

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Tippavan Surinya for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Family Resource Management presented on November 29, 2000. Title: Is Family beyond Justice? : Exploring Determinants of Wives' Perceived Fairness about the Division of Household Labor and Child Care in Thailand

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The researcher 1) explored Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care, 2) investigated factors determining Thai's working wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care, and 3) developed a model of the determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. In the model above, relationships were explored between perceived fairness and twenty independent variables. The data are based on a survey administered to 600 employed wives from three different kinds of workplaces in Bangkok, Thailand: Government sector (n = 214), quasi-government sector (n = 191) and private sector (n = 195). Employed wives were recruited by purposive sampling from each workplace. In addition qualitative interviews were used with a convenience sample of 30 employed wives selected by purposive sampling from the large sample of 600. The interview data suggest explanations for wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Stepwise multiple regression

was used to develop a model of the determinants predicting wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Findings are that perceived fairness was positively correlated with feeling appreciated, marital happiness, within-gender comparisons, spending time together, work hours/day, family harmony, and wife's ascription to traditional women's roles; but was negatively correlated with wife's value of housework and men's incompetence at housework. The results of the stepwise multiple regression on perceived fairness of the division of household labor indicated that only 9 of 20 independent variables (predictors) enter the regression model at the .05 level of significance or above, accounting for 32 % of the variability. The overall relationship of all predictors to perceived fairness was fairly high. Feeling appreciated is the best predictor, followed by marital happiness, within-gender comparison, wife's value of housework, spending time together, work hours/day of wife, family harmony, wife's ascription of women's roles, and men incompetence at housework.

The interview data also support the survey data in that outcome value influence wives' perceived fairness. Wives value several outcomes in doing household work and child care. Comparison referents and justifications are another mechanisms that influence wives' perceived fairness. Most wives use several standards when they evaluate fairness, and also use many reasons to justify lower participation of their husbands. Even though gender ideology as measured, in the survey data, does not contribute much to wives' perceived fairness, the interview data strongly suggest that traditional values and culture in Thai society influence and guide wives' choices of

comparison referents and justifications to accept the unbalanced of division of labor as fair for them.

Both data sets reinforce that wives' perceived fairness is a result of subjective perception, influenced by emotional needs of wives. The study confirms that outcome values, comparison referents and justifications, along with marital happiness and spending time together with husbands all play important roles in explaining wives' perceived fairness. Results are discussed in terms of the relationship between possible determinants and wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. In additions, implications for future research, policy, and education/training are discussed.

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Is Family beyond Justice? : Exploring Determinants of Wives' Perceived Fairness
about the Division of Household Labor and Child Care in Thailand

by

Tippavan Surinya

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Tippavan Surinya, Author

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother and father who always teach me to work hard and have confidence. Throughout graduate school and my life they have supported me both emotionally and financially. They have always been the wind beneath my wings.

**Is Family beyond Justice? :
Exploring Determinants of Wives' Perceived Fairness about the
Division of Household Labor and Child Care in Thailand**

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care in Thailand is the focus of this research. An important part of women's development and well-being concerns the work roles between women and men in the society. The Thailand Social Statistical Division (1999) reported that the proportion of females in the labor force increased from 59% to 68.5% between 1989 and 1998. In 2000, women's participation rates in the labor force were 69.2 % for married women and 52.9 % for unmarried women (National Statistical Office, 2000). The division of paid work in the labor force has changed dramatically in recent years. In marked contrast, the division of labor inside the home remains largely unchanged. Objectively, the division of household labor is clearly inequitable to women. This imbalance in the division of household labor between husbands and wives occurs in many countries including the US and Thailand. Traditionally, Thailand has been a country which has had a philosophy of male dominance-female subordination in which rigid role division by gender has been prevalent. Recently, however, Thai women have gained prestige and have become an important component of the paid work force. At the same time,

traditions in society and families continue to influence familial and individual life styles. Conflicts between husbands who try to remain as a patriarchal head of the house and wives who want more egalitarian marital relationships are frequent happened in contemporary Thai society.

Thai women have often been described as subordinate and passive. The images of a hierarchical family and of sacrificing women have been taken for granted. There have been few studies on whether any changes have occurred due to the increasing level of women's education and participation in the paid work force. Although there is some literature which acknowledges that Asian women are becoming more assertive and are assuming more authority in their family (Van Den Bergh, 1986), there is little research on recent changes among Thai's women's lives, attitudes, and perceptions toward family work especially among dual-earner couples.

