NIRAS

INVESTING IN WOMEN
SMART ECONOMICS
AN INITIATIVE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

Midline Report

Insights Panel
Gender Equality Norms
among Urban Millennials

Abt
ASSOCIATES

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Executive Summary

The Investing in Women Insights Panel Baseline study conducted in early 2021 investigated four core gender norms across Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam: childcare, breadwinning, job segregation, and leadership. In consultation with IW, the additional qualitative research in this Midline Study examined urban millennials' views on childcare and breadwinning, and social expectations concerning gender norms. The Midline Study conducted in-depth interviews and focus group discussions from 85 existing panellists across the three countries during October-November 2021. The following key findings concerning each factor emerged during the research.

Childcare: Despite some nation-based distinctions on the concept of childcare, frequently across the three countries, childcare is seen as husband and wife's contribution to the day-to-day caring of the children and the lifelong task of preparing children in all development aspects. The traditional panellists viewed mothers as naturally best suited for caregiving and nurturing the physical and emotional aspects of the children, whereas fathers could be assigned more logic-related tasks, such as helping with homework. Vietnamese men tended to assign childcare and breadwinning duties based on distinct innate predisposition between males and females. In contrast, progressives of both genders did not espouse gender-specific childcare responsibilities and could be more pragmatic in taking turns caring for the children. While there was no significant difference in how men and women defined equal sharing of childcare responsibilities, clear differences could be identified between traditional and progressive panellists, irrespective of gender. Nevertheless, the family's financial situation might significantly alter the sharing of responsibilities and the perception of equal sharing.

Breadwinning: Across the three countries, the breadwinner figure was seen as the family member who had the most significant share in financial contribution to support the family and was considered the leader in the family. The findings indicate both traditional and progressive panellists viewed men as the main breadwinner. Men still hold their role as the breadwinner due to several cultural influences, including upbringing, sense of responsibility, and beliefs about gender roles and predisposition. Acceptance of women as breadwinners was reported among the progressives, while the traditionalists tended to deny women's career continuation after being married. Progressive men accepted working women, but they tended to see women's decision to work as financially motivated, whereas women identified non-economic motivation such as self-actualisation and utilising their advanced education. There was the emergence of a moderate group who accepted working wives, but only to supplement the husbands' income. Hence, the dichotomy between progressives and traditionalists is best viewed as a gradation of attitudes rather than a clear-cut distinction.

Social expectation: The influence of society's general perception about gender roles on urban millennials' decisions concerning breadwinning and childcare was more pronounced among the traditionalists. On the contrary, the progressives saw the decreasing relevance of traditional gender roles expected by society. Factors that influence adherence to social expectations include geographical location, level of education, family structure, and exposure to other cultures and ways of life. Critique on the progressives' attitude toward gender roles could come from anyone, including close friends and family members, distant relations, and neighbours. Based on how the progressives responded to the critique, the room for dialogue to convey gender equality ideas was limited due to their tendency to avoid conflict.

The Midline study uncovered several topics for further investigation that can be examined during the Insights Panel activities in 2022. These include understanding the reasons behind essentialist views of gender and how views may change, the size and characteristics of the emerging moderate group, ranking and strength of factors influencing social expectations, and the notion of breadwinning as a part of childcare among the males.

BACKGROUND

Investing in Women (IW) Insights Panel examines the shifting gender norms among urban millennials in Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Its overall goal is to improve understanding of IW's target audience attitudes, social expectations, and behaviours in relation to IW's campaigns. The Baseline study, which took place on March-April 2021, investigated four core gender norms across the three countries: childcare, breadwinning, job segregation, and leadership. As reported in this document, the Midline study was to further explore certain topics based on the Baseline study, focusing on the childcare and breadwinning norms, coupled with the social expectations shaping urban millennials' views on childcare and breadwinning. Based on further consultations with IW, the approved methodology for this Midline study is a case study design. The case study design enables an in-depth investigation of current phenomena, i.e., the childcare and breadwinning norms and social expectation, within their real-world context, i.e., the family and societal lives in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. This methodology is suitable for a study that delves into the insights shared by the panellists about their attitudes and behaviours on the said norms and social expectations, utilising a combination of qualitative data collection procedures that can unpack the panellist views in light of the social contexts in which they live.

PURPOSE

The Baseline study findings on childcare, breadwinning and social expectations shape the purpose of this Midline study. In the three countries, childcare norms arguably showed more progressive tendencies, evidenced by a willingness to share and compromise responsibilities in caring for children among men and women. However, breadwinning tended to be seen as men's domain in these countries. For instance, in the Philippines FGDs, panellists viewed the idea of a stay-at-home dad as awkward. If breadwinning continues to be seen as men's domain, the changing attitude towards childcare will not necessarily spur women's advancement in the workplace. Instead, the perception that women's role is "at home" will likely continue. Furthermore, social expectations from society, religious communities, and extended family could often influence millennials to accept traditional behaviours and attitudes surrounding gender norms. There is a need to research further the interplay between the norms of childcare and breadwinning and social expectations among urban millennials. Hence the twofold purpose of the study is to analyse:

1. Childcare and Breadwinning

   1a. The compromises and sharing of responsibilities in **childcare** between the progressives and the traditionalists and between males and females

   1b. The situations and socio-demographic backgrounds entrenching the traditional views surrounding **breadwinning** as men's role and the conditions that might make men willing to share the breadwinning role.

2. Social Expectation

   The influence of social expectations on urban millennials' attitudes on gender roles.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

In line with the above purpose and case study methodology, the data collection took the form of focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs). The data was collected in September 2021 and analysed in the following month.

FGD participants consisted of more progressive panellists, whereas IDI participants were more traditionalists. In the current study, the progressives aspire to change or challenge gender stereotypes, believing that men and women have equal rights in childcare and breadwinning. In contrast, the traditionalists view each gender as having specific roles and responsibilities that must be fulfilled by traditional values. Such classification is consistent with the findings of the Baseline study and consultation with IW. Nevertheless, as shall be pointed out and further discussed in the findings section, the binary classification of traditional and progressive panellists had its limitations. Some panellists did not fully conform to one or the other grouping. Panellists who exhibited a mix of progressive and traditional views were classified as the moderates, who were particularly salient in the breadwinning norms.

Both men and women aged 17-40 years old living in urban areas of Indonesia, Vietnam, or the Philippines were target participants in the study. The sampling of study participants was done purposively among the IW's Facebook group members, i.e., the insights panel. The sampling was done based on:

i.   The result of their Baseline survey that classified them into progressive or traditional tendencies, and

ii. Their level of engagement with the Facebook groups as evidenced by the number of their comments,

iii. The type of their comments on Facebook as confirmation in classifying the group into progressive or traditional.

NIRAS team gave the first opportunity to those active in the Facebook group to participate in the Midline FGDs and IDIs, as an acknowledgement and appreciation of their engagement in the Facebook groups. Next, those who were less active but met the criteria as either progressive or traditional based on their Baseline survey results were invited to participate. The participating panellists received incentives ranging from AUD 25-30 to compensate for their time taking part in an FGD or IDI. Consent forms were signed by all panellists prior to taking part in the FGD or IDI session, ensuring their agreement to be orally and visually recorded and featured in subsequent IW's publications. A total of 85 panellists from the three countries participated in 13 IDIs and 12 FGDs. Table 1 breaks down the participants in the Midline study based on country of residence, gender, and type of data collection. The more demographic details of midline panellists can be seen in Annex 1.

Table 1: Participants in IDIs and FGDs

COUNTRY	Number of participants					
	IDI Total	IDI Male	IDI Female	FGD Total	FGD Male	FGD Female
Indonesia	4	2	2	24	12	12
Philippines	5	3	2	27	14	13
Viet Nam	4	2	2	21	11	10
TOTAL	13	7	6	72	37	35

Focus group discussions (FGDs) quickly garner in-depth views and rich data sets from groups. In the present study, FGDs were used to compare views from male and female progressive groups on the two-study areas breadwinning and childcare, and social expectation. Besides enabling comparison between the male and female perspectives, the grouping of FGDs based on gender was meant to provide a greater degree of camaraderie among same-gender participants and openness to engage in the topics presented. The progressives were more outspoken and comfortable expressing their views to a larger group. There were four FGDs in each country: two FGDs for male participants and two for female participants—totalling 12 FGDs in this Midline study. Each FGD consisted of 5-8 same-gender participants and lasted for around 1.5 hours.

