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## Domestic Works Patterns in Urban China as related to Traditional Ideology, Sex Segregation in the Labor Force, and Educational Attainment

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DOMESTIC WORK PATTERNS IN URBAN CHINA  
AS RELATED TO TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGY, SEX SEGREGATION IN  
THE LABOR FORCE, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

A thesis

Presented to the  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
and the  
Faculty of the Graduate College  
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Yong Li

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree (Master of Arts), University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the issue of domestic work in urban China as related to sex segregation in the labor market and traditional gender ideology. The data suggest that the unequal situation in the household is closely related to the above two factors, especially the first one.

Sex segregation in the labor force can be characterized by three features. As in most other countries, Chinese women are under-represented in many high-priority, prestigious occupations and heavily concentrated in other, lower status, lower paying occupations.

Furthermore, although women only hold one-third of the positions in the state-owned enterprises, they account for half of the work force in the collective enterprises, which do not have most of the benefits and privileges that state-owned ones do. Lastly, with China's rapid economic development in recent years, sex segregation in the labor force has been worsened. Enterprises, driven by profit motive, increasingly discriminate against women, even female college graduates.

Sex segregation in the labor force is closely connected to men's and women's different educational levels. Higher levels of education tend to help more in obtaining a higher position. Women, with average lower levels of education, are more likely to remain the lower positions in the work force.

Traditional gender ideology, though not as openly and overwhelmingly present in people's mind as it used to be, is

still affecting people's domestic work behavior. In the families of those who think that a wife should have a greater responsibilities for domestic work, the work is more likely to be done by the wife alone and less likely to be done by the husband alone or by shared efforts of both husband and wife.

It is also reflected in husbands' and wives' attitudes toward each other's jobs. In the families of those who think that the husband's career is more valuable than the wife's, the domestic work is much more likely to be done by the wife alone, instead of by shared efforts, and vice versa.

Women, who hold lower positions in the work place, such as factory workers, service workers, or government workers, are more likely to take a larger share of domestic work than those who hold a higher position, such as officials in the work place or educational professionals. Sex segregation does play a role in the domestic work patterns at home.

All those factors help to explain the unequal situation in domestic sharing pattern at home. Women, with lower levels of education, lower relative position in the work place, a less valuable career, and lesser financial contribution, are stated to take over more of the family responsibilities.

There have been dramatic improvements. At least people are more likely to "say" in the equalitarian way, though they are still not acting likewise. If women will be given more education opportunities and therefore more employment opportunities, the situation will get much better.

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## CHAPTER ONE: STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this thesis, I will focus on domestic labor sharing in contemporary urban China. Inequality of men's and women's contribution to domestic labor still appears to exist among urban couples. This situation may be related to sex segregation in the labor force and traditional gender ideology.

Although a similar situation also exists in rural areas, urban and rural China are so different from each other that each needs special attention and analysis. There are two reasons why I have chosen urban areas. One is that the variation in education, employment characteristics, and occupational opportunities which are expected to be strongly related to domestic issues are greater in urban areas. The other is that the government's efforts to promote female employment have been mainly directed at urban women, so may have brought about greater domestic changes in urban settings.

### Women's Roles in Traditional and Contemporary China

In traditional China, a woman's role was basically housekeeping and child care. She did not participate in the labor force outside the home; that would be considered shameful by the society. Given women's total subordination, there was no conflict about the division of domestic labor. The division was quite simple: women were responsible for work



inside the house and men were responsible for work outside the house.

However, in recent decades, the situation in China has undergone great change. Women are urged by the government to participate in the outside world in both the productive process and social activities. Women's ideology is also changing. Nowadays, staying at home becomes a shame and an indication of lagging behind the times. About ninety percent of Chinese urban women are now engaged in either full-time or part-time employment.

This great change is largely due to the social policies of the government. When the Communist party came to power in 1949, there began a movement to drive women from inside the house to outside the house. One of the major goals of the government, as a revolution, is to mobilize the entire population, including both men and women, to the economic and social construction of the country. The party believes that women's direct emancipation from the limitation of housework is the only road to equality between men and women. Women's liberation from housework is thought to be an important part of the process of revolution. To build a society with equality for both men and women, the government applied Engels' family theory as its base.

The emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible and must remain so as long as women are

excluded from socially productive work and restricted to housework. The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large, social scale, and when domestic duties require their attention to a minor degree. (Engels 1970: 158)

Therefore, to accomplish this goal, women all over the country are encouraged to go out of family and to participate in the labor force and social activities. They are consistently urged by the government to reflect upon the earlier oppressive past and to develop a new outlook for their position in the new society. Based on Mao's famous adage that women support half the sky, the All-China Women's Federation has declared that

the central task of the women's movement today is to mobilize and organize women throughout the country in China's socialist modernization drive, and at the same time, in further developing their own capabilities and for equal rights in this great cause. (Yao 1983)

As a consequence, nowadays most women have a job and have the desire to participate; they take work as one of the central matters in their lives. Now, in the cities and towns of China, there are only a limited number of women not engaged in full-time waged labor. About ninety percent of all urban women are employed either full-time or part-time. The remaining ten percent are the elderly, the retired, the disabled, and those currently unemployed. (Croll 1983a:43) Based on recent changes, the number of those waiting for job

assignments is largely shrinking. Right now the government urges people to find a job in their own ways and a substantial number of them have succeeded in getting a job for themselves.

Nevertheless, traditional sexual ideology, under the influence of Confucianism, which has prevailed in China for thousands of years, has not changed in accordance with this rapid shift of women from inside to outside the home. Women's most basic task is still to serve their husbands and sons. Therefore, there has developed a fundamental conflict between social change and the traditional ideology. As a consequence, women themselves become the "victims" of the conflict.

Through the interpretation of data concerning this issue, although data on Chinese women is very scarce due to various reasons, I will analyze this "stalled revolution". I will try to assess the issue in the perspective of social structure and culture.

#### Review of the Literature: Domestic Labor-Sharing in U.S. and China

Before developing my proposed study of the domestic labor situation in China, I first reviewed a series of researches done on this subject, specifically researches on Chinese women or those which can be applied to women generally. The following are what I have found.

Long ago, Engels had recognized the inequality in the

treatment of women's domestic labor, thinking that women's household work was part of the capitalist class structure.

Women working as wives and mothers, even though they are not paid for their labor, are a crucial part of the reproduction of the labor force, without which the wage laborers necessary for the capitalist economy would not exist. (Collins 1985:79)

Despite the extreme inequality between men and women in his time, Engels has pointed out that women's work as wives and mothers should be regarded as of the same value as their husbands' and sons'. However, this type of labor has long been devalued and neglected. In the modern era, with women's shifting from inside to outside the house, the situation becomes even more complicated.

Among the research work about the American couples, I paid special attention to that of Arlie Hochschild. She has conducted a ten-year qualitative study of the division of domestic labor in the U.S. and introduces her theory in The Second Shift (Hochschild 1989).

According to Hochschild, American couples can be divided into three categories according to their different gender strategies. Gender strategies are a combination of ideology (a set of beliefs about men and women), feelings, and external pressures.

Hochschild identifies three gender ideologies. The traditional type of couple thinks that men's jobs are far more

important than women's and women should be solely responsible for housework and child care. The transitional type holds that both women's and men's work are important, but men's work should have priority, so women should have greater responsibility at home. The equalitarian type thinks that both women's and men's work are equally important, so couples should share the housework and child care equally.

Out of these three types of gender ideologies, there have developed three types of tensions within marriage. One is the tension of "one forward, and one behind", which indicates the contradiction between women's fast changing and men's lagging behind the tendency. In this tension, the most obvious phenomenon is scarcity in the economy of gratitude, which means that both think they did not receive the gratitude that they have expected in the exchange of thanks for each other's contribution to the family.

Another type of tension is "both behind the times", which reflects the contradiction between the couple's ideals and their economic reality, although husband and wife have the same gender ideology that men's work is far more important than women's.

The last is the tension between women who have become like traditional men and men who have remained the same. In this case, either both share the housework equally or both try to reduce their needs overall.

Then Hochschild introduces to us the concept of "stalled revolution". When women began to move into the industrial economy, established a new basis of identity, and participated in new value system, a new revolution began. It is a further advancement of the industrial revolution. However, while women are changing fast, society, tradition, and men are still lagging behind. As a result, there has appeared a conflict between the rapid change of women and the lagging-behind of men, between the fast change outside the house and the delayed change inside the house. The revolution is stalled. Thus, women become double-job workers, with housework and child care as their second shift.

Other research on U.S. families also found women to be assuming the greater time share and responsibility for domestic work. Based on their analysis of a 1974-75 national sample of survey respondents, Gove and Geerken (1977) found that "while wives spend the most time on housework, husbands take somewhat more of the responsibility in households with working wives and educated husbands." However, there is "a lag in the role allocation between the market and the home: women have moved into the work force, but husbands have not picked up much of the slack at home" (Menaghan and Parcel 1991:365, reviewing Gove and Geerken 1977).

Pleck (1984), another researcher, has identified two mechanisms that buffer work-family conflict. The first is sex

segregation in both the occupational sphere and the home sphere, such that changes in work roles for women do not occur at the expense of men ( although the reverse may not be true ). The second is asymmetrical effects of work and family roles, with family being allowed to intrude into work life for women, and work being allowed to intrude into family for men (cited in Menaghan and Parcel 1991:369).