Although the Thai constitution emphasizes the importance of justice, general welfare and liberty, as well as the preservation of liberty and justice for all, gender inequalities still exist in Thai society. The substantial inequalities that continue to exist between the sexes in society have major and potentially effects on the lives of almost all women and an increasingly large number of children (Okin, 1989). Underlying these inequalities is the unequal distribution of unpaid family labor. A major issue in the determination of justice concerns the relative weight or importance of the various rules of fair distribution and fair procedure for individuals in a given allocation situation. The individual's level of concern about fairness moderates or controls the impact that societal rules of justice have on behavior in allocation situations (Leventhal, 1976). Rules of justice influence allocation preferences only to the extent that fairness is

important. When fairness is not perceived as importance, rules of justice do not affect allocation preferences or the behaviors controlled by the preferences (Mikura, 1980). Thus, the study of wives' perceived fairness, which is based upon a subjective belief of equality and not necessarily on an objective reality of equality is important for understanding the impact of rules of justice on behavior in allocation situation.

Scholars have ignored family life as a matter of social justice because they assume that families are either just or are characterized by "nobler" virtues than justice (Okin, 1989). The circumstances of family life are such that justice is not seen as an appropriate standard to apply to them. The vision that the family is an intimate group held together by love and commonality of interests makes family scholars think that the family is beyond justice in the sense that "nature" dictates its hierarchical structure. This vision pays too little attention to what happens within such groupings. According to Okin, as a result of vast inequalities between the sexes within families, the family is a critically important area for examining matters of social justice. For many feminists, the division of labor and child care in the home has been identified as a matter of social justice. Increasingly, research has turned to the issue of social justice, and has recently devoted increasing attention to describe the lopsided division of family work and to explain why women continue to complete the lion's share of family labor, despite their participation in the workplace (Thompson, 1991).

Many previous US studies have shown that notwithstanding the clear and consistent evidence of gender inequalities in the division of household labor, a large majority of women do not regard the division of work in their household as unjust (e.g., Blair, 1993; Blair & Johnson, 1992; DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Demo &

Acock, 1993; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Mikula et al., 1997; Sanchez, 1994; Robinson & Spitze, 1992; Ward, 1993). Typically, only 20 to 30 % of research participants rated the division as a little or somewhat unfair. The numbers of women who regard the gendered division of household labor as very unjust is extremely small or even zero. This holds both for employed and unemployed women. The lack of strong feelings of injustice on the side of the women has been a challenge to many scholars. It stimulated them to seek theoretical explanations and to conduct empirical studies of the factors which contribute to the perception of fairness.

Various explanations have been offered for the lack of strong feelings of injustice on the part of women (see Blair, 1998; DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Freudenthaler & Mkura, 1998; Gager, 1998; Grote & Clark, 1998; Greenstein, 1996; Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners, 1995; Keith & Schaffer, 1987; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Major, 1993; Peck, 1985; Reichle & Gefke, 1998; Sanchez & Kane, 1996; Spitze, 1988; Steil, 1994; Thompson, 1991; Ward, 1993; Wilkie, Ferree, & Ratcliff, 1998). The time available hypothesis assumes that, within a household system, the person having more time available will do a larger share of the household labor. According to this model woman who have a larger number of paid work hours than their husbands will feel greater injustice if they also do a majority of household tasks. The relative resource hypothesis assumes that persons who have more resources such as earnings have more power and greater say in families. It viewed housework as a negative activity or outcome, as it carries low prestige and is menial, repetitive, monotonous, and isolated; therefore, a person who has more resources can avoid it. (Robinson & Spitze, 1992; Thompson & Walker, 1989). According to this model

women who have higher level of income and education will feel more injustice when they are expected to do more family work than their husbands. Normative or ideological explanations assume that women do not express dissatisfaction and feelings of injustice because social norms about housework responsibility define most household tasks as “feminine” activities. Accordingly, unequal division of household labor matches prevalent normative standards (e.g., DeMris & Longmore, 1996; Pleck, 1985; Spitze, 1988). Other explanations of the lack of dissatisfaction and perceptions of injustice focus on the symbolic meaning attached to housework. Even though women may dislike the physical activities of household labor, they may value the interpersonal outcomes connected with the household labor, such as taking care of loved ones (Hochschild, 1989; Thompson, 1991; Shelton & John, 1996). Accordingly, the perception that their work is appreciated may become an important outcome of doing housework because it signifies that they are perceived as loving and caring by the other family members. As such, housework as caring becomes an integral part of the gender definition of women.