While the study design intended to clearly demarcate the progressives in the FGDs and the traditionalists in the IDIs, during the data collection, it was apparent that the panellists did not always express views in line with their Facebook comments and Baseline survey results. Some of the progressive panellists held rather traditionalist views in some respects, such as breadwinning roles. Similarly, traditionalists in the IDIs could subscribe to more progressive ideas. It was possible that some of these participants had changed their views since the Baseline survey. Others perhaps only accepted some general gender norms at the surface level, and when investigated further, could convey more nuanced views and practices based on their day to day lives. Hence, this report would, at times, base the progressive findings on the FGDs, and vice versa for the traditional findings of the IDIs.
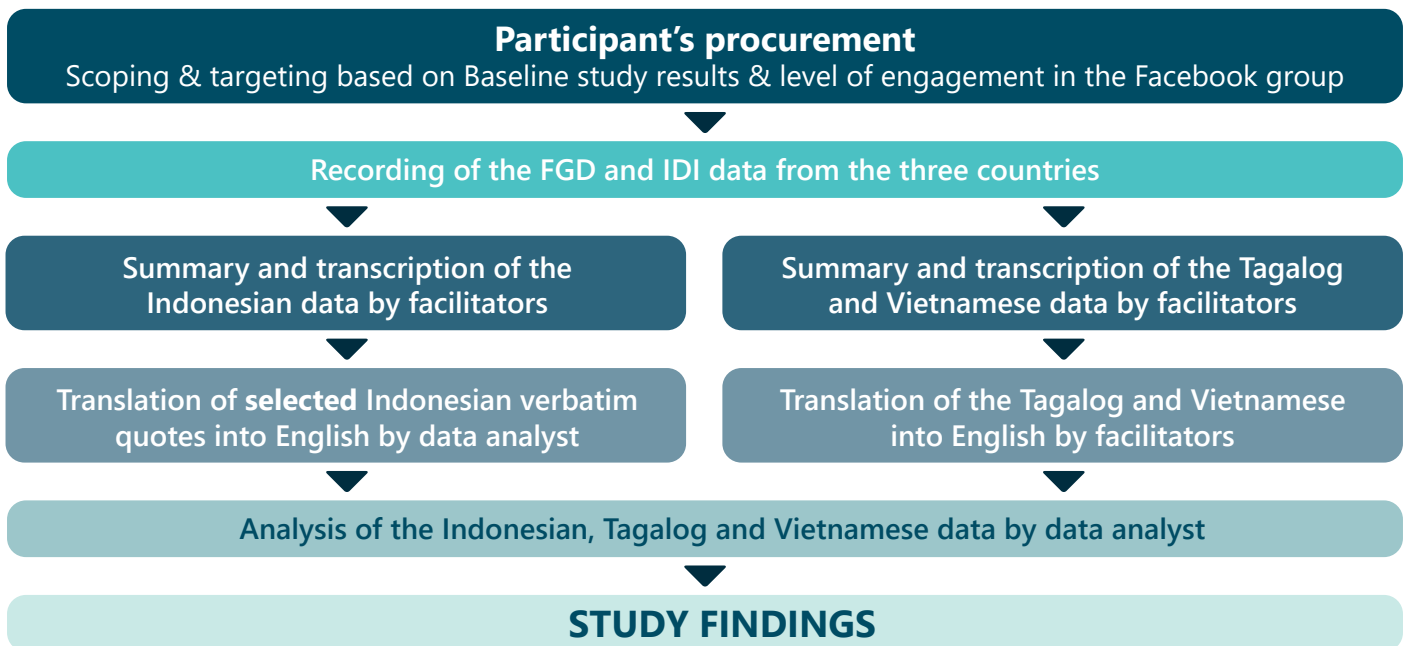
In-depth interviews (IDIs) collect detailed views through one-on-one conversations between the participant and the interviewer. In this study, IDIs were administered for both male and female individuals who expressed traditional views on gender equality through their Facebook activities. As observed in the Facebook group interaction, traditional individuals were less outspoken in the bigger groups and potentially would not be able to express their views in an FGD confidently. The one-on-one conversational nature of IDIs facilitated a safe space where these individuals could speak up. Four IDIs took place in Indonesia and Vietnam, while five IDIs were administered in the Philippines. The basic idea was to engage at least two traditional males and two traditional females in each country, providing a balanced representation of each gender' voices on the themes under investigation. The fifth IDI in the Philippines was due to the presence of a progressive participant in one of the IDIs. To ensure fair coverage of the traditional participant's views, another candidate was invited to an IDI, thus adding the number of Filipino IDIs to 5. Each interview lasted for around 45-60 minutes.

To ensure good rapport between the interviewers and interviewees and between the moderators and FGD participants, interview and FGD sessions were facilitated by native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia, Tagalog, and Vietnamese and were administered in the native languages of the respective countries. The facilitators were recruited by merit and personal qualities through open recruitment and interview. Some of them were involved in the first FGDs for the Baseline study in March and April 2021. All FGDs and IDIs were recorded and transcribed before the data analysis. The labels used to identify the FGD and IDI participants can be found in Annex 1.

The collected data was thematically analysed using NVivo 12 software, leading to identifying key findings. The above facilitators, who are native speakers of Indonesian, Tagalog, and Vietnamese, transcribed and summarised the IDI and FGD data, hence undertaking the early data analysis. The Tagalog and Vietnamese data summaries were then translated into English by the facilitators.

Subsequently, the Indonesian transcripts and the English translation of the Tagalog and Vietnamese data were handed to the data analyst, who is an English-Indonesian bilingual researcher. The data analyst coded and analysed the qualitative data using NVivo 12. The themes and subthemes identified became the basis for reporting the findings of the study. Verbatim quotes from the Indonesian data that were included in the report were translated into English by the data analyst. The themes and subthemes from the Indonesian, Vietnamese, and Filipino data provided a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of views about breadwinning, childcare, and social expectations in three countries. Figure 1 depicts the data analysis stages in this study. In this report, unless the name of the country is specifically stated, the mentioning of men, women, or panellists includes research participants from all the three countries.

Figure 1: Data processing and analysis stages

Participant's procurement
Scoping & targeting based on Baseline study results & level of engagement in the Facebook group

▼

Recording of the FGD and IDI data from the three countries

▼ ▼

Summary and transcription of the Indonesian data by facilitators	Summary and transcription of the Tagalog and Vietnamese data by facilitators

▼ ▼

Translation of **selected** Indonesian verbatim quotes into English by data analyst	Translation of the Tagalog and Vietnamese into English by facilitators

▼ ▼

Analysis of the Indonesian, Tagalog and Vietnamese data by data analyst

▼

STUDY FINDINGS

LIMITATIONS

Considering the multi-lingual and multi-researcher nature of the study, there are some research limitations that should be acknowledged. First, as the data were purely qualitative and generated through purposive sampling, the findings could not be generalised to the urban millennial populations in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Second, the translation of Indonesia, Tagalog, and Vietnamese data into English for the purpose of analysis and reporting might have shifted some meanings and perspectives. To minimise this limitation, the inclusion of some terms used by the panellists in their native tongues in the report enabled the audience familiar with the languages to comprehend the data in the original setting. Finally, the many facilitators and analysts involved in the research endeavour, starting from the data collection, summarising, translating, and reporting, could come with biases due to each individual's background, such as gender and nationality. Nevertheless, as the facilitators were all native speakers of the national languages in the three countries and consisted of males and females, the bias may have been reduced. Readers should nonetheless be mindful of these limitations. type of data collection.

FINDINGS

Consonant with the purpose of the study, the findings were classified into two main study areas: childcare and breadwinning and social expectation. Within each of these study areas, there are sub-themes that portray the different takes of the issues from the standpoint of traditional and progressive panellists, and of male and female panellists, where significant differences were noted.

CHILDCARE AND BREADWINNING

The findings on childcare and breadwinning norms in this Midline study reflected the findings in the Baseline study, i.e., attitudes on childcare were relatively more progressive than that of breadwinning. To provide a more focussed reporting on these norms, in the following paragraphs, the discussion begins with the child-care findings, followed by those of breadwinning.

CHILDCARE

Across the countries, gender equality in childcare was understood as husband and wife sharing their time to care for the child. Childcare was not just the day to day caring for the child but also the lifelong task of nurturing and preparing a child for their future in all aspects: physical, emotional, social, and spiritual. Within this general understanding of childcare, there were some nuances of childcare conceptualisation. In Vietnam, childcare and breadwinning were perceived as a reciprocal process by some panellists, in which children would be expected to care for and earn income to support their parents in their old age (FGD 4 VN).

Such perception has been the traditional view in the Vietnamese culture about filial responsibilities undertaken by parents that children must repay in the future. On the other hand, among some panellists in the Philippines, childcare was seen as changeable in keeping with the times (FGD 1 PH). For example, childcare in this digital age requires parents to control children's gadget use, which did not exist in the previous generation. How people do and think about childcare has thus changed to adjust to contemporary situations. These different nation-based nuances, and the general understanding of childcare, point toward simultaneous shifts and persistence of childcare conceptualisation and practices in Southeast Asian communities.

Based on the views expressed in the IDIs and FGDs, there are three emerging sub-themes: (a) responsibility in childcare, (b) perceptions of shared responsibility, and (c) childcare changes as children grow. In these following subthemes, the tension between traditional and progressive views on childcare will be explored further, as well as the different perspectives between male and female participants.

Responsibility in childcare

Perceptions of shared responsibility
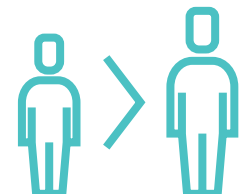
Childcare changes as children grow

RESPONSIBILITY

The traditionalists in the three countries viewed childcare responsibility mainly rested on the mother. In their opinion, the mother had a deeper connection with the children. Mothers carry their children for nine months, give birth, and breastfeed their children. Therefore, nurturing responsibilities, such as bathing and feeding a child, naturally, fall on the mother. The mother's role as the primary caregiver was seen as irreplaceable among these traditionalists.

