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**Gender Roles in the Family: Change and Stability
in Vietnam**

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Introduction

Throughout Asia and in much of the rest of the developing world, major social, economic and political change has been occurring during recent decades that potentially can profoundly impact key institutions within these societies, including the family. Vietnam, is certainly no exception. During the last half century Vietnam has experienced prolonged periods of war, political unification, social and economic upheaval, and starting in the latter part of the 1980s, a shift from a centrally-planned to a market-based economy. Together with the process of economic reform, referred to by the Vietnamese as *doi moi* (literally “New Change”), the government also launched the *mo cua* (“Open Door”) policy resulting in an extensive opening to the outside world, especially to the non-communist block, and exposing Vietnamese society to the forces of economic and cultural globalization. Among the many features of family life that are potentially affected, changes in gender roles, including the division of labor and responsibility between husbands and wives, are clear candidates. An additional potential force influencing change in this aspect of family life is the explicit interest of the Vietnamese government to promote gender equality. Moreover, the heightened importance of gender issues and the empowerment of women over the last decade, as promulgated by the UN, numerous other international organizations, and major donor agencies active in Vietnam, serve as yet another likely source of influence on the attitudes and behavior among the population.

The main goal of the present study is to document the nature and extent of change in gender relations within the Vietnamese family over the last 40 years based on systematically collected data from an innovative and representative survey of three marriage cohorts in the Red River Delta. While the analysis will be primarily descriptive, attention will also be given to selected factors that potentially influence domestic gender relations and their trends. In particular we will focus on the influence of urban versus rural residence, the role of others besides the married couple in the household, and the wife’s educational attainment.

Household Division of Labor

While specific definitions used in studies vary, housework generally refers to unpaid work done to maintain family members and/or the home. As Shelton and John (1996) point out in their extensive review of the sociological literature on the topic, one of the most notable characteristics of the division of household labor is that women do the majority of housework, regardless of whether they are employed or not. Although the majority of studies examining the division of household work have focused on the U.S. and other Western nations, it seems likely that this pattern is close to universal.

Data on the division of household labor is gathered in a variety of ways (Shelton and John, 1996). These include time diaries kept by respondents accounting for their time over a specific period, direct questions asking respondents to estimate the amount of time they typically spend on housework or its component activities. Other measures focus on who performs specific tasks rather than the amount of time spent on those tasks or the proportion of tasks done by the husband or wife. There is also variation in who provides the information. Some studies ask one household member to report for all members, while others ask each member to report on their own work. Respondents typically overestimate their own housework time and underestimate the time spent by other household members (Kamo, 2000). For this reason, some researchers prefer to combine or average responses by husbands and wives.

The major theoretical perspectives used to explain the division of household labor include the time availability of each spouse, the exchange between the husband's and wife's relative resources, ideology, and gender stratification (Shelton and John, 1996). From the time availability perspective, the division of household labor is determined by the time each spouse has available at home. The spouse who in not

employed, or works for pay for a smaller number of hours, is expected to do more housework. In this respect, Vietnam is unique in that Vietnamese women have the highest rate of economic participation among women in the region and constitute a large share of the labor force; 90 percent of men and 80 percent of women are economically active (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1998). Additionally, Vietnamese women's labor force participation tends to continue across the life course, without interruption for childbearing or child rearing (Haub and Phuong Thi Thu Huong, 2004).

The resource exchange perspective argues that the spouse with lower earnings does more housework. In terms of this perspective, relative resource differentials, the gender earnings gap in Vietnam appears to decline rapidly during the course of *doi moi*. According to the 1992-93 Living Standards survey, women's income was 69 percent of men's (cited in World Health Organization, 1995). By 1998, the wage gap between men and women narrowed to 22 percent (Asia Development Bank, 2002), and according to the latest Living Standards survey in 2002 the gap fell to only 15 percent (Vietnam, General Statistical Office, 2004).

The ideology perspective ties the division of household work to gender role attitudes. Men and women with more egalitarian attitudes will have a more equal division of household. Vietnam's gender ideology has experienced substantial changes over the past century. Historically, Vietnamese society has been dominated by Confucian ideology. According to the spirit of Confucianism, women were dependent on men, first as daughters dependent on their fathers, then as wives dependent on their husbands, and finally as widows dependent on their sons (Bich, Pham Van, 1999; Que, Tran Thi, 1996). However, in practice, Confucianism in Vietnam appears somewhat different from its largest neighbor, China. Even during the Colonial period, French observers wrote eloquently about the strong position of Vietnamese women as opposed to Chinese women (Belanger et al. 2003; Frenier and Mancini, 1996; Woodside, 1971). Vietnamese women appear to have a significant role in decision-making in areas ranging from household budgeting, to marriage, to children's education, suggesting a more egalitarian household division of labor. However, when it comes to housework, a study of one Catholic commune indicated that Vietnamese fathers were found to share only 20 percent of the domestic chores (Houtrat and Lemercinier, 1984). Another study conducted in 2001 in five provinces reports that women tend to be mainly responsible for domestic work and that no age difference in this relationship is evident, suggesting few changes over time in the gender division of household labor (Binh, Do Thi, Le Ngoc Van, and Nguyen Linh Khieu, 2002).

An emphasis on gender stratification resulting from a long history of male control over resources is central to the socialist-feminist approach (Shelton and John, 1996). This perspective argues that an unequal division of household work is part of the larger gender-stratified system permeating all levels of society. Others argue that capitalism, rather than patriarchy, is directly related to the division of household work and that it is the requirements of capitalism that determine women's oppression, as evidenced by their unequal division of household work.

Vietnamese Women, the State, and Social Change

Vietnamese women have played a central role in independence efforts, first from the French and then from the U.S., and in state development. With millions of men mobilized for the war effort, women shouldered unprecedented responsibilities for maintaining agricultural and industrial production. A large number of women also participated directly in the war (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1998). From the initial period of socialist state development, gender equality was a central goal. This goal was first declared in 1930, with the founding of the Communist Party of Indochina (Fahey, 1998). The aim was to replace traditional, Confucian-based gender ideologies that emphasized male dominance and female subordination (Croll, 1998). Equal participation by women was seen as crucial for socialist state development (Bich, Pham Van, 1999). President Ho Chi Minh called for

the Vietnamese to discard "historical prejudices and injustices" against women (Desai, 2001). Along with statements calling for independence and freedom, the Constitution of the New Democratic and Republic State of 1946 declared equality between men and women. The communist ideal of gender equality was to be achieved through the demise of private property and women's domestic role (Fahey, 1998).