Thompson (1991) and Major (1993) thus far have proposed the most comprehensive explanatory framework. Building upon Major’s theoretical and empirical work on gender differences in entitlement (Major, 1987, 1993), these authors proposed a distributive justice framework to understand wives’ perception of fairness about the division of family work. According to this view, women do not perceive the gendered division as unfair because it does not violate their sense of entitlement. Perceptions of entitlement and fairness are assumed to depend upon three major factors: outcome values, comparison referents, and justifications. Outcome values are

the outcomes individuals desire for their effort. Doing family work not only carries negative outcomes such as spending more time and effort but also carries symbolic meaning which leads to positive outcomes such as feeling appreciated, having family harmony, enjoying the care giving to loved ones, and confirming women's sense of proper gender roles. The concept of comparison referents refers to standards people use to evaluate existing outcomes. One example is making within-gender versus between gender comparisons. Justification refers to various reasons women use to account for the unbalanced division of family work and make it acceptable or legitimate. Examples are wives' standard of housework, men's incompetence in family work or the decision-making process between husbands and wives. To understand women's perception of fairness requires information about what women value about family work, which referents they use to make comparisons of the division of family work, and which justifications they accept for men's small contribution to family work.

Giving these various theoretical frameworks, I would like to answer the following questions in the Thai context: How do Thai employed wives perceive fairness in the division of household labor and child care? What are the factors determining perceived fairness of Thai wives in the division of household labor and child care? The present study will include factors from competing theoretical perspectives of women's sense of fairness in the study. They can be roughly grouped into four categories: time availability hypothesis, relative power and resources hypothesis, gender ideology hypothesis and distributive justice hypothesis. Despite the salience of the division of labor in the home to the lives of dual-earner families, predictors of perceived fairness of family work are unclear, especially when women work outside the home. Various

reasons for the lack of success of previous research in predicting women's justice evaluations have been discussed. This ambiguity arises for many reasons. Previous research has focused mainly on facets of the link between perceptions of fairness and the outcomes of marital happiness and well being--ignoring the fact that the facets of the model are inextricably linked (Biernat & Wortmen, 1991; Leslie, Andersen, & Branson, 1991). John et al. (1995) criticized that the existing studies as failing to develop a coherent conceptual framework for judgments of justice. DeMaris & Longmore (1996) emphasized that researchers typically have not included factors from competing theoretical perspectives of women's sense of fairness. Hawkins et al. (1995) noted that the majority of studies have focused on structural and ideological variables; where as social-psychological cognition (value outcome, comparison or justification) has hardly been considered.

To study injustice in families, we need a theoretical framework and model that helps to explain how women perceive fairness with respect to the division of unpaid household labor and child care. We need to identify factors determining women's perceived fairness which influence the distribution of family resources. In contrast with previous studies that treat marital quality and women's well being as an outcome of perceived fairness, they will be included as one of the explanatory factors in this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purposes of this study are

- 1). To explore Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.
- 2) To investigate factors determining Thai's working wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor
- 3) To develop a model of the determinants of wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Significance of the Study

This study will contribute to a better understanding of Thai women's perception of fairness of division of household labor and child care. Identifying the factors that are salient for women's perceived fairness may point toward a better understanding of contemporary household gender dynamics and entitlement perceptions. When women recognize their family arrangements as unfair, they must respond to the injustice and push for change. In this study, I focus on women's perception of fairness because it is women who push for change in domestic arrangements. If married employed women continue to accept a greater role in family work, and believe that this is a fair outcome, then they will be constrained from contributing fully to other areas of social life. The affects increased women's stress that is related to their physical and emotional health.