On the other hand, fathers were expected to be responsible for the personal development of their children, such as helping with homework. Such a view was most noticeable in Vietnam. Both progressive and traditional Vietnamese panellists understood specific gender came with specific strengths. Hence, it is better that mothers and fathers conduct different responsibilities in accordance with their perceived strengths. For instance, mothers were seen as more empathetic, so they were naturally expected to provide nurturing for their children. Fathers could take the more logic-related responsibilities, such as helping their children do school homework. Consequently, a separate yet complementary view of gender roles seemed to persist among the panellists in Vietnam.

Many male and female progressive panellists believed childcare responsibilities should be equally split between the genders. Unmarried panellists, who made up the most significant proportion of the progressives, tended to talk about childcare responsibilities in idealistic equal terms between the males and females.

Nevertheless, the married panellists talked in seemingly more realistic situations, where the mother and father could flexibly re-arrange the proportion of responsibility based on the situation at hand (see Box 1 below for more explanation and examples of equal sharing in childcare). Additionally, the split of responsibilities in the view of the progressives were not gender-based. In the Philippines and Indonesia, there was a similar view that childcare responsibilities could not be compartmentalised between what males and females do. Indonesian progressive males and females were equally comfortable doing all childcare activities, save for breastfeeding (FGD 3 ID and FGD 4 ID). All other childcare activities could be shared and done by both the father and the mother. In the Philippines, childcare could no longer be handed over to just one specific gender of the parent. Non-traditional family setups, such as same-sex parents, blurred the traditional demarcation of childcare responsibility between the genders (FGD 1 PH).

Furthermore, based on the data of this study, in the three countries, the responsibility for childcare also extended beyond the father and mother. Family relatives (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles, and extended family members) and even close neighbours were deemed responsible for childcare, whereas employed childminders and day-care centres as childcare providers were seen as partners in childcare, not just professionally employed workers. This adds to the dynamic of childcare responsibility in terms of conceptualisation and day-to-day practice in Indonesian, Filipino, and Vietnamese societies, as many members of society have a say and share in childcare. Thus, childcare issues should be probed in conjunction with the expectations of the wider society, not just what the parents think or believe in. Further examination on this topic is dealt with in the subsequent Social Expectation section.

PERCEPTIONS ON SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

In this study, shared responsibility in childcare was mainly discussed by progressive panellists. Both genders expressed their beliefs that shared responsibility in childcare should be a consensus between the husband and wife and flexible enough to accommodate the time availability of each parent in caring for their children.

However, the parent's gender could gravitate towards specific responsibilities. The data from progressive Indonesian millennials show that mothers were more active in researching children's nutrition, helping with school homework and other academic matters. Fathers tended to accompany children in doing physical activities, teach values, and exemplify mental fortitude. Based on the Vietnamese data, mothers had greater attention in developing the personality and emotional aspects of their children, whereas fathers put more emphasis on developing the knowledge aspect, such as helping with homework. Despite the different specific responsibility that mothers and fathers did in Indonesia and Vietnam, mothers tended to take the bigger portion in childcare responsibility. The Filipino data demonstrated that despite expressing and professing progressive idealism on sharing childcare responsibility, the progressives' actual behaviours were still influenced by traditional notions of what constituted the responsibility of a father and a mother. In FGD 4 PH, one of the panellists stated:

"*Among the father's roles is protection. Mothers do the childcare; fathers protect the family. [In the Philippines] We say that the mother is the light of the house (ilaw ng tahanan)while the father is the wall (haligi ng tahanan). That's where the protection of the children comes from—protecting them not just from harmful things but also providing for them financially.*"

Common expressions, such as "*haligi ng tahanan*" and "*ilaw ng tahanan*" to describe the responsibilities of fathers and mothers, are reflections of ingrained traditional values that divide the responsibilities of parents based on their genders and still influence the mindset of the progressives. Based on this finding, it was possible that the panellists understood breadwinning as a part of childcare responsibilities, in particular the father's domain. For example, male participants in FGD 1 PH stated that breadwinning also meant doing household chores and errands as well as caring towards the household and its members. More study is needed to ascertain the prevalence of such a view among the urban millennials across the three countries.

The family's financial situation also had an important role in determining the sharing of childcare responsibility. In FGD ID 4, two progressive males mentioned that they could no longer equally participate in childcare. They had to work away from their families, having been transferred to another city and unable to bring their families. When entering long-distance marriage, such fathers ultimately left the childcare responsibility to the mothers. The two males in FGD ID 4 stated they video-called their children every day, and when they had the opportunity to come home, they would spend their time doing childcare to the fullest.

On the one hand, this situation reinforced the earlier finding that non-traditional family setups broke down the gender-based demarcation of childcare responsibility. On the other hand, it also questions whether shared responsibility was just an idealism among the progressives, which could dissipate when the situation changed. Additionally, the case also highlights the economic pressure that confronted families, affecting the parents' practices in sharing childcare responsibility, despite their beliefs on the importance of equally sharing responsibilities.

Defining Equal Sharing

The study did not find significant differences in male and female definition on equal sharing of childcare responsibilities. The most salient differences were along the traditional and progressive lines, irrespective of gender. Among traditional men and women in this study, equal sharing was defined by innate ability of each gender for certain childcare tasks, as also set by religion and traditional culture. Hence, equal sharing can simply mean that the father does something, no matter how small, to care for the child. For example, an Indonesian female panellist stated that the share of childcare responsibility should be 30:70 between the father and the mother (IDI 3 ID). In her view, a husband assumes the position as an imam in Islamic belief—the leader and breadwinner, not encumbered further with childcare tasks beyond the time and task preference he could spare after work or on weekend. A wife, on the other hand, naturally can be multi-tasking and more nurturing towards children. A Filipino male panellist believed a 50:50 share of responsibility between the mother and the father was not possible (IDI 5 PH). The responsibility for childcare depends on who is more suitable to do the task, and women are considered "naturally gifted" for such task. Thus, women should take more childcare responsibility.

On the contrary, many progressive men and women defined the equal sharing of childcare responsibilities as 100% for the husband and simultaneously 100% for the wife. This means that all the childcare tasks, save for the biologically predisposed ones (e.g., breastfeeding), can be done by both the husband and the wife. A female panellist said, "It's 100:100 in raising a child. Whether one works or not, both (husband and wife) are responsible in raising the child" (FGD 3 ID). Likewise, a male panellist stated, "... it's 100%, as both mum and dad contribute to childcare..." (FGD 4 ID). The sharing of responsibility was more pragmatically determined. As men and women should be equally adept at doing all childcare tasks (e.g., changing diapers, teaching school subjects, cooking, etc), they will take turn to do the tasks based on their availability. The progressive Indonesian panellists used terms such as "*saling mengisi*" (filling in for each other) and "*sama-sama dipikul*" (equally shouldered) to describe the equal sharing in childcare.

CHILDCARE CHANGES

As children grow or as the number of children in the family increase, childcare in terms of practices and conceptualisation might change. The possibility of childcare changes was discussed by both progressives and traditionalists in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Changes in childcare as children grow were hypothetically viewed in the following ways. First, as children become teenagers, they may slowly develop a closer affinity to their mother or father, depending on gender similarity. Teenage boys might be more comfortable sharing with their father, and vice versa for teenage girls. Sex education or gender specific puberty issues make teenagers naturally lean to the parent of the same gender. Second, after an intensive period of support during teenage years, children finally reach legal maturity age and gain independence. Here, the role of both parents shifts from controlling and educating to advising. Besides possible changes in childcare as children grow, some progressive and traditional panellists also mentioned an increase in the number of children in the family as another factor that could influence childcare practices. Fathers would be required to or more readily take part in childcare as more children were born into the family.

In this subtheme, there was no clear pattern that distinguished the views of the progressives and the traditionalists in childcare changes due to the addition or maturity of children. Both groups were likely theorising what would happen to their understanding and childcare practices in the future. None of the urban millennials in this Midline study had teenage children, let alone grown-up children. Not many had numerous children too - only seven panellists had two children or more (see Annex 1 for the information of marital status, number and age of children). They entered uncharted hypothetical scenarios about childcare situations when discussing an increase in child number and maturity. Nevertheless, this finding may indicate that views on childcare among urban millennials are not "set in stone". They are dynamic and can shift to keep with the times and changes to family composition.
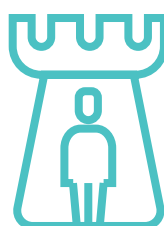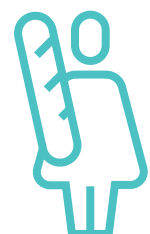

BREADWINNING

Across the three countries, a breadwinner was consistently understood as the family member who had the most significant portion in contributing financially to support the family. The breadwinner was linked to the time spent working outside the house and sustaining the family. For the traditionalists, the breadwinner role solely belonged to males, whereas for the progressives, the breadwinner could be both males and females. Among Vietnamese panellists, the breadwinner was perceived to have the higher authority in decision-making for the family, which other family members could rely on. Consequently, the breadwinner was the most crucial figure in a family across the three countries. Whether or not women could be accepted as breadwinners in a family and society can significantly determine women's standing; thus presumably, defining the level of gender equality in the society. Three sub-themes further clarify the views on men and women as breadwinners among the urban millennials in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam:

| **Main breadwinner figure** | **Men's hold on breadwinning** | **Women as breadwinners** |

MAIN BREADWINNER FIGURE

Traditional and progressive views on the main breadwinner figure were still mainly oriented towards men, despite clear distinctions on how they viewed women as breadwinners. In all three countries, the traditionalists had a deep-seated view that men had the responsibility as the main breadwinner for their families. Men who espoused the traditional view did not support their wives to work. An exception could be made in extenuating situations, such as significant financial pressure. Some women married to such men might accept their inability to work outside the home. However, some others tried to change their husbands' mindset, for example, by arguing that in the long term, it would be better for wives to hold part-time jobs to mitigate the undesired event of the husbands' demise or prolonged illness, which would heavily strain the family's financial situation (IDI 3 ID).

