

Impact of War and Military Service on Transition to Adulthood of Young Men
In the Red River Delta, Vietnam

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Introduction

The Vietnam War¹, or the American conflict in Vietnam from the early 1960s to mid-1970s, was one of the major turning points of the 20th century. In terms of international politics, the war revealed that a nationalist revolution, even in a relatively poor country, could overcome the military might of the major superpower of the 20th century. But beyond the immediate results of the war – the reunification of Vietnam, relatively little is known about the impact on people who fought in the war or the generations who lived through the war. In this study I use the life course and demographic approach to document the effects of war and military service on transition to adulthood among Vietnamese men who survived.

For most Vietnamese above age 50 today, war and great human loss continue to be their dominant historical memory (Tai 1994). Between 1945 and 1975 Vietnam experienced nearly continuous wars with the Japanese, French, and Americans. After the 1975 the country experienced military conflict with Cambodia and with China in the late 1970s. Even though major fighting was over by the end of the 1970s, the mobilization of young men into military carried on until the late 1980s. During the Vietnam-American war (1965-1975) alone, approximately one million of Vietnam's 42-million population (North and South Vietnam combined) died in war-related causes (Hirschman et al. 1995). War afflicted young adult males between age 15 and 29 most. The mortality rate for this age group was more than 10 times the death rates for natural causes (Merli 2000). These series of wars did not only bring about great human loss to the Vietnamese society but they also left profound imprints on life course

¹ The standard western reference to the war, which took place as a result of American intervention in Vietnam as the "Vietnam War", reflects an American-centric perception. In this study, I will refer to the war as the "Vietnam-American War" to make it consistent with how I refer to other wars in the modern history of Vietnam such as the Vietnam-French War (1945-1954).

trajectories of those who survived. Table 1 illustrates the intersection of periods of war and the life course of young men in Vietnam.

[Table 1 about here]

Men born in the 1940s and 1950s, for example, entered adulthood during the peak years of the Vietnam-American war. Due to high military demands, going to war was almost a rite of passage for young men from these birth cohorts. Because of their military service, many men might have experienced an interruption in schooling, work, and family formation. Meanwhile, those born in the 1960s and 1970s came of age during Vietnam's relatively peaceful period of economic reform. Unlike their fathers, these men grew up without first-hand experience of wartime austerity. Instead, they have been witnessing the country's material progress and economic development. Under different socioeconomic and political contexts, the transition to adulthood of these younger men may be very different from their fathers'.

In this paper, I describe inter-cohort trends in transition to adulthood of young Vietnamese men based on an analysis of Vietnam Longitudinal Survey. I address trends in military service and selectivity into military in Vietnam. I examine how war and call to military service affect timing and sequencing of early life course transitions among men born between the 1930s and 1970s in the Red River Delta. The life course events examined include the timing of leaving school, which marks the entry of young adults into economically productive roles, and the timing of marriage and first birth, which signify the beginning of their reproductive career. It is usually through these productive and reproductive roles that young persons are considered adults by their families and the broader community.

Social impact of war on the transition to adulthood in the life course perspective

War temporarily reorganizes society and can drastically intervene in the lives of individuals. According to the life course perspective, while large-scale social changes such as urbanization and industrialization can condition the transition to adulthood by either standardizing or

individualizing its patterns in timing and sequencing of adult roles (Shanahan 2000), historical events such as war and mass mobilization of men into military also have profound impact on transition to adulthood and often lead to a very different patterns among successive cohorts.

By drafting young people into military, governments during wartime ask them to be something they have not previously been. War mobilization is thus often viewed as a turning point in young men's lives. Based on his studies of American veterans, Elder (1987) outlines the process in which war mobilization can affect adolescents. First, military service means a separation from the influence of family and native community, thus bringing young men social independence and establishment of new social ties. Secondly, war mobilization is expected to broaden one's perspective through meeting new people and going to different places. Thirdly, service time provides a break from age-graded life course events. In other words, military service creates a "social moratorium" or a postponement of the acquisition of adult roles. It gives young men a legitimate time out from education, work, and family.

Numerous studies show that war causes interruption in transition to adult roles and responsibilities, including socioeconomic roles (school completion) and reproductive roles (marriage and parenthood). This is particularly evident for men who serve in the military.

Socioeconomic roles: the impact of war on timing of leaving school is multifaceted. On one hand, empirical evidence shows that many men who are forced to discontinue schooling because of military service tend not to return to school after military service, thus reducing their age at school completion (Hogan 1981). On the other hand, heavy military demands can also lengthen the duration of educational transition by postponing the school-completion transition. Such the case is American veterans who use the economic resources provided by the post-war educational rehabilitation programs (e.g., G.I. Bill) for post-military schooling, thereby finishing school at a later average age (Nam 1964; Mattila 1978).

Reproductive roles: Studies on impact of war on timing of family formation show mixed results. Military service may hasten men to get married before they go off to war since wartime

marriage symbolically connect soldiers with the civilian life that they reluctantly left behind (Modell and Steffey 1988). However, military service generally delays first marriage for individual men (Cooney and Hogan 1991). Hogan (1981) finds that even though the effect of heavy demands for military service during World War II is to hasten the marriage transition, on average veterans have later age at marriage compared with non-veterans because military service limits their access to potential mates and makes it inconvenient for them to marry.

Ordering of adult roles: Not only do war and military experience affect the timing of transition to adulthood but they can also rearrange normative sequencing of life events. Hogan (1981), for example, defines that normative ordering of transition to adulthood in the United States occurs when a man first completes school, next begins to work, and lastly marries. Hogan finds that re-arrangements of early life course sequencing happen more often among veterans than among non-veterans.

Research on social impact of war on the life course provides an important analytical window for viewing the role of macro-level events in changing the course of adult development. Most existing literature is based on data from US and few other industrial societies such as Germany and Japan. There are very few empirical studies on the experiences of war felt by populations of developing societies, where most modern warfare took place. To date, there are only two empirical studies attempting to document human loss and sufferings of wars in Vietnam (Hirschman et al. 1995; Merli 2000), although the impact of wars on the lives of the Vietnamese has been described quite extensively in novels, films, and other literary genres. A better understanding of the association between war and the life course in these societies will contribute to the development of cross-cultural perspective on human development and status attainment.

An overview of Vietnam's history: From wars to economic reform

Central to the modern Vietnamese history is Vietnam's struggle for independence from foreign domination through social revolution and wars. Vietnam was colonized by the French in the late 19th century. French colonialism drastically transformed Vietnam's social structure and economic basis (Beresford 1988). It was these fundamental social changes that gave rise to nationalist movement and a new form of resistance in the 1920s and 1930s under the leadership of communists.

[Figure 1 VN map about here]

The war for independence from the French (i.e., Vietnam-French War) broke out in 1945. It continued on until the 1950s with the communist-led resistance movement having a strong power base in rural areas of Vietnam and the French controlling only urban areas of the Red River Delta (north) and Mekong River Delta (south). France's catastrophic defeat in Dien Bien Phu in 1954 led to the evaporation of political will in Paris to continue the war campaign in Vietnam. The peace settlement in Geneva in 1954 led to the partition of Vietnam into North and South Vietnam. The Communist Party led by Ho Chi Minh ruled North Vietnam, while a non-communist party governed South Vietnam with assistance from France and the US.

During the period after the Geneva accord (i.e., Post-Geneva Lull), communist insurgency and guerilla fighting took place in South Vietnam. The resistance movement in the South was supported by the North Vietnam government after South Vietnam and the US refused to follow the Geneva peace treaty in having a nationwide election. At the same time, the Communist government attempted to implement collective economic measures and development in North Vietnam. By 1965, the American air strikes against North Vietnam began with their original purpose to halt the flow of supplies from North Vietnam in reaching the communist insurgency in South Vietnam. This marked the outbreak of the Vietnam-American War. The war between North and South Vietnam continued on until 1975, even though by 1969

the US government began decreasing their military involvement and support to South Vietnam because of widespread anti-war movements in the US.

North and South Vietnam were reunified in 1975. The Communist government attempted to transform the whole country into a collective and redistributive economy but its efforts failed. Under this socialist transformation, peasants became members of cooperative units and industries were incorporated into the socialist sector. However, the socialization of ownership was not accompanied by effective forms of socialized production. Workers and peasants were more interested in investing in family production than in collective and state activities. The level of production dropped; real per capita income was stagnant; food shortage was pervasive. The crisis was caused by a combination of factors, including war devastation, cessation of foreign aid, continuing diversion of resources to military expenditures, and general mismanagement of the Communist Party (Marr and White 1988).

By the late 1980s, the Vietnamese leadership officially accepted the shift toward a market economy. The collectives were dismantled in 1988. The government passed legislation that specified the rights of entrepreneurs, reduced subsidization, and phased out rationing. Land was distributed among peasant households and peasants could sell or mortgage the rights to use their land. After the reform, the Vietnamese economy grew at nearly 10 percent annually throughout the 1990s before slowing down slightly at the end of the decade. The economic reform has significantly altered opportunity structures and generated a variety of job trajectories (Fforde and de Vylder 1996). Note that despite the rapid economic growth, over one third of the Vietnamese population still lived in poverty (Haughton 2001). The level of socioeconomic development differs sharply between urban and rural areas and among geographical regions (Dollar and Glewwe 1998).

Data

In this study, I analyze the baseline data of Vietnam Longitudinal Survey (VLS) conducted in 1995 in Vietnam's Red River Delta. These data are useful for several considerations.

First, although many sources of reliable and systematic data on Vietnam have become available over the past decade, the VLS is one among very few social surveys that collect information on the military service of the Vietnamese during the 20th century. The VLS provides relatively detailed information on one's military experience, including whether an individual has ever served in the army, year entering and leaving military service, and the number of times serving in the military.

Secondly, the population sample of the VLS fits my study objectives well. The VLS interviews all men and women age 15-65 (in 1995). This means the oldest men included in the study were born in 1930 and the youngest born in 1980. The sample, thus, covers birth cohorts entering adulthood during Vietnam's politically and economically tumultuous decades ranging from the Vietnam-French War (1945-1954), Post-Geneva Lull (1955-1964), Vietnam-American War (1965-1975), Post-reunification (1976-1988) and Economic reform (1989-). This allows me to examine the impact of war on transition to adulthood from intra- and inter-cohort perspectives.

Moreover, the VLS is chosen because its geographic coverage features the Red River Delta – an area located in northern Vietnam that provides a “natural experiment” setting for assessing the impacts of war on the life course of the Vietnamese. The population of Red River Delta was extensively mobilized by the socialist regime between the 1940s and 1970s and was also heavily bombed during the escalation of the Vietnam-American War (1965-1968). The proximity to Hanoi, the economic center of northern Vietnam, also makes the Red River Delta a likely site of economic development and diffusion of market ideas emerging in the late 1980s – thus, appropriate for assessing the effects of the economic reform.

[Figure 2 RRD Map about here]

The VLS was conducted in Ha Nam Ninh province in the Red River Delta². According to the 1989 census, Ha Nam Ninh was the most populous province in northern Vietnam (with population of approximately 3.1 millions). The VLS questionnaire was administered to the 1,855 households randomly sampled in ten urban and rural communes, including 4,464 individuals between age 15 and 65. In this study, I limit my sample to men born between 1930 and 1975. The number of observations is large enough to provide a solid representation of transition behaviors of fairly detailed subgroups within the population.

In addition to detailed data on military service, the VLS also contains rich information needed for my study. The VLS household questionnaire, administered by head of household or an adult in the household, features a household roster, questions concerning income sources, ownership of land and property, agricultural production, and other matters concerning physical and economic conditions of the household. Meanwhile, the individual questionnaire contains a diverse set of questions concerning parental and sibling characteristics, marital and childbearing history, and economic activities. The baseline VLS provides retrospective data requisite for constructing key variables in my study including timing of leaving school, age at first marriage and first birth.

² Although some might argue that the power of research inference based on an analysis of nationally representative data may be more robust, the fact that the VLS sample covers only the Red River Delta indeed limits potential complexities my study might have encountered had I used a nationally representative sample survey. This problem is critical for the study of military service during wartime Vietnam and long-term status attainment of veterans. During the Vietnam-American War, North Vietnam was by and large politically homogenous under the rule of the socialist government. Meanwhile, soldiers in South Vietnam could be divided into two groups: those serving for the South Vietnam government and supported by the Americans (known as Army of Republic of Vietnam or ARVN) versus those supported by North Vietnam (known as National Liberation Front or NLF). If the survey did not ask respondents specifically which side a veteran had served during the war, this could be problematic (note that such question can be very sensitive in Vietnam). The issue becomes very complicated when considering the rewards systems given to veterans. After the reunification, the socialist government had a policy that apparently favored the NLF veterans over the ARVN veterans (Lamb 2002). By focusing on the Red River Delta, I can avoid these complexities. Veterans in the VLS sample are most likely those who served for North Vietnam, given that there has been very little migration flow into the very densely settled Red River Delta.