In her study, Glenna Spitze also points out that "husbands of employed women spend little or no more time in housework than husbands of nonemployed women". "This results in a longer total work week ... and less leisure ... for employed women than men" (Spitze 1991:386). Berardo agrees with the above view by stating that "clearly, employed wives and mothers still bear major responsibility for housework and frequently compromise their own aspirations to accommodate family needs and husbands' careers" (Berardo 1991:8).

Various research on Chinese family has also found contradictions between economic and social progress and domestic change. Elizabeth Croll, while agreeing with the view that " only the broader economic, social and political transformations that have occurred in China have made the unquestionable changes in the lives of women in China possible", also points out "the very real problems which continue to face women in China today: equal pay for equal work, full representation in leadership groups, and the

breaking down of traditional role differentiation in the domestic and public spheres" (Croll 1978).

Kay Johnson assesses this conflict in the perspective of the relationship between cultural-social change and economic change. She also assesses this issue as related to different policies during different periods. "Whether male supremacist ideology and patriarchal family and marriage practices should be treated primarily as dependent or independent variables in the processes of social and economic change reflected different policy choices and levels of priorities for 'women's issues'" (Johnson 1976).

Judith Stacey evaluates this issue in terms of the relationship between socialism and patriarchy in China (Stacey 1983). She thinks that the reason that socialism has not liberated women is because the socialist mode of production is compatible with the patriarchal sex-gender system. "We have seen that a patriarchal family economy and patriarchal consciousness can even serve to facilitate the construction of a social society .... In such a setting socialism can reform and reconstruct a besieged patriarchal order so that it comes to rest on new and firmer joists" (1983:19).

She points out several basic reasons for such failure. First, a socialist society provides a very weak basis for the development of a feminist movement that is strong enough to play an independent role in the revolutionary process. The



second source of such failure lies in the inadequacy of socialist theory. Socialist revolutionaries have adapted Marxism as their theoretical foundation. However, marxism is inherently limited in its capacity to theorize the sources of female subordination. A third reason is Confucianism in China, which advocates male domination, provides a strong cultural barrier to any change in the patriarchal social structure. Therefore, under the combination of the three distinct patriarchal orders - the new-democratic patriarchy, patriarchal-socialism, and Confucianism, "authority of men over women is closely tied to the rights and responsibilities of social fatherhood which include strong elements of control over female productive and reproductive activity within a patriarchal established family economy" (1983:220).

## CHAPTER TWO: THE STALLED REVOLUTION IN CHINA

As I stated earlier, the Chinese government is trying to use women's participation in employment as a vehicle to attain the complete equality between men and women. Has the government succeed in this goal? I have serious doubts about it. After reviewing the literature, my doubts become even stronger.

Therefore, I arrived at the theoretical hypothesis that although women in China have a very high percentage of participation in the labor force (about ninety percent), inequality still largely exists in the division of domestic labor. Women's participation in the labor force did not succeed as a vehicle for the real equality of women both outside and inside the home. Instead, ironically, by participating in the labor force, women bear the heavier burden of double shifts - as a waged laborer outside and as a wife and mother inside the house.

### Underdevelopment of Domestic Labor in China

Before I state the two major proposed reasons that I think are largely responsible for the unequal situation, I would like to first mention the unique or underdeveloped nature of domestic labor in China as compared with Western countries, which has unfavorably affected the current situation. Things are more difficult for Chinese women because they do not have

modern conveniences as in the Western countries, such as, the supermarket. In China, the food items that a family needs are scattered in different places. Rice, noodles, and flour are available at the grain store; soy sauce, oil, pickled vegetables, eggs are at a sauce shop; vegetables, meat, and fish are at the free market or state-owned stores. To get all these items takes an incredibly long time, and one can never be sure of getting all of them at one time. Besides, gas cooking facilities are not available everywhere; it is more time-consuming to use coal or other fuels. There is also the tradition of buying fresh vegetables every day. The fact that not every household can afford expensive ready-made food worsens the situation.

Therefore, without modern conveniences, for either women or men, to varying extent, running the household becomes a battle each day. On week days, they might spend three or four hours on the housework, while weekends, (only Sundays in China), are always devoted to housework entirely, as a survey describes:

The original idea behind Sundays, of was that they should be mainly for rest and recreational activities. But in some Chinese cities, Sunday has become "housework day", with men spending 6 to 8 hours, and women as many as 8 to 9 hours. For many workers, Sunday housework is an all-day affair - washing the week's laundry, cleaning out storage spaces and vegetable cellars, lining up at the grain store to stock up for the week, running around town to line up to buy those hard-to-get items or to take care of other chores which have been put off too

long. The common saying "uptight Saturdays, fighting Sundays, and exhausted Mondays" gives a pretty picture of the situation (Honig and Hershalter 1988).

Under such pressure, the division of domestic labor will surely be a crucial issue for the family. Unfortunately, the general tendency is toward the traditional, or may be a little transitional, type of domestic labor sharing. Under the influence of traditional gender ideology, women, in large part, become the victims of the pressure.

#### Traditional Gender Ideology

Therefore, the first reason for the unequal situation is the prevailing traditional gender ideology--the ideology of male supremacy which comes from the ancient Confucianism. Here, history is worth mentioning. In ancient times, the whole Chinese social and economic structure was built on the network of extended family organization. Kinship relationships are the very basic unit of traditional Chinese society, not the individual person. Economically, the family served as the major unit of production and consumption; politically, it served as the basic unit in the machine of the state; and educationally, family also served to prepare every generation with traditional norms and values. To achieve all the above functions, marriage, as the very base of each family, served only as an instrument for the perpetuation of the family line

through its male members.

Therefore, "a husband and wife form union whose importance in Chinese society revolves not around the affection, intimacy, and personal gratifications of the marriage couple, but upon considerations having to do with the functions of the family as a vehicle for the perpetuation of lineage and for the worship and propitiation of the spirits of departed ancestors" (Queen and Habenstein 1974:98). In a word, the Chinese family "assumed and maintained a typical form: patriarchal, patrilineal, patrilocal, extended, located within the broader social organizational forms of clan and sib, and integrated within a system of ethic-religious beliefs centering around ancestor worship" (1974:97).

The very base of this practice is traditional Confucianism, which has ruled the spirit of the Chinese for thousands of years. Even today, when modern Western thought is gradually being accepted by the Chinese, deep down, Confucianism is still dominant. "A person should sacrifice his or her own human desire in order to keep the universal morality" is one of the very basic principles of Confucianism. The traditional gender ideology that women are born inferior to men is closely related to this principle. "Confucianism clearly defines a hierarchy in society and within family. Women are at the bottom in this hierarchy, required to obey their fathers before marriage, their husbands after marriage,

and their sons after their husbands die" (Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990:1).

In China's long history of feudalism, male domination prevailed both outside and inside the family. Feudalistic economic structure which focused on the male was the basic foundation of this society. At that time, women were limited to the inside of the family. They were separated from social production and lacked independent economic ability. Without financial independence, women therefore had no social and political independence. Then, the logic continued naturally that since women depended on men for a living, then they deserved to be dominated by men, and obeying men's willing and orders was their duty. Upon entering her husband's family, the women began her total service and obedience for the family. Only male has the power, authority, respect, and rights.

Based on the principle of sacrificing one's own interest to satisfy the universal morality, the harmony within a family depended upon the complete obedience and subordination of women to the interests and will of their men. Since women are born inferior to men, then naturally they should sacrifice themselves for the harmony of their family. This sacrifice is, furthermore, considered their natural duty, and they are born deserving it. Housework and child care are one of their natural duties.

Even today, when women have made considerable progress in

equality with men outside the family, that is, economic and financial independence, they still have to face the traditional male supremacist ideology inside their family. Cultural changes have been postponed, lagging behind economic changes. This phenomenon is just opposite of what the government had expected at the beginning of the revolution. As I mentioned above, one of the major goals of socialist revolution is to emancipate women from traditional forms of oppression by encouraging them to participate in the outside labor force, therefore, to achieve equality between men and women.

However, economic and social changes did not succeed in bringing about cultural changes in China. Traditional cultural attitudes still persisted in spite of the tremendous social and economic change. It not only caused the problems of contradiction between outside labor and inside domestic labor division, therefore the problem of the "second shift", but also hinders women's further participation in the labor force, therefore hinders the further progress both economically and socially. As Kay Johnson said above, the interrelationship between social, cultural, and economic change makes the situation complex and multifaceted.

#### Women's Labor Force Participation:

The second reason for the stalled domestic revolution, the

discrimination toward women's participation in the labor force, is intimately related to the above reason. Some important features should be mentioned about women's participation in the labor force in China. The first is that the sexual division of labor is very obviously based on the assumption that women can not do certain types of labor because of their physiological characteristics. As a result, they are under represented in many occupations, while heavily concentrated in others. Very few women participated in heavy industry, while light industries, such as textile, weaving, etc, are crowded with women workers. As previous research shows, as the type of industries moves from light to heavy, the percentage of female workers decreases; and as the technology goes from lower to higher, the percentage of women workers also declines. Further up the social ladder of prestige and status, women are fewer than men. Women's representation in those careers which require higher skills or technologies, as well as in government and party organizations which represent power and prestige, is very low (Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990).

