or a relative.

- Perhaps surprisingly, we found little change in child care arrangements over time, with the exception that a higher percentage of children now enter pre-school at a younger age. The percentage entering formal care while less than age three has also risen but only slightly.

- Type of child care is strongly related to mother's age and educational attainment: children of younger mothers were more likely to be cared for by a non-working mother or to be living apart. Children of older mothers were more likely to be cared for by a working mother or to be in a nursery. In general children of more educated mothers were less likely to be cared for by them, because they were both more likely to be working and less likely to be able to combine child care and work.

- Most working women take very short maternity leaves (one month or less) and this is particularly true for those working in the formal sector. For this reason most are only able to breastfeed for a very short period.

- Many women with young children combined work with child care, especially those working in the informal sector (in a family business or on their own account). But those working as employees outside the home who did not have someone to care for the child at home were as likely to live separately from their children as to find some form of outside care.

- We found evidence that child care is an issue of increasing concern to Bangkok families, as a rising percentage reported planning for child care before becoming pregnant and delaying pregnancy or limiting their families due to child care concerns.

- Fathers, while rarely having primary responsibility for care of young children, seem to have an increasing role in their upbringing, especially in regards to spending time playing with their children. This is especially true for more educated fathers.

- Contrary to popular belief, the percentage of young children living in an extended family has not declined in recent years. Those living in an extended family were more likely to be cared for by a relative.

- Sharp differences were found in entry into formal care by mother's education and work status, both for women's preferences in age at school entry and actual entrance. Children being cared for by a non-relative were more likely to enter formal care than those cared for by their mother or another relative.

- Working women who cannot find a satisfactory child care arrangement often resort to living separately from their children, and on the whole we found that 16% of children spent some time living apart from their mother before reaching the age of five. Living apart was more strongly related to mother's work status than to her education. Most children went to live separately at a young age and the majority lived apart for several years. Most children were visited regularly, though not often, by their mother; and were sent money and other support regularly, though not in substantial amounts.

- Due to the high percentage of children being cared for by their mother or another relative, overall average costs of child care for young children are low. Formal care is more expensive for younger children, and the main costs for Bangkok families occur when children enter formal care.

Discussion and Policy Implications

Child care policies for Bangkok families must be based both on their needs and their preferences. Our model of child care decision-making (Figure 4.1) depicts how costs for child care do not become a factor in decision-making unless the mother or another relative is not available to care for the child. Many women still manage to combine child care and work. These are mainly women of lower educational status who are self-employed or who work in a family business; many are working at home. It may be said that this group of women could probably not afford to pay much for child care; it may also be said that they probably cannot afford to give up working. If affordable and reliable child care was available for them, they may be able to move into the formal labor market and increase their income. But many may still choose informal jobs as they prefer to care for their child themselves.

For working women of all socioeconomic statuses, child care is not perceived as a problem if the grandmother is available to care for the child. If she is not, and there is no other relative available, many women choose living separately from the child over paying a non-relative for care or placing the child in a day care center. For women of higher status, this choice may be based on ideals about child development; but for others, it may be because good quality care is not affordable for them. Thus a large number of women must choose between earning a marginal income while mostly caring for children themselves, or working at a higher-paying formal job while sending children to live elsewhere.

We have seen that higher status women prefer that their child enter school at an early age and tend to pay higher costs for their care. These highly educated women are also more likely to be working and to be able to afford high-quality pre-schools. But this finding seems to be part of a larger trend of competition among high status parents to send their children to prestigious schools in Bangkok. When this competition begins at an earlier and earlier age, it means that middle and lower class children have a harder time catching up when they enter school.

Thus policies for government involvement in alleviating child care worries for Bangkok families are a complicated issue. Personal choice must be taken into account when designing such policies. Since care by the mother and other relatives is overwhelmingly preferred, the most effective policies would be those which encourage or regulate employers to be "pro-family". This would include lengthening maternity leaves and allowing for other forms of family leave; and the introduction of "paternity" leave or other family leave for men is also called for. Providing more flexible time schedules for working mothers, which have also been suggested to alleviate Bangkok's traffic problems, is another recommendation. New employment policies that ease the burden for working women could be initiated in the government and state enterprise sectors first; but the private sector should also see the benefit of such policies, as workers will likely be more productive and their work force would have less turnover. Consideration should be given to ways to discourage "anti-family" policies of private companies, such as requiring that employees be single. Such regulations cause many women to hide their marriages by not registering them legally, which may cause problems for their children in later life, or even to hiding their pregnancies by binding their stomachs with a piece of cloth (Tonguthai and Pattaravanich 1992).