Society will lose out on one-half of the population's creative or intellectual contributions. In addition, women's choices are constrained by role expectations about who should be responsible for day-by-day household tasks. Thus, a gender-based division of labor ensures the persistence of gender inequality in both market and home spheres. Family, potentially, is a place where we can learn to be just. It is especially important for the development of a sense of justice that one grows from sharing the experiences of others and becoming aware of the points of view of others who are different in some respects from ourselves (Okin, 1989). Family behavior is important for the moral development of individuals. Until there is justice within family, women will be unable to gain equality in politics, at work, or in any other sphere.

Definition of Terms

In order to maintain clarity for the study, the following terms have been defined:

Perceived fairness means a feeling of justice based upon the wife's subjective perception of the overall division of household labor and child care in her family.

Household division of labor and child care refers to wife's report of who is mainly responsible for the household tasks and child care.

Determinants refer to factors that determine or influence or have some relationship to perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care. In this study, these factors include wife's income, wife's relative income, wife's number of hours in paid work, wife's relative number of hours at paid work, wife's gender

ideology, wife's value outcomes, wife's comparison referents, and wife's justifications, wife's psychological well-being, and wife's marital quality.

Wife's income means her earned monthly income in bahts (unit of Thai currency, 1 baht = 40 - 42 U.S. dollars, Bangkok Bank, 2000).

Wife's relative income means the wife's personal monthly income compared with that of her husband. It is assessed by subtracting the husband's reported monthly income from the wife's.

Wife's number of hours/day at paid work means the total hours per day that the wife work at her paid work. In this study, three different kinds of work places were selected: Governmental service sector, quasi-governmental sector, and private-sector.

Wife's relative numbers of hours/day at paid work means hours of the wife's employment compared with her husband. The number of work hours/day of husband was subtracted from the wife's.

Governmental service sector means the government owns the workplaces and operates them within the bureaucracy system. In this study the examples are public school, public hospital, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Public Health

Quasi-governmental sector means the government owns the workplaces but operates them with business and market rules. In this study, the National Housing Department is the only such workplace represented.

Private sector means an individual or a private group owns the workplaces and operates them according to his own rules. In this study a bank and a department store are represented.

Wife's gender ideology is how the wife identifies herself with regard to marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender.

Wife's outcome values are the outcomes the wife desires for her effort in doing housework. In this study, they include feeling appreciated, wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, ministering to family needs, and family harmony.

Feeling appreciated means wife's feeling appreciated by her spouse for her effort in family work

Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles means wife's belief that doing housework is proper gender roles for women.

Ministering to family needs means wife's cognition that linked her daily family work to positive feelings about ministering family needs.

Family harmony means wife's preserving peace and harmony in the home by doing family work.

Wife's comparison referents refer to the standard the wife uses to evaluate existing division of household labor and child care. In this study, they are within-gender comparisons, between-gender comparisons, and wife's value of housework

Within-gender comparisons means wife compares her contributions to family work with other women or compare her husband's contributions to family work with other men when she evaluate the fairness of the division of family work.

Between-gender comparisons means wife compares her husband's time in family work with her time when she decide if the division of family work is fair.

Wife's value of housework means the extent to which wife recognizes housework as important work for family as paid work and gives herself credit from doing it.

Wife's justifications are the reasons the wife uses to excuse her husband from greater participation in household work and child care. In this study, they are wife's standard of housework, men's incompetence at housework, and deciding together

Wife's standard of housework means wife uses her standards for the performance of housework as the reason to excuse her husband from greater participation in household labor and child care.

Men's incompetence at housework means wife uses her perception that men are unable to do housework because it is harder for men to do or they hate it or they feel too tired to do as her reason to justify the husband's less involvement in housework.

Deciding together means wife uses making decision together between husband and wife about how housework is divided as her reason to justify doing less housework of the husband.

Wife's psychological well-being means the wife's emotional state in terms of the level of depression.

Wife's marital quality refers to three dimensions of marital relationship and global evaluation of marital happiness. Three dimensions of marital relationship are the frequency of disagreement between wife and husband, possibility of divorce, and frequency of daily contact between wife and husband.

Wife means an employed wife who had a workload of at least 3 hours per day and is married in a heterosexual relationship.

This chapter has presented a statement of the problem, the significance of the study and the purpose of the study. Chapter 2 presents theoretical frameworks in an examination of factors determining perception of fairness among working wives and the researches related to perception of fairness among working wives. Since there is only limited research literature on Thai working wives, American research literature will be used for this study's major literature background.