Measurement: Transition to adulthood in the Vietnamese context

Theoretically, transition to adulthood can be defined as the period when young persons leave their adolescent roles as dependents in their family and society to become productive and reproductive adults (Hogan 1981). In most western industrial societies, this process involves several role changes such as school completion, leaving parental home, getting a job, and marrying. Nonetheless, passage to adulthood in each society may vary depending on its level of socioeconomic development and cultural context. In this section, I discuss how adulthood is viewed in the Vietnamese context and describe how I measure life course events that mark transition to adulthood in Vietnam.

In Vietnam where the majority of its population engage in agricultural sector and live in rural areas, young people informally begin their economically productive roles when they leave school. In industrial societies, there may be a distinct interval between leaving school and getting first civilian job because of the period spent in job search. In the context of Vietnam, however, the interval between leaving school and entering agricultural labor force (i.e., having first job) is expected to very small. This transition tends to be nearly seamless because children usually work as unpaid labor on family farm even before they leave school. The Vietnam Living Standards Survey 1997/8 shows that median ages at completing school and entering labor force for most Vietnamese from 1934-1983 birth cohorts are about the same or different by less than one year.

Although young Vietnamese might leave home to pursue higher education or to look for jobs like their counterparts in western countries, leaving parental home does not confer an adult role to young people in Vietnam with the same degree it does to adolescents in the US or other industrial societies. In the context of Vietnam as well as most Asian societies, young people only fully become an adult when they have a family of their own. Family formation involves not only getting married but also having children. Marriage is nearly universal in Vietnam and the Vietnamese marry at a young age (Nguyen Huu Minh 1998; Pham Van Bich 1999). Given

strong kinship ties in the Vietnamese society, young couples usually live with grooms' parents right after marriage and would move out to set up their own household after they have first child (Hirschman and Nguyen 2002).

In this study, I use timing of leaving school as a marker of young people's economically productive roles. The VLS asks respondents about the highest grades completed in formal school (i.e., Grade 1-12) and year in which one left or completed formal schooling. In a separate set of questions, respondents are also asked whether they received and finished vocational training or college and year in which they completed or left vocational schools/colleges. The survey also collects information about respondents' school interruption and its timing.

In addition, timing of first marriage and first birth will be used as markers for transition into adults' reproductive roles. The VLS provides detailed information on marriage and childbearing history. Respondents are asked about their first and current marriages. The survey inquires about the childbearing history of female respondents who are married. Timing of first marriage and first birth can be measured straightforwardly.

Prevalence of military service in Vietnam

In addition to productive and reproductive roles that mark transition to adulthood of young people, military service is also a dominant part of young adult years in many men's lives. This is particularly the case of certain cohorts of young Vietnamese men. During the war periods, Vietnam was one of the most highly mobilized societies in the world (Beresford 1988). Based on the Vietnam Longitudinal Survey, Figure 3 shows the proportion of Vietnamese men born between 1930 and 1975 who have served in the military. To make it convenient for interpretation, in this presentation, I use year in which a birth cohort reached age 20, which roughly indicates the timing that individuals usually undergo changes in roles and statuses from youth to adulthood. The proportion of Vietnamese who have served in the military is calculated

by dividing the number of men with military experience in a particular birth cohort by the total number of men from that cohort. I present three-year moving average of these estimates.

[Figure 3 about here]

The findings from the VLS show that military service was a way of life for young Vietnamese men from several cohorts of men included in my study. About 40 percent of men who reached age 20 during the Vietnam-French war served in the military³. The probability of military service increases nearly steadily for each cohort of men who came of age during the Post-Geneva Lull. By the early 1960s, about 60 percent had some military experience. For men who reached age 20 during the Vietnam-American War, well over two thirds of them joined the military. This finding is consistent with the estimates based on the North Vietnam population. According to Van Dyke (1972), during the late 1960s, approximately 120,000 men (63 percent) of the cohort size of 190,000 who reached draft age each year in North Vietnam were inducted. North Vietnam army's poor military technology and high war casualties during this period heightened military demands. The mass mobilization into military might also be explained by North Vietnam's abundant manpower. Due to constantly high fertility rate and a periodic halt in production caused by the US bombing campaigns, there were many underemployed young men who were probably interested in taking any job the government might throw in their way.

During the Post-reunification period, the probability of military service continues to be high. Over 60 percent of men who reached age 20 at this period served in the military. This is likely to be because Vietnam continued waging wars with Cambodia and China after the Vietnam-American war was over. By 1985, the probability of military service drops sharply from over 60 percent to less than 30 percent within just a few years. Such decrease can be explained by Vietnam's cutback in military budget which led to a complete withdrawal of its troops from

³ Note that age heaping could be problematic for this cohort. The lower probability of military service for men who came of age during the Vietnam-French war (compared with following cohorts) might be explained by the fact that North Vietnam's army was just in its formation. The VLS data do not allow me to assess whether veterans who fought in this war served on the sides of French colony or the resistance movement.

Cambodia in 1989. The demobilization of Vietnamese society was likely a result of the collapse of the socialist bloc and the withdrawal of financial aid from the Soviet Union to Vietnam.

Timing and duration of military service in Vietnam

The inter-cohort comparison of prevalence of military experience shows that military service is a rite of passage for many Vietnamese men from the Red River Delta, especially those coming of age during the Post-Geneva Lull, Vietnam-American war, and Post-reunification period. In this section, I further describe the military experience of these men by assessing timing of entry and duration of their military service. From the life course perspective, these aspects are important because different points of entry and duration of service add up to differences in the timing and sequencing of social events, roles, and trajectories⁴ (Mayer and Schoepflin 1989).

The North Vietnam government attempted to recruit soldiers from every stratum of its population (Turley 1980). In theory, all males had to register during January of the year they reached age 18. They could expect to be drafted for a period of at least two years within the next 18 months after this registration. In practice, however, timing of entry and duration of service vary quite greatly in Vietnam. For example, men who come of age during heightened military demands might be drafted at an earlier age. They may also be required to stay in service longer than expected. Table 2 illustrates the differentials in age at entry into the military service and length of military service for veterans from the Red River Delta by year in which they reached age 20.

[Table 2 about here]

⁴ Evidence from the US, Germany, and Japan shows how disruptive the effects of military service on entry into adult roles during wartime depend much less on the length of service than on whether such deprivation occurs at crucial times in educational and occupational careers of individuals. Young entrants of the military service are more likely than older entrants to enter war before they finish school, have full-time jobs, and get married. While service in the military at an early age can maximize the discontinuity between youth and adulthood, it redirects the life course through delaying entry into family roles, and providing opportunities for educational and occupational advancement.

Among veterans who came of age during 1945-1954 (the Vietnam-French War), they tend to enter the military at an age older than the standard draft age of 18. Nearly 45 percent of them entered the military after turning 25 years old. They were also likely to serve in the military for an extended period of time. Nearly one thirds of them served between 5 and 10 years. Fifteen percent were in the military over ten years. Note that these estimates may be slightly biased because the number of observation for veterans who came of age during the Vietnam-French war is small (N=38). When mobilization began in the 1950s and 1960s, many civilians at older age (between age 20 and 30) who had not served before were recruited into the military. This explains why veterans from this period had older age of entry into military compared to those from other periods. I observe that nearly 40 percent of veterans who came of age during 1955-1964 (the Post-Geneva Lull) entered the military at age over 25 years old and one third of them in their early 20s.

Once military service became a “norm” for young men, timing of entry into military became more standardized and moved towards a younger age bracket of 18-20 years old. For cohorts of veterans who entered adulthood during and after the Vietnam-American War (1965-1975), the majority of them began their military service in their late teens. By the 1990s, over three fourths of men who came of age during this period joined the military between age 18-20. New military recruits over age 20 were no longer common. High war casualties during the Vietnam-American war increased the demand for manpower in North Vietnam. While entering at relatively younger age, men from the Red River Delta who reached age 20 during this period were more likely to serve for a long time (unless they got wounded or killed). Nearly one-fourth of them served more than 11 years and over 40 percent served between 5 and 10 years. After the Vietnam-American War, length of military service for most veterans became much shorter. For a majority of veterans who came of age during Post-reunification and Economic reform periods, duration of service ranged from 2 to 4 years.

The VLS shows that older generations of Vietnamese veterans tended to serve at relatively older ages than their younger counterparts who were likely to join the military around the standard draft age of 18. Moreover, while long-term service was typical in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, it is only in the 1990s that a short-term service became common. In addition to understanding these differentials in military experience, it is important to address why some men joined the military but some did not. In the following section, I explore differentials in background characteristics of men with military experience, compared with those with no experience in order to shed some light on the process of selectivity into military in Vietnam.

Who served in the military?

Questions of social class bias in selectivity into military service are of interest to social scientists concerned with the social impact of war. According to the class bias hypothesis, the burden of fighting is borne disproportionately by individuals from lower status group (Modell and Haggarty 1991). Social groups with advantaged socioeconomic status can often protect themselves and their group members from disastrous effects of going to war. This process, however, depends on the perception of the military at a particular time (Teachman and Call 1996). Factors that might affect the perception include civilian unemployment rates and educational opportunities and job training available to veterans and non-veterans.

According to North Vietnam's draft deferment policy, an exemption of military service would be granted to the physically disabled, sole remaining sons, young men who were the principal support for their families, selected Communist Party functionaries, most talented college students, and technicians with special skills (Smith et al. 1967). In Table 3, I attempt to assess if there is social class bias that spares some Vietnamese men from military. I describe inter-cohort differentials in background characteristics of veterans and non-veterans. I include place of birth or place of growing up, father's educational attainment, father's Communist Party membership, and father's government employment as proxies for social origin.

[Table 3 about here]

The level of selectivity into military tends to be relatively low when most men serve in the military. Nonetheless, I observe a moderate degree of positive selectivity into military among Vietnamese men who came of age during the Vietnam-French War and the highly mobilized eras of Post-Geneva Lull and Vietnam-American War. In other words, during these periods in the Red River Delta, sons of better educated fathers and those whose fathers who were Communist Party member and government officers were more likely to serve in the military, relative to those whose fathers had less education, were not associated with Communist Party, and did not work for the government. This finding is consistent with Merli (2000). In addition, I find that men from urban areas were more likely to join the military, compared to those from the countryside.

Why did the Vietnamese men from higher social background bear more burden of the war? One possible explanation is that joining the military during the Vietnam-French and Vietnam-American wars was once considered prestigious and patriotic, given that struggle for independence from foreign domination is central to the Vietnamese history. Secondly, in addition to the nationalist fervor, Vietnamese men with higher social status might want to serve in the army because of the incentives that North Vietnam government promised for young men who joined the army. These incentives included educational opportunities, Communist Party membership, and additional quantities of rationed goods. In absence of competing economic opportunities, military service may thus be viewed by the Vietnamese of all classes as instrumental for upward social mobility. Thirdly, in a socialist society like Vietnam, where the bureaucratic class was at the center of political authority and resource distribution, bureaucrats might theoretically be in a disadvantageous position in protecting their children from negative state policies such as military conscription (Zhou and Hou 1999). This could explain why sons whose fathers were Communist Party members and government officers were more likely to serve.

While the Red River Delta continued to be highly mobilized until the late 1980s, I no longer observe positive selectivity into military after the Vietnam-American War was over. There is not a clear distinct pattern suggesting that men from higher social background were more or less likely than men from lower socioeconomic status to join the military. Nonetheless, it is evident that young men from urban areas became less likely than those from the countryside to be recruited into the military. This is particularly true among those who came of age during the period of economic reform (1989-1995). This evidence suggests that negative selectivity might be emerging among young men with rural background who have less access to higher education and non-farm employment. Since North Vietnam had a draft deferment policy for college students and technicians with special skills, perhaps men from urban areas were more likely to defer their military service. This seems to be consistent with my earlier findings about inter-cohort differentials in length of military service. During the late 1980s and 1990s, it appears that young Vietnamese men who joined the military wanted to fulfill their active duty obligation quickly (i.e., 2-3 years instead of 5 or more years) and return home.