Educational levels are directly related to a woman's employment status. Higher education increases the probability that women will be employed rather than doing household work. It also increases the probability for a woman to become a professional, an organizational or enterprise's head, or an



administrative worker instead of being either a commerce and service or industrial worker. "A junior high education significantly increases the probability of being employed, a senior high degree has an even larger positive effect, and a university education has the largest effect" (Bauer, Wang and Zhao 1990:11). However, fewer females than males continue from primary to junior high school and even fewer females continue from high school to college.

In education in China as elsewhere, the numbers of women employed decrease as the educational level becomes higher so that only 26% of associate and assistant professors and lecturers at college level were women. In science and engineering and other technical occupations only a third of the four million workers are women. Similarly only a third of the government workers are women and there are even fewer women in the higher echelons of government and managerial positions (Croll 1983a).

However, in medicine, health, and in most levels of education, especially primary and high schools, about half of the workers are women, since women are believed to be particularly dexterous, attentive and patient. In conclusion, the industries where women workers constitute the majority are always considered less valuable than those where men workers form the majority, and therefore are low-paid, even in medicine. It is interesting to note that doctors in China, half of whom are women, are socially considered far less honorable than those in U.S. The "valuable" and high-paid

industries are always largely filled with male workers.

Furthermore, within the same industry, women are also much less likely to get higher positions, which means less pay, lower prestige, and being under the authority of their male colleagues. Women tend to suffer two disadvantages. They are less educated, and they retire at an earlier age than men. The percentage of female officials is so low that those rare female officials are always used by the government as propaganda to show its achievements in equality between men and women.

Another important feature of women's participation in labor force is that a majority of them work in the cooperative enterprises. This feature has a very important relationship to the domestic labor division. In China, cooperative enterprises are basically small street or neighborhood factories that are based on low capital investment. They are labor intensive and are collectively owned by the workers. This sector in the urban economy is always considered a supplement to the state-owned enterprises, producing small and supplementary parts for the state-owned factories. But, they are low-prestige jobs. Men working in those enterprises are always hard pressed to find girls willing to marry them.

Compared with the collectives, benefits and working conditions are generally better in the state-owned enterprises. The state enterprises tend to be larger, more

capital intensive, and enjoy financial subsidies from the government and receive preferential access to credit and raw materials. Benefits for staff and workers in state enterprises include housing, vacations, nurseries, non-staple food subsidies, medical insurance, sick leave, and retirement benefits. However, positions in those state enterprises are dominated by men. In 1987, only a third of the staff and workers in state enterprises were women. However, they accounted for nearly half of the work force in the collectives, because many collectives were organized in the 1960s and 1970s by the government to generate female employment.

The advantage of those small neighborhood industries is that they offer flexible hours and a convenient working place for the women outside the household, usually within walking distance. They do not require much skill and can make use of women's traditional domestic skills such as sewing, knitting, embroidery, and other light jobs. In this way, women can both work easily and take care of their houses.

The disadvantage of these jobs is that they do not offer as many benefits for the woman as those state-owned enterprises do, benefits such as a child care system, free medical care, maternal leave with pay, housing facilities, etc. They are also not as secure as the state-owned factory jobs, since cooperatives have to be responsible for the profit

and loss of the enterprises themselves. In the past, they were low-paid too, while now with the beginning of reform, some of those collective enterprises make much more profit than those state enterprises.

In the past few years, several protests and strikes have taken place held by female collective workers to express their complaints about unequal treatment. The most famous and biggest one happened in 1992. Several hundred women collective workers of the Capital Steel Co., the giant state-owned steel cooperation in China, held a strike against the corporation management. Those women are all wives of the formal workers of this corporation. When the corporation hired their husbands as formal workers, it also hired them as informal workers, to work in the collective sub-factories under the corporation. This means that they work as their husbands do, but, without the benefits that their husbands enjoy, like house-assignments, medical care, and they have lower pays. They swallowed this treatment. However, after years serving in the corporation, when they retired, they were told that they could not get any retirement pensions as their husbands did. This made them outraged and they held the protest. The management told them that this was the rule set for them when they started to work in the company and there was no way to settle this. This protest is still unsettled.

With the rapid economic development of recent years, women

are encountering more serious discrimination in the labor market. Women, either with or without a degree, are facing greater difficulty in getting a job. Economic reform may create more problems than opportunities for women. People began to fear that the enterprise reforms, which strengthen profit motives, and the relaxation of the state labor allocation system, may have increased discrimination against women.

Social discrimination toward women in the labor force is intimately involved with the unequal tendency in domestic labor division at home. Wherever the industry is crowded with women workers, that industry is devalued, both economically and socially, although everybody admits that the industry is indispensable -- salespeople in the stores, workers in the child care center, teachers in the primary schools, nurses in the hospitals, etc.

That is a socially determined dilemma. In whatever sector women compose the larger part of the labor force, that work is not considered important; where the work is not important, women are sent there to work. Since women's work is socially considered not to be as valuable as that of their husbands', the logic goes on, naturally, that the wives should do more of the housework. Unimportant things should always be sacrificed for important things. Since the jobs of women in these small cooperative enterprises are low-paid, low-prestige, and not so

important; since they do not have child care facilities; and since they have flexible hours and convenient working place, of course women should be responsible for the housework and child care instead of their husbands who work in the important state-owned enterprises.

In conclusion, the second shift problem, traditional gender ideology, and discrimination against women in the work place are fundamentally interrelated. On one hand, as women's work is not as valuable as men's, women should take care of the house and the child. On the other hand, since women are burdened with housework and child care, better-paid and more prestigious enterprises are not willing to hire them because they think that the housework and child care will affect their work efficiency.

### CHAPTER THREE: HYPOTHESIS AND DATA COLLECTION

In my proposed research, I will investigate the current state of the domestic division of labor among urban Chinese couples. My general hypothesis is that although women in China compose a very high percentage of the labor force, the domestic labor division is still overwhelmingly unequal. The domestic revolution is stalled in China. More specifically, I hypothesize that under the combined influence of traditional gender ideology and discrimination against women in the work place, the wife of a household does a larger percentage of domestic duties than the husband of a household, despite the fact that both of them are full-time wage-laborers.

This study examines the relationship between women's share of domestic labor and these two factors thought to be responsible for the stalled revolution in China: traditional gender ideology and discrimination toward women in work place. I have two ways to collect the data. First, I will use the existing data on domestic division of labor in China (presented in Chapter Four). Secondly I have mailed survey questionnaires to China and done a small scale survey at Mianyang city of Sichuan Province (presented in Chapter Five).

#### Existing Data

I found most of the existing data when I was doing the literature review. The large substance of the existing data

that I found useful and meaningful is the one percent population survey of China of 1987. I will also use some data that Elizabeth Croll has presented. They can provide a broad macro-level picture as a background of my study.

### Survey

Through a mailed survey, I can get more up-to-date data on domestic issues. The population to be represented by the survey is urban working women and men, so I will limit my subjects under study to those urban wives and husbands who are full-time wage-laborers.

Mianyang is a middle-sized, industrial city with five million population. The sample size is a convenience sample of 281. I mailed my typed questionnaires to my family, asking them to send them out, collect them, and send the answered questionnaires back to me to analyze. Basically, my family sent the questionnaires to the parents of students of several primary schools, middle school, and high schools in the area. Since all schools in China are public schools and there is no social or economic status associated with different schools, the parents of the students should come from roughly different work place and be at various social and economic levels. The time that the survey took place was approximately two months and a half during the summer of 1993. The questionnaire is included as Appendix 1 of this thesis.



My family helped me to mail out 300 questionnaires, and 281 were returned; the response rate is 93.7 percent. The Survey included only focused on married couples. 152 (54.1 percent) of the respondents were male and 129 (45.9 percent) were female. Since there were more male respondents than female ones, therefore, I will mainly use percentages rather than absolute numbers to avoid the risk of bias. The age range of the respondents is between 25 and 56. But the majority are between 36 and 50. More detail on the sample will be provided as part of the analysis in Chapter Five.

After the survey results were received, I did coding, and statistical analysis using the SPSS program. Since the majority of my variables are measured at either nominal or ordinal levels of measurement, I mainly focused on Chi-Square analysis to test independence or association between. I first analyzed the descriptive data on usual domestic responsibilities, and then did the statistical analysis on the relationship between wife's and husband's share of domestic labor and indicators of gender ideology and discrimination toward women in the work place.

CHAPTER FOUR: MACRO-LEVEL DATA ON WOMEN AND WORK IN CHINA

There are already existing data on employment and domestic work which provide some macro level descriptions of women's position in the labor force; sex segregation in education, which is closely related to sex segregation in the labor market; and the unequal domestic sharing patterns.

Occupational Segregation:

As the type of industry moves from light to heavy, as the technology goes from lower to higher, and as the educational level moves from lower to higher, the percentage of women in an industry declines (See Tables I and II). Therefore, the higher paid and more valuable industries are always mainly constituted by male workers.

Table I. Women Workers in Industry, 1982

Type of Industry	Percentage of industry workers who are women
Cotton Textile, Finance and Trade	60
Light Industry, Instruments and Meters	50
Post and Telecommunications, Chemical Industry, Banking, Petroleum, Heavy-duty Machinery and National Defence	30
Agriculture and Forestry	40
Railway Communications, Geology and Civil Construction	20
Coal Mining	18
Metallurgy	14

Source: Women of China, May 1982:8. Quoted from Chinese Women Since Mao by Elizabeth Croll, 1983.