Views from traditional panellists in the Philippines (IDI 1 PH, IDI 3 PH, FGD 2 PH) showed that in the case of a father's inability to work, the main breadwinner still had to be a male figure. The eldest son might take the main breadwinner role as he would be expected to bear the family's name. On the other hand, the mother was not expected to be a breadwinner. The Filipino traditionalists viewed mothers as too busy taking care of the household and should not be burdened with earning money. They should focus on providing moral and emotional support to their husbands. In the contexts described above, working mothers had no support from their families and could be perceived as an aberration by society.

For the progressives, husbands were also typically seen as the main breadwinner figure. However, they perceived working women as usual/normal in the contemporary family setting and society in general. There was no opposition to women working outside their homes based on any ground, and they could be the main breadwinners among the progressive families. The data showed that factors contributing to the progressives' acceptance of women as breadwinners were:

a. Family financial situation
Increasing financial need was cited as a key consideration for women to work. Many panellists talked about how wives "helped" their husbands by supplementing income for the family.

b. Growing up experience
Some panellists reported growing up in a family where the mother worked alongside the father. Others were raised by mothers as single parents. Such experience demonstrated that women could work equally as men. An Indonesian panellist explained that her parents taught her to be independent, even after getting married. Women should not be financially dependent on their working husbands (IDI 1 ID). Hence, one's progressive upbringing shapes current perceptions on gender equality in breadwinning.

c. Women's career aspiration
Some married female panellists did not want to be defined by their motherhood. They also wanted to self-actualise by pursuing a career.

d. Spouse's support
Married female panellists acknowledged the support afforded by their spouses to pursue their career. The husbands' support also seemingly correlated with their progressive upbringing. The support here encompassed a wide range of notions and actions that could be seen as supportive of the female's career pursuit, starting from permission to work, assisting behaviour like doing more household tasks, and defending the wife's decision to work against critique from others.

e. Workplace role models
Male and female panellists also noted the inspiration from female co-workers who were successful in their careers. Many of them had supportive partners, willing to care for the children when the female breadwinners concentrated on their work.

f. Media
The portrayal of contemporary empowered women in the media (e.g., TV series, news, and commercials) influenced urban millennials' acceptance of women as breadwinners.

MEN'S HOLD ON BREADWINNING

Men's dominance on breadwinning found support among the progressive and traditional panellists of both genders in the three countries. Men were generally still deemed the main breadwinner, despite the progressives' support for women to work and earn money to support the family. The factors that supported men's hold on breadwinning were:

a. Male responsibility and standard of success

The men in this study felt responsible for family welfare, and society also expected men to bear that responsibility. Men were often measured by their professional success rather than the ability to mind their children. Consequently, men striving for acknowledgement from society would not easily relegate the breadwinning responsibility to their wives.

b. Upbringing

Both traditionalists and progressives were influenced by their upbringing in accepting men's breadwinning dominance. Many traditionalists saw their fathers work for their family, while their mothers stayed at home, perhaps forbidden by the fathers to work outside. Many progressives had working fathers and mothers, which made them view both husbands and wives as breadwinners. However, there was no report from the panellists that they had stay-at-home fathers. There was hardly any role model in the previous generation of fathers who by choice decided not to undertake the breadwinning role, save for prolonged illness or untimely deaths. Hence, the upbringing of both groups exemplified fathers as breadwinners.

c. Religion and culture

Panellists in Indonesia and the Philippines also discussed the role of religion and culture in shaping their view on breadwinning. Christianity and Islam both viewed wives as submissive to their husbands. In Islam, husbands are expected to be an 'imam' for the family—a leader figure in all aspects of family life, including in breadwinning. Additionally, in some ethnic groups, such as the Chinese in Indonesia—the Bataks and the Acehnese, men are culturally expected to earn a living for the family. On the other hand, women in such traditional communities will be stigmatised if they leave their children to babysitters to work outside their homes.

d. Wives' reluctance to part with children

During the postnatal period, most mothers would not want to separate from their children for long. Panellists discussed how some mothers would continue to have a solid attachment to the caring of their children. Even if they had jobs before giving birth, they eventually felt reluctant to return to their career as balancing time between work and household chores was deemed risky, leading to neglect in one or the other. Thus, many husbands were expected to continue as the main breadwinner figures by their wives after the birth of their children.

e. Essential beliefs about gender roles and predisposition

Some participants held the view that men were genetically predisposed to be stronger and more confident compared to women. As a result, they were better in rational thinking and decision making. At the same time, women were seen as too sensitive and easily stressed, implying that men were more suited to professional work. Such view was common among the more traditional Vietnamese males (FGD 4 VN, IDI 1 VN, IDI 2 VN, IDI 3 VN, and IDI 4 VN). Unfortunately, the current study could not delve into the reasons behind these essentialist views of gender and how people might change such views, which is a potential future study area.

WOMEN AS BREADWINNERS

Generally, the progressive males supported working women. They saw no issue if women could earn more money and occupy higher professional positions than their husbands. However, some progressive males still reported that despite their support for working wives, they were accustomed to being considered as the main breadwinners and would continue to assume such role as expected by the society. The progressive view of women as breadwinners was seemingly correlated with the progressive view on childcare. Progressive individuals reported greater willingness to share childcare responsibilities and split the burden among the spouses equally. The progressive women, but not men, in this study also discussed about their needs for self-actualisation and making use of their high level of education in joining the workforce (FGD 2 ID, FGD 2 PH, and FGD 3 ID). Thus, women's decision to continue working or being a breadwinner was not always due to financial reasons, whereas men tended to see women's decision to be a breadwinner in a more economical sense.

The traditionalists, in contrast, would oblige wives to stay at home and terminate employment after marriage. For example, a male panellist from the Philippines asked his wife to resign from her job as a flight attendant after marriage as the job was seen as unsupportive for starting a family. Some factors behind men's grip on breadwinning, as mentioned previously, could also be attributed to the traditionalists' view of women as breadwinners. Religious and cultural values and men's sense of responsibility and pride influenced the traditionalists' view that women should not be breadwinners.

The traditionalists, in contrast, would oblige wives to stay at home and terminate employment after marriage. For example, a male panellist from the Philippines asked his wife to resign from her job as a flight attendant after marriage as the job was seen as unsupportive for starting a family. Some factors behind men's grip on breadwinning, as mentioned previously, could also be attributed to the traditionalists' view of women as breadwinners. Religious and cultural values and men's sense of responsibility and pride influenced the traditionalists' view that women should not be breadwinners.

In addition to the two groupings above, there was another moderate group among the panellists. This third group did not oppose married women pursuing their careers, thus being classified as traditionalists. However, they also did not feel comfortable accepting women as the main breadwinners, unlike the progressives. The moderates positioned husbands as to the main breadwinners, while wives had the right to pursue a career—to supplement income and support their husbands, thus forming a rather middle position between the traditionalists and the progressives (FGD 1 ID, FGD 2 ID, FGD 3 ID, FGD 2 VN, FGD 1 VN, IDI 4 ID, IDI 1 ID, and IDI 1 PH,). As the moderates saw income made by working wives as supplementary income, women could be perceived as secondary earners. They were required to strike a balance between career and household responsibilities. The manifestation of this balance was exemplified by a female panellist in FGD 3 ID. She held the main role in childcare in her family, but she wanted to remain a career woman. Her husband allowed her to work in a part-time position. When her children grew up, she stated that she would be allowed to return to full-time work. Panellists classified into this third moderate group normally allocated a higher proportion of childcare and household responsibilities to the wives. Considering the nature of this qualitative study, to precisely calculate the number of the moderate group and their characteristics, it is necessary to conduct further studies on these moderates, preferably through quantitative analysis.

It is important to note that the language expressions used by the panellists could be read as gender-biased, as can be seen in the expressions of 'the right to work' and 'allowed to work', used in this report. In this case, the report attempted to reflect the wording used by the panellists rather than toning down the noted bias.

On this theme of breadwinning, it is evident that women were generally still unequal to men. At one end, the traditionalists discouraged or even prohibited women from working outside their homes. It was not just traditional males who viewed women as unsuitable for breadwinning. A traditional female panellist, for instance, also believed in the superiority of men's physical and mental fortitude, apt for working (IDI 3 ID). On the other end, the progressives gave more room for women to pursue careers and lead in bringing in income to the family. However, many progressive males would not necessarily relegate the main breadwinner figure to their wives due to upbringing and a sense of responsibility, among other influencing factors. The moderate group held women in even greater accountability. Allowing wives to work came with the expectation that they could take care of the family obligations—demanding women to find the delicate balance in juggling career and childcare.