After Vietnam's reunification in 1975, the zeal of Vietnamese, especially those from upper class, in joining the military considerably subsided –thus, leading to the disappearance of positive selectivity (and possibly an emergence of negative selectivity into military). The border wars against China and Cambodia in the late 1970s were unpopular among the Vietnamese. There were several anecdotes about draft evasion during this period. As the socialist ideologies of egalitarianism began to lax, families with high socioeconomic status might attempt to use their status to help their sons defer military service or avoid conscriptions. Moreover, the decline in the popularity of military career could be associated with expanding economic opportunities after the economic reform, particularly increased availability of non-agricultural jobs.

Overall trends in transition to adulthood

Throughout the 20th century there were significant changes in educational attainment, labor force and family formation behaviors among Vietnamese men. These changes characterized men differentially, depending on the year in which they were born and on their age-specific experience of historical events such as the Vietnam-American War and economic reform. Vietnam's continued urbanization and industrialization and the accompanying educational expansion were also important factors structuring schooling, labor force, and family formation behaviors of Vietnamese men as they have undergone the transition from youth to adult roles.

To describe trends in transition to adulthood, birth cohorts will be used as a unit of analysis. Similar to Hogan (1981), I denote that the age at which a cohort begins a particular transition is characterized as the age by which one-quarter of the cohort has completed that transition. The average age of cohort at a transition is indicated by the age by which 50 percent of the cohort completes the transition. A cohort is said to complete a transition by the age at which three-quarters of the men in the cohort have completed the transition. The inter-quartile range for each transition characterizes the duration of time required for the cohort to complete the transition.

Figure 4 describes inter-cohort trends in timing of leaving school, first marriage, and first birth for single-year birth cohorts of Vietnamese men in the Red River Delta. Due to space and time limitation of the PAA presentation, only the average ages (i.e., median age) of cohort at a transition is presented in Figure 4 and in the following analyses. Complete tables showing timings at which a cohort begins and finishes each transition for single-year birth cohorts are included in appendices (see Appendix Tables A1-A5).

[Figure 4 about here]

For trends in timing of leaving school, I present the estimates for all cohorts of Vietnamese men born from 1930 to 1975 (men age 20-65 in 1995). However, for trends in timing of first marriage and first birth, I present only the estimates for the cohorts born from 1930

to 1968 (men age 27-65 in 1995) due to data truncation/censoring issues. Among members of the most recent birth cohorts (the 1969-1975 cohorts or those age 20-26 in 1995), their family formation experiences were censored at a relatively early age. In other words, a large proportion of them had not yet married and had become parents at the time the VLS was conducted in 1995. The analysis can be biased if the transition behaviors of these recent cohorts are described based only on the experiences of respondents who have completed the transition (i.e., married or had first child at a relatively early age).

According to Figure 4, Vietnamese men born 1930-1975 generally began their economically productive roles in their mid- or late teens. The fluctuation in median age at leaving school – ranging from 15 to 19 years old– is observed among men born in the 1930s⁵. Trends in timing of leaving school did not change much over time (largely because there has been little change in secondary school completion). Interestingly, modernization and expansion of educational system in Vietnam did not delay timing of entry into adult roles (i.e., leaving school) among men in the Red River Delta, like it did in other societies. On average, men born during the 1940s and 1950s left school to start their economically productive roles between age 16 and 18. The 1960s and 1970s cohorts entered adulthood (i.e., leaving school) slightly earlier than previous cohorts at around age 14-16. Note that college is not measured in this analysis and may have some effects. In my future revision, I plan to address this.

Figure 4 shows that on average Vietnamese men in the Red River Delta waited at least a few years after they completed school and entered the labor force to start their family. For all cohorts examined, timing of first marriage is generally over age 20. Teen marriage was uncommon. Over time, there is a small, yet significant, increase in median age at first marriage. Average age at marriage for men from the oldest cohorts is approximately 22. It increases to 25.5 years old for men from the early 1940s cohorts. Yet, such upward trend is not continuous.

⁵ The fluctuation in median age at leaving school among men born in the 1930s reflects noises caused by small number of observations among these oldest cohorts and by the fact that men who had no education tend to be from these cohorts.

Age at marriage declines slightly to 24 years old after the mid-1940s and stays pretty much constant around 24 years old through the 1950s and early 1960s. The estimates for men from the 1965-1968 cohorts show a decrease in age at marriage from 24 to 22.5 years old.

The VLS sample reveals an interesting inter-cohort trend in transition to first birth among Vietnamese men. Except for men from the early 1930s cohort, timing of first birth is constantly parallel with timing of first marriage. There is approximately one- or two-year interval between these two life course events. This evidence suggests that even among the recent cohorts who began their reproductive career when contraceptives became widely available in Vietnam, couples rarely practice contraception during their first birth interval. Such pattern is similar to other Asian societies (Rindfuss and Morgan 1983; Vu 1998). This evidence also confirms how becoming parents is an integral part of adulthood and family formation in the Vietnamese context.

Impact of war and military service on timing of schooling

In this section, I investigate inter-cohort trends in timing of leaving school – particularly describing how war and military service affect this early life course event. Despite a series of wars, poverty, and failures in economic development under the socialist regime, Vietnam was actually successful in eradicating illiteracy and expanding basic educational opportunities for its population (Woodside 1983). Table 4 describes proportions of men reaching each level of education by birth cohort.

[Table 4 about here]

There has been a remarkable inter-cohort improvement in expansion of primary schooling opportunities. Table 4 shows that primary education was nearly universal for men from the Red River Delta, except for only those from the earliest birth cohorts (1930-1934). A great majority of Vietnamese men completed primary education and entered lower secondary level. For example, 97 percent of men born in 1950-1954 completed at least 5 years of formal

schooling and over 90 percent of them had an opportunity to further their education to lower secondary level. However, it is at this level that a stagnation of educational expansion is observed for every cohort of men in the Red River Delta⁶. For each cohort of men, the proportion of men who completed lower secondary level drops substantially from the proportions who entered this level. Improvement is not observed in upper secondary level either. Only about a quarter of men from most cohorts had some upper secondary level and even smaller proportion did complete this level of formal schooling.

Was the observed stagnation in educational attainment beyond primary level caused by a series of wars in Vietnam? Did call to military service force Vietnamese men to discontinue their education? Were there reasons other than wartime and military service that explain the educational stagnation? These are questions that are of interest to many social scientists and policy makers in Vietnam. Yet, it is somewhat difficult to empirically document them. In Figure 5, I attempt to shed some light on these questions by describing how war and military service may have impact on timing of leaving school. In dealing with questions concerning educational attainment, it is also important to describe inter-cohort trends in timing of entering school. Thus, both the estimates (median age) of timing at entering and leaving school are presented. For a convenience in interpreting how historical events may affect these transitions, I present year in which a birth cohort reach age 6, instead of year of birth. For example, a cohort of men who reached age 6 in 1939 was the 1933 birth cohort.

[Figure 5 about here]

Under the French colonial rule, educational opportunities were limited. Boys usually did not begin formal education until they reached 8 years old and students from rural areas may not attended school until age 10 or 11. Figure 5 shows consistent findings with this account. I

⁶ Note that the proportion of men attaining lower and upper secondary education is likely to be underestimated because change in Vietnam's educational system (i.e., how lower secondary school is classified changed over time) has not yet been taken into account. Therefore, in addition to including an analysis of higher educational attainment, I plan to investigate how the change in educational system affects level of educational attainment in the future revision of this paper.

observe that boys who reached “school age” (supposedly around age 6) during the French colonial rule (1936-1938) continued to attend school at a relatively older age than those from subsequent cohorts. Then, there is a brief delay in the average age at entering school among a few cohorts of men who reached school age during 1939-1942. It is likely that the World War II caused this delay timing of entry into school. I observe such upward trend again during the beginning of Vietnam- French war when age at entering school rises from about 6 in 1945 to over 10 years old in 1950. From 1950 onwards, there is a trend towards a standardized age at entering schooling. This is consistent with the evidence that the Communist government attempted to expand and standardize compulsory educational system beginning at age 6. Boys who reached school age during the Post-Geneva Lull period began attending school at age 7. Unlike earlier wars, the outbreak of Vietnam-American war did not delay timing of entry into schooling among boys who reached school age during this period. Throughout the Vietnam-American War and Post-reunification period, age at entering school hovers around 6 years old.

Except for the cohorts of oldest men in the VLS sample, average Vietnamese men born between 1930-1975 left school and began their adults’ economically productive role well before they turned age 20. In Figure 5, the interval between inter-cohort trend in timing of entering and leaving school indicates inter-cohort trends in educational attainment. The interval widens only slightly over time, meaning that there is no substantial gain in educational attainment among Vietnamese men in the Red River Delta, despite continued trends in modernization and the government’s attempt to introduce 9-year compulsory education system. While the Vietnam-American War did not delay entry into school nor decrease average years of educational attainment, relatively peaceful time such as Post-Reunification period did not improve the educational system either. Interestingly, it appears that the cohort of men who reached school age during the Post-reunification period left school at an earlier age than their fathers or grandfathers. This could be explained by the fact that age at entering school has been

standardized and lowered overtime and years of schooling attained by the Vietnamese have been stagnant.

While wartime – World War II and Vietnam-French War, in particular – affected timing of entry into school, Figure 5 suggests that military service does not disrupt the process of educational attainment for average men in the Red River Delta throughout the periods examined. Call to military service usually took place after young men had already finished school. Men from earlier birth cohorts were likely to join the military at an older age (i.e., around 25 years old or over). Meanwhile, average age at entry into military has decreased over time to lower than 20 years old – indicating that young men in the Red River Delta usually entered their military service not long after completing their formal schooling. This is particularly true for men who came of age during the highly mobilized eras of Post Geneva Lull and Vietnam-American War. According to Figure 5, boys who reached age 6 in 1956 (i.e., born 1950) would reach age 20 in 1970 during the Vietnam-American war. For them, the interval between average age at leaving school and age at entry into military service is about 3 years. It is, thus, likely that military service was the first non-farm employment for many young men from this cohort.

In conclusion, there are three major findings regarding the impact of war and military service on timing of schooling. First, wartime affects the schooling behaviors of several Vietnamese men in the Red River Delta, regardless of their military experience. My study shows that the World War II and Vietnam-French War delayed age at entry into schooling (note that there are no such effects for boys who began their schooling during the Vietnam-American War). Secondly, despite Vietnam's success in eradicating illiteracy and providing opportunities for primary schooling, stagnation in expanding education beyond lower secondary level is observed throughout the periods of socialist regime, regardless of the existence of wars or military struggles. The socialist failure in socioeconomic development was probably to be blamed; however, wars were to greatly dampen the problem. Thirdly, there is no evidence that young students were pulled out of their classrooms to serve in the military even in the periods of

heightened military demand. On average, military service took place after young Vietnamese men have already completed their formal schooling. An adverse effect of military service on timing of leaving school and entering the labor force may be attenuated by the fact that educational opportunities has been limited in Vietnam. For cohorts of men who recently came of age during the demobilization period (i.e., the late 1980s and 1990s), those who did serve in the military did so quickly after they completed some secondary school.

Impact of war and military service on timing of family formation

Delay in marriage and childbearing has widely been observed in nearly all societies which have undergone an expansion in educational system and in non-agricultural employment opportunities. In Vietnam, marriage has always been nearly universal, yet there is an increasing trend in postponement of marriage. Over the course of the 20th century, age at first marriage has increased slightly for both men and women. It is not only the process of urbanization and industrialization that has caused young people to delay marriage, but state policy also may affect the timing of family formation. During wartime, young people in North Vietnam were encouraged to delay getting married. According to Van Dyke (1972), the Communist propaganda maintained that one should not think about love and marriage but should rather concentrate on preparing oneself to serve the country. Marriage under age 20 was prohibited and the government recommended that women should not marry before 23 and men not before 25.

In this section, I extend my earlier discussion of overall trends in timing of first marriage and first birth (see Figure 4). I describe how war and timing of entering and leaving military service affect the process of family formation among Vietnamese men born 1930-1968 in the Red River Delta. Figure 6 juxtaposes inter-cohort trends in timing of family formation along side with inter-cohort trends in timing of military service. The estimates shown are average age

(median) that each cohort reaches a particular transition. The experience of each cohort is expressed by year in which they reached age 20.

