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FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
BASED ON TWO REPORTS ON
INSIGHTS INTO THE
ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOUTH VIET NAM

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SOME INSIGHTS INTO THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOUTH VIET NAM

TWO REPORTS

One task assigned the Simulmatics Viet Nam Research Team under Contract DA 49-092-ARO-152 was to do a preliminary study of the role of women in South Viet Nam. We proceeded by first collecting thirty-five 2-3 hour long exploratory interviews. On the basis of these a questionnaire was constructed to give us a first slice at statistical results. These first steps are here reported. The next step if a full study is desired by ARPA would be to now explore the topics here opened up with properly drawn samples.

Belle Wiggins did the pilot study on the role and values of Vietnamese women. Interviews were with thirty-five Vietnamese women from different social and economic backgrounds. (Half the women were illiterate). The questioning concentrated on four areas: comparative aspirations of men and women, the disappointments of a woman's life, and women's attitudes toward Americans, Government officials, and Vietnamese in general. Belle Wiggins' report is attached.

Further research was carried out by Mary Ramond on Vietnamese women in various groups and associations. A 72 item questionnaire was filled out by 473 women, including Hoi Chanh, Catholics, Buddhists, WAFC's, bar girls, and university students among others. A shorter questionnaire (11 items) was completed by 73 Saigon

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high school girls. It should be noted that this is a very middle class sample with but 5% who have not had a secondary education. The surveys focused on the respondents' views on marriage, the family, education, careers, the role of men and women, and other areas of interest to women. The responses have been tabulated by groups, allowing for comparison of opinions of women from various cultural and associational backgrounds. Mary Ramond's report and tabulations are also attached. The conclusions of the two reports are in agreement except on one point.*

Finding: In contrast to American culture in which women are pictured as idealistic and men as practical, Vietnamese women are concerned with the practical economic aspects of life, while the men are supposed to pursue higher spiritual and ethical goals.

Women feel that they should work and contribute to the family income if necessary and even to support the family entirely if their husband is incapacitated or absent. At the same time, women prefer jobs which give them time for their household chores.

*The Wiggins study found that interest in the work was not an important criterion in choosing a job. The Ramond study found it very important. The plausible explanation is the difference in class status of the two samples. The former may be a lower class attitude and the latter a middle class attitude.

Preferred occupations of women of all classes were pharmacy and teaching. Lower class women's ideal was to have a small business, e.g. a stall in the market, and middle class women also saw business management as a normal occupation for women.

In contrast, however, Vietnamese women would like to see their sons and husbands go into the professions. They do not want them to engage in commercial activities, since the latter require chicanery and dishonesty.

Politics, being concerned with ideology, is a proper activity for men, not women. Traditional women do not mind supporting their husbands while the husbands are engaged in scholarship or now in politics. Modern women are less tolerant of that demand.

Women in general expect to manage their own funds, while turning to their husbands for guidance on important decisions.

Recommendation:

1. Psywar appeals to women should be phrased in practical terms, outlining the material advantages to be reaped from co-operation with the GVN. Appeals to men may emphasize the ideological and moral issues more.

2. The GVN can turn to women to encourage the growth of Vietnamese entrepreneurship. Both men and women equally should be trained in the wide range of highly skilled managerial talents needed for a modern business to counteract the traditional Vietnamese contempt for merchants.

Finding: Both as a mother and as a wife, the Vietnamese woman feels she has considerable influence over the men in her life. This influence was also acknowledged by the Simulmatics hoi chanh respondents. Mothers continue to exercise considerable influence on grown men. Nonetheless, a woman is still the inferior partner in marriage, not only having to put up with her husband's extramarital adventures but also giving him obedience. The better educated and wealthier women see themselves much more as equal partners in marriage, sharing with the husband many of the functions which had traditionally been assigned to one sex or the other.

Recommendation:

1. Wives and mothers can be used to appeal to Viet Cong to rally. Sons are as likely to respond to an appeal to come home to support their mothers as to come home to support their wives and children.

Finding: Vietnamese women place a very high value on education, especially for their sons. Respect for the educated man, and desire for education are traditional in Viet Nam. Many families, however, cannot afford to send even one boy to school, because of the incidental expenses of education, such as books, clothes, paper, and the loss of a helper or wage earner. Modern middle class families wish higher education for their daughters too.

Recommendation:

1. The promise of educational opportunities has a powerful appeal and can win support for the GVN.

Finding: Vietnamese women admire the Americans for being strong, handsome, well-educated, honest and brave, while resenting them for their rudeness and materialistic approach to life. (The implications of this dichotomous view are discussed in the Slote Report.) Women were agreed in disapproving relations with American men, while in many ways comparing Vietnamese men unfavorably to American men. This would compound the resentment by Vietnamese men at their competition with the Americans for women.

Recommendation: Anything that can be done to reduce public display of American men closely associating with Vietnamese women is helpful.

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FINAL REPORT

Some Insights into the
Role of Women in Vietnam (U)

SPONSORED BY

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Washington, D. C.

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SOME INSIGHTS INTO THE LIFE OF A VIETNAMESE WOMAN

This report is limited to describing the results of a small pilot study conducted in South Viet Nam during the two months of July and August, 1966.* The subjects of this study are thirty-five Vietnamese women ranging in age from nineteen years to ninety-six years, covering a variety of occupations from construction worker to teacher, including women of illiterate families who live on the lowest of subsistence levels to the more fortunate women of comfortable middle-class families. The diversity of women obtained for this study was no accident any more than the fact that no attempt was made to obtain a random sample of Vietnamese women living south of the 17th parallel. Most of the women resided in various parts of Saigon, neighboring Cholon, and Giadinh just outside of Saigon. And as far as can be ascertained each woman in this study was reasonably typical of women of her age and from her social and occupational class.

One outcome of the pilot study was the development of an interview schedule for Vietnamese women that might be used in a larger follow-up study. The final questionnaire is reported in the Appendix and is intended for use as a survey instrument to identify

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The research and preparation of this report were carried out by Belle Wiggins under contract to the Simulmatics Corporation. She conducted the interviews for this pilot study while a member of the research field team of the Simulmatics Corporation, under the direction of Dr. Ithiel de Sola Pool.

the aspirations Vietnamese women have for their families so that in the event that aid is forthcoming to these people, it is meted out in terms of their needs and aspirations. An equal, if not more important, aim of such a survey is to point out and provide insight into the kinds of women at each class level of society who are more likely to influence opinion and organize women for the purpose of supporting constructive policies and programs of the government.

The aim of the pilot study was to clarify and define the subject matter that should be explored in a larger study of the role of Vietnamese women. The issues that were identified as worthy of further study constitute the subject matter of the questionnaire in the appendix. The questions there used were constructed to tap the appropriate areas of inquiry efficiently and economically. For this purpose, a formal sampling design is unwarranted; however, every precaution must be taken (and indeed was taken) to include a wide variety of types of women who may be making up the final sample to be studied. (See Tables 1-5.)

The literature on Vietnamese people is far from abundant, and that on Vietnamese women in particular is even scarcer. There is very little in print on the role of Vietnamese women "today" in a changing society, a society which for many reasons is becoming more urbanized, where the gulf between the older generation and younger generation is widening, where hitherto strong family ties are loosening, where women are called upon to shoulder responsibilities

over and above the ones they have held traditionally. In part, such changes in society with its accompanying problems are world-wide, but the war makes them particularly complicated in Viet Nam. In such circumstances, it seemed advisable to interview the Vietnamese women subjects of this pilot study with a loosely structured interview where our immediate concern was not with the exact wording of the questions but with the coverage of topics thought to be relevant to the final survey instrument.

The broad topics covered were comparative aspirations for women and men; the extent to which women felt supported on the one hand and imprisoned on the other hand by Confucian ethics and morals, ways in which life was found to be disappointing, attitudes to their fellow countrymen as well as to their political leaders and officials in general. Each of these topics was further sub-divided. Comparative aspirations for men and women included educational and occupational aspirations for male and female children, desired spouse for children, etc. Topics such as the relationship between husband and wife, the role of different members of the family, values and duties, were part of the larger topic of adherence to traditional up-bringing according to Confucius. And invariably, discussions on attitude to government leaders led to expressions of opinions on what Americans should do for Viet Nam, and the likes and dislikes held about individual Americans and Americans in general. The average interview lasted between two and a half and three hours.

In almost every instance, the interviews took place in the respondents' homes. The American researcher conducted these interviews with the help of an interpreter -- a young Vietnamese woman who was fluent in both English and Vietnamese.

Establishing rapport in the interviews rarely proved insurmountable for several reasons: (1) Most of the questions were on topics that women like to talk about and were not of a threatening nature. Attitudes toward the government and Americans were discussed late in the interview, long after rapport was established. If the respondent was willing to talk about a topic that might be interpreted as threatening, her comments were not written down in her presence; (2) Vietnamese women were generally open and friendly; (3) The Vietnamese interpreter was a number of years younger than the American researcher and since in Viet Nam the older person was deferred to, the respondent readily oriented herself to the researcher. This situation, abetted by a very able job of interpreting, produced a smooth interview unhampered by either misunderstandings of questions and responses or boring repetitions of statements. A fairly reliable check on the quality of the rapport between the respondent and the researcher was found in the comments on Americans. With so many Americans around, a Vietnamese had ample opportunity to observe their negative as well as positive traits of character. Respondents who were willing to point out unpleasant and annoying characteristics gave frank responses throughout the interview.

The brief hesitancy shown in answering questions in the beginning of the interview was largely attributable to initial self-consciousness.

A few statistics for the respondents such as age, marital status, religion, and literacy are shown at this point. Description of these women on other variables such as their own occupations, the occupations of the head of the household, and family income are discussed in related topics further on.

Half of the women interviewed were under thirty-five years of age. The oldest woman interviewed was ninety-six years and although physically feeble was remarkably clear of mind. The youngest girl in this study was nineteen years old and worked as a bar girl. See Table 1.

Table 1
Age Distribution of Vietnamese Women
in Pilot Study

Age Number of Years	Number of Women
19 or 20 years	2
21 through 25 years	7
26 through 29 years	3
30 through 34 years	6
35 through 39 years	4
40 through 44 years	4
45 through 49 years	6
50 through 59 years	1
60 years or over	2
Number of Women	35

As far as religion, most of the respondents were Buddhist -- twenty-eight to be exact. Only three went to the pagoda regularly.

Six of the women were Catholics; two of these attended church regularly. One of the women was a Hoa Hao. Most of the respondents were very relaxed and tolerant in talking about other religions. For example, the Buddhists did not feel that religious differences presented a serious barrier to marriage -- in sharp contrast to the antipathy expressed toward intermarriage among different racial or ethnic groups. One young woman's response, typical of others, was, "If I wished to marry a Catholic, I would change my religion for the marriage ceremony so as not to hurt my husband's spirit, and then afterwards I would believe and practise what I want to". An older Buddhist woman whose Catholic son-in-law had been very good to her before he died in battle had this to say, "Sometimes I think that it's best that all of us (daughter and grandchildren) become Catholics because the soul of my son-in-law might be sad, but you need money to become a Catholic -- they have so many ceremonies".

Approximately half of the women - seventeen - were illiterate. The remaining eighteen said they knew how to read and write in Vietnamese. Four of the literate women were students at a college or university. Economic class level and literacy did not always go hand-in-hand. Many older women from upper classes were barely able to read and write, if at all. Well-to-do families in former times did not provide formal education for girls. Traditional up-bringing formerly called for training in fine embroidery, in music, in running a household efficiently yet maintaining a good deal of

personal charm. This tradition is changing.

Marital Status of the women is recorded in Table 2 below. One-third, or twelve women, had never been married. One of these twelve had a fiance, i.e., had been proposed to formally and accepted the proposal through the traditional engagement ritual. The remainder of the women have been married.

Table 2
Marital Status of Vietnamese Women
in Pilot Study

Marital Status	Number of Women
Single	12
Married	14
Widowed	5
Separated	3
Divorced	1
Number of Women	35

Five of these were widows; three husbands died in battle; one husband was a flood victim and another was taken by typhoid fever. In addition to widows, there were four women who were not living with their husbands. Three husbands left their wives to live with other women; one husband was studying dental surgery in Paris and has been living there for over a year. This brief description of some background characteristics will serve as an introduction to the Vietnamese women in this pilot study and attention may now be directed to some of their attitudes.

Who has a harder life?

As a conversation starter and an exploratory probe into the kind of life Vietnamese women led, they were asked "Who has a harder life, a man or a women?". The respondents talked freely and enthusiastically on this subject --- a favorite subject with women everywhere. Slightly more than half the women claimed that the female has a harder life than the male. Only two respondents said that life was equally difficult for both. Males found greatest support among women who had been married or who were married to men in the armed forces and, not surprisingly, the reason given for men having a harder life is, "They have to die for their country" or "They have to fight". An example of the other main reason given is "Even though a woman might have to supplement the family income, the man is the main provider". Reasons given rarely referred to the difficulties encountered by the Vietnamese male in his traditional role of providing spiritual guidance and making the major decisions for his family. For as the interview progressed, it became clear that husbands usually had the final say on decisions concerning the family. (This point will be returned to later on).

The reasons given for a woman having a harder life than a man were more illuminating culturally. All women mentioned the difficulties and responsibilities of bearing and raising children. Yet another frequent response was that women had to cope with life without complaining. A young married woman put it this way, "The woman

has a harder life because she has to bear a lot without complaining. A man can do whatever he wants to but a woman is limited in her activities because of tradition. If a couple quarrels the man can go out and have a beer with friends and forget all about the argument, but if a woman were to walk out and just go to her own family for comfort, she would be sent home and told not to complain. If you rebel against the Confucian orientation for women, you become a bad woman". An older woman simply said, "No matter how bad things are, a woman isn't supposed to complain".

Another situation which made life harder for women was "man's unfaithfulness"; a forty-five year old middle-class housewife summed up such complaints this way, "Unfaithfulness is hard to take but if a woman leaves the man, she gives her family a bad name and besides every man has a mistress so this must be accepted and there is no point in leaving your husband over it. You just hope he will get over this affair". One woman who defied tradition and was unfaithful to a man she married upon her parents' insistence was ostracized by her family. She related how her husband's opium habit led to her unfaithfulness and she said about women, "They are penalized and ruined for one mistake. Nobody will remarry them and even if you could find someone, a second husband will never love your first husband's children". Society overlooked the husband's love affairs but never forgave unfaithfulness on the part of the wife.

Despite the lamentations heard about the plight of women,

anyone having had the opportunity to visit a wide range of homes could not help observing the importance of the woman as a mother and as a partner, if not an equal partner to her husband. Her importance was somewhat diminished if she shared the same household with her husband's parents, since, in these cases, the mother-in-law's wishes took precedence over the daughter-in-law's. But even the casual observer walking in and around Saigon or villages a good deal distant from Saigon could see the number of women working outside the home, so that it is impossible to depict the woman as being confined completely within the four walls of her home.

Attitudes toward women earning money.

Most of the women taking part in this pilot study were earning some money. Few supported the entire family on their earnings but many made a substantial contribution. Table 3 distributes the women according to the kind of work they did.

Table 3
Occupation of Vietnamese Women
in the Pilot Study

Occupation	Number of women
Housewives - not earning any money or trained in any vocation. (Three of these would like to run a small business)	5
Construction work	2
Maid in someone's home	2
Cleaning woman in public institutions	2
Sewing or embroidery	2
Weaving cloth (cottage industry)	1
Agriculture (raising fish, ducks or gardening)	2
Bar girls	2
Clerk, secretary	2
Small business (one sells wrapping paper, four sell cakes or some type of goody, one works out of her home buying and selling real estate, speculating on jewelry, etc.)	6
Owner and manager of small bar and restaurant	1
Librarian	1
Nurse (trained nurse and midwife but not working)	1
School teacher (one teaches history, the other English in secondary school)	2
Social worker (studying for higher degree and teaching in a social work school simultaneously)	1
Students - not employed (one is training to teach history in secondary school and the other two are studying pharmacy at a univerisity)	<u>3</u>
Number of Women	35

The first approach to finding out opinions on women working was through a general question, "Do you think that every woman should have a trade or occupation?" Respondents unanimously answered in the affirmative. The poorer women thought that every woman should know how to conduct a small business. A "small business" consisted of selling snacks, or wrapping paper, or pictures, etc. The entire space occupied by the business was often no larger than a little table or a basket a foot and a half square--something that could be set up on the street and packed away instantly. Business hours were flexible; a woman could work at her business most of the day or just a few hours.

The better-off women tended to select two professions, teaching and pharmacy, as good vocations for women. The main reasons given for women having a vocation were the need for supplemental income and the high cost of living. Other reasons were the husband might be unable to get a job, might become disabled, might have to serve as a soldier, or might leave you for a second wife. The initial response to whether or not a woman should have a vocation differed according to the subjects' socio-economic class. A typical response of a lower class woman was, "A woman should have some vocation like a small business or making clothes for money to help out the family, but she should pick the kind of work which will allow her to take care of her family." Women on a higher socio-economic level made comments similar to the following statement of one Vietnamese lady, "It is important for a girl to have a vocation so that she will not become a burden to her husband."

Interest in a profession as a reason for selecting it never arose. Throughout the interviews, women rarely justified aspirations or behavior by reasoning based on psychological need or self-gratification. Their reasons were "other" oriented. Most married women in the United States who worked, like Vietnamese women, did so in order to earn supplemental income for the family. American women, including low-income mothers,

would also tell you that it's good to be independent; it's good to get out of the house; housework is so boring; it's more interesting to have a job, etc. The Vietnamese never mentioned the monotony of housework and the closest they came to expressing a desire to be independent was when they said that they did not wish to be a burden.

Responses to more personal questions on attitudes to women working overwhelmingly confirmed the consensus of opinion on the importance of women to have a vocation. Some descriptions of ideal wives for sons were: "I would like my son to marry a woman who finished high school and who would be a good wife and a good mother. She should be devoted to husband and children. This devotion should be placed ahead of social activity because much time is needed to supply spiritual guidance for the children as well as obtaining extra income for the material needs of the family". "My son's wife should have a steady job; she should be active but remain sweet-tempered. She should be wise particularly if she is my oldest son's wife because she exercises influence on the husband and since it is his duty to provide guidance for the family on almost all matters, it is important for her to have good judgment". "My son should marry an educated woman, but she should have less education than my son. She should know how to sew, do pretty embroidery; she should manage the house and know how to conduct a small business". "I can't expect my son to marry an educated woman because he only finished the second grade. I would like her to be kind, to take care of the children and to know how to sew for money". In every case the desirable

daughter-in-law was the one who had earning capability in addition to other characteristics. And, as expected, Vietnamese felt that daughters, too, should be able to earn money.