Achieving these goals of gender equality has not simply been rhetoric. The state has continued to initiate laws and policies aimed at transforming gender systems in both private and public spheres. The legal and political programs initiated to promote gender equality include: 1) legislating gender equality, 2) promoting women's participation in production, 3) attempts to reduce women's domestic responsibilities, 4) introducing new ideologies of equality, and 5) organizing women to advance their interests (Croll, 1998; Que, Tran Thi, 1996). Extensive nation-wide campaigns were initiated to make these gender equality goals known throughout the country, and to offer programs and services to help achieve them.

The goal of equalizing relations between men and women extended into family life. For example, the constitution stated that husbands and wives have the same responsibilities within the family. Campaigns were launched to educate people about equality in marriage, the labor market, and in balancing home and work responsibilities, including sharing housework (Liu, 2002). The 1986 Marriage and Family Law reaffirmed this by stating that couples have equal responsibility for household chores and child care (Que, Tran Thi, 1996). Attempts were made to alter the domestic division of labor by establishing a collective organization to help share child care, laundry, food preparation, and other household services. However, many of these services to reduce domestic labor were short-lived due to insufficient resource allocation and attitudinal resistance (Croll, 1998).

How effective have these government messages and policies been in affecting work inside the household? Have socialist policies been able to combat centuries of Confucian influences? Evidence is mixed, with some results pointing to a balanced gender division of labor compared to other developing countries (Hainsworth, 1993) and other evidence suggesting the lingering hold of Confucian tradition. For example, despite decades of socialist policies that promote gender equality, son preference remains strong (Belanger, 2002; Goodkind, 1995). Attitudinal data suggest that the Vietnamese consider housework unsuitable for men (Que, Tran Thi, 1996).

Additionally, the shift to a market economy and the opening up of Vietnam to global influences, including Western and non-socialist culture, that has been occurring since 1986 may further influence the division of labor within the household. Research in China suggests that gender stratification becomes more unequal in societies undergoing market transitions and economic development (Xie and Hannum, 1996). In Vietnam many argue that there has been an erosion in women's status as the market economy has evolved (Asia Development Bank, 2002). Renovation policies have resulted in a dismantling of the collective structure and subsidization system. Some posit this retrenchment from the state sector has resulted in a shift towards women doing more household duties (Asia Development Bank, 2002). For example, the disappearance of subsidized day care services is claimed to lead to greater domestic work burdens placed on women in post renovation Vietnam (Chen and Hiebert, 1994).

Source of Data and Research Design

The data for our analysis come from the Red River Delta Family Survey conducted in 2003 as part of the Vietnam Surveys of Family Change, a collaborative effort between the Institute of Sociology in Hanoi and the Population Studies Center of the University of Michigan.¹ In order to measure changes over time, three purposively chosen marriage cohorts were targeted for interview: 1963-1971, 1977-1985, 1992-2000. These cohorts roughly correspond to persons entering marriage and starting families during three major periods in recent Vietnamese history: 1) the years just prior to and during the War for Reunification when Vietnam was still divided under two governments; 2) the early post reunification years when

economic hardship and social upheaval were most severe and when a centrally planned economy was pervasive; and 3) the years when economic reform and the opening of Vietnam to global influences were well under way. Questions concerning many aspects of the family, including gender roles, were framed not only regarding the current situation but also retrospectively in terms of the situation during the early years of marriage and childrearing. Thus the design allows us to explore trends over time by comparing the situation of each cohort in their early years of marriage. This is the main focus of our analysis. While asking retrospective questions regarding past behavior risks depends on accurate recall and thus risks bias, given the almost complete lack of earlier studies to provide equivalent representative, it is the only option available for the study of change over time. The design additionally permits examination of within-cohort changes over the family life cycle, especially for the two older marriage cohorts.

A total of 1296 currently married persons were interviewed within the Red River Delta including Hanoi.² The design called for a sample that was equally divided between husbands and wives, rural and urban settings, and the three marriage cohorts. The result is that 108 interviews were conducted for each of the 12 different cohort-gender-residence combinations. In order to reduce the inclusion of couples who might be involuntarily childless, the sample was limited to married women who were under the age of 40 at the time of marriage and married men whose wife was under 40 at the time of marriage. In addition, in any given household either a married woman or a married man were interviewed, but not both. Thus the husbands and wives who were interviewed were not married to each other. Within these restrictions, the sample was designed to be representative and self-weighting.

The Red River Delta Family Survey included detailed questions about behavior related to gender roles in three different domains of domestic life for married couples: common domestic chores, decision making about key domestic issues, and child rearing responsibilities. Our analysis is divided into sections corresponding to these three different domains. Other questions in the survey relate to factors that could exert influence on the patterns of domestic gender roles and their changes over time. Factors incorporated in the present analysis include information on whether someone other than the husband or wife was mainly responsible for particular chores, place of residence (e.g., rural versus urban), and educational background of the wife. While our analysis is primarily descriptive, we also present regression results to assess the relative influence on our measures of gender differentiation in domestic life. Note that the choice of the particular cohorts permits us to assess whether any observed changes predate or are only initiated during or after the period of economic renovation.

Results

Domestic Chores

Each respondent was asked who had primary responsibility for doing a series of key domestic chores during the first years of the respondent's marriage and during the year prior to the interview. The specific chores covered were managing the household budget, buying food, cooking, washing dishes, cleaning the house, and doing the laundry. In addition, regardless of who was the main person doing the chore, respondents were asked whether they and whether their spouse contributed a lot, some, a little, or not at all to the chore.

In Vietnam, married couples often live with the husband's parents and other family members, especially early in their marriage (Bich, Pham Van, 1999, 212-215). Thus, in some situations it may be someone other than the husband or the wife who is mainly responsible for a particular domestic chore. As Table 1 indicates, a substantial minority of respondents reports such a situation. At the same time, there is no consistent pattern of change across marriage cohorts with regards to others having main responsibility for household chores during the early stages of marriage. However, there are considerable differences between the situation early in marriage and currently in the extent someone other than the couple is the

main chore doer, although the direction of the difference depends on the specific chore. During early stages of marriage, it is far more common for someone other than the couple to be responsible for managing the household budget or buying the food than it is for doing the cooking, dish washing, house cleaning or laundry. In contrast, during the year prior to the survey, this pattern is just the opposite. Differences in the percent of cases in which someone other than the couple was the main person doing the task between the early stage of marriage and the current situation are all highly statistically significant.