Table II. Allocation of Women to Industry

Industry	Percentage of Women in Allocated Workers
Textile Industries	90
Medical Departments	80
Commerce and Industry	70
Light Industry and Handicrafts	60
Electrical and Electronics Industry	50

Source: "Equal Opportunities for Women", China Reconstructs, March 1982:23. Quoted from Chinese Women Since Mao by Elizabeth Croll, 1983.

Some more up-to-date data, which is based on China's 1987 One Percent Population Survey and China Statistical Yearbook can illustrate the sex segregation issue more clearly. Table III shows the sectoral sex composition of employment and the relative annual wages by those sectors. The table tells us that in 1987, among the workers in state-owned enterprises and collectives, employment still varies by gender. Women are more highly concentrated in industry, commerce, and public health. men heavily dominate employment in construction and transportation, which are the two sectors that enjoy relative higher wages than ones women are crowded into. Men also hold a very large share of the employment in government and party organizations, which represent not only power and privileges, but also relative higher wages.

Table III. Distribution of Male and Female Employment across Economic Sectors, Sex Ratio, and Relative Annual Wages\* for Staff and Workers\*\*: 1987

Sector	Male Employment	Female Employment	Relative Wage
Agriculture	6.5%	6.3%	0.80
Industry	42.3	50.2	1.01
Construction	9.3	4.2	1.16
Transportation/ Communication	7.2	3.8	1.14
Commerce	11.2	14.8	0.88
Public Health	2.1	3.9	0.99
Education	8.2	7.8	0.97
Government/Party Organizations	7.8	3.3	1.01
Other***	5.4	5.7	N.A.
Total	100.0%	100.0%	

\* Annual wage in sector relative to that for staff and workers in all sectors.

\*\* Includes employment in state-owned enterprises, collectives in cities and towns and, various jointly-owned enterprises. Excluded are collective and individual laborers in rural areas and individual workers in cities and towns.

\*\*\* Includes geological prospecting, real estate, utilities, scientific research, banking and insurance.

Source: China Statistical Yearbook 1988. Quoted from Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990.

Table IV presents the occupational composition of non-agriculture employment for males and females in urban China in greater detail. When one looks at the first category in the table, "Professional and Technical", one might be encouraged by the percentage of women, 50.2. However, if one looks a little bit more carefully, one can find that it has hidden information. Women in this category are largely concentrated

in three groups: health and medical staff which includes nurses; accountants, secretaries, clerks, other white collar workers; and teachers. Most of these are low-status and low-pay careers. The next category, "Heads of Government / Party Organizations and Enterprises", one of very high status, is monopolized by men. Women only hold 14.2 percent of the positions. The next category, "Administrative and Political / Security Staff", is also one which enjoys power and influence. One-third of workers in this category are women, which should be an encouraging sign. However, a closer look will find that the biggest group in this category is "Postal and other", which is 57.2 percent for women, while only 19.4 percent of political and security staff are female.

Women are more heavily concentrated than men in the next two categories, Commerce and Service. Twelve percent of female nonagricultural employment is in commerce and over 12 percent is in services, as compared to 8 percent and 7 percent for men respectively. Again, we see that the biggest group here is "Sales", which is 62.5 percent female. Fewer women have higher positions such as in purchasing and procurement.

Last, women make up a smaller percentage of workers in industry, transportation, and construction. While higher priority jobs such as sector chiefs are dominated by males, women are more heavily concentrated in lower priority and tedious jobs like testing and measuring, textiles and apparel.

Table IV. Occupational Composition of Non-agricultural Employment: Urban China, 1987

Occupation	Male Employment Distribution(%)	Female Distribution Distribution(%)	% Female
I. Professional & Technical	13.0%	19.0%	50.2%
Scientific & technical staff	3.3	1.4	22.4
Health & medical staff	1.4	3.4	62.8
Accounting, clerks, secretaries & other white-collar workers	4.2	8.2	57.2
Law	0.2	0.1	21.2
Teaching	3.2	5.0	51.9
Arts, culture, religion	0.6	0.9	48.7
II. Heads of Government/Party Organizations and Enterprises	10.0	2.4	14.2
Government	1.3	0.3	13.0
Party	1.8	0.6	19.3
Enterprises	6.9	1.5	13.0
III. Administrative and Political/Security Staff	7.0	4.8	32.0
Administrative staff	4.1	2.9	32.8
Staff for political and security affairs	2.3	0.8	19.4
Postal and other	0.6	1.1	57.2
IV. Commerce	8.1	12.0	50.6
Sales	4.5	10.9	62.5
Purchasing, procurement	3.6	1.1	17.0
V. Service Workers	6.8	12.5	55.9
VI. Workers in Industry, Transport, and Related Activities	52.2	44.4	37.0
Section chiefs	0.6	0.1	8.9
Manufacturing & operation of machine tools	5.4	3.8	32.8
Plumbers, welders	2.7	1.4	26.3
Operator of power/loading/transport equipment	11.3	2.7	14.1
Inspection, testing, measuring	1.2	4.0	68.7
Mining	3.0	0.7	14.4
Metals	2.3	1.4	30.5
Chemicals	0.8	1.2	51.7
Rubber and plastics	0.5	1.5	67.7
Textiles, leather, apparel	2.4	12.7	78.9
Food and tobacco	1.6	2.2	49.1
Wood and paper	4.1	2.0	24.5
Printing	0.5	1.2	63.7
Machine assembly	3.6	1.2	18.9
Electronics	3.6	2.6	33.1
Construction	5.2	1.5	16.7
VII. Workers Not Classified	2.9	5.0	54.2

Source: 1987 One Percent Sample Survey. Quoted from Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990.

As for women's employment status by type of enterprise, we can find out from Table V. It is clear that positions in the

state-owned enterprises are dominated by men. In 1987, only one-third of the staff and workers in state-owned enterprises were women. However, we need to admit that there have been some small improvements for women, with a slight increase from 31.5 percent to 33.2 percent in state enterprises from 1981 to 1987, as well as a slight decrease from 50.6 percent to 46.8 percent in the collectives from 1981 to 1987.

Table V. Employment by Type of Enterprise in Urban Area:  
1987, 1985, 1981.

	Total Labor Force	State- owned Units	Staff & Workers Collective Units in Cities & Towns	Other Joint Units	Individual Laborers in Cities & Towns
<u>1987</u>					
% of Non-rural Employment	100.0%	70.0%	25.3%	0.5%	4.1%
% of Female Employment	N.A.	33.2	46.8	48.8	N.A.
<u>1985</u>					
% of Non-rural Employment	100.0	70.7	26.2	0.3	2.8
% of Female Employment	N.A.	32.4	47.2	46.4	N.A.
<u>1981</u>					
% of Non-rural Employment	100.0	75.7	19.1	--	1.0
% of female Employment	N.A.	31.5	50.6	--	N.A.

Source: China Statistical Yearbook 1988, China Statistical Yearbook 1986, Statistical Yearbook of China 1983.  
Quoted from Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990.

Educational Attainment:

As I said in the previous chapter, women's positions in the labor force are largely determined by their educational levels. Higher educational levels do help them to achieve a higher status, while sex differences in educational attainment can help to explain their unfavorable situation in the labor market.

Although the past decades have witnessed great improvements in educational enrollments and attainments, especially at the primary and secondary level, which is clearly shown in Table VI, women still remain on the disadvantaged side. From primary to junior high to senior high to university, the sex ratio is definitely increasing. Compared with men, fewer women finish primary school, fewer yet continue to junior high, and many fewer continue from senior high to university (Table VII). Continuation of education at the young adult level, likely to represent advanced degree study, is much more characteristic of males, especially at age 25 (Table VIII).



Table VI. Educational Attainment by Sex: Urban China: 1987  
(hundreds)

Age	Male	Female	Ratio (M/F)
		<u>University</u>	
15-19	18	85	0.21
20-24	5,580	3,383	1.65
25-29	5,595	2,699	2.07
30-34	6,777	2,966	2.28
35-39	5,573	2,240	2.49
40-44	5,436	2,273	2.39
45+	18,368	6,245	2.94
		<u>Senior High</u>	
15-19	41,603	38,103	1.09
20-24	59,462	56,277	1.06
25-29	58,550	51,572	1.14
30-34	39,678	28,395	1.40
35-39	16,002	10,187	1.57
40-44	12,979	9,690	1.34
45+	34,926	14,199	2.46
		<u>Junior High</u>	
15-19	116,984	101,631	1.15
20-24	115,387	102,866	1.12
25-29	65,717	51,969	1.26
30-34	80,247	60,062	1.34
35-39	56,605	38,954	1.45
40-44	35,417	22,640	1.56
45+	78,984	29,359	2.69
		<u>Primary</u>	
15-19	55,676	63,644	0.87
20-24	39,482	47,342	0.83
25-29	24,543	32,058	0.77
30-34	50,295	53,497	0.94
35-39	56,483	52,886	1.07
40-44	43,296	36,793	1.18
45+	177,300	91,069	1.95
		<u>Illiterate</u>	
			Ratio (F/M)
15-19	5,016	12,459	2.48
20-24	4,524	15,821	3.50
25-29	4,766	18,569	3.90
30-34	9,407	35,431	3.77
35-39	9,427	31,411	3.33
40-44	8,937	27,159	3.04
45+	126,208	286,999	2.27

Source: 1987 One Percent Population Sample Survey. Quoted from Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990.