[Figure 6 about here]

While the previous analysis reveals that military service rarely affects the process of educational attainment among men in the Red River Delta – particularly their exit out of school, Figure 6 shows that war and military service affect the process of family formation to a greater extent. Men who turned age 20 during the Vietnam-French War and early Post-Geneva Lull were more likely to start their family before they entered the military. Heavy mobilization did not begin at the time these men were in their marriage age but took place later in the 1950s and 1960s. I observe the decline in age at entry into military, once the mass mobilization began. Interestingly, for the cohorts of men who came of age during the early 1960s, when their age at military entry start to decline, the age at marriage increases accordingly. This delay in age at marriage may be attributable to the fact that a large proportion of men from these cohorts had to join the military. Once average age at marriage rises from low 20s to over 24 years old, it stays constantly the same through the periods examined. This inter-cohort trend in timing of marriage is also parallel with the inter-cohort trend in age at entry into military, which stays constant around the draft age of 18-20 years old. For many men who reached adulthood during Vietnam's mass mobilization in the 1950s and 1960s, military service became a rite of passage before they started their reproductive career.

Due to continuously high military demands, several cohorts of men in the Red River Delta stayed in the military for an extended length of time – at least 5 years or more. It is not until the 1990s after the demobilization that military service usually lasts for only 2-3 years (see Table 2). According to Figure 6, I observe four patterns of how timing of leaving military and length of military service affect family formation process.

The first pattern applies to men who reached age 20 before the onset of mass mobilization into military. Veterans from this cohort are likely to get married and have first child

before their military service. This means that these men have to leave their wife and child (children) behind to join the army. Secondly, for men who came of age at the beginning of mobilization in the late 1950s and 1960s, they tended to delay their marriage in order to fulfill their military duty. However, they usually did not wait until they were done with the service to start their family. For these cohorts of men, their military service was unusually long compared to other periods. Many of them got married and become a parent while they were serving. It is interesting to further investigate how this can happen. The third pattern takes place during the cohorts of men in Red River Delta reached age 20 around the 1970s. The length of military service subsided due to reduced demands. These men were likely to get married before they left the service but waited until they return home to have first child. The fourth pattern is observed during the demobilization period of Vietnam when veterans joined the military around age 18-20 and stayed in the military for only a short period of time. What is observed here is that veterans from these cohorts finished their military duty before they started their family.

At its beginning in the 1950s, mass mobilization into the military caused a delay in marriage. Average age at marriage for Vietnamese men in the Red River Delta has not decreased through the periods examined. Perhaps this because of continuous demands for military service and other macro-level social factors. It appears that timing of entry and exit of military service and length of military duty substantially influence patterns of family formation in terms of when these men get married and have first child.

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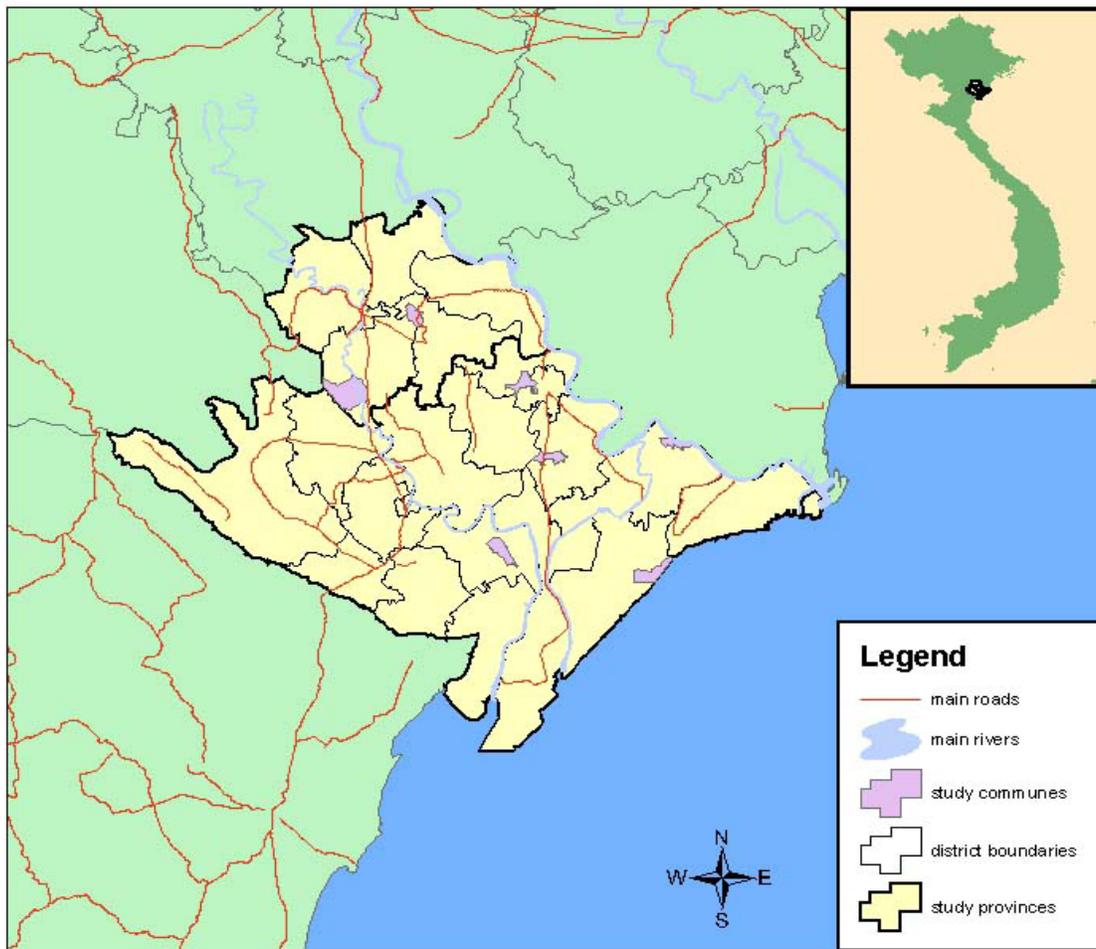
Table 1. The intersection of periods of war and the life course of young men in Vietnam.

Birth cohorts	<i>Year in which individuals in a particular birth cohort reached age 20:</i>	Historical Periods				
		Vietnam-French War	Post-Geneva Lull	Vietnam-American War	Post-reunification Period	Economic reform Period
		1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1975	1976-1988	1989--
1930-1939	<i>1950-1959</i>	Youth/Young adult	Young adult			
1940-1949	<i>1960-1969</i>		Youth/Young adult	Young adult		
1950-1959	<i>1970-1979</i>			Youth/Young adult	Young adult	
1960-1969	<i>1980-1989</i>				Youth/Young adult	Young adult
1970-1975	<i>1990-1995</i>					Youth/Young adult

Figure 1. Map of Vietnam.

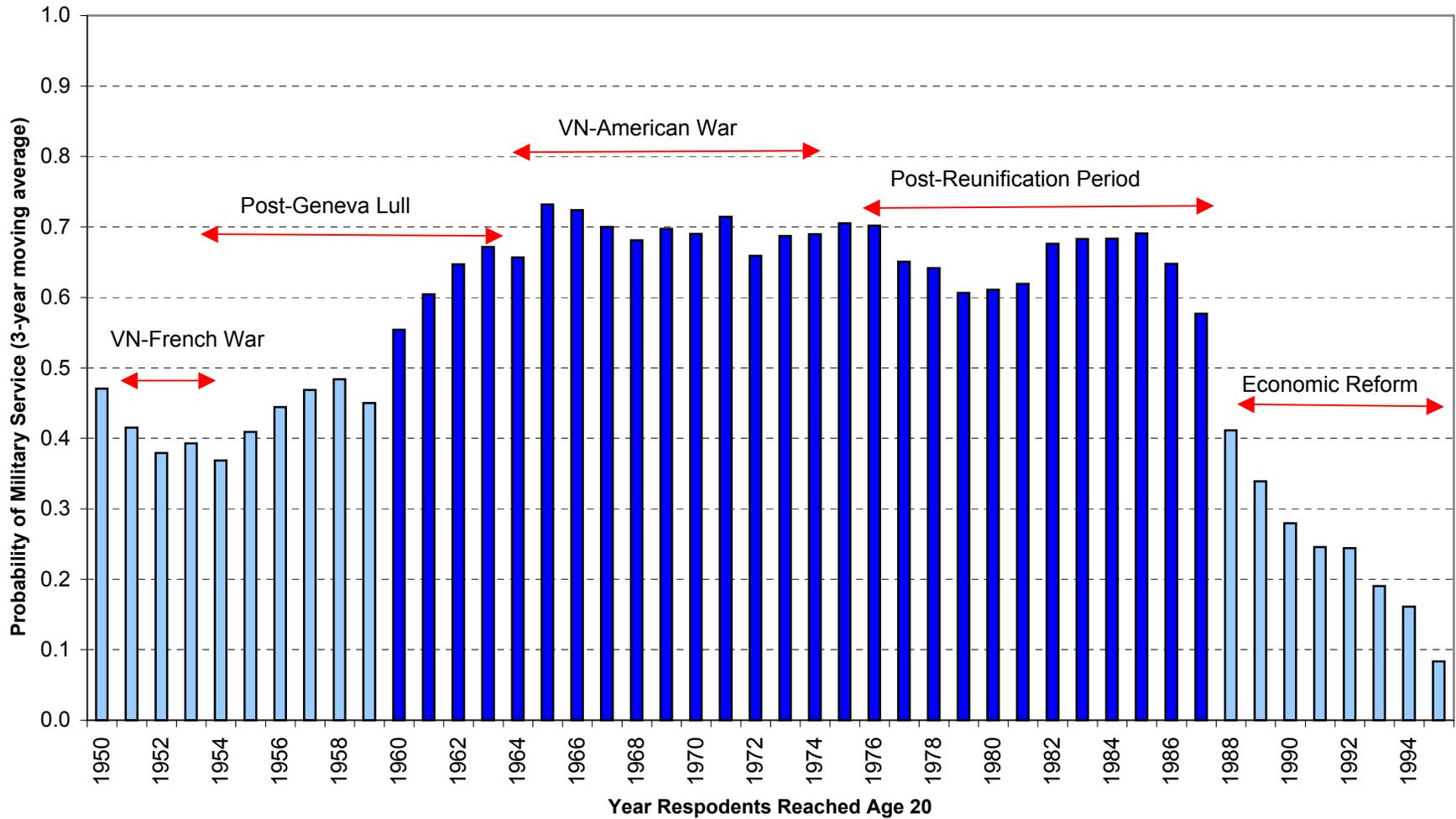


Figure 2. Map of 10 VLS study communes in the Red River Delta province of Ha Nam Ninh (currently provinces of Ha Nam, Nam Dinh, and Ninh Binh).



Source: WHO 2000

Figure 3. Prevalence (3-Year Moving Average) of Military Service among Vietnamese Men Born 1930-1975 by Year They Reached Age 20.



Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995 .

Table 2. Differentials in timing of entry into military and length of military service among veterans born 1930-1975 by year they reached age 20.

	Year in which Veterans Reached Age 20:				
	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1975	1976-1988	1989-1995
	VN-French War	Post Geneva Lull	VN-American War	Post-Reunification Period	Economic Reform
	N=38	N=126	N=331	N=492	N=60
Age at entry into the military					
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Below 18	10.5	5.6	14.8	11.6	15.0
18-20	26.3	24.6	59.5	70.5	76.7
21-24	18.4	33.3	19.9	17.1	8.3
Above 25	44.7	36.5	5.7	0.8	--
Duration of military service					
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
0-1 yr	18.4	5.6	4.8	4.5	8.3
2 years	13.2	10.3	6.9	10.8	48.3
3 years	13.2	14.3	8.8	38.0	35.0
4 years	7.9	7.9	10.9	20.7	8.3
5-10 years	31.6	32.5	43.8	20.5	--
11+ years	15.8	29.4	24.5	4.3	--
Still in service in 1995	--	--	0.3	1.2	--

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995

-- No observations

Table 3. Who served in the military? Descriptive background characteristics of men born 1930-1975 by year in which they reached age 20.