The difference in the reported patterns by stage of marriage reflects changes in living arrangements and household composition over the course of a couple's marriage. At an early stage of marriage not only is it common for couples to live with the husband's parents, but also the couple will not have any children of their own old enough to assist in household chores. For example, according to our survey, 65 percent of respondents report living with the husband's parent(s) and 5 percent with the wife's parent(s) right after their marriage (results cited in this paragraph are not shown in table). However, the survey also indicates that most couples that initially live with parents right after marriage move out within a year or two. In addition mortality takes a toll over time on coresident parents among couples who do not move out. As a result, only 19 percent of our respondents report that they currently live with the husband's parent(s) and 3 percent with the wife's parent(s). In addition, as time passes, couples have children who grow old enough to contribute significantly to help with household chores. Examination of the responses to who is the main persons doing the chore clearly confirms these processes. During the early years of marriage, if someone other than the couple was the main person managing the household budget or buying food, it typically was a parent of one of the spouses, usually of the husband, while in the year prior to the survey only rarely did a parent play such a role. With respect to the other chores, children play no role in doing household chores during the first few years of marriage. However, during the year prior to the survey, children, especially daughters and to some extent daughters-in-law, represent a substantial share of those who are the main person to do the chore when neither the husband nor wife takes main responsibility.

The fact that changes in living arrangements and in availability of children to assist in chores occur over the course of marriage has implications for interpreting trends across cohorts with respect to who currently is responsible for particular tasks. Given that the most recent cohort consists of persons married between 1992 and 2000, many were still in quite early stages of marriage at the time of the survey. As a result, they are far more likely than earlier cohorts to be still living with the husband's (or in a few cases the wife's) parents, and at the same time not to have children old enough to meaningfully help with any of the chores under consideration.³ For this reason we limit our analysis of cohort trends to the situation early in marriage since this holds constant the stage of marriage and is not affected by cohort differences in the current duration of marriage.

In general, men and women differ little with respect to responses about whether someone other than the husband or wife was the main person doing each of the chores under discussion, for either the first few years of marriage or the previous year (results reported in this paragraph not shown in table). The gender of the respondent, however, clearly affects the reporting about the relative roles of husbands and wives in household chores. For each of the six chores examined, whether referring to the early stage of marriage or the previous year, men are more likely than women to report that they contribute equally or are the main contributor to the chore. Similarly men and women differed in their responses to the questions on the extent to which they and their spouses did each chore. For each chore, on average, men reported a higher extent of participation than women reported about their husbands. At the same time, women reported a greater extent of participation for themselves than men reported for their wives.⁴

Although the male and female 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. As noted above, this reporting pattern is a common feature of studies of domestic chores in other countries as well. Since it is not possible from our data to determine whether husbands or wives

provide more accurate responses, we pool the responses of male and female respondents when examining trends across cohorts.

Table 2 presents three measures of the division of labor between husband and wife at the start of marriage, by marriage cohort. The first measure indicates the percent that report either that the couple shares the chore equally or that the husband is the main person doing the chore. This measure largely reflects situations where the respondent says that the husband and wife share main responsibility. Only in relatively few cases does a respondent report that a task is done mainly by the husband. For this reason we combined the two categories when constructing the measure. Results for this measure are based on respondents who reported that the primary responsibility was taken by at least one member of the couple (i.e., respondents who said someone other than the husband or wife was the main doer of the task are excluded). The second and third measures are based on reports of how much the husband and wife each did the specific task regardless of who was the main task doer. Given that wives are far more likely than husbands to play a major role in doing these chores, different measures are employed to indicate their contributions. For husbands, we examine the combined percent that reportedly did the chore some or a lot, while for wives, we examine the percent reported to do this chore a lot.

Overall, the three measures are consistent in suggesting that little change has occurred in the relative responsibility of husbands and wives in relation to the domestic chores being examined across the three cohorts. The only noticeable trend is in an increase in the involvement of husbands in managing the household budget. No clear trends are evident for the other five chores being examined. In only a minority of cases do husbands share equally or take main responsibility for doing any of the specified chores regardless of marriage cohort. Higher proportions of respondents indicate that the husband did specific chores some or a lot, although even according to this less stringent measure only a minority of husbands is reported to contribute to any specific chore. For all three cohorts the wife clearly plays a much more important role in all tasks. A substantial majority of respondents report that the wife did each of the specific chores a lot, although the wife's role in managing the household budget is somewhat lower than for the other tasks. The increasing trend indicated for the husbands' contribution to any task is largely driven by the increase in husbands' contributions to managing the household budget. When this is excluded, increases in the percent that contribute to any chores between the first and second cohort disappear and the increase between the second and most recent cohort is noticeably reduced.

Table 3 assesses cohort differences in the division of labor between wives and husbands in domestic chores at the early stages of marriage within a multivariate framework. Besides marriage cohort, the covariates included relate to gender of the respondent, place of residence, wife's education and whether or not someone other than the couple is mainly responsible for the task. We include gender of respondent since our bivariate analysis showed it is strongly associated with the assessed level of one's own and one's spouse's contribution. The choice of place of residence and wife's education is based in part on the theoretical perspectives reviewed earlier. In relation to the ideological perspective, we assume that living in a rural area will be associated with more conservative attitudes and thus less equality in the division of domestic labor (i.e., decreasing the likelihood that the husband helps in domestic chores). We assume higher education, 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 division of domestic labor. In addition, domestic chores would likely involve higher opportunity costs for better-educated women compared to those with lesser education. In this sense we would also expect higher education to be associated with more equal sharing of domestic chores with husbands based on the resource exchange perspective. Finally, having someone other than a spouse mainly doing the chore presumably reduces the extent to which a husband will need to participate in a substantial way.

We employ logistic regression to assess whether husbands' contributions to each of the specific chores during the early stages of marriage differ across cohorts after taking into account the covariates

mentioned above. The dependent variable is coded 1 if the husband does some or a lot of the specified domestic chore and 0 if not. We also include a summary measure that is coded 1 if the husband does some or a lot of any of the six chores. Reference categories for the covariates are as follows: being a member of the first (1963-71) marriage cohort, being male, residing in an urban area, less than 12 years education for the wife, and someone other than a spouse not being the main chore doer. Regression results are shown as odds ratios. Values above 1 indicate the particular category is associated with higher chances than the reference category that the husband helps with the chore and values below 1 indicate the opposite.