As noted earlier, three-fourths of the women in this pilot study contributed in varying degree to family income. A third of those who did not expressed a desire to do so but did not know how to go about it. Earning money is not a recent phenomenon in the life of Vietnamese women. For example, the ninety-six year old subject commented, "In my time, if the family needed money, we (women) did crafts such as weaving in our spare time. My daughter (who is 52 years old) sold snacks and as far as I know she is still selling snacks. (Daughter is in Con Son, an island off South Viet Nam)". One woman who was married for twenty-two years explained that she started her business of buying and selling houses for friends to support the family while her husband went through dental school. After her husband finished his studies he established a private practice and in addition he obtained a teaching position in dentistry at a university. His wife continued to work using her income for the basic needs of the family; the husband contributed some money as a supplement to his wife's earnings for the running of the household. He felt no obligation to make the major monetary contribution as long as his wife was managing so well. Although this wife could roughly estimate her husband's income, he did not keep her informed. She showed no resentment nor did she feel

unfairly treated. She admitted that she would like her husband to be a bit more generous but thought he knew what he was doing, and the only expense he might have which she could not condone was money spent on a mistress. However, it was clear that the husband was willing to pay for major expenses other than running the household, such as educating his children, providing a dowry for his girl child and so on. This kind of wife was not at all uncommon. She was usually the wife of a man aspiring to the upper middle-class level of society.

Educational aspiration for women and men.

The educated man was always esteemed in Viet Nam. A farmer who had several sons sometimes excused one of them from working the land and allowed him to concentrate on his studies, passing one examination after another until obtaining a high title. Years ago it was possible to become a mandarin; this title is no longer given. Theoretically a poor man was able to achieve such a title since examinations were administered on a democratic basis. Naturally, a well-to-do family had many advantages over the poor family. The wealthier family employed tutors, making its sons better prepared for the examinations; it hired people to attend the crops while its sons studied. Once a son successfully completed his studies he was accorded great respect. He was sought out for advice by the village; he was often given a desirable appointment by the government. He

was considered wise and cultured. In all ways he brought honor to his family.

The husband of one of the respondents attended university until he was forty-four years old, at which time he completed his examinations. Throughout the years his wife was the sole support of him and their children. The hope was that his education and a good position would enhance the family name as well as its fortune.

The student, himself, was respected. A clerk holding a full time job in the post office often gave his occupation as "student" if he was enrolled at a university even though he was not sitting in on any of the lectures. (Enrollment at a university did not require attendance).^{*} Thus, it was not surprising that every woman in our pilot study wanted her son or future son to have a good education. The definition of "good" depended on the respondent's standard of living. Aspiration varied from three years in grade school in order to become literate to completion of university. Ideally, all wanted their sons to go to university. The poor people, however, felt that such an aspiration was phantasy and tempered it by saying that they would be contented if their sons finished primary school and very happy if they successfully completed secondary school.

Educational aspirations for daughters were somewhat lower, not

^{*}Sometimes an ex-student called himself "failed student". He was proud to have got into a university even though he was not able to finish his training as a result of failing his examinations.

because anyone opposed a women getting a good education, but because it was felt that a woman should have less education than her husband. Therefore, if a woman knew that her daughter would be lucky to marry someone who had finished the eighth grade, she would say, "I would like my daughter to finish the fifth grade". Parents with the means to support their children through college said they wished to send all of their children to a university regardless of sex. One student respondent had this to say, "My parents want me to become a teacher. This is a good occupation. And when I marry, it will be to an educated husband". The two main purposes in giving girls a good education were to enable them to marry educated men and to provide them with a vocation.

The firmness in the belief of the necessity for children, particularly sons, to be educated was best illustrated by the replies to, "Can you think of any circumstances which would cause you to give one of your children away for adoption?". The standard answer for both poor and better-off mothers was contained in the quote from a clerk's wife, "It would pain me just as much to give my daughter out for adoption as my son. A good mother should never give her children away even if they are illegitimate, but if you can't give your children a good education, you should consider giving them away, especially the son".

The desire to educate the son was always part of tradition, but the demands for teachers, nurses, administrative personnel has

greatly modified the views on education of women. Despite the tremendous desire to educate children and for a free public school system, almost half the women interviewed lived in a home where there was a child who should be attending school but was not. Many reasons were given: "She has to stay home to take care of the younger ones so that I can go to work". (The baby-sitter was eight years old). "I can't afford the clothes to send all the children to school". "The child needs a bicycle to get to school. I can't buy it". "I wanted to send the child to school but before they let him in he has to know how to put letters together to make sounds. There was no one to teach him this. I can't read". "There are so many sessions. My child was supposed to go during the bad time of day, between 12:00 and 2:00, dinner time when it is so hot. Who can do school work at such a time? I don't make him go". To any mention that children were supposed to go through third grade, the answer was "The schools are so crowded that if everyone went there wouldn't be room". These quotes were from poor families, all earning six thousand piasters or less per month. From these comments it is evident that much is needed to be done to improve facilities and to change attitudes if a Vietnamese government sets itself the goal of achieving universal education.

Literate parents who could afford to clothe and provide transportation for their children saw to it that they all attended school. If children from such parents did not go on to secondary school, it was because they could not pass the qualifying examinations.

Occupational aspirations for women

Earlier, it was seen that psychological needs and self-gratification were not mentioned as motives for women working. Nor was interest given as a reason for selecting a vocation. The choice of a vocation or profession for a woman was based on its respectability, its lucrativeness and whether its demands were limited enough to allow a woman ample time at home to care for her family. In this light it was not difficult to explain why the Vietnamese subjects suggested teaching and pharmacy as the main professions appropriate for women.

Most people thought of teachers as earning rather modest wages but when their income was compared to the income of other professions open to women such as nursing, the salary was regarded in a favorable light. Furthermore, although the teacher might actually work as many hours as women in other occupations, much of her work could be done at home. Preparation of classes and grading papers was often accomplished in the evening after the needs of the family were attended to.

But the choice of pharmacy is not so immediately obvious. Upon further inquiry, it turned out that a woman who obtained a license to practise pharmacy could rent her license, that is lend her name to a drug store for a handsome fee, without actually putting in real time at the business. Thus, she was in a respectable occupation, earned money and could spend most of her time raising her children and running the household.

Another question arose. Why was social work not mentioned as a good occupation for a woman? The answer was that social work was thought of as a voluntary pursuit, and a noble one in which to fill spare time. With rare exception, the few professionally trained social workers in South Viet Nam were not paid for their work. Given the reasons for women having a vocation, there was little motivation for going into this field.

Where politics was concerned, most women said that it was a field for men and that women should stay out of it. But students, particularly those who were single did not agree with this opinion. One student said, "I wanted to be active in politics; its the only way to do something good; but it's dangerous." A social work student commented, "I thought I would be a political leader but I am older and I would like to get married and stay home with the children". It should be borne in mind that most political activity, like social work, was a voluntary pursuit; it did not yield an income and this in itself made it an undesirable vocation for women. However, it is emphasized that the respondents' reactions to the two types of voluntary pursuits were very different. Social work was put forth as an appropriate spare time activity for women, whereas politics was frequently put forth as an activity which women should not engage in. The following also emerged: women felt that they were not barred from the field of politics because of their sex, and that desire for political activity was associated with education.

The poorer respondents discussed unskilled occupations. They did not like the idea of their daughters working as maids or construction workers. Even families who needed money desperately made it clear that these jobs were taken as a last resort and were considered temporary jobs. Construction work was undesirable because it was too hard and the hours were long. A maid also had long hours; but in addition to this, it was an undesirable occupation because the

tasks involved were of the kind that should be performed for the immediate family and not for strangers. Maids at the time of this pilot study were very scarce in the Saigon area. A mother of seven children who lived on 6,000 piasters a month had three unemployed daughters lacking vocational training. She would not allow any of them to consider taking a job as a maid because her husband had a white collar position (clerk). And she did not wish to "demean the family name". "Small business" was the vocation mentioned as desirable by even the poorest of the poor respondents.

Occupational aspiration for men

The Vietnamese male has the ultimate responsibility of feeding, clothing and housing his family. He was fortunate in his marriage if his wife had skills which enabled her to supplement his income or provide all the necessities of the household in the event that he desired to pursue a vocation that did not yield an income. If he was not the main provider for his family needs, it was clearly understood that it was not because he shirked his responsibilities or that he lacked ability to earn an income but because he chose to give up the pursuit of money for high ideals. Thus the man who depended on his wife to support the family because he could not find a job occupied an entirely different position in society than the man who relied on his wife's income to free him to engage in full-time civic activities. The former man suffered a loss of respect in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of others. The latter was esteemed by his family as well as society. Thus, it was important for every man to have a skill or vocation or profession.

The low income respondents generally agreed that jobs for unskilled workers were scarce and were very eager for their sons to acquire a skill.* Families that had been in the same trade for generations expected their sons to continue the tradition. They wanted their sons' lives to be better than their fathers'. The hope was that the sons would work for themselves rather than have their output scrutinized by bosses. For example, one woman whose husband was a weaver in the textile cottage industry as had been his father before him and his father before him, yearned for her son to own his loom so that he could work independently rather than repeat his father's life of supporting his family by doing piece work on a rented loom.

The better off the family was, the higher its expectations. Professions such as lawyer, doctor, engineer were frequently mentioned as good occupations for men. But often, a respondent added, "He should not work for the government." One Vietnamese in talking about the kind of husband she would like her daughter to have said, "I would like my daughter to have a husband who has an independent professional career like a doctor. He should not be a civil servant in any capacity because they cannot exercise any independent judgment but must always take orders from above. They earn very little also."**

*Since the prevalent American view is that Viet Nam is suffering from a labor shortage in an inflationary situation, the respondents' comments on the paucity of jobs require explanation. Although this researcher did interviews in a substantial number of homes having family members desirous of employment, it was not possible for this pilot study to determine conclusively whether unemployment was the result of a problem in communication, i.e., people did not hear of available jobs, or whether, in fact, no jobs were available. Some construction companies in Viet Nam say they will hire anyone willing to work but that many Vietnamese men are not willing to work away from home or in insecure areas; many Vietnamese claim, on the other hand, that they have tried to get such jobs but that the men doing the actual hiring take on only those who agree to kick back a large portion of their first month's salary. Those who fuss about the kick back do not get the jobs. Perhaps there is some truth on both sides. What can be said is that the people agree that Americans provide a larger number of jobs but not enough, that in particular the low income people do not know how to go about getting a job if they have no skills or contacts, and that people feel that the communication between those wanting to hire labor and those wanting jobs is poor. To determine the extent of unemployment and its real cause further study is necessary.

**Although this negative attitude to civil service jobs was prevalent among women who were able to provide a higher education for their children, it was not prevalent among mothers who expected their sons to attend secondary school and were not even sure that they would complete secondary school. These mothers were eager for their sons to hold white collar jobs and the government was often the most promising source for such jobs.

Other negative opinions on what a man should do concerned business. The unanimous opinion was that he should definitely stay out of it. Even the wives of the two merchants in this study did not volunteer any positive comments on the subject.

Not infrequent was the case of an unemployed man or a man with an inadequate income planning a business enterprise whose success would depend primarily on his brains and efforts, but as far as the public was concerned, his wife would be the front man operating the business. And, it would be referred to as her business. (Table 4 shows the distribution of occupations of husbands or male heads of household for this pilot study). One young woman summed up feelings on the subject this way, "The integrity of a man shows through his career. A merchant is not honest, so I would not want to marry a merchant."

Table 4
Occupation of Heads of Household of
Vietnamese Women in Pilot Study*

Occupation	Number of Men
Professional (plastic surgeon -1, dentist -1, teachers -2) ...	4
Semi-professional (artist)	1
Manufacturer (cloth)	1
White collar (clerks)	4
Merchants	2
Skilled workers (carpenter -1, weavers -2)	3
Unskilled workers (laborers -3, dockworker -1, guard -1, cyclo driver -1) ...	6
Agricultural	2
Armed Forces (major -1, captains -2, non-commissioned soldiers -5)	8
Could not determine	4
Number of men	
35	

Somewhat perplexing was the reasoning that made it commendable for a woman to be a merchant engaged in doubtful practices while at the same time it frowned upon a man taking such a vocation. Perhaps the answer lies in another popular opinion expressed as follows, "A man should have an ideal, a goal in life, not just think of earning a living." In short, a woman worked to earn a living and if in the process she was guilty of minor lapses in honesty, it would be overlooked. A man, however, had a higher purpose than obtaining income and this higher purpose should not be placed in jeopardy by the necessary improper practices involved in business. This raises the question as to whether much of the prejudice against business as a profession for a man would diminish if there were more diverse careers in this field open to men--if for example, large companies requiring a range of business skills were to open up branches in Viet Nam.

*If a married woman lived with husband's parents, the occupation of her husband was recorded even though her father-in-law was the head of the household. The occupation of husband before he died was recorded for a widow. For a single woman, the occupation of the father was used.

Desired family size and composition

The life of the Vietnamese woman has been touched upon but can be examined a little more closely. The Vietnamese have traditionally had large families and even today, people are heard to say "A large family is a happy one." A large family represented security for poor people. It was the children's duty to take care of their parents when in need and in old age, the main responsibility falling to the oldest son. Every woman wanted at least one male child. This child not only carried on the family name but took the lead in ancestral worship. Even now, a mother who was never able to give birth to a son is pitied. Formerly, it was thought that an evil spell was cast upon her as a punishment but only one old person and one illiterate woman among the subjects in the pilot study shared this belief. Some mothers had as many as ten children with the hope of finally giving birth to a boy. If a family never had a boy they often tried to adopt one. The importance placed on having a male child did not mean that families were unhappy with their female children. When women were asked, "Ideally, how many children would you like to have?" their answer was either "three" or "four". Three mothers gave the same number of children they happened to have. The women who answered "four" wanted two boys and two girls; those who said "three" desired two boys and one girl. Invariably, it emerged that you needed to have two boys in case something happened to one of them. (Some of the women said that an only son did not have to serve in the military forces, but often an only son felt he had to serve his country to prove he was not a "coward"). All women wanted one daughter at the least.

Perhaps men's opinions on how many children and of what sex they should be is a more reliable measure of the cultural attitude toward the sexes. But that is a subject for a different study. One mother related that when her daughter was born her husband was very sad because he felt that life was very difficult for a woman. In order to marry well, she had to be beautiful and needed a dowry. She went on to say that he was very fond of the child and spoiled her with his affection.

Neither through conversation nor behavior did these women indicate that their parents had withheld affection because they were females.* Occasionally a young woman said with a little envy that her brother was spoiled by her parents in that he was never permitted to do household chores such as sweeping the hall. But she quickly added that boys of all good families were not supposed to do women's work of this sort. Lack of expressions of jealousy or hostility towards the opposite sex has to be taken in the context that these Vietnamese were loathe to express any negative feelings about members of their families, much more so than we in the United States where the psychological consequences of repression are taken seriously. When criticism was expressed, it centered around unfaithful husbands and mothers-in-law. Even these criticisms were very controlled.

* The only woman among the thirty-five in the study who appeared to be utterly beaten because she was born a female was in her fifties. Her husband had taken a second wife into the home before a law was passed forbidding such practice. Finding the situation intolerable, she left her home. Her two grown daughters remained with the father since he was better able to provide for them than their mother. The mother, bereft of husband and daughters, supported herself by sewing.

As noted, most of the women did not wish for more than three or four children. This is a large family by American standards but not at all large by Vietnamese standards. Only two of the married women over thirty years of age had less than four children. Many had seven and eight children. Women felt it was difficult to handle more than three or four children in terms of discipline, education and the provision of material needs of food, clothing, and shelter. The un-marrieds in this study also preferred as few as three or four children. This, they said, was the maximum number that still permitted close and affectionate relationship between parents and children. Those who were mothers already gave work and finances as reasons for limiting family size. Those who were not mothers yet stressed the possibility of greater warmth among family members as a good reason for keeping its size down. The latter group has not had the major responsibility for feeding mouths and therefore financial problems were not at the forefront of their minds. Despite the recognized advantages of a smaller family, none of the mothers claimed to use artificial methods of birth control.

Marriage and divorce.

In the late 1950's, hastened by Madame Nhu's support, reform legislation enforcing monogamous marriage was passed. A man was forbidden under threat of prosecution to take more than one wife. This legislation permitted divorce and defined property rights for the spouse and children. The effect of these new laws was not as great as expected since it was still socially unacceptable for a woman to take advantage of them. Sometimes a man, compelled by

political reasons, arranged to divorce his prior wives in order to live legally with his current choice and the woman who was to act as hostess. However, the reverse was also rare. Very few women insisted on divorce. No subject thought anyone ought to become a "second wife" for the second wife only "brings unhappiness"; but after having said that, a whole range of opinions on the topic were offered. The most traditional of the poor women in this study was a single twenty-three year old girl. She had this to say, "If a man wants more than one wife he should go and have two. His wife should not object because if she does he will only leave her. Of course, he shouldn't have two wives unless he can provide for both of them." The most traditional woman of the middle-class said, "I could not share the same home with a second wife but when I am older and no longer want to have children, I will not complain if my husband has a concubine even though I will be sad. You know, in the time of my mother, a good wife would have selected a concubine for her husband in such circumstances." To the query of why "concubine" was substituted for "second wife" the answer was that a concubine formerly had virtually no legal rights either for herself or children who were born out of such a relationship. A second wife did have some legal rights to property and inheritance. (The new laws did not make this distinction relevant). The strong disapproval of divorce by society was evidenced by the comments of women who were not happy with their husbands and were themselves, therefore, potential candidates for divorce. A thirty-eight year old housewife and mother of seven children, given a traditional Vietnamese upbringing and living with her husband's mother and relatives, suspected her

husband of having another wife (mistress) and was certain that this illicit relationship had produced children. She said, "I have never had a happy moment since the day I married. My husband is unfaithful and unkind. He doesn't pay attention to my illnesses. He never comes home in the evening." When asked if she would ever consider a divorce or a separation, she explained "This is not a good reason for divorce. He supports me; he takes care of the children, he is good to his mother. He does what many men do. If I left him people would say I was a bad woman." Another woman who complained of unfaithfulness on the part of her husband and earned enough money to take care of herself and her children commented that divorce was out of the question, "I would only bring ruin to myself and what about my children's name?--divorce would dishonor the family." And finally the wife of a plastic surgeon who left her because of her dangerously violent temper on the subject of his unfaithfulness said this, "I would be better off if I never saw my husband but as it is I see him every day since his office is in this house. I have thought of divorce many times but to do this would be to disgrace my family and my children. I wish I could buy another house. All I do is cry. It's the fault of the women; they are after him because he has a good profession." Even the unhappy woman who was able to support herself felt that divorce was out of the question.