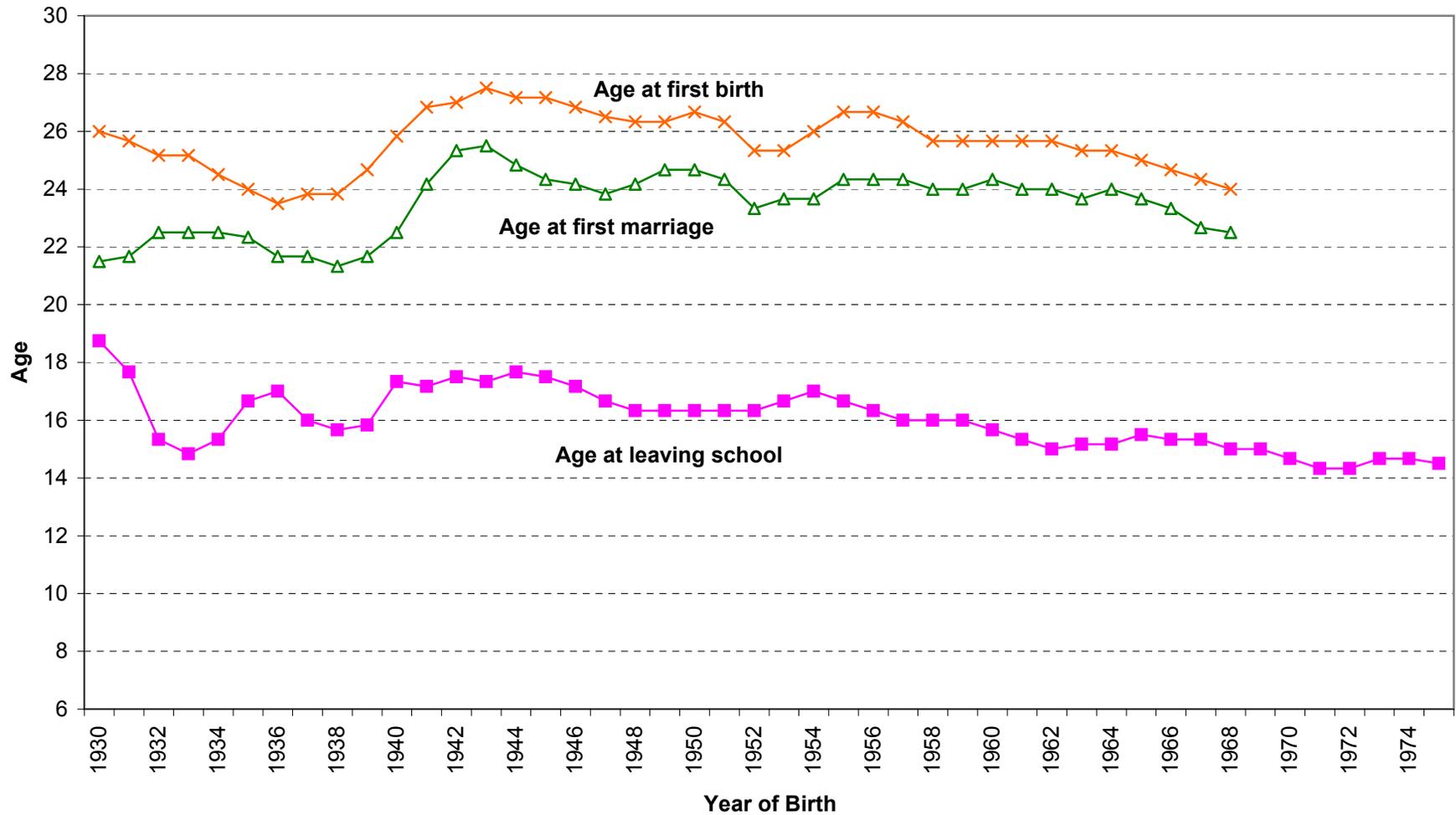
Background characteristics	Year in which Men Reached Age 20:					Number of Observations
	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1975	1976-1988	1989-1995	
	VN-French War N=90	Post Geneva Lull N=234	VN-American War N=475	Post Reunification Period N=772	Economic Reform N=280	
Percentage having military experience						
Place of birth or growing up						
Rural	41.2	53.0	68.4	64.7	22.3	1692
Urban	<i>60.0</i>	58.8	82.9	54.8	13.8	159
Father's educational attainment						
No schooling, Illiterate	37.5	57.0	70.0	60.2	<i>0.0</i>	302
No schooling, Literate	<i>30.0</i>	<i>52.4</i>	74.4	71.2	<i>0.0</i>	136
Primary	<i>50.0</i>	50.7	63.3	65.7	21.9	664
Lower secondary	<i>25.0</i>	<i>68.4</i>	78.0	56.6	23.3	334
Upper secondary +	<i>100.0</i>	<i>66.7</i>	<i>90.9</i>	66.7	30.0	81
DK	<i>52.9</i>	46.5	71.3	65.2	<i>16.7</i>	334
Father's CP membership						
Member	<i>75.0</i>	60.0	74.5	61.8	20.6	411
Non-member	41.2	54.0	69.0	65.2	21.6	1394
DK	--	<i>33.3</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>44.4</i>	<i>25.0</i>	46
Father's government employment						
Yes	<i>83.3</i>	60.0	78.0	64.9	24.1	351
No	39.3	53.1	68.7	63.3	20.4	1500

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995.

Note: *Italic number indicates less than 25 observations*

-- = no observation

**Figure 4. Overall Trends in Transition to Adulthood:
Median Age (3-Year Moving Average) at Leaving School, First Marriage, and First Birth.**



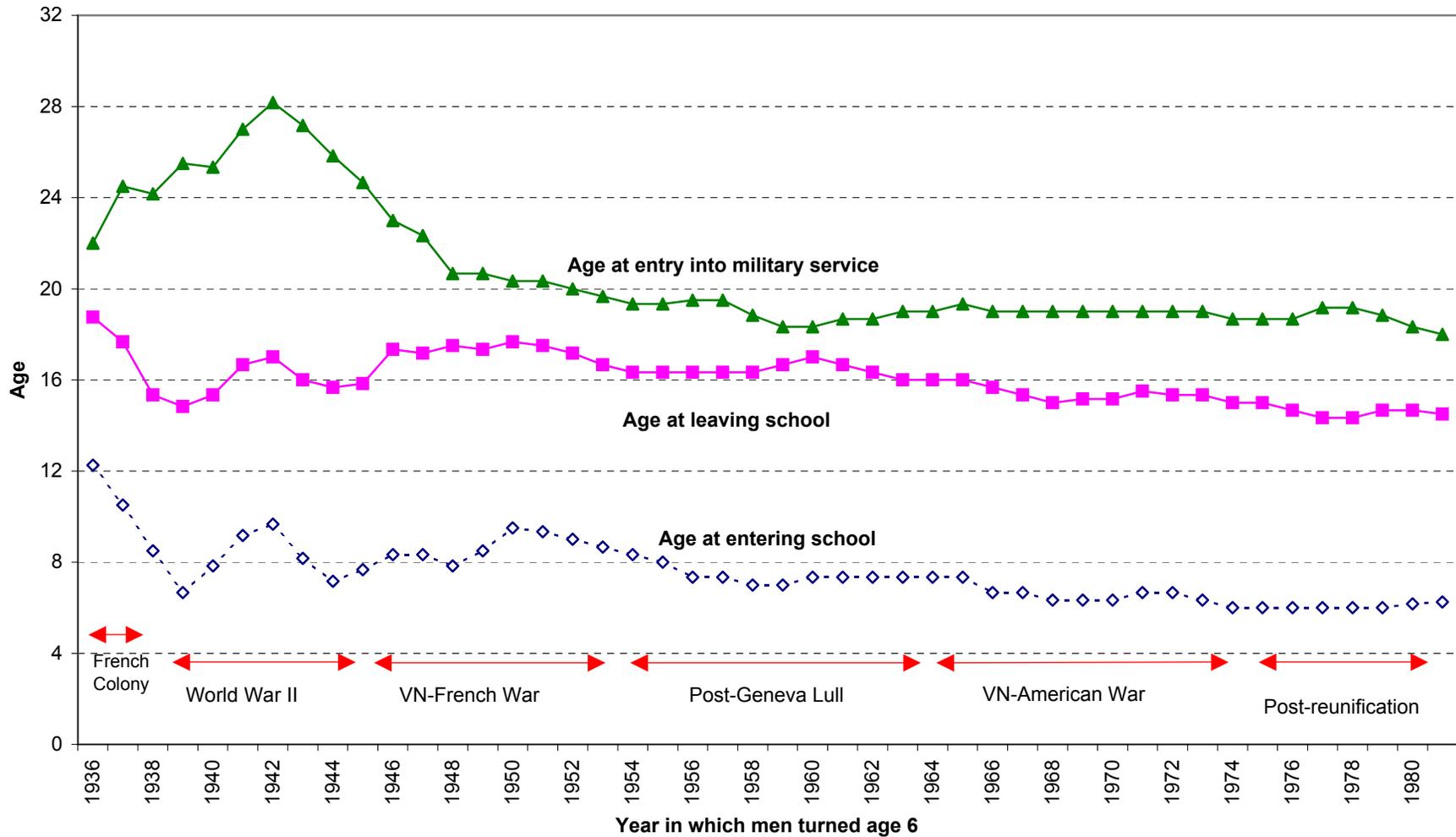
Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey, 1995.

Table 4. Proportions of men reaching each level of education by 5-year birth cohort.

Birth Cohort	Number of Observations	Level of Schooling Attained					
		Enter Primary, 1+	Complete Primary, 5+	Enter Lower Secondary, 6+	Complete Lower secondary, 9+	Enter Upper Secondary, 10+	Complete Upper Secondary, 12
Percentage with this level of schooling or higher							
1930-1934	90	88.9	61.1	47.8	15.6	12.2	8.9
1935-1939	109	100.0	76.1	64.2	20.2	17.4	14.7
1940-1944	125	96.8	80.0	70.4	30.4	25.6	21.6
1945-1949	175	98.9	90.3	80.0	32.6	28.6	21.7
1950-1954	255	98.4	96.9	90.6	35.7	28.6	23.1
1955-1959	303	99.3	96.7	92.1	33.7	29.4	24.4
1960-1964	317	99.1	97.5	94.6	32.5	25.6	19.9
1965-1969	237	99.2	96.6	94.1	33.3	26.6	23.6
1970-1975	240	99.2	97.5	94.6	38.8	30.0	22.9

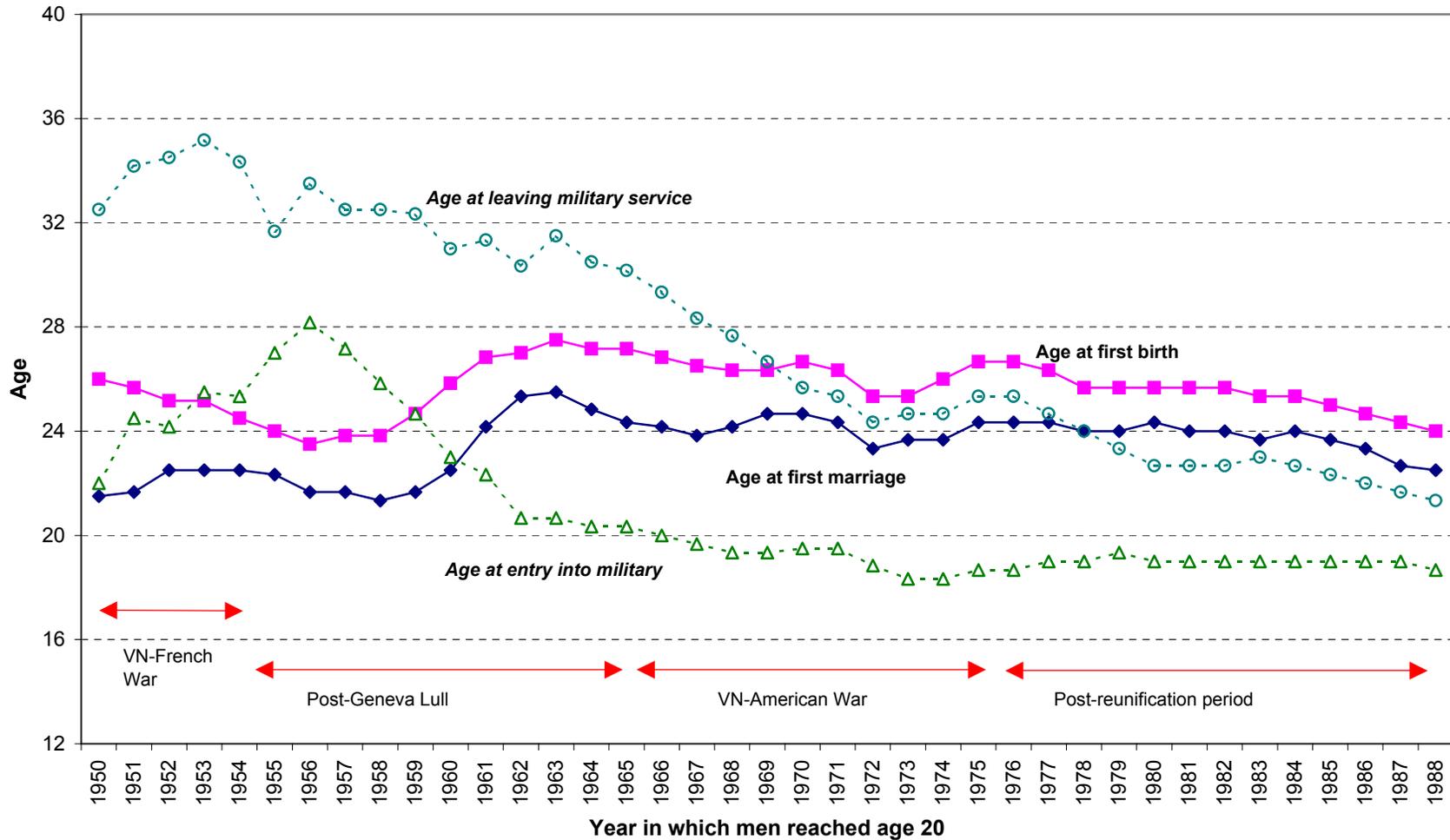
Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995.