The results show that at the early stage of marriage, the most recent marriage cohort is associated with odds ratios above 1 for all six chores. However, only in the case of managing the household and the summary measure indicating whether the husband contributed some or a lot of to any of the chores are the results statistically significant. For all variables, the odds ratios are below one and highly statistically significant when a woman rather than a man is the respondent. Living in a rural area is associated with lower contributions by husbands to all of the chores except budget management and for all the remaining except buying food, the results are statistically significant. The odds ratios associated with cases in which the wife has a high education are modestly above 1 for all specific chores except budget management but for none are they statistically significant. Moreover, the summary measure indicates no difference in husbands' contribution when the wife has a high education versus when she does not. The lowest odds ratios are associated with cases in which someone other than a spouse mainly does the chore and in all cases the ratios are highly statistically significant.

The overall picture provided by our survey of gender roles in domestic chores is not one of substantial change over time. Clearly wives do the large share of the numerous chores considered. In particular, there does not appear to be any clear evidence of a major shift associated with doi moi and the greater opening to the West towards a more egalitarian sharing of responsibility for the everyday tasks needed to maintain household functioning. At the same time, there does not appear to be an increase in gender inequality in domestic chores associated with doi moi, although the level of inequality is substantial for all cohorts. The only task among those examined in which husbands in recent marriages appear to have increased their participation is managing the budget, although this also still remains primarily the domain of wives. We note, however, that this particular task is of a rather different nature than the other chores for which information was collected in that it does not require physical activity to perform.

Domestic Decision Making

Respondents were asked who made the important decisions during the first few years after marriage concerning four areas of domestic life: household production, the purchase of expensive goods, family and kin relations, and social life as a couple. Four possible responses were allowed: mainly the husband, mainly the wife, the husband and wife equally, or someone other than the couple. We note that the questions all refer to fairly broad categories of activities and that the interpretation of just what they encompassed was left up to the respondent. For example, the question on household production was intended to refer to any activities that members of the household perform to benefit the household economically that are centered in the household. Such activity is said to be common in Vietnam and even persons who have jobs in the formal sector may undertake such activity. We note well over 90 percent of respondents replied to the question, which implies either that such activity is indeed extremely high or that respondents interpreted the question even more broadly than intended.

As evident from the results presented in Table 4, the gender of the respondent influences the answer provided. Men were more likely than women to report that husbands mainly made the decisions concerning each of the four areas of concern, and less likely than women were to say that the wife mainly made the decisions. Gender differences in the extent to which respondents indicated that husbands and

wives shared equally in the decision-making or that someone other than the couple was primarily responsible are not pronounced. For each area of concern, gender differences in the distribution of responses are statistically significant. Nevertheless, there is still some similarity between men and women in the way the distribution of responses differs according to the particular area of decision-making. For example, both men and women attribute greater influence to the husband than to the wife in decisions about household production and expensive purchases. Both men and women also agree that with respect to family and kin relations and social life as a couple, the most common situation was one in which the husband and wife shared equally in the decisions. Both men and women also agree that decision making by someone other than the couple was most common in the case of household production but at the same time that in none of the four areas was it very common for persons other than the couple to be making decisions.

A comparison of results across the different marriage cohorts shows a clear trend towards husbands increasingly being the main decision maker with respect to household production and expensive purchases and that this trend is accompanied by concomitant decreases in the percentages reporting the wife as the main decision maker in these two areas. There is much less of a shift in gender responsibility across cohorts with regard to family and kin relations and social life as a couple. Also, only with respect to social life as a couple is there any suggestion that the equality of decision making between spouses has been increasing. Even in this case, the change in the percent making joint decisions is modest and occurs at the expense of the wife being the main decision maker.

Table 5 assesses changes in gender roles with respect to domestic decision making at the early stage of marriage across cohorts within a multivariate framework following a similar approach to that described for Table 3. We employ logistic regression to examine both changes in the extent to which husbands act as main decision makers and the extent to which equal sharing occurs in each of the four areas under consideration. Thus there are two dependent variables, the first being coded 1 if the husband is the main decision maker and 0 if he is not, and the second being coded 1 if the decision was made equally by husband and wife and 0 if not. The covariates are marriage cohort, gender, area of residence and whether or not the wife had a high education. The analysis is limited to respondents who indicated that the particular decision was made by one or both members of the couple.

The results suggest an increase from the earliest to the most recent marriage cohort in the extent to which husbands act as the main decision maker in all four areas under consideration. The odds ratios are statistically significant for both the middle and most recent cohort for both household production decisions and decisions on expensive purchases and for the most recent cohort with respect to family and kin relations. Only the increases indicated for social life as a couple lack statistical significance. The impact of gender on reporting the husband as the main decision maker is very clear and statistically significant for all four areas of decisions. Living in a rural area increases the chance that the husband is the main decision maker with expensive purchases, but has little effect on the other areas under consideration. High education of the wife decreases the extent to which decisions are made mainly by the husband in the areas of family and kin relations and social life as a couple, but has little effect on who makes decisions about household production and expensive purchases.

The results suggest little change across marriage cohorts in the extent to which decisions are made jointly by husbands and wives. Women tend to be more likely to report equality in decision-making although the effect is statistically significant only with respect to decisions regarding expensive purchases and family and kin relations. Living in a rural area reduces the likelihood of equal decision making in all areas although statistical significance is associated only with decisions on household production and expensive purchases. High education of the wife increases the chance that decisions about social life are made jointly to a statistically significant extent. The effect on other areas of decision-making is not strong.

The overall impression provided by the data on decision making at the early stage of marriage suggests that over the period covered by the three marriage cohorts the influence of husbands increased especially with respect to decisions on household production and expensive purchases. This change appears to represent mainly a shift from situations where the wife is primarily making such decisions. While these changes continued during the *doi moi* era, they clearly were initiated earlier and can be clearly seen between the earliest and middle cohorts. At the same time, there is little evidence of a change in the extent to which couples share in decision making during the time span covered. In addition, as with reporting about domestic chores, the results strongly suggest that respondents tend to attribute greater decision-making responsibility to themselves than would their spouses.