It was mentioned earlier that women felt it was better to overlook a husband's romantic affairs. One such woman said "When my husband and I married, we were very good friends and we are still good friends. Sometimes he forgets that I am his wife and starts to tell me about his latest mistress but I know that he will always put his family first.

He is a good man." Although unfaithfulness was not regarded as a sufficient reason for a woman leaving a man, any attempt on his part to have a "second wife" share the same house was a reason for separation, but not divorce. Other reasons given in order of frequency were: wife beating, gambling and drunkenness. Non-support was never given as a reason.

Only a few of the marriages of the women in this study were arranged in the sense that parents committed young couples to each other from a very early age and the couples were obligated to honor the commitment. The unarranged marriages were not necessarily happier than those which were arranged. Marriage arrangement is not very popular even in the rural areas; however it was still important to obtain parents' approval of marriage and only one of the single women said she would marry a man she loved without her parent's consent. The fact that only one respondent would marry without parental approval has to be interpreted in the light that there could be no marriage ceremony without such consent. Many women believe it is a legal requirement.* More significant is that all the single girls said they would not marry a man solely because their parents insisted on a given match. A young woman could veto a potential husband selected by her parents but her parents could veto her choice.

* The law of 1956 required parents' consent before a marriage could take place; however, the researcher was not able to obtain a translation of later legislation and therefore could not verify the general belief held among the subjects that consent of parents was a legal requirement for marriage. Certainly any woman wanting the traditional engagement ceremony (more significant than the marriage ceremony) required her parents' blessings.

Family relationships

1. The wife and her mother-in-law

Formerly, when a young woman married an oldest son and especially an only son, she went to live with her parents-in-law. Today, she is expected to live with them for a minimum of a year, thus fulfilling her duties as a daughter-in-law and a wife of the man who would be one day the leader of the extended family. The husband's parents could release her from this duty and frequently they did so because of lack of space in their home, or because they had several sons--some of them living at home, or because they were "modern". (Two of the respondents had obtained such a release). But if an only son was involved, release was not readily granted. Sometimes a young couple chose to live with in-laws since there were some benefits. There would be someone to supervise the children if the mother worked; there would be shelter in a time when housing was scarce and expensive. Most daughters needing such benefits preferred to live with their own mothers since they knew that as long as they lived in the home of the mother-in-law their opinions and influence would be subordinated to those of the mothers-in-law.

The happiest solution to the never ending problem of "Should the husband pay more attention to his wife than his mother?" given by the Vietnamese women was that the husband "should be wise and respect both his wife and his mother". The husband was credited with having a difficult and delicate problem on his hands but with the application of a generous amount of "tact and understanding" the situation could be handled. Should tact fail, the popular response was to the effect that a wife should carry more weight than the mother. The women gave

these responses thinking of themselves in the role of the wife.

The same question arose at a later point with respect to their sons or the sons they would have. Again stress was laid on the need for tact in mediating between mother and wife; however, a new response appeared, "The husband should pay attention to his mother; it is possible for him to find another wife but he only has one mother." The women had a good deal of conflict where such matters were concerned. When they saw themselves as wives, they wanted their opinions to be more influential with their husbands than those of their mothers-in-law. But when they thought of themselves as mothers, they saw the advantages of ancient tradition and hoped that their sons would heed them more than their daughters-in-law.

Tradition called for the son and his wife deferring to his mother both because his mother was the wife of the head of the household and because she was older. Having lived longer she was more experienced and the reasoning was that her added experience resulted in added wisdom.*

*An example of what one could get away with because of an advantage in age occurred at an anniversary party of a voluntary lady's organization. A young, lovely wife of an important official was to be the guest of honor at this gathering of generals' wives, other officials' wives and one to which an important American diplomat's wife was invited. Everyone waited for the lovely guest of honor. Then, people began to partake of the small banquet. Midway through the remains of food, when the beautifully arranged table no longer looked festive, the guest of honor with her entourage arrived. The women did not rise to greet her and indeed avoided greeting her. In fact the lack of greeting was unbearable. It remained for a few officers of the organization to pay their respects. The American diplomat's wife was very courteous but it was difficult for her to carry out much of the conversation since the guest of honor's English was limited. Upon questioning the "cold shoulder" treatment, it was pointed out that ordinarily the women would have risen to meet the guest of honor. Their advantage in age not in importance, made it possible for them to ignore her, since she, a young person, had offended the gathering of older persons by coming so late. Had they been her age or younger, such behavior would have been unthinkable.

The relationship between the young couple was frequently marred by the subordination of the wife's opinions to those of her mother-in-law. And indeed when women were asked to describe some of the unexpected difficulties and disappointments they had gone through, several said that they had never expected to find the duties of a good daughter-in-law so taxing. One young lady performing such duties at the time she was interviewed thought of taking her small daughter and moving to an insecure village where her husband was stationed. It remained for her spouse to persuade his parents that this was a desirable action.

2. Raising Children.

The rules for the upbringing of children and for that matter the relationship between husband and wife varied according to education and socio-economic class. The poorer and illiterate mothers had fewer conscious and unconscious rules for their children and often found it difficult to articulate what they thought was a proper up-bringing; they tended to define a good upbringing as one which resulted in a dutiful child, respectful of parents and responsible to them in their old age. In the case of a boy they expressed the importance of his not becoming a gambler or a drunk. In the case of the daughter, they would often mention the importance of her being a faithful and devoted wife.

The mothers living in and around Saigon separated from extended families found it difficult to supervise their children. When on the farm, they could count on other relatives knowing the whereabouts of their children but in the city, children could disappear for the day without anyone knowing what they were up to. An extreme example of

this (not too dissimilar from experiences encountered by low income urban mothers in the United States) was a mother who worked as a maid and described her relationship to her sons as, "The boys never come to me with any problems. They do come to me for spending money. I am worried about my ten-year old boy. He is attending second grade but he has been in second grade a few years; I am wondering if he is really going to school. I considered going to the school once to check on him but I was afraid. The school is so large and there were so many children; it confused me so I never did see the teacher." The poorer mothers who experienced good relationship with their children knew what their children were up to during the day but usually such mothers were not employed full-time. Their children confided in them more and when family matters were discussed they took the advice of the wisest or of the child who gave the most reasonable point of view irrespective of age or sex.

Middle -class parents, even those who could be described as modern, stress appropriate formal behavior as well as duty and character development. One student said, "My mother is not as strict as my father. I cannot go out with boys alone. I also must have feminine manners. My father insists that I have a low voice, that I do not make too many gestures or laugh too much." Another single girl told that her parents never permitted her to dance but did allow her brothers to dance. (These girls were over twenty-five years). A young mother said, "I will raise my daughters to have charm. Every woman has charm if you know how to bring it out. They should be reasonable women and I will teach them how to manage a house." Her sons should be "good natured with a purpose in life". "They must also be given wisdom."

A woman with older children said "the children come to me with their problems. They do not go directly to their father. This is especially true if they want their father's permission to do something. They first persuade me and then I discuss it with their father. Older children must be good models for the younger children so the older one must think of what he (she) does since he is responsible if something goes wrong with the younger one. My older son is wise and is able to guide my daughters spiritually; they confide in him when it comes to boy friends; they do not bring me that kind of problem." Another mother said "my younger child admires some classmates that want to go out with Americans. This is wrong and I have asked my two oldest daughters to gain her confidence so that they can give her the proper guidance." And still another mother explained, "My children come to me with their problems about school and friends. I know there are many things they do not tell me because they know I will not approve of improper behavior such as dancing. I take my oldest son's opinions very seriously, more so than the others because he has lived through the experience of growing up. So if I can't handle a problem, I will write him." And this from another respondent lamenting the difficulties of raising children today, "Sometimes my husband's advice is not very good because the world we grew up in is so different from the world my children are growing up in."

Expressions of the responsibilities that older children had to their siblings were very frequent. They not only tended to them physically but were a moral example to them. It was related that in some public schools little girls were assigned an older "sister"

at school. The older girl acted much as a "Big Brother" did in this country. She spent much time with the younger child and the younger one almost worshipped the older one. She emulated the older one and followed her advice on dress and make-up, and behavior. The younger girl often found it pleasanter to take advice from her assigned "older sister" than from her older sisters at home where criticism might be a little harsher. The older girl benefited from the artificial relationship in that she was made aware of the importance of setting a good example. In addition it was hoped that her maternal instincts would be brought out. In good families, then, the older child shared with his parents the responsibility for the spiritual and physical well-being of the younger children.

3. Husband and wife.

Most of the women who were married and still lived with their husbands brought all of their problems to their husbands and felt that they would not carry out a solution without their husbands' approval. They were free to argue and reason but unless the husband was convinced, they did not take the kind of action they wished. This was adhered to in large issues such as educating the child and disciplining the child as well as smaller decisions on what food should be served at the table. If the husband showed no interest in certain family matters, the wife did as she pleased. The good husband confided in his wife, discussed all family matters, gave serious consideration to his wife's opinions and then made the final decision. It was his duty to make a wise and proper decision and to insist that it was carried out even if his wife disagreed with him. He reasoned with his wife but in the final analysis, the decision

was his. One wife enjoying a good relationship with her husband said, "I make many decisions in the house because I feel more strongly about them than my husband, so I can out argue him. He is a reasonable man. But if he feels that I am acting unwisely or if he wants to do something I disapprove of he does so. I did not want to move here and leave our old home. My husband insisted on coming and I had to come too if I wanted to keep the family together." Another comment: "My husband feels I am not strict enough with the children. I do not think he is right but I must tell the children how their father wants them to behave and it is my duty to act as though I agree with him." And some other responses were: "My husband doesn't consult me on anything. If I accidentally get wind of something, I tell him what I think but he does what he wants anyway. He will discuss things like education of children and finances but he tells me what to do; it really isn't a discussion. For my part, I never disobey him." And from a woman who had an even worse marriage came this, "My husband didn't confide in me. His problems concerned getting mad at someone and beating them up. Anyway he did what he wanted to; he bought things we couldn't afford. If I complained he beat me."

Having the final say so on decisions concerning the family was a major responsibility of the husband and yet it was seen in the early part of this report that the husband did not get spontaneous credit for this kind of responsibility, that is, when women explained why a man's life was hard, they never mentioned the difficulties involved in his role as the decision maker for the family. However, it came up as a major concern in raising a boy child. Repeatedly it was said that the child would have to be brought up with the ability to make

wise spiritual and practical decisions in order to serve his family well, and if he was the oldest son, he would have to be prepared to serve both his own and his extended family.

The one matter in which women were thought of as wiser and inherently superior was in matters of business. Husbands, daughters, fathers, sons came to them for advice on anything involving financial transactions or anything which could be described as business. There, women reigned as kings and this was confirmed by some of the statements in earlier discussion.

The comments of these women on matters of divorce and family relationships indicated that if the marriage was a good one the woman had a great deal of freedom and decision making power but if the marriage was a bad one, she could be stripped of all freedom and left without recourse. There was legal recourse but it was not sanctioned socially. So that even with the ability to support her family her only practical solution was that her husband leave her since she could not leave him without bringing "dishonor" and "shame" to her family and her children.

Respondents' attitudes to Americans, to fellow Vietnamese and to Vietnamese officials.

It was not possible to speak to a number of young educated urban Vietnamese women, traditional or modern, for long without hearing about the Vietnamese "inferiority complex." This "inferiority complex" covered personal appearance of Vietnamese women as well as men, qualities of character, and ability. These outbursts were very startling at first since in most countries criticism of fellow countrymen on

such levels was rare and then it was not given without offering excuses.

The Vietnamese women with their lovely costume were very charming and yet they wished to change themselves physically in order to make themselves more attractive in terms of Western standards. There was a desire to change the shape of the nose, to resort to plastic surgery to make one buxom, to exchange the traditional beautiful long hair for shorter western sets. The Vietnamese men, young women said, were too tiny. Western men were handsome and strong. They looked like movie stars. Westerners were capable; they were not lazy. Vietnamese were backward; they did not have industry. The popularity of Western movies in Saigon abetted this image. If such attitudes were present among women, it was indeed sad for the women and especially sad for the men whose self-esteem must have suffered as a result.

Such self-deprecation has a history antedating the Americans coming to Vietnam. Vietnamese made such invidious comparisons between themselves and the French. A basis for these attitudes was found in the idealized cultural picture of men and women. The Vietnamese man was supposed to be strong, brave, and educated. By these standards, he was surpassed by the Western male. The Westerner was stronger since he was larger; he was a brave soldier; he fought for the government of South Vietnam even when he heard about draft dodging or desertion by Vietnamese; and on the average he was more educated than the Vietnamese male who lacked opportunity for educating himself.

Tradition placed great emphasis on the importance of charm in a woman. The Vietnamese woman was supposed to be "beautiful to one's eyes" and particularly to the eyes of the man she admired. If the Westerner was admired, then his standards of beauty were studied and the desire to imitate them was too often present. Such emulation was deeply regretted not because it existed, since it occurred in many parts of the world where Western influence made itself felt, but because it was accompanied by feelings of inferiority and self-deprecation.

It was almost a relief to probe for negative expressions concerning Americans. The negative comments on personal character that arose most frequently were "they try to do everything with money instead of affection. First win the affection of the person and then you will not need money". And "Americans are generous, direct, and unhypocritical but they lack tact. To the Vietnamese it is important how you give rather than what you give." And yet another comment, "Americans are too self-righteous. They don't try hard enough to put themselves in the place of Vietnamese. Americans don't know how to use money. They give it out in the wrong way and corrupt people. They give too much and make people feel indebted. They act like they're helping poor people". "It's hard for Vietnamese to act natural with Americans because it's hard for a poor person to sit in the house of a rich man." So much for the way Americans handled money.

Some comments on "rudeness" were, "When you talk to them, you talk to their big feet. They put them up on the desk right in front of your face. It's such an ugly way to sit." And "They do not

distinguish between good girls and bad girls and make signs at everyone. I used to take nice walks with my sisters but I can't anymore." And "Americans when they come to this country bring their own food. They act like Vietnamese food and things sold on the economy aren't good enough for them. Of course, soldiers are the lower class in every country and most of them act the same." And still another comment, "Sometimes Americans behave badly because they do not get good impressions of the Vietnamese. The main people they deal with are tradesmen and bargirls and these people are just out for their money."

These comments were not unusual; their content was similar in nature to what used to be heard very often from Europeans in Europe right after World War II. Their significance was in their very similarity. If Viet-Nam follows a pattern similar to Europe, some of these resentments may disappear with a rise in the standard of living.

Aside from attractive appearance, the unanimous spontaneous positive comment on Americans was that they were honest. Honesty was dwelt upon because these women felt that the Vietnamese officials were crooked. There were a host of comments dwelling on the untrustworthiness of Vietnamese officials of all kinds. Most of these women felt that all the officials were on the take; that if you wished anything, whether it involved a trip to Hong Kong or a job as a construction worker you had to bribe someone unless you were fortunate enough to know an important personage and even then bribery helped.

They were extremely suspicious of any government undertaking. Some typical comments from the less extreme to the more extreme are found in the following statements: This from a maid, "Americans say they want to help people, but only the top gets any help. It never gets to the poor people. Everything goes to the top officials (Vietnamese) but we never see it. They're corrupt and keep all of it." And from a woman operating a small business, "The government (South Vietnamese) is corrupt and is not concerned with the welfare of the people. There isn't going to be a real choice in the coming election so I will vote only if I'm forced." The madame of a bar had this to say, "I used to manage a bar near the front (battle line). If the government (Vietnamese) caught the girls, they would do terrible things and steal everything from them. If the Viet Cong caught them, they would give them a lecture and let them go. The high officials are hypocritical. They all have mistresses but talk against bar girls." One woman who belonged to the union said, "The Americans have a lot of construction jobs and they would give them to us but they don't know Vietnamese (language) and so they get a Vietnamese to hire us. You can't get a job unless you promise to give this (Vietnamese) official your first month's pay." And finally from a construction worker: "Why don't the Americans give the food to the people (directly without going through officials of the Vietnamese government). We need schools. I wish they would pay the doctor bills." These suspicions were too often reality based but occasionally they were not. For example, it was related that there was a rumor to the effect that the government had a secret research outfit which

was spying on them. The rumor referred to "The Center for Vietnamese Studies", a commercial research organization that could be engaged by anyone wanting to do survey research. The organization was completely open and looked for employees by advertising. But since there is a good deal of dishonesty, the government will always be regarded with suspicion unless it has a strong program to eliminate corruption among its officials. The only bright light in these unflattering and damning statements about the South Vietnamese government was that they did confirm the existence of a feeling of freedom of speech for the ordinary citizen. No citizen would make such statements casually if she thought that expressing her opinions would result in punishment.

Standard of living.

The family incomes of the thirty-five Vietnamese women are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Family Income in Piasters of
Vietnamese Women in Pilot Study

Piasters	Number of Families
Under 2,000 P	3
2,000 P but less than 3,000 P	4
3,000 P	6
More than 3,000 P but less than 5,000 P	0
5,000 P through 6,000 P	5
More than 6,000 P but less than 9,000 P	0
9,000 P through 10,000 P	3
More than 10,000 P but less than 11,000 P	0
11,000 P through 12,000 P	2
More than 12,000 P but less than 16,000 P	0
16,000 P	1
More than 16,000 P but less than 30,000 P	0
30,000 P	2
More than 30,000 P but less than 40,000 P	0
40,000 P	2
More than 40,000 P but less than 50,000 P	0
50,000 P	1
No answer or don't know	<u>6</u>
Number of respondents	35

The distribution of income was not continuous. Gaps in the distribution could be expected since the number of respondents was small. The wives of families with reported incomes of 3,000 piasters a month or less worked as either maids or construction workers. Their husbands usually did not have a skilled vocation. The male heads of families with reported incomes of from 5,000 piasters through 6,000 piasters were employed as government clerks or worked in the textile trade or were in military service. Teachers and military officers claimed to earn between 9,000 piasters and 12,000 piasters per month. Over 12,000 piasters per month was associated with occupations in medicine or manufacturing. Proprietors were in this latter category.

