

Gender Differences in Livelihood Strategies of Young People In Vietnam

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Introduction

Vietnam's economic liberalization policies and greater global integration have far-reaching implications for the society as a whole. Although the impact of globalization on the economy is well-documented, the social impact and implications of these changes on the lives of young people is not well-known. The Vietnam Living Standard Surveys were conducted in 1993 and 1998 to capture effects from considerable economic growth following the institution of an ambitious reform program or Doi Moi (economic opening). However, a recent analysis of the Vietnam Living Standards Measurement Surveys (VLSS) of 1993 and 1998 by Gallup (2002) states that the VLSS failed to capture the significant growth that took place in the economy during the early years of reform because important and significant dynamics in the labor force are not measured well in such large scale surveys, in particular when family farms and small businesses account for the bulk of economic activities. To capture some of these more subtle effects we conducted a small scale in-depth study. Data from this study are analyzed in conjunction with the VLSS data to describe gender differences in young people's response to the considerable change in opportunities that have taken place due to Doi Moi.

This paper begins with a review of the existing literature on gendered responses to recent economic trends in developing countries, to formulate testable hypotheses for Vietnam. Section II provides a description of the various data sources and methods used in our analysis. Section III discusses results on changes in work patterns and gender differences in these responses as identified through change over time and regional differences within Vietnam. We also use the data to explain the pattern of division of labor within the household, taking into account the context of broader context of opportunities for work, schooling and migration. Our analytical approach for measuring differences in context is to compare the experience of cohorts over time and by region of residence. Section IV concludes.

The Impact of Economic Reform on Gender Differences in Work

Several recent studies have documented the considerable extent of change that has taken place in gender segregated workplaces because of a rise in women's formal sector employment in the last few decades (Tzannatos, 1999; UN, 1995, Standing, 1999; Horton, 1999). It is generally agreed that in most parts of the world where women's labor force participation has traditionally been low, there has been increased participation

between 1970 and 1990¹ due to the expansion of trade, and changes in global production, which shifted manufacturing to the developing world. Thus the literature suggests we should expect an overall increase in workforce participation and in formal or paid labor.

There are two ways in which the young are particularly susceptible to these economic changes. As new entrants into the labor force, shifts in the labor market may be important for the creation of new jobs. Thus new entrants may be more readily trainable for these jobs than older workers. Many of the industries that are attracted to developing economies because of cheaper production costs, such as garment manufacturing or electronics, typically hire younger and female workers and create a new kind of opportunity structure in the labor market for the young (Standing, 1999). These opportunities may directly affect participation rates but may also have important implications for education—either positively by increasing returns to education to the extent that education reaps greater returns in these sectors or negatively by inducing earlier school dropout. In fact, Mook, Patrinos, and Venkataraman 1998 found that individuals with fewer years of labor market experience were receiving higher returns to schooling in Vietnam.² The potential for negative effects on schooling rang alarmist bells in the developed world and led to strong measures being taken by trading partners³. Developing country producers are now required to provide guarantees that they do not engage child labor. We address this question by exploring the timing of school exit before and after the economic reforms as well as examining the resulting differences in school attainment.

Globally, a primary force of change in women's labor market participation, as a result of the expansion of trade and global integration, has been led by the expansion of manufacturing production for export. The expansion of output, in general, however, is also responsible. While the relative importance of agriculture has declined, the share of manufacturing and the service sector has increased. In general, women have not moved out of agriculture as fast as men leading to an increasing feminization of agriculture. Women's participation in manufacturing has also differentially concentrated in the low wage informal sector (Mehra and Gammage, 1999).

Tzannatos (1999) reviews data from 11 contemporary developing countries to show that although some occupational and wage inequality between genders persist, they have diminished dramatically compared to the past. Horton (1999) also finds similarly that most parts of the world are moving towards greater equality in terms of representation of the genders within sectors and occupation. She points out that there are important regional differences with sectoral differences being the least in Asia and the greatest in Latin America. Has the sectoral composition of workforce participation changed in Vietnam and in what ways have men and women been affected?

¹ Vietnam has experienced increased labor force participation related to global markets more recently and within a shorter time frame than many other developing countries.

² Returns to education were calculated only for the segment of the population that is employed in the wage sector, estimated to be about 20% of the total population by Mook, Patrinos and Venkataraman (1998).

³ The Harkins Bill presented in the US sought to place trade embargos on countries known to employ child labor and organizations such as Oxfam instituted clean clothes campaigns and other measures in attempts to limit underage employment.

Standing (1999) explores the terms and conditions of work and finds an association between more flexible labor and increasing labor insecurity. He argues that women's greater participation in the labor market has come at the cost of greater insecurity for labor. He also finds that countries that have the most rapid increase in labor force participation also have the greatest gender differentials. Since we are interested in how Doi Moi affects young people differently much of our analysis teases out gender as well as generational differences.

The more positive trends observed by Tzanatos (1999) and Horton (1999), in terms of decreasing gender inequality are also likely to be led by the characteristics of young entrants into the labor market. Horton attributes decreasing occupational and wage differentials to increasing educational opportunities for women. Younger women are more likely to be educated than their older sisters and are also therefore more likely to reap the benefits of occupational desegregation and narrower wage differentials. The relative youth of labor in newly emerging sectors is substantiated by sector specific data. The International Labor Organization estimated that 85% of export manufacturing workers were under the age of 25 years (Safa, 1990).

The Domestic Context of Women's Formal Employment

There is no consensus on what these changes in the labor market opportunity structure have meant for the welfare of women or social change in general. While several studies have pointed to the positive effects of women's work on self-esteem, autonomy, and role in the family (Wolf, 1992; Kabeer, 1997), others have identified important ways in which traditional patriarchal values and institutions have interacted (Hartman, 1976) and reemerged in new production environments (Greenhalgh, 1985). In fact there is substantial evidence that increased participation in work has led to considerably longer workdays for women in the industrialized world (Hochschild, 1990).

These questions are best addressed by looking beyond the purely economic data to analyze the implications of women's work for other aspects of their lives. As reviewed above, although there is general agreement that the impetus for change in work in recent decades has largely been similar the world over, there is considerable difference in the evaluation and assessment of what those changes in women's work have meant for other aspects of their lives. Asking similar questions, studies of women's work in emerging sectors have come to radically different assessments about what economic expansion and increased labor market participation has achieved. Are girls/ women better or worse off as a result of work? Does work challenge existing traditional power hierarchies related to gender? What does it say about the position of women and what does it say about the changing gender roles through market driven changes?

The data allow us several ways of exploring how economic growth affects the domestic division of labor. The VLSS asked questions specific to domestic work and we can explore it's determinants. We can also explore this question through 24 hour recall data on time use patterns of respondents in the in-depth study that gives a detailed picture of

how respondents spent their time the previous day. We approximate change over time by comparing high and low opportunity communities.

One important feature of many of the most recent studies on women's work in contemporary Asia is the importance they grant to the familial context and in particular to women's role as daughters. The focus of these studies is on women's position in their natal family and on issues pertaining to workforce participation before marriage (See Wolf, 1992, Indonesia; Greenhalgh, 1985, Taiwan; Salaff, 1981, Hong Kong; Tiano, 1984, Mexico; Wong and Ko, 1984, Singapore). Important themes in these analyses are that labor market decisions are a part of a much bigger and complex process of household decision-making, and also that they operate through intergenerational relationships and expectations. The emphasis on women's roles as daughters contrast sharply with the more common research strategies where married couples and nuclear families are the focus and role conflict with women's roles as wives and mothers is the key. The daughters perspective represents a qualitatively different approach and implicitly and explicitly influences profoundly what we think of women's work in the cash economy or outside the home. We examine differential livelihood strategies by marital status to further understand changes through the life course, first as a daughter and then as a wife and mother.

Several studies observed that women seem to experience differential changes in different aspects of their lives—while they may see themselves as being modern in their own minds, they hold traditional values about childbearing and gender roles and are non-modern in many other objective dimensions. Wong and Ko (1984) observed “female workers...continue to play traditional family roles despite their productive activities in the modern sector...” (Wong and Ko, 1984: 31) Similarly, Mather observes “The arrival of industrialization in the western part of the hinterland of Jakarta during the 1970s has done much to change the public political and economic trends there. Nonetheless, little in the domestic lives of the people has as yet changed. In particular, the subordination of women as daughters, wives, and mothers has been reinforced...” . Tiano (1984) concludes from her work in Mexico that “the maquiladora program itself reinforces the current status quo by deepening the sex segregation of the labor market and by perpetuating the patriarchal ideologies and stereotypes that reflect and reinforce the existing social structure.” We examine these conflicts between belief and behavior amongst women in Vietnam since Doi Moi.

A major implication of differential change in aspects of the lives of women suggests that working women in the developing world are not as consistently or predictably modern in the totality of their lives. It is clear that the linear projections of modernization theories or extrapolations may be inadequate. Rather, it is likely that the future trajectory of the experiences of women in developing countries will follow their own particular paths. These paths undoubtedly will blend traditional and modern behaviors together.

Economic Reform (Doi Moi) in Vietnam

Many of the experiences in Vietnam are similar to other developing countries' studies such as those by Standing and Tzannatos. The pace of change in Vietnam, however, is

different; Change has occurred at a much faster rate. One important departure from the general pattern is that the economic opening has affected both agriculture and industry. Furthermore, agriculture experienced the greatest growth early in the period of economic reforms. In fact, even in 2002 after Vietnam's manufacturing base experienced considerable expansion, Vietnam's biggest export items were aquaproducts (See Gallup 2002). This sector experienced a severe setback when the United States banned catfish imports from Vietnam in 2003.

In Vietnam, there is strong government support for export-led growth as is evident with the rapid increase in exports from 1990 to 2000 shown in Table 1. Reform policies included the provision of market incentives and the encouragement of commercial agriculture. The growth of manufacturing, which has also been rapid, in Vietnam began with direct foreign investment with many brand name manufacturers of garments and other consumer goods setting up factories. Foreign investment found the educated and low cost workforce attractive as well as lack of quotas to U.S. markets (Cohen, 2003). Much of the industrial development is within industrial parks and in newly designated export processing zones, mostly situated near major cities. The Industrial Parks Authority listed 67 such parks in the country in 1999.

Table 1: Total export earnings and earnings from manufactured exports

	1990	1999	2000
Total exports (US \$ millions)	1731	11540	14448
Export of manufactured goods	1069	8479	10233 ⁴

Source: World Bank Internet dataset, Genderstats, 2002.

II. Data and Methods

2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam

We use data collected in 2003 by a group of researchers from the Population Council and the Institute of Sociology in Hanoi. The goal of the study was to investigate the lives of adolescents in a range of economic and environmental conditions during a time in Vietnam when aspirations were rising, and the health and well being of young people was believed to be threatened. Specifically, the objective of the study was to better understand how the expansion of new opportunities affect decisions and perceptions about work, schooling, marriage, and reproductive health. The Institute collected three rounds of data from individuals in four communes that were purposively selected according to their level of development, two were in the North in the Red River Delta and two were in the South, in the Mekong Delta (the two main plain regions in Vietnam).

The study contrasts the experience of young people in communities where new work opportunities are high to young people in communities where opportunities are low.

Therefore, two communes lie within rapidly growing areas where opportunities are expanding within the community or nearby (Hoi Xa in Hanoi and Thanh Phu in Dong Nai). These communities are characterized by high in-migration, infra-structural development and economic diversity. The other two communes were chosen from primarily agricultural areas characterized by high out-migration and low economic diversity (Ham Tu in Hung Yen and Son Dinh in Ben Tre)⁵. While we do not expect these communities to be entirely static or traditional, they are likely to be characterized by high out-migration, lower local economic diversity and a higher dependence on agriculture. In each commune, one village is selected for the study which is of average level of economic development and which is of average distance to the commune center.

We conducted three rounds of data collection. The first round was carried out in May 2003, the second round was implemented at the end of July and beginning of August, and the third round took place in late October, early November 2003. This design provides an opportunity at later rounds to collect additional information or clarifications emerged during preliminary analysis after earlier rounds. In the last round, we added additional respondents to capture differences associated with geographic mobility. We purposively interviewed permanent migrants in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City that were still considered members of the one hundred and twenty households previously interviewed. In this way, we gathered data based on migration status to further assess the differences in values, attitudes and aspirations based on differential opportunities and experiences. We thus collected information from permanent migrants, temporary migrants, and non-migrants.

The study is qualitative in nature, although quantitative methods are also used. To better understand the opportunities available within these communities, in the first round, we completed a detailed community profile with key informants from each community. We then randomly selected 100 households within each village for household structured questionnaire interviews. The data from this sample provide a demographic and economic profile of the area. Among these 100 households, 30 households were selected randomly for additional qualitative data collection, which included time use interviews, life history matrices, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. These multiple sources of data allow for cross-checking and triangulation.

The time use interviews were conducted for all available persons aged 5 and above in the 30 selected households in each chosen village to collect information about activities during the 24 hours of the last day. Within the matrices, we asked about major events concerning education, occupation, living arrangement, marriage, health care and fertility, and migration of all persons aged 15-19 in the 100 selected households in each chosen village. The in-depth interviews were held with all persons aged 15-19 in the 30 selected households for qualitative data collection, covering the same topics as those covered in

⁵ The four districts are Khoai Chau district in Hung Yen province, Gia Lam district in Hanoi, Vinh Cuu district in Dong Nai province, and Cho Lach district in Ben Tre province. The first two are in the Red River Delta, and the later two are in the Mekong River Delta. The level of development is judged by the research team based on data on total production outputs, population and population density (per arable land unit), economic structure of the district, and infrastructure situation.

the life history matrix. Lastly, five focus group groups were held: 1 with commune leaders, 1 with men and 1 with women aged 15-19 who were not among the 30 selected households in each sample village, 1 with adult men and 1 with adult women who were of the parental generations.

Round 2 consisted of a life history matrix for one adult of the parental generation and of the same sex as the young person in round 1 in each of the 100 household; and In-depth interviews with one parent of the same sex as the young person who had an in-depth interview in the 1st round.

Round 3 included in-depth interviews with permanent migrants and a value survey which focused on the knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions about education, occupation, living arrangement, marriage, health care and risk factors, and migration of young persons aged 15-30 and their parents of the same sex in the selected 100 households in each selected village (N=800).

Sample

To create at least a 10 year difference between the parents and youth generation we eliminated from the analysis any individuals born between 1964 and 1975. In total, twenty nine individuals were excluded, seventeen from the parent generation and twelve from the youth generation.

The average age of female respondents in the parents generation is 48 years, for male respondents the average age is 51. The average age for youth is 20 for both males and females. Roughly a fifth of youth in the sample are married whereas nearly all of the parents generation are currently married.

Table 2: Characteristics of sample

	Parent		Youth	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Average age	50.7	48.0	20.3	19.7
Percent married	100.0	97.1	22.3	18.7
N	155	171	175	182

Source: 2003 Youth and Family Study

Vietnam Living Standard Surveys

We also use data from the 1992-93 and the 1997-98 Vietnam Living Standard Surveys (VLSS). Both surveys were collected by Vietnam’s General Statistical Office with financial assistance from the United Nations Development Programme and the Swedish International Development Agency with technical assistance from the World Bank. Both surveys are nationally representative with the 1992-93 VLSS covering 4800 households and the 1997-98 VLSS surveying 6000 households. We restrict the sample to adults aged 15 and older. Among the topics covered in the survey, we are interested in the information regarding housework, education, and employment.

Methods

To understand trends in education, we examine the VLSS in 1992 and 1998. We examine both educational enrollment and attainment. If the last school attended was a vocational school, we used the last grade completed in our calculations of grade attainment.

We first explore the time use data to understand the proportion of males and females by different age groups conducting housework. We also examine the mean number of minutes spent in housework, productive work, and school work, to more fully understand the demands on youth's time. We then break down the general category of domestic work to understand to what extent men are involved in cooking, cleaning, and caring for children, which are typically classified as female types of housework.

We examine patterns in housework behavior using both the 1992 and the 1998 VLSS to understand the extent to which the patterns we found in the time use are present nationally and if they have changed over time. Evidence of change over time would lend credence to the argument that economic development leads women into the workforce outside of the house, with the resultant outcome of men performing more housework than they had when women work solely at home.

We then conduct logistic regression to examine the effect of the current economic reforms on husband's involvement in housework controlling for a variety of factors that are likely to influence this behavior. In addition to our base model, we run several models with interaction effects. We interact region and area to more fully determine if husband's involvement in housework varies based on the geographic location of the household. Since our qualitative study approximated opportunities to new sectors of work by residence, we include the interaction term to understand the effect of opportunity structures on the likelihood of a males conducting housework. We also interact region and year, since we presume that some regions have benefited by the economic reforms more than others. Lastly we interact year by cohort to understand if there is cohort difference in doing housework between the years that is associated with macro economic change.

Dependent Variable

We construct couple files with the VLSS to examine factors determining whether or not a husband participates in housework. The question is the same for both years and asks "During the last 7 days, have you worked in your home, for example, cleaning the house, preparing meals for your family, washing the family's clothes, buying food or clothes, fetching water or wood for cooking, building or maintaining household's house, livestock enclosures, making or repairing tools, vehicles, means of production ... ?" Although there is a possibility that some men are only doing mechanical housework, which is largely associated with agricultural work, the two are not highly correlated.⁶

⁶ Correlations are -.278 with women in the sample and -.305 with only men between those reporting housework and agricultural work.

Independent Variables

Individual Characteristics

Our independent variables cover three general areas: individual, spousal, and household characteristics. We examine age as a dummy variable to understand differences by age groups, which characterize different stages of the life course and possibly different values. These groups are defined as individuals aged 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 45 and older.

We include the educational attainment of the husband since Fawcett and Bornstein (1973) and Mueller (1982) have found that education indirectly measures spousal orientation toward egalitarianism. We include a measure for the sector in which the husband works, which include: 1) agriculture and agricultural services; 2) mining, forestry, electricity, construction, and transportation; 3) manufacturing; 4) commerce and finance; 5) community, social, personal, and any other services; and 6) unemployed. We believe men working in nonagricultural sectors will be less likely to perform housework.

We include several additional variables to determine the role of economic opportunities on involvement in housework. Since our study design of time use includes different regional and rural urban settings that serve as proxies for economic opportunities, we similarly include the region of the individual's residence and whether it is in an urban or rural setting in our analyses of the VLSS data. We use the seven regions identified in the VLSS, which include the northern mountains and midlands, the red river delta, the northern central coast, the southern central coast, the central highlands, the southeast and the Mekong river delta. Since many ethnic minorities are concentrated in specific regions and some of these groups are very patriarchal, we include ethnicity to separate differences by ethnicity that might have otherwise displayed a regional effect. We furthermore include an interaction term between area and region, as we expect differences by area within the different regions.

Spousal Characteristics

To further understand the effect of the spouse's involvement in economic activities outside of the home, we include a variable for the sector of work in which the wife works. We use the same categories as for the husband to similarly understand the extent to which work outside from the home effects level of housework by the husband performed. We expect that women working outside of the household in nontraditional sectors will receive greater help from their spouse.

Lastly we include the level of educational attainment of the wife. We expect to find that the higher the educational level of the wife, the lower the level of housework performed by the woman and the more egalitarian view the couples have.

Household Characteristics

The household characteristic included is household socioeconomic status. We measure household socioeconomic status in terms of a household asset index. The asset index is a composite variable based on the ownership by the household of a several durable goods including but not limited to: radio, television, refrigerator, bicycle, and motorcycle. We follow the procedure described in Filmer and Pritchett (1999) using principal components factor analysis to obtain weights to construct a single household asset index. Finally, we divide the index into three relative groups based on their respective scores. The bottom third of households comprise 33.6 percent of the sample, the middle third 33.3 percent of the sample, and the top third 33.2 percent of the sample.

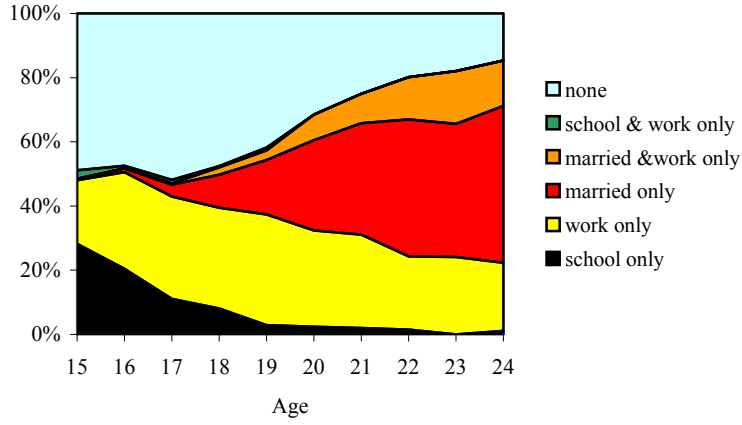
III. Results

Education

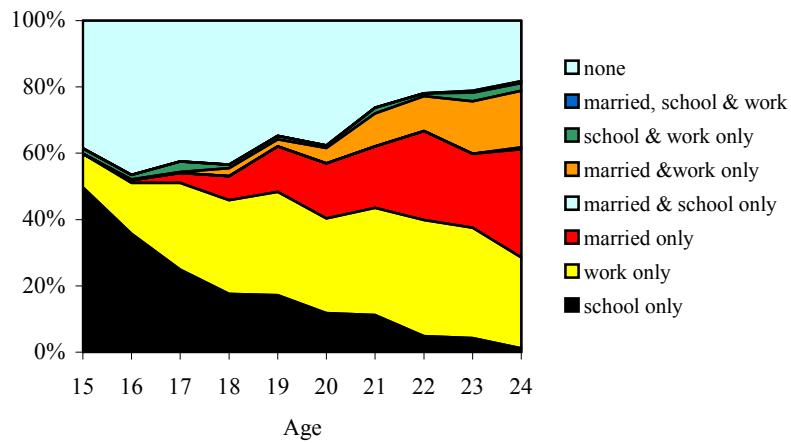
Between 1992 and 1998, men and women aged 15-24 increased schooling and delayed marriage (Figure 1). Figure 1 shows the distribution of respondents according to whether they were in school, married, working or one of the several possible overlapping categories. There were greater differences between men and women according to these states of schooling, work, and marriage in 1992 compared to 1998. The only significant overlap is working and marriage.

Figure 1: School, Work and Marriage men and women age 15-24, Vietnam, 1992 and 1998.

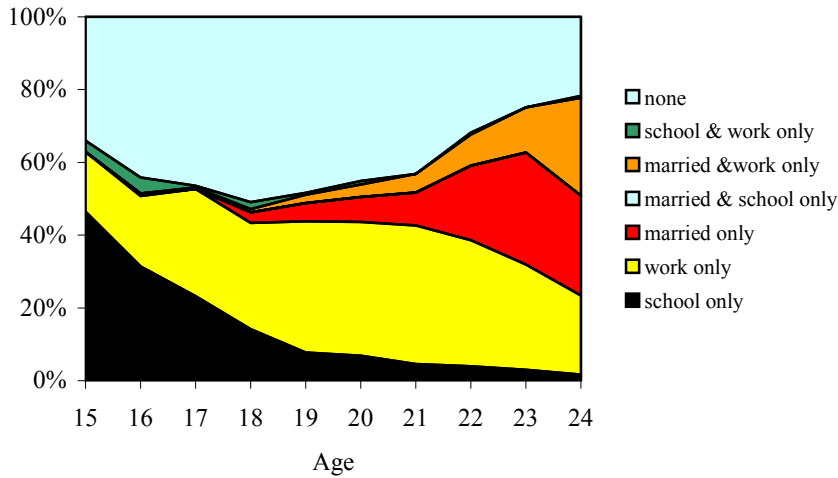
Vietnam, Female, 1992



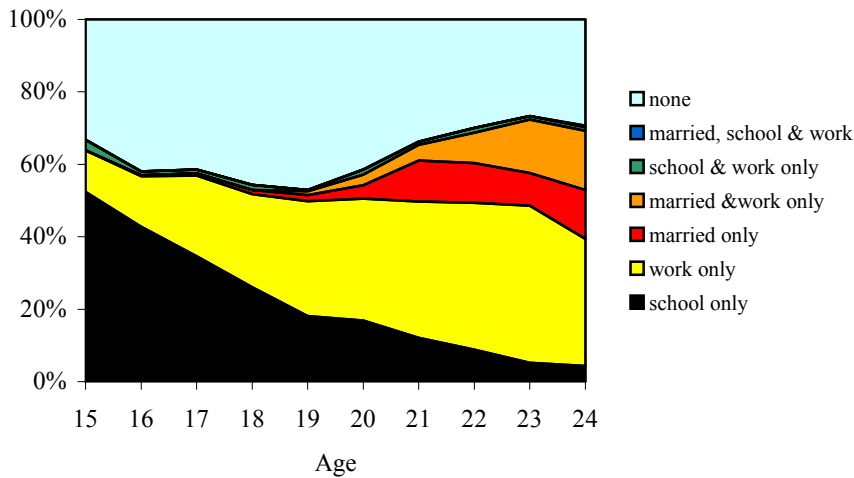
Vietnam, Female, 1998



Vietnam, Male, 1992



Vietnam, Male, 1998



Overall during this time period, educational enrollment and attainment increased considerably amongst young people. As shown in Table 3, although the overall enrollment level, measured by proportion currently in school, is still greater for males than females, female enrollment increased more dramatically than males during this time period. This reflects a globally observed closing of the gender gap in education (Lloyd and Hewett, 2003). The closing of the gender gap in Vietnam may reflect changes in economic opportunities, which no longer strongly favor men.

Educational attainment, measured by highest level of school attained, is also increasing for both males and females. For those in school and out of school, it appears that the majority of change has taken place at the lower secondary level, with an increase of roughly 10 percent attaining lower secondary in 1998 compared to 1992. When we examine the attainment figures for those still in school, however, we note that a large

percent are now attaining upper secondary or university training. The proportion who had higher than secondary education increased from less than 1% in 1993 to around 10 percent in 1998 for both men and women (results not shown). In fact, of those currently enrolled, a greater percent of females are enrolled at these higher levels than males, though the difference is slight. This increased investment in educational attainment and reduction in gender differentials undoubtedly reflects a change in the nature of skills demanded by the growing economy (Horton, 1999). Returns to schooling in the wage market are estimated by Gallup (2002) to be modest.

Table 3: Various schooling indicators by sex and year of study for young people aged 15-24.

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Current Enrollment	18.0	35.7	9.4	29.9
Educational attainment for those out and in school				
None	5.8	4.3	6.7	5.0
Primary	48.8	41.0	49.9	42.5
Lower secondary	19.7	30.2	18.5	26.6
Upper secondary or university	25.7	24.5	24.9	25.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	2113	2764	2191	2702
Educational attainment for those in school				
None	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Primary	9.2	4.3	5.3	3.5
Lower secondary	50.4	34.4	49.5	31.0
Upper secondary or university	40.4	61.3	44.2	65.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	381	982	206	807

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

Rising education and implied decreases in child labor is consistent with Basu (1999) who argued that rising income will lead to changes in the household economy that will increase the value of education. The experiences in Vietnam reflect a trend of increasing education in the developing world. Student enrollment rates for primary school in low-income countries nearly doubled for girls and increased by 50 percent for all children. Some of these changes have been surprising given that cross-sectional data on returns to education for girls are shown to be negative in some parts of the world, and changes in education have taken place even in places where women's participation in the labor force remains surprisingly limited. Nevertheless, it is likely that the changes in education and the reduction in gender differentials in school attainment will have some influence in the long term trends on labor force participation. Just as Edmonds and Turk (2002) found that child labor did not increase due to trade reform, we too do not find evidence of increasing dropout rates during a period of reform among young adults. Women appear to be benefiting more than men from these changes in education even though they have not fully caught up with men in terms of schooling attainment.

Employment

Overall, work force participation of young people declined slightly for young males and increased slightly for young females between 1992 and 1998. Regarding paid work, there was surprisingly little change in paid employment among young people as shown in Table 4a. Only females experienced a slight increase in paid employment, which is commensurate with recent experiences in other developing countries. Both male and female adults aged 25 and older similarly experienced an increase in paid work during this time, with males experiencing a greater increase than females.

Among young people (aged 15 to 24) both males and females experienced a significant decline in agricultural work and self employment, reflecting the changing sectoral composition of employment. Although, agriculture remains the primary sector of employment, it appears to be declining in importance. Agricultural employment declined for all age groups between 1992 and 1998, but as suggested in the literature, declined the least for older women.

Table 4a shows the proportion of young men and women who are married also declined considerably in this short five year period. Later marriage among women allowed more women to engage in wage work and continue schooling. As new opportunities arise, young males and females are no longer finding marriage to be an attractive livelihood strategy.

Table 4a: Percent distributions of work for young people aged 15-24 and adults aged 25+ and marital outcome for young people by sex and year of study.

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Overall work force participation	77.0	65.8	76.5	66.8
Type of work (not mutually exclusive)				
Working for pay				
15-24	21.6	21.5	15.4	17.5
25+	23.2	26.0	11.4	12.3
Working in agriculture				
15-24	49.5	39.8	51.2	41.9
25+	53.1	48.7	53.1	50.6
Working for self				
15-24	14.3	11.6	19.3	14.6
25+	20.3	22.4	21.1	23.9
Young people aged 15-24				
Married	14.1	8.6	27.0	17.6
N	2241	2888	2343	2846

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

Although there are many slight changes in occupational sector involvement by gender and age group, the most dramatic changes, particularly for young people, are the overall

decrease in agriculture as described earlier, and the increase in unemployment or unpaid work (likely associated with work) for both young males and females. In comparison, older adults experienced a decrease in unemployment or unpaid work. Males of all ages have experienced a decrease in participation of traditionally male occupations specifically mining, forestry, electricity, and construction and a decrease in working in the services. Both men and women of all ages have increased their participation in manufacturing and women increased their presence in the service industry between 1992 and 1998.

With increasing educational enrollment and increasing involvement in paid work, young women, increasingly must combine work and schooling. This burden is not equally shared by males. While the percent combining paid work and schooling increased by 1.3 percent for young men, the percent increased by more than 4 percent for women.

Table 4b: Percent distributions in sector of work individuals are employed for young people aged 15-24 and adults aged 25+ by sex and year of study.

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Young people aged 15-24				
Unemployed/unpaid work/ not in labor force	23.0	34.2	23.5	33.2
Agriculture ⁷	55.5	42.9	53.0	42.1
Mining, forestry, electricity, construction	4.0	1.0	0.4	0.5
Manufacturing	10.4	12.3	11.1	12.6
Commerce, finance	3.0	6.1	9.1	7.9
Community, social and personal services	4.1	3.5	2.9	3.7
N	2241	2888	2343	2846
Adults aged 25+				
Unemployed/unpaid work/ not in labor force	18.1	17.1	26.1	24.3
Agriculture	53.9	47.3	49.9	47.1
Mining, forestry, electricity, construction	4.2	1.1	0.6	0.6
Manufacturing	8.4	13.2	6.3	7.2
Commerce, finance	5.1	12.1	12.5	15.6
Community, social and personal services	10.2	9.0	4.6	5.2

⁷ The figures regarding percent working in agriculture in Table 4a and percent working in agriculture by sector in Table 4b do not match exactly because the two are derived from different questions. There are some reported inconsistencies amongst individuals in both years. The first figure derives from a question regarding whether or not the individual worked in a field, garden, or raising livestock or aquatic products in the past 7 days. The second figure derives from a question asking the kind of trade, industry or business connected with the main occupation of the individual within the last 7 days. Some of the discrepancy may be due to the fact that the later question seems to be open to some interpretation by the interviewer to fit the description of the respondent into a code.

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Young people aged 15-24				
Combining school & paid work	1.6	2.9	.9	5.3
N	4683	6265	5585	7375

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

There are definite differences in labor force participation and sector involvement based on the marital status of women. Unmarried women are less likely to be in the work force than are married women and while married women's participation has increased, unmarried women's participation has decreased from 1992 to 1998. Although young women are combining more work and schooling than young men, schooling likely accounts for unmarried women's lower work force participation when compared to married women's participation. Regarding specific types of work, unmarried women are more likely to be working for pay and less likely to be working in agriculture, working for themselves, or doing housework than married women. In terms of sector of work, unmarried women are more likely to be unemployed, in unpaid work, or not in the labor force. They are less likely to be in agriculture and twice as likely to be in manufacturing than married women.

Table 4c: Percent distributions of work and sector for women of all ages by marital status and for year of study.

	Unmarried		Married	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Overall work force participation	69.4	61.7	78.3	82.1
Type of work (not mutually exclusive)				
Working for pay	15.3	16.4	10.7	11.7
Working in agriculture	43.0	35.5	59.1	58.0
Working for self	19.4	16.0	21.4	25.4
Working in HW	80.9	81.2	92.5	94.3
N				
Unemployed/unpaid work/not in labor force	30.6	38.3	21.7	17.9
Agriculture	44.4	35.3	55.1	53.7
Mining, forestry, electricity, construction	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6
Manufacturing	10.6	11.1	5.8	6.9
Commerce, finance	10.4	10.4	12.2	15.8
Community, social and personal services	3.3	4.5	4.6	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3214	4443	4714	5778

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

Household Time Budgets

The 2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam collected detailed household time budgets to explore the implications of changing opportunities. Contrasts by area and by household characteristics show how Vietnamese households manage time in the face of increasing demands on their time. We collected a detailed time budget for couples using a time grid, which obtained total minutes spent in various daily activities. We begin our discussion of the time use data by showing the way three couples spent their time in Table 5a. First, as is perhaps expected, men and women's time use patterns are complimentary. While the average workday starts early and is long for everyone, we were impressed with several things—couples spend a considerable amount of time together and work in complementary ways. Schedules appear coordinated. Each workday is divided up into household, subsistence and productive work. Using the time use data, we include information from a day in the life of several couples. Overall we see that while males are helping with the cooking or cleaning, females are still primarily responsible. In addition, women are spending less time in leisure activities than their husbands.

Table 5a: Detailed time use by sex and place of residence.

Time of day	Hanoi*		Hungyen		Dongnai**	
	Male aged 21	Female aged 19	Male aged 34	Female aged 36	Male aged 26	Female aged 26
A.M. 5	Hanel company	Hanel company	Clean, visit garden	Cook breakfast, clean	Sleep	Sleep
6	Hanel company	Hanel company	Breakfast, relax	Breakfast, relax	Brush teeth, breakfast	Sleep, cook breakfast & feed child
7	Hanel company	Hanel company	Farm	Rice field	Work	Work
8	Company	Company	Farm	Rice field	Work	Work
9	Company	Company	Farm	Rice field	Work	Work
10	Company	Company	Farm	Cook for lunch	Work	Work
11	Company	Company	Lunch	Lunch	Work, nap	Work, have lunch
P.M. 12	Company	Company	Nap	Nap	Nap, work	Relax, work
1	Company	Company	Nap	Nap	Work	Work
2	Company	Visit friend	Nap	Rice field	Work	Work
3	Relax	Visit friend	Farm	Rice field	Work	Work
4	Relax, play football	Visit friend	Farm	Rice field	Work	Work
5	Play football	Relax	Farm	Rice field, cook dinner	Prepare dinner, play football	Relax, go to market
6	Play football	Have bath, begin cooking dinner	Farm	Bath	Play football	Cook & eat dinner
7	Dinner, relax	Finish cooking, eat dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Bath, eat dinner	Watch TV
8	Visit neighbor, sleep	Wash dishes, watch TV	Relax, watch tv	Watch tv	Watch TV	Watch TV
9	Sleep	Watch TV	Watch tv	Watch tv	Watch TV	Watch TV
10	Sleep	Watch TV, sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep
11	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep

Source: 2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam

* Case of brother and sister

** Case of husband and wife

Comparing mean time spent in various activities from the time use data, Table 5b shows that overall women are doing much more domestic work than men. Women do roughly two and half hours of domestic work a day compared to men, who do less than one hour. Furthermore, although young women are spending a half hour less on productive work than males, they are spending 1 hour more in school work. Overall therefore the demands on women's time are much greater than they are for men. Women spend roughly an extra hour and a half working each day than men, regardless of age.

In terms of who is working, we see that slightly less than 50 percent of men in the sample are involved in doing some form of domestic work. While very few of them are taking care of their children, many of them are cleaning and cooking, which shows that they are performing traditionally female identified tasks. Although the percentages are reduced slightly for older males, the relationship remains. In terms of women's involvement, nearly all women are involved in some form of domestic work, and this percent increases with age for women. Consequently, although many men are involved in housework, women still carry the burden of doing the majority of the housework. Women in our sample overall are spending three times as many minutes doing housework than men.

Table 5b: Percent and mean time spent in various activities by age and sex

	Aged 15- 29		Aged 30+	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Mean time spent in minutes				
domestic work	46.8	157.3	47.3	167.7
in productive work	337.1	262.5	323.2	322.2
school work	34.6	92.5	1.0	10.3
Total	418.5	512.3	371.5	500.2
Percent reporting domestic work by type of detailed activity				
All	48.7	87.7	43.0	90.2
Cleaning	24.4	76.7	19.8	78.3
Cooking	26.9	58.9	25.6	70.7
Childcare	7.7	21.9	5.8	12.0
Other	9.0	20.5	9.3	26.1
Breakdown of Domestic work in minutes (mean)				
All	46.8	156.9	47.3	167.7
Cleaning	11.8	54.4	7.9	60.2
Cooking	14.7	39.8	13.0	58.8
Childcare	8.2	48.7	14.2	24.3
Other	11.2	14	12.2	24.4
N	78	73	86	92

Source: 2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam

Again using the Time use data, we examine differences between married and unmarried women in Table 5c. While married and unmarried women alike reported high levels of productive work, an important difference in time use by marital status is the level of involvement in domestic work. Unmarried women spend less than half the time that married women spend in domestic chores. Roughly the same percent of unmarried

women (88) as married women (87) do housework; we find similarly in the VLSS that roughly 80 percent of unmarried women report doing housework. Consequently the majority of unmarried women are balancing domestic and productive demands similar to married women, but they are also balancing time spent in school work. Married women, however, have long workdays, over 40 minutes longer than unmarried women, because they spend considerably more time in domestic chores, especially childcare.

Table 5c: Percent and mean time spent in various activities by marital status of women aged 15-29

	Unmarried	Married
Mean time spent in minutes		
Domestic work	120	296
Productive work	288	264
School work	109	0
Total	517	560
Percent doing domestic work		
All	88.0	87.0
Cleaning	78.0	67.0
Cooking	56.0	73.0
Childcare	10.0	73.4
Other	18.0	33.0
Breakdown of domestic work in minutes (mean)		
All	120	296
Cleaning	53	48
Cooking	40	38
Childcare	12	197
Other	14	11
N*	50	15

Source: 2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam

*There are twelve young women aged 15-29 with marital status missing; They are left out of the analysis.

Men's involvement in housework

Amongst all men, in the VLSS, 63 percent report that they are involved in some form of housework, while 88.3 percent of all females report doing some form of housework. Young men, aged 15-24 are doing the least amount with 54.8 percent reporting that they do any housework. Of those reporting doing housework, roughly 60 percent are women and 40 percent are men (results not shown).

We examine the determinants to housework using logistic regression to explore characteristics associated with men who report helping out at home. We first examine factors explaining the reasons why men aged 15 and older report being engaged in housework. We then limit our analysis to married men to understand the extent to which characteristics of their wives affect their behavior. We also further examine the difference between married and unmarried men since unmarried men are 30 percent less likely to do housework than currently married men as shown in Table 7 in the base model. In particular we explore the role of opportunity structures driving the differential in men's

involvement in housework by looking at differences by region and the timing of the survey. Table 6 provides the frequency distribution for variables used in the models.

Table 6: Frequency distribution of variables used in the logistic regression explaining men's involvement in housework.

	All men	Married head of household
Not currently married	36.9	
Married	63.1	
Cohort		
15-24	31.9	1.9
25-34	21.9	22.8
35-44	18.4	31.0
45+	27.8	44.4
Wealth		
Poor	29.9	34.1
Middle	33.6	33.6
Rich	36.6	32.3
Education		
None	6.3	6.1
Primary	29.3	31.7
Lower Secondary	39.3	38.9
Upper Secondary or University	25.0	23.2
Wife's Education		
None		12.7
Primary		40.1
Lower Secondary		32.6
Upper Secondary or University		14.1
1992	43.1	44.2
1998	56.9	55.8
Sector of Work		
Unemployed	21.3	14.5
Agriculture	49.7	55.3
Mining, electricity, construction	2.4	8.5
Manufacturing	11.3	7.4
Commerce, Finance	7.7	6.5
Community, social, personal services	7.7	7.8
Wife's Sector of Work		
Unemployed		17.0
Agriculture		56.7
Mining, electricity, construction, transport		1.4
Manufacturing		5.9
Commerce, Finance		13.9
Community, social, personal services		4.6
Urban	26.4	23.7
Rural	73.6	76.3
Region		
Northern Mountains and midlands	14.5	15.9
Red River Delta (inc. Hanoi)	19.4	22.6
Northern Central Coast	11.3	12.9
Southern Central Coast	12.9	11.5

Central Highlands	4.8	4.6
Mekong River Delta	20.6	18.8
Southeast (inc. HCM)	16.4	13.6
Other Ethnicity	14.9	14.3
Kinh	85.1	85.7
N	16064	8439

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

In Table 7, model 1, we find age significantly explains involvement in doing housework. Compared to the reference category of men aged 45 and older, men aged 25-44 are more likely to report doing housework, particularly those aged 25-34. The youngest group of men (15 to 24) are the least likely to do any housework. Amongst all men, they are 20 percent less likely to do housework than the oldest cohort. For married men, the overall pattern for age is the same.⁸

Wealth is an important predictor of housework by men in both models. For both models, all men and married men, the poorer the household, the more likely that the man will be involved in housework. The relationship is slightly stronger for all men than for married men.

As expected, the educational attainment of the male significantly explains the variance in housework. The less education one has the less likely one will engage in housework. Men with a degree in upper secondary or beyond were 30 percent more likely to engage in housework than those with a primary education or less in the full sample. This concurs with Sanchez (1993) who finds that with education one has a greater egalitarian perspective and is more willing to engage in housework. With married males, the pattern remains but is no longer significant; the wife's education becomes a more significant explanatory factor for her husband's engagement in housework. Since husband's and wife's education is highly correlated, the impact of men's education on household work operates through who the men marry. The pattern of wife's education is the same as men's own education. If the wife has no education the husband is less likely to do housework than if the wife has a primary school education or higher.⁹

The sector of work in which the man is primarily employed significantly affects his involvement in housework for both samples. The relationships are similar for married men as they are for all men. Men working in agriculture are more likely to perform housework than men who are in nonagricultural types of jobs. Even men who are unemployed or doing unpaid work are 50 percent less likely to engage in housework than men working in agriculture. This can partially be explained because the definition of housework includes conducting maintenance on machines. Someone engaged in agriculture would be expected to keep their various machinery functional. Men in traditionally male gendered sectors of work such as mining, electricity, and construction are the least likely to engage in housework; they are over 75 percent less likely. These

⁸ The odds ratio for the youngest cohort cannot be trusted as the sample size is very small in that category of married men.

⁹ For wives with a degree higher than primary school there is not a significant difference in the likelihood of their husband's doing housework from those that achieved primary school.

findings thus support our premise that when engaged in nonagricultural work, men engage in less housework because of different demands on one's time.

The wife's sector of work has the opposite effect on the husband's housework behavior than his own work. When a wife is engaged in nonagricultural work, her husband is more likely to engage in housework. Husbands with wives working in mining, electricity, construction or transportation are 88 percent more likely to conduct housework than men with wives engaged primarily in agriculture. Men with wives engaged in commerce or finance are 70 percent more likely to engage in housework and men with wives working in the services are 65 percent more likely to engage in housework and men with their wives in manufacturing are over 61 percent more likely to engage in housework than men with wives working in agriculture. These results support our belief that men are doing housework when demands on women's time become too great due to their involvement in productive work outside of the home.

In terms of the effect of area, as expected we find that a man living in an urban setting is doing less housework than a man living in a rural setting for both samples. Because we expect that differences in opportunities also vary within region due to urban rural residence, we interact region with area in Table 7. We included year of survey, region and urban residence as other measures of community opportunity structures. The data were collected in 1992 and 1998 and considerable macro changes took place in the country in the interim. Macro economic changes varied considerably in rural and urban areas and by region and as stated earlier some change in opportunities may affect younger people more than older people. Models 3 and 4 in Table 7 show estimates of time, area and age specific effects on household work by men by looking at a set of interaction terms.

The region variable is significant for all men and married men. For both models, men living in the Mekong River delta, which is the least developed area are the least likely to be doing housework. We find distinct differences between the north and south regions for both models. Those living in the north are much more likely to do housework than men living in the south. We thus recognize that cultural differences are embedded in the region variable.

The results from models including interaction terms between year and region, and cohort and year show that all are significant predictors of reported household work. We estimate predicted probabilities from these models for specific groups of people and present them in Figures for ease of display.

Table 7: Relative odds ratios of models with interactions from logistic regression explaining men's involvement in housework.

	All men	Married head of household	All men	All men
Models	1	2	3	4
Not currently married	.687		.683	.695
Cohort (ref=45+)	*	*	*	

	All men	Married head of household	All men	All men
15-24	.806	1.152	.805	.920
25-34	1.112	1.647	1.111	1.011
35-44	1.108	1.138	1.115	1.149
Wealth (ref=rich)	*	*		
Poor	1.345	1.244	1.340	1.347
Middle	1.122	1.185	1.117	1.120
Education (ref=Primary or less)	*			
None	.652	.821	.668	.653
Lower Secondary	1.235	1.116	1.240	1.243
Upper Secondary or University	1.321	1.175	1.330	1.311
Wife's Education (ref=Primary or less)		*		
None		.744		
Lower Secondary		.972		
Upper Secondary or University		.992		
1992	.936	1.102	1.126	1.029
Sector of Work (ref=Agriculture)	*	*	*	*
Unemployed/Unpaid Work	.501	.574	.501	.492
Mining, electricity, construction	.239	.230	.239	.235
Manufacturing	.313	.287	.314	.313
Commerce, Finance	.472	.383	.475	.474
Community, social, personal, and other services	.445	.472	.441	.442
Wife's Sector of Work (ref=Agriculture)		*		
Unemployed/Unpaid work		.859		
Mining, electricity, construction		1.880		
Manufacturing		1.607		
Commerce, Finance		1.708		
Community, social, personal, and other services		1.649		
Urban	.802	.730	.800	.808
Region (ref.= Mekong River Delta)	*	*	*	*
Northern Mountains and midlands	2.292	2.634	2.443	2.288
Red River Delta (inc. Hanoi)	2.216	2.405	2.512	2.220
Northern Central Coast	1.729	2.103	1.753	1.736
Southern Central Coast	1.266	1.244	1.573	1.269
Central Highlands	2.480	2.387	5.414	2.471
Southeast (inc. HCM)	.988	1.150	.954	.989
Non Kinh Ethnicity	1.098	1.183	1.112	1.098
Region*Year			*	
Northern Mts and midlands*1992			.865	
Red River Delta (inc. Hanoi)*1992			.765	
Northern Central Coast*1992			.975	
Southern Central Coast*1992			.604	
Central Highlands*1992			.112	
Southeast (inc. HCM)*1992			1.166	
Cohort*Year				*
15-24*1992				.719
25-34*1992				1.198

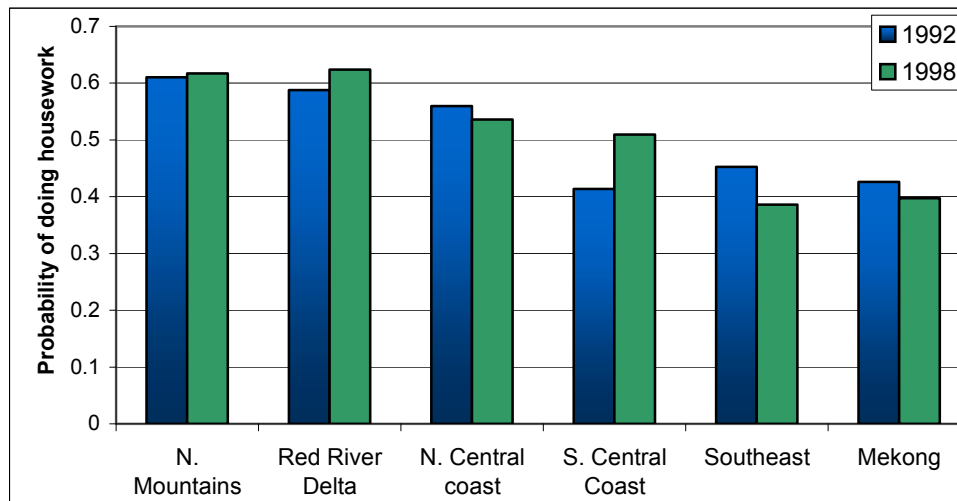
	All men	Married head of household	All men	All men
35-44*1992				.906
Constant	1.859	1.709	1.706	1.792
Model χ^2	2039.443*	931.682*	2179.795	2069.045
N=	16064	8439	16064	16064

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992-1998

Note: Odds ratios in bold are significant at least $<.05$. Standard errors are in parentheses. The * denotes that the dummy variable overall is significant at least $<.05$.

To explore if some of the effect of region was due to macro changes taking place between 1992 and 1998, we examine the interaction between region and year. We find that in some regions, men are doing more housework in 1998 than in 1992 and in others either the reverse is the case or there is no difference. It appears that men's housework increased in rapidly growing areas in the North (Red River and South Central) but not in the South. In the Red River delta, where Hanoi and other economic zones exist, and in the south central region, where Da Nang is located, we find as expected, men are doing more housework in 1998 than in 1992. This we believe is evidence of the effect of increasing economic development in these two regions on men's involvement in housework. In the Southeast region, where Ho Chi Minh is located, we find unexpectedly that men are doing less housework in 1998 than in 1992.¹⁰

Figure 2: Regional differentials in doing housework by year of study for men.



Note: Values shown for a married individual of Kinh ethnicity aged 25-34 with middle income and lower secondary schooling working in manufacturing.

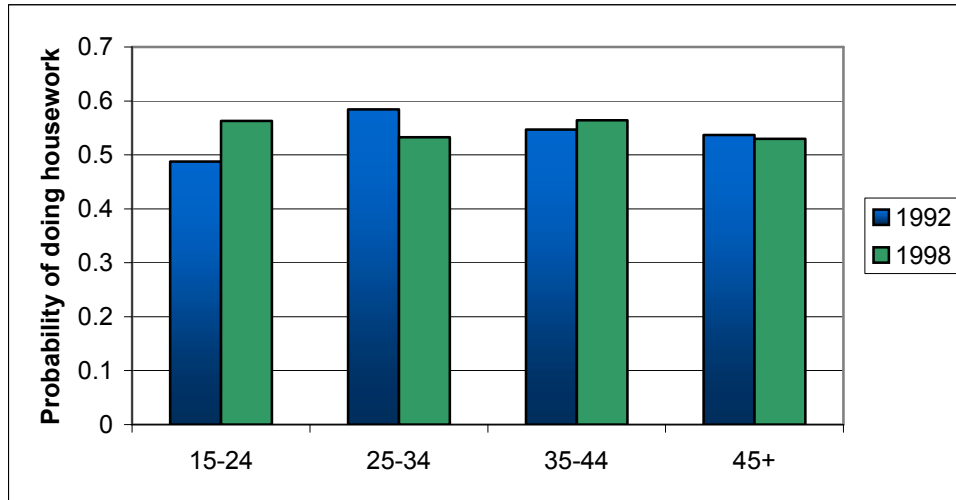
The direction of the effects estimated for cohort and region suggest that young men respond more to opportunities than older men but the interaction between cohort and region is not significant. The younger cohorts are doing less housework than the older cohorts. Among young males aged 15-24, we find that those living in the north are doing

¹⁰ Although we find the expected relationship in the central highlands, the sample size differences between the two years is likely driving the drastic change found in the data.

more housework than young males in the south. Overall men are doing less housework in the South than in the North.

The interaction variable between cohort and year significantly explains why men are doing housework. The difference is largely found for the younger cohorts. Those aged 15-24 are doing more in 1998 and those aged 25-34 are doing less housework in 98 compared to 92. For the older cohorts there is little difference in likelihood of doing housework between the two years.

Figure 3: Cohort differentials in doing housework by year of study for all men.



Note: Values shown for a unmarried individual of kinh ethnicity with middle income and lower secondary schooling working in manufacturing and living in the red river delta.

To understand attitudes toward housework that provide insight regarding behavior, we examine the in-depth interviews with respondents from our 2003 Youth and Family Study. Respondents indicated a strong value of gender equity and nearly all of our respondents expressed opinions that suggested they valued equity in terms of work-sharing in the household. Regarding roles within the household, many people old and young report the need for both men and women to help out equally regardless of region or urban rural location. Nonetheless, the comments of the respondents also indicate that they are aware of this as a changing value and many of the comments suggest there is an element of political correctness in what they say about equity. Although, there are still some individuals that will say that it is better if the wife is primarily responsible, nearly all respondents say that the man should be involved at least at some level.

Dongnai, unmarried man aged 17, *“Both (women and men) go to work, and also do housework together... Now men and women are equal, I think I should help my wife... (with) cooking, and looking after children.”*

Dongnai, group unmarried girls working in factories *“I don’t agree with the traditional view that wives are responsible for family. I have to do housework but so does my*

husband. My uncle is an example. He shares housework with his wife and it is so happy to see them doing housework together."

Ben Tre, group discussion with males aged 15-29 *"I help my wife, I prepare meals. The feudal concept of "Think highly of man, and slight of woman" no longer exists."*

Ben Tre, Male aged 19 unmarried *"I think anyone would like their wife to have a stable job, such as small trade. No one likes their wife to be their servant. Once I get married, I would like my wife to do small trade, and we will share housework together."*

Ben Tre, group of mothers with children aged 15-29 *"We should share responsibilities in doing housework, like feeding the pig and doing gardening. If the housework has been finished, then we can go out to enjoy ourselves ...For example when my husband comes home from work and sees me preparing a meal he also helps me do that. All men here know how to cook."*

Hanoi, unmarried female aged 24. *"I think husbands should share housework with wives when wives are busy. It is not the responsibility of only women."*

Hanoi, unemployed married man aged 24. *"Women should pursue careers... I find it ok to look after the children...Both my wife and I cook meals and wash clothes. I mainly tidy up the house because I'm a man and I can do it. ...My wife has little time. I take care of the child while my wife is at work."*

Migration and its relationship to housework

An important aspect of livelihood strategies that household surveys are unable to capture is migration and mobility of household members. Many of the opportunities for work require people to move great distances. However, for a variety of reasons migrant workers maintain official domicile in their commune of origin. We think the levels of migration suggested by the VLSS survey underestimates the levels of temporary migration because temporary migrants tend to be individuals living in non-household arrangements such as dormitories; household surveys are likely to miss such living arrangements. Households who move frequently are also less likely to be sampled. These problems are compounded in the 1998 VLSS because it re-contacted many households that were in the 1993 survey. The survey tried to compensate for any bias as a result of such a panel structure by including newly formed households in 1998. We thus present the data with the important caveat of underreporting and resulting biases.