Table VII. Participation of Female in Education: 1980

Educational Institution	% of Women Attending
Primary School	50%
Middle School	40
Technical School	42
Spare-time College and Technical School	30
Trade Union Vocational School	27
Short-term Training Courses	30
College and University	30
% of Women among Those Officially Classified as Illiterate	80

Source: Chinese Women Since Mao, by Elizabeth Croll, 1983:46.

Table VIII. Proportion of Population Currently in School, by Age and Sex: China, Urban China, 1987

Age	China			Urban China		
	Male	Female	Ratio(M/F)	Male	Female	Ratio(M/F)
15	63.70	45.46	1.40	73.09	63.64	1.15
16	45.11	32.23	1.40	54.83	47.56	1.15
17	29.21	19.02	1.54	39.56	32.85	1.20
18	18.03	11.96	1.51	27.36	22.63	1.21
19	11.40	6.73	1.69	18.35	13.87	1.32
20	6.45	3.67	1.76	12.20	7.73	1.58
21	3.85	2.41	1.60	7.54	5.35	1.41
22	1.99	1.16	1.72	3.81	2.66	1.43
23	0.93	0.60	1.55	1.91	1.34	1.43
24	0.60	0.39	1.54	1.27	0.93	1.37
25	0.65	0.22	2.95	1.77	0.48	3.69

Source: 1987 One Percent Population Sample Survey. Quoted from Bauer, Wang, and Zhao 1990

### Domestic Work

Women's disadvantage in education brings about their

disadvantage in the labor market, which is in turn closely associated with their disadvantaged status in work at home. Women, who bring fewer financial and social benefits to the family, surely have to have more family care responsibilities to make up their deficiencies, despite the fact that they are working outside the home as hard as their men are.

The data in Table IX show that when comparing the relative share of housework done by men and women in urban areas, men do only 22 percent of shopping and 3 percent of cooking, while women do 78 percent and 97 percent respectively. If we compare all household members, we find that working women do 34 percent of shopping and 31 percent of cooking, while the working men do only 6 percent of shopping and 3 percent of cooking. Women, including working women, still do overwhelmingly the larger part of domestic duties compared with men.

Table IX. Intra-Familial Distribution of Labor in Urban China, 1980

Family Member	Shopping		Cooking	
	Urban	Total	Urban	Total
Working Women	34%	36%	31%	45%
Retired Women	37	19	54	39
Working Men	6	23	3	2
Retired Men	15	11	-	1
Maid	3	1	3	1
Child	3	3	-	-
All	-	7	9	11
None	3	1	-	-
Total	101%	101%	100%	99%

Source: Based on survey of 75 households in four locations in urban China, 1980. Quoted from Chinese Women Since Mao by Elizabeth Croll, 1983.

Another survey, conducted in Beijing, also shows that the larger share of housework is done by women. While women spend an average of three hours and forty-five minutes a day on housework, men devote only two and a quarter hours to it. Altogether, it means that women spend approximately 470 more hours on housework per year than men (Honig and Hershatter 1988). This is similar to the "one extra month" that Hochschild points out in her book The Second Shift (Hochschild 1989).

The conflict between outside work and domestic labor has in large part fallen upon the shoulders of women. It is quite reasonable to conclude, based on the macro level data, that traditional type of domestic labor division is still very popular. The traditional pattern whereby women do most of

domestic duties has not been fundamentally affected by the movement of women's participation in the outside labor force.

In a society committed to the goal of women's equality, there needs to be a great effort to change this social tendency and to free women from this dilemma. Very recent survey data indicate some movement away from a sharp traditional division of domestic labor, as shown by the survey reported below:

1. How much does your husband do the housework?\*

--"Husband does most of the housework": 7.5%  
 --"In most cases, husband does the housework with wife": 39%  
 --"Husband and wife share the housework equally": 23%

2. Who is responsible for helping the child with his/her study?

-- "husband is responsible": 17.6%  
 -- "Whoever has time": 50%

3. Who is responsible for domestic economic administration?

-- "Wife is responsible": 31.3%  
 -- "Husband is responsible": 6.4%  
 -- "Husband and wife share it": 43.1%

\* This survey report is quoted from a news release in Family, therefore the data are limited by the selectiveness of the original source.

Source: Survey of Women in 57 Industries in China, 1988.  
Family. Issue 1, 1990)

Although the data presented in these chapters do not directly address the association between occupational discrimination and unequal domestic labor sharing, they

support the hypothesized patterns. They suggest that slowly, and with difficulty, the situation is heading toward equality and that domestic labor division is also turning to more transitional and equalitarian types.

The results I get from my own survey (presented in the next chapter), which looks more directly at the impact of these factors on the domestic division of labor, also takes this view. The situation is still unequal, but there is progress.

## CHAPTER FIVE: SURVEY ANALYSIS

A survey of urban Chinese married persons permits a more direct exploration of the relationship between domestic work sharing and occupational segregation and gender role ideology. It also provides descriptive data about the domestic life and domestic work of contemporary Chinese couples in an urban setting.

### General Description of the Sample

Two hundred eighty one questionnaires were returned from a convenience sample of 300 married workers in Mianyang, China; 152 males and 129 females, a majority of whom were between 30 and 50 years of age. Table X presents selected characteristics of the sample.

Table X. Selected Characteristics of the Sample: 1993

Characteristics	N	%
<u>Sex</u>		
Male	152	54.1
Female	129	45.9
<u>Age</u>		
21-30	30	11.2
31-40	103	38.5
41-50	108	40.3
51+	27	10.0
<u>Living Space</u>		
One-Bedroom w/t Bath & Kitchen	26	9.4
Two-Bedroom w/t Bath & Kitchen	101	36.6
Three-Bedroom or more	145	52.5
<u>Living Facilities</u>		
Running Water: YES	270	96.8
NO	9	3.2
Refrigerator: YES	224	80.3
NO	55	19.7
Washing Machine: YES	261	93.5
NO	18	6.5
Gas Facility: YES	221	79.2
NO	58	20.8
<u>Family Size</u>		
Total Family Members: 2	18	6.5
3	156	56.3
4	62	22.4
5+	41	14.8
Members under 7: 0	206	77.4
1	47	17.7
2+	13	4.9
Members between 8-18: 0	62	22.7
1	173	63.4
2	29	10.6
3+	9	3.3
Members over 55: 0	199	75.1
1	32	12.1
2	27	10.2
3+	7	2.6
<u>Educational Level</u>		
Primary or less	28	10.0
Junior/High School	122	43.6
Technical/Some College	54	19.3
College Degree	75	26.8
<u>Working Status</u>		
Full-time	257	91.5
Part-time	9	3.2
Retired	13	4.6
<u>Nature of Work Place</u>		
State-owned	238	84.7
Collectively owned	26	9.3
Private	8	2.8
Joint venture	3	1.1



The living space for the majority of couples is better or equal to two-bedrooms with either bathroom or kitchen. Over 90% have running water, gas, own refrigerator and washing machine.

Over half of the families have only three family members, that is, husband, wife, and their only child. Thirty-two percent of them have four or five family members. Nearly three-fourths of them do not have children under 7. But 71 percent of them have teenagers between 8 and 18. However, 70 percent of them do not have any family members over 55 living with them.

The above description has several suggestions for us. First, the majority of the respondents are middle-aged persons, who have gone through and are still experiencing the hard years of trying to balance career and family responsibilities. Secondly, the majority of the families are nuclear families, which reflects the current tendency in China. It also means that very few of them have retired elderly persons living with them to help the young couples with their family responsibilities. (The other side of the story, not the content of this study, is that there are fewer and fewer elderly persons living with their offspring and being taken care by them as it used to be in the past). Thirdly, over half of the families are influenced by the family planning policy, which means that they have only one

child.

The majority of the families have good living conditions. This is largely due to the fact that Mianyang city, which used to be a large military industry base, quickly became an industrialized modern city when those military factories become civilian-oriented enterprises. Mianyang has the country's largest television factory and the largest electronics factory. The change has greatly improved people's living conditions. It is also worth noting that this sample has a high level of education. Thirty-two percent of men and 20 percent of women are college graduates. Altogether, 51.3 percent of men and 40.2 percent of women have some post-secondary education.

Lastly, Table X shows that most workers are in the state enterprises. This is due to fact that most of Mianyang's industries are military related, which are certainly state owned. Therefore the compositions of this sample as mostly workers in state-owned enterprises limits conclusions which can be drawn from these survey data, since it is not quite possible to compare state-owned enterprise workers with collective workers.

I will first look at the general situation of domestic work participation based on the survey results.

### Who Does the Domestic Work?

From Table XI, we can see that women are still doing the majority of the work if we assume they are doing at least half of the shared work. For the "shop for food", "shop for clothing", and "washing clothing" categories, women alone are doing over half of the work. The only exceptions to the pattern of female responsibility are "take child to school" and "help child study".