Income figures are unreliable in most countries and the Vietnamese, like other people, preferred not to reveal their income. Those who were doing well did not like to say they were rich. In addition people did not wish to pay taxes on higher incomes. Some women knew only how much they themselves earned but were ignorant of their husbands' earnings. They could only tell you how much money their husbands gave them for household expenses. Respondents frequently omitted any help provided by relatives.

Since most of the respondents' standard of living levels were apparently higher than was possible from the incomes reported by them, it was clearly desirable to find other variables that would be indicative of standard of living. The homes of these respondents differed very greatly. A poor home consisted of a small room with a mud floor: a missing board near the leaky roof constituted windows: there was no minimal electric bulb for light and no toilet. The more fortunate people owned this home, the less fortunate rented it for approximately eighty piasters per month. If the respondent was a squatter over the river, her home was very similar to the one described. It differed only in that the floor was made of wooden planks. The river provided water for washing dishes and bathing; sewage was disposed of in this same river.

The one room was usually equipped with one large bed made out of wooden planks. The bed served as a table during the day. At night it was covered with a straw mat and as many of the family as possible slept in it. Other children slept on straw mats on the floor; babies slept in hammocks over the bed.

With an improved standard of living there was a larger room. Sometimes this room had a separate cooking area and an electric light bulb in the center of the ceiling. The floor was most likely wood or cement. Those respondents living well had electricity, running water, covered cement floors and more than one room. The quality of the floor, the number of rooms,* and utilities such as electricity, running water (the best homes had hot as well as cold water), and toilet facilities provided good indicators of standard of living.

* Size of room was indicative of standard of living, but both the interviewer and respondent found it difficult to estimate size. The estimates were neither reliable nor valid.

Summary and some implications

The Vietnamese women in this study wanted, first, jobs for members of their families old enough to work; and second, the possibility of giving their children--especially the boys--more education.* At every socio-economic level, people complained of the lack of jobs. Poor people complained of the paucity of jobs commensurate to their skills. They wanted jobs for the unskilled, illiterate members of their families. Women higher on the economic ladder made the same complaint. They said that even if their children were provided with professional training, they frequently were unable to obtain positions in the occupations for which they had prepared themselves. Thus a professionally trained social worker said, "I worked hard for years but the only paid job I can get is teaching and this isn't really social work." Another respondent whose sister has studied law said, "The only job she can get is an administrative job in a government office."

Many of the people did not know how to go about finding employment even when jobs were to be had. They felt, rightly or wrongly, that "unless you knew the right people, it was hard to get a good job." Over and over people expressed the need for direct, honest channels to employment, i.e., a way of hearing about jobs and of standing a fair chance of being hired without having to know persons of influence. As to the suggestion of seeking help from the union, the low-income women respondents felt: 1) the union did not do much in the way of finding out what jobs were available and communicating this information to the unemployed and 2) the union had not concentrated on organizing or doing much in any way for unskilled workers.

*It might be wondered why respondents mentioned jobs and education rather than peace or safety from military action, especially since they were constantly reminded of the war by explosions heard in the distance. Some of the respondents were war refugees who had left land and homes destroyed through battle. People were well aware of the war and were concerned for their own safety and particularly anxious for the safety of family members involved in the fighting or living in insecure areas. But these interviews were geared to "keeping the peace" in the sense that the main concerns were with gaining understanding of the Vietnamese in terms of the kind of lives they have, the kind of lives they really want, the kinds of opportunities a country should provide for its people, or what a government must do if it hopes to gain the support of the Vietnamese people, and, in particular, the type of people who will encourage and support the governments in its attempts to help families achieve their aspirations. In this context, very little emphasis was placed on security from military destruction. It was taken for granted that everyone wanted peace and security from acts of war. Responses were in terms of what the respondent wanted for her family whether at war or at peace.

Jobs provided income and income was the means to food, shelter, and education. (Two-thirds of the respondents said that their family income was inadequate for their basic needs). Women said that free education did not always mean that it was available to their children. Even if there were enough schools and teachers, children needed clothes, books, paper, and transportation in order to go to school. Further, unless working mothers could provide care for babies, the older children had to stay home and provide the necessary care. Jobs and education were the basic concerns of these women and many of them felt that solutions to these concerns could be obtained if government officials were "idealistic", "honest" and "devoted to the people".

After jobs and education, women wanted to ease the burden of house-keeping. Lack of running water near the home (within less than a five minute walk) created the biggest hardship in housekeeping. Carrying water was difficult. For a large family, it often represented as much as an hour and a half to two hours work each day in order to obtain the minimum needed for washing dishes, cooking and personal cleanliness. Water carrying was often done at the end of a long, hard day at a job. Some respondents said that every once in a while a politician would promise them water taps nearer to their homes but once he was elected he forgot his promises. Again this was regarded as a problem which could be solved by honest government.

And yet, another problem which came up with great frequency was the difficulties in marketing, particularly in buying food for the household. Women in Saigon said that the waiting line for food from legitimate merchants was often so long that sometimes they had to miss

a day's work in order to shop for food. Food on the black market was very expensive, but there was no waiting line. (There were many complaints about inflation). Sometimes it was a toss up whether to buy food products on the black market or stay home from work and shop legitimately. Again, "a good, honest government could do something about this sad state of affairs".

Old people who were poor had a special worry of their own. They were particularly sad if they could not see a way to owning their own home even if it was only a tiny room with a mud floor. When their time came they wanted to die in their own home--not in a home that belonged to someone else. Traditionally it was considered a great misfortune to die away from home. The dying person should be surrounded by his family in his own home, and to many of these older subjects, this tradition was still very important. (Mortality statistics based on death in hospitals were often unreliable since if it appeared that an ill person in the hospital was near death, his family rushed him home so that he could die among relatives). It was, therefore, especially sad when an older person was uprooted from his home and could not see his way to ever buying another home. Evacuation of Vietnamese people from their homes, in view of their ancient traditions, is perhaps more painful for them than for people in other parts of the world. Natural disasters such as floods, and wars were blamed for uprooting people.

Given their up-bringing, could Vietnamese women do anything to improve their lives in ways that were important to them? The women's opinions in this study showed that the desirable outcome of up-bringing for a Vietnamese woman was still very much traditional. She should be

lovely to look at and if not that fortunate she should be able to bring out her inner beauty (charm); her voice should be soft and gentle; her manner should not be loud either in gesture or laughter, she should be loyal and devoted to her parents before she married, sharing in the responsibility of bringing up younger siblings by setting a good example and by tending to them; after she married her first loyalty and obedience was to her husband. She should have children and raise them well; she should manage the household efficiently and economically; she should have a skill in order to supplement her husband's income so that the family would not burden him; she should have wisdom so that any influence she had on her spouse and children was good. And finally no matter what her practical and psychological difficulties were, she should shoulder them without complaining. These were difficult standards to live up to. But they were unambiguous standards. Although these women did not feel that they met all these standards, they did think (with only two exceptions) that society regarded them as good Vietnamese women. Their up-bringing made them strong in character, yet possessing a gentle quality. These women were a combination of strength and gentleness. And this combination, if directed, could do as much for society as it does for the family.*

*The Vietnamese man had a much more difficult and ambiguous role than his wife--particularly the middle-class man. He had great responsibilities. For in addition to the practical responsibilities involved in providing the material needs for the family, he had to provide spiritual and moral guidance for his wife and children. He also was supposed to have an ideal or goal in life. He was the thinker; he was not supposed to be excessively concerned with money and, in fact, when his family went on an outing, the wife handled the money for cakes or drinks. It was difficult enough to be the breadwinner without feeling the necessity for having "a goal" in life. The greater freedom of movement that the man had came at a cost. The Vietnamese man, according to these women, often lacked "self-confidence", "ambition" and "determination".

It was seen that Vietnamese up-bringing for a woman permitted her to have a professional vocation if she wished and as much education as she desired. The purpose in educating her was to equip her with a good vocation to enable her to supplement the family income. Although politics was not considered a good field for women, she would not lose respect if she decided to enter this field. (It isn't seen as a good vocation for a woman in the United States). Social work, on the other hand, was considered a good spare time activity for a woman. And many times, the difference between certain kinds of social work and political activity was not very great.

It was appropriate for women to vote and most of them wished to vote for honest candidates. Women were union members if they were in trades that were organized.* And when there was a strike, they often participated along with the men. It was appropriate for her to want good jobs and a good education for the entire family. This is not a big step away from attempting to get transportation for school children or arranging for day care centers, first on a small scale by organizing a group of working mothers to pay one mother to look after the children; and later, on a larger scale by supporting candidates who are in favor of having day nurseries as part of the school system. It would not

(continued from previous page)

The treatment of Vietnamese by the French and the unfavorable comparisons made of Vietnamese men to Westerners did not strengthen his confidence. If such character defects in the Vietnamese male are prevalent, then development of good leaders will be difficult.

* It was said by a union official that if a husband and wife worked in the same factory or trade, membership in the union was represented by the husband. His wife did not join. (This statement needs to be verified).

defy tradition if mothers actively campaigned for a visiting nurse, better garbage collection, easier access to water, better housing conditions and vocational training. These kinds of activities require ideas and leadership. Although it may be thought of as inappropriate for women to hold high political office, less dramatic civic activities might be acceptable and approved of as a form of social work.

More research is needed to find out which women will lead others and organize women for specific purposes. Some women are not likely leaders but will actively support issues relevant and important to them. A leader for a group of middle-class women is not necessarily a good leader for poor women. Research needs to be carried out to identify which women are influential with women from different class levels, different occupations and different interests. It is with this further research in mind, that the questionnaire in the Appendix was developed.

The Interview Schedule

The pilot study gave some insight into the character and life of Vietnamese women. Although it did not permit making generalizations about the entire population of Vietnamese women in South Vietnam, it was informative enough for the purpose of designing a survey questionnaire. The study made it possible to write closed-end questions so that relevant variables could be measured efficiently and economically. And when interviewing time is limited, every question counts. Some door-to-door interviews without prior notice given to the respondent were carried out in Saigon and Giadinh. It was found that the desirable length of time

for conducting interviews without benefit of an appointment was no more than forty-five minutes; thirty minutes was preferable. Since arranging interviews by appointment is not feasible in Vietnam, the interview schedule in the Appendix is designed to last between thirty and forty-five minutes. It was pre-tested* and is intended for use as a personal interview since it was developed as an instrument for illiterate as well as literate women. Questions which proved unworkable, either in terms of being irrelevant to the lives of Vietnamese women, or too difficult to understand, or too threatening to women's egos to yield honest responses, or of a kind that a woman would be reluctant to answer in the presence of other family members were eliminated.

Ideally, two groups of women should be interviewed: a random sample of rural Vietnamese women and a random sample of urban Vietnamese women. Each sample should have a minimum of three hundred subjects to permit comparisons among women with different characteristics. If budget limitations as well as practical considerations in the field do not permit such a design, the questionnaire may be modified and used with special groups of women. Some questions may need to be eliminated since responses to them will be truncated. Others may need to be substituted. The instrument if necessary is adaptable for use as a self-administered questionnaire for literate women.

*The schedule has been pre-tested for content and length. A precise check of the translation had not been completed at the time this pilot study was carried out and remains to be done.

The schedule spans a range of topics. Only the major ones are mentioned here:

1. Opinions on which jobs or professions are appropriate for women.

Should a woman hold a job outside of her home? Is a career approved for another woman but not for one's own daughter? What are considered good careers for women? Is a good career for a man necessarily a bad career for a woman? (The respondent who says that it is a bad idea for a woman to be politically active but a good idea for a man is quite different from the respondent who feels that neither sex should engage in political activities.)

2. Opinions on how leisure time should be spent.

Should a woman spend her leisure time with the family or should she work to improve the neighborhood? How does this compare to attitudes on how a man should spend his leisure hours? Is the respondent willing to engage in a worthwhile community activity?

3. Traditional relationship of husband and wife.

It is on the attitude toward unfaithfulness in marriage that Vietnamese women can be classified according to the extent to which they are caught up in the ancient tradition of subordination of wife to the husband. Attitudes on how the husband should treat an unfaithful wife as compared to the appropriate behavior of the wife to an unfaithful husband provide insight into the respondent's belief in the emerging equality of the sexes.

4. Veneration for the aged.

Young women have frequently complained that their opinions are not taken seriously until they are over 35 years old.

Are men taken seriously at an earlier age?

5. Values.

Is the basis on which a man decides to choose a profession the same or different than the basis on which a woman makes her selection. Should a woman choose a career according to the income it yields? Should a man make his choice according to how he can best serve humanity?

6. Influence.

Does anyone come to the respondent for advice on problems?

If so, what kind of problems? Who seeks advice? Do only women seek out the respondent for advice or is she sought out by men also? Is she sought out by members of the community or only by her immediate family?

7. Isolation.

Is the respondent an active woman outside the home? Does she belong to any organizations? Will she go to anyone outside her family for advice on family problems? Are the people she seeks out for advice on family matters the same as the people she would discuss community and national problems with?

8. Aspirations for children.

Is there a disparity between the aspirations for sons and aspirations for daughters? If so, how great is this disparity?

9. Background characteristics.

What are the respondent's living conditions? What is her age, education, family income, employment status of the head of the family, family size, etc?

The partial list of topics above should provide sufficient explanation for understanding the questionnaire and analyzing responses to it.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SURVEY OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN

Date of interview: _____
Time interview started: _____

SUGGESTED INTRODUCTION: I'm from _____. We are making a research study of the kind of life Vietnamese women have and the kind of life they would like to have both for themselves and their families. I would therefore like to ask you some questions. Your answers will be strictly confidential.

1a. Have you ever married?
Yes1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK QUESTIONS 1b-1j,
2a-2d

IF "NO", SKIP TO QUESTION 3a

1b. Is your husband living with you?
Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "NO", ASK

1c. Why?

Husband in military service.....1
Husband deceased.....2
Husband living with another woman3
Divorced4
Other _____

1d. How long have you been living without your husband?
_____ years

1e. How old were you when you married?
_____ years

1f. Do you have any children?
Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

1g. How many daughters do you have?

1h. How many sons do you have?

1i. Could you tell me the age and sex of each of your children?
(RECORD BELOW)

1j. FOR EACH CHILD BETWEEN 6 YEARS AND 20 YEARS, ASK
Is he (she) attending school?
(RECORD BELOW)

What is the last grade he (she) completed? (RECORD BELOW)

Age on Last Birthday	Sex	Attending School	Last Grade Completed
----------------------------	-----	---------------------	----------------------------

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

2a. Is your husband employed?
Yes.....1
No.....2

2b. What kind of work does (did) he do?

2c. Can he read and write?
Yes.....1
No.....2

2d. Did he get a chance to go to school?
Yes, he completed _____ years
No.....X

ASK ONLY WOMEN WHO "NEVER MARRIED"

3a. Is your father living?
Yes.....1
No.....2

3b. Can (could) he read and
write?
Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "FATHER LIVING" ASK
3c. Is he employed?
Yes.....1
No.....2

3d. What kind of work does (did)
he do?

3e. Did he get a chance to go
to school?
Yes, he completed ____ years.
No,.....X

5a. Do you earn any money?
Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES" TO QUESTION 5a, ASK
5c. Are you looking for work?
Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK
5d. What kind of work are you
looking for? _____

ASK EVERYONE

4a. Can you read and write?
Yes.....1
No.....2

4b. Did you feel you had a
chance to get as much edu-
cation as you wanted?
Yes.....1
No.....2

4c. How many years of school
did you finish?
_____ years

IF "DID NOT GET A CHANCE TO
GET AS MUCH EDUCATION AS YOU
WANTED," ASK

4d. How far in school would
you have liked to go?
_____ years

ASK EVERYONE

6. How many people live in this house
with you (including yourself?)

7. How long have you lived here?
_____ years

8. Where did you live before?

9. What made your family decide to
move? _____

10. How old were you on your last
birthday? _____ years

- 11a. Do you think every girl should get married?
 Yes.....1
 No.....2
 Don't know..3
- 11b. Do you think that every woman should have children some day?
 Yes.....1
 No.....2
 Don't know...3
- 11c. Some people believe that every girl ought to have some work she can do to earn money and others feel she should depend entirely on a husband to earn a living for her. How do you feel?
 Ought to have some work.....1
 Should depend on a husband...2
 Don't know.....3
 Other _____
- 12a. If a woman knows that her husband is unfaithful, which one of the following things should she do?
 Ignore her husband's unfaithfulness and hope that he gets tired of the other woman1
 Try to persuade her husband to stop seeing the other woman, but continue to live with him even if he refuses.....2
 Try to persuade her husband to stop seeing the other woman and refuse to live with him if he refuses.....3
 Try to persuade her husband to stop seeing the other woman and if he refuses insist on a divorce.....4
 Get a divorce even if he agrees to stop being unfaithful..5
 Other _____
- 12b. Give reason for your answer. _____
-
- 13a. If a man knows that his wife is unfaithful, which one of the following things do you think he should do?
 Ignore his wife's unfaithfulness and hope that she gets tired of the other man.....1
 Try to persuade his wife to stop seeing the other man but continue to live with her even if she refuses.....2
 Try to persuade his wife to stop seeing the other man and refuse to live with her if she refuses.....3
 Try to persuade his wife to stop seeing the other man and if she refuses insist on a divorce.....4
 Get a divorce even if she agrees to stop being unfaithful..5
 Other _____
- 13b. Give reason for your answer. _____
-

- 14a. Do you think every girl should go to school?
 Yes.....1
 No.....2
- 14b. How far in school do you think she should go? _____ years
- 15a. Do you think every boy should go to school?
 Yes.....1
 No.....2
- 15b. How far in school do you think he should go? _____ years
- 16a. Do you think the boys in a family should have the same amount of education as the girls in the family, more education than the girls or less education than the girls?
 Boys should have same as girls.....1
 Boys should have more than girls.....2
 Boys should have less than girls.....3
 Don't know.....4
- 16b. Do you think a husband should have the same amount of education as his wife, more education than his wife, less education than his wife?
 Husband should have same as wife.....1
 Husband should have more than wife.....2
 Husband should have less than wife.....3
 Don't know...
17. Do you think a woman who has a profession can be a good wife and mother?
 Yes.....1
 No.....2
- 18a. ASK WOMEN WITH NO SONS
 If you have a son someday, what kind of work would you like him to do when he grows up? _____
- ASK WOMEN WITH SONS
 What kind of work would you like your youngest son to do when he grows up? _____
- 18b. ASK WOMEN WITH NO DAUGHTERS
 If you have a daughter someday, what kind of work would you like her to do when she grows up? _____
- ASK WOMEN WITH DAUGHTERS
 What kind of work would you like your youngest daughter to do when she grows up? _____
- 19a. If a young woman wanted to have a career, how good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a maid?
 An excellent idea1
 A good idea.....2
 Neither a good nor a bad idea3
 A bad idea.....4

- 19b. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to have a small business?
- An excellent idea.....1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 19c. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a nurse?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea.....3
A bad idea4
- 19d. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a doctor?
- An excellent idea.....1
A good idea.....2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea.....4
- 19e. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a teacher of young children?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 19f. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a professor in a university?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 19g. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a leader in the government?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 19h. How good an idea do you think it would be for her to become a secretary?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 19i. How good an idea do you think it is for a woman to be active in politics?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

19j. How good an idea do you think it is for her to become a lawyer?