In addition, the findings of the third group—the moderates—denote the typology of two opposites (i.e., the traditionalists and the progressives) should be interpreted as a gradation rather than strict demarcation between the two. To a certain degree, many people could accept the progressive tenets on gender equality but also adhere to traditional values in some respect, depending on their financial context, religious and cultural values, and other factors, as stated above.

Who should take the promotion?

During the data collection, panellists were shown a vignette about a dilemma faced by a married couple. Both husband and wife were offered a job promotion at about the same time. If taken, the wife would receive a higher salary increase. Panellists were asked if they were in such position, who should take the promotion—husband or wife?

Panellists discussed three factors that they would consider in making the decision are: 1) financial situation, 2) children's age, and 3) availability of extra support for childcare. Children's age was a very important factor. Wives among the panellists would consider promotion when children are at least 2 or 5 years old. Conservative wives put the bar even higher—at least 14 years old.

Children's age aside, conservative women did not see themselves at a position to make a decision on this matter. Their husbands should make the decision for them. However, when asked about their personal views on the matter, they would not take the promotion. Traditional wives believed their responsibility was to take care of the household and children. In the Philippines, traditional men would not consider being stay-home-dads. If the wife took the promotion and received a higher salary, rumours would start to circulate from relatives and officemates, affecting the husband's self-worth and ego. Therefore, from the perspective of both traditional men and women, the wife should not take the promotion.

On the other hand, the progressives in the three countries viewed that one of the spouses should take the promotion. In Indonesia and Vietnam, the wife was encouraged to take the promotions due to her higher salary increase. Quality time with children could be maximised during weekends, and extra hand for childcare could be sought from extended family members or professional childminders. Some also viewed that during the work from home period due to the pandemic, it was possible for both spouses to take the promotion for the financial benefit of the family in the long run.

SOCIAL EXPECTATION

The theme of social expectation explores how the society's general perception about gender roles—responsibilities and behaviours expected of males and females—influenced urban millennials' decisions and behaviours on breadwinning and childcare. The relevant subthemes are:

Attitude towards traditional gender roles

Clash between progressive & conservative perspectives

The critics and their concerns

Social influencers

Influencing factors

ATTITUDE TOWARDS TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

For the progressives across Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, the notion of gender roles was increasingly obsolete. The strict distinction of male and female gender roles was a past phenomenon. In contemporary times and society, there is a spectrum of roles in which the separation between male and female gender roles is blurry and is better considered pragmatically. People may take roles that in the past belonged to the opposite gender as far as they are practicable. Exceptions only exist on biological roles such as giving birth. Thus, traditional social expectations on gender roles were relatively of little relevance for the progressives, compared to the traditionalists.

Male and female traditionalists understood gender roles as innate. Men and women were essentially different regarding their biological and emotional constitution. In breadwinning and childcare, there were clearly separated roles for men and women. For instance, a male Filipino panellist stated that men were predisposed to do physical work and take risks, whereas women were caring and supportive, well suited to be the parent in charge of the children. Due to these innate biological differences between men and women, gender equality could not be attained (IDI 5 PH). This panellist perhaps epitomised extreme traditional male views on gender roles, i.e., gender equality as unobtainable.

Some traditional male and female panellists also viewed traditional gender roles as means to protect and preserve the balance of the relationship between men and women. If everyone, irrespective of gender, had equal opportunity, women could outperform men. This was seen as worrying and embarrassing for men—a potential threat to societal order (IDI 4 PH, IDI 5 PH, FGD 2 ID, FGD 4 VN). Hence, social expectations on gender roles were supported and needed by the traditionalists to maintain harmony in society. Some traditionalists in the current study saw the concept of gender equality as a trend seeking an ideal balance between men and women roles (FGD 1 VN, IDI 5 PH). For them, gender equality was not a permanent aspect of the culture.

CLASH BETWEEN PROGRESSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Panellists could be distinguished based on their real-life encounters with the critics. Some progressive panellists reported never being criticised or disapproved of by anyone for their progressive views and behaviour. When asked how they would react to likely critique on their views and behaviour, they tended to describe their potential critics in rather stereotypical characteristics, i.e., outdated, older-generation men who were distant relatives or neighbours.

In contrast, progressive panellists who had been critiqued for their views on gender issues provided a more nuanced depiction of those critics. Some were criticised or disapproved by their nuclear family members, such as mothers, sisters, and husbands (FGD 3 PH, IDI 3 ID). They also mentioned critique coming from traditional-minded younger people or friends, such as those who were raised by their grandparents (FGD 3 PH) and those who came from highly traditional and religious communities, such as Aceh in Indonesia (FGD 3 ID, IDI 1 PH). Hence, the critics did not necessarily have typical age and gender.

Irrespective of stereotypical or actual characteristics of the critics, all mentioning of critiques was associated with the critics' old-fashioned or outdated mindset on gender roles. Such attitude was seen as ingrained among some segments of the society, believing that women should stay behind at home and men should move forward at work. The outdated mindset was linked to the goal of maintaining a status quo or harmony of the society based on traditional gender norms and values. Incidents of critique directed towards the progressives were described as unsolicited advice from these old-fashioned individuals who meddled into the progressives' personal or family affairs to 'redirect' them into the traditional gender norms and values (FGD 3 PH, FGD 4 ID). How the progressives responded to the critiques is discussed in the following section.

RESPONDING TO CRITIQUES

Panellists discussed their reactions when people criticised their progressive outlook on gender equality. There were instances where progressive panellists encountered adversarial situations in relation to their views on gender. A female panellist who was a weightlifter found herself criticised because weightlifting was seen as a male domain (IDI 3 VN). In an office environment, a male panellist's support for a qualified female manager candidate was quashed by the director, who preferred a male candidate purely for gender consideration (IDI 4 ID).

Based on the IDI and FGD data, the progressive panellists would respond in the following manners when faced with critiques and disapproval for their views and behaviours on gender equality.

a. Ignore critiques

Believing their course of action and view as correct, many progressives completely ignored the critiques. This response was often found among Vietnamese progressive panellists, irrespective of gender.

b. Diffuse tension

Depending on the situation, progressive panellists would listen, accept, and modify their behaviours to avoid prolonged conflict with people who criticised them. Filipino participants also often talked about using humour or jests to diffuse the tension, particularly with older people whom they saw as too challenging to talk to about gender equality (FGD 2 PH). For instance, being in the traditional parent's in law's house, a progressive couple might temporarily adhere to the expected gender roles. The wife would prepare food and do kitchen work. However, in their own household, they would return, crossing the gender roles where the husband could cook and do house chores. Progressive panellists might also welcome critiques when given, but they did not subsequently change their daily behaviours and beliefs about gender equality.

c. Selectively defend position

Progressives also would assess if the person criticising them were open to constructively discussing different perspectives. If the other person were obstinate and firm on his/her beliefs, then it would seem futile to defend the progressive perspective. On the contrary, if the critique was seen open minded, the progressives would defend their position and engage in a dialogue. As such, the selective defence would be matched with the critics' personality or outlook, rather than their status or professional and family relationship.

d. Argue back without reserve

Few progressives reported an immediate argument would ensue when they were criticised for their behaviours and beliefs about gender roles. These progressives talked about 'out of the line' critique, which bordered on being insulting or out of place that should be met with harsher argument.

SOCIAL INFLUENCERS

Panellists also discussed about influencers who transformed social expectations on gender roles towards greater openness and equality. The following social influencers were mentioned by conservative and progressive panellists.

a. Printed and social media

The printed media might cover noteworthy female leaders and role models, such as Mother Teresa and Marie Curie, which was subsequently read by the public. Novels and popular inspirational books (e.g., *Chicken Soup for the Soul*) touched issues of women liberation, feminism, and gender equality. Social media influencers portrayed idealised individuals who could exemplify and open up people's minds about gender equality through their postings and streaming (IDI 2 ID, IDI 3 ID, IDI 3 VN, and IDI 4 ID).