Child Rearing

The last domain of domestic life that we examine is child rearing. The survey included two sets of questions about child rearing tasks, one that refers to tasks when the couple's first child was at the preschool ages of two to five and another that refers to tasks when the child was at the early school ages of six to ten. Respondents were only asked the set of preschool age questions if they had a child who was at least two years old, and the early school age questions if they had a child at least six 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 two or six.⁵

The format of the questions asked about child rearing tasks was similar to that for questions about household tasks. First respondents were asked who the main person was who did each task. Then, regardless of who was the main person doing the task, respondents were asked whether they and whether their spouse contributed a lot, some, a little, or not at all to the chore. Questions about preschool age children, asked about five child rearing tasks: looking after, feeding, bathing, disciplining, and playing with the child when the first child was aged two to five. The set of questions about when the child was in the early school ages asked about three tasks: attending school meetings, helping the child with homework, and disciplining the child. Together, these questions enable us to assess gender roles in child rearing at two important stages in the upbringing of the respondents' first child.

Similar to the situation with questions on domestic chores, the gender of the respondent clearly affects the reporting about the relative roles of husbands and wives in child rearing tasks (results not shown). For example, regardless of the task, men are more likely than women to report that the husband equally shares the task with the wife or is mainly doing the task. Men were also more likely than women to say that they did each chore some or a lot than women were to say that their husband did so. Finally, women reported more frequently that they did each child rearing task a lot than men reported that their wives did the task a lot. At the same time, there is broad agreement among both men and women with respect to which child rearing tasks husbands were likely to contribute to and which tasks husbands were unlikely to do.

As evident in results presented in Table 6, there is considerable agreement between men and women in terms of the percent who reported that someone other than the husband or wife was the main person doing the child rearing task. The extent that someone else took main responsibility varies substantially with the specific task and the stage of the child's life. Once the child reaches school age, others besides the couple are very rarely reported as the main person responsible for the tasks being considered. At preschool ages, however, it is far more common for someone other than the couple to be responsible for some of the tasks, especially for looking after the child. In most such cases it is the parents of the husband (results not shown in table).

The percent that report that someone other than the husband or wife was mainly responsible for the various child rearing tasks when the child was age two to five is distinctly higher for the earliest marriage cohort than for the following two cohorts. Given that the earliest marriage cohort were raising their first

child during a period of war, separation of couples may have been relatively common. This could account for the higher involvement of others besides the couple in raising young children. A similar pattern of cohort differences, however, does not hold for the tasks asked about when the child was age six to ten. This may in part reflect that for many of the respondents in the earliest cohort, by the time their first child was of school age, the war period was over and separation of spouses less common.

In contrast to the patterns observed with respect to husbands' participation in domestic chores, there appears to be an increase in the involvement of husbands in a number of preschool child rearing tasks across the three marriage cohorts as seen in Table 7. Two measures of husbands' involvement are presented. One refers to the combined percent of respondents who report that the husband was mainly responsible for the task or shared main responsibility equally with the wife. The other indicates the percent that report that the husband did the task some or a lot. For all five preschool child rearing tasks considered, both measures indicate that husbands' involvement was distinctly the lowest for the earliest marriage cohort and, for almost all, highest for the most recent cohort. In general, however, increase between the first and the middle cohort is substantially greater than between the middle and most recent cohort. As noted above, the substantial increase between the first two marriage cohorts in husbands' involvement may reflect at least partially the fact that many in the earliest cohort would have been raising their first child during the period of war. This would not explain, however, the more modest increases in husbands' involvement for most of the tasks between the middle and most recent cohort. In contrast to husbands' involvement, no consistent pattern of change is evident across the marriage cohorts in the involvement of wives in preschool childcare tasks. In all three cohorts the majority did each of the tasks a lot.

The pattern of change across cohorts is more varied for the early school age child rearing tasks asked about. Husbands' involvement in disciplining the child is substantially higher for the middle and most recent cohort compared to the earliest cohort but husbands' involvement in going to school meetings and helping with the child's homework is highest for the middle cohort. This may partially reflect a greater concentration of school aged children of the most recent cohort towards the younger ages of the age range when school meetings and homework are less important and not deemed necessary for the child's father to get involved.

There is some evidence of increased involvement of wives in the tasks related to early school age children. Most notable is the consistent increase in the percent of wives who frequently assist children with their homework. The increase is particularly sharp between the middle and the most recent cohorts. Although not statistically significant, the highest percentage of wives frequently going to school meetings and disciplining their first child during school ages is also found for the most recent marriage cohort. When the wife's frequent involvement in any of the three tasks combined is considered, a consistent and statistically significant increase is found.

Tables 8 and 9 assess changes in husbands' involvement in preschool and in early school age child rearing respectively within a multivariate framework using logistic regression. The dependent variables refer to whether the husband did each of the tasks under consideration at least sometimes (0 for no, 1 for yes) and includes a summary variable indicating whether the husband did any of these tasks covered in the table at least sometimes. As with the logistic regressions relating to household chores and domestic decision making, the covariates included are marriage cohort, gender, area of residence, whether or not the wife has high education and whether or not someone other than the couple mainly did the task.

The results in Table 8 confirm the substantial increase over the course of the three cohorts in husbands' involvement in all of the preschool age tasks under consideration. For every task, as well as for the summary measure, the highest odds ratio is associated with the most recent cohort and both the odds ratio for the middle and the most recent cohorts are statistically significant. Statistically significant odds ratios

below 1 for all measures are associated with the respondent being female indicating that women attribute less frequent involvement to husbands than do men in these childcare tasks. Odds ratios below 1 are also associated with being in rural areas and for all tasks, except looking after the child, are also statistically significant. This indicates that husbands in rural areas have lower involvement than those in urban areas in these preschool childcare tasks. No statistically significant odds ratios are associated with the wife having high education. However, having someone other than one of the spouses mainly doing the task has a strong negative influence on the frequency of the husband's involvement.

Table 7 indicates a more mixed pattern of change in husbands' involvement in tasks associated with school age children. The odds ratios associated with marriage cohorts are statistically significant only for disciplining the child and for the summary measure. In fact, the odds ratios are below 1 in the case of the most recent marriage cohorts in relation to going to school meetings and helping the child with homework although they are not statistically significant. The odds ratios below 1 associated with female respondents indicates again that women report that husbands do the tasks under consideration less frequently than men report for themselves. Odds ratios associated with living in a rural area are substantially below 1 and statistically significant for each task indicating that rural husbands are less involved in these tasks than are urban husbands. Having some other person than one of the couple mainly do the chore also reduces the frequency with which the husband is involved.