An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

19k. How good an idea do you think it is for her to become a pharmacist?

An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

19l. How good an idea do you think it is for her to become a singer on the radio?

An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

20a. If a woman had a few hours of leisure time, what do you think is the best way she should spend it? Do you think she should

Visit friends.....1
Get together with other women to help
improve conditions in the community...2
Do volunteer work for a philanthropic
organization.....3
Spend more time with the family.....4
Don't know5
Other _____

20b. What is the second best way she should spend her few hours of leisure time? Do you think she should

Visit friends1
Get together with other women to help
improve conditions in the community...2
Do volunteer work for a philanthropic
organization.....3
Spend more time with the family.....4
Don't know5
Other _____

21a. In the past week, did anyone in your family come to you with a problem they wanted to talk over with you?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", TO QUESTION 21a ASK

21b. Who came to you?

Father1
Mother2
Son3
Daughter4
Husband5
Brother6
Sister7
Other relative8

IF "OTHER RELATIVE", ASK

Was the relative a man (boy) or woman (girl)?

man.....1
boy.....2
woman.....3
girl4

21c. What was his (her) problem? _____

22a. In the past week, did any of your friends or acquaintances
come to you with a problem they wanted to talk over with you?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

22b. Was your friend or acquaintance a male or a female?

Yes.....1
No.....2

22c. What was his (her) occupation? _____

22d. What was his (her) problem? _____

23a. Suppose a young man wanted to have a career. How good an idea
do you think it would be for him to become a farmer?

An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

23b. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become
a construction worker?

An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

- 23c. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to have a small business?
- An excellent idea.....1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea....3
A bad idea4
- 23d. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a teacher of young children?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 23e. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a professor in a university?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 23f. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a doctor?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 23g. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a leader in the government?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 23h. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a clerk?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4
- 23i. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a lawyer?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea....3
A bad idea4
- 23j. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to be active in politics?
- An excellent idea1
A good idea2
Neither a good nor a bad idea3
A bad idea4

- 23k. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a pharmacist?
- An excellent idea1
 A good idea2
 Neither a good nor a bad idea....3
 A bad idea4
- 23l. How good an idea do you think it would be for him to become a singer on the radio?
- An excellent idea1
 A good idea2
 Neither a good nor a bad idea ...3
 A bad idea4
- 24a. If a man has a few hours of leisure time, what do you think is the best way he should spend it? Do you think he should
- Visit friends1
 Get together with other men to help improve conditions in the community.....2
 Do volunteer work for a philanthropic organization.....3
 Spend more time with family.....4
 Don't know.....5
 Other _____
- 24b. If a man has a few hours of leisure time, what do you think is the second best way he should spend it? Do you think he should
- Visit friends1
 Get together with other men to help improve conditions in the community.....2
 Do volunteer work for a philanthropic organization.....3
 Spend more time with family.....4
 Don't know.....5
 Other _____
- 25a. Everybody at one time or another has had some family trouble. Did you ever ask for advice on family matters from a teacher?
- Yes.....1
 No.....2
- IF "YES", ASK
- How satisfied were you with the help? Were you
- Very satisfied.....1
 Moderately satisfied.....2
 Moderately dissatisfied.....3
 Very dissatisfied.....4
 Don't know.....5
- Was the teacher a man or a woman?
- Man.....1
 Woman.....2

25b. Did you ever ask for advice on family matters from a religious leader (monk or priest)?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

How satisfied were you with the advice? Were you

Very satisfied.....1
Moderately satisfied.....2
Moderately dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
Don't know.....5

25c. Did you ever ask for advice on family matters from a student?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

How satisfied were you with the advice? Were you

Very satisfied.....1
Moderately satisfied.....2
Moderately dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
Don't know.....5

Was this student a man or a woman?

Man.....1
Woman.....2

25d. Did you ever ask for advice on family matters from a relative?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

How satisfied were you with the advice? Were you

Very satisfied.....1
Moderately satisfied.....2
Moderately dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
Don't know.....5

Was this relative a man or a woman?

Man.....1
Woman.....2

25e. Did you ever ask for advice on family matters from a friend?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

How satisfied were you with the advice? Were you

Very satisfied.....1
Moderately satisfied.....2
Moderately dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
Don't know.....5

Was this friend a man or a woman?

Man.....1
Woman.....2

26. If you wanted to talk to someone about conditions in this country, who would you go to? _____

27a. How old do you think a young woman has to be before she should be allowed to hold an important job? _____ years

27b. How old do you think a young man has to be before he should be allowed to hold an important job? _____ years

28a. How old do you think a young woman has to be before you can take her advice on how to improve conditions in the community seriously? _____ years _____ other responses

28b. How old do you think a young man has to be before you can take his advice on how to improve conditions in the community seriously? _____ years _____ other responses

29 If parents got together to try to do something to improve the community, would you be willing to get together with them?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

Could you spend as much as

4 hours a week.....1
3 hours a week.....2
2 hours.....3
1 hour a week.....4
Less than 1 hour a week
(once a month, etc.).....5
Don't know.....6

30. Some people say that a woman has no business in politics; that it is best to leave the running of the country completely up to men. How much do you agree with this statement? Do you agree completely, do you agree somewhat, or do you disagree with the statement?

Agree completely.....1
Agree somewhat.....2
Disagree.....3
Don't know.....4

31. Some people feel that a woman should be free to talk about what is going on in the world but should not have an important job in the government. How much do you agree with this statement? Do you agree completely, do you agree somewhat, or do you disagree with the statement?

Agree completely.....1
Agree somewhat.....2
Disagree.....3
Don't know4

32a. If a young girl had the opportunity to get as much education as she wanted, which of the following three considerations should be the most important in helping her to decide which profession to follow?

How interesting and enjoyable it will be to her.....1
How much money she will be able to earn to help
her family.....2
How much good she will be able to do for humanity...3

32b. Which of these three considerations should be second most important in helping her decide which profession to follow?

How interesting and enjoyable it will be to her.....1
How much money she will be able to earn to help
her family.....2
How much good she will be able to do for humanity...3

33a. If a young man had the opportunity to get as much education as he wanted, which of the following three considerations should be the most important in helping him decide which profession to follow?

How interesting and enjoyable it will be to him.....1
How much money he will be able to earn to help
his family.....2
How much good he will be able to do for humanity...3

33b. Which of these three considerations should be second most important in helping him decide which profession to follow?

How interesting and enjoyable it will be to him.....1
How much money he will be able to earn to help
his family.....2
How much good he will be able to do for humanity...3

WE ARE ALMOST AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW AND JUST HAVE A FEW MORE QUESTIONS TO ASK YOU.

34. Do you own this home or do you rent?

Own.....1
Rent.....2
Neither, staying with relatives....3
Other _____

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT MARRIED, ASK

Do your parents own or rent this home?

Own.....1
Rent.....2
Neither, staying with relatives...3
Other _____

ASK EVERYONE

35. Do you have electric lights in your home?

Yes.....1
No.....2

36a. Do you have running water in your home?

Yes.....1
No.....2

IF "NO", ASK

How far away do you have to go for water?

Less than a 5 minute walk.....1
Between 5 and 10 minutes.....2
Between 10 and 15 minutes.....3
More than 15 minutes.....4

36b. How many buckets of water do you need for family washing,
cooking and drinking? _____ buckets

36c. Is this water free or do you have to pay for it?

Free.....1
Pay.....2

37a. What is the floor in your home made of? Is it

Wood.....1
Earth.....2
Cement.....3
Tile.....4
Other.....5

37b. How many rooms does your home have? _____ number of rooms

38. Does your home have a separate room for cooking?

Yes.....1
No.....2

39. Do you have a private toilet or do you share a toilet with
other families?

Private....1
Public.....2

40. Would you mind telling me the total amount of money all the
members of your family bring in each week? _____

41. How many people have to live on this money? _____

42a. What is your religion? _____

42b. Did you go to a public place of worship in the last week?

Yes.....1
No.....2

43. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations?

Yes.....1

No.....2

IF "YES", ASK

What kind of an organization? (Social club, union, religious organization, political, student, voluntary, engaging in charity works, etc.) _____

Did you attend the last meeting of your organization?

Yes.....1

No.....2

44. Did you vote in the last election?

Yes.....1

No.....2

45. Where were you born? _____

46. Were your grandparents

Chinese.....1

Cambodians.....2

Vietnamese.....3

Chams.....4

Montagnards.....5

Other.....6

Interviewer:

Thank respondent for his cooperation.
Record the following immediately after
finishing the interview.

Time Interview Ended: _____

Name of Respondent: _____

Address of Respondent: _____

Signature of the Interviewer

SOME OPINIONS OF SAIGON WOMEN AND SCHOOLGIRLS:

A REPORT OF TWO SURVEYS

Mary P. Ramond
Simulmatics Corporation

April 1967

SOME OPINIONS OF SAIGON WOMEN AND SCHOOLGIRLS:

A REPORT OF TWO SURVEYS

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The chief aim of these studies was to learn what Saigon women think about their activities and responsibilities in the home, the community, and in the professional and political life of the country. Time and budget constraints precluded comprehensive or conclusive research. Instead, we sought to discover some areas of agreement and disagreement that might indicate profitable avenues of future research. Our findings are based primarily on an eight-page questionnaire given to 473 Saigonese women (Attachment 1) and to a lesser extent on a one-page questionnaire (Attachment 2) given to 763 Saigon high school girls. Through this smaller study we sought to learn something about parental responsibilities as perceived and reported by daughters.

In December 1966 we distributed about 800 eight-page questionnaires in Vietnamese to fifteen different groups of Saigon women, and about 800 one-page questionnaires to six groups of girls in public and private high schools in Saigon. The women's questionnaire combined questions developed by Belle Wiggins in previous research in Saigon with other questions developed by the writer during October and November. Three young Vietnamese women translated the questions from English into Vietnamese; Major Phu, older

and professionally trained, independently revised, corrected and approved the final Vietnamese edition. The girls' questionnaire was the combined effort of the writer and Dr. Pham Thi Tu, a Vietnamese sociologist at the University of Saigon. We prepared the questionnaire in English, two young Vietnamese women translated it in our Saigon office, and Dr. Tu checked and revised the final edition.

The women who distributed the questionnaires were all young Vietnamese: an interpreter-researcher full-time member of our staff, a university student who assisted us part time as an interpreter-researcher, an interpreter employed in a neighboring office, her sister who was a law student at the University of Saigon, and four sociology students of Dr. Tu's, some of whom taught at private secondary schools in and near Saigon. The students worked for us only part time and on this study alone.

For reasons of economy we could not select a representative sample of groups or of women, or of schools or schoolgirls, but simply used those most accessible. The women's groups are abbreviated as follows in the tables throughout this report:

Cat. is a group of 24 young Catholics; some were members of a church organization and others teachers at Cuu The, private primary and secondary girls' school. They were contacted by one of our questionnaire distributors

who belonged to the church group and by another who taught at Cuu The.

Hoi. refers to 12 Hoi Chanh, Viet Cong defectors who were interned at the Saigon Chieu Hoi (Open Arms) center. An interpreter and the writer distributed the questionnaires to a group of Hoi Chanh assembled for a sewing class and collected the questionnaires a week later.

Bud. refers to a Buddhist university student organization; at the suggestion of a university officer, we visited the organization at one of its regular Sunday morning meetings and distributed the questionnaires.

WAF, properly abbreviated as WAFC, is the joint Women's Armed Forces Corps. Unlike U.S. military women, they are generally engaged in social work, nursing and teaching on local military posts. Some do clerical and communications switchboard work; a few are gradually replacing men in military desk jobs. Many, after having received basic training, return to live with their families while simultaneously continuing their military careers. Their commanding officer, Major Tram Cam Huong, accepted 98 questionnaires from the writer and administered them to some of her enlisted women and officers.

Stu., short for students, combines 159 Saigon University students in the Faculties of Pharmacy, Law, Dentistry, Medicine, Letters and Nursing. The groups were selected and contacted by our two assistants, themselves students at the University, and by a professor whom the writer had visited.

Bar. refers to a group of 13 bar¹ girls who worked in the same bar-restaurant, midtown establishment frequented mostly by U.S. soldiers. The proprietor's daughter was our part-time researcher; she administered the questionnaires.

Sec. is a group of 42 secretaries from the Ministry of Finance, the National Bank, a woman's magazine and a midtown office. Our assistants, many of whom had friends among the secretaries, distributed the questionnaires to all groups but the woman's magazine. The writer had talked with the editor who later asked if her employees might take the questionnaire. She herself took it and is included among the Old group.

Lab. refers to 26 pharmaceutical laboratory workers who were contacted by one of our part-time assistants who had a friend in the group.

CTV, the proper abbreviation of the large Confederation of Vietnamese Workers, is a group of union members whose

union is affiliated with the CTV. Mme. Nghia, director of the social welfare and women's activities division of the CTV, with whom we had talked, took the questionnaires, gave them to the head of a local union, who in turn gave them to 19 member women.

Pub. refers to 29 public high school teachers. Some taught at Gia Long, a public girls' high school, and received their questionnaires from the school principal whom the writer visited. Others taught at another public girls' school in the city, knew one of our part-time assistants and received the questionnaires from her.

Old, no reflection on the ladies themselves, stands for 28 older women, a group combined of writers, business women and members of the Grey Ladies benevolent organization. Each writer was interviewed at length and given the questionnaire at that time. The business women, owners or managers of local manufacturing or service firms, belonged to an informal business women's group whose leader we knew. She distributed the questionnaires to her group. The Grey Ladies, volunteer hospital and charity workers, were presided over by Mme. Co, wife of the then Defense Minister. On one occasion the writer flew with Mme. Co and a dozen Grey Ladies by GVN helicopter to several flooded southern provinces to distribute

food and bedding to peasant victims. Most of the supplies came from one or two U.S. construction companies operating near Saigon. In a well-received speech Mme. Co told one village of peasants that she and the Ladies came as representatives of the government which was concerned about their losses from the flood. Thus was propaganda combined with charity. Mme. Co distributed the questionnaires to her Ladies.

Below is a tabular description of all respondent groups. In summary, the 473 women are young (an average age of 25), well educated (nearly all attended high school; about 35 per cent attended or are attending university), and from relatively high-income families (over two-thirds describe their income as comfortable). Over half are Buddhist. The North and the South are about equally represented. Half the entire group have fathers who are in the civil service, business or a profession. Over two-thirds are unmarried, but those who are married chose business or professional men or soldiers for husbands. Clearly our population is representative neither of South Viet Nam as a whole nor of Saigon. No peasants appear in our study and only 19 laborers. Moreover, the groups within the study are not proportionally represented. Students and military women make up over half our population. This was in every respect a convenience sample.

The group of 763 secondary school girls was equally a convenience sample and should not be considered representative. G.L. in the tables refers to Gia Long High School, Saigon's biggest and thought to be its best by Dr. Tu and Dr. Nguyen Dinh Hoa, the Vietnamese cultural attache in Washington. H.D. refers to Hung Dao, described by Dr. Hoa as Saigon's biggest and best private school. C.T., C.P.L. and S.M. refer to Cuu The, Chan Phouc Liem and Sao Mai, all private schools. All the schools are for girls only. G.S. stands for Girl Scout; the group was on a week-end campout.

Saigon's public school students, according to Dr. Hoa, generally represent an economic and social cross-section of the city's population. They usually are better disciplined, harder working and more capable academically than students who attend private schools. The latter are more likely to be academically weaker, poorly disciplined or may have failed to meet public school academic standards or to pass the national examinations. Dr. Hoa described the Vietnamese public-private school system as the reverse of the U.S. system.

Dr. Tu suggested we use Gia Long because of its excellent reputation. She called on the principal who agreed to discuss the matter with us. We visited her at the school, she agreed that the questionnaires be distributed by our assistants in four

classrooms and subsequently they were. The four private schools were selected by our part-time assistants who themselves were teaching at the schools or had friends teaching there. They, too, distributed the questionnaires in class. The Girl Scout group we visited at their campout one Sunday morning at the invitation of Mme. Nguyen Van Tho, head of the Scouts and wife of the Education Minister. We distributed the questionnaire at that time. Of the girls we know little, only what proportion of each group lives with both, one or no parents. Over three-quarters of the entire group live with both parents. This information follows in table form.

The fact that the girls' questionnaire was brief, distributed in class and collected immediately accounts for the nearly 100 per cent rate of return. By contrast, the length (eight pages) and relative complexity of the women's questionnaire required some time for the respondent to complete it. Although the questionnaires were given to groups of women, generally the respondent took the questionnaire home, completed it and returned it to her group leader. The leaders in turn delivered them to us or we collected them. Time pressure made it impossible to wait for all groups to complete their questionnaires.

We were refused access to only one group solicited. The American director of Vietnamese-American Institute declined to

permit distribution of the questionnaire to female students in one of the Institute's sociology classes on grounds that some questions were indelicate and might prove offensive. Another group, the Committee for the Protection of the Vietnamese Women's Personality and Rights, may also have rejected the questionnaire. At the invitation of one of the Association's officers who had not seen the questionnaire, we sent a number to the Association's secretary. An assistant called twice to collect them without success. Slightly less than half of the longer questionnaires distributed were returned.

Reception of the questionnaire varied from willing to enthusiastic. Of the twenty-five or more respondents talked with, all showed at least mild interest in the study. Most were curious about our motives for doing the study. Many were flattered.

Several people rendered invaluable assistance in both the women's and the girls' study. Miss Maggie Cuc, our interpreter-researcher, tackled every job from making a survey of women's magazines to collecting questionnaires. Her sensitivity to her country's customs helped immeasurably. Dr. Pham Thi Tu offered thoughtful, intelligent suggestions and criticism as well as introducing me to other helpful people. Major Huong, Mmes. Nguyen Thi Hai, Nguyen Van Tho, and Co took time from busy schedules to help with questionnaire distribution. All of these

A DESCRIPTION OF THE WOMEN'S GROUPS

(In numbers, not in percentages)

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat. 24 17	Hoi 12 19	Bud. 23 21	WAF 98 21	Stu. 159 22	Bar 13 22	Sec. 42 24	Lab. 26 24	CTV 19 24	Pub. 29 29	Old 28 42	Total 473 25
<u>Religion</u>												
Buddhist	0	2	20	70	85	3	21	10	6	19	18	254
Catholic	23	0	1	17	22	1	11	10	0	6	4	95
Confucian	0	0	0	5	19	4	1	2	1	3	2	37
Other	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
<u>Education</u>												
University	1	0	16	2	111	1	6	6	0	19	4	166
High School	20	0	5	84	38	6	21	18	5	9	16	222
Primary	1	2	0	6	1	3	2	2	4	1	1	23
<u>Birthplace</u>												
South	10	2	9	50	67	5	15	3	8	6	14	189
North	10	0	6	16	66	5	18	19	1	19	7	167
Other	3	0	0	0	8	0	2	4	0	1	2	20
<u>Father's Occupation</u>												
Business	2	0	6	13	31	3	8	6	1	5	8	83
Profession	1	0	3	9	23	0	3	2	0	8	2	51
Government	7	0	9	8	52	3	7	7	0	7	10	110
Military	6	0	0	13	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	24
Clerk	2	0	0	8	5	0	0	4	1	0	2	22
Worker	0	2	0	6	11	2	2	2	4	0	2	31
Other	0	0	0	18	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	23
<u>Mother's Occupation</u>												
Housewife	18	0	16	63	117	5	28	17	9	17	18	308
Business	2	1	3	14	5	1	2	4	0	5	6	43
Profession	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Worker	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	1	0	10
Other	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	7

A DESCRIPTION OF THE WOMEN'S GROUPS
(continued)

(In numbers, not in percentages)

Group: Number: Median Age :	Cat.	Hoi	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	25
<hr/>												
<u>Marital Status</u>												
Single	17	0	18	78	126	5	22	20	4	13	1	304
Married	2	1	3	7	20	3	13	3	3	15	24	94
Widowed	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	9
Divorced	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<hr/>												
<u>Husband's Occupation</u>												
Business	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	6	10
Profession	1	0	2	1	3	1	4	1	1	11	7	32
Government	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	8
Military	1	1	1	0	6	0	2	0	2	3	4	20
Student	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Worker	0	0	0	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
<hr/>												
<u>Income</u>												
Comfortable	17	1	17	49	124	4	22	18	6	26	18	302
Uncomfortable	2	1	2	20	13	5	6	6	3	2	4	64
<hr/>												
<u>Contraception</u>												
Yes	2	0	3	12	30	0	4	9	0	15	15	90
No	11	1	0	28	15	5	17	3	0	6	8	93
<hr/>												
<u>Method</u>												
Rhythm	1	0	2	8	18	0	3	7	0	13	14	66
Pill	0	0	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Other	0	0	0	3	6	0	2	1	0	2	2	16
<hr/>												
Does your father, husband or brother have a second wife (mistress)?												
Yes	0	0	0	5	7	0	2	1	1	1	1	18
No	18	2	15	45	118	6	30	17	2	8	18	279

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOLGIRLS' FAMILIES

Group: Number :	<u>G.L.</u> 198	<u>H.D.</u> 90	<u>C.T.</u> 254	<u>C.P.L.</u> 99	<u>S.M.</u> 98	<u>G.S.</u> 24	<u>Total</u> 763
With whom do you live?							
Both parents	79%	38%	63%	91%	88%	30%	77%
Mother	10	9	8	6	6	12	9
Father	4	1	2	2	2	0	2
Someone else	3	0	3	0	4	8	3
Yourself	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	2	2	24	1	0	0	9
							12

ladies and many more I met through the kindness of Mme. Bui Quang Trach, wife of the commanding officer of the Vietnamese Combat Development and Testing Center. Mme. Trach's hospitality, her range of social contacts and her willingness to use them in my behalf account in great part for the successful completion of these studies.

Results: I. Women's Study

As noted above, our respondents were not shown to be a representative sample of any definable population. Instead, they were selected from about 20 institutional groups of women and girls in Saigon -- WAFS, students, union members, etc. -- who were accessible and willing to participate. For this reason the results are presented here not as projections to these institutional sub-populations nor to the total female population of Saigon or South Viet Nam, but simply as the percentages of each group who chose each answer. While these individual group percentages are not projectible, differences between them stand a good chance of at least being in the right direction. For example, 84 per cent of the 159 students, but only 51 per cent of the WAFS, agree that "most girls should go to university"; while we would not expect these exact percentages of agreement by students and WAFs in a representative sample of all South Vietnamese women, we may fairly expect more students than WAFs

in South Viet Nam to agree with the proposition. Throughout the interpretations below we shall follow this same rule, treating absolute percentages with caution and confining our interest primarily to large differences among groups. To simplify this kind of interpretation, the tables of results of each survey were separated into two types:

1. Matters of Relative Agreement Among Groups, questions on which groups tended to agree with each other, at least to the extent that a plurality of all but one or two groups chose the same response; and

2. Matters of Relative Disagreement Among Groups, questions on which groups tended not to agree with each other, i.e., where three or more groups differed from the rest in their most popular response.

Within these two broad categories of tables, questions are arranged by topic -- education, career, marriage and family, money, custom, advice, leisure and politics. In this interpretative section we shall consider each of these topics in turn, analyzing first matters of relative agreement among groups (noting the one or two discrepant groups, if any), and then matters of relative disagreement among groups, adducing where possible the underlying basis for the commonalities and divergencies observed. A note on the tables: throughout the tables in which the women's study is reported, the No Answers are not recorded. They are recorded in the girls' study tables.

A. Education

More than in any other question, the 11 groups are unanimous in agreeing that most children should go to school (Q. 1,3) and that most boys should go to university if possible (Q.4). Most girls should go to university, too (Q.3), according to all groups but the Catholic private school teachers and WAF, of whom only about half agree.

About two-thirds of each group has read a book in the past week (Q. 29), with WAF and union members leading the rest with about nine-tenths so claiming, possibly a function of reading required by their respective organizations. About half of each group has read a newspaper "today" (Q.30), with bar girls highest (77%) on this claim, perhaps another occupation-connected requirement, and lab workers lowest (33%). About three-quarters of each group last listened to the radio "today" (Q.31), with the class exception of the Hoi Chanh (33%), for whom radios are probably less available in the Chieu Hoi camps.

On other questions about education there was less agreement among groups. That boys should have more education than girls (Q.32) was agreed to by as many as 70% (Catholic teachers) and as few as 10% (bar girls), and in general the older the group the more it thought girls should have as much education as boys. A more traditional pattern held for education of husbands and wives (Q.33), where pluralities of the relatively young Catholic high

school teachers as well as the older WAFs, secretaries and union workers believed a husband should have more education than his wife. On whether a Vietnamese scholarship student abroad should work abroad for a few years or return home (Q. 34), most groups, including notably the Buddhist university students (70%), favored his staying away; only among other students, union members and public school teachers was the majority in favor of his returning to Viet Nam.

B. Career

Only the young Catholics disagree that a professional woman can be a good wife and mother (Q.5), while about nine-tenths of all groups assent to the propositions that a woman should work before (Q.6) and after (Q.7) her marriage. All groups further agree that the best occupations for women are pharmacist, housewife and school teacher (Q.48), in that order, and that the most important consideration in her choice of career is how interesting the work will be (Q.35).

But when it comes to the husband, and whether he should not necessarily work but be free (as many Vietnamese men have been) to study if he chooses, the groups diverge (Q.8). About three-quarters of the Hoi Chanh and the union members agree with this traditional view, but roughly equal proportions of WAFs and

students disagree. Secretaries and older women are evenly divided. The more emancipated the group, it seems, the less interested they are in supporting a scholar-husband.

The groups diverge less on their choices of best careers for men (Q.52), with "university professor" and "doctor" the clear favorites, ahead of "businessman," "lawyer," and "soldier." The most important consideration in a young man's choice of career, however, was characteristically different for certain groups (Q.41). Most WAFs thought it was the value of his work to his country; most bar girls thought it was how interesting his work will be; but most older ladies thought it was how much he will earn.

C. Marriage and Family

On marital and family matters the groups were in surprising agreement, not only with each other, but with traditionally Western values and customs. All groups agree that most women should marry (Q.10), but that a woman should remain unmarried rather than marry a man she doesn't love (Q.9). They agree that most married women should have children (Q. 12), but that the unmarried girl who does so shames her family (Q. 13). They agree that both husband and wife should decide on the number of children (Q. 37) and that the most desirable number of children, money no object, is three or five (Q.43). With one exception

(the Hoi Chanh), they agree in rejecting the traditional Asian precept that a woman should marry the man her family selects (Q. 11). They even agree on what a woman should do if she knows her husband has a "second wife"-- try to persuade him not to see her (Q. 42).

The groups disagree, as in previous areas, only about what is proper male behavior. The reverse of the previous question asked what a husband should do if he knows his wife is unfaithful (Q. 40). The bar girls and older women, perhaps united by the conservatism that comes with wealth, say he should divorce her. The rest of the groups suggest he persuade her not to see the other man, and a variable minority in each group suggests he ignore the whole thing and hope for the best. When asked for attributes of the ideal husband (Q. 49), again the groups split along predictable lines. All said the ideal husband should be "faithful" and "intelligent," but after these the WAFs wanted someone "strong-willed," the students and secretaries someone "sexy" and the older woman someone "honest." Good looks was by far the least important attribute for all groups.

D. Money

On matters of property and finance there was little disagreement. A majority of each group but one (the public school teachers)

believed that the husband should supply all the money for his family (Q.14). A majority of each group but one (the young Catholics) disagreed with the Napoleonic code that a married woman should give all her property to her husband (Q.17). All groups were in favor of joint ownership of houses and businesses (Q. 22) and of joint decisions on major investments or purchases (Q.38). As for lesser decisions, like the purchase of food, clothing, etc., all groups but the WAFs felt these were the responsibility of the wife (Q.39). A plurality of each group agreed that most married women in Viet Nam should have a bank account (Q.18), with the proportions in favor being highest for the two richest groups, the older women (60%) and the bar girls (66%). In summary, it seems that on matters of economic self-interest, women in Viet Nam are no less highly motivated than their sisters elsewhere.

E. Customs

About two-thirds of each group agree they would not want their daughters to go out with foreign soldiers (Q.15), with the highest "no-opinion" (33%) coming from the youngest group, the Catholic high school teachers. To check the Madame Nhu stereotype of Vietnamese women we asked (Q.23) whether "most Vietnamese women are sentimental and weep easily when a friend goes away or they hear a sad story." Eight or nine-tenths of most groups

agreed, and the bar girls agreed 100 per cent.

A large majority of each group thought a girl was not in danger of becoming an old maid until after 29 (Q.44) and that if one's parents disapproved of marriage with the person one loved (Q.40), the best course was to try to talk them out of it rather than to elope.

The survey's most marked disagreement among groups came in response to the suggestion that Vietnamese women, young and old, should wear the ao dai, not western dress (Q.16). A majority of Catholic and Buddhist teachers, Hoi Chanh and union members agreed, while a majority of students, secretaries, lab workers and public school teachers disagreed. The WAFs, who currently wear khaki mini-skirts for office work, were surprisingly divided, as were the bar girls and older women. With the exception of the WAFs, the groups that favor the ao dai are those most regimented, thus, perhaps, most likely to favor a national dress.

The groups also differed in what they would say if their child asks where babies come from (Q.45). All eschewed telling him babies come from a cauliflower (the Vietnamese counterpart of the stork), but were almost equally divided between explaining briefly, the course favored most by WAFs and union members, or telling him to go away and leave them in peace, the response most favored by the bar girls and older women.

F. Advice

The groups were more or less agreed on the best sources of advice sought by a young unmarried girl (Q.55) and a husband (Q.56) but somewhat less agreed on the best advisors for a married woman (Q.50) or a young man (Q.54). The young girl, they agree, should seek advice from her mother, best female friend or her father, in that order, while the husband should consult his wife, best male friend or his father.

A married woman should go to her husband, mother or best female friend, according to a majority of most of the groups. The young Catholics rated the female friend relatively higher as an advisor than did other groups, while the WAFs disproportionately preferred the father. In the case of the young man seeking advice, most groups agreed on his father, best male friend and mother as the best sources, but Catholics predictably ranked his priest or monk as second-best source (unlike members of the Buddhist student organization).

G. Leisure

The groups were also in agreement on the best uses of leisure time by a woman and a man. For a woman the activities most frequently chosen were hobbies (e.g., flower arranging, sewing, cooking), charity work, most popular choice of the older women,

and study of an art or craft, most popular choice of the students. For a man the most highly recommended uses of leisure time were to spend it with his wife and children, sports, and civic work. This last was the single most frequent choice of the older women and union members.

H. Politics

All but two groups, the Buddhists and the Catholics, disagreed heartily with the proposition (Q.19) that "most women know little about politics and should not be allowed to vote." A surprising nine-tenths of the Buddhist student organization agreed with female disenfranchisement, and the young Catholic teachers were divided. Strongest disagreement (88%) came from the public school teachers.

Virtually all respondents "expect to see the day when North and South Viet Nam are reunited" (Q.21). Only the union members had any substantial no-opinion (28%). The plurality of all but one group thinks neither side is winning the war; 80 per cent of the union members think the GVN is winning. Most divided on this answer, as might be expected, were the Hoi Chanh, about a third of whom thought the North was winning.

We asked respondents to tell us whether the Chieu Hoi program was "(a) too good for VC deserters, who should be treated as

prisoners; (b) a valuable peaceful means of winning over the VC; or (c) something I don't know much about" (Q.28). Most of each group but two chose (b). Over half of the bar girls pleaded ignorance, and a surprising 40 per cent of the Hoi Chanh said the Chieu Hoi program was too good for them. Highest support for the Chieu Hoi program came from union members.

Other political questions resulted in greater disagreement among groups. "Should the GVN and US continue to bomb and burn hamlets where the VC are hiding?" "Yes," said most Catholics, Hoi Chanh, WAFs, and lab workers. "No," said a plurality of Buddhists, bar girls, and older women. Students were evenly divided. A majority of secretaries, public school teachers and union members (77%) had no opinion.

Should the GVN negotiate with the VC, fight for unconditional surrender or call in the UN to mediate a settlement (Q.24)? UN mediation was the choice of most persons in all groups but two: half the WAFs say fight on, and 75 per cent of the bar girls said negotiate with the VC. Strongest support for the UN was voiced by the union members, lab workers and students.

Groups varied in how they voted in the recent elections for the Constituent Assembly (Q.26). Nine-tenths of the union members, about twice as many as the average group, decided themselves how they would vote, as did about two-thirds of the public school

teachers, the next most independent group. Most lab workers and WAFs sought advice on whom to vote for. Most Catholics, Buddhists and Hoi Chanh didn't vote; the Catholics to an extent probably because of their youth.

A majority of Hoi Chanh, Buddhists, students, lab workers and public school teachers said the landlord's practice of requiring two leases to avoid taxation didn't concern them (0.27). A majority of Catholics, WAFs and union members said it was illegal and should be reported. Only a few in any group found the practice acceptable.

Results: II. Schoolgirl Study

A one-page questionnaire was completed by 739 secondary school students at one public and four private schools, and by a troop of 24 Girl Scouts. Results are presented for the six groups, and as in the previous study, separated into those questions to which answers were relatively similar among groups, and those to which they were not.

Most of the ten questions sought to learn the role played in her daily life by the girl's father, mother and friends. There was much agreement. Her mother, for example, was cited by a majority of girls as the one who helps her choose her clothes, though a relatively larger proportion of the girls at Gia Long public school, the toughest in Saigon, said they chose their

clothes themselves (Q.2). Her father was named by most girls as the one more likely to mete out punishment for stealing (Q.7). Both parents would make it difficult for her to see a boyfriend of whom they disapproved (Q.5), and she would tend to seek advice from both about her future career (Q.6). When they marry, over half said they would prefer a husband like their fathers. (Q.10)

The other half of the questions brought more disagreement among and within groups. Most girls at Gia Long and Hung Dao, the best private school, get pocket money from their mothers, while most girls at the other schools get it from both parents (Q.1). As in choosing clothes, the girls at Gia Long report more independence in choosing a university and course of study (Q.3). While most of the other girls said the decision would be made by their fathers or both parents together, two-thirds of the Gia Long girls say they'd decide this themselves. Similarly, they are more likely than other groups to go to movies with other girls instead of with their parents (Q.8).

Most of each group except Hung Dao was usually told to study by both parents (Q.4); a majority of the Hung Dao girls are told by their mothers. And the girls from all schools are divided as to whether they would run their own families the way their mothers do. About two-thirds of three groups say yes, but only half the Girl Scouts and less than half of the Gia Long and Hung Dao girls would.