Though these type of labor policies would have great benefits for Bangkok women and their families, it is difficult in most cases to help families to find informal forms of care, even when such care is preferred. Though the father's involvement in child care can be encouraged through public education campaigns, the reality is that work demands mean that many men have little time to spend with their families. And while many families would prefer to have the grandmother care for young children, in many cases this is not possible. For example some families may choose to bring the grandmother to Bangkok rather than have the children be sent far away, but others would be unable to do so for many reasons.

For these reasons most of the attention regarding government policies to aid families in their child care needs have focused on day care centers and other forms of formal care. This may include government involvement in providing, subsidizing or regulating day care facilities. In terms of regulation, as mentioned in Chapter 1 there are already certain standards enforced by the Ministry of Public Welfare for minimum land area, size and facilities (such as bathrooms, play rooms etc.) for registered nurseries. Nurseries, as profit-making enterprises, are subject to taxation (at different rates depending on the amount of profit they make). Such standards may be difficult to meet, particularly in light of high land prices in Bangkok, and there are many unlicensed, unregulated nurseries. One way to avoid taxation is to open as a "school" rather than as a nursery, though these must also meet standards set by the Ministry of Education if they are to be legally licensed. There is a great deal of confusion about government regulations for nurseries and pre-schools and it is suggested that these regulations need simplification as well as reform. One idea would be to have a special category for nurseries or pre-schools and that they be exempt from taxation. There is little that can be done about enforcing standards at the many informal day care centers in Bangkok in the present situation, and relaxing regulations by creating a special category for small neighborhood centers may be more beneficial in the long run. In addition to regulating private day care, the fact that more and more young children are being placed in formal care necessitates the opening of more public nurseries and pre-schools. Eventually it is likely that formal schooling will start at an earlier age, and even now many nurseries have opened within existing schools. Such facilities are likely more trusted by parents than private nurseries, and may be more convenient especially for parents with older children who are attending school. Government subsidies for nurseries operating within private schools should also be considered.

The findings of this study have shown that women who are employees in the formal sector have the most severe child care problems. For this reason it is important for the private sector to be involved. As many others have suggested, tax incentives and/or government subsidies should be given for factories and government and private offices to set up day care centers in the workplace. Besides the more direct benefits to employers such as less absenteeism, productivity may increase as mothers are less worried about their children. For child development, the benefits are obvious: mothers would be closer to their children and could breastfeed. This idea is not a new one; and the fact that employers have been slow to respond to the call for child care in the workplace indicates that they do not see the benefits. It may be that government subsidies in the form of tax cuts are the only way to encourage this service; if this fails, regulations that employers over a certain size must provide or subsidize child care is suggested.

Besides day care centers and other types of formal care, attention must be paid to other new forms of child care that have emerged. These include the "training schools" for in-home nannies, which may be only a front for profit-making employment agencies that do not adequately screen or train the nannies. Licensing or other forms of regulation for these training schools is called for; and standardized training for babysitters including government run courses would also be of great benefit, especially for families who cannot afford the expensive nannies.

The findings of this study suggest that child care should be a higher priority for public policy, since it is inevitable that the proportion of children in non-familial care will increase. This is not to say that such policies should encourage any particular form of child care, such as encouraging early entry into formal care. The "cafeteria approach", where families have a choice as to the form of care they prefer, is recommended where possible. For example, one woman working in the formal sector may prefer a government subsidized neighborhood day care center over one located in her workplace, while another woman may choose informal care if she can find a trusted neighbor to care for the child in her home. As rapid social and economic change continues in Thailand, it is vital that the needs of families and children be addressed. Only with attention to these changing needs will Thailand's youngest citizens be prepared to cope with the future.

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Appendix 1
Background Characteristics for Case Study Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Case Studies

(Characteristics listed are migrant status; educational attainment; age and sex of children; work status when children were under age five; child care arrangements when children were under age five)

Unemployed woman with young children: Bangkok native. Grade 7. Two sons age 6 and 3. Has worked only occasionally selling insurance since marriage. Cared for the first child herself until age one and a half when she had health problems; then took him to a nursery. He liked it so continued to go to school from that time. Cared for second child alone until he entered pre-school.

Woman living apart from her young children: Migrant from the Northeast. Grade 4. Two daughters age three and just born. Works as a babysitter and at the market for her aunt. Cared for her eldest child herself while working for eight months, then sent her to live with the paternal aunt in another province; the second child will be sent to the aunt when age three months.

Woman with older children who lived apart when they were young: Migrant from the Northeast. Grade 4. One son age thirteen. Has been divorced since before her child was born. Cared for the child herself for four months, then worked as a construction worker in home province while her sister cared for the child. Left the child with her sister when the child was five months old and migrated to Bangkok to work as a maid in a private home. When the child was almost two years old she brought him to Bangkok to care for while she worked, first in the private home and then in the girl's dormitory.