The overall impression provided by the results on roles in the care of the first child during preschool ages is that husbands' involvement in care tasks has increased over the time period covered by the three marriage cohorts between the first and the middle cohort. Husbands also appear to have increased their involvement in disciplining the child once the child is in early school ages. At the same time, wives' involvement in preschool care tasks is substantially greater than that of husbands and does not appear to have changed across the three cohorts. The main child rearing task in which wives have become more involved is helping with homework once the child enters school.

Discussion and Conclusions

Much of the recent literature on gender in Vietnam speculates on the negative effects of the transition to the market economy on gender relations, while earlier work emphasized the gender equalizing influence of socialist policies (Werner and Belanger, 2002). Little social science evidence, however, has been provided to support either of these claims. Our study is unique in providing empirical data on how the gender roles within the household have been affected by various, often competing, forces in Vietnam over the past four decades.

Our examination of gender differences in the division of domestic labor during the early years of marriage reveals considerable continuity across three cohorts, spanning periods corresponding to the war with America, reunification and renovation. Wives continue to have primary responsibility for household chores, such as buying food, cooking, washing dishes, cleaning house, or doing the laundry, to an overwhelming degree. Only a rather minimal increase in husbands' involvement in these chores is associated with the most recent cohort, that is those married after the onset of economic renovation and greater opening to the global community, including the West. The main exception is the increased involvement of husbands in managing the household budget, which is especially evident for the most recent cohort. Even this change, however, does not appear to be accompanied by a decline in wives' role in household budget management.

While our survey cannot measure change over time in attitudes towards the gender division of domestic labor regarding household chores, we note that current attitudes do not appear to differ in a consistent pattern among cohorts. When asked if they agree or disagree with the statement, "If a husband and a wife both work, they should share household tasks equally," the percent somewhat or strongly agreeing fluctuates,

going from 57 percent to 48 percent to 54 percent for the three successive cohorts. Interestingly, men agree more frequently than women (58 percent versus 49 percent). That many profess attitudes supportive of gender equality likely reflects awareness of the social ideals advocated by the state and other organizations, even if such awareness does not translate into practice.

Although there is only minimal evidence for a more equalized gender division of labor with respect to doing household chores, there is some evidence for growing inequality in major household decision making at the early stage of marriage. Our results indicate a substantial increase across the three cohorts in the percent who indicate that decisions about household production and the purchase of expensive items were mainly made by the husband. Moreover, our attitudinal data indicates that 69 percent of men and 61 percent of women strongly or somewhat agree with the statement “Most important decisions in the life of the family should be made by the man of the house,” with no consistent pattern of differences evident by cohort. While these attitudinal data cannot tell us if attitudes have changed over time, they at least point to considerable agreement with the substantial reported inequality in household decision making.

With respect to child rearing, there is a significant increase between the first and middle cohorts in husbands’ involvement with preschool child rearing tasks, but only a modest additional increase between the middle and most recent cohorts. The most noticeable shift in child rearing for early school age children is the substantially higher percent of wives in the most recent cohort, compared to both earlier ones who help their child with homework even to the extent of reversing the pattern of earlier cohorts for whom husbands were more likely than wives to take this responsibility. While there is room for differing interpretations of these trends, they do suggest some increase in sharing of child rearing responsibility between spouses. In general, however, the largest share of child rearing still clearly rests on the wives.

Overall our findings suggest that continuity rather than change has characterized domestic gender roles in Vietnam, at least in the Red River Delta. While equivalent baseline data that would permit precise comparisons with the situation prior to the establishment of the socialist state are lacking, the available evidence indicates considerable gender inequality in the domains we have been investigating. Thus, despite over a half century of socialist policies emphasizing gender equality, gender division within the household appears to have changed little.

Rather than pointing to the failure of socialist policies, this finding may indicate competing areas of change. That is, competing forces are operating, some of which serve to promote greater gender equality, while others are promote greater inequality. These competing forces may balance each other out so that the net result is little change across our three cohorts. In particular, some of the major forces operating to promote gender equality during the period examined include the socialist ideology on gender equality and, particularly during the period following doi moi, the influence of foreign government and non-government organizations with strong agendas to increase empowerment of women. In particular, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) is very active in stressing a cross-cutting awareness of gender issues and gender equality at even the most remote level. Other international donors for gender-specific development issues include the United Nations Development Fund and the United Nations Fund for Women.

In contrast, the relaxation of government control over individual and family life and the transition to a market economy may be operating in a way that reduces women's influence while encouraging greater control by husbands within the household. One impact that the relaxation of political control influence over social practices appears to be a reverting-back to earlier customs and traditions. For example, results from our survey indicate an increase is the use of horoscopes and fortune tellers to determine the appropriateness of a potential bride and groom and to determine an auspicious wedding date. Likewise, a substantial increase in the percent of couples that received payments from the groom’s and bride’s

families at the time of marriage is also apparent for our most recent cohort (Jayakody and Huy, 2004). Ethnographic research points to a resurgence in religious and ancestor worship ceremonies and other pre-socialist traditions after doi moi (Kleinen, 1999). This reversal back to previous customs may also include a return to Confucian principles of women's subordinate role within the household and some researchers argue that traditional gender roles have reasserted themselves after doi moi (Werner and Belanger, 2002).

Economic growth and increased disposable income associated with the renovation may also have an effect on the management of household finances. Prior to doi moi, it was unlikely that many couples had significant amounts of cash to manage but this has undoubtedly changed as a result of the improved economic situation experienced by the most recent cohort during their early years of marriage. Although we lack direct evidence to this effect, it may help explain why husbands in the renovation cohort are more likely to participate in household budget management, as well as to be the main decision maker regarding household production and expensive purchases. Husbands in the earlier cohorts may simply have had less interest because less was at stake.

During much of the period under study, the gender agenda of the Vietnamese government, as in other socialist countries, has been principally framed in terms of societal rather than family level goals with efforts directed at the workplace or educational institutions (Anh, Truong Si et al., 1995; Werner and Belanger, 2002). And indeed Vietnam can be credited with considerable success in these spheres. Clearly far less success has been achieved in promoting gender equality within the household although reference continues to be made in policy documents along these lines. For example, the recently issued comprehensive poverty reduction and growth strategy specifically mentions the burden of domestic work on women and advocates raising awareness and educating the public about sharing family responsibilities (Vietnam, Office of the Prime Minister, 2002).