Table XI. Housework Participation of Wife and Husband: 1993

Types of Work	Who Does Domestic Work		
	Wife	Husband	Share (couple)
Cook Breakfast	41.9% (116)	28.9% (80)	23.1% (64)
Cook Lunch	40.6 (114)	22.4 (63)	28.8 (81)
Cook Dinner	37.7 (106)	16.4 (46)	39.9 (112)
Shop for Food	52.3 (147)	18.9 (53)	23.1 (65)
Shop Clothing/other			
Necessities	58.4 (164)	5.0 (14)	35.9 (101)
Wash Clothing	56.2 (158)	9.3 (28)	30.6 (86)
Clean Household	45.2 (127)	7.5 (21)	42.3 (119)
Take Child School*	24.2 (50)	41.5 (86)	29.0 (60)
Help Child Study**	21.4 (54)	43.7 (110)	31.0 (78)

Chi-square = 303.96 df = 16 Significance level = 0.0001

\* In this category, the missing value is 26.3%, because those children go to school themselves.

\*\* In this category, the missing value is 10.3%, for those children who do not get any help.

There are possibly two reasons for husband's larger percentage in "take child to school". One is that in most cities of China, housing is usually assigned by husband's

working unit. Women usually have to go a long way to their work units, because they are living in the husband's housing. Therefore, it is usually the husband, who lives conveniently near his working place, who will take the child to school. Another reason is that in China, since there is no school bus systems, parents usually use a bicycle to take child to school. Therefore, it is much safer for the husband to do because he rides a bigger bicycle.

The reason for husband's larger share in helping the child study is probably because he is more educated, and has more spare time than his wife who is busy washing or cooking or cleaning at that time.

Since the current family pattern is a nuclear family one and most families can not afford to hire a maid, therefore, about 67.9 percent of the families get little or no help from outside.

While women do more of the domestic work, most people answered that they are satisfied with their domestic work situation, 74.4 percent of the females as well as 87.9 percent of males. But in contrast to this high level of expressed satisfaction is a heavily female minority that is "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" (25.6%). Thus, male and female respondents differ significantly overall about how they feel about the current domestic work situation. Please see Table XII.

Table XII. Satisfaction with Domestic Work Situation by Sex:  
1993 (Percentage)

Feeling	Husband	Wife	Total
Very Satisfied	17.4% (26)	16.0% (20)	16.8% (46)
Satisfied	70.5 (105)	58.4 (73)	65.0 (178)
Dissatisfied	9.3 (14)	23.2 (29)	15.7 (43)
Very Dissatisfied	2.7 (4)	2.4 (3)	2.6 (7)
Total	100.0 (149)	100.0 (125)	100.0 (274)

Chi-square = 9.88      df = 3      Significance level = 0.019

But interestingly, women tend to view the effect of family responsibilities on their career more positively than men do. When asked whether their careers have been held back by family responsibilities, 68.5 per cent of all respondents said either "a little bit" or "do not care": 64.3 per cent of men and 75.7 per cent of women.

#### Gender Ideology

However, when asked who they think should do the housework, most men and women shared the same equalitarian belief. The vast majority of them, 84 per cent of women and 74 per cent of men, believe that both men and women should share

the family responsibilities and disagree with the statements that "Women should do more housework because it is her natural duty" (84.8%), "Women should do more housework because her husband earns more than she does" (94.0%), "Women should do more housework because she is more capable of it" (56.3%), and "Husband should more housework because his wife earns more than he does" (96.3%) (Please see Table XIII). It is very interesting to see that people's statements are so different from their behaviors. If they said this because they thought they should say so, at least they know what the tendency is. This should be a good foundation for further changes.

Table XIII. Gender Ideology by Sex: 1993

	Husband	Wife
Wife should do more domestic work	22.1% (32)	13.4% (17)
Husband should do more domestic work	4.1 (6)	2.4 (3)
Husband and wife should share domestic work	73.8 (107)	84.3 (107)
Total	100.0% (145)	100.0% (127)

No significant difference between sex.

However, we can have a much clearer picture if we break down the respondents into groups to see if those men who think that their wives should have a larger share of the

domestic work are really acting likewise in their families, and if those women who are willing to take a larger share are actually letting their husbands get away with less work. The answer is: they are. Taking male and female respondents together, among those answering that wife should do more of the domestic work, 57.1 percent of the work is actually done by the wife alone. Among those thinking husbands should have the larger share (only 9 respondents), 33.3 percent of the work is done by husband alone while 44.4 percent is still done by wives alone. Among those thinking both should share, respondents report that 57 percent of the work is actually done with shared efforts (Table XIV).

Table XIV. Domestic Work Pattern by Gender Ideology: 1993

Domestic Pattern	Wife should do more	Husband should do more	Both should share
Wife actually does more	57.1% (28)	44.4% (4)	34.6% (74)
Husband actually does more	16.3 (8)	33.3 (3)	8.4 (18)
Husband and wife actually share	26.5 (13)	22.2 (2)	57.0 (122)
Total	99.9% (49)	99.9% (9)	100.0% (214)
Chi-square = 20.93      df = 4      Significance level = 0.00033			

Now let us look at this situation separately by sex.

Among the husbands who think that their wives should have a larger share, 50 percent of the work is done by their wives alone. Among those who think that the husbands themselves should have a larger share (N=6), also 50 percent of the work is done by the husbands alone. Among those who agree with equal sharing, 59.8 percent is done by both the husbands and wives. Please see Table XV.

Table XV. Domestic Work Patterns by Gender Ideology and Sex: 1993

Domestic pattern	Husbands' Gender Ideology*			Wives' Gender Ideology**		
	Wife should do more	Husband should do more	Both should share	Wife should do more	Husband should do more	Both should share
Wife actually does more	50.0% (16)	16.7% (1)	29.9% (32)	70.6% (12)	100.0% (3)	39.3% (42)
Husband actually does more	18.8 (6)	50.0 (3)	10.3 (11)	11.8 (2)	0.0 (0)	6.5 (7)
Wife and husband actually share	31.3 (10)	33.3 (2)	59.8 (64)	17.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	54.2 (58)
Total	100.1% (32)	100.0% (6)	100.0% (107)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (3)	100.0% (107)

\* Chi-square = 15    df = 4    Significance level = 0.00473

\*\* Chi-square = 11.63    df = 4    Significance level = 0.02

The above table shows that the picture for the women groups is somewhat different. Among those women who think that wives should do more, 70.6 percent of them actually do have a larger share of the domestic work. But among those who hold equalitarian ideas, 54.2 percent of the domestic work is done with shared efforts of husbands and wives. Generally, gender ideology does have a big influence on people's domestic work



behavior. Ironically, 100 per cent of those women who think husbands should have a larger share actually do all the domestic work themselves, but the N of 3 is too small for any firm conclusions.

Occupational Segregation:

The gender ideology is also clearly reflected in the pictures of how husbands and wives think about each other's career and work value. We can see from Table XVI, Table XVII, and Table XIII that husbands and wives differ significantly in their attitudes toward their spouse's work. Significantly more husbands think that their own jobs have better working conditions, are more valuable, and are financially better than their wives. Reciprocally, more wives think that their own jobs have worse working conditions, are less valuable, and earn less than their husbands. Differences between husbands and wives have a high level of statistical significance despite a relatively small sample size.

Table XVI. Comparison of Own Work Condition to Spouse's: 1993

Own Work, Compared to Spouse's, is:	Husband	Wife	Total
Much better	19.3% (29)	5.6% (7)	13.1% (36)
Somewhat better	29.3 (44)	14.4 (18)	22.5 (62)
About the same	40.0 (60)	56.0 (70)	47.3 (130)
Somewhat worse	10.0 (15)	19.2 (24)	14.2 (39)
Much worse	1.3 (2)	4.8 (6)	2.9 (8)
Total	99.9% (150)	100.0% (125)	100.0% (275)

Chi-square = 27.145    df = 4    Significance level = 0.00002

Table XVII. Comparison of Work Value to Spouse's Work : 1993

Own work value, compared to spouse's, is:	Husband	Wife	Total
Much more valuable	12.7% (19)	2.4% (3)	8.0% (22)
Somewhat more valuable	19.3 (29)	4.8 (6)	12.7 (35)
About the same	61.3 (92)	77.0 (97)	68.5 (189)
Somewhat less valuable	6.0 (9)	12.7 (16)	9.1 (25)
Much less valuable	0.07 (1)	3.2 (4)	1.8 (5)
Total	100.0% (150)	100.0% (126)	100.0% (276)

Chi-square = 28.77    df = 4    Significance level = 0.00001

Table XVIII. Comparison of Earnings to Spouse's: 1993

Own earnings, compared with spouse's, is:	Husband	Wife	Total
Much more than	11.8% (18)	2.4% (3)	7.6% (21)
Somewhat more than	52.6 (80)	19.0 (24)	37.4 (104)
About the same	24.3 (37)	23.0 (29)	23.7 (66)
Somewhat worse	8.6 (13)	45.2 (57)	25.2 (70)
Much worse	2.6 (4)	10.3 (13)	6.1 (17)
Total	99.9% (152)	100.0% (126)	100.0% (278)

Chi-square = 72.46      df = 4      Significance level = 0.00000

When we look at the relative levels of positions in various work sectors for men and women, the pattern is very clear, as the earlier macro-level data indicated would be the case. Wives have a significantly higher percentage in the lower level positions, while husbands hold significantly higher level positions. And this is true for almost every type of job, as shown in Table XIX below.