Informal sector woman with young children: Migrant from a province just outside Bangkok. Grade 7. Two daughters age eight and one and a half years. Sold fried cakes on the street with her husband until the first child was age four, then sold fruit up to the present. First child: cared for herself for three months, then by maternal grandmother until she went to pre-primary school. When the grandmother was not available she tried a nursery but didn't like it; brought the child to work as a temporary measure. Younger sisters age nine and fifteen took care of her after school. Second

child: cared for herself for four months, then hired a neighbor to take care of her. Sent the child to live with a maternal great-aunt in her home province for about five months; then brought her back to the same babysitter until recently. Now hires a young woman to care for her in her own home.

Informal sector woman with older children: Migrant from the North. Grade 7. One son age thirteen. Works as a hairdresser. Cared for child herself for one month; hired a babysitter for four months and then sent him to the maternal grandmother in her home town until he entered pre-school (age three).

Blue collar woman with young children: High school graduate. One son age four and a half. Worked in a factory until the child was age three, now works as a service worker at the electricity authority. Cared for herself for three months; from age three months to three and a half years cared for by maternal grandmother in her home (paternal grandmother, who they live with, works). Then entered school but school bus delivers him to the maternal grandmother's house because mother is not off work yet.

Blue collar with older children: Grade 4. One son age seventeen, daughter age eleven. Started selling things when the first child was six months; when child was one year old began working at a factory until he was age three. Worked as a merchant until the second child was born; when she was three months old began working as a service worker at the electricity authority. Cared for first child herself for six months, second child three months; then maternal grandmother cared for the children until they entered school.

White collar woman delaying her first birth: Studying for her master's degree. Married three years. Works in the public relations department of the power company and reads the news on T.V. Plans to get pregnant when her studies are finished; her maternal great-aunt would take care of the child.

White collar woman with young children: Bachelor's degree. One son age one and a half. Works in a bank. Cared for the child herself for three months, has taken the child to a nursery from then to now; a babysitter cares for him in her home on Saturdays and holidays.

White collar woman with older children: Studied abroad for a master's degree but did not complete it. One son age 11. Works in hospital administration. Mother took care of child herself until age five months; then had nanny and nanny's assistant with the maternal grandmother in charge.

Focus Groups

Informal sector women: Selected by informal contacts in a neighborhood setting. Eight women, age range 21-38; five are vendors at the neighborhood market, three do

piecework (making brushes) in their home. Most have 4-6 years of education, one completed secondary school. One divorced, seven married. Five have one child, two have three children and one has five children; age range of children two-nineteen years.

Blue collar women: All workers at a textile factory. Seven women, age range 18-31; four iron clothes, two sew clothes, one in quality control. Four are primary school graduates and three have three years of secondary school. All married. Six have one child and one has two children; age range of children three months to nine years.

White collar women: Mid-level civil servants at the Ministry of Education. Eight women, age range 29-41; one accountant, one computer programmer, one public relations, five in educational administration. Six have bachelor's degrees, one has some graduate study and one has a master's degree. All married. Five have one child and three have two children; age range of children four months-nine years.

Blue collar men: All workers in a lighting factory. Six men, age range 24-39; one foreman, one driver, one box maker, three transporters. Two primary school graduates, four have some secondary school. All married (one second marriage with children by both marriages; one living separately from his wife who lives up-country). Two have one child, three have two children, one has five children; age range of children nine months-fifteen years.

Appendix 2
Sample of Children with Child Care Information

For each of the women who responded to the survey, child care information was obtained for her first, second and youngest child. For example, a woman with four children was interviewed about her first, second and fourth child. Thus from the sample of 1515 women we have child care information for from 0-3 children under the age of five years old. Distribution of the sample of women by number of children ever born is as follows:

207	no children
568	one child
424	two children
316	three or more children
1515	total

From this set of child care information a children's sample was created. Information about the child's mother was attached to each child's record; for example, her work status when the child was age two. Some children's records were eliminated because the mother was not in Bangkok for the entire time period that the child was under age five. The final children's sample is distributed as follows:

1222	first born children
682	second born children
296	third or higher parity children
2200	total sample

Because more than one child from each sampled woman may be included in the children's sample, the observations are not independent. This is not a significant problem for two reasons. First, fertility is so low among Bangkok women that the resulting level of bias is low. Second, each of the children from one mother has a different life experience, both in terms of their child care and their mother's

characteristics. One child's mother's work status when they were age two may be different from their older sibling's for example.

It should also be remembered that some of the children had not yet reached the age of five at the time of the survey. For this reason the sample of children is smaller at older ages (e.g., Table 5.1).

Appendix 3
Household Questionnaire

Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University

Research Project
on Child Care, Women's Status and Fertility in Urban Thailand

Questionnaire Form

December 1990 - March 1991

Questionnaire Number ☐☐☐☐

Block Number ☐☐

Interviewer Name .....

Date of Interview .....