At the same time the common implication of commentaries and analyses asserting or predicting a detrimental effect of doi moi on women (Werner and Belanger, 2002) are not supported by our survey with respect to domestic life as reflected in the division of labor related to household chores and child rearing. The only possible exception might be a lessening of control over household finances and decisions related to them.

As stated in the introduction, our objective in the present study was limited largely to presenting an empirically-based descriptive analysis of domestic gender roles and to examine evidence of change and stability across cohorts who entered marriage in three historically distinctive historical periods. Thus we have not pursued any rigorous hypothesis testing. Nevertheless, our impression is that the major theoretical perspectives, which have characterized much of the research on the domestic division of labor in Western countries (especially the U.S.), are of limited value in explaining the trends (or the absence of them) in Vietnam evident from our findings. Despite major changes in the economy, the gender gap in education and employment, the opening up of society to global influences, and persistent efforts to change attitudes and practices related to gender roles, all of which should have had substantial impact on change according to these theoretical perspectives, continuity rather than change is most evident. There appears to be little to draw on from these western-based theoretical frameworks to account for this persistence of behavioral patterns, which appears to be more consistent with long-standing cultural tradition regarding the position of men and women in the family, than with the major changes that have taken place in the position of women outside the family.

Endnotes

¹ The overall project consists of a series of three surveys: 1) a pilot survey conducted in 2001 in Hai Duong province located in the River Delta approximately 60-100 kilometers east of Hanoi; 2) a regional survey conducted in 2003 in northern Vietnam covering the Red River Delta, and a second regional survey conducted in southeastern Vietnam in 2004 covering Ho Chi Minh City and surrounding provinces.

² The eleven provinces comprising the Red River Delta include: 1) Hanoi, 2) Hai Phong, 3) Vinh Phuc, 4) Ha Tay, 5) Bac Ninh, 6) Hai Duong, 7) Hung Yen, 8) Ha Nam, 9) Nam Dinh, 10) Thai Binh, and 11) Ninh Binh

³ For example, 39% of the most recent marriage cohort still lives with one of the spouses' parent(s) compared to only 16% of the middle cohort and 11% of the earliest cohort. Likewise, 74% of the earliest cohort and 55% of the middle cohort have at least one child age 14 or older at home, compared to none of the most recent cohort.

⁴ Virtually all of these gender differences in reporting are statistically significant at least at the .05 significance level and most are statistically significant at least at the .001 level.

⁵ Out of the 432 respondents in the most recent marriage cohort, 39 had no child at least age 2, and 231 had no child at least age 6; in addition, 2 of the 432 respondents in the middle marriage cohort had no child aged 6 or over.

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Table 1. Percent reporting that someone other than the husband or wife was mainly responsible for selected domestic chores by marriage cohort and stage at marriage

Domestic chore	At early stage of marriage by marriage cohort			Stage of marriage	
	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00	early in marriage	during previous year
Managing the household budget	21.1	15.3	16.0*	17.4	2.9***
Buying food	17.6	14.4	14.8	15.6	5.9***
Cooking	7.4	6.5	9.3	7.7	14.8***
Washing dishes	4.2	1.9	3.9	3.3	23.8***
Cleaning house	5.8	3.7	5.3	4.9	15.0***
Doing laundry	2.8	1.2	2.3	2.1	15.4***
Any of the above chores	23.4	18.8	22.2	21.5	27.1***

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 2. Reported division of labor in domestic chores at the start of marriage, by marriage cohort

	% reporting that couple shares chore equally or husband is main person (among those reporting that husband or wife is main person doing chore) ^a			% reporting that husband did chore some or a lot			% reporting that wife did chore a lot		
	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00
Managing the household budget	17.3	23.2	32.0***	31.0	36.3	46.3***	68.3	69.9	66.9
Buying food	4.8	5.9	6.8	26.2	25.2	29.4	76.4	78.0	77.1
Cooking	7.8	7.4	7.7	33.6	30.6	36.8	84.5	83.8	82.4
Washing dishes	4.1	6.8	3.6	26.2	26.4	29.9	89.1	89.1	88.7
Cleaning house	13.0	12.5	14.4	39.4	37.3	44.4	82.4	82.9	84.3
Doing laundry	9.5	10.1	8.3	34.0	31.7	37.7	86.1	88.7	88.7
Any of the above chores	25.1	29.9	38.7***	52.3	53.7	66.4***	91.9	94.0	94.9
Any of the above chores excluding budget management	16.2	15.0	19.8	44.2	42.4	51.9*	91.4	91.9	93.1

^a For any of the above chores, results are based on those reporting that husband or wife is main person doing any chore; For any of the above chores excluding budget management, results are based on those reporting that husband or wife is main person doing any chore excluding budget management.

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 3. Logistic regression (coefficients expressed as odds ratios) indicating husband does some or a lot of specified domestic chore at the early stage of marriage

Covariate	Managing the household budget	Buying food	Cooking	Washing dishes	Cleaning house	Doing laundry	Any of these chores
Cohort 1977-85	1.18	0.90	0.85	0.97	0.87	0.87	1.01
Cohort 1992-00	1.93***	1.12	1.19	1.18	1.19	1.14	1.84***
Female	0.67***	0.61***	0.63***	0.53***	0.66***	0.67***	0.67***
Rural	1.07	0.84	0.70**	0.65**	0.67**	0.60***	0.78*
Wife has high education	0.94	1.14	1.08	1.25	1.29	1.17	1.00
Other person than a spouse mainly does chore (a)	0.14***	0.14***	0.15***	0.15**	0.10***	0.11**	0.38**

Notes: Reference (omitted) categories are cohort 1963-71, male, urban, wife has less than 12 grade education, someone other than a spouse is not main person doing chore.