### b. Open online forum or public campaign

Panellists who attended events as a part of the Millennials Talk Campaigns were exposed to women empowerment and gender equality, for example. Those who joined IW's Millennial Bicara Facebook group in Indonesia were able to openly discuss and read postings about gender issues (IDI 2 ID, IDI 4 ID). One of the male panellists commented, "[I] joined Millenial Bicara Facebook page. *Since I joined, I have started to read the postings. They are very interesting...There have not been many related communities that are so relevant and fit perfectly in our daily lives.* (IDI 4 ID)" Another Indonesian male panellist stated that his idea that men should be the breadwinner started to change since being invited to the Millennial Bicara Focus Group Discussion and reading entrepreneurship materials. He began to believe that women could be breadwinners and successful entrepreneurs, just like men (IDI 2 ID). All of these influenced panellists to shift towards a more progressive attitude.

c. Key public figures

Not all religious leaders are taught about patriarchal views on gender roles. There were also open and reform-minded leaders who encouraged panellists to be more considerate about gender equality. Some public intellectuals also brought enlightenment about equal sharing in childcare responsibilities between husbands and wives (IDI 2 ID, FGD 4 ID).

d. Social circle

Family members, friends, and work colleagues who espoused to progressive ideas on gender roles were also mentioned as sources of influence to think more progressively. Seeing female co-workers who performed their tasks admirably gave proof that women could be equal to men. Similarly, seeing cousins or siblings had equitably shared responsibilities with their spouses' provided examples that men and women could be equal partners in married life (FGD 3 PH, IDI 3 ID and IDI 4 ID). The social circle made available a safe space for urban millennials to discuss gender roles in childcare and breadwinning and adopt a more progressive outlook on these issues.
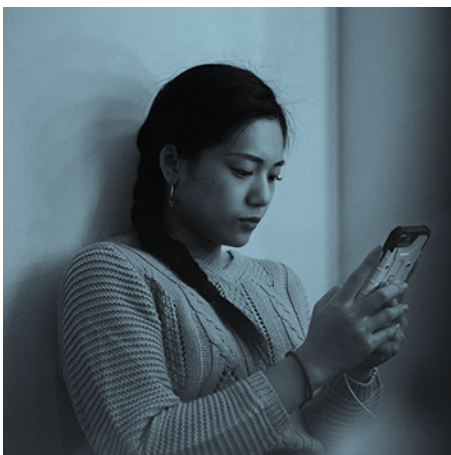
Among these social influencers, the data shows that the closest social circle - family members perhaps held the most sway in determining urban millennials' view on gender equality. Eleven data sets contained panellists' discussion on the role of their family members - parents, spouse, or siblings - on the formation of their gender views. Parents are important as they set up role models when the millennials grew up. Seeing his mother worked and raised the family single-handedly made a Filipino panellist fully aware that women could be breadwinners and do childcare at the same time (IDI 1 PH). Advice from a working mother to her daughter set an Indonesian panellist to cherish her financial independence gained through work, irrespective of how much a husband could bring home (IDI 1 ID). A Filipino panellist mentioned how having a gay brother renewed her perspective on gender roles (FGD 3 PH).

The importance of family in setting up one's outlook on life issues is very common throughout the collectivist cultures in the three Southeast Asian countries. The family could also steer urban millennials towards more traditional views, but the easily accessible media could moderate such traditional perspectives discussed in FGD 4 ID. A panellist who grew up in a traditional family could access more progressive views on gender through the media, which was mentioned in 4 data sets. Hence, while growing up in a traditional or progressive family left an imprint in the viewpoints of the urban millennials, there could be other social influencers altering their outlook on gender equality.

Besides social influencers, the panellists also discussed situations that nudged them to be more open about gender equality. These situations include financial challenges and gender-friendly laws and government policies. As mentioned before, when faced with financial hardships, families became more open to the idea that women could be breadwinners and that childcare should be equally shared between the parents. While some laws and policies were seen as disproportionately sided with men (e.g., the Philippines' Family Code stipulates that in disagreement between a husband and a wife, the husband's decision prevails), newer policies encourage better performance sharing of responsibilities between parents. For example, some panellists mentioned a government program in Aceh (Indonesia) calling for fathers to help take care of children when mothers tend their paddy fields.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SOCIAL EXPECTATION

Different factors influenced social expectations on gender roles, according to the panellists. Geographical location, public level of education, exposure to other cultures, and family setups all could influence the formation of social expectations and determine their level of adherence in society. Considering the emphasis given to exploring the nature of the different factors, ranking and the degree of importance of these factors were not explored in this study.

a. Geographical location and the predominant culture

Localities and their dominant culture could shape progressive or traditional social expectations on gender roles (FGD 4 ID, IDI 4 VN, IDI 4 ID). Rural and religious areas leaned more towards traditional social expectations. The dominant ethnic culture in an area also might shape the society's adherence to what was seen as normal behaviour for men and women. In contrast, panellists who moved to or lived in urban centres reported being more open-minded about gender roles and less mindful about traditional social expectations.

b. Level of education

Higher education level was associated with open-mindedness and acceptance of gender equality. On the other hand, panellists mentioned lower education levels did not provide much exposure to gender equality ideas. For example, in the Philippines, jobs were still discussed separately for male and female students during career counselling events in middle schools, implying that men and women should choose jobs in line with their gender roles (IDI 4 PH). Lower-level educational institutions could perpetuate traditional gender roles through their services. Moreover, there was a prevailing social expectation in some Indonesian societies that females did not need higher education as they would eventually only take care of children, which further entrenched members of the society into traditional social expectations about childcare and limited women's ability to work outside their homes.

c. Family setups

Among the Filipino panellists, non-traditional family setups were linked to a liberal perspective on gender equality (FGD 1 PH, FGD 2 PH, FGD 4 PH). These setups include single parent and same-sex parent families, as well as families whose child(ren) identified as LGBT. In these family setups, traditional social expectations on gender roles had very little relevance.

d. Exposure to other cultures and ways of life

Being well travelled or having lived in other more liberal countries or cities was associated with acceptance with gender equality. People with such experience did not necessarily conform to the traditional social expectations in their society.

To conclude, the traditionalists accepted the social expectation regarding traditional gender roles to protect the male's ego and justify the separation of responsibilities between men and women—preserving a traditional way of life and surface-level harmony of society. While the progressives did not feel much attachment to the social expectation, it did not mean that they totally could ignore it. The examples of pretending to do gender-based roles in front of parents-in-law and avoiding difficult conversations about their behaviour and attitude towards gender equality show that the progressives still tried to demonstrate outward compliance with the social expectation.

Nevertheless, the abovementioned social influencers opened public space to discuss gender equality, which overcame the difficulties in discussing progressive ideas socially due to fear of interpersonal conflict with the traditionalists. Economic and legal changes, alongside technological advances, further cleared the way for furthering progressive views. To continue progress towards gender equality, influencing factors such as education and exposure to progressive culture are essential. However, unless educational leaders and policymakers exemplify a progressive outlook, changes may come slowly.

How would urban millennials react to unsolicited advice about wife's work?

The second vignette shown to panellists sought to document their views on the expectation and interference of extended family members on working mothers, i.e., the social expectations. In the vignette, uncles and aunts advised their nephew to reconsider his working wife, who could not serve lunch to the family due to part-time work commitments. This part-time work was jointly decided by the couple as they had to pay the mortgage. The panellists were asked about their views on this scenario. The progressives tended to ignore unsolicited advice from aunts/uncles. The couple should know what was best for themselves, rather than some outsiders. The progressives also saw the couple in the vignette as ideal. They were willing to help each other achieve the same goal—to pay the mortgage. The progressive panellists also suggested that if the outsiders' interference continued, the husband should explain that he was comfortable with his wife's level of responsibility at home.

For some of the traditional panellists, facing a situation described in the vignette was embarrassing. The husband was not a 'husband material' because he did not earn enough money, so his wife had to work. Traditionalists were also concerned that the wife might be working too much to the detriment of the children who might not receive enough attention. The traditionalists suggested that the wife in the vignette should stop working as soon as the mortgage is paid.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The findings of the study indicated that there was a gradation of acceptance to traditional or progressive ideas among the panellists, rather than a strict divide. People expressing traditional ideas in breadwinning could be progressive in childcare, and vice versa, which demonstrated the complexity and wide array of ideas and behaviours related to the gender norms under investigation. While there were some differences between male and female perspectives on certain issues like working wives' motivation; for most of the findings, the more salient similarities were across the progressive-traditionalist groupings, irrespective of gender. The findings address the research goals in the following ways:

1a. The compromises and sharing of responsibilities in childcare between the progressives and the traditionalists.

In general, the panellists understood childcare as the parents' contribution to the wellbeing of the children, done by both men and women. The traditional panellists tended to assign a greater role in childcare to the mothers, who were seen as more capable in nurturing the children and tending to their physical and emotional growth. They saw the fathers as provider of more logical education role to the children while doing homework.

The progressives believed childcare duties could be shared equally between the parents, without clear division of tasks between the fathers and mothers. However, unmarried panellists seemed to have more idealistic view on the equal sharing of responsibilities between the parents, whereas the married panellists could be more pragmatic in acknowledging that mothers might take greater responsibility in line with their availability and interest. An important factor that might change the childcare practices and views among the urban millennials was the family's economic situation. Fathers who had to be migrant workers acknowledged the difficulty in shouldering equitable childcare duties with their wives, despite their view that fathers should be equally responsible for childcare. It was also interesting to note that childcare could be understood as a part of breadwinning among the male panellists.

1b. The situations and socio-demographic backgrounds entrenching the traditional views surrounding breadwinning as men's role and the conditions that might make men willing to share the breadwinning role

Across Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, the breadwinner was associated with the family member with the biggest income, who supported the family's livelihood and lead the family. Progressive females in the study wanted to continue working due to their internal motives, such as self-actualisation, growth as a female beyond motherhood, and utilising their education, not merely for economic reasons. However, the males in the study tended to see the motivation of women to work as primarily economically driven - as a way to support the husband's and family income.

