

# Marrying up: trading off spousal income and height

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# Matching on "stature"

- Couple's heights tend to match (Weitzman and Conley 2014).
- For the sake of height alone or traits associated with "stature":
  - cognitive ability
    - (Case and Paxson 2008),
  - non-cognitive ability, e.g., self-confidence
    - (Persico, Postlewaite, and Silverman 2004),
  - health
    - (Lundborg, Nystedt, and Rooth 2009),
  - education, occupation, and industry
    - (Case, Paxson, and Islam 2009; Herpin 2005),

# Matching on “stature”

- income/socioeconomic status

- (Cavelaars et al. 2000; Case and Paxson 2008; Gao and Smyth 2010; Hatton and Bray 2010; Harper 2000; Heineck 2005; Peck and Lundberg 1995; Persico, Postlewaite, and Silverman 2004; Singh-Manoux et al. 2010; Walker, Shaper, and Wannamethee 1988),

- and even happiness

- (Deaton and Arora 2009)?

- Importantly, unlike these other traits,

- height is readily observable and

- may be crucial for initial sorting among potential couples.

# Matching on stature, inequality, and social mobility

- Matching on height alone may increase
  - within-generation inequality in associated traits across families
    - (Schwartz 2013; Schwartz and Mare 2005)
  - that continue across generations
  - since height is highly heritable
    - (McEvoy and Visscher 2009; Stulp and Barrett 2016),
- Matching on height may perpetuate the continued association between height and social class.
- However, despite the potential importance of matching on height and associated socioeconomic status,
  - there is little work in economics on how people search and match on height and socioeconomic status (Belot & Fidrmuc, 2010).

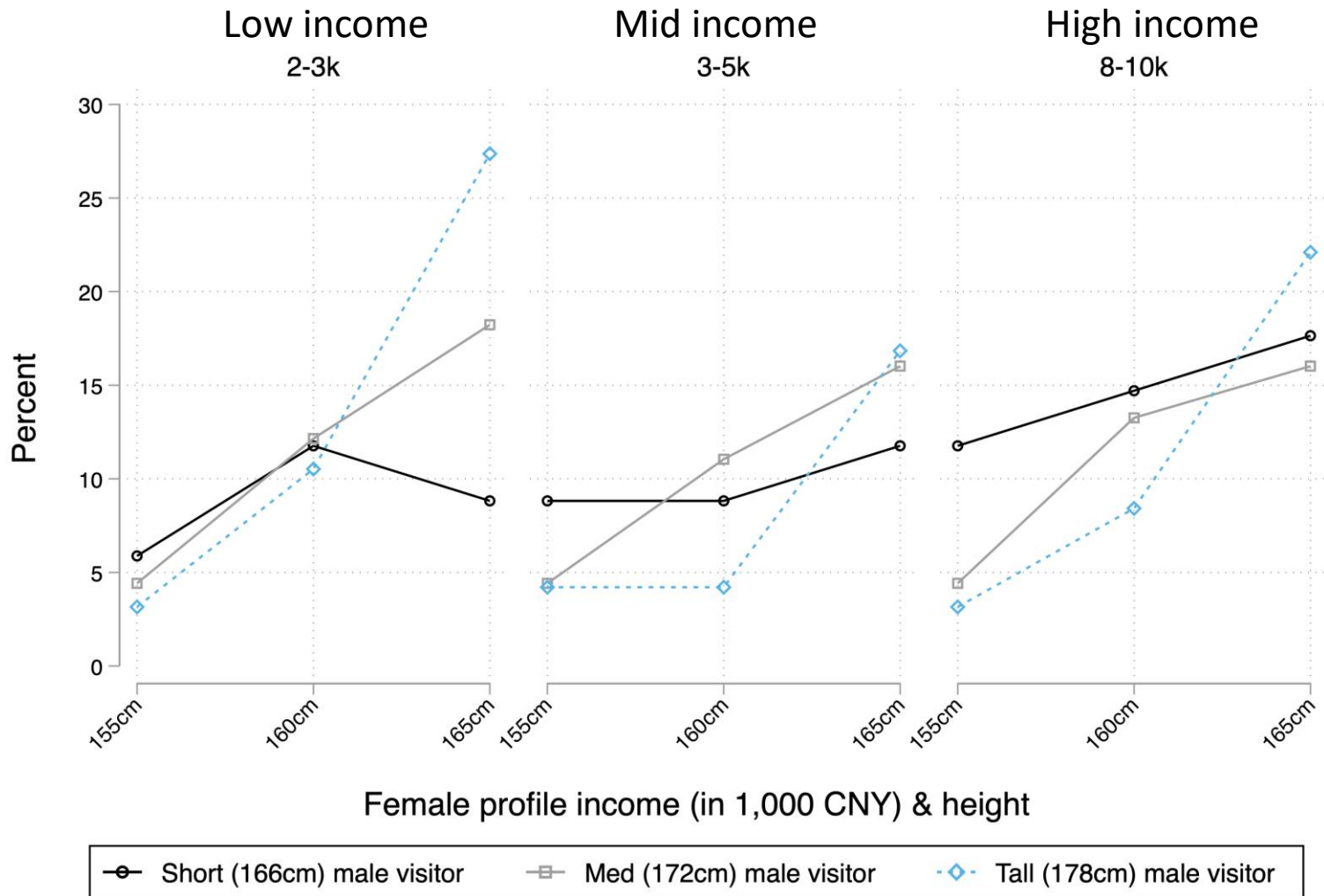
# Search and matching on height and income

- Our research questions:
  - How do people search and match on height and income?
  - How do they tradeoff between the two?
- We explore these questions with
  - field experiment data from large (100+ mil members) online dating website in China (where reported income and height are observable),
  - household survey data of married couples
  - within multidimensional directed search framework.
- Nascent literature on multidimensional non-directed search and matching
  - (Eeckhout, 2018; Lindenlaub & Postel-Vinay, 2020; Chiappori et al., 2021).
- None on multidimensional directed search (Wright et al. 2021).

# Online dating field experiment

- Randomly assigned heights and incomes to 360 unique artificial profiles in 2013. Closed after 24 hrs.
- Heights were one standard deviation below (short), at (medium), or above (tall) the average heights of each gender:
  - 160 cm for women and
  - 172 cm for men in the cities of the experiment.
- Also randomly assigned “low”, “middle”, and “high” incomes.
- We counted “visits”—clicks to abbreviated profiles from search engine results,
  - which display height and income information.

# Men's visits to female profiles



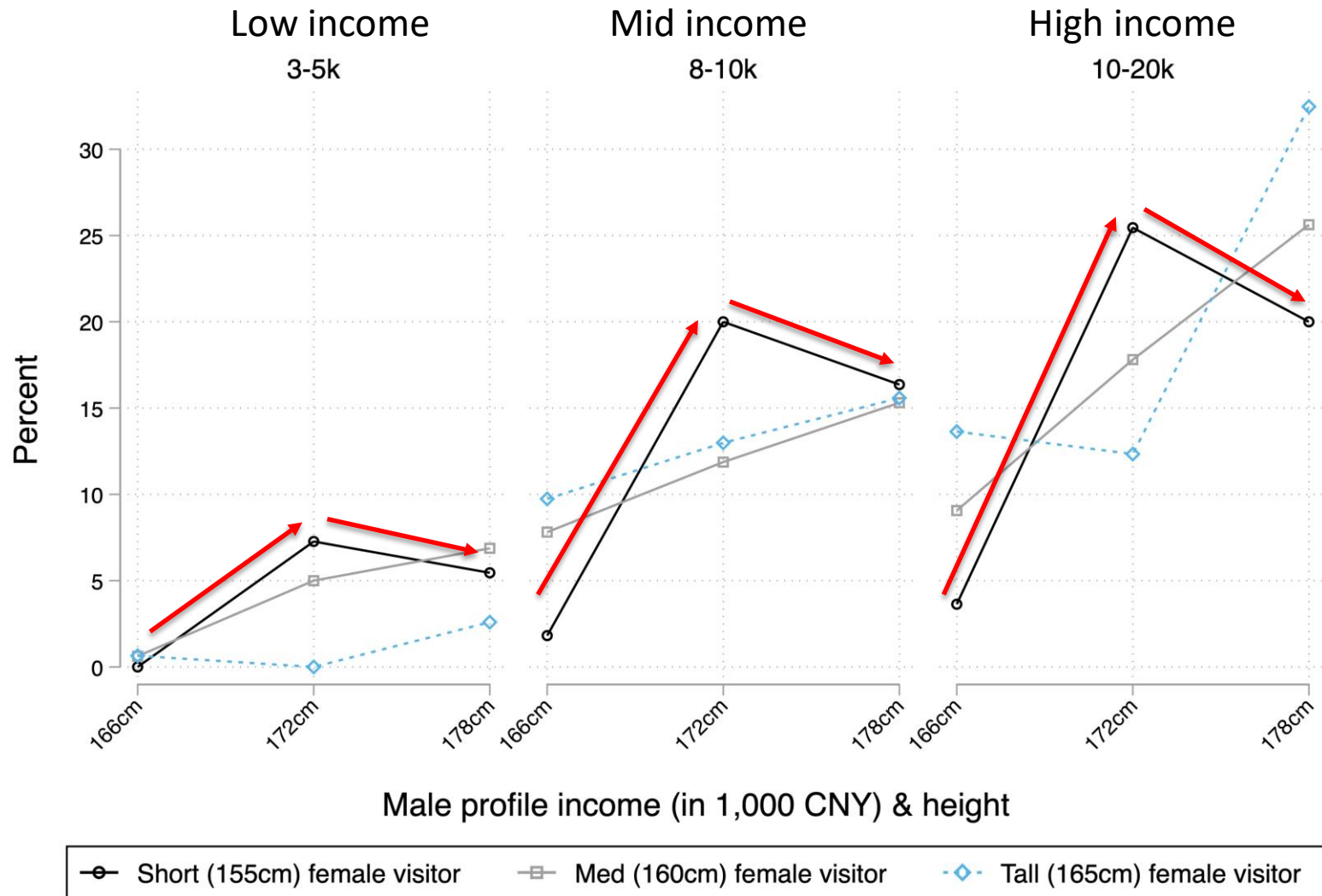
Except for short men, men are indifferent to female profile's income, but do visit taller women more.

# Men are largely indifferent to the incomes of female profiles but prefer taller female profiles

Female profile	Visit percent	
	(1)	(2)
Profile income	0.046*	-0.000
Profile height	0.020	0.062***
Profile income*short man dummy		0.046
Profile height*short man dummy		-0.042*
Profile income*medium man dummy	-0.046	
Profile height*medium man dummy	0.042*	
Profile income*tall man dummy	-0.053	-0.007
Profile height*tall man dummy	0.073***	0.031
City dummies	Y	Y
Observations	540	540
R-squared	0.086	0.086



# Women's visits to male profiles



Peak at 172 cm for short women can either be from satiation or competition from tall women.

# Women's visits increase on male profile's height and income

Male profile	Visit percent	
	(1)	(2)
Profile income	0.054***	0.060***
Profile height	4.684***	0.366
Profile height <sup>2</sup>	-0.013***	-0.001
Profile income*short woman dummy		-0.006
Profile height*short woman dummy		4.318***
Profile height <sup>2</sup> *short woman dummy		-0.013***
Profile income*medium woman dummy	0.006	
Profile height*medium woman dummy	-4.318***	
Profile height <sup>2</sup> *medium woman dummy	0.013***	
Profile income*tall woman dummy	0.028*	0.023
Profile height*tall woman dummy	-6.560***	-2.242
Profile height <sup>2</sup> *tall woman dummy	0.019***	0.007
City dummies	Y	Y
Observations	540	540
R-squared	0.276	0.276

## Inferring preferences from relative search rates (RSR)

- Tall men's and women's search patterns do not reveal their preference for height.
  - Either could be maximizing probability of reciprocity because they know of the other's sexes' preference for taller mate.
- Short women's generally higher visit rate to taller men
  - in spite of men's higher search intensity for taller women,
  - suggests that short women may have highest WTP for mate height.

## Women's relative RSR for taller or richer men

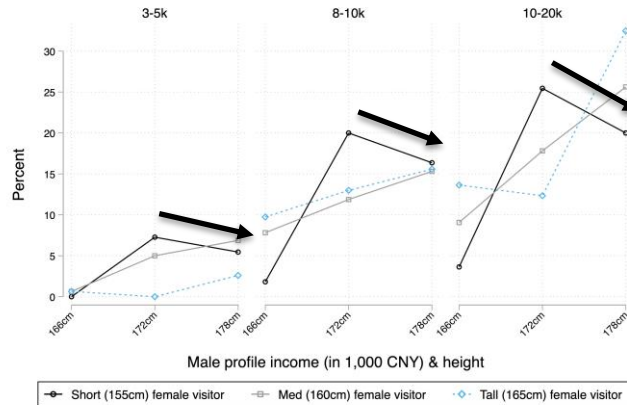
<b>RSR at 166cm men</b>	(1)	(2)
Short woman	0.457***	
Medium woman	0.107	
Tall woman	-0.043	
Chi2 test of differences of RSRs		
short = medium	chi2(1)= 5.17	p= 0.023**
short = tall	chi2(1)= 12.32	p= 0.000***
medium = tall	chi2(1)= 2.21	p= 0.137
<b>RSR at 172cm men</b>		
Short woman	0.109***	
Medium woman	0.084***	
Tall woman	0.053***	
Chi2 test of differences of RSRs		
short = medium	chi2(1)= 0.32	p= 0.570
short = tall	chi2(1)= 2.20	p= 0.138
medium = tall	chi2(1)= 0.90	p= 0.342
<b>RSR at 178cm men</b>		
Short woman	-0.239**	
Medium woman	0.062	
Tall woman	0.149**	
Chi2 test of differences of RSRs		
short = medium	chi2(1)=5.49	p=0.019**
short = tall	chi2(1)= 10.98	p= 0.000***
medium = tall	chi2(1)= 0.74	p= 0.389

## RSR and WTP for height

- Is peak of short women's visit rate at 172 cm evidence of satiation point?
- Stulp et al.'s (2013) survey of a large sample of speed daters in US finds
  - 155 cm women most prefer 180 cm men.
- Importantly, within framework of multidimensional directed search,
  - relative search rates  $\left( RSR = \frac{\left( \frac{\% \Delta \text{visits}}{\% \Delta \text{height}} \right)}{\left( \frac{\% \Delta \text{visits}}{\% \Delta \text{income}} \right)} \right)$  does not reveal WTP for height.
- RSR incorporates effect of competition.

# How competition from tall women can cause short women's RSR to switch from positive to negative even with linear preference for height

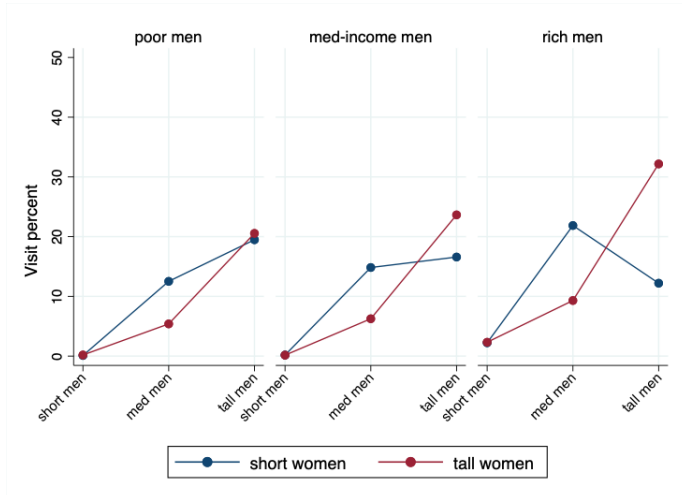
## Experimental data



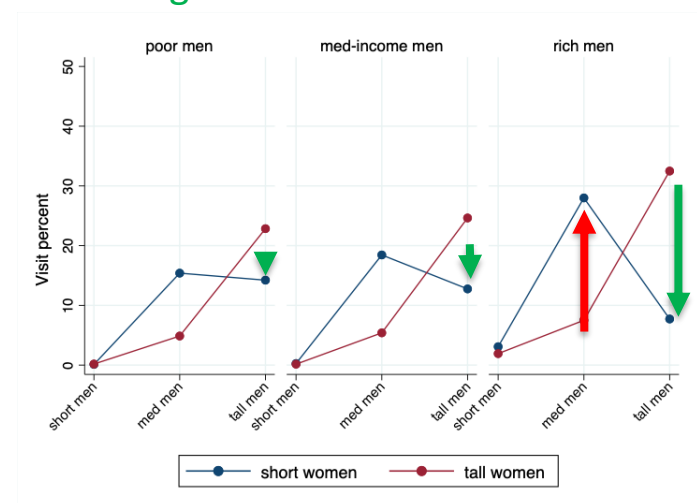
Increasing negative slope is consistent with crowding out of short women from searching for taller to richer men by taller women

## Simulation data

### Positive RSR for short women



### Negative RSR for short women



## Deriving WTP from household survey data of married couples

- China Family Panel Studies (CFPS) is a comprehensive survey of individual-, family-, and community-level data across China.
  - Chinese counterpart of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in the US.
- Includes 16,000 households in 25 provinces and is representative for the whole population of China.
- We restrict the sample to the 2191 married couples living in urban areas with hukou, both aged 20-45, and husband with positive income.
- We drop the observations whose height and weight are beyond three standard deviations from the mean,
  - which are either outliers or possibly recording mistakes during the survey,
  - leaving us a final sample of 2147 couples for analysis.

# SUR Regressions of CFPS data: Short wives have highest WTP for husband height

	Short wife (<1 s.d.)		Med wife		Tall wife (>1 s.d.)	
	Wife's education	Wife's beauty	Wife's education	Wife's beauty	Wife's education	Wife's beauty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Husband's log income	0.976***	0.176**	1.489***	0.209***	1.227***	0.219*
Husband's height	0.163***	0.032**	0.089***	0.009**	0.115***	0.000
Husband's and wife's age and province fixed effects	Y		Y		Y	
Observations	393		1,323		409	
Corr(residuals)	0.180***		0.203***		0.133***	
Breusch-Pagan test	chi2(1) = 12.680, Pr = 0.000		chi2(1) = 54.578, Pr = 0.000		chi2(1) = 7.281, Pr = 0.007	
Wald tests:						
Within columns:						
Husband's height /	0.167**	0.185*	0.060***	0.041*	0.094***	0.002
Husband's log income	(0.066)	(0.112)	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.034)	(0.570)
	chi2(1) = 0.05, Pr = 0.823		chi2(1) = 0.69, Pr = 0.408		chi2(1) = 1.63, Pr = 0.202	
Log likelihood	-1655.375		-5448.073		-1685.064	
LR test:						
H0: WTP constant across wife groups	short = med		med = tall		short = tall	
	chi2(2) = 9.124**, Pr = 0.010		chi2(2) = 7.071**, Pr = 0.029		chi2(2) = 9.836***, Pr = 0.007	



## WTP for height from CFPS data

- For short wives, 1 cm increase in husband height is equivalent to 17-19 percent increase in his income,
  - more than three times that of the medium wife and twice that of tall wives.
- Short wife's stronger demand for height could be driven by desire for taller children,
  - given widespread height discrimination in China (Kuhn and Shen 2013).
- One way to test for this is to look at WTP for height among women who have children earlier when men are more plentiful.
- Confirming this conjecture, short early mothers' (give birth age  $\leq 24$ ) WTP for height increases most
  - among all heights of women
  - with the availability of men as measured by the local sex ratio.

# Crowding out of short women in marriage market

- Given that short women have the highest intensity preference for mate height,
  - prior work suggests that they could lose out further in the competition for taller men,
  - when, paradoxically, these men become more plentiful (Ong et al., JDE 2020),
  - because the increase in the numbers of taller men
  - may disproportionately increase the “entry” of taller women into market for taller men.
- In other words, taller women may switch from prioritizing marrying richer men to marrying taller men
  - when there are more men, which crowds out shorter women.

## Restriction in the age range in CFPS data

- We narrow the age range to those aged 20-30 to cover the range when women transition from singlehood to married life in China.
- The median age of first marriage for women in 2005 was 23. 98.5 percent were married by the age of 30.
- The 2010 Census does not contain micro-level data.
- However, CFPS data for 2010 shows a similar pattern as the 2005 Census.

# Logit regressions of woman's marriage probability

(Medium woman as benchmark)	married=1; single=0	
	$\pm 1$ s.d.	$\pm 2$ s.d.
	(1)	(2)
Short woman	-0.092	-0.727
Tall woman	-0.412***	-1.191
Sex ratio	4.464** (1.763)	4.257** (1.729)
Sex ratio*short woman	-6.421** (2.851)	-8.057* (4.868)
Sex ratio*tall woman	0.761 (1.467)	-1.289 (8.104)
Log income	-0.083***	-0.084***
Age, edu, and province dummies	Y	Y
Constant	1.598	1.563
Observations	1,677	1,677
Pseudo R2	0.388	0.389

# Crowding out of short women in marriage market

- Only short women's probability of marriage
  - decreases on local sex ratios, both relative to medium women and absolutely.
- A 10 percent increase in the sex ratio
  - decreases the marriage probability of short women by 2 percentage points in absolute terms and
  - 6 percentage points compared with medium women,
  - who are more likely to marry when sex ratio increases.

# Summary of results

- We show that both men and women
  - search more for taller members of the opposite sex.
- Surprisingly, women's height preference is inversely related to their own height,
  - with short women having the highest intensity preference for mate height, and that
  - possibly for the sake of acquiring the advantages of height and non-income associated factors for their children.
- We show evidence that short women are crowded out of
  - searching for taller men and into searching for richer men by taller women
  - marriage market by taller women when, ironically, there are more men available to marry.