**Figure 5. Impact of War and Military Service on Timing of Schooling:
Median Age (3-Year Moving Average) of Entering and Leaving School, All Men Born 1930-1975**



Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey, 1995.

**Figure 6. Impact of War and Military Service on Timing of Family Formation:
Median Age (3-Year Moving Average) of First Marriage and First Birth, All Men Born 1930-1975.**



Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey, 1995.

Appendix table A1. Measures of age at entering school for single-year birth cohort, All Vietnamese men born 1930-1975, by military experience

Birth cohort	Men with military experience						Men without military experience						Total					
	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median
1930	100.00	11.00	14.00	21.00	10.00	13.00	83.33	10.00	10.00	18.00	8.00	11.50	92.31	10.00	12.00	20.00	10.00	12.25
1931	77.78	9.00	12.00	16.00	7.00	11.00	91.67	9.00	13.00	15.00	6.00	10.00	85.71	9.00	12.50	15.25	6.25	10.50
1932	83.33	7.00	7.00	14.00	7.00	8.33	100.00	7.00	7.00	12.00	5.00	9.00	94.74	7.00	7.00	11.50	4.50	8.50
1933	85.71	6.00	6.00	9.25	3.25	6.67	100.00	6.00	7.00	9.00	3.00	7.00	94.44	6.00	6.00	9.00	3.00	6.67
1934	88.89	7.00	7.00	18.25	11.25	8.67	100.00	7.00	7.00	12.00	5.00	8.00	78.95	7.00	7.00	12.00	5.00	7.83
1935	100.00	8.00	13.00	18.50	10.50	10.00	100.00	8.00	10.00	18.00	10.00	9.00	100.00	8.00	10.50	17.75	9.75	9.17
1936	100.00	10.00	10.00	19.50	9.50	10.00	100.00	9.50	10.00	12.50	3.00	10.00	100.00	10.00	10.00	16.00	6.00	9.67
1937	100.00	7.00	7.00	13.00	6.00	7.67	100.00	8.50	10.00	13.25	4.75	8.67	100.00	7.00	8.50	12.00	5.00	8.17
1938	100.00	6.00	6.00	8.00	2.00	6.67	100.00	6.00	6.00	10.50	4.50	7.83	100.00	6.00	6.00	9.50	3.50	7.17
1939	100.00	7.00	7.00	10.00	3.00	7.67	100.00	6.25	7.50	12.75	6.50	8.17	100.00	7.00	7.00	11.00	4.00	7.67
1940	93.75	7.00	10.00	11.00	4.00	8.00	94.44	7.00	11.00	15.00	8.00	10.17	94.12	7.00	10.00	13.75	6.75	8.33
1941	100.00	7.00	7.00	12.50	5.50	8.00	100.00	7.00	12.00	14.00	7.00	10.00	100.00	7.00	8.00	13.00	6.00	8.33
1942	100.00	7.00	7.00	11.00	4.00	8.50	100.00	6.50	7.00	10.00	3.50	9.00	100.00	7.00	7.00	10.75	3.75	7.83
1943	100.00	6.50	11.50	17.25	10.75	9.50	75.00	5.00	8.00	9.50	4.50	8.33	87.50	5.75	8.50	12.00	6.25	8.50
1944	100.00	9.00	10.00	11.25	2.25	10.50	100.00	8.00	10.00	13.00	5.00	9.33	100.00	9.00	10.00	11.00	2.00	9.50
1945	100.00	7.75	10.00	10.25	2.50	9.33	100.00	8.00	10.00	10.75	2.75	9.33	100.00	8.00	10.00	10.00	2.00	9.33
1946	95.83	7.00	8.00	10.00	3.00	9.00	100.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	2.00	9.00	96.77	7.00	8.00	9.25	2.25	9.00
1947	100.00	7.00	9.00	9.25	2.25	8.67	91.67	8.00	9.00	9.00	1.00	8.67	97.83	7.00	9.00	9.00	2.00	8.67
1948	100.00	7.00	9.00	10.00	3.00	8.33	100.00	7.00	9.00	9.50	2.50	8.67	100.00	7.00	9.00	10.00	3.00	8.33
1949	100.00	6.00	7.00	10.25	4.25	8.00	100.00	6.00	8.00	10.00	4.00	8.00	100.00	6.00	7.00	10.00	4.00	8.00
1950	100.00	6.00	8.00	10.00	4.00	7.33	100.00	6.00	7.00	10.00	4.00	7.33	100.00	6.00	8.00	10.00	4.00	7.33
1951	92.86	6.50	7.00	10.00	3.50	7.33	92.31	5.50	7.00	9.75	4.25	7.00	92.59	6.50	7.00	10.00	3.50	7.33
1952	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.00	91.67	6.00	7.00	9.00	3.00	7.17	98.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.00
1953	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.50	2.50	7.00	95.24	6.00	7.50	8.75	2.75	7.17	98.28	6.00	7.00	8.50	2.50	7.00
1954	100.00	6.00	7.00	10.00	4.00	7.33	100.00	7.00	7.00	10.00	3.00	7.33	100.00	6.00	7.00	10.00	4.00	7.33
1955	100.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	2.00	7.33	100.00	6.00	7.50	9.25	3.25	7.17	100.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	2.00	7.33
1956	97.44	6.00	7.00	9.00	3.00	7.33	100.00	5.75	7.00	8.00	2.25	7.17	98.25	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.33
1957	100.00	6.00	7.00	9.00	3.00	7.33	95.65	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.00	98.55	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.33
1958	100.00	6.00	8.00	8.00	2.00	7.33	100.00	5.50	7.00	8.00	2.50	7.00	100.00	6.00	8.00	8.00	2.00	7.33
1959	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.33	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.00	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.33
1960	98.04	7.00	7.00	8.00	1.00	6.67	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.25	1.25	7.00	98.88	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	6.67
1961	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.67	94.12	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	7.00	97.78	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.67
1962	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	6.33	100.00	6.00	7.00	9.00	3.00	7.00	98.41	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	6.33
1963	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.50	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.75	1.75	6.67	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.33
1964	100.00	6.00	6.50	8.00	2.00	6.50	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.67	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.33
1965	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	6.83	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	6.33	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	6.67
1966	100.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	2.00	6.67	92.86	5.00	6.00	8.50	3.50	6.33	98.11	5.00	7.00	8.00	3.00	6.67
1967	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.33	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.33
1968	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.33	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.00
1969	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	6.33	96.55	5.00	6.00	7.75	2.75	6.00	97.50	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00
1970	100.00	4.00	6.00	7.00	3.00	6.00	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00
1971	100.00	5.00	5.00	7.00	2.00	5.67	100.00	6.00	6.00	7.25	1.25	6.00	100.00	5.50	6.00	7.00	1.50	6.00
1972	100.00	4.50	6.00	6.75	2.25	5.67	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00	100.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00
1973	100.00	5.00	6.00	6.50	1.50	5.67	93.94	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00	95.65	5.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	6.00
1974	100.00	5.00	5.00	7.00	2.00	5.00	100.00	5.00	6.00	6.50	1.50	6.33	100.00	5.00	6.00	6.75	1.75	6.17
1975	100.00	4.00	4.00	7.00	3.00	4.50	100.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	6.50	100.00	5.25	6.50	7.00	1.75	6.25

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995

Appendix Table A2. Measures of age at leaving school for single-year birth cohort, All Vietnamese men born 1930-1975, by military experience