While the traditionalists were against working wives, the progressives could accept men and women as breadwinners. The persisting mindset that men should be the breadwinner was due to several factors: men's sense of responsibility and success standard, upbringing, religion and culture, wives' reluctance to part from children, and beliefs about gender roles and predisposition. Vietnamese males were found to adhere to essentialist views on gender - men were better as breadwinners due to their physical and mental fortitude, while women were more suited to be housewives and take care of the children. Changes that could make men more willing to accept women as breadwinners included family financial situation, workplace role models, and the media. Based on the panellists' responses, the study hypothesised the existence of a third group - a moderate group that still put men as the breadwinners but could accept working wives. These moderates expected working wives to balance their professional and family duties.

2. The influence of social expectations on urban millennials' attitudes on gender roles

Social expectations had a great influence over the traditional panellists who accepted the traditional gender roles and would not divert from the expected gender roles. However, the progressives tended to view social expectations as less relevant, particularly when they were with family in their own homes. Surface level adherence to the gender roles might be done by these progressives to avoid conflict when they were facing traditional parents, for example.

The most important social influencer for the urban millennials was their nuclear family, although there were other influencers that affected their thinking on gender equality, such as the media, online campaigns, public figures, and social circles. The study also found that geographical location and predominant culture, level of education, family setups, and exposure to other cultures influenced the acceptance or rejection of the social expectations among the urban millennials. The data also showed that critique towards the progressives' attitude and behaviour on gender norms could come from nearly anyone in their social circles, starting from family and friends to distant relatives and neighbours. These critics were characterised by their outdated views on gender issues. When faced with criticism, the progressives had a range of responses—ignoring, diffusing tension by telling jokes (common in the Philippines), selectively defending position, and arguing back.

FUTURE STUDY AREAS

Based on the findings of this study, the following issues were identified, which would benefit from further exploration through additional research

1. **Essentialist views on gender**

    The view that women and men were naturally predisposed to certain tasks and talents were quite salient among the traditionalists and Vietnamese men. The current study did not obtain much information on the reasons behind the views and thus could not uncover how to best unseat those views.

2. **Size and characteristics of moderates**

    While the data in the study supported the presence of a third group that could not be easily grouped as either the progressives or the moderates, much is still unknown about this moderate group. The moderates had characteristics that blended the progressive and traditional views on breadwinning, but to what degree and how widespread they were in the general populations of urban millennials in the three countries was beyond the scope of the current study.

3. **The ranking of factors that influence social expectations**

    Considering the many factors influencing the acceptance of social expectations in the current study, it is logical for future investigation to identify which of these factors had the biggest influence on the urban millennials.

4. **Breadwinning as a part of childcare**

    The findings of the study implied that for some male panellists breadwinning could be associated with their thinking of childcare. Men who cared for their children did so through earning livelihood, and conversely, breadwinning could materialise in caring for children and members of family through some financial means. However, during the interviews and focus group discussions, there was not sufficient probing into this topic.

The inclusion of these four study areas in future research would potentially increase understanding on the gender norms among the urban millennials across the three countries and may have implications on how to shift attitudes and practices that will open greater participation of women in the world of work.

INVESTING IN WOMEN
SMART ECONOMICS

AN INITIATIVE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

Annex 1
Individual Panellist Details

Insights Panel
Gender Equality Norms among Urban Millennials

No	Remark	Country	UNIQUE Code	Gender	Age	Marital Status	No of Children	Age of Children	Progressive - Traditional
1	ID FGD 1	Indonesia	BASIND00371	M	25	Single			Progressive
2	ID FGD 1	Indonesia	BASIND00389	M	24	Single			Progressive
3	ID FGD 1	Indonesia	BASIND00043	M	28	Single			Progressive
4	ID FGD 1	Indonesia	BASIND00056	M	26	Single			Progressive
5	ID FGD 1	Indonesia	BASIND00100	M	35	Married	1	23 month	Progressive
6	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00085	F	27	Married			Progressive
7	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00197	F	22	Single			Progressive
8	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00222	F	30	Married	1	3 yo	Progressive
9	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00223	F	24	Single			Progressive
10	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00252	F	25	Single			Progressive
11	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00264	F	25	Single			Progressive
12	ID FGD 2	Indonesia	BASIND00029	F	34	Married	2	3 and 7	Progressive
13	ID FGD 3	Indonesia	BASIND00126	F	25	Single			Progressive
14	ID FGD 3	Indonesia	BASIND00161	F	35	Married	1	2 yo	Progressive
15	ID FGD 3	Indonesia	BASIND00254	F	21	Single			Progressive
16	ID FGD 3	Indonesia	BASIND00272	F	30	Married	1	3 yo	Progressive
17	ID FGD 3	Indonesia	BASIND00385	F	32	Married	2	4 and 7 yo	Progressive
18	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00004	M	29	Married	1	19 months	Progressive
19	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00017	M	34	Married	2	23 months and 2 weeks	Progressive
20	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00044	M	26	Single			Progressive
21	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00075	M	38	Married	1	2 yo	Progressive
22	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00087	M	31	Married	1	3 yo	Progressive
23	ID FGD 4	Indonesia	BASIND00150	M	29	Married			Progressive
24	ID IDI 1	Indonesia	BASIND00090	F	26	Single			Traditional
25	ID IDI 2	Indonesia	BASIND00154	M	26	Single			Traditional
26	ID IDI 3	Indonesia	BASIND00202	F	39	Married	3	11 yo, 6 yo, 2 yo	Traditional
27	ID IDI 4	Indonesia	BASIND00181	M	37	Married	2	10 yo and 10 months	Traditional
28	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00088	M	27	Single			Progressive
29	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00104	M	19	Single			Progressive
30	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00122	M	25	Single			Progressive
31	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00123	M	22	Single			Progressive
32	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00146	M	23	Single			Progressive
33	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00186	M	27	Single			Progressive
34	PH FGD 1	Philippines	BASPH00201	M	27	Single	1	7 yo	Progressive
35	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00006	F	24	Single			Progressive
36	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00454	F	26	Single			Progressive
37	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00086	F	23	Single			Progressive
38	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00433	F	31	Single			Progressive
39	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00182	F	28	married			Progressive
40	PH FGD 2	Philippines	BASPH00219	F	27	married			Progressive
41	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00030	F	25	Single			Progressive
42	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00067	F	19	Single			Progressive
43	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00074	F	22	Single			Progressive
44	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00158	F	21	Single			Progressive
45	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00229	F	21	Single			Progressive
46	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00231	F	32	Single			Progressive
47	PH FGD 3	Philippines	BASPH00242	F	27	Single			Progressive
48	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00078	M	21	Single			Progressive

No	Remark	Country	UNIQUE Code	Gender	Age	Marital Status	No of Children	Age of Children	Progressive - Traditional
49	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00430	M	19	Single			Progressive
50	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00094	M	28	Single			Progressive
51	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00095	M	22	Single			Progressive
52	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00137	M	20	Single			Progressive
53	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00139	M	29	Single			Progressive
54	PH FGD 4	Philippines	BASPH00216	M	32	married	1	1 yo	Progressive
55	PH IDI 1	Philippines	BASPH00121	M	20	Single			Traditional
56	PH IDI 2	Philippines	BASPH00056	F	22	Single - Living with partner	1	7 months	Traditional
57	PH IDI 3	Philippines	BASPH00101	F	22	single			Traditional
58	PH IDI 4	Philippines	BASPH00179	M	20	single			Traditional
59	PH IDI 5	Philippines	BASPH00213	M	35	married	1	5	Traditional
60	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00304	M	31	Married	2	4 yo and 7 yo	Progressive
61	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00011	M	20	Single			Progressive
62	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00092	M	19	Single			Progressive
63	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00094	M	32	Married	1	1 yo	Progressive
64	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00123	M	18	Single			Progressive
65	VN FGD 1	Vietnam	BASVN00292	M	33	Married	2	6 yo and 8 yo	Progressive
66	VN FGD 2	Vietnam	BASVN00061	F	19	Single			Progressive
67	VN FGD 2	Vietnam	BASVN00290	F	19	Single			Progressive
68	VN FGD 2	Vietnam	BASVN00306	F	27	Single			Progressive
69	VN FGD 2	Vietnam	BASVN00347	F	28	Single			Progressive
70	VN FGD 2	Vietnam	BASVN00124	F	19	Single			Progressive
71	VN FGD 3	Vietnam	BASVN00009	F	19	Single			Progressive
72	VN FGD 3	Vietnam	BASVN00068	F	18	Single			Progressive
73	VN FGD 3	Vietnam	BASVN00085	F	38	Single			Progressive
74	VN FGD 3	Vietnam	BASVN00109	F	20	Single			Progressive
75	VN FGD 3	Vietnam	BASVN00335	F	28	Single			Progressive
76	VN FGD 4	Vietnam	BASVN00303	M	24	Married			Progressive
77	VN FGD 4	Vietnam	BASVN00064	M	20	Single			Progressive
78	VN FGD 4	Vietnam	BASVN00087	M	22	Single			Progressive
79	VN FGD 4	Vietnam	BASVN00107	M	20	Single			Progressive
80	VN FGD 4	Vietnam	BASVN00113	M	20	Single			Progressive
81	VN IDI 1	Vietnam	BASVN00091	M	19	Single			Traditional
82	VN IDI 2	Vietnam	BASVN00002	M	19	Single			Traditional
83	VN IDI 3	Vietnam	BASVN00287	F	22	Single			Traditional
84	VN IDI 4	Vietnam	BASVN00077	F	23	Married	1	2 yo	Traditional

INVESTING IN WOMEN
SMART ECONOMICS
AN INITIATIVE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

Annex 2
FGD Interview Questions

Insights Panel
Gender Equality Norms
among Urban Millennials

TOPIC 1: CHILD CARE

Objectives:	Information Coverage:
To understand respondents' perspectives and reaction towards childcare and breadwinning	• Define "equal sharing" of childcare • Understand factors behind the belief that childcare is one gender's or shared responsibility • Identifying the conditions and needs to be made to make men want to share breadwinning roles

NTM: Note to Moderator

- **Spontaneous association:**
  What comes to your mind when you hear about 'childcare'?
  What else?
  Why do you come up with those?
  NTM: Check if there are any different perceptions on "equal sharing" definition between males and females

- Who do you think is responsible for childcare?
  Why do you come up with those?
  Where did that thought/idea come from?