Table XIX. Comparison of Job Positions by Gender: 1993

Job positions	Husband	Wife	Total
Factory, company, government, or service workers	19.5% (29)	49.6% (62)	33.2% (91)
Factory, company, government, or service officials	47.0 (70)	28.8 (36)	38.7 (106)
Educational professionals of officials	26.2 (39)	19.2 (24)	23.0 (63)
Military, private owner and other	7.4 (11)	2.4 (3)	5.1 (14)
Total	100.1% (149)	100.0% (125)	100.0% (274)

Chi-square = 29.20      df = 3      Significance level = 0.001

#### Education:

Is the above pattern consistent with women's levels of education? Let us look at Table XX below. As we can see, there is a significantly higher percentage of men at or above the level of "Some College", which is very important in getting a higher position, while there is a higher percentage of women at or below the level of technical school. This result is consistent with the assumption in the last chapter that women's disadvantage in educational levels negatively affects their career attainment.

Table XX. Comparison of Educational levels by Gender: 1993

Completed education	Husband	Wife	Total
Less than primary	1.3% (2)	2.4% (3)	1.8% (5)
Primary	5.3 (8)	11.8 (15)	8.2 (23)
Junior High	19.7 (30)	22.0 (28)	20.7 (58)
High School	22.4 (34)	23.6 (30)	22.9 (64)
Technical school	5.9 (9)	15.0 (19)	10.0 (28)
Some college	13.2 (20)	4.7 (6)	9.3 (26)
College degree	32.2 (49)	20.5 (26)	26.8 (75)
Total	100.0% (152)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (279)

Chi-square = 18.59      df = 6      Significance level = 0.01

Table XXI reports the relationship between respondents' educational levels and their positions in the work place. As Table XXI indicates, those with higher positions in the work unit, such as factory or company officials, government officials, educational professionals and officials, and service officials, tend to have higher levels of education. Those who are ordinary workers are more likely to have lower level of education. Education does affect position in the work place.

Table XXI. Relationship between Educational Levels and Positions in the Work Place: 1993

Positions	Educational Levels					
	Primary or less	Junior high	High school	Tech. school	Some college	College Degree
Factory/Company/ Government/Service Workers	72.7% (16)	71.4% (40)	36.1% (22)	21.4% (6)	8.3% (2)	7.2% (5)
Factory/Company/ Government/Service Officials	22.7 (5)	26.8 (15)	37.7 (23)	60.7 (17)	66.7 (16)	43.5 (30)
Educational Professionals/ Officials	4.5 (1)	1.8 (1)	26.2 (16)	17.9 (5)	25.0 (6)	49.3 (34)
Total	99.9% (22)	100.0% (56)	100.0% (61)	100.0% (28)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (69)
Chi-square = 97.84      df = 10      Significance level = 0.001						

Relationship Between Domestic Work Pattern and Women's Position in the Work Place:

Table XXII shows us the relationship between domestic patterns among the respondents and the female respondents' relative positions in the work place. Women's higher position in the work place (as officials vs. workers) does reduce their sole responsibility in the domestic work (31.6 percent to 27.7 percent), and it does bring about a larger portion of the work done by shared efforts of husbands and wives or by other (54.4 percent to 69.4 percent). However, it does not bring about any promising change in husband's sole

responsibility in the domestic work. Husbands of educational, professional, or official wives, on the other hand, do take a larger share of the domestic work themselves.

Table XXII. Relationship between Domestic Work Pattern and Women's Position in the Work Place: 1993

Domestic Patterns	Wife's Position in the Work Place			
	Fac./Co. Gov./Service Workers	Fac./Co. Gov./Service Officials	Educational Professional/ Officials	Other
Wife actually does more	31.6% (25)	27.7% (10)	33.3% (5)	55.6% (10)
Husband actually does more	13.9 (11)	2.7 (1)	40.0 (6)	5.6 (1)
Husband and wife actually share /other	54.4 (43)	69.4 (25)	26.7 (4)	38.9 (7)
Total	99.9% (79)	99.8% (36)	100.0% (15)	100.1% (18)
Chi-square = 20.2    df = 6    Significance level = 0.005				

Relationship between Domestic Work Pattern and Work Value:

Now let us test whether the respondents' attitude toward each other's work value affects the domestic work pattern within their families. Table XXIII tells us that it does. There is a significantly larger part of the domestic work done by wife alone when the respondent (regardless of the sex) thinks that the husband's work is more valuable (48.9 percent

as compared with 33.3 percent). Even though wife also does more than half of the domestic work when both their jobs are considered equally valuable, holding an equalitarian view about their work value does increase the likelihood of domestic work done with shared efforts. However, it decreases husband's sole responsibility for the work at home. It is also interesting to see that a more favorable attitude toward women's work value is associated with more domestic work help from the children or other (although the N responding that "wife's job is more valuable" is very small).

Table XXIII. Relationship between Domestic Work Pattern and Work Value: 1993

Domestic Patterns	Husband's job more valuable	Both jobs equally valuable	Wife's job more valuable
Wife actually does more	48.9% (23)	54.8% (57)	33.3% (3)
Husband actually does more	23.4 (11)	8.7 (9)	22.2 (2)
Both actually share equally	21.3 (10)	32.7 (34)	22.2 (2)
Other/children*	6.4 (3)	3.8 (4)	22.2 (2)
Total	100.0% (47)	100.0% (104)	99.9% (9)

Chi-square = 13.116    df = 6    Significance level = 0.041

\* Here we take into account of the two factors about children: taking child to school and helping child's study, a lot of which are in fact done by the child(ren) alone without any help.



If we just look at the female group of the respondents, the picture is essentially similar. Women who think their work value is more valuable ( a small N) or as valuable as their husbands' do have a lesser share of domestic work than those thinking their work value is less than their husbands'. As women's work becomes more valuable, their husbands' participation (either sole responsibility or equal participation with their wives') also increases. Please see Table XXIV below.

Table XXIV. Relationship between Domestic Work Pattern and Women's Attitude toward Their Work: 1993

Domestic Pattern	Husband's job more valuable	Both jobs equally valuable	Wife's job more valuable
Wife actually does more	71.4% (10)	64.8% (35)	0.0% (0)
Husband actually does more	7.1 (1)	3.7 (2)	20.0 (1)
Husband and wife share equally	21.4 (3)	29.6 (16)	40.0 (2)
Other/children	0.0 (0)	1.9 (1)	40.0 (2)
Total	99.9% (14)	100.0% (54)	100.0% (5)
Chi-square = 23.11    df = 6    Significance level = 0.00076			

It is not surprising to see that female respondents' feelings about the domestic work situation within their families are deeply affected by their attitude toward their work value as compared to their husbands'. When women treat their work as equally valuable or more valuable than their husbands', they are more likely to feel satisfied about the domestic work pattern at home. On the other hand, women who think their own work value is not as valuable as their husbands' are more likely to feel dissatisfied about the domestic sharing pattern at home. This is shown very clearly in Table XXV.

Table XXV. Relationship between Feelings about Domestic Work Pattern and Attitude toward Work Value among Women: 1993

Feelings with Domestic Work	Husband's job more valuable	Both jobs equally valuable	Wife's job more valuable
Very satisfied	0.0% (0)	16.1% (15)	33.3% (3)
Satisfied	45.0 (9)	62.4 (58)	66.7 (6)
Dissatisfied	50.0 (10)	20.4 (19)	0.0 (0)
Very Dissatisfied	5.0 (1)	1.1 (1)	0.0 (0)
Total	100.0% (20)	100.0% (93)	100.0% (9)
Chi-square = 16.15      df = 6      Significance level = 0.013			

All in all, it appears that my hypothesis that the unequal situation in domestic work pattern is linked with traditional gender ideology and the unequal situation in the work place is supported by my survey data, as well as being indicated by gender patterns in macro-level data. The inter-relationship between unequal domestic work pattern, traditional gender ideology, and sex segregation in the labor force does still exist in spite of the rapid progress of women's status in the society.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have studied the issue of domestic work in urban China as related to sex segregation in the labor market and traditional gender ideology. I found that the unequal situation in the household is closely related to the above two factors, especially the first one.

Sex segregation in the labor force can be characterized by two features. As in most other countries, occupational patterns for men and women are dramatically different. Although Chinese women do play an very important role in the country's economy, they are under-represented in many high-priority, prestigious occupations and heavily concentrated in other, lower-ranking and less rewarded positions and economic sectors.

Furthermore, although women only hold one-third of the positions in the state-owned enterprises, they account for half of the work force in the collective enterprises, which do not have most of the benefits and privileges of the state-owned enterprises.

Sex segregation in the labor force is closely connected with men's and women's different educational levels. Educational attainments does affect one's position in the labor market. Higher levels of education tend to help more in obtaining a higher position. Therefore, women, with average lower levels of education, are more likely to remain the lower

positions in the work force.

Traditional gender ideology, though not as openly and overwhelmingly present in people's mind as it used to be, is still affecting people's domestic work behavior. In the families of those who think that a wife should have a larger responsibilities for domestic work, the work is more likely to be done by the wife alone, and less likely to be done by the husband or by shared efforts of both husband and wife.

It is also reflected in husbands' and wives' attitudes toward each other's jobs. In the husbands' eyes, their wives' work is usually less valuable and contributes less financially to the family. Furthermore, in the families of those who think that the husband's career is more valuable than the wife's, the domestic work is much more likely to be done by the wife alone, instead of by the shared efforts or by the husband, and vice versa.

Women, who hold lower positions in the work place, such as factory workers, service workers, or government workers, are more likely to take a larger share of domestic work than those who hold a higher position, such as officials in the work place or educational professionals. Sex segregation does play a role in the domestic work patterns at home.

All those factors combined help to explain the unequal situation in domestic sharing pattern at home in the most part. Women, with lower levels of education, lower relative

position in the work place, less valuable career, and less financial contribution to the family, are doomed to take over more of the family responsibilities.

It must be kept in mind that these data are suggestive, but not conclusive because of their limitations. Macro-level data are limited to what was available. The survey is based on a convenience sample, and the location of the survey is in an urban area which is unique because it is dominated by state enterprises.

Therefore, future research will be directed to samples including more collective enterprise workers; personal interviews to probe more deeply into whether expressed satisfaction is "real". Further, there are big changes from economic development. With China's rapid economic development of recent years, sex segregation in the labor force has been worsened. Enterprises, driven by profit motive, increasingly discriminate against women, even female college graduates. I would like to follow up these new developments in my future research.

As a conclusion, there have been some dramatic improvements in the domestic work situation in China. As we can see in the survey, at least people are more likely to "say" in the equalitarian way, though they are still not acting likewise. If women will be given more educational opportunities and therefore more employment opportunities, I believe the

situation will get much better.

## APPENDIX

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Screen# \_\_\_\_\_

**SURVEY OF DOMESTIC LABOR DIVISION  
IN MIANYANG CITY OF SICHUAN PROVINCE OF P.R.CHINA**

Introduction

Hello, this is a survey conducted by a academic institution on the pattern of domestic labor division in this city. All questions are strictly academic, confidential, and non-political. Data will be kept confidential. Results will be analyzed as group data for scientific publication. Your participation is voluntary. You do not need to put your name and work place on the survey. We would appreciate if you take your valuable time to fill out this survey. Please check only one choice for each question.

## &lt; Screening Instrument &gt;

1. According to the research procedure, this survey needs to be filled out by the husband or wife of a household.

\_\_\_\_\_ husband  
\_\_\_\_\_ wife.

## &lt; Domestic Work &gt;

2. In your family, who takes care of cooking breakfast?

\_\_\_ Wife more than husband  
\_\_\_ Wife and husband spend equal amount of time  
\_\_\_ Husband more than wife  
\_\_\_ Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

3. In your family, who takes care of cooking lunch?

\_\_\_ Wife more than husband  
\_\_\_ Wife and husband spend equal amount of time  
\_\_\_ Husband more than wife  
\_\_\_ Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_



4. In your family, who takes care of cooking supper?

Wife more than husband

Wife and husband spend equal amount of time

Husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

5a. In your family, who takes care of shopping grocery?

Wife more than husband

Wife and husband spend equal amount of time

Husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

5b. In your family, who takes care of shopping clothing and other necessities?

Wife more than husband

Wife and husband spend equal amount of time

Husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

6. In your family, who takes care of washing?

Wife more than husband

Wife and husband spend equal amount of time

husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

7. In your family, who takes care of cleaning?

Wife more than husband

Share equally

Husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

8. In your family, who takes care of family spending?

Wife more than husband

Share equally

Husband more than wife

Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

9. In your family, who takes the child to and back from school?

Wife more than husband

Share equally

Husband more than wife

Other> Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

10. In your family, who helps the child with his/her school work?

   Wife more than husband

   Share equally

   Husband more than wife

   Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

11. How much domestic help do you get from other family members, such as the retired elderly, or the baby-sitter?

   Very much help

   Some help

   A little help

   None

a. Who help you? \_\_\_\_\_

b. What do they do? \_\_\_\_\_

12a. Do you feel that your life or job is being held back by the domestic work burden?

   Yes, very much

   Yes, a little bit

   Not sure

   No.

12b. In general, are you satisfied with the current pattern of domestic work division in your family?

   Yes, very satisfied

   Yes, satisfied

   No, dissatisfied

   No, very dissatisfied.

< Gender Ideology >

13. Who do you think should be mainly responsible for cooking?

   Wife mostly

   Share equally

   Husband mostly

   Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

14. Who do you think should be mainly responsible for shopping?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

15. Who do you think should be responsible for cleaning?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

16. Who do you think should be responsible for washing?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

17. Who do you think should be mainly responsible for family spending?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

18. Who do you think should take care of the child?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

19. Who do you think should help the child with his/her school work?

- Wife mostly  
 Share equally  
 Husband mostly  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

20. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about attitudes toward domestic work:

	AGREE	DISAGREE
a. Wife should do more of domestic work because it is her natural duty.	___	___
b. Wife should do more of domestic work because husband earns more than her.	___	___
c. Wife should do more of domestic work because she is more capable of it.	___	___
d. Husband should do more of domestic work because wife earns more than he does.	___	___
e. Husband and wife should share the domestic work as their mutual duty.	___	___

< Work Situation >

21. Are you satisfied with your current job?

- \_\_\_ Yes, very satisfied  
 \_\_\_ Yes, satisfied  
 \_\_\_ No, dissatisfied  
 \_\_\_ No, very dissatisfied.

22. Is your spouse satisfied with his/her current job?

- \_\_\_ Yes, very satisfied  
 \_\_\_ Yes, satisfied  
 \_\_\_ No, dissatisfied  
 \_\_\_ No, very dissatisfied.

23. Compared with your spouse's work conditions, do you think yours are

- \_\_\_ Much better than your spouse's?  
 \_\_\_ Somewhat better than your spouse's?  
 \_\_\_ The same as your spouse's?  
 \_\_\_ Somewhat worse than your spouse's?  
 \_\_\_ Much worse than your spouse's?

24. Compared with your spouse's job, is your job

- Much more valuable than your spouse's?
- Somewhat more valuable than your spouse's?
- The same valuable as your spouse's?
- Somewhat less valuable than your spouse's?
- Much less valuable than your spouse's?

25. Compared with your spouse's regular salary, do you earn

- Much more than your spouse?
- Somewhat more than your spouse?
- About the same as your spouse?
- Somewhat less than your spouse?
- Much less than your spouse?

26a. Does your work place provide child care service?

- Yes
- no.

26b. Does your spouse's work place provide child care services?

- Yes
- No.

27. (For wife), would you still prefer to work if your husband's earnings can support the whole family?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, probably
- Not sure
- No, probable
- No, definitely.

28. (For husband), would you still prefer to work if your wife's earning's can support the whole family?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, probably
- Not sure
- No, probably
- No, definitely

## &lt; Demographics &gt;

In order to compare your views with others, please answer the following general background questions.

29. What was your age at the time of your last birthday? \_\_\_\_\_

30. What nationality do you belong to?

Han  
 Other.

31. What best describe the home you live in?

One room without private bathroom and kitchen  
 One room with either private bathroom or kitchen  
 One room with both private bathroom and kitchen  
 Two rooms with no private bathroom and kitchen  
 Two rooms with either private bathroom or kitchen  
 Two rooms with both private bathroom and kitchen  
 Three rooms with either private bathroom or kitchen  
 Three or more rooms with both private bath and kitchen.  
 Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

32. How long have you lived at your current residence?

Less than a year  
 1-5 years  
 6-10 years  
 11-15 years  
 16-20 years  
 Over 20 years.

33. Do you have the following facilities in your home?

	YES	NO
Water facilities	___	___
Refrigerator	___	___
Washer	___	___
Gas facilities	___	___
T.V.	___	___
Bicycle(s)	___	___
Sewing machine	___	___

34. How many family members live in your household?

- 1 person
- 2 persons
- 3 persons
- 4 persons
- 5 persons
- 6 and over

35. How many are under 7?

- None
- 1 child
- 2 children
- 3 children
- 4 and over

36. How many are between 8 and 18?

- None
- 1 child
- 2 children
- 3 children
- 4 and over

37. How many are over 55 or 60, or those retired and staying at home?

- None
- 1 person
- 2 persons
- 3 persons
- 4 persons
- 5 and over

38. What is your educational background?

- Less than primary school
- Primary school diploma
- Junior high school diploma
- High school diploma
- Technical or vocational school diploma
- Some college
- Four year college degree
- Post-graduate education
- Other education or training. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

39. What is your spouse's educational background?

- Less than primary school
- Primary school diploma
- Junior high school diploma
- High school diploma
- Technical or vocational school diploma
- Some college
- Four year college degree
- Post-graduate education
- Other education or training. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

40. Are you currently working or retired?

- Working full-time
- Working part-time
- Retired
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

41. Is your spouse currently working or retired?

- Working full-time
- Working part-time
- Retired
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

42. In general, is your work place

- State-owned?
- Collectively owned?
- Private?
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

43. In general, is your spouse's work place

- State-owned?
- Collectively owned?
- Private?
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_



44. What kind of work do you do? (If retired, skip this question).

- Educational professionals
- Educational officials
- Factory or company workers
- Factory or company officials
- Service workers
- Service officials
- Government workers
- Government officials
- Military
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

45. What kind of work does your spouse do? (If retired, skip this question.)

- Educational professionals
- Educational officials
- Factory or company workers
- Factory or company officials
- Service workers
- Service officials
- Government workers
- Government officials
- Military
- Other. Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

That is all for this survey. Thank you very much for your cooperation and your valuable time.

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