Birth cohort	Men with military experience						Men without military experience						Total					
	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever been to school	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median
1930	100.00	19.00	22.00	30.00	11.00	21.00	83.3	13.50	18.00	26.50	13.00	17.00	92.31	18.00	21.00	28.25	10.25	18.75
1931	77.78	13.00	20.00	21.00	8.00	20.33	91.7	12.00	16.00	21.00	9.00	15.67	85.71	13.00	16.50	21.00	8.00	17.67
1932	83.33	14.00	19.00	21.50	7.50	17.50	100.0	11.50	13.00	17.50	6.00	14.33	94.74	12.00	15.50	19.50	7.50	15.33
1933	85.71	11.75	13.50	17.50	5.75	15.83	100.0	10.00	14.00	21.00	11.00	13.67	94.44	11.00	14.00	19.50	8.50	14.83
1934	88.89	13.00	15.00	25.75	12.75	15.83	100.0	11.00	14.00	18.00	7.00	15.00	78.95	13.00	15.00	19.00	6.00	15.33
1935	100.00	11.50	19.00	26.00	14.50	17.33	100.0	13.00	17.00	21.00	8.00	16.33	100.00	13.00	17.00	24.00	11.00	16.67
1936	100.00	15.00	18.00	26.50	11.50	17.00	100.0	16.75	18.00	22.50	5.75	17.50	100.00	16.00	18.00	24.00	8.00	17.00
1937	100.00	10.75	14.00	19.25	8.50	15.33	100.0	13.50	17.50	20.50	7.00	16.00	100.00	12.25	16.00	19.00	6.75	16.00
1938	100.00	14.00	14.00	19.00	5.00	14.67	100.0	10.75	12.50	17.50	6.75	15.83	100.00	11.00	14.00	18.00	7.00	15.67
1939	100.00	13.00	16.00	19.00	6.00	16.33	100.0	17.00	17.50	19.75	2.75	15.33	100.00	14.50	17.00	19.00	4.50	15.83
1940	93.75	12.00	19.00	22.00	10.00	17.33	94.4	14.50	16.00	20.00	5.50	17.50	94.12	14.00	16.50	20.75	6.75	17.33
1941	100.00	15.00	17.00	19.50	4.50	17.33	100.0	17.00	19.00	20.00	3.00	18.00	100.00	15.00	18.50	20.00	5.00	17.17
1942	100.00	13.00	16.00	20.00	7.00	17.33	100.0	15.00	19.00	20.50	5.50	17.67	100.00	13.50	16.50	20.00	6.50	17.50
1943	100.00	17.25	19.00	25.25	8.00	17.67	75.0	13.00	15.00	17.75	4.75	17.33	87.50	15.50	17.50	20.00	4.50	17.33
1944	100.00	17.00	18.00	20.25	3.25	18.33	100.0	15.50	18.00	22.00	6.50	16.50	100.00	17.00	18.00	20.00	3.00	17.67
1945	100.00	16.50	18.00	19.25	2.75	17.67	100.0	13.75	16.50	18.25	4.50	16.83	100.00	15.00	17.50	19.00	4.00	17.50
1946	95.83	15.00	17.00	19.00	4.00	17.33	100.0	12.00	16.00	18.00	6.00	16.17	96.77	15.00	17.00	18.25	3.25	17.17
1947	100.00	16.00	17.00	19.00	3.00	17.00	91.7	13.00	16.00	17.00	4.00	15.67	97.83	15.00	17.00	18.50	3.50	16.67
1948	100.00	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	17.33	100.0	13.75	15.00	19.00	5.25	15.33	100.00	14.00	16.00	18.00	4.00	16.33
1949	100.00	15.00	18.00	18.00	3.00	17.33	100.0	14.00	15.00	16.00	2.00	16.00	100.00	15.00	16.00	18.00	3.00	16.33
1950	100.00	15.75	17.00	18.00	2.25	17.00	100.0	16.00	18.00	19.00	3.00	16.33	100.00	16.00	17.00	18.00	2.00	16.33
1951	92.86	15.00	16.00	17.50	2.50	16.17	92.3	14.25	16.00	18.00	3.75	17.00	92.59	15.00	16.00	18.00	3.00	16.33
1952	100.00	14.00	15.50	17.25	3.25	16.17	91.7	14.00	17.00	17.00	3.00	16.50	98.00	14.00	16.00	17.00	3.00	16.33
1953	100.00	15.00	17.00	17.00	2.00	16.50	95.2	14.00	16.50	17.00	3.00	16.83	98.28	15.00	17.00	17.00	2.00	16.67
1954	100.00	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	17.00	100.0	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	16.83	100.00	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	17.00
1955	100.00	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	16.67	100.0	14.75	17.00	18.00	3.25	16.67	100.00	15.00	17.00	18.00	3.00	16.67
1956	97.44	15.00	16.00	17.00	2.00	16.33	100.0	13.00	16.00	18.00	5.00	16.50	98.25	15.00	16.00	17.00	2.00	16.33
1957	100.00	14.75	16.00	17.00	2.25	16.00	95.7	15.00	16.50	18.25	3.25	16.50	98.55	15.00	16.00	17.00	2.00	16.00
1958	100.00	14.00	16.00	17.00	3.00	16.00	100.0	15.00	17.00	18.50	3.50	16.50	100.00	14.00	16.00	17.00	3.00	16.00
1959	100.00	14.00	16.00	17.50	3.50	16.00	100.0	14.00	16.00	16.75	2.75	16.17	100.00	14.00	16.00	17.00	3.00	16.00
1960	98.04	15.00	16.00	17.00	2.00	15.67	100.0	14.75	15.50	18.00	3.25	15.67	98.88	15.00	16.00	17.00	2.00	15.67
1961	100.00	14.00	15.00	18.00	4.00	15.33	94.1	14.00	15.50	17.75	3.75	15.33	97.78	14.00	15.00	18.00	4.00	15.33
1962	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.00	100.0	13.00	15.00	17.00	4.00	15.17	98.41	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.00
1963	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.33	100.0	13.25	15.00	17.00	3.75	15.00	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.17
1964	100.00	14.00	16.00	18.00	4.00	15.33	100.0	14.00	15.00	17.25	3.25	15.00	100.00	14.00	15.50	18.00	4.00	15.17
1965	100.00	15.00	15.00	16.00	1.00	15.67	100.0	14.00	15.00	18.00	4.00	15.67	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.50
1966	100.00	14.00	16.00	18.00	4.00	15.33	92.9	14.00	17.00	17.50	3.50	15.67	98.11	14.25	16.00	17.75	3.50	15.33
1967	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.00	100.0	13.00	15.00	17.00	4.00	15.67	100.00	13.75	15.00	17.00	3.25	15.33
1968	100.00	12.50	14.00	15.50	3.00	14.67	100.0	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.00	100.00	13.75	15.00	17.00	3.25	15.00
1969	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	14.67	96.6	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	14.67	97.50	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	15.00
1970	100.00	14.00	15.00	16.00	2.00	15.33	100.0	12.75	14.00	17.00	4.25	14.33	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	14.67
1971	100.00	13.00	16.00	17.00	4.00	15.33	100.0	13.00	14.00	16.25	3.25	14.00	100.00	13.00	14.00	17.00	4.00	14.33
1972	100.00	12.50	15.00	17.00	4.50	15.33	100.0	13.00	14.00	16.00	3.00	14.33	100.00	13.00	14.00	16.00	3.00	14.33
1973	100.00	13.00	15.00	17.50	4.50	15.33	93.9	14.00	15.00	16.00	2.00	14.67	95.65	14.00	15.00	16.75	2.75	14.67
1974	100.00	13.00	16.00	17.00	4.00	14.67	100.0	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	14.67	100.00	14.00	15.00	17.00	3.00	14.67
1975	100.00	12.00	13.00	14.00	2.00	14.50	100.0	13.00	14.00	16.00	3.00	14.50	100.00	13.00	14.00	15.75	2.75	14.50

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995

Appendix table A3. Measures of age at first marriage for single-year birth cohort, All Vietnamese men born 1930-1975, by military experience

Birth cohort	Men with military experience						Men without military experience						Total					
	Percent ever married	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever married	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever married	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median
1930	100.00	18.00	25.00	30.00	12.00	24.50	100.0	18.50	20.00	26.50	8.00	21.50	100.00	18.50	20.00	28.00	9.50	21.50
1931	100.00	21.00	24.00	33.00	12.00	24.17	100.0	19.50	23.00	23.75	4.25	21.67	100.00	21.00	23.00	25.50	4.50	21.67
1932	100.00	20.25	23.50	27.00	6.75	23.50	100.0	19.50	22.00	24.00	4.50	21.67	100.00	20.00	22.00	25.00	5.00	22.50
1933	100.00	22.00	23.00	25.00	3.00	23.17	100.0	18.00	20.00	25.00	7.00	21.67	100.00	20.00	22.50	25.00	5.00	22.50
1934	100.00	21.50	23.00	24.00	2.50	23.00	100.0	20.00	23.00	23.25	3.25	21.67	100.00	21.00	23.00	24.00	3.00	22.50
1935	100.00	20.50	23.00	32.50	12.00	22.67	100.0	19.00	22.00	28.00	9.00	22.83	100.00	19.50	22.00	27.75	8.25	22.33
1936	100.00	18.50	22.00	23.50	5.00	22.00	100.0	20.75	23.50	29.00	8.25	22.17	100.00	20.00	22.00	25.00	5.00	21.67
1937	100.00	18.75	21.00	28.75	10.00	23.33	100.0	19.75	21.00	22.25	2.50	21.67	100.00	19.25	21.00	24.50	5.25	21.67
1938	100.00	18.00	27.00	31.00	13.00	23.00	100.0	19.00	20.50	22.50	3.50	21.17	100.00	19.00	22.00	26.00	7.00	21.33
1939	100.00	19.50	21.00	22.50	3.00	23.50	100.0	19.25	22.00	29.00	9.75	21.50	100.00	19.50	21.00	25.00	5.50	21.67
1940	100.00	19.25	22.50	31.25	12.00	22.50	100.0	19.75	22.00	26.00	6.25	23.67	100.00	19.75	22.00	26.25	6.50	22.50
1941	100.00	20.00	24.00	28.00	8.00	24.50	100.0	24.00	27.00	31.00	7.00	24.00	100.00	21.00	24.50	28.00	7.00	24.17
1942	100.00	21.00	27.00	29.00	8.00	26.17	100.0	20.00	23.00	26.50	6.50	24.50	100.00	21.00	26.00	27.75	6.75	25.33
1943	100.00	23.75	27.50	29.75	6.00	26.83	100.0	17.75	23.50	27.25	9.50	23.50	100.00	20.75	25.50	28.75	8.00	25.50
1944	100.00	22.00	26.00	31.25	9.25	26.00	100.0	23.00	24.00	29.00	6.00	23.17	100.00	22.00	25.00	30.00	8.00	24.83
1945	100.00	23.00	24.50	28.75	5.75	25.17	100.0	19.50	22.00	26.00	6.50	23.00	100.00	22.00	24.00	26.75	4.75	24.33
1946	100.00	23.25	25.00	27.00	3.75	25.00	100.0	21.00	23.00	24.00	3.00	22.67	100.00	23.00	24.00	27.00	4.00	24.17
1947	100.00	23.00	25.50	29.00	6.00	25.50	100.0	22.00	23.00	24.75	2.75	22.83	100.00	23.00	24.50	28.00	5.00	23.83
1948	100.00	22.00	26.00	30.00	8.00	25.50	100.0	21.50	22.50	23.25	1.75	22.83	100.00	22.00	23.00	27.00	5.00	24.17
1949	100.00	22.75	25.00	30.00	7.25	25.67	100.0	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	23.50	100.00	22.50	25.00	27.50	5.00	24.67
1950	100.00	22.00	26.00	28.00	6.00	24.67	100.0	22.00	25.00	28.00	6.00	23.67	100.00	22.00	26.00	28.00	6.00	24.67
1951	100.00	22.00	23.00	25.50	3.50	24.33	100.0	20.50	23.00	26.00	5.50	23.00	100.00	22.00	23.00	25.00	3.00	24.33
1952	100.00	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	23.33	100.0	20.00	21.00	22.75	2.75	22.33	100.00	21.00	24.00	25.00	4.00	23.33
1953	100.00	21.00	23.00	27.00	6.00	23.83	100.0	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	22.33	100.00	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	23.67
1954	100.00	21.00	24.50	27.75	6.75	24.17	100.0	20.00	23.00	25.00	5.00	23.00	100.00	21.00	24.00	26.00	5.00	23.67
1955	100.00	21.00	25.00	28.00	7.00	24.83	100.0	20.00	23.00	27.25	7.25	23.17	100.00	21.00	24.00	28.00	7.00	24.33
1956	100.00	23.00	25.00	27.00	4.00	24.67	100.0	21.00	23.50	27.25	6.25	23.50	100.00	23.00	25.00	27.00	4.00	24.33
1957	100.00	22.00	24.00	27.00	5.00	24.33	100.0	22.00	24.00	27.00	5.00	24.50	100.00	22.00	24.00	27.00	5.00	24.33
1958	100.00	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	24.00	100.0	22.50	26.00	28.50	6.00	24.67	100.00	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	24.00
1959	100.00	22.00	24.00	26.50	4.50	24.33	100.0	21.25	24.00	27.00	5.75	24.33	100.00	22.00	24.00	27.00	5.00	24.00
1960	98.04	22.00	25.00	27.00	5.00	25.00	100.0	20.00	23.00	26.00	6.00	23.33	98.88	21.00	24.00	26.75	5.75	24.33
1961	100.00	25.00	26.00	28.00	3.00	24.67	100.0	21.00	23.00	24.00	3.00	23.00	100.00	22.00	25.00	27.00	5.00	24.00
1962	100.00	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	24.33	100.0	20.00	23.00	26.50	6.50	23.17	100.00	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	24.00
1963	100.00	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	23.67	100.0	22.00	23.50	25.00	3.00	22.83	100.00	22.00	24.00	26.00	4.00	23.67
1964	94.12	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	24.00	94.4	21.00	22.00	24.50	3.50	22.83	94.23	22.00	24.00	26.00	4.00	24.00
1965	97.56	23.00	24.00	25.00	2.00	23.67	94.7	19.00	23.00	24.00	5.00	22.83	96.67	22.00	24.00	24.25	2.25	23.67
1966	97.44	22.00	23.00	25.00	3.00	23.33	85.7	20.25	23.50	24.75	4.50	23.33	94.34	22.00	23.00	25.00	3.00	23.33
1967	95.65	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	22.67	95.7	21.75	23.50	25.25	3.50	23.00	95.65	22.00	23.00	24.75	2.75	22.67
1968	94.12	21.25	22.00	23.75	2.50	22.50	90.5	21.00	22.00	24.00	3.00	22.75	92.11	21.00	22.00	24.00	3.00	22.50
1969	90.91	--	--	--	--	--	58.6	--	--	--	--	--	67.50	--	--	--	--	--
1970	72.73	--	--	--	--	--	65.4	--	--	--	--	--	67.57	--	--	--	--	--
1971	63.64	--	--	--	--	--	63.3	--	--	--	--	--	63.41	--	--	--	--	--
1972	38.46	--	--	--	--	--	33.3	--	--	--	--	--	31.82	--	--	--	--	--
1973	25.00	--	--	--	--	--	30.3	--	--	--	--	--	32.61	--	--	--	--	--
1974	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	15.2	--	--	--	--	--	13.89	--	--	--	--	--
1975	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	18.2	--	--	--	--	--	16.67	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995

Appendix table A4. Measures of age at first birth for single-year birth cohort, All Vietnamese men born 1930-1975, by military experience