  ◊ [If the respondent answers that 100% responsibility is the responsibility of the woman]: Are there certain moments where the father will also take part in childcare?
  • Are there factors that might prevent women from sharing roles in childcare?
  • What are the factors that prevent men from sharing roles in childcare?

  ◊ [If the respondent answers that responsibility is 50%:50% between men & women]: Does it mean that men and women should do the same activities as a form of their shared responsibility or are there actually different activities that are the specific responsibility of men and women? What do you think is ideal? What have you been doing this time?

  NTM: For example; Males handle children for playtime or when they are already "clean-finished their bath, changed diapers" compared to females that have to handle all processes

- Are there changes in childcare responsibilities between father and mother as the child ages or other conditions for the child (e.g., having more children)?
  NTM: Possibly the responsibility during younger age lies more with the mother while the father has responsibility for older age child(ren)

- What do examples of shared responsibility in childcare look like?
  NTM: i.e. balanced time?

  Task-Sharing? What influences your thoughts to think that way?
  NTM: Check if there are any different perceptions between males and females

- Source of info: What/who influenced you to have this perception about childcare?
  NTM: For example, from books, parental habits, TV, attending training, etc

TOPIC 2: BREADWINNING

Objectives:	Information Coverage:
To understand respondents' perspectives and reaction towards breadwinning	• Define notions of breadwinning role • Understand factors behind the belief that breadwinning is men's role • Identifying the conditions which would lead to men sharing breadwinning roles

NTM: Note to Moderator

• **Spontaneous association:**
  What comes to your mind when you hear about "breadwinning"?
  What else?
  Why do you come up with those?
  NTM: Check if there are any different perceptions on "equal sharing" definition between males and females

• When speaking of "main role in breadwinning", how do we define the meaning of "main role"?
  Is it from the amount of salary earned / amount of time spent working / position or title / etc.?

• Who holds the main role in breadwinning in your family?
  NTM: Is there a difference between single and married people?

• [Only ask respondents who are married]: Has it always been like this from the start or have there been differences over time?

• What are the factors behind it: the way of being raised, religion, practical role differences (seeing the practical side, not the equality – for example, the wife's education is higher and her age is older, holding a senior management level.

• Getting married does not mean the husband has to be in a higher position → this practical consideration is for a couple because the situation has existed before marriage), the best interest of the children, education, social status, ethnicity?

Previously we have discussed your perception and ideas regarding the concept of a breadwinner figure. Now I want to share a social issue that may still be happening around us. At this time many people believe that men have the responsibility to be the main breadwinner

• Do you think this attitude is common in your environment (friends, family, etc.)?

• According to you individually, what makes a man still want to be the main breadwinner, not sharing the breadwinner role with his wife?

• What changes or compromises would make men more likely to share the main breadwinner role?

• From the women's side, why would some women not want to be the main breadwinner?

Now, try to imagine that you are married with children and the wife gets a job promotion with a higher salary

- **[Question asked to the man]: How would you feel if you were faced with such a condition?**

  - ◊ Would you compromise so your wife can take this opportunity?
  - ◊ Are there certain requirements/conditions that the wife must fulfill in order for her to take the promotion?
  - ◊ What form of support do you have for your wife in this situation?
  - ◊ As your wife is likely to spend more time at work, does this make you more willing to take care of the children at home?
  - ◊ Would your perceptions and actions be the same if the children's ages were different?
    At what age or number of children, will you allow your wife to take that opportunity?
  - ◊ When speaking of "main role in breadwinning", how do we define the meaning of "main role"?
    Is it from the amount of salary earned / amount of time spent working / position or title / etc.?

- **[Question asked to the women]: How would you feel if you were faced with such condition?**

  - ◊ Who would you consult with before you make this decision?
  - ◊ Are there any changes that you will make to compensate for changes in current conditions (e.g. in terms of childcare)?
  - ◊ Would your perceptions and actions be the same if the children's ages were different? At what age or number of children, will you take the opportunity?

Now I will show you a story and let's see and observe together. Imagine you were in that condition
NTM: *Moderator shows Vignette PPT to respondents*

Vignette #1 Breadwinning
NTM: Read out loud at FGD/ recording (max 3 minutes)

My husband has earned more money than I do. Then we both are offered a promotion at work almost at the same time. If we take that promotion, it will require us to work six more hours per week.

We have young kids that still need to get our help such as with their homework, feed and bathe them, and talk to them.

If I (wife) take the promotion, I would earn more money than my husband even if he takes the promotion as well. and we would have enough to cover our family needs.

I am not sure, if one of us or maybe all of us should take the promotion or not.

- **Spontaneous reaction:**
  Spontaneously, what came to your mind when you saw the story?
  What is your perception of the husband's decision?
  What is your perception of the wife's decision?
  Is this a natural course of action for a husband or wife?
  NTM: Check if there are differences in views/perceptions between men and women

- What would you personally do as a husband or wife to find a middle ground in this situation?
  - ◊ Moderator lets the respondents ask for help from any family member (reality experience) but then cross check: If this situation and condition happened when there were only three of you at home, what would you do?

- In your opinion, how do other people in our social and family circle (friends/relatives/neighbours/family) see the issue of "childcare" and "the main breadwinner"? Do they have the same/different perspective as us? Who or what influences this thinking?

Earlier we have discussed childcare and the division of the breadwinner role in the family. In the last session we will try to discuss what or who influences our perception of social issues as well as day-to-day decision making.

TOPIC 3: SOCIAL EXPECTATION

Objectives:	Information Coverage:
To understand underlying factors behind respondents' social expectation	- Who influences urban millennials the most and why - Who criticizes/disapproves them and why - What is their response to the critiques

NTM: Note to Moderator

NTM: Even when urban millennial attitudes on gender norms may be relatively progressive, social expectations have a strong influence in pushing urban millennials towards more traditional behaviour around gender norms.

- What do you know about "gender roles"?
  NTM: Allow the respondents to answer freely. If there are difficulties, the moderator can help - Gender roles are the socially accepted roles or tasks women or men are expected to take in society, in the family, at home and in the work place.

- What do you think about gender equality?
  Do you think men and women should play very different roles, or should play similar roles?

- Do you sometimes criticize or support other people's attitudes/behaviours concerning some gender roles?

- Are there things or people that influence your perception of the roles women or men should play?
  ◊ Who in your social circle tends to support, or oppose, your views on women's and men's roles?

- Whose views are important in influencing your opinion on what roles men and women should play?
  NTM: This may be friends or family but may also be other institutions such as government, media, religious authorities

  Do some people criticize you for your own views and actions related to gender roles?
  If so, what people?

  Does this influence you to change your views and actions, or do you continue the same way?

  For example, someone may say that you are old-fashioned (men and women have different responsibilities) or too westernized (men and women have equal responsibilities) regarding gender issues, or that you should change the way you act at home or at work

And for the last one, now I will show you a story again and let's see and observe together. Imagine you were in that condition. **NTM:** *Moderator shows Vignette PPT to respondents*

Vignette #1 Social Pressure
NTM: Read out loud at FGD/ recording (max 3 minutes)

My husband and I lived with his parents until we move to our current house. To be able to have more savings, I usually take up a part-time job with good pay, but it requires me to do the work on weekends. My husband has agreed on this and he has given full support to me to help the both of us quickly pay the mortgage.

Once or twice a week, his uncles/aunts come over and we have lunch on the weekends together. His uncles/aunts observed that my husband prepared his own meal because I was still doing/finishing my work. They came to me and gave family-advice that I should serve the table and prepare the meal for my husband. They suggested that I take less work and focus on my husband's need to better maintain the harmony in my family. I am confused about whether to drop the job or continue earning extra money to help pay our mortgage.

- **Spontaneous reaction:**
  Spontaneously, what came to your mind when you saw the story?
  What is your perception of the husband's decision (ie his support to the wife's work)?
  What is your perception of the wife's decision (ie her taking on additional work and income-earning)?
  Is this a natural course of action for a wife?
  NTM: Check if there are differences in views/perceptions between men and women

- Is this a natural course of action for a wife?
  NTM: Does the husband/wife feel pressured?

- In your opinion, how do other people in our social and family circle (friends/relatives/neighbours/family) see the issue of "social expectations"? Do they have the same/different perspective as us? Who or what influences this thinking?

- Finally, we would like to thank you for your participation in this research and for joining the Facebook group, as well as your reaction to it.