Chapter 3 describes the study design, sampling, instruments, research hypotheses, data collections and data analysis methods. The researcher will use descriptive statistics, bivariate correlation, and stepwise multiple regression to analyze the data. Chapter 4 and 5 will present findings, a discussion of the results, limitations of the study, and implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

RELATED LITERATURES

In the previous chapter a rationale for the study of perceived fairness in division of household labor and childcare was developed. In this chapter, literature related to the determinants of perceived fairness in the household division of labor and child care will be presented. First, the definition of housework and perceived fairness will be discussed. Second, theoretical frameworks about perceived fairness would be examined. Lastly, empirical research will be critically reviewed.

Definition of Housework

Housework is defined by virtue of its not being paid work. Many frameworks start with challenges to distinctions and dichotomies that have come to be taken for granted. Some approaches, for instance, undo old divisions between mind and body. Some challenge the comfortable lines we draw between what is remembered and what is forgotten, between what we ‘know’ and what we do not know. Feminism challenges old distinctions between the personal and the political, between private and public, between male and female, between working and caring, between what is done ‘for money’ and what is done ‘for love’ (Goodnow & Bowes, 1994). The world of

household work also brings together previously taken-for-granted distinctions. In this study, housework and family work are used interchangeably.

Traditionally, under capitalism, people require money and also view labor as essentially a source of money. Therefore, when mentioning labor, people primarily emphasize market labor, which is primarily intended to make money – as much as possible (Andre, 1981). In this way of thinking, labor as housework, which is unpaid to begin with, is not considered. Even with a change in the definition of labor which might refer to the source of money as paid labor and to the services, which imply emotional and physical care as unpaid domestic labor, a consistent operational definition for housework is lacking. The nature of work in the home, its variability and discontinuity, makes it difficult to arrive at a uniform definition (Nickols & Metzen, 1982). In addition, family members' perceptions regarding what aspects of household functioning are appropriately classified as work, leisure, production, or consumption also result in a conceptual obstacle for researchers.

Housework is work done for the care and maintenance of a home and its occupants. This service may include child care as well as the provisioning of food, clothes, and household items, doing laundry, and cleaning, yard works, car maintenance and maintaining the home. The duties are traditionally 'women's work' and except for very wealthy families, most or all of them are done as unpaid labor by family members, primarily by the wife/mother of the family (Tierney, 1991). Most researchers have defined housework only as visible tasks (e.g., child care, meal preparing, dishwashing, laundry) (Berk, 1985; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Ferree, 1991; Kamo, 1988; Orbuch & Eyster, 1997; Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990; Perry-Jenkins, Seery, & Crouter, 1992;

Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994; Pleck, 1985) although there are contentions that invisible parts (management component) of housework must be also included in the definition of housework (DeVault, 1987; 1991; Mederer, 1993).

Housework is more than the invisible and unpaid labor that makes wage work possible (Brown, 1982). It is also gendered labor, that is, a set of culturally and historically specific tasks that convey social meanings about masculinity and femininity, and therefore about power (Berk, 1985). The gender perspective leads to an examination of both the material and ideological dimensions of this work (Ferree, 1991).

To understand the perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care, it is necessary to know what the division of household labor and child care is like in dual-earner families. No matter what technique is used to measure household division of labor, wives typically do significantly more housework than men do. Current estimates are that working women do more than 60% of the housework (Bergmann, 1986; Ferree, 1991; Hochschild, 1989; Perkins & DeMeis, 1996). The relative size of men's contributions to the housework varies between 20 and 35% (Shelton and John, 1996). Although gender differences in the household are typically less pronounced when women are employed outside the home, they also apply to dual-earner households (Biernat & Wortman, 1991). In addition to the differences in the quantity of labor, there are also marked differences in the nature of family tasks those women and men typically accomplish (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Women are more responsible for repetitive and routine tasks, which have to be done on a daily basis such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry, whereas men are more likely to be responsible for sporadic and

nonroutine maintenance tasks such as repairs and yard work (Mikura, 1998). Further, it has been found that housework holds different meanings for different individuals. It is found that non-employed women and employed women perceive housework differently. For non-employed women, housework was considered as their own sphere and a way of expressing their power in the family (Kamo, 1988). However, housework appeared to hold different meanings among employed women. Employed wives who were traditionalist in their provider role attitudes did more housework and were more satisfied in their marital relationships (Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990; Perry-Jenkins et al. (1992). In summary, in most of the scholarly work, housework has been conceptualized in terms of its visible parts. Based on this conceptualization, gender segregation in dividing housework has been found and different meanings of housework for different individuals have been identified.