Start time ..... End time..... Total time ..... minutes

Appointment	Date	Time	Result of contact	Next Appointment
Contact 1				
Contact 2				
Contact 3				

Description : Interview women age 15-44 who are ever married and live in the Bangkok metropolitan area.

Schedule A : Life History

A.1 Age .....Day/Month/Year .....

A.2 Place of birth ..... province or district

Age	Migration		A.5 Marriage (Month/Year)	A.6.1 Birth History		A.6.2 Contraception	A.7 Number of family members after marriage (code below)
	A.3 Place	A.4 Reason for Move		Name of Child	Day/Month/Year		
15							
16							
17							
18							
19							
20							
21							
22							
23							
24							
25							
26							
27							
28							
29							
30							

A.7 :

1 Husbnad
2 Children
3 Mother
4 Father
5 Other female relatives from the wife's family over age 12
6 Other male relatives from the wife's family over age 12
7 Husband's mother
8 Husband's father
9 Other female relatives from the husband's family over age 12
10 Other male relatives from the husband's family over age 12
11 Other children age 12 or younger
12 Non-relatives (not servants)
13 Servants who live in the household or adjacent

Schedule A : (Cont.)

Age	Migration		A.5 Marriage (Month/Year)	A.6.1 Birth History		A.6.2 Contraception	A.7 Number of family members after marriage (code below)
	A.3 Place	A.4 Reason for Move		Name of Child	Day/Month/ Year		
31							
32							
33							
34							
35							
36							
37							
38							
39							
40							
41							
42							
43							
44							

A.7 :

1 Husbnad
2 Children
3 Mother
4 Father
5 Other female relatives from the wife's family over age 12
6 Other male relatives from the wife's family over age 12
7 Husband's mother
8 Husband's father
9 Other female relatives from the husband's family over age 12
10 Other male relatives from the husband's family over age 12
11 Other children age 12 or younger
12 Non-relatives (not servants)
13 Servants who live in the household or adjacent

A.8) What was the highest level that you completed in school?.....

A.8.1) Besides this, have you had any additional vocational or other training? (dressmaking, beautician, typing, accounting etc.) .....

A.9) What was the main reason you stopped attending school?

1 didn't have money to continue
2 to help in the family business
3 finished that level
4 didn't pass entrance exam for next level
5 didn't like school/not useful
6 marriage
7 pregnancy
8 other .....

A.10.1) What was the highest grade that your (first) husband completed in school?

A.10.1.1) Besides this, did your husband have any additional vocational or other training? (barber, auto mechanics, typing, accounting etc.)
.....

..... don't know/no answer

A.10.2) (For those women married more than once) What was the highest grade that your second husband completed in school? .....

A.10.2.1) Besides this, did your second husband have any additional vocational or other training? (barber, auto mechanics, typing, accounting etc.) .....

..... don't know/no answer

A.10.3) (For those women married more than twice) What was the highest grade that your third husband completed in school? .....

A.10.3.1) Besides this, did your third husband have any additional vocational or other training? (barber, auto mechanics, typing, accounting etc.)

.....

..... don't know/no answer

Schedule B :

B.1 Birth History

B.1.1 Number of pregnancies ..... B.1.2 Number of live births ..... male ..... female

B.1.3 Number of living children ..... male ..... female (Answer B.2-B.6 for all children who lived at least one month)

B.2 Child birth											B.3 Breastfeeding			B.4	B.5 Maternity leave			B.6
			Child alive				Sex		Age at adoption		Did you breastfeed			Did having child affect work status (codes below)				Thought about child care (codes below)
Birth order	Name of child	Day/Month/ Year	Yes	No	Age at death	Age of mother at birth	Male	Female	Mother	Child	Yes	No	Number of months		Type of leave (codes below)	How long	Didn't take leave	
1																		
2																		
3																		
4																		
5																		
6																		

B.4 :

No change : 1) Wasn't working
2) Went back to work after maternity leave

change : 3) Quit working
4) Reduced number of hours
5) Changed time of working
6) Changed job
7) Changed position at same job
8) Started working or worked more hours
9) Other .....

B.5 :

1) Took leave and went back to same job
2) Quit work and started working again (same job)
3) Quit work and started working again (different job)
8) Did not work

B.6 :

1) Yes, delayed pregnancy
2) Yes, but didn't delay pregancy
3) Thought about it after becoming pregnant
4) Did not think about it or discuss it

Schedule B : (Cont.)

B.2 Child birth											B.3 Breastfeeding			B.4	B.5 Maternity leave			B.6
			Child alive				Sex		Age at adoption		Did you breastfeed			Did having child affect work status (codes below)				Thought about child care (codes below)
Birth order	Name of child	Day/Month/ Year	Yes	No	Age at death	Age of mother at birth	Male	Female	Mother	Child	Yes	No	Number of months		Type of leave (codes below)	How long	Didn't take leave	
7																		
8																		
9																		
10																		
11																		
12																		

B.4 :

No change : 1) Wasn't working
2) Went back to work after maternity leave

Change : 3) Quit working
4) Reduced number of hours
5) Changed time of working
6) Changed job
7) Changed position at same job
8) Started working or worked more hours
9) Other .....

B.5 :

1) Took leave and went back to same job
2) Quit work and started working again (same job)
3) Quit work and started working again (different job)
8) Did not work

B.6 :

1) Yes, delayed pregnancy
2) Yes, but didn't delay pregancy
3) Thought about it after becoming pregnant
4) Did not think about it or discuss it

----------> **Women with no children: go to B.8**

B.7) Do you want to have any more children?

☐ NO :

B.7.1) Why don't you want to have more children? (if more than one reason, list 1,2,3 in order of importance)

1 not married or not fertile
2 already have enough children
3 cannot afford to have another child
4 no one to take care of a baby
5 child care is expensive
6 having a baby would interfere with work
7 other .....

GO TO B.9 ---------->

☐ YES :

B.7.2.1 How many more children would you like to have? .....
B.7.2.2 Are you currently delaying having your next child (by using contraception)?

☐ NO : GO TO B.9

☐ YES:

B.7.2.2.1 Why are you delaying having your next child? (if more than one answer, label 1, 2, 3 in order of importance):

1 want to move to a different house
2 have no one to take care of a baby
3 having a child is expensive
4 child care is expensive
5 having a baby would interfere with work
6 want to be have a more secure job first
7 want to have better financial status first
8 Other .....

B.7.2.2.2 How long would you like to delay having this child?
.....

GO TO B.9 ---------->

B.8) (Women with no children) Are you or your husband physically unable to have a child (infertile)?

☐ YES - go to section C
☐ NO OR DON'T KNOW:

B.8.1) How many children would you like to have? .....

B.8.2) Are you currently delaying having a child (by using contraception)?

☐ NO - Go to B.9 ---------->

☐ YES: B.8.2.1) Why are you delaying having your first child? (if more than one answer, label 1, 2, 3 in order of importance):

1 want to move to a different house
2 have no one to take care of a baby
3 having a child is expensive
4 child care is expensive
5 having a baby would interfere with work
6 want to be have a more secure job first
7 want to have better financial status first
8 Other .....

B.8.2.2) How long would you like to delay having this child? .....

B.9) Desired fertility -(women with children and non-infertile women with no children:) If you had enough money so that you didn't have to work, how many children would you have? .....

Schedule C : Women's work history

Age	Primary job				Secondary job			
	C.1 Work Status (see codes)	C.2 Houre Worked (see codes)	C.3 Work place (see codes)	C.4 Occupation	C.5 Work Status	C.6 Hours Worked (see codes)	C.7 Work place (see codes)	C.8 Occupation (see codes)
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20								
21								
22								
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								
28								
29								

C.1, C.5

1) Work for an employer - outside the home
2) Work for an employer - inside the home
3) Self-employed
4) Work for family - outside the home
5) Work for family - family business in the home
6) Work for family - household work, including' child care
7) Work for government/state enterprise
8) Student
9) Unemployed:
   - 9.1) Looking for a job
   - 9.2) Unable to find a job
   - 9.3) Disabled/unable to work due to illness
   - 9.4) Pregnant
   - 9.5) Do not want/need to work
10) Other

C.2 ; C.6

F Full-time: at least 5 days per week, at least 30 hours per week
P Part-time: about 10-29 hour per week
O Occasional: less than 10 hours per week, or work done only sometimes like seasonal work

C.3 ; C.7

1) Private company office
2) Government office
3) Factory
4) Market
5) Hospital/medical facility
6) School university
7) Shophouse
8) Home
9) Other

Schedule C: (Cont.)

Age	Primary job				Secondary job			
	C.1 Work Status (see codes)	C.2 Houre Worked (see codes)	C.3 Work place (see codes)	C.4 Occupation	C.5 Work Status	C.6 Hours Worked (see codes)	C.7 Work place (see codes)	C.8 Occupation (see codes)
30								
31								
32								
33								
34								
35								
36								
37								
38								
39								
40								
41								
42								
43								
44								

C.1, C.5

1) Work for an employer - outside the home
2) Work for an employer - inside the home
3) Self-employed
4) Work for family - outside the home
5) Work for family - family business in the home
6) Work for family - household work, including' child care
7) Work for government/state enterprise
8) Student
9) Unemployed:
   - 9.1) Looking for a job
   - 9.2) Unable to find a job
   - 9.3) Disabled/unable to work due to illness
   - 9.4) Pregnant
   - 9.5) Do not want/need to work
10) Other

C.2 ; C.6

F Full-time: at least 5 days per week, at least 30 hours per week
P Part-time: about 10-29 hour per week
O Occasional: less than 10 hours per week, or work done only sometimes like seasonal work

C.3 ; C.7

1) Private company office
2) Government office
3) Factory
4) Market
5) Hospital/medical facility
6) School university
7) Shophouse
8) Home
9) Other

Schedule D: Work history of husband

Present age of husband ..... (For women married more than once ask about each husband)

Age of woman	Age that woman married (mark with X)	Primary job				Secondary job			
		D.1 Work Status	D.2 Houre Worked	D.3 Work place	D.4 Occupation	D.5 Work Status	D.6 Hours Worked	D.7 Work place	D.8 Occupation
15									
16									
17									
18									
19									
20									
21									
22									
23									
24									
25									
26									
27									
28									
29									

D.1, D.5

1) Work for an employer - outside the home
2) Work for an employer - inside the home
3) Self-employed
4) Work for family - outside the home
5) Work for family - family business in the home
6) Work for family - household work, including' child care
7) Work for government/state enterprise
8) Student
9) Unemployed:
   - 9.1) Looking for a job
   - 9.2) Unable to find a job
   - 9.3) Disabled/unable to work due to illness
   - 9.4) Pregnant
   - 9.5) Do not want/need to work
10) Other

D.2 ; D.6

F Full-time: at least 5 days per week, at least 30 hours per week

P Part-time: about 10-29 hour per week

O Occasional: less than 10 hours per week, or work done only sometimes like seasonal work

D.3 ; D.7

1) Private company office
2) Government office
3) Factory
4) Market
5) Hospital/medical facility
6) School university
7) Shophouse
8) Home
9) Other

Schedule D: (Cont.)

Age of woman	Age that woman married (mark with X)	Primary job				Secondary job			
		D.1 Work Status	D.2 House Worked	D.3 Work place	D.4 Occupation	D.5 Work Status	D.6 Hours Worked	D.7 Work place	D.8 Occupation
30									
31									
32									
33									
34									
35									
36									
37									
38									
39									
40									
41									
42									
43									
44									

D.1, D.5

1) Work for an employer - outside the home
2) Work for an employer - inside the home
3) Self-employed
4) Work for family - outside the home
5) Work for family - family business in the home
6) Work for family - household work, including' child care
7) Work for government/state enterprise
8) Student
9) Unemployed:
   - 9.1) Looking for a job
   - 9.2) Unable to find a job
   - 9.3) Disabled/unable to work due to illness
   - 9.4) Pregnant
   - 9.5) Do not want/need to work
10) Other

D.2 ; D.6

F Full-time: at least 5 days per week, at least 30 hours per week
P Part-time: about 10-29 hour per week
O Occasional: less than 10 hours per week, or work done only sometimes like seasonal work

D.3 ; D.7

1) Private company office
2) Government office
3) Factory
4) Market
5) Hospital/medical facility
6) School university
7) Shophouse
8) Home
9) Other

Schedule E: Living apart from child (Oldest child)

E.1 Age of Child		E.2 Place		E.3 Reason for living apart	E.4 How often visited	E.5 Did you send things to the child					
From	To	With Who	Where			Yes	No	Money		Other things	
								How much	Frequency	What	Frequency

Schedule E: Living apart from child (Second child)

E.1 Age of Child		E.2 Place		E.3 Reason for living apart	E.4 How often visited	E.5 Did you send things to the child					
From	To	With Who	Where			Yes	No	Money		Other things	
								How much	Frequency	What	Frequency

Schedule E: Living apart from child (Youngest child)

E.1 Age of Child		E.2 Place		E.3 Reason for living apart	E.4 How often visited	E.5 Did you send things to the child					
From	To	With Who	Where			Yes	No	Money		Other things	
								How much	Frequency	What	Frequency

Schedule F : Child care (Oldest Child)

Age		F.1 Child care		F.2 Back-up care		F.3 How chose type of care	F.4 Number of people or schools	F.5 Expense		F.6 Special Expenses + Frequency (codes below)	F.7 Who takes child to and from child care/ school	F.8 Quality of care (codes below)	F.9 Problem/ disagreement with child care
From	To	Who	Where	Who	Where			How much	Frequency (day/ month/ term)				

F.6 :

1. Tea money
2. Insurance
3. Food
4. Bus

F.8 :

5. Excellent/very satisfied
4. Good/satisfied
3. O.K.
2. Not so good/some problem
1. Poor/very dissatisfied

Schedule F : Child care (Second Child)

Age		F.1 Child care		F.2 Back-up care		F.3 How chose type of care	F.4 Number of people or schools	F.5 Expense		F.6 Special Expenses + Frequency (codes below)	F.7 Who takes child to and from child care/ school	F.8 Quality of care (codes below)	F.9 Problem/ disagreement with child care
From	To	Who	Where	Who	Where			How much	Frequency (day/ month/ term)				

F.6 :

1. Tea money
2. Insurance
3. Food
4. Bus

F.8 :

5. Excellent/very satisfied
4. Good/satisfied
3. O.K.
2. Not so good/some problem
1. Poor/very dissatisfied

Schedule F : Child care (Youngest Child)

Age		F.1 Child care		F.2 Back-up care		F.3 How chose type of care	F.4 Number of people or schools	F.5 Expense		F.6 Special Expenses + Frequency (codes below)	F.7 Who takes child to and from child care/ school	F.8 Quality of care (codes below)	F.9 Problem/ disagreement with child care
From	To	Who	Where	Who	Where			How much	Frequency (day/ month/ term)				

F.6 :

1. Tea money
2. Insurance
3. Food
4. Bus

F.8 :

5. Excellent/very satisfied
4. Good/satisfied
3. O.K.
2. Not so good/some problem
1. Poor/very dissatisfied

----------> **Ask this section of women who worked outside the home when their children were under age 5**

F.10) Did you/do you ever take your child to work when they were less than 5 years old? (NO- go to section H)

ASK QUESTION F.10 ABOUT ALL CHILDREN, NOT EACH SPECIFIC CHILD

F.10.1) Why do/did you take your child/ren to work? (can answer more than one)

1 no one else to care for them
2 other child care too expensive
3 want them with mother
4 fun for them/children like it
5 other

F.10.2) How often do/did you take your child to work:

1 school vacation only
2 when child was sick
3 when cannot find anyone to take care of the child
4 sometimes/occasionally
5 every day/every time mother works

F.10.3) Does/did having your child at work interfere with your work?

5 to a great extent
4 to some extent
3 only a little bit
2 not at all
1 don't know

F.10.4) (for those taking their child to work who are not self-employed) Does/did your employer ever object to your taking your child to work?

5 to a great extent
4 to some extent
3 only a little bit
2 not at all
1 don't know

F.11.1) When ..... (first child) was less than five years old, did your husband help to care for him/her? What kind of care and how often?

ASK ABOUT EACH TYPE OF CARE AND CIRCLE THE NUMBER FOR THE FREQUENCY. IF FATHER WAS LIVING APART FROM THE CHILD FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD, SKIP THIS QUESTION.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day or every time	
Playing with or taking	0	1	2	3	NA
out for fun	0	1	2	3	NA
Giving a bath, feeding	0	1	2	3	NA
Cooking/cleaning/washing clothes	0	1	2	3	NA
Getting up with at night	0	1	2	3	NA
Looking after when mother is not there	0	1	2	3	NA
Take to school/pick up	0	1	2	3	NA
Other	0	1	2	3	NA

F.11.2) When ..... (second child) was less than five years old, did your husband help to care for him/her? What kind of care and how often?

ASK ABOUT EACH TYPE OF CARE AND CIRCLE THE NUMBER FOR THE FREQUENCY. IF FATHER WAS LIVING APART FROM THE CHILD FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD, SKIP THIS QUESTION.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day or every time	
Playing with or taking	0	1	2	3	NA
out for fun	0	1	2	3	NA
Giving a bath, feeding	0	1	2	3	NA
Cooking/cleaning/washing clothes	0	1	2	3	NA
Getting up with at night	0	1	2	3	NA
Looking after when mother is not there	0	1	2	3	NA
Take to school/pick up	0	1	2	3	NA
Other	0	1	2	3	NA

F.11.3) When ..... (youngest child) was less than five years old, did your husband help to care for him/her? What kind of care and how often?

ASK ABOUT EACH TYPE OF CARE AND CIRCLE THE NUMBER FOR THE FREQUENCY. IF FATHER WAS LIVING APART FROM THE CHILD FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD, SKIP THIS QUESTION.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day or every time	
Playing with or taking	0	1	2	3	NA
out for fun	0	1	2	3	NA
Giving a bath, feeding	0	1	2	3	NA
Cooking/cleaning/washing clothes	0	1	2	3	NA
Getting up with at night	0	1	2	3	NA
Looking after when mother is not there	0	1	2	3	NA
Take to school/pick up	0	1	2	3	NA
Other	0	1	2	3	NA

F.12.1) Did you ever have a disagreement with your husband about the care of ..... (first child)?

☐ NO - GO TO F.12.2

☐ YES - What kind of disagreement? .....

F.12.2) Did you ever have a disagreement with your husband about the care of ..... (second child)?

☐ NO - GO TO F.12.3

☐ YES - What kind of disagreement? .....

F.12.3) Did you ever have a disagreement with your husband about the care of ..... (youngest child)?

☐ NO - GO TO SECTION G

☐ YES - What kind of disagreement? .....

Section G:
Attitudes about child care

G.1) In your own opinion what is the ideal length of time to stop working after having a baby? ..... days/months/years

G.2) When you were a child (less than 5 years old) did your mother work outside the home?

- ☐ DON'T KNOW ..... go to G.3
- ☐ NO ..... go to G.3
- ☐ YES .....

What type of work?

1 work for an employer
2 work on own account
3 work for family (no wage) - farm work
4 work for family (no wage) - family business
5 work for family (no wage) - other
6 work for government/state enterprise
7 other
8 don't know

G.3.1) In your opinion who is the most suitable person to care for a child in these age groups?

Interviewer: ASK FIRST CHOICE FOR EACH AGE GROUP AND FILL INTO THE TABLE BELOW. FIRST ASK THE IDEAL TYPE OF CARE FOR EACH AGE GROUP. THEN ASK QUESTION G.3.2 FOR THE AGE GROUPS THAT THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED "THE MOTHER"

G.3.2) You said that the mother is the best person to take care of a child age ..... What if the mother is unable to do so (because she is working or for another reason) - what is the best second choice?

	Ideal type of care	Best second choice (if 1st is mother)
Age under 6 mos.		
Age 6 mos.-1 year		
Age 1-3 years		
Age 3-5 years		

Section H:
Commuting and Household Socioeconomic Status
(Ask all questions about the present situation.)

QUESTION H.1-H.3 ARE FOR WOMEN WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME

H.1) What hours do you usually work: from ..... to .....
What time do you usually leave home? .....
What time do you usually return home? .....
How long does it take you to get to work? ..... hours ..... minutes

H.2) How many days per week do you work? .....

H.3) How do you get to work: (multiple response permitted)
1 walk
2 car
3 motorcycle
4 taxi/samlor
5 city bus
6 special bus
7 train
8 other .....

QUESTIONS H.4-H.6 ARE FOR CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

H.4) What hours does your husband usually work: from ..... to .....
What time does your husband usually leave home? .....
What time does he usually return home? .....
How long does it take him to get to work? ..... hours ..... minutes

H.5) How many days per week does your husband usually work? .....

H.6) How does your husband get to work: (multiple response permitted)

1 walk
2 car
3 motorcycle
4 taxi/samlor
5 city bus
6 special bus
7 train
8 other .....

QUESTIONS H.7-H.9 ARE FOR THOSE WITH CHILDREN CURRENTLY ATTENDING NURSERY, SCHOOL OR UNIVERSITY. IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD IN ONE AGE CATEGORY, WRITE THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

H.7) Who takes the child/ren to school:

Children <age 5:

..... mother
..... father
..... both mother and father
..... older brother/sister
..... grandparent
..... other relative
..... servant/housemaid
..... school bus/van
..... self
..... other .....

Children age 5-9:

..... mother
..... father
..... both mother and father
..... older brother/sister
..... grandparent
..... other relative
..... servant/housemaid
..... school bus/van
..... self
..... other .....

Children <age 10-14:

..... mother
..... father
..... both mother and father
..... older brother/sister
..... grandparent
..... other relative
..... servant/housemaid
..... school bus/van
..... self
..... other .....

Children age 15+:

..... mother
..... father
..... both mother and father
..... older brother/sister
..... grandparent
..... other relative
..... servant/housemaid
..... school bus/van
..... self
..... other .....

H.8) How do they get to school:

Age <5:	**Age 5-9:**	**Age 10-14:**	**Age 15+:**
... walk	... walk	... walk	...walk
... car	... car	... car	... car
... motorcycle	... motorcycle	... motorcycle	... motorcycle
... taxi/samlor	... taxi/samlor	... taxi/samlor	... taxi/samlor
... city bus	... city bus	... city bus	... city bus
... school bus	... school bus	... school bus	... school bus
... train	... train	... train	... train
... other	... other	... other	... other

H.9) How long does it take them to get to school?

Child 1: ..... hours ..... minutes
Child 2: ..... hours ..... minutes
Child 3: ..... hours ..... minutes
Child 4: ..... hours ..... minutes
Child 5: ..... hours ..... minutes
Child 6: ..... hours ..... minutes

H.10) Type of dwelling living in now:

..... owned house/townhouse
..... owned condominium/flat
..... rented house/townhouse, rental rate ..... baht/month
..... rented apartment/flat, rental rate ..... baht/month
..... rented room, rental rate ..... baht/month
..... owned shophouse (or long-term lease)
..... rented shophouse, rental rate ..... baht/month
..... temporary dwelling (such as squatter house)
..... other

H.11) Do you or your spouse own any land, besides the land that your house is located on?

..... Yes, ... rai/tarangwa
location ..... province or district (Bangkok)
..... No

H.12) Do you or your spouse own a house or houses, other than the house that you live in?

..... Yes, ... houses

location ..... province or district (Bangkok)

..... No

H.13) Do you own any of the following items:

..... number of cars

..... motorcycle

..... other vehicle

..... video

..... telephone

..... air conditioner