Table 8 shows that short term migration that of one to three months, decreased for all age groups and both sexes between 1992 and 1998. Overall levels of temporary migration have not changed much during this period, however. This lack of a change is due to the compensating increase in individuals leaving for longer periods of time, from a minimum of four months to longer, but still being considered temporary migrants. This trend is particularly evident amongst young people aged 15-24 regardless of sex. We believe this change in young people's duration of absence from the household is due to new demands for agricultural labor and demands from other sectors such as manufacturing.

In all age groups and for all types of migration, men are more likely to migrate than women. In general they appear to be twice as likely to migrate. Such gender differences in migration patterns reflect an important gender difference in survival strategy for men and women.

Next we look at permanent migrants, but only for those that have left due to work (including joining the army), and schooling. For young people, the percent who are permanent migrants is quite small and relatively unchanged between 1992 and 1998. According to these figures young people are not permanently migrating any more or less due to schooling or work concerns. This finding could be confounded by the way in which household registration is considered in Vietnam. Due to problems stated above, although we believe that many are permanently migrating due to schooling or work requirements the survey is missing them due to difficulties in finding these mobile individuals.

There are fewer male permanent migrants in 1998 than in 1992 between the ages 25-44, while the percent of women in that age group migrating in the two years is relatively similar. Fewer males and females, however, are moving due to work and schooling concerns in 1998 than they had in 1992. For adults, both male and female, aged 44 and older, there is neither any difference in the percent permanently migrating between 1992 and 1998 nor regarding the percent that permanently migrated due to work or schooling.

Table 8: Percent distribution of being a temporary migrant by age, sex and time of study.

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
Young people aged 15-24				
One to three months	7.1	4.2	3.5	3.3
Four or more months	5.1	8.6	3.7	5.0
N	2241	2888	2343	2846
Permanent migrants	6.2	6.0	3.1	2.3
N	1978	2544	2046	2464
Those who came due to				
Work/schooling	25.2	26.3	10.0	11.2
Those who left due to				
Work/schooling	30.6	32.1	15.8	17.1
N	385	495	360	438
Adults aged 25-44				
One to three months	5.2	4.4	2.0	1.8
Four or more months	3.3	4.2	1.3	1.2
N	2862	3623	3259	4005
Of Permanent migrants	50.9	43.2	13.5	12.1
N	2246	2678	2383	2813
Those who came due to				
Work/schooling	62.6	55.1	30.0	22.3
Those who left due to				
Work/schooling	73.9	65.2	40.0	32.2

	Males		Females	
	1992	1998	1992	1998
N	1758	2102	1197	1531
Adults aged 45+				
One to three months	3.2	2.5	2.4	2.1
Four or more months	0.9	1.5	0.9	1.0
N	1821	2642	2326	3370
Of Permanent migrants	48.1	49.1	84.7	85.6
N	1240	1596	1553	1991
Those who came due to				
Work/schooling	55.0	51.9	24.6	26.3
Those who left due to				
Work/schooling	69.0	67.7	30.1	33.4
N	1178	1829	1010	1664

Source: Pooled Vietnam Living Standards Surveys 1992 1998

The time use data collected in 2003 allow us to explore the impact of migration in sending communities by categorizing households according to whether they reported a member to have migrated for work or school. Roughly 25% of households fell in this category.

Table 9 shows average hours worked by men and women in domestic work, productive work and school by whether the household was a migrant's household or not. Our a priori expectation was that migrant households would show overall lower levels of productive work done by those left behind because they are subsidized by remittances but we did not find this to be consistently the case. Rather this pattern is reflected in the overall amount of time spent in working with higher levels of overall work in non-migrant households.

A surprising pattern is that women in non-migrant households do more domestic work than in migrant households. Because of small sample sizes we are unable to check but it is likely that these differences are explained by the gender of the person who migrated and by the gender composition of those who are left behind.

Table 5c: Percent and mean time spent in various activities by marital status and sex

	Migrant		Non-migrant	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mean time spent in minutes				
Domestic work	39.2	123.8	51.2	174.5
Productive work	308.8	307.6	308.9	264.6
School work	14.0	45.6	34.1	49.0
Total	375	477	394	488
N	136	136	28	29

Source: 2003 Youth and Family Study in Vietnam

IV. Conclusions

The data presented here show considerable gender differences in the way young people have responded to the rising opportunities resulting from Doi Moi or economic reform. Examining work, schooling, and marriage decisions we find that young men and women are more likely to continue education (rather than earlier dropout rates that child labor mavens predict) as well as a slight increase in working for paid labor for young women. Overall, young women are more likely to combine paid work and schooling than young men but few women or men, overall, appear to be able to combine paid work and school. These changes are accommodated by later marriage since schooling and marriage are largely incompatible.

Detailed time use data show that men and women work equally long hours in productive activities but women spend more time in school work and more time in domestic work than men and on balance this results in women having a longer work day. The longer workday is also true for older women who do not spent time in school but spend longer hours doing in domestic chores.

In the VLSS, we examine men's reports of domestic work and in particular that reported by husbands to see to what extent increased opportunities have resulted in men doing more domestic work. We find that men's own education and their sector of work (a retreat from agriculture and rural living) results in more reporting of domestic work. For married men, their wives' occupation also plays an important role. Men whose wives are in non-agricultural occupations tend to do more work at home. Consequently, when men are working in nonagricultural work, they are less likely to see the virtue in sharing housework. When opportunities lead their wives to obtain nonagricultural work, however, men are more likely to report doing housework; the demands on the family household appear to demand a greater equity in domestic division of labor. Within our qualitative work, we found that in general men and women espoused the desire for greater equity in work within the household regardless of place of residence. Our time use data, however, showed that one's belief and desire for greater equity does not necessarily translate into greater equity in behavior. Men may share some limited roles in the responsibility but women are ultimately responsible.

These results suggest that there is some renegotiation of work roles within the household as a response to increasing opportunities. We find in our time use data, however, that young and old men are not too different in the extent to which they are involved in domestic work. Thus, part of the responsiveness of men to changing times may be reporting bias and explained by the fact that greater participation in household work or gender egalitarian activities are valued by these men. However, it may also derive from the fact that some level of participation was traditionally there in Vietnam and hence greater participation is not entirely antithetical to traditional values. The overall high levels of domestic work done by men in Vietnam is also observed in nearby Korea and may be part of a regional pattern shown by Sanchez (1993). More profound changes may be taking place through delayed marriage for men and women. These delays release women from familial obligations such as freeing up women's time from domestic work

(they would do if they were married) and enables them to spend more time in school and in wage work. The increase in time spent in school by young adult women during these transitional years may mean higher returns in the labor market in later years, which we surmise would bring about further changes in the domestic work sharing within the household.

These changes towards greater equity that we have described appears to be stronger in the North than in the South. Men in the South work much less in the home than in the North. Furthermore, perhaps as a result of growing opportunities women's workday is longer in the South than in the North. One explanation may be that in the South, opportunities for women's productive work began to change earlier than in the North. There are also other sources of cultural differences between the North and the South. For example, one may argue that since the North borders China and has similar Confucian traditions as China, it would have more patriarchal institutions than in the South, which arguably has more cultural similarities to other countries in Southeast Asia. In addition a considerable point of contrast between the North and South is that the North has been under socialist rule since the 1950s and the South only since the mid-1970s. With the seat of government and power in the North, its residents may have not only benefited from greater resource investment but also would have absorbed the socialist proclamations into their behavior more than residents of the South.

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