Definition of Perceived Fairness

Perceived fairness is defined as a feeling of fairness based upon an individual's perception of overall balance of rewards and constraints in a situation (Rachlin, 1987; Gilbert, 1993; Thompson, 1991). Perception of fairness may or may not match an objective reality of equality. It does not assume that the notion of justice necessarily corresponds with objective reality. It is the subjective perception, influenced by emotional needs as well as irrational judgments of justice, that form the basis of social action; and such subjective perceptions can, and often do, deviate from objective reality

(Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). The concept of fairness based upon an individual's perception of the overall balance of rewards and constraints in a situation (Thompson, 1991). It must be remembered that it is individuals themselves who determine the value and relevance of the various inputs and outcomes based on their own individual needs and values, and therefore, the individuals themselves who determine whether their relationships are fair or not. The key to understanding fairness is the idea that situations or arrangements are judged as fair or just by participants when they feel like they get what they deserve. People's fairness judgment is influenced by many rules of justice. It might be equity (fairness of outcome is judged on the basis of the relative contribution or merit) or equality (fairness is a 50-50 split) or needs (fairness is judged on the basis of individual's need). It depends on each individual's norm. Perception of fairness, or the extent to which one feels "treated unjustly" is critical to understanding division of housework in the family. It is possible that the absolute amount of housework is not a concern for most women. Thompson (1991) showed clearly that perception of fairness, and even of justice, is not tied to any objective equality in outcomes in gendered settings. It is not the actual unequal division of labor that affects many marriages negatively, but the perception of fairness. It seems that perceived fairness is a valuable for women. In other words, if the woman feels that her husband is performing a fair share of household labor, whether that is egalitarian or not, she is more apt to be accepting of the inequality.

Theoretical Frameworks

There are many theoretical frameworks to explain why inequality in household division of labor and childcare may not be translated into unfairness in the minds of wives. They are grouped into four major paradigms: exchange or resource perspective, gender role ideology perspective, equity theory, and a distributive justice framework. One of the goals of this dissertation is to integrate major theoretical perspectives into one explanatory model, and assess the relative contribution each perspective makes in explaining wives' perceived fairness.

Relative Resources: A Social Exchange Theory

The exchange perspective is a view of the division of household labor as the result of bargaining process between husbands and wives who use whatever resources they possess to maximize their self-interest. Those with fewer resources will perform housework for those with more resources. Thus power is derived from these resources, which are measured in earnings, income, occupational status and education. Housework is described in this perspective as an "onerous" task, therefore requiring power to get out of doing it (Geerken & Gove, 1983). Resource theory began to be complemented by exchange theory and the "new home economics" in the 1970's and 1980's (Pleck, 1985). Exchange theory posits that husbands exchange their successful performance of the family breadwinner role for their wives' provision of household

labor (Scanzoni, 1995). Each partner's contribution to the mutual exchange is described as placing an obligation on the other partner to provide his or her reciprocal contribution. Economic models of family behavior also combined with these perspectives by explaining wives' time in housework and childcare as one component of a family strategy to maximize economic "utilities". Maximization of economic utility occurs in the context of wives' and husbands' wage rates and productivity in both the paid labor market and the home market (Becker, 1976). These model—resource theory, exchange theory, and economic theory of time allocation— all assume a "rational imperative" as an explanation for the division of labor (Glazer, 1976). In other words, husbands and wives divide the labor using rational means to evaluate power differences, proper exchanges, and maximized economic utility.

There is little information on what determines women's sense of fairness in the distribution of housework (Benin & Agostinelli 1988; Thompson 1991). However, the relative resources (or resource bargaining) approach takes an exchanged-based perspective. A social exchange perspective suggests, in general, that power and dependency influence assessments of fairness (Lennon & Rosenfield 1994). Exchange theory holds that power over others depends on individuals' resources and on their available alternatives to a situation or relationship (Thibaut & Kelley 1959; Blau 1964). Economic resources particularly are seen as a primary basis of power (Weber 1964; Blood & Wolfe 1960; Rodman 1967; