



Research Report

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Gender Division of Household Labor in Vietnam: Cohort Trends and Regional Variations

Report 08-658
October 2008

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Population Studies Center Research Report 08-658

ABSTRACT

This study addresses the extent of change and regional differences in gender roles in the Vietnamese family based on innovative surveys in northern and southern Vietnam. The similarities and differences in political, economic, and social histories between northern and southern Vietnam provide a compelling setting to investigate the impact of socialist policies and the recent shift from a centrally planned to a market economy on gender stratification in the domestic spheres. We assess determinants of the gender division of household labor among three marriage cohorts that underwent early marital years during 1) the Vietnam War and mass mobilization, 2) nationwide socialist collectivization and economic stagnation, and 3) market reform. We find that Vietnamese wives still do the vast majority of housework. In this sense, government efforts to change gender roles apparently have had at most limited success. Vietnamese husbands in the most recent marriage cohort, however, are more involved in household budget management and childcare than those in the two earlier cohorts. Thus, contrary to claims of some observers, evidence does not suggest that gender equality in the Vietnamese household has been deteriorating after the market reform.

Introduction

Vietnam's transformation from a centrally planned to a market economy in the late 1980s has led to impressive economic growth, rapid poverty reduction, and improved living standards. One of the overarching research questions is how this sweeping economic success and dramatic social change have affected gender stratification in the post-socialist society, where many gender equalization programs were put in place for decades prior to the market reform. Most research has focused on the changing status of Vietnamese women in the public spheres, including educational attainment, earnings, occupational status, job mobility, and political representation (Desai 2001; Goodkind 1996; Hainsworth 1993; Korinek 2004; Le 1995; Liu 2002; Tran 1996; Truong et al. 1995). Much less is known about how women fare in the domestic spheres, particularly the division of household labor which is one of the most persistent forms of gender inequality. In this study we address the extent of change in gender roles in the Vietnamese family based on innovative surveys in northern and southern parts of Vietnam. We focus on examining the patterns of change that took place over the last four decades as well as documenting regional differences in the gender division of household labor.

Throughout the 20th century Vietnam underwent major social upheavals and structural transformation, including massive military mobilization, periods of socialist collectivization, decades of continuous wars, severe economic stagnation, and market liberalization. Yet, during this period, northern and southern regions of Vietnam, which were temporarily under separate governments between 1954 and 1975, differed quite remarkably in their political, social, and economic trajectories (Keyes 1995, Rambo 1973). For example, the North had a much longer exposure to socialist policies and laws which promoted female labor force participation, partly out of necessity to free men for fighting for independence, but also to discourage some Confucian-based family practices deemed backward such as arranged marriage and elaborate wedding ceremonies (Malarney 2002).

Meanwhile, the South had a greater access to information and perspectives from the West through several decades of the French and American presence. These regional differences are likely to have implications for marriage and family. Recent studies document significant north-south variations in marriage rituals (Goodkind 1995), family living arrangement (Truong et al. 1997), household composition (Belanger 2000), and premarital sexual behaviors (Ghuman et al.

2006). Likewise, the different historical trajectories between northern and southern Vietnam may differentially affect the extent to which wives and husbands in these two regions share unpaid domestic tasks.

Existing research on gender domestic roles in Vietnam shows that Vietnamese women continue to do a majority of housework and little has changed over time in terms of husbands' contributions to household labor (Houtrat and Lemercinier 1984; Le 1995; Long et al. 2000; Pham 1999; Vu 1991). While offering consistent findings to research in other settings, these studies have certain limitations. Most of them rely on anecdotal evidence or convenience samples focusing on one geographic area of Vietnam. They usually lack baseline data and therefore, are unable to evaluate change over time. A partial exception is a recent study by Knodel and colleagues that examines patterns of domestic gender roles in the Red River Delta in northern Vietnam (Knodel et al. 2005). The present study extends this earlier work by also incorporating a subsequent parallel survey conducted in southern Vietnam that covered provinces surrounding and including Ho Chi Minh City thus permitting regional comparisons. Together the two surveys comprise the Vietnam Study of Family Change.¹

The similarities and differences in political, economic, and social histories between northern and southern Vietnam provide a compelling setting to investigate the roles of structural and ideational change – particularly the impact of socialist policies and recent decollectivization – on gender stratification in the domestic spheres. We assess trends and determinants of the gender division of household labor among three marriage cohorts that underwent early marital years during Vietnam's three recent major historical periods: 1) the Vietnam War and mass mobilization, 2) nationwide socialist collectivization and widespread economic recession, and 3) market reform and economic revitalization. Within bivariate and multivariate frameworks, we examine the contributions of wives and husbands to unpaid household labor, including household budget management, routine household chores, and childrearing tasks for preschool and early school age children. While the analysis is primarily descriptive, we explore selected

¹ Vietnam is officially divided into seven regions: the Red River Delta, Northeast, Northwest, North Central Coast, Central Highlands, Southeast, and Mekong River Delta. The two study sites of the Vietnam Family Surveys were located in the three most populous regions and covered the Red River Delta in the north and parts of the Southeast and the Mekong River Delta in the south. These three regions account for over half of the 84-million total population (Vietnam General Statistics Office 2006).

factors that potentially influence the division of household labor. Consistent with the relevant literature, we address the influence on the roles in household tasks of urban versus rural residence, wife's education and occupational status, and the presence of other people in the household besides the married couple.

Background

The division of household labor has generally been studied as interplay between work and family and as an embodiment of gender relationships (Coltrane 2000). In this section, we review major theoretical perspectives used to explain the allocation of household labor and their applicability to the contexts of northern and southern Vietnam. These perspectives include time availability of each spouse, exchange between spousal resources, and gender role ideology (Shelton and John 1996).

Time availability: This perspective depicts the division of household labor as a result of husband's and wife's competing time commitment. The spouse who is not employed or who works for pay for a smaller number of hours is expected to contribute more to housework. Like other post-socialist countries, Vietnam has one of the world's highest rates of female economic participation. According to the most recent data from the International Labor Organization, 84 percent of Vietnamese women ages 25-54 are economically active (ILO 2006). Their labor force participation tends to continue throughout the life course without interruption for childbearing and childrearing (Haub and Phuong 2003). With expanding economic opportunities and rising consumer culture following the market reform, Vietnamese wives and mothers typically cope with greater household financial demands by intensifying their paid workloads and hours (Korinek 2004).

Women's participation in the workforce is not a recent phenomenon in Vietnam. Historically, women in mainland Southeast Asia including Vietnam were known for being economically active, especially in petty trading. John Crawford who visited Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) in 1822 observed that "women alone attended in the shops" (Crawford 1828 cited in Keyes 1995: 186). Following the declaration of the socialist government in Hanoi in 1945, a resolution on equal rights of men and women in all fields was issued in 1946. Moreover, according to Resolution 153 issued in 1967, women were to fill at least 35 percent of all jobs and

50-70 percent in the education, medicine, and light industry sectors. Additionally, since men were massively mobilized to war creating a severe shortage of male labor, women were even more actively recruited to participate in the agricultural and industrial labor force. Attempts were made in the North during the wartime to alter the domestic division of labor by establishing a collective unit to help share childcare, laundry, food preparation, and other household services. However, many of these services aiming to reduce women's burden of domestic work were short-lived due to inadequate funding (White 1989).

While this perspective is applicable to Vietnam in the sense that wives' participation into the modern workforce potentially competes with the time women traditionally devote for domestic chores, the theory does not pay adequate attention to the roles of someone other than the spouses in being mainly responsible for domestic chores. In both northern and southern Vietnam, married couples often live with the husband's parents during the first few years of their marriage (Hirschman and Vu 1996; Pham 1999). Thus, in some circumstances, someone other than the husband or wife could be in charge of a certain domestic task. According to a study in the Red River Delta, the husband's parents are typically responsible for household budget management and for food purchase during the early stage of marriage (Knodel et al. 2005). As time passes, the patterns reverse. The differences by stage of marriage reflect changes in living arrangement and household composition (the presence of children and mortality of parents in particular) over the course of marriage. Within this theoretical framework, therefore, not only are husband's and wife's competing time commitment to be considered but we also need to recognize the contribution of other household members/non-members in the allocation of household labor.

Resource exchange: According to this perspective, the division of labor between husband and wife reflects the power differences between them. The spouse with the most resources does the least housework. Relative resources are often measured in terms of education, earnings, and occupational status. Under the French colonial rule, educational opportunities in Vietnam were restricted to a small segment of the population and largely to males. In the 1950s, the government of North Vietnam expended considerable efforts to provide basic education for children as well as for adults. As a result, literacy and school enrollment rates in northern Vietnam improved significantly (Woodside 1983). During decades prior to the reunification,

higher percentages of persons in the North than in the South received any particular level of education although subsequently the North-South differential has narrowed (Truong et al. 1995). After 1975, attempts were made to establish mass education under the Communist system throughout the country; yet, these efforts were challenged by inadequate resource allocation during the 1980s. The age pattern of educational attainment evident in the 2002 Demographic and Health Survey shows that there was stagnation in secondary school enrollment throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.² It was not until the mid-1990s that a significant improvement was observed for educational enrollment at all levels (Nguyen 2004). Despite the inconsistent educational development, gender gaps in schooling have been continually narrowing throughout Vietnam (Knodel and Jones 1996) and in recent years, women are no longer at a disadvantage to men.³

Researchers document northern Vietnamese women's substantial gain in leadership and occupational positions during the war years (Eisen 1984; Hainsworth 1993). Yet, the gain appeared to be temporary. Throughout the 1980s when the economy was in recession, state enterprises which were prevalent in northern Vietnam underwent substantial retrenchment. Female workers and cadres were less likely than their male counterparts to retain their government jobs (Goodkind 1995). In addition to the public sector, private enterprise and commerce which had a longer history in the South also suffered a great deal; yet, they endured during the reunification period (Hiebert 1992). Studies in other post-socialist settings find that the dismantling of the collective structure and subsidization system has resulted in a shift towards women doing more household duties (Entwisle and Henderson 2000). Therefore, the disappearance of subsidized daycare services could possibly lead to greater domestic work burdens placed on Vietnamese women during the post-reform period.

² For example, there is little change evident in the proportion who had any secondary schooling among those reaching age 20 between 1980 and 1994 (original analysis).

³ For example, analysis of the 2002 Demographic and Health Survey indicates that among the 15-19 age group virtually identical proportions of males and females completed primary school and have at least some secondary school and among the 20-24 age group virtually identical proportions completed secondary school and actually a higher percent of females (5.8%) than males (3.4%) had some tertiary education (original analysis).

The market reform revitalized the Vietnamese economy and created diverse economic opportunities (Dollar et al. 1998). The gender earning gaps in Vietnam appear to have declined rapidly after the reform. According to the Asian Development Bank (2002), women's income was 69 percent of men's in 1992-3. The gender wage gap narrowed to 22 percent by 1998 and fell to 15 percent in 2002 (Vietnam General Statistics Office 2004). Yet, some researchers warn that gender wage gaps could have increased in certain economic sectors such as the private sector which has expanded rapidly after the market reform (Liu 2002). Clearly, over the course of the 20th century, Vietnamese women experienced remarkable improvement in educational attainment, income, and job mobility (Desai 2001). Still, as many studies suggest, such improvement was not linear and did not necessarily close all the gender gaps. The differences between women from northern and southern Vietnam were also distinct. The relative resource perspective ought to recognize the dynamic patterns of Vietnamese women's status in the public spheres.

Gender role ideology: This perspective ties the division of labor to gender role attitudes. That is, men and women with more egalitarian attitudes are expected to have more equal divisions of household tasks. During the 20th century, Vietnam's gender ideology has undergone significant changes (Pettus 2003). According to Confucian traditions, women's roles are domestically oriented. They are thought to be dependent on men throughout their life course (Pham 1999; Tran 1996). In practice, however, when compared to China, Confucianism appears to be less stringent in Vietnam, particularly in the South (Do 1991; Keyes 1995; Werner and Belanger 2002). For example, in pre-colonial Vietnam, women had legal rights to inherit and own land (Ta 1981). Additionally, instead of being perceived as dependent on their sons, Vietnamese widows enjoyed a high status as a matriarch of the family.

Gender equality was already declared as a central goal in 1930 with the founding of the Communist Party of Indochina (Fahey 1998). The Communist Party aimed to replace traditional Confucian-based gender ideologies by eradicating private property and women's domestic roles. Several laws were designed to discourage arranged marriage, polygamy, child marriage, and elaborate wedding practices. Studies show that these laws were quite successful in changing the nature of mate selection and marriage practices, especially in northern Vietnam (Malarney 2002). Another relevant state apparatus was the Women's Union – a grassroots-level mass organization

established with a goal to safeguard women's interests while being loyal to the Communist Party and nationalist agendas. After reunification, the government continued to initiate laws and policies aimed to transform gender systems in both public and private domains. For example, the 1986 Marriage and Family law states that husbands and wives are equal in all aspects of family life (Tran 1996; Wisensale 2000). Unlike the North, the South of Vietnam was not exposed to these socialist gender equalization programs until 1975. The government's efforts to spread these ideas to the South were often met with less compliance (Goodkind 1996). Despite a shorter exposure to socialist initiatives, residents in the South – especially urban elites – might have already been familiar with the western concepts of gender equality through a wide array of information from western newspapers, magazines, and televisions due to the long-term presence of France and the US (Hiebert 1992).

With the reduction of state controls on individual lives following the market reform, researchers argue that patriarchal traditions and values may have returned and could potentially harm the positions of Vietnamese women (Goodkind 1995; Luong 2003). Nonetheless, the government continues to promote gender equality as evident in enacting the 2007 Law of Gender Equality (ADB 2007). Over the last decade, there have also been relatively new forces in Vietnam from non-governmental organizations, the United Nations, and international donor agencies to promote gender equality and women empowerment. Gender issues have been mainstreamed in most development projects (Vietnam National Committee for Advancement of Women 2004). As a result, gender awareness programs have been carried out throughout Vietnam, particularly in rural areas. These efforts could serve as another source for change in attitudes related to family.

The literature in both western and non-western settings suggest that none of the three major theoretical perspectives reviewed here are dominant in the sense that anyone explains all or most of the variations in gender division of household labor. The purpose of this study is not to test competing theories. We treat all of them as complimentary and try to use them to understand the adjustments Vietnamese couples make to allocate domestic labor in response to various structural and ideational changes. Prior literature and theoretical arguments would lead to the expectations that women's increased educational attainment and participation in the modern workforce will be positively associated with husbands' contribution to domestic work and that

such relationships will be reinforced by Vietnam's ideological movements towards gender egalitarianism. At the same time, these relations are likely to be conditioned by factors that affect time availability of couples such as the presence of other household members who takes major responsibility of housework. Further, the different historical trajectories between northern and southern Vietnam would also lead to anticipation that there will be regional and cohort variations in the division of domestic labor. In this paper, we examine the extent to which such expectations are borne out in actuality.

Data and Methods

Data for this study come from the two regional surveys conducted by the Institute of Sociology in Hanoi that comprise the Vietnam Study of Family Change. The first survey was carried out in March and April 2003 in seven provinces including Hanoi in the northern region of the Red River Delta. Using an identical questionnaire, the second survey was conducted exactly one year later in 2004 in Ho Chi Minh City and six neighboring provinces covering substantial parts of the Mekong River Delta and the Southeast regions. For convenience, we refer to the Red River Delta sample as the North and the sample of the Ho Chi Minh City and environs as the South.

Each survey was administered to 1,296 married individuals; thus, the total sample comprised of 2,592 respondents. To understand marriage behavior over time, three marriage cohorts were targeted for interviews. For the wartime cohort, the range of marriage dates (1963-1971) ends a few years prior to North Vietnam's victory in 1975 thus representing respondents who experienced their early marital years during the time of military conflicts. The middle cohort (1977-1985) was chosen to represent new marriages during the post-reunification period when Vietnam underwent a pervasive centrally-planned economy and experienced severe economic stagnation. The most recent cohort (1992-2000) was selected to capture marital experience during the period when the market reform, which was originated in 1986, became widely effective. We refer to these three cohorts as the wartime, the reunification cohort and the renovation cohorts respectively.

Each regional sample was equally divided into 12 categories among husbands and wives, urban and rural settings, and the three marriage cohorts. The sample was purposively designed to

be representative and self-weighting within these 12 categories⁴. To minimize the inclusion of couples who might be voluntarily childless, the surveys included only married women who were under 40 at the time of marriage and married men whose wife was younger than 40 at the time of marriage. Other than this, there was no age restriction for respondents to participate in the surveys. Further, in each surveyed household, either a married woman or man was interviewed. Therefore, husbands and wives interviewed in the surveys were not married to each other.

Measurement of housework: While specific definitions of housework vary, it generally refers to unpaid work done to maintain family members. Studies often focus on household chores and do not pay adequate attention to childrearing or emotional labor (Shelton and John 1996). In this study, we examine both domestic chores and childcare tasks. The surveys included detailed questions about behavior related to gender roles in the domestic life for married couples at the early and recent stages of marriage. These domestic chores were managing the household budget, buying food, cooking, washing dishes, cleaning the house, and doing the laundry. We note that certain chores that may be more “masculine” such as house maintenance, repairing household items, or providing transportation, were not asked about in the surveys. Additionally, there are two sets of survey questions related to childcare responsibilities⁵. The first refers to five tasks when the couple’s first child was at the preschool ages of 2-5, including looking after, feeding, bathing, disciplining, and playing with the child. The other refers to three tasks when the child was at early school ages of 6-10: attending school meetings, helping the child with homework, and disciplining the child. For each domestic chore or childrearing task, respondents were asked whether they and whether their spouse contributed a lot, some, a little, or not at all.

⁴ Due to the sampling design, respondents can differ from the general population of Vietnam. For instance, while almost three quarters of the Vietnamese population is rural, the study sample is half rural. In addition, very young married individuals were disproportionately excluded because the most recent marriage cohort omitted persons whose marital duration was below 3-4 years. Given several unique features and limitations of the samples, we do not attempt to weight the results to make them representative of Vietnam as a whole.

⁵ Respondents were only asked the set of preschool age questions if they had a child who was at least 2 years old, and the early school age questions if they had a child at least 6 years old. As a result, a number of persons in the most recent marriage cohort, especially those married only a few years, were excluded from the questioning because they had not yet had a child who reached ages 2 or 6.

The review of literature suggests that living arrangement and presence of children are important determinants of the division of domestic labor and that these two factors tend to change over the different stages of marriage. Given that the renovation marriage cohort are the youngest in the study and consist of those who were still in early stages of marriage at the time of the surveys, they are much more likely than earlier cohorts to live with the husbands' (or in a few cases the wife's) parents. At the same time they are less likely to have children old enough to help with household chores under consideration. Therefore, we limit our analysis of cohort trends to the early marriage stage since this holds constant the stage of marriage and is not affected by cohort differences in the current duration of marriage. Although this approach is subject to potential biases and inaccuracies associated with retrospective reporting, given the lack of earlier baseline data for comparison, it provides a unique opportunity to attempt determination of trends.

Two methodological issues are important in the measurement of housework. First, the gender of the respondent clearly affects the reporting about the relative roles of husbands and wives in domestic labor (Kamo 2000; Knodel et al. 2005). For each task, on average, men reported a higher extent of their own participation than women reported about their husbands. At the same time, women reported greater participation for themselves than men reported for their wives (results not shown). Although the respondents are not married to each other, this pattern strongly suggests a tendency for respondents to more positively assess their own contributions to household chores than do their spouses. Since it is not possible from our data to determine whether husbands or wives provide more accurate responses, we pool the answers of male and female respondents in all analyses in this study. Second, given that wives are much more likely than husbands to play a major role in domestic work, we employ different measures to assess their contributions. For husbands, we consider the percent who reportedly did the chore either some or a lot, while for wives, we consider the percent reportedly did the chore a lot.

Analytical approaches: Within a bivariate framework we describe the cohort trends and regional variations in wife's and husband's contributions during the early stage of their marriage to each of the four types of domestic labor: household budget management, common household chores, preschool childcare, and childrearing tasks during the early school age stage. We examine managing the household budget separately, because the task is different in nature

compared to the other five household chores, all of which are much more routine and require physical activity to perform. For routine chores, we use combined measures indicating the percent of the five chores that the wife is reported to do a lot, while for husbands the measure indicates the percentage of the five chores that the husband is reported to do at least some. Likewise, we use a similar strategy in our measurement of husbands' and wives' contributions to childcare tasks during the preschool and early school age stages.

Within a multivariate framework⁶, we use binary logistic regressions to examine the determinants of husband's contribution to household budget management. The dependent variable is coded 1 if the husband manages the household budget at least some. The husband's involvement in routine household chores and childcare tasks is analyzed differently. While it is possible to examine each type of housework separately⁷, we choose a more parsimonious approach by addressing only summary measures of domestic chores and childrearing tasks. More specifically, we use ordinary least square regressions to assess factors that determine the number of routine chores or childcare tasks the husband is reported to contribute some or a lot. For example, the dependent variable for the linear regression analysis of domestic chores is a continuous variable indicating the number of five routine chores husband reportedly does at least some during the first few years of marriage.

Description of predictor variables: The husband's level of participation in housework is conceptualized as not only a function of marriage cohorts and North-South regions but also as a function of gender of the respondent, rural-urban location, the wife's education and work status, and the contribution of people other than the spouses in domestic work. We include gender of the respondent because it is strongly associated with the assessed levels of one's own and one's spouse's contribution. Based on the ideological perspective reviewed earlier, we assume that living in rural areas will be associated with more conservative attitudes, thereby less equality in the division of household labor.

⁶ We do not analyze wives' contribution to housework in a multivariate framework. Based on our diagnostic analysis, most Vietnamese wives reportedly did an overwhelming amount of housework. There were only slight variations across women's background characteristics.

⁷ In their study of the Red River Delta, Knodel et al. (2005) show that the husband's contribution to each household chore is determined by a roughly similar set of predictors. This is also the case for childcare tasks. Our preliminary analysis shows by and large consistent findings.

Table 1 presents the distribution of the sample by the wife's educational attainment and work status during the early stage of marriage. Descriptive statistics are presented separately for each marriage cohort and region. In this study, wife's education and occupational status serve as a proxy for women's resources and attitudes towards gender egalitarianism. According to the ideological perspective, we assume that higher education and employment in the non-farm sector, especially on the part of the wife, will be associated with more liberal attitudes towards women's roles in the household and thus, to greater equality in the allocation of domestic labor. Additionally, housework would likely involve with higher opportunity costs for better-educated women, compared with those with lesser education. The non-farm sector is more likely than the farm sector to require wives to work in a non-domestic setting. Therefore, the nature of work tends to be less compatible with household tasks, especially childcare for young children. Further, based on the resource exchange perspective, better-educated wives and wives in the non-farm workforce would likely acquire higher bargaining power in the family, thus gaining a more equal footing with husband in the household division of labor.

Table 1 indicates that, consistent with national data, in every marriage cohort, wives in the North had significantly higher educational attainment than their southern counterparts. The largest gap is evident among the wartime cohort, where just over 90 percent of the northerners had at least some secondary schooling compared to only 39 percent of the southerners. Although an improvement was observed over time among southerners, the north-south gap is still clearly evident in the renovation cohort. Results further suggest that the labor force participation during the early years of marriage was almost universal for our northern sample. While a majority of southerners were economically active, the proportion of females in the workforce was significantly smaller than their northern counterparts. Since half of the study sample is urban, it is not surprising to observe that over 50 percent of wives from every cohort are involved in the non-farm sector. Results indicate that over time the non-farm sector accounted for an increasingly greater share of economically active wives in the South, whereas the pattern in the North was rather trendless.

Table 2 presents percentages of respondents reporting that someone other than one of the couple had main responsibility for each domestic task during the early stage of marriage. According to the time availability perspective, not only is the allocation of housework

determined by husband's and wife's time commitment, but also by the contribution of other members/nonmembers to household labor. While the literature review suggests that newly married couples in Vietnam typically live with the husband's parents and other family members early in their marriage⁸, as Table 2 indicates, only modest proportions of respondents reported that other family members had major roles in domestic work. For the northern sample, it was more common among the wartime cohort than their more recent counterparts for someone other than the couple to be mainly responsible for each of the set of tasks shown but for the southern sample this is only true with respect to managing the household budget. Even for northern respondents this cohort difference is rather minimal for routine household chores and early school age childcare tasks. We do not find significant regional variations except in the contribution of others in preschool childcare. The northern couples reported substantially higher proportions than those in the South, especially among the wartime cohort. This likely reflected the availability of crèches and childcare services established in the North during the socialist time to enable mothers to join the workforce.

Results

Household budget management: Traditionally, Vietnamese wives were responsible for holding the household purse string (Keyes 1995). This continues to be true among women who wedded over the last four decades⁹, as evident in Figure 1a. In the North, approximately two thirds of respondents from every marriage cohort indicated that the wife managed the household budget a lot. Southerners also reported relatively similar percentages of wives who were mainly responsible for this task. The cohort trend in the South displays a slight

⁸ Consistent with the literature, our data indicate that 64 and 57 percent of couples in northern and southern Vietnam respectively were reported to co-reside with husband's parents right after marriage. In the North, there is a clear upward trend in patrilocality among recent marriage cohorts compared to the wartime cohort, whereas in the South it is rather trendless. For every cohort examined, a larger minority of couples in the South than in the North reportedly practiced matrilocality. Additionally, it is not uncommon for newlywed couples to live by themselves. Slightly less than one third of respondents were reported to live with neither husband's nor wife's parents during their early years of marriage.

⁹ As table 2 indicates, during the early stage of a substantial minority of marriages, others beside the couple play a main role in managing household budget (typically the husband's mother). However, among the remaining majority, as well as later in the marriage when others rarely manage the budget, wives predominately are mainly responsible for budget management in all three cohorts.

upward pattern. More striking, however, is the rising proportions of husbands in both regions who contributed at least some to household budget management (Figure 1b). The husband's increased involvement does not appear to be accompanied by any significant decline in the wife's contribution. Among all cohorts, but especially the reunification and renovation cohorts, percentages of husbands who had some share in managing the household budget were substantially higher in the North than in the South.

The analysis presented in Table 3 probes further whether the cohort and regional variations in the extent that husbands contributed at least some to household budget management holds true within a multivariate framework using binary logistic regressions that includes covariates described earlier. The reference categories are as follows: being a member of the wartime cohort (1963-1971), being northerner, residing in urban area, being male respondent, the wife having less than 12 years of education, the wife engaging in the farm sector or not in the labor force¹⁰, and someone other than a spouse not being the main task-doer. Regression results are displayed as odds ratios. Values above 1 indicate that the particular category is associated with higher chances than the reference category that the husband helps with the task, whereas values below 1 indicate the opposite. Based on combined samples of the North and South, the first model in Table 3 presents the husbands' involvement in the household budget management as a function of all covariates except the measure of region. The second model adds region. Models 3 and 4 analyze the North and South samples separately to address the interactions between region and each of the covariates.

While the household budget management remains the domain of wives, results indicate that husbands in recent marriages, especially those who were married after the market reform, have increased their participation in this task significantly. The increase is particularly sharp among northerners as evident in Model 3. While husbands in the South appear to help with the household budget management significantly less than their northern counterparts, results suggest that regional differences explain little of the variations in the husband's contribution. When region is introduced in Model 2, the effects of other covariates barely change. Further, consistent with the ideological framework, rural residence is negatively associated with husbands'

¹⁰ Since an overwhelming proportion of wives, especially northerners, were in the labor force (Table 1), we combine those who were reportedly not in the labor force with wives who engaged in the farm sector.

involvement in household budget. Its independent effects, however, disappear when the North sample is examined separately in Model 3. Additionally, results across the four models indicate that if the respondent is female, the reported contribution of husbands appear to be consistently less. Similarly, having other people as a main chore doer reduces the husband's involvement, especially in the North. Contrary to our expectations, we do not find any independent effects of the wife's education and work status.

Common household chores: Figure 2a describes average percentages of the five routine household chores the wife was reported to do a lot, while Figure 2b presents means proportions of the five chores the husband reportedly did at least some. Wives were reported to do a large percentage (over 80 percent) of these chores a lot. There is little difference between regions and across marriage cohorts. Husband's involvement was far less than that of wives with regional differences evident both with respect to levels and trends. Among northerners, the contribution of husbands in routine household chores was generally higher than in the South. However, in the north the husband's involvement did not show consistent change over time; the involvement was modestly higher for the renovation cohort compared to the earlier two. In contrast, in the South the involvement of husbands in these domestic tasks showed a steadily increasing trend across the three marriage cohorts. Thus, the regional difference in husband's involvement is considerably sharper for the wartime cohort than for either the reunification or renovation cohort.

Table 4 presents coefficients from OLS regression analyses of the number of the five routine chores husband reportedly contributes at least some during the early stage of marriage. The analyses utilize a similar set of covariates and additive models as Table 3. Model 1 indicates that compared with the wartime cohort, the renovation cohort is significantly associated with greater number of common chores husband is reported to do some or a lot. According to Model 2, given other characteristics being equal, respondents from the South report lower involvement of husbands in these domestic tasks. When regional differences are taken into account in Model 2, results show that the cohort effects change only slightly. However, when the North and South are analyzed separately (thus the interactions between region and the covariates are considered), the net effects of cohort on the number of chores husband is involved some or a lot disappear among northerners as evident in Model 3. Meanwhile, among southerners the renovation cohort

shows strong positive effects on the gender division of household chores (Model 4). In addition to cohort and region, results indicate that the wife's work is another significant determinant of husband's involvement. Compared to wives who did not work or who were in the farm sector, non-farm work is associated with greater number of chores husbands will contribute at least some but these positive effects of wives' work is largely limited to the South sample. Consistent with prior literature, if the respondent is female or if someone other than the spouses is mainly responsible for these chores, husbands are reported to participate in a fewer number of these domestic tasks. Further, we do not find statistically significant effects of urban-rural residence or the wife's education on this particular set of domestic chores.

Preschool childcare: Figure 3a presents average percentages of the five common preschool childcare tasks the wife was reported to do a lot. In the North as well as in the South, wives were commonly involved a great deal with a large majority of the five childcare tasks when the couple's first child was at the preschool age stage. This varies modestly between the two regions and across the three cohorts. Compared to the trends reported for wives, husbands in both regions are substantially less involved in these childcare responsibilities, as evident in Figure 3b. However, their involvement increases steadily across marriage cohorts. For each cohort, husbands are consistently reported to be more involved in the North than in the South although the differences are not large. At the same time there is little difference in the trends towards increasing husbands' involvement across cohorts between the two regions.

Results from the OLS regression analyses shown in Table 5 are consistent with the descriptive findings. There is clear evidence supporting a steadily upward trend of husband's contribution in preschool childcare responsibilities across marriage cohorts. However, relative to the wartime cohort, coefficients for the renovation cohort are consistently larger than those of the reunification cohorts in all 4 models, suggesting that couples who were married after the market reform experience greater spousal equality in caring for young children than their predecessors. According to Model 2, regional differences show statistical significance indicating that given other characteristics being equal, husbands from the South are involved less than their northern counterparts in these tasks. Further, if the respondent is female or has others in charge of childcare, husbands will less likely be reported to do some or a lot of preschool childcare activities. Rural residence generally reduces the husband's involvement. However, this effect

loses statistical significance in the South when the interactions between region and covariates are taken into consideration. The wife's education does not have any independent impact on the gender division of preschool childcare tasks. However, among southerners, the wife's non-farm work significantly increases husband's contribution (Model 4).

Early school age childcare: Unlike other domestic tasks, there appears to be greater gender equality in the extent to which Vietnamese husbands and wives were involved in childrearing tasks during the early school age stage. Figure 4a shows the percent of the 3 common childcare tasks for children age 6-10 that the wife did a lot. Wives were reported to contribute a lot in at least one of the 3 childcare tasks during this age stage. The regional differences are significant, especially among the wartime cohort, with higher proportions of wives in the North than in the South being more involved. Cohort trends suggest a constant increase in wives' participation in both regions across marriage cohorts. Since the common childcare tasks at this age stage deal with the child's schooling, greater wives' involvement could perhaps reflect the fact that wives from the renovation cohort are better-educated than their older counterparts. As shown in Figure 4b, while husbands tend to detach themselves from other types of housework, on average they appear to be involved at least some in two of the three childcare tasks during the early school age stage. The regional differences are minimal and the trends across three marriage cohorts are inconsistent.

Using OLS regressions, the analyses presented in Table 6 further investigate the net effects of cohort and region on husband's participation in care for early-school-age children when other covariates are considered. Results confirm that husbands in the North and the South are not significantly different in the level of involvement, as evident in Model 2. The effects of cohort and location of residence are modest and matter only among northerners. In the North, husbands from the reunification cohort do more of these particular childcare tasks than the wartime cohort. Moreover, other characteristics being equal, rural residence is negatively associated with the involvement of husbands in the North in the domestic tasks. Consistent with prior analyses, being a female respondent and having others as the main task-doer reduce husband's contribution to care for children at the early school age. While wife's high education does not display any net effects, we find that the effects of wife's non-farm work are two-fold. Among northerners, husbands tend to contribute less if wives are engaged in the non-farm sector

(Model 3). On the contrary, in the South the wife's non-farm work is positively related to husband's involvement in childcare during the early school age stage.

Discussion and Conclusion

Vietnam offers a compelling setting for examining the tension between persistence of deeply-held cultural values such as gender roles in the family versus adaptive accommodation in value systems to changing social, political and economic circumstances. Over the last four decades, sweeping structural transformations have taken place in Vietnam – including the spread of the socialist revolution to the south, wars, collapse of the socialist economic system, and market reform. Accompanying these changes were a variety of ideational forces that challenged traditional attitudes towards gender roles – including socialist policies which aimed to emancipate women from the patriarchal system and domestic burden, increased exposure to western influences and secular values, and more recently, grassroots campaigns by development agencies to mainstreaming issues of gender equality. Vietnam's dynamic historical events, particularly the partition and reunification of northern and southern Vietnam, further complicated the adaptive processes of value systems. This study examines the patterns of the gender division of household labor in Vietnam over the last 40 years using innovative data that allow cohort and regional comparisons.

To what extent have women's roles in the family changed in response to the structural and ideational changes? Our current analyses present a situation in which Vietnamese wives continue to take much greater responsibility than husbands for unpaid domestic tasks during early years of marriage, despite their increased educational attainment and participation in the non-farm sector and government efforts to redefine gender relations in line with socialist ideology. Across the three marriage cohorts under investigation, wives are far more important than husbands in carrying out most of the routine household chores and childcare tasks for preschool children. More importantly, contrary to claims of earlier studies we do not find adverse effects of Vietnam's major modification of the socialist system and the shift to a market economy on gender roles in the family. Some commentators have speculated that the position of women would worsen after the market reform because the state withdrew controls over individuals and decreased its advocacy of the socialist gender-equalizing policies (Goodkind 1995). Additionally, a resurgence of male-centered kin and family relations in post-socialist

Vietnam is thought to have contributed to greater gender disparities (Luong 2003). Rather than a decline in male participation of housework, our evidence indicates that Vietnamese husbands from the reunification and renovation cohorts are actually more involved in domestic tasks than the wartime cohort. The husband's increased involvement is notable with respect to household budget management and care for preschool children. Interestingly, men's increased contribution does not appear to affect women's dominant involvement in household labor.

One of the major contributions of our study is the regional comparisons which allow us to gauge the impact of the socialist state on gender roles in the South relative to the North after the reunification. First, Vietnam's socialist transformation appears to have little impact on women's roles at home regardless of their region. Although the socialist policies were implemented first in the North and nearly three decades later in the South, wives in the North are overwhelmingly responsible for household tasks like their southern counterparts. Our study finds very little differences among them¹¹. The socialist policies were criticized for not paying sufficient attention to gender equality in the domestic sphere (Werner and Belanger 2002). As a good socialist woman, wives were encouraged to uphold three virtues which include responsibilities for the family, for production and work, and for the national defense. Such expectations resulted in placing multiple burdens on Vietnamese women rather than empowering them (Pham 1999). Secondly, we find moderate, yet significant, regional differences in men's domestic roles. Northerners consistently report greater involvement of husbands in most domestic tasks than southerners. The socialist ideologies and their feminist messages which have a longer history in the North plausibly explain the differences between the North and the South. The ideologies might have generated awareness and social pressure among men of gender egalitarianism and countered the Confucian legacies that tend to suppress women's position in the household. Nonetheless, evidence indicates a greater change in male participation in routine household chores in the South than in the North (Figure 2b), suggesting a tendency towards convergence between the two regions in recent cohorts. Given that routine chores are the aspects of the domestic division of labor which is the most grounded in traditional gender roles and most

¹¹ The only exception is childrearing tasks for preschool children in which southern wives are reported to be more involved. This could perhaps be explained by the greater involvement in the North of someone other than the spouses in being responsible for childcare especially during the periods of war (Table 2).

sensitive to real changes in gender ideology, the converging trend might reflect the impact of socialist ideology in the South after reunification. As a caveat, the migration of northerners to the South following reunification could have had some compositional effects on the increased male participation in routine chores.

Consistent with the literature, our findings confirm the importance of considering the gender of the respondent and the role of someone other than the spouses as a main task-doer when addressing the gender division of household labor in Vietnam. As proxies for relative power according to the resource exchange perspective and as determinants of gender role ideologies, wives' education and work status have little effects on the extent of housework their husbands would do. Only in the South, wife's participation in the non-farm sector corresponds to an increase in husband's involvement in common chores and childcare tasks. This perhaps reflects greater opportunity costs among wives who are non-farm workers in the South than their counterparts in the North. Our southern sample features the Mekong Delta and southeast regions where studies show higher returns to non-farm jobs than other regions in Vietnam (Nguyen and Hoang 2006).

While our evidence does not indicate deterioration of gender equality in the domestic sphere after the market reform, we still find pronounced gender segregation in domestic roles in Vietnam. Among all types of housework under investigation, routine chores appear to display the highest degree of gender inequality. Wives by far do most of these laborious domestic tasks. Despite slight increase of involvement among husbands from the renovation cohort and closing gaps between the North and the South, much smaller proportions of men are reported to contribute to household chores than to childcare tasks. Further, husband's steadily increased participation in household budget management should be interpreted with caution. Instead of indicating gender egalitarianism, husband in recent cohorts might have wanted to manage household budget more than earlier cohorts because they would like to be in control of family financial matters particularly when household disposable income has doubled or tripled after the market reform. Moreover, the reason we do not observe an immense gender divide in the childrearing tasks during the early school age stage may reflect the nature of the tasks asked in the surveys which deal mostly with children's education. Educating children may not be viewed particularly as a female responsibility but related to educational advantage of men in the past. At

the same time, as noted above, one limitation of the study is that certain chores that may be more common among husbands were not included in the survey questionnaires.

Throughout the world, economic development generally brings massive cultural change as well as facilitates the persistence of certain cultural traditions (Inglehart and Baker 2000). The gender division of household labor in Vietnam over the last four decades appears to display the resilience of traditional family values rather than dramatic transformations. Yet, the lack of change over time might suggest that there are competing forces for gender egalitarianism and for gender inequality and that these forces may have balanced each other out (Knodel et al. 2005). Our evidence that husband's increased contribution in domestic roles does not correspond with women's less burden in housework could reflect an adaptation of values related to gender roles in response to broader social change in Vietnam. Following the market reform, both husbands and wives may have been obliged to be more involved with domestic tasks. One of the important reasons is greater emphasis on children's education today than in the past, as a result of perceived higher returns for education and the government's "happy families" campaigns that urge couples to control family size and focus on raising a small number of well-educated children. Further, the mass media and rapid growth of consumers' culture, which inspire many Vietnamese the middle-class standard of living, may have required couples in recent marriages to contribute more to the household in order to meet their newfound expectations.

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Table 1. Descriptive statistics, characteristics of wives by marriage cohorts and regions.

Variable description	1963-1971		1977-1985		1992-2000	
	North (N=432)	South (N=432)	North (N=432)	South (N=432)	North (N=432)	South (N=432)
Wife's education						
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Primary or less	9	62	1	40	3	25
Lower secondary	63	23	60	34	48	47
Upper secondary	17	12	31	23	37	23
Tertiary	11	4	8	4	12	6
<i>Chi-square test of significance</i>		**		**		**
Wife's work status during the early stage of marriage						
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Not in the labor force	2	20	1	14	4	16
Farm work	40	26	44	31	38	20
Non-farm work	59	54	56	56	58	64
<i>Chi-square test of significance</i>		**		**		**

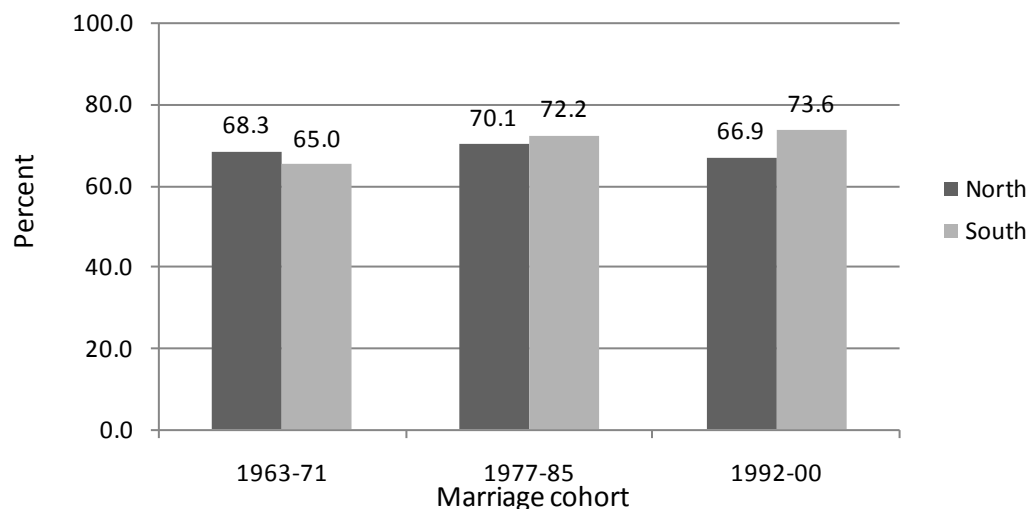
**Difference between North and South is significant at $p < 0.01$; n.s.=not significant p-value
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics, percentages respondents report that someone other than one of the spouses was mainly responsible for specific household task during the early years of marriage.

% reporting that someone other than one of the spouses was mainly in charge of...	1963-1971			1977-1985			1992-2000		
	North (N=432)	South (N=432)	Sig.	North (N=432)	South (N=432)	Sig.	North (N=432)	South (N=432)	Sig.
Household budget management	21	24	n.s.	15	16	n.s.	16	15	n.s.
Any of the 5 common household chores	20	16	n.s.	17	12	n.s.	18	20	n.s.
Any of the 5 preschool childcare tasks	38	18	**	27	17	**	27	20	**
Any of the 3 early-school-age childcare tasks	5	9	**	3	5	n.s.	3	8	n.s.

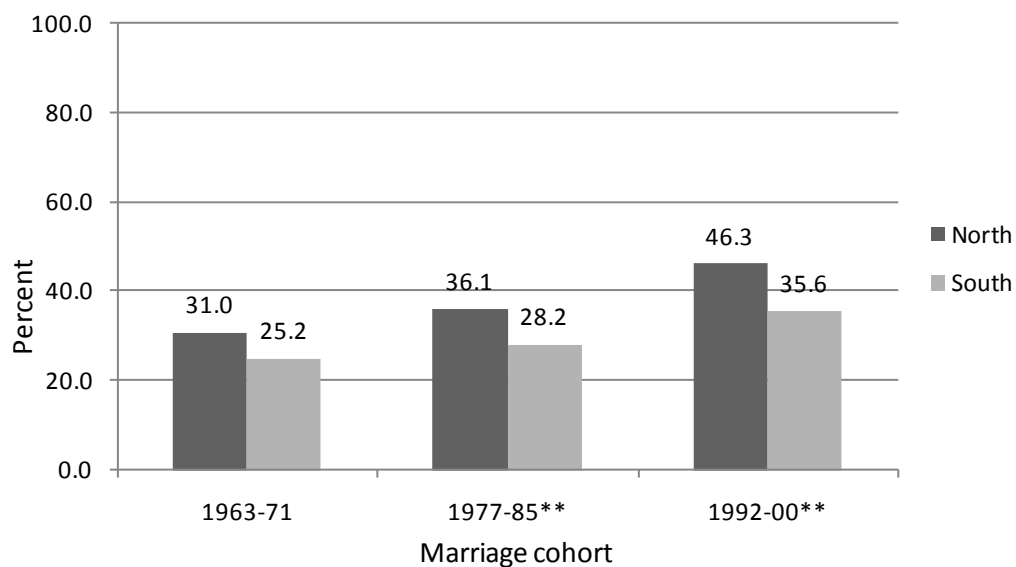
**Difference between North and South is significant at $p < 0.01$; n.s.=not significant p-value
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.

Figure 1a. Percent respondents reported that the wife managed the household budget a lot



Note: None of the differences between North and South are statistically significant. Cohort changes are statistically significant among southerners but not among northerners.

Figure 1b. Percent respondents reported that the husband managed the household budget some or a lot



Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. Additionally, cohort changes are statistically significant for both regions.

Table 3. Binary logistic regression (coefficients expressed as odds ratios) indicating that the husband does some or a lot of household budget management

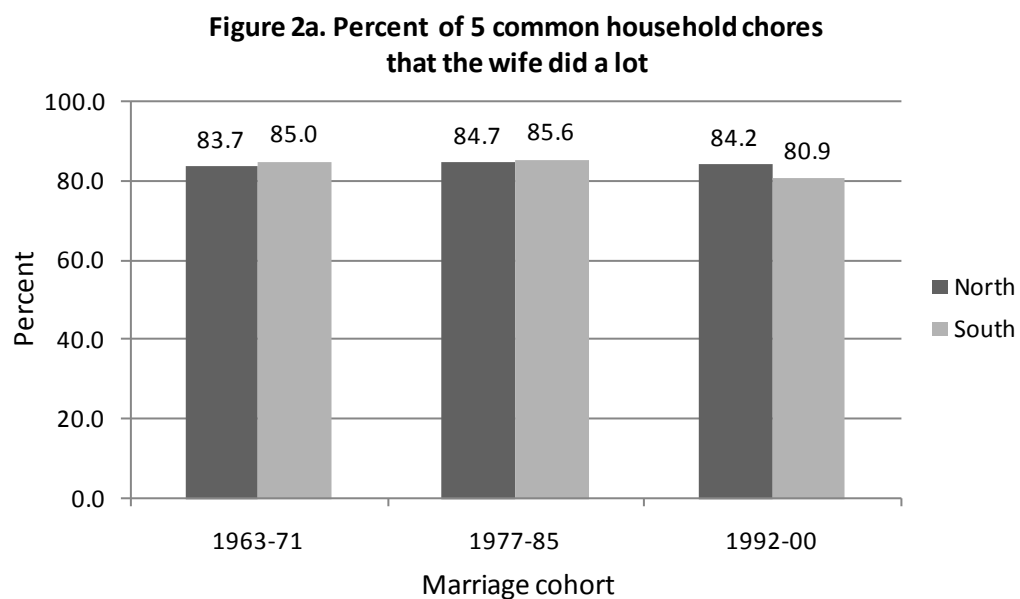
Respondent characteristics	Combined samples						North only			South only		
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Odds ratios	Std. Error		Odds ratios	Std. Error		Odds ratios	Std. Error		Odds ratios	Std. Error	
Cohort 1977-85	1.11	0.11		1.12	0.11		1.16	0.15		1.06	0.16	
Cohort 1992-00	1.67 ***	0.11		1.70 ***	0.11		1.86 ***	0.15		1.50 **	0.16	
South	--	--		0.68 ***	0.09		--	--		--	--	
Rural	0.74 **	0.10		0.72 ***	0.10		0.93	0.16		0.53 ***	0.14	
Female	0.68 ***	0.09		0.67 ***	0.09		0.67 ***	0.12		0.66 ***	0.13	
Wife has high education	1.13	0.11		1.03	0.11		1.00	0.15		1.26	0.17	
Wife in the non-farm sector	0.91	0.10		0.93	0.11		0.79	0.16		1.22	0.14	
Other person than a spouse	0.18 ***	0.17		0.18 ***	0.17		0.14 ***	0.23		0.24 ***	0.24	
mainly does chore												
df	7			8			7			7		
-2 Loglikelihood	3082.2			3063.3			1581.4			1452.2		
N	2592			2592			1296			1296		

Significance level: *p≤0.05; **p 0.01; ***p 0.001
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.

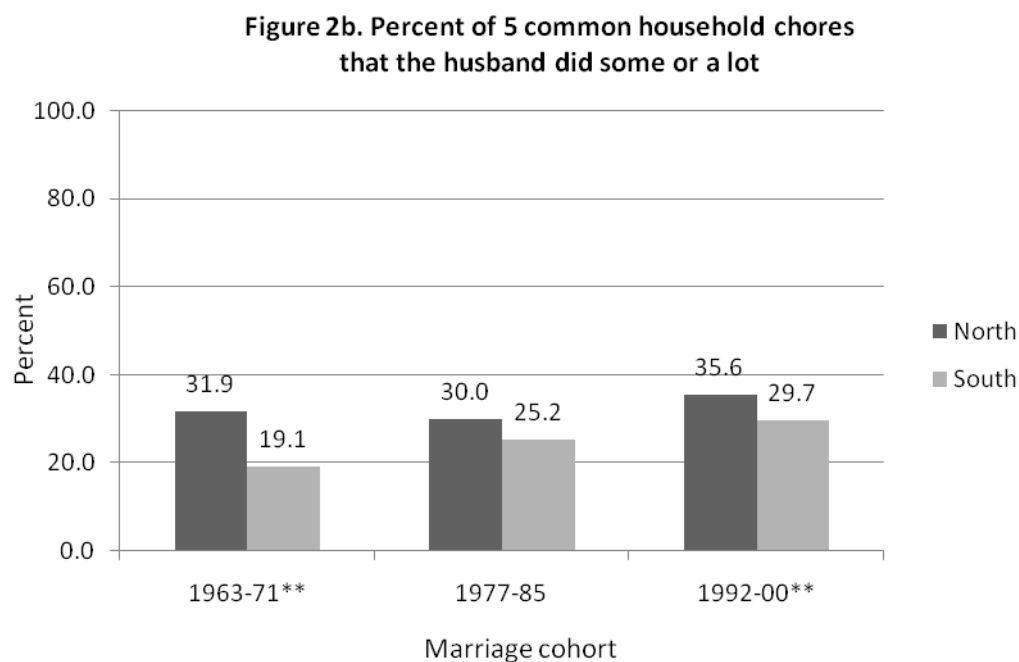
Table 4. Ordinary least square regression analysis -- The determinants of the number of the five common chores the husband reportedly does some or a lot

Respondent characteristics	Combined samples				North		South		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 4
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	Std. Error
Constant	1.48 ***	0.12	1.69 ***	0.12	2.08 ***	0.19	1.04 ***	0.15	0.15
Cohort 1977-85	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.09	-0.13	0.14	0.24	0.13	0.13
Cohort 1992-00	0.31 ***	0.10	0.33 ***	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.49 ***	0.13	0.13
South	--	--	-0.39 ***	0.08	--	--	--	--	--
Rural	-0.03	0.09	-0.04	0.09	-0.30 *	0.15	0.10	0.11	0.11
Female	-0.50 ***	0.08	-0.50 ***	0.08	-0.48 ***	0.11	-0.53 ***	0.11	0.11
Wife has high education	0.27 **	0.10	0.17	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.19	0.15	0.15
Wife in the non-farm sector	0.33 ***	0.09	0.35 ***	0.09	0.10	0.15	0.49 ***	0.12	0.12
Other person than a spouse	-0.95 ***	0.10	-0.97 ***	0.10	-1.01 ***	0.15	-0.93 ***	0.14	0.14
mainly does chore									
Adjusted R ²	0.067		0.075		0.060		0.077		
N	2592		2592		1296		1296		

Significance level: *p<0.05; **p 0.01; ***p 0.001
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.

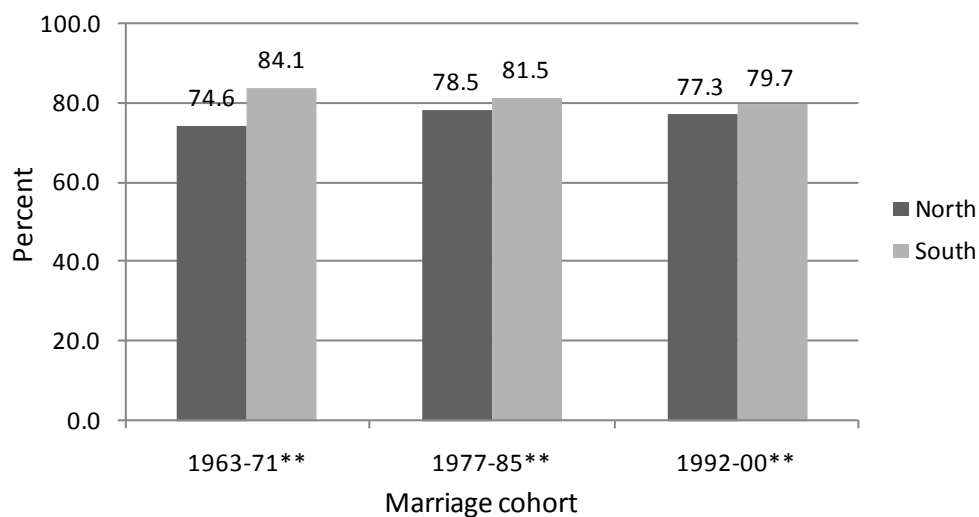


Note: None of the differences between North and South are statistically significant. Changes across cohorts are not statistically significant for neither North or South.



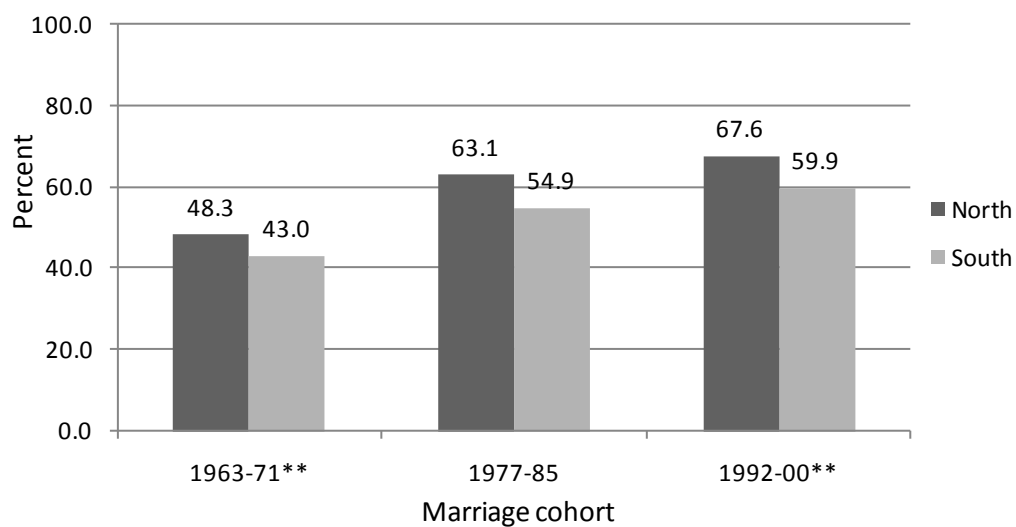
Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. Cohort changes are significant only for southerners but not northerners.

Figure 3a. Percent of 5 common childcare tasks for children age 2-5 that the wife did a lot



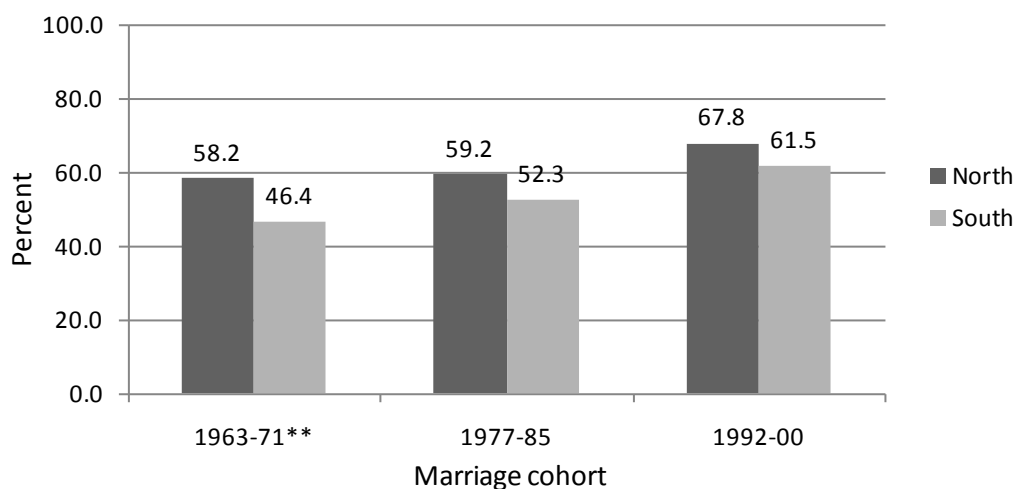
Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. Cohort changes are not significant for neither region.

Figure 3b. Percent of 5 common childcare tasks for children age 2-5 that the husband did some or a lot



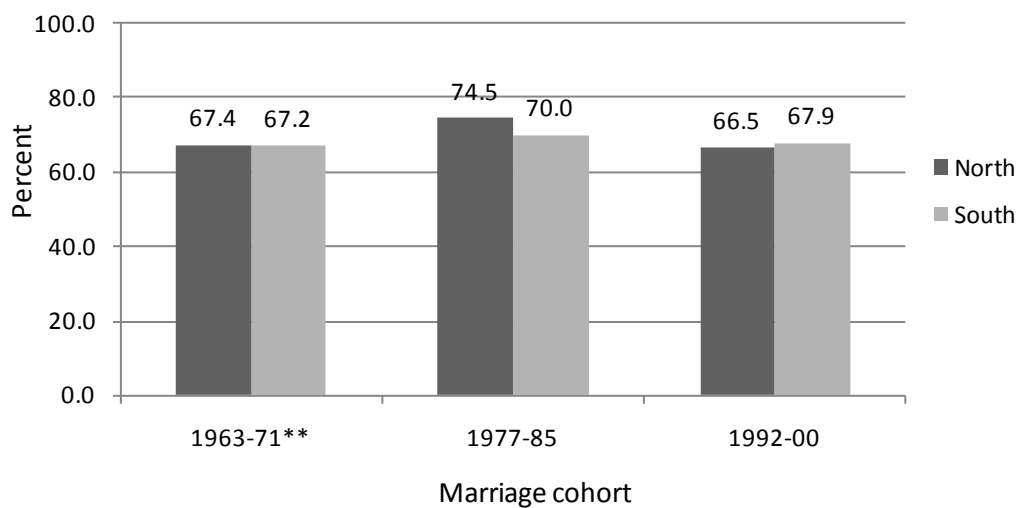
Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. Additionally, cohort changes in both regions show strong statistical significance.

Figure 4a. Percent of 3 common childcare tasks for children age 6-10 that the wife did a lot



Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. In addition, cohort changes are also significant for both regions.

Figure 4b. Percent of 3 common childcare tasks for children age 6-10 that the husband did some or a lot



Note: ** Differences between North and South are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$. Cohort changes are significant for the North but not for the South.

Table 5. Ordinary least square regression analysis -- The determinants of the number of the five preschool childcare tasks the husband reportedly does some or a lot

Respondent characteristics	Combined samples						North		South		
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		Model 4		
	Coef.	Std. Error		Coef.	Std. Error		Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	
Constant	2.63 ***	0.12		2.88 ***	0.12		3.22 ***	0.18	2.26 ***	0.15	
Cohort 1977-85	0.63 ***	0.09		0.63 ***	0.09		0.68 ***	0.13	0.56 ***	0.13	
Cohort 1992-00	0.85 ***	0.10		0.87 ***	0.10		0.91 ***	0.14	0.80 ***	0.14	
South	--	--		-0.43 ***	0.08		--	--	--	--	
Rural	-0.17 *	0.09		-0.19 *	0.09		-0.45 **	0.14	-0.07	0.12	
Female	-0.42 ***	0.08		-0.42 ***	0.08		-0.47 ***	0.11	-0.38 ***	0.11	
Wife has high education	0.12	0.10		0.01	0.10		-0.07	0.13	0.16	0.16	
Wife in the non-farm sector	0.15	0.09		0.18	0.09		-0.18	0.14	0.42 ***	0.12	
Other person than a spouse mainly does chore	-0.55 ***	0.09		-0.62 ***	0.09		-0.59 ***	0.12	-0.69 ***	0.14	
Adjusted R ²	0.063			0.074			0.075		0.065		
N	2524			2524			1257		1267		

Significance level: *p<0.05; **p 0.01; ***p 0.001
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.

Table 6. Ordinary least square regression analysis -- The determinants of the number of the three early school age childcare tasks the husband reportedly does some or a lot

Respondent characteristics	Combined samples						North		South		
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		Model 4		
	Coef.	Std. Error		Coef.	Std. Error		Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	
Constant	2.31 ***	0.07		2.32 ***	0.07		2.58 ***	0.11	2.20 ***	0.09	
Cohort 1977-85	0.12 *	0.05		0.12 *	0.05		0.20 ***	0.08	0.02	0.08	
Cohort 1992-00	-0.02	0.06		-0.01	0.06		-0.03	0.10	-0.04	0.08	
South	--	--		-0.01	0.05		--	--	--	--	
Rural	-0.10	0.05		-0.10	0.05		-0.45 ***	0.09	0.12	0.07	
Female	-0.34 ***	0.05		-0.34 ***	0.05		-0.27 ***	0.07	-0.41 ***	0.06	
Wife has high education	-0.10	0.06		-0.10	0.06		-0.09	0.08	-0.15	0.09	
Wife in the non-farm sector	0.04	0.06		0.04	0.06		-0.24 **	0.09	0.20 **	0.07	
Other person than a spouse mainly does chore	-0.76 ***	0.10		-0.76 ***	0.10		-0.66 ***	0.17	-0.84 ***	0.13	
Adjusted R ²	0.051			0.051			0.053		0.075		
N	2182			2182			1063		1119		

Significance level: *p≤0.05; **p 0.01; ***p 0.001
Source: Vietnam Study of Family Change 2003-4.



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