Attachment 1

THE SIMULMATICS CORPORATION
16 East 41st Street
New York, New York

SECTION I PLEASE CIRCLE: A IF YOU AGREE, B IF YOU DISAGREE, AND C IF YOU HAVE NO OPINION.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. Most girls should go to school. | A | B | C |
| 2. Most girls should go to university if possible. | A | B | C |
| 3. Most boys should go to school. | A | B | C |
| 4. Most boys should go to university if possible. | A | B | C |
| 5. A woman who has a profession can be a good wife and mother. | A | B | C |
| 6. A girl should be able to work to support herself before marriage. | A | B | C |
| 7. A woman should be capable of working to help support her family after marriage. | A | B | C |
| 8. A husband should not necessarily work, but should be free to study if he chooses. | A | B | C |
| 9. A woman should remain unmarried rather than marry a man she doesn't love. | A | B | C |
| 10. Most women should marry. | A | B | C |
| 11. A woman should marry the man her family selects. | A | B | C |
| 12. Most married women should have children. | A | B | C |
| 13. The unmarried girl who has a child shames her family. | A | B | C |
| 14. The husband should provide all the money for the family if he can. | A | B | C |
| 15. I personally would not want my daughter to go out with foreign soldiers. | A | B | C |
| 16. Vietnamese women young and old should wear the ao dai, not western dress. | A | B | C |

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17. A married woman should give all her property to her husband. | A | B | C |
| 18. Most married women here should have a bank account of money of their own. | A | B | C |
| 19. Most women know little about politics and should not be allowed to vote. | A | B | C |
| 20. The GVN and the US should continue to bomb and burn hamlets where VC are hiding. | A | B | C |
| 21. I expect to see the day when North and South Viet Nam are reunited. | A | B | C |
| 22. Most husbands and wives should own jointly all property such as the house and business. | A | B | C |
| 23. Most Vietnamese women are sentimental and weep easily when a friend goes away or they hear a sad story. | A | B | C |

SELECTION II MULTIPLE CHOICE - CHECK THE ONE ANSWER THAT COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR OPINION.

24. The GVN should
 - a) negotiate with the VC to end the war.
 - b) continue the war until the VC surrender unconditionally.
 - c) ask the UN to mediate a settlement.
25. Who do you think is now winning the war?
 - a) The North or VC.
 - b) The GVN.
 - c) Neither.
26. In the past Constituent Assembly elections did you
 - a) decide yourself for whom you voted?
 - b) seek advice on for whom to vote?
 - c) not vote?
 - d) vote as someone in your family told you?
27. The practice of a landlord requiring two leases to avoid paying all his taxes is
 - a) acceptable because the tax is too high.
 - b) illegal and should be reported to the authorities.
 - c) doesn't concern me.
28. The Chieu Hoi program is
 - a) too good for VC deserters, who should be treated as war prisoners.
 - b) a valuable peaceful means of winning over the VC.
 - c) something I don't know much about.

29. When did you last read a book?
a) In the past week.
b) In the past month.
c) In the past six months.
30. When did you last read a newspaper?
a) Today.
b) Yesterday.
c) In the last week.
d) In the last two weeks.
31. When did you last listen to the radio?
a) Today.
b) Yesterday.
c) In the last week.
d) In the last two weeks.
32. Boys in a family should have
a) more education than their sisters.
b) the same education as their sisters.
c) less education than their sisters.
33. A husband should have
a) more education than his wife.
b) the same education as his wife.
c) less education than his wife.
34. A Vietnamese scholarship student who studies abroad now should
a) remain abroad for two or three years to gain work experience.
b) return to Viet Nam to practice his profession.
c) go to the country that offers him the best future.
35. The most important consideration in a young woman's choice of career is
a) how interesting the work will be to her.
b) how much money she will earn.
c) how valuable her work will be for her country.
36. The best way for a wife to keep her husband at home is
a) to have children.
b) to keep herself beautiful and loving.
c) to keep herself informed on his work.
d) to feed him well and see that he has everything he needs.
37. The number of children a wife will have should be decided by
a) the wife.
b) the husband.
c) both wife and husband.
d) the husband's parents.

38. Financial decisions such as purchase of investments and property should usually be made by
a) the husband.
b) the wife.
c) both together.
39. Financial decisions such as purchase of food, clothing, should usually be made by
a) the husband.
b) the wife.
c) both.
40. If a husband knows his wife is unfaithful he should
a) ignore her unfaithfulness and hope she tires of the other man.
b) try to persuade her not to see the other man.
c) divorce her.
d) threaten the other man.
41. The most important consideration in a young man's choice of career is
a) how interesting the work will be to him.
b) how much money he will earn.
c) how valuable his work will be for his country.
42. If a woman knows her husband has a second wife she should
a) ignore it and hope he soon tires of the other woman.
b) try to persuade him not to see the other woman.
c) divorce him.
d) threaten the other woman.
e) accept the other woman.
43. The most desirable number of children, money no object, is
a) one.
b) three
c) five.
d) seven.
e) nine.
44. A young woman is in danger of being an old maid if she has not married by
a) 20 years.
b) 23 years.
c) 26 years.
d) 29 years.
45. If your child asks where babies come from, would you
a) say that they come from a cauliflower.
b) try to explain briefly to him.
c) tell him to go away and leave you in peace.
46. If your parents do not agree that you marry the one you love, would you
a) marry without their agreement?
b) try to persuade them?
c) obey your parents?

47. If you wanted money to buy a business or a house, would you
 a) form a tang tien or choi hui?
 b) borrow from a commercial bank?
 c) borrow from a friend?
 d) not know where to get it?
48. The best three careers for a woman are (please number them 1,2,3):
 The worst is (place an X):
 a) running a small business h) doctor o) bar girl
 b) nursing i) school teacher p) social worker
 c) singer j) lawyer q) waitress
 d) politics k) woman's army r) factory worker
 e) airline hostess l) civil servant s) housemaid
 f) secretary m) seamstress t) housewife
 g) pharmacist n) university professor
49. The three most important attributes of the ideal husband are (please number them 1, 2, 3): The least important is (place an X):
 a) intelligent e) good family i) gentle
 b) handsome f) strong willed j) faithful
 c) successful in work g) honest k) sense of humor
 d) sexy h) kind l) strong body
50. If a married woman has a problem, from which two of the following would she seek advice? (Please check two.)
 a) Her father. d) Her husband's mother. g) A priest.
 b) Her mother. e) Her husband's father. h) A fortune teller.
 c) Her husband. f) Her best female friend.
51. If a woman has leisure time, which two of the following are the best ways she can use it? (Please check two.)
 a) Work with a civic group on community improvement .
 b) Read or study an art or craft.
 c) Visit with friends or family.
 d) Practice a sport.
 e) Develop a hobby such as arranging flowers, sewing, cooking.
 f) Do charity work.
52. Of the following careers for men, the three best are (please number them 1, 2, 3):
 a) farmer f) clerk l) construction worker
 b) school teacher g) university professor m) priest or monk
 c) lawyer h) singer n) politician
 d) writer i) doctor o) civil servant
 e) businessman j) actor p) auto mechanic
 k) soldier

53. If a man has leisure time, which two of the following are the best ways he can use it? (Please check two.)
- a) Work with a civic group on community improvement.
 - b) Visit with friends.
 - c) Develop a hobby such as stamp collecting, coin collecting.
 - d) Read or study.
 - e) Spend more time with his wife and children.
 - f) Practice a sport such as tennis or swimming.
54. If a young man under 21 had a problem, from which two of the following would he seek advice? (Please check two.)
- a) His father.
 - b) His mother.
 - c) His grandmother.
 - d) His grandfather.
 - e) His priest or monk.
 - f) His best male friend.
 - g) His best female friend.
55. If an unmarried girl under 21 had a problem, from which two of the following would she seek advice? (Please check two.)
- a) Her father.
 - b) Her mother.
 - c) Her grandmother.
 - d) Her grandfather.
 - e) Her priest or monk.
 - f) Her best male friend.
 - g) Her best female friend.
56. If a husband had a problem, from which two of the following would he seek advice? (Please check two.)
- a) His father.
 - b) His mother.
 - c) His wife.
 - d) His best male friend.
 - e) A priest or monk.
 - f) A fortune teller.

SECTION IV PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

57. Your age
58. Your religion
59. Your education
60. Your birthplace
61. Your father's occupation
62. Your mother's occupation

63. Are you unmarried, married, separated, divorced, widowed?
64. Do you consider your (or your family's) income comfortable?
65. Your occupation
66. Your husband's occupation
67. What was the last book you read?
68. What is your favorite radio program?
69. What are your favorite magazines?
70. Do you practice contraception?
71. If so, what methods do you use?
the pill _____ rhythm method (Ogino Knauss) _____
diaphragm _____ other (specify) _____
72. Does your husband, father or brother have a second wife?

Attachment 2

A BRIEF QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL GIRLS

Instructions: Please check or explain.

1. Who gives you pocket money?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ If someone else, who?
2. Who helps you choose your clothes?
Father_____ Mother_____ Yourself_____ If someone else, who?
3. If you go to a university, who will decide where and what you study?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ Yourself_____ If someone else, who?
4. If you go out too often, especially in the evenings, who will tell you to stay at home and study?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ If someone else, who?
5. If you have a boyfriend your family disapproves of, who will make it difficult for you to see him?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ If someone else, who?
6. When you finish high school and must decide whether to continue your studies, or get a job or get married, whom will you ask for advice?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ If someone else, who?
7. If your brother or sister stole a book or money and your family found out, who would punish him?
Father_____ Mother_____ If someone else, who?
8. If you go to the movies or visit relatives in your leisure time, with whom do you generally go?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ If someone else, who?
9. If you had to run your family now, would you run it as your mother does or would you change from her way? Please explain.
10. When you marry, would you like your husband to be the same kind of father to your children as your father is to you? Please explain.
11. With whom do you live?
Father_____ Mother_____ Both_____ Yourself_____ If someone else, who?

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

Group:		Cat.	Hol	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
Number:		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
A. Education													
1. Most girls should go to school.	Agree	96%	90%	95%	90%	94%	100%	86%	100%	100%	100%	100%	94%
	Disagree	4	9	4	4	2	0	14	0	0	0	0	3
	No opinion	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
2. Most girls should go to university if possible	Agree	54	90	87	51	84	92	71	76	92	90	82	75
	Disagree	21	10	8	18	11	0	21	15	7	7	7	13
	No opinion	15	0	4	30	5	8	8	7	1	3	4	11
3. Most boys should go to school.	Agree	100	100	100	98	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Disagree	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	No opinion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Most boys should go to university if possible.	Agree	100	90	100	85	98	100	100	96	100	100	100	96
	Disagree	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1
	No opinion	0	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
29. When did you last read a book?	a) In the past week	58	50	81	90	63	44	61	56	87	53	79	70
	b) In the past month	25	0	13	6	29	44	35	26	12	32	11	22
	c) In the past six months	0	50	4	2	6	11	3	15	0	15	0	6
30. When did you last read a newspaper?	a) Today	58	60	60	48	56	77	52	33	87	50	79	57
	b) Yesterday	25	20	40	33	34	11	41	45	12	43	15	32
	c) In the last week	4	20	0	9	7	11	2	20	0	7	0	7
	d) In the last two weeks	0	0	0	9	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(Continued)

Group:		Cat.	Hoi	Bud.	MAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old.	Total
Number:		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
31.	When did you last listen to the radio?	75%	33%	36%	63%	74%	77%	61%	62%	87%	75%	39%	72%
	a) Today	4	33	13	28	22	22	33	29	12	21	0	22
	b) Yesterday	4	33	0	8	2	0	2	4	0	4	4	3
	c) In the last week	4	33	0	8	2	0	2	4	0	4	4	3
	d) In the last two weeks	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	1
B. Career													
5.	A woman who has a profession	29	100	37	65	75	91	69	38	93	93	96	75
	Disagree	46	0	12	19	13	0	29	3	6	7	4	14
	No opinion	25	0	0	14	11	8	2	7	0	0	0	9
	wife and mother.												5
6.	A girl should be able to work to support herself before marriage.	71	90	87	97	89	76	93	100	100	90	86	91
	Disagree	13	9	4	1	4	8	5	0	0	7	11	4
	No opinion	16	0	8	1	6	15	2	0	0	3	0	4
7.	A woman should be capable of working to help support her family after marriage.	92	81	37	83	92	100	33	96	100	100	93	90
	Disagree	0	13	12	11	4	0	2	3	0	0	7	5
	No opinion	8	0	0	4	6	0	10	0	0	0	0	3

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:	Cat.	Hoi	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
Number:	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	

35. The most important consideration in a young woman's choice of career is

a) how interesting the work will be to her

b) how much money she will earn

c) how valuable her work will be for her country

29%	50%	73%	43%	60%	70%	64%	62%	52%	78%	54%	57%
25	25	0	2	10	20	5	20	17	5	0	8
29	25	26	54	28	10	30	16	29	17	39	34

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:	Cat.	Hoi	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
Number:	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	

(In numbers, not percentages)

48. The best three careers for a woman are (please number them 1, 2,3): The least important is (place an X):	10	0	12	14	85	7	15	14	8	22	17	204
g) Pharmacist	8	2	12	45	84	0	27	8	2	9	7	204
t) Housewife	5	0	10	21	50	0	11	5	2	21	6	131
i) School teacher	2	0	8	9	47	0	7	9	0	11	13	106
n) University professor	4	1	2	30	36	4	9	3	6	2	1	98
b) Nurse	5	0	1	27	24	0	2	7	3	2	4	75
p) Social worker	3	0	2	9	21	3	4	8	0	3	0	53
e) Airline hostess	7	0	4	7	15	0	1	3	3	6	7	53
j) Lawyer												37
a) Running a small business	3	2	1	6	9	6	1	6	1	0	5	40
m) Seamstress	5	2	0	8	9	0	9	0	5	0	0	38

The ten most highly ranked careers and the total frequency each was mentioned as first, second or third choice by each group appear in the above table. The remaining ten options (see Attachment 1) received scattered votes or none at all. The three most popular first choices were pharmacist, housewife, school teacher. The three most popular second choices were school teacher, pharmacist, university professor. The three most popular third choices were housewife, social worker and nurse. Bar girl was the overwhelming choice as the worst career for a woman of each group but the Catholic. They selected nursing.

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:			Cat.	Hoi	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old Total
			24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28 473
			17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42
<u>C. Marriage and Family</u>													
9. A woman should remain unmarried rather than marry a man she doesn't love.	Agree		96%	31%	72%	83%	66%	46%	16%	88%	81%	72%	68%
	Disagree		4	9	13	8	16	23	43	7	12	7	14
	No opinion		0	9	13	8	17	30	10	3	6	21	18
10. Most women should marry.	Agree		33	100	60	79	84	61	80	84	100	83	96
	Disagree		8	0	21	7	5	23	12	7	0	0	4
	No opinion		8	0	18	13	10	15	7	7	0	17	0
11. A woman should marry the man her family selects.	Agree		8	58	22	16	6	16	24	3	11	13	11
	Disagree		33	25	36	60	74	75	61	88	70	76	78
	No opinion		8	16	40	23	19	8	14	7	17	11	11
12. Most married women should have children.	Agree		38	100	95	90	89	84	85	92	65	83	96
	Disagree		4	0	4	4	4	15	7	0	0	3	4
	No opinion		8	0	0	5	5	0	7	7	35	13	0
13. The unmarried girl who has a child shames her family.	Agree		71	90	82	83	69	75	73	76	94	68	86
	Disagree		8	9	18	7	13	8	19	8	5	21	7
	No opinion		21	0	0	9	16	16	7	16	0	11	4
37. The number of children a wife will have should be decided by	a) the wife		4	0	4	2	1	30	2	0	0	4	0
	b) the husband		0	20	0	3	0	0	5	0	5	4	7
	c) both wife and husband		79	60	95	92	96	70	92	100	94	88	78
	d) the husband's parents		4	20	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	0

(continued)

[illegible]

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number : Median Age:		Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF.	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
D.	<u>Property and Finance</u>												
14.	The husband should provide all the money for the family if he can.	71% 25 4	45% 54 0	56% 26 17	59% 36 4	59% 31 8	46% 38 16	53% 41 4	84% 15 0	93% 6 0	34% 55 11	68% 29 0	61% 32 6
	Agree												
	Disagree												
	No opinion												
17.	A married woman should give all her property to her husband.	33 33 29	9 81 9	21 52 26	5 86 8	25 56 16	8 66 25	17 56 26	15 76 7	0 93 6	33 55 12	25 57 18	18 65 15
	Agree												
	Disagree												
	No opinion												
18.	Most married women here should have a bank account of money of their own.	42 29 29	72 9 18	39 26 34	45 19 35	40 37 22	66 16 16	52 22 25	42 23 34	53 0 46	52 27 21	60 29 11	46 26 26
	Agree												
	Disagree												
	No opinion												
22.	Most husbands and wives should own jointly all property such as the house and business.	92 4 4	100 0 0	95 4 0	91 4 4	93 4 2	100 0 0	95 5 0	92 3 3	93 0 6	90 5 5	86 3 11	92 3 3
	Agree												
	Disagree												
	No opinion												

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV.	Pub.	Old	Total
Number:	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
38. Financial decisions such as purchase of investments and property should usually be made by												
a) the husband	13%	20%	4%	4%	4%	15%	5%	0%	11%	0%	7%	5%
b) the wife	13	0	4	3	5	0	14	3	5	0	0	5
c) both together	63	80	90	92	89	84	80	96	83	100	86	89
39. Financial decisions such as purchase of food, clothing, should usually be made by												
a) the husband	4	20	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	4	0	1
b) the wife	42	40	68	44	67	92	65	57	100	72	82	63
c) both	42	40	31	55	31	8	30	38	0	24	18	34
E. Custom												41
15. I personally would not want my daughter to go out with foreign soldiers												
Agree	63	72	69	60	77	66	67	65	92	59	78	70
Disagree	4	18	8	18	12	16	22	15	7	27	0	14
No opinion	33	9	21	21	9	16	10	19	0	14	15	15
23. Most Vietnamese women are sentimental and weep easily when a friend goes away or they hear a sad story.												
Agree	67	72	86	97	86	100	78	84	100	93	86	87
Disagree	13	18	4	2	8	0	17	15	0	5	14	7
No opinion	13	9	9	0	5	0	4	0	0	2	0	4

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old Total
	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28
	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42
											473
44. A young woman is in danger of becoming an old maid if she has not married by	4%	66%	0%	3%	2%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	4%
a) 20 years	13	0	7	9	9	0	11	0	20	8	21
b) 23 years	25	0	14	15	13	20	27	34	13	8	18
c) 26 years	38	33	78	70	74	80	52	65	13	84	46
d) 29 years											66
46. If your parents do not agree that you marry the one you love, would you	4	40	0	5	6	23	10	7	0	10	0
a) marry without their agreement											8
b) try to persuade them	63	40	90	66	86	61	64	84	85	86	36
c) obey your parents	17	20	10	17	7	15	24	3	14	4	11
											11
											24

(In numbers, not percentages)