Birth cohort	Men with military experience						Men without military experience						Total					
	Percent ever had children	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever had children	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever had children	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median
1930	100.00	21.00	28.00	31.00	10.00	27.00	100.0	24.00	25.00	42.75	18.75	24.00	100.00	24.00	27.00	36.50	12.50	26.00
1931	100.00	24.00	26.00	35.00	11.00	26.17	100.0	22.00	23.00	26.50	4.50	24.33	100.00	23.00	25.00	27.00	4.00	25.67
1932	100.00	21.25	24.50	28.00	6.75	25.17	100.0	24.00	25.00	26.50	2.50	24.67	100.00	24.00	25.00	26.00	2.00	25.17
1933	100.00	24.00	25.00	29.00	5.00	25.83	100.0	21.00	26.00	29.00	8.00	25.17	100.00	22.00	25.50	29.00	7.00	25.17
1934	100.00	24.50	28.00	28.50	4.00	25.50	100.0	22.00	24.50	25.25	3.25	24.50	100.00	24.00	25.00	28.00	4.00	24.50
1935	80.00	22.25	23.50	24.00	1.75	24.83	100.0	22.00	23.00	30.00	8.00	24.83	95.00	22.00	23.00	28.00	6.00	24.00
1936	100.00	21.00	23.00	26.00	5.00	23.67	85.7	23.50	27.00	36.75	13.25	24.33	92.59	21.00	24.00	28.50	7.50	23.50
1937	100.00	21.50	24.50	38.75	17.25	25.17	100.0	2.25	23.00	29.25	27.00	24.50	100.00	22.00	23.50	33.75	11.75	23.83
1938	100.00	27.00	28.00	33.00	6.00	25.50	100.0	20.75	23.50	25.00	4.25	23.33	100.00	21.50	24.00	28.00	6.50	23.83
1939	100.00	21.50	24.00	25.50	4.00	26.50	100.0	20.25	23.50	30.00	9.75	24.00	100.00	21.00	24.00	27.00	6.00	24.67
1940	100.00	23.25	27.50	32.25	9.00	26.17	100.0	22.00	25.00	29.00	7.00	25.50	100.00	22.00	26.00	30.00	8.00	25.83
1941	100.00	23.00	27.00	30.00	7.00	27.50	100.0	25.00	28.00	33.00	8.00	26.00	100.00	23.25	27.50	30.00	6.75	26.83
1942	100.00	24.00	28.00	33.00	9.00	27.67	100.0	23.00	25.00	27.50	4.50	26.00	100.00	24.00	27.00	31.50	7.50	27.00
1943	100.00	26.25	28.00	31.50	5.25	28.00	100.0	19.25	25.00	31.25	12.00	26.67	100.00	23.25	26.50	31.50	8.25	27.50
1944	100.00	24.75	28.00	32.25	7.50	28.00	100.0	24.00	30.00	31.00	7.00	26.17	100.00	25.00	29.00	32.00	7.00	27.17
1945	100.00	25.75	28.00	32.00	6.25	27.67	100.0	23.00	23.50	26.25	3.25	26.50	100.00	24.00	26.00	30.00	6.00	27.17
1946	95.83	25.25	27.00	28.75	3.50	27.67	100.0	24.00	26.00	29.00	5.00	24.83	96.77	25.00	26.50	28.25	3.25	26.83
1947	100.00	25.75	28.00	30.00	4.25	27.67	100.0	24.00	25.00	28.75	4.75	25.00	100.00	25.00	28.00	30.00	5.00	26.50
1948	100.00	24.00	28.00	32.00	8.00	27.67	100.0	23.75	24.00	27.00	3.25	25.00	100.00	24.00	25.00	29.00	5.00	26.33
1949	100.00	24.75	27.00	31.00	6.25	27.67	100.0	22.00	26.00	28.00	6.00	25.67	100.00	24.50	26.00	30.50	6.00	26.33
1950	100.00	23.75	28.00	30.00	6.25	27.00	100.0	24.00	27.00	32.00	8.00	26.00	100.00	24.00	28.00	30.00	6.00	26.67
1951	100.00	24.00	26.00	28.00	4.00	27.00	100.0	23.00	25.00	29.00	6.00	25.33	100.00	24.00	26.00	28.00	4.00	26.33
1952	100.00	25.00	27.00	29.00	4.00	26.00	100.0	22.25	24.00	24.75	2.50	24.33	100.00	24.00	25.00	28.00	4.00	25.33
1953	100.00	23.00	25.00	29.00	6.00	26.17	100.0	23.00	24.00	28.00	5.00	24.67	100.00	23.00	25.00	28.00	5.00	25.33
1954	97.92	24.00	26.50	30.00	6.00	26.17	100.0	24.00	26.00	27.00	3.00	24.67	98.59	24.00	26.00	29.00	5.00	26.00
1955	100.00	24.00	27.00	30.00	6.00	26.83	100.0	21.75	24.00	27.75	6.00	25.50	100.00	23.50	27.00	30.00	6.50	26.67
1956	100.00	25.00	27.00	29.00	4.00	27.00	100.0	23.00	26.50	29.75	6.75	25.50	100.00	24.00	27.00	29.00	5.00	26.67
1957	97.83	24.00	27.00	29.00	5.00	26.67	95.7	23.00	26.00	28.00	5.00	26.50	97.10	24.00	26.00	28.00	4.00	26.33
1958	97.37	24.00	26.00	27.00	3.00	26.00	100.0	24.00	27.00	29.50	5.50	26.17	98.41	24.00	26.00	28.00	4.00	25.67
1959	100.00	24.00	25.00	28.00	4.00	25.67	100.0	23.00	25.50	28.00	5.00	25.50	100.00	24.00	25.00	28.00	4.00	25.67
1960	94.12	24.00	26.00	29.00	5.00	26.00	100.0	22.00	24.00	28.00	6.00	24.50	96.63	23.00	26.00	29.00	6.00	25.67
1961	100.00	26.00	27.00	29.00	3.00	26.00	94.1	22.00	24.00	26.00	4.00	24.17	97.78	24.00	26.00	28.50	4.50	25.67
1962	100.00	24.00	25.00	28.00	4.00	26.00	100.0	21.25	24.50	27.50	6.25	24.83	100.00	23.00	25.00	28.00	5.00	25.67
1963	97.92	24.00	26.00	27.00	3.00	25.50	100.0	23.00	26.00	27.75	4.75	25.17	95.59	24.00	26.00	27.00	3.00	25.33
1964	94.12	24.00	25.50	27.00	3.00	25.50	88.9	22.00	25.00	26.50	4.50	25.00	92.31	23.00	25.00	27.00	4.00	25.33
1965	97.56	24.00	25.00	26.00	2.00	25.17	89.5	20.75	24.00	26.00	5.25	24.67	95.00	24.00	25.00	26.00	2.00	25.00
1966	94.87	24.00	25.00	26.00	2.00	24.67	78.6	22.50	25.00	27.00	4.50	25.00	90.57	24.00	25.00	26.00	2.00	24.67
1967	95.65	23.00	24.00	25.00	2.00	24.33	87.0	23.00	26.00	27.25	4.25	24.67	91.30	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	24.33
1968	94.12	23.00	24.00	25.00	2.00	24.00	85.7	22.00	23.00	25.00	3.00	24.50	89.47	22.00	24.00	25.00	3.00	24.00
1969	90.91	--	--	--	--	--	44.8	--	--	--	--	--	57.50	--	--	--	--	--
1970	63.64	--	--	--	--	--	61.5	--	--	--	--	--	62.16	--	--	--	--	--
1971	54.55	--	--	--	--	--	66.7	--	--	--	--	--	63.41	--	--	--	--	--
1972	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	25.0	--	--	--	--	--	20.45	--	--	--	--	--
1973	7.69	--	--	--	--	--	18.2	--	--	--	--	--	15.22	--	--	--	--	--
1974	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	3.0	--	--	--	--	--	2.78	--	--	--	--	--
1975	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	9.1	--	--	--	--	--	8.33	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995

Appendix table A5. Measures of age at entering and leaving military service for single-year birth cohorts of Vietnamese men with military experience born 1930-1975.

Birth cohort	Age at entering military service					Age at leaving military service					
	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median	Percent ever left the military	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Inter-quartile range	3-year moving average of median
1930	20.00	23.00	38.00	18.00	22.00	100.00	24.00	39.00	57.00	33.00	32.50
1931	18.50	21.00	25.00	6.50	24.50	100.00	22.50	26.00	32.50	10.00	34.17
1932	16.25	29.50	35.50	19.25	24.17	100.00	25.50	37.50	38.25	12.75	34.50
1933	19.00	22.00	34.00	15.00	25.50	100.00	23.00	40.00	45.00	22.00	35.17
1934	18.50	25.00	31.50	13.00	25.33	100.00	22.50	28.00	38.50	16.00	34.33
1935	17.50	29.00	30.00	12.50	27.00	100.00	20.50	35.00	38.50	18.00	31.67
1936	20.00	27.00	31.00	11.00	28.17	100.00	24.50	32.00	34.00	9.50	33.50
1937	22.75	28.50	31.25	8.50	27.17	100.00	26.75	33.50	36.25	9.50	32.50
1938	22.00	26.00	27.00	5.00	25.83	100.00	30.00	32.00	36.00	6.00	32.50
1939	21.00	23.00	25.00	4.00	24.67	100.00	26.00	32.00	36.00	10.00	32.33
1940	20.25	25.00	27.75	7.50	23.00	100.00	29.00	33.00	35.75	6.75	31.00
1941	18.50	21.00	24.00	5.50	22.33	100.00	22.50	28.00	33.50	11.00	31.33
1942	19.00	21.00	22.00	3.00	20.67	100.00	28.00	33.00	40.00	12.00	30.33
1943	18.00	20.00	24.00	6.00	20.67	100.00	20.50	30.00	33.00	12.50	31.50
1944	19.75	21.00	24.00	4.25	20.33	100.00	26.75	31.50	39.75	13.00	30.50
1945	18.75	20.00	20.25	1.50	20.33	100.00	25.75	30.00	39.25	13.50	30.17
1946	19.00	20.00	21.00	2.00	20.00	100.00	23.25	29.00	30.75	7.50	29.33
1947	18.00	20.00	23.00	5.00	19.67	100.00	25.00	29.00	35.25	10.25	28.33
1948	19.00	19.00	22.00	3.00	19.33	100.00	25.00	27.00	29.00	4.00	27.67
1949	18.00	19.00	21.00	3.00	19.33	100.00	24.75	27.00	28.50	3.75	26.67
1950	18.00	20.00	20.50	2.50	19.50	100.00	24.00	26.00	30.25	6.25	25.67
1951	17.00	19.50	20.00	3.00	19.50	100.00	22.00	24.00	26.25	4.25	25.33
1952	18.00	19.00	20.25	2.25	18.83	100.00	24.00	26.00	32.00	8.00	24.33
1953	17.50	18.00	19.00	1.50	18.33	100.00	22.00	23.00	29.00	7.00	24.67
1954	18.00	18.00	20.00	2.00	18.33	100.00	22.00	25.00	28.00	6.00	24.67
1955	17.00	19.00	21.00	4.00	18.67	97.14	22.75	26.00	30.25	7.50	25.33
1956	18.00	19.00	21.00	3.00	18.67	97.44	23.75	25.00	26.25	2.50	25.33
1957	17.00	18.00	20.00	3.00	19.00	97.83	23.00	25.00	27.00	4.00	24.67
1958	19.00	20.00	21.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	23.00	24.00	26.00	3.00	24.00
1959	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.33	100.00	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	23.33
1960	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	22.67
1961	18.00	19.00	20.75	2.75	19.00	96.43	21.00	22.00	24.00	3.00	22.67
1962	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	22.67
1963	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	95.83	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	23.00
1964	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	97.06	22.00	23.00	24.00	2.00	22.67
1965	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	22.00	22.00	23.00	1.00	22.33
1966	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	21.00	22.00	23.00	2.00	22.00
1967	18.00	19.00	20.00	2.00	19.00	100.00	21.00	22.00	22.00	1.00	21.67
1968	17.50	19.00	19.00	1.50	18.67	100.00	20.50	21.00	22.00	1.50	21.33
1969	18.00	18.00	19.00	1.00	18.67	100.00	20.00	21.00	21.00	1.00	21.00
1970	18.00	19.00	19.00	1.00	18.67	100.00	21.00	21.00	22.00	1.00	21.00
1971	17.00	19.00	20.00	3.00	19.17	100.00	19.00	21.00	23.00	4.00	21.33
1972	18.25	19.50	20.00	1.75	19.17	100.00	21.00	22.00	22.75	1.75	21.33
1973	18.00	19.00	19.00	1.00	18.83	100.00	20.50	21.00	22.00	1.50	21.00
1974	17.00	18.00	18.00	1.00	18.33	100.00	19.00	20.00	20.00	1.00	20.33
1975	18.00	18.00	18.00	0.00	18.00	100.00	20.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00

Source: Vietnam Longitudinal Survey 1995