(a) For regression referring to “any of these chores” this covariate is refers to whether someone other than a spouse is the main person doing at least 1 chore

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4. Percent distribution in spouses' role in decision making about domestic matters by gender and marriage cohort

During the first few years of marriage, who made decisions about:	Gender of respondent		Marriage cohort		
	Male	Female	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00
Household production					
mainly husband	43.4	30.2	28.6	35.5	45.7
mainly wife	17.8	26.3	32.7	22.0	12.1
husband and wife equally	29.4	32.0	28.1	31.5	32.4
someone other than couple	9.5	11.4	10.6	11.0	9.8
statistical significance	***		***		
Expensive purchases					
mainly husband	45.7	36.6	32.8	42.0	48.4
mainly wife	10.8	13.9	22.1	9.9	5.4
husband and wife equally	36.9	41.8	37.6	41.3	39.0
someone other than couple	6.6	7.8	7.5	6.8	7.2
statistical significance	**		***		
Family and kin relations					
mainly husband	32.9	18.1	22.5	26.5	27.3
mainly wife	10.9	20.1	19.5	17.2	9.7
husband and wife equally	48.5	52.9	50.3	47.9	53.9
someone other than couple	7.8	9.0	7.7	8.4	9.0
statistical significance	***		**		
Social life as a couple					
mainly husband	25.9	15.5	19.0	21.7	21.3
mainly wife	10.9	18.5	19.4	13.1	11.6
husband and wife equally	61.2	64.4	59.7	63.1	65.7
someone other than couple	2.0	1.6	1.9	2.1	1.4
statistical significance	***		*		

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 5. Logistic regression (coefficients expressed as odds ratios) indicating husbands' and wives' roles in specified domestic decisions during the first few years of marriage

Dependent variable and covariates	Household production	Expensive purchases	Family and kin relations	Social life as a couple
Decision was made mainly by husband				
Cohort 1977-85	1.41*	1.49**	1.27	1.22
Cohort 1992-00	2.26***	2.04***	1.43*	1.29
Female	0.56***	0.68**	0.44***	0.52***
Rural	1.16	1.52**	1.03	1.09
Wife has high education	0.87	1.03	0.71*	0.59**
Decision was made by husband and wife equally				
Cohort 1977-85	1.21	1.17	0.91	1.14
Cohort 1992-00	1.15	1.04	1.17	1.19
Female	1.19	1.28*	1.27*	1.14
Rural	0.56***	0.63***	0.78	0.82
Wife has high education	1.28	0.98	1.22	1.52**

Notes: Reference (omitted) categories are cohort 1963-71, male, urban, wife has less than 12 grade education. Results are limited to respondents who indicated that the particular decision was made by one or both members of the couple.

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 6. Percent reporting that someone other than husband or wife is main person doing child care tasks, by gender and marriage cohort of respondent

	Gender of respondent		Marriage cohort		
	men	women	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00
Tasks when first child was 2-5 among respondents with a child aged 2 or older					
Looking after the child	29.9	26.4**	35.2	24.3	24.7***
Feeding the child	13.3	14.7	20.1	11.3	10.2***
Bathing the child	10.0	9.3	13.2	6.9	8.7**
Disciplining the child	6.5	6.2	10.0	5.6	3.3***
Playing with the child	19.1	17.8	22.7	16.2	16.3*
Any of above tasks	33.4	28.5	38.0	27.1	27.5***
Tasks when first child was 6-10 among respondents with a child aged 6 or older					
Going to school meetings	1.5	2.1	2.5	0.9	2.0
Helping child with homework	0.9	3.4***	1.9	2.6	2.0
Disciplining the child	1.1	2.1*	2.3	0.7	2.0
Any of above tasks	3.0	5.0	4.9		

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 7. Reported division of labor in child care tasks, by marriage cohort

Tasks when first child was 2-5 among respondents with a child aged 2 or older	Among those who report that husband or wife is main person doing task, % reporting that couple shares task equally or husband is main person			% reporting that husband did chore some or a lot			% reporting that wife did chore a lot		
	1963-71	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00	1963-71	1977-85	1992-00	1977-85	1992-00
Looking after the child	12.9	19.6	18.6	48.1	63.2	66.7***	67.8	75.9	73.3*
Feeding the child	8.1	11.5	13.3	38.2	49.3	52.4***	78.2	83.8	82.2
Bathing the child	9.3	12.7	15.6*	38.4	49.3	53.2***	83.1	86.3	82.2
Disciplining the child	42.7	60.3	63.4***	59.7	80.3	84.7***	71.3	71.3	73.5
Playing with the child	37.7	50.3	53.5***	56.9	74.1	81.2***	72.5	74.1	75.1
Any of the above chores	44.4	64.0	69.6***	63.2	83.6	88.3***	91.4	92.8	92.4
Tasks when first child was 6-10 among respondents with a child aged 6 or older									
Going to school meetings	41.8	46.5	38.1	59.7	64.7	50.7**	60.4	62.1	65.2
Helping child with homework	50.1	57.3	45.2*	67.4	71.9	62.2*	52.3	55.8	72.1***
Disciplining the child	58.5	76.3	75.1***	75.2	87.2	86.6***	61.8	59.5	66.2
Any of the above chores	61.5	80.7	78.9***	77.1	89.1	88.6	74.8	78.6	86.6**

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 8. Logistic regression (coefficients expressed as odds ratios) indicating husband did some or a lot of specified child care task for child aged 2-5 among respondents with a child aged 2 or older

	Looking after the child	Feeding the child	Bathing the child	Disciplining the child	Playing with the child	Any of these chores
Cohort 1977-85	1.77***	1.51**	1.52**	2.74***	2.10***	3.02***
Cohort 1992-00	2.14***	1.69***	1.79***	3.65***	3.29***	4.54***
Female	0.64***	0.62***	0.65***	0.66**	0.73*	0.77*
Rural	0.85	0.66**	0.75*	0.56***	0.66**	0.54***
Wife has high education	0.87	0.95	0.94	0.82	0.90	0.79
Other person than a spouse mainly does task (a)	0.54***	0.43***	0.42***	0.23***	0.37***	0.85

Notes: Reference (omitted) categories are cohort 1963-71, male, urban, wife has less than 12 grade education.

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

(a) For regression referring to “any of these chores” this covariate is refers to whether someone other than a spouse is the main person doing at least 1 chore

Table 9. Logistic regression (coefficients expressed as odds ratios) indicating husband did some or a lot of specified child care task for child aged 6-10 among respondents with a child aged 6 or older

	Going to school meetings	Helping child with homework	Disciplining the child	Any of these chores
Cohort 1977-85	1.26	1.28	2.27***	2.53***
Cohort 1992-00	0.71	0.82	2.29***	2.48***
Female	0.46***	0.75*	0.68*	0.71
Rural	0.52***	0.66**	0.53***	0.45***
Wife has high education	0.81	0.81	0.69	0.63*
Other person than a spouse mainly does task (a)	0.39	0.35*	0.21**	0.43*

Notes: Reference (omitted) categories are cohort 1963-71, male, urban, wife has less than 12 grade education.

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

(a) For regression referring to “any of these chores” this covariate is refers to whether someone other than a spouse is the main person doing at least 1 chore