F. Advice

55. If an unmarried girl under 21 had a problem, from which two of the following would she seek advice?	12	2	16	79	122	9	31	23	13	22	22	351
b) Her mother												
f) Her best female friend	10	2	15	38	104	9	20	13	8	17	10	246
a) Her father	6	1	9	31	43	0	10	10	3	8	13	134
f) Her best male friend	4	0	2	13	11	1	3	3	3	4	3	47
e) Her priest or monk	4	0	1	6	17	0	4	2	1	3	0	38
c) Her grandmother	3	0	0	4	2	1	4	0	3	1	7	25
d) Her grandfather	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	8	12

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old Total
	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28
	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42
											473

(In numbers, not percentages)

56. If a husband had a problem, from which two of the following would he seek advice?	18	1	17	78	121	9	31	13	11	25	23	347
c) His wife												
d) His best male friend	10	0	11	27	73	6	16	13	3	9	10	178
a) His father	2	0	9	27	47	3	12	6	7	10	14	137
b) His mother	3	1	2	22	25	1	6	8	6	3	6	83
e) A priest or monk	3	0	1	8	6	1	4	2	1	6	6	38
f) A fortune teller	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	7

G. Leisure Time

(In numbers, not percentages)

51. If a woman has leisure time, which two of the following are the best ways she can use it?	12	3	7	46	55	10	23	17	12	17	11	213
e) Develop a hobby such as arranging flowers, sewing, cooking												
f) Do charity work	9	0	12	44	52	0	14	11	5	11	23	181
b) Read or study an art or craft	9	1	13	28	51	3	15	11	5	8	4	148
a) Work with a civic group on community improvement	3	1	3	20	35	5	2	5	6	4	9	93
c) Visit with friends or family.	4	0	3	7	17	4	5	3	1	8	2	54
d) Practice a sport.	2	0	1	7	10	0	2	3	1	4	4	34

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat. <u>24</u> 17	Hoi. <u>12</u> 19	Bud. <u>23</u> 21	MAF <u>98</u> 21	Stu. <u>159</u> 22	Bar. <u>13</u> 22	Sec. <u>42</u> 24	Lab. <u>26</u> 24	CTV <u>19</u> 24	Pub. <u>29</u> 29	Old Total <u>28</u> 42	Total <u>473</u>
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(In numbers, not percentages)

53. If a man has leisure time, which two of the following are the best ways he can use it?	13	2	17	57	93	7	17	13	4	23	10	256
e) Spend more time with his wife and children.												
f) Practice a sport such as tennis or swimming.	10	0	9	43	71	1	8	15	3	12	9	181
a) Work with a civic group on community improvement.	8	1	11	35	59	3	15	7	13	10	16	178
d) Read or study.	7	1	5	6	42	2	13	8	0	6	7	97
b) Visit with friends	4	0	0	6	10	4	5	2	2	4	2	39
c) Develop a hobby such as stamp collecting, coin collecting.	0	1	0	7	0	0	2	2	5	0	3	20

I. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:		Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
<hr/>													
H. Politics													
19.	Most women know												
	little about												
	politics and												
	should not be	33%	20%	90%	22%	12%	8%	10%	10%	17%	12%	7%	15%
	allowed to vote.	29	70	4	66	79	75	65	75	58	38	68	72
		17	10	4	10	8	16	23	15	23	0	18	12
<hr/>													
21.	I expect to see	92	100	100	95	93	100	95	92	71	100	93	94
	the day when	4	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	1
	North and South	4	0	0	3	2	0	0	7	28	0	4	3
Viet Nam are reunited.													54
<hr/>													
25.	Who do you think	15	33	5	3	4	0	2	8	0	12	0	5
	is now winning	29	16	5	36	16	20	32	16	80	15	18	24
	the war?	42	50	89	59	78	80	64	76	20	73	50	70
<hr/>													
28.	The Chieu Hoi												
	program is												
		29	40	0	7	3	0	15	0	0	7	11	8
<hr/>													
	a) too good for												
	VC deserters,												
	who should be												
	treated as war												
	prisoners												
	a valuable												
	peaceful means												
	of winning over												
	the VC												
	c) something I	41	60	72	80	71	44	46	79	100	67	50	69
	don't know												
	much about	25	0	18	12	25	55	37	20	0	26	15	22

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	NAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
<hr/>												
A. Education												
32. Boys in a family should have												
a) more education than their sisters	71%	50%	45%	43%	30%	10%	48%	26%	26%	32%	21%	37%
b) the same education as their sisters												
c) less education than their sisters	17	50	54	48	66	90	43	73	73	64	71	59
33. A husband should have	4	0	0	7	2	0	7	0	0	4	0	3
a) more education than his wife	71	40	43	60	49	36	58	44	63	36	39	51
b) the same education as his wife												
c) less education than his wife	17	40	56	37	50	63	39	56	36	64	46	46
34. A Vietnamese scholarship student who studies abroad now should	2	20	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
a) remain abroad for two or three years to gain work experience	50	50	70	59	41	60	35	53	47	41	46	49
b) return to Viet Nam to practice his profession	29	25	25	32	52	30	35	46	52	59	36	42
c) go to the country that offers him the best future	8	25	5	7	6	10	29	0	0	0	7	8

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:	<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Hol.</u>	<u>Bud.</u>	<u>WAF</u>	<u>Stu.</u>	<u>Bar.</u>	<u>Sec.</u>	<u>Lab.</u>	<u>CTV</u>	<u>Pub.</u>	<u>Old</u>	<u>Total</u>
Number:	24	12	23	96	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	

B. Career

(In numbers, not percentages)

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|----|---|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| 52. | Of the following
careers for men,
the three best are
(please number
them 1,2,3): | 11 | 0 | 14 | 32 | 100 | 7 | 25 | 18 | 1 | 24 | 16 | 248 |
| | g) University
professor | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | i) Doctor | 7 | 1 | 16 | 32 | 107 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 24 | 14 | 248 |
| | e) Businessman | 7 | 1 | 4 | 18 | 42 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 127 |
| | c) Lawyer | 5 | 0 | 4 | 19 | 39 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 104 |
| | k) Soldier | 9 | 1 | 0 | 34 | 23 | 0 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 94 |
| | b) School teacher | 3 | 1 | 5 | 21 | 23 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 85 |
| | n) Politician | 2 | 0 | 8 | 17 | 32 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 81 |
| | o) Civil servant | 6 | 2 | 4 | 29 | 17 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 75 |

4.

The eight most highly ranked careers for men and the total frequency each was mentioned as first, second or third choice by each group appear above. The three most popular first choices were university professor, doctor, businessman. The three most popular second choices were doctor, university professor, businessman. The three most popular third choices were doctor, politician and civil servant. The remaining eight options (see Attachment 1) received scattered or no mention.

- | | Agree | Disagree | No opinion |
|--|-------|----------|------------|
| 8. A husband should not necessarily work, but should be free to study if he chooses. | 13 | 67 | 20 |
| | 72 | 27 | 0 |
| | 13 | 59 | 27 |
| | 14 | 74 | 10 |
| | 14 | 78 | 7 |
| | 18 | 36 | 45 |
| | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| | 19 | 57 | 23 |
| | 81 | 12 | 6 |
| | 18 | 64 | 18 |
| | 46 | 39 | 15 |
| | 20 | 64 | 14 |

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:			Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
			24 17	12 19	23 21	98 21	159 22	13 22	42 24	26 24	19 24	29 29	28 42	473
<u>B. Career</u>														
41.	The most important consideration in a young man's choice of career is	a) how interesting the work will be to him	4%	50%	26%	15%	44%	75%	39%	45%	7%	57%	39%	34%
		b) how much money he will earn	38	0	21	11	14	25	18	2	28	7	57	17
		c) how valuable his work will be for his country	42	50	52	72	40	0	42	41	47	36	4	47
														48
<u>C. Marriage and Family</u>														
36.	The best way for a wife to keep her husband at home is	a) to have children	13	0	13	14	7	0	8	4	14	28	21	12
		b) to keep herself beautiful and loving	25	0	13	3	15	20	25	37	21	24	0	15
		c) to keep herself informed on his work	29	66	26	21	32	50	19	20	50	28	21	28
		d) to feed him well and see that he has everything	21	33	46	61	44	30	47	37	14	20	29	43

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:
Number:
Median Age:

Cat. Hoi. Bud. WAF Stu. Bar. Sec. Lab. CTV Pub. Old Total
24 12 23 98 159 13 42 26 19 29 28 473
17 19 21 21 22 22 24 24 24 29 29 42

(In numbers, not percentages)

C. Marriage and Family

49. The three most important attributes of the ideal husband are (please number them 1,2,3):
The least important is (place an X):

j) faithful 13 0 15 54 33 9 25 16 4 22 14 259
a) intelligent 10 1 10 56 96 9 22 8 11 10 16 249
f) strong willed 8 2 6 33 38 5 14 5 9 10 3 133
d) sexy 5 0 5 9 48 3 12 12 0 10 3 107
g) honest 4 0 6 26 31 3 9 5 4 2 11 101
h) kind 2 2 7 9 45 2 5 9 0 10 3 94
e) good family 6 2 2 16 22 2 5 2 3 9 9 78

49

The seven most highly ranked attributes of the ideal husband and the total frequency each was mentioned as first, second or third choice by each group appear above. The three most popular first choices were a) intelligent, j) faithful and d) sexy. The three most popular second choices were f) strong willed, j) faithful and a) intelligent. The three most popular third choices were j) faithful, a) intelligent and l) strong body. Handsome (b) was the overwhelming choice as the least important attribute of all groups but the CTV, where only two choices were registered for i) gentle, and the Hoi, where only one was registered for d) sexy.

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:		Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
40.	If a husband knows his wife is unfaithful he should	25	20	5	23	18	10	35	16	0	18	11	19
	a) ignore her unfaithfulness and hope she tires of the other man												
	b) try to persuade her not to see the other man												
	c) divorce her	42	40	84	54	61	40	47	68	93	64	21	58
	d) threaten the other man	17	40	5	18	18	50	11	8	6	18	43	19
		0	0	5	3	1	0	5	8	0	0	4	2
43.	The most desirable number of children, money no object, is	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	a) one	29	0	26	31	47	50	39	65	6	53	57	42
	b) three	25	50	65	58	48	41	48	30	66	47	29	49
	c) five	13	0	4	6	3	8	12	4	26	0	4	6
	d) seven	4	50	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	e) nine												
D. Property and Finance													
47.	If you wanted money to buy a business or a house, would you	21	50	26	53	35	50	36	53	60	39	43	43
	a) form a tang tien or choi hui												
	b) borrow from a commercial bank	13	50	36	32	38	0	38	34	33	33	36	35
	c) borrow from a friend	0	0	21	7	9	30	8	3	0	14	4	8
	d) not know where to get it	0	0	15	6	16	20	16	7	6	14	11	12

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:		Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
Number:		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
<hr/>													
E. Customs													
16.	Vietnamese women												
	Agree	79%	72%	61%	43%	21%	38%	36%	15%	61%	18%	39%	36%
	Disagree	17	27	21	35	51	30	51	53	0	57	36	41
	should wear the	4	0	17	20	26	30	12	30	38	25	11	21
	ao dai, not western dress.												
45.	If your child asks where babies come from, would you												51
	a) say that they come from a cauliflower	4	25	20	5	8	0	19	16	0	0	0	8
	b) try to explain briefly to him	42	25	45	73	60	20	36	52	83	48	39	56
	c) tell him to go away and leave you in peace	38	50	35	21	30	80	44	32	16	52	57	35

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Cld	Total
Number:	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
Median Age:	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	

(In numbers, not percentages)*

F. Advice

50. If a married woman has a problem, from which two of the following would she seek advice?	c) Her husband	7	1	16	50	58	8	29	21	16	27	26	259
	b) Her mother	8	4	8	48	57	5	12	16	2	13	8	181
	f) Her best female friend	11	0	7	19	36	2	12	6	5	7	6	111
	a) Her father	6	2	2	22	18	0	8	6	1	5	8	78
	g) A priest	5	0	2	6	6	0	3	1	0	2	0	25
	d) Her husband's mother	1	0	0	2	4	0	4	1	2	0	0	14
	e) Her husband's father	1	0	0	5	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
	h) A fortune teller	0	0	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	10

(In numbers, not percentages)*

54. If a young man under 21 had a problem, from which two of the following would he seek advice?	a) His father	6	2	13	53	99	7	16	15	16	16	25	268
	f) His best male friend	13	0	15	31	94	9	17	11	3	20	10	223
	b) His mother	8	2	7	56	42	3	16	14	9	9	17	179
	g) His best female friend	3	0	4	21	27	2	6	7	0	6	3	79
	e) His priest or monk	10	0	2	7	25	0	6	4	2	3	1	60
	d) His grandfather	0	0	0	3	1	0	4	0	1	1	0	10
	c) His grandmother	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6

*Please note that the respondent is asked to check two choices, consequently the number of possible votes within each group is double the number of persons in each group.

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:	Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
	24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
	17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
<hr/>												
H. Politics												
20. The GVN and the UC should con- tinue to bomb and burn ham- lets where VC are hiding.	66%	90%	15%	44%	38%	20%	30%	57%	11%	39%	21%	39%
Agree												
Disagree	0	9	60	23	33	50	20	7	11	18	43	27
No opinion	33	0	25	32	28	30	50	34	77	43	21	32
24. The GVN should												
a) negotiate with the VC to end the war	25	16	33	17	22	75	9	8	0	23	11	20
b) continue the war until the VC surrender uncondition- ally												
c) ask the UN to mediate a settlement	29	33	16	46	24	0	42	32	27	27	7	30
	42	50	50	35	52	25	48	60	72	50	50	48

II. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUPS

(continued)

Group: Number: Median Age:		Cat.	Hoi.	Bud.	WAF	Stu.	Bar.	Sec.	Lab.	CTV	Pub.	Old	Total
		24	12	23	98	159	13	42	26	19	29	28	473
		17	19	21	21	22	22	24	24	24	29	42	
26. In the past Constituent Assembly elec- tions did you	a) decide your- self for whom you voted?	29	20	17	49	28	8	35	48	8	15	25	32
	b) seek advice on for whom to vote?	42	40	43	2	21	33	21	16	0	11	7	17
	c) not vote?												
	d) vote as some- one in your family told you?	4	0	8	2	5	16	4	8	0	11	0	5
27. The practice of a landlord re- quiring two leases to avoid paying all his taxes is	a) acceptable be- cause the tax is too high	0	0	10	9	14	20	13	15	36	19	18	17
	b) illegal and should be report- ed to the authori- ties	58	33	15	61	29	40	46	26	63	27	21	28
	c) doesn't con- cern me	33	66	73	28	55	40	40	56	0	54	36	23

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SECTION III. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG
GROUPS OF SAIGON SCHOOLGIRLS

Group: Number:	G.L. 193	H.D. 90	C.T. 254	C.P.L. 99	S.M. 98	G.S. 24	Total 763
2. Who helps you choose your clothes?							
a) Father	2%	1%	1%	2%	3%	0%	2%
b) Mother	38	73	56	71	66	33	56
c) Both	19	7	21	23	20	12	18
d) Yourself	32	4	12	3	9	46	16
e) Someone else	3	10	8	1	2	0	7
f) No answer	1	0	2	0	0	9	1
5. If you have a boyfriend your family disapproves of, who will make it difficult for you to see him?							
a) Father	13	22	9	7	2	17	11
b) Mother	29	14	15	8	24	21	19
c) Both	38	48	54	31	66	42	53
d) Yourself	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
e) Someone else	4	5	4	1	4	8	5
f) No Answer	15	0	18	3	4	12	11
6. When you finish high school and must decide whether to continue your studies, or get a job or get married, whom will you ask for advice?							
a) Father	14	8	11	9	8	4	11
b) Mother	15	14	12	6	6	17	12
c) Both	58	73	68	35	82	63	69
d) Yourself	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
e) Someone else	8	3	4	0	4	4	5
f) No answer	2	1	5	0	0	12	3
7. If your brother or sister stole a book or money and your family found out, who would punish him?							
a) Father	45	63	48	60	44	42	50
b) Mother	35	28	23	27	31	42	30
c) Both	10	4	11	12	15	8	11
d) Yourself	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
e) Someone else	5	3	4	0	6	4	4
f) No answer	4	1	9	1	4	4	5

SECTION III. MATTERS OF RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG
GROUPS OF SAIGON SCHOOLGIRLS

(continued)

Group: Number:	G.L. 198	H.D. 90	C.T. 254	C.P.L. 99	S.M. 98	G.S. 24	Total 763
10. When you marry, would you like your husband to be the same kind of father to your children as your father is to you?	47% 35 18	42% 31 27	50% 7 41	92% 6 2	54% 4 42	38% 25 37	55% 17 28

SECTION IV. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG
GROUPS OF SAIGON SCHOOLGIRLS

Group: Number:	G.L. 198	H.D. 90	C.T. 254	C.P.L. 99	S.M. 98	G.S. 24	Total 763
1. Who gives you pocket money?	12% 45 38 0	14% 44 34 0	7% 40 47 0	7% 24 66 0	3% 35 58 0	4% 25 50 13	9% 39 46 0
	5 0	8 0	4 2	2 1	3 1	8 0	5 1
3. If you go to univer- sity, who will decide where and what you study?	18 3 14 63 1 1	34 3 27 22 13 1	27 1 34 33 1 4	34 3 53 9 1 0	37 6 33 20 4 0	0 0 21 79 0 0	27 3 30 36 3 1

SECTION IV. MATTERS OF RELATIVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG
GROUPS OF SAIGON SCHOOLGIRLS

(continued)

	Group: Number:	G.L. 193	H.D. 90	C.T. 254	C.P.L. 99	S.M. 98	G.S. 24	Total 763
4.	If you go out too often, especially in the evenings, who will tell you to stay at home and study?	15%	16%	13%	19%	10%	8%	14%
	a) Father	26	52	25	16	28	33	28
	b) Mother	45	29	52	62	58	42	49
	c) Both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	d) Yourself	5	2	6	2	4	5	5
	e) Someone else	9	1	4	1	0	12	4
	f) No answer							
8.;	If you go to the movies or visit relatives in your leisure time, with whom do you generally go?	7	2	7	11	6	4	7
	a) Father	28	29	23	36	42	12	30
	b) Mother	25	23	36	44	35	38	33
	c) Both	1	24	0	0	0	0	3
	d) Yourself	37	16	24	8	16	33	24
	e) Someone else	2	1	5	1	1	3	3
	f) No answer	47	41	63	91	70	50	61
9.	If you had to run your family now, would you run it as your mother does or would you change from her way?	43	43	11	8	13	38	24
	Yes	10	16	24	1	7	12	15
	No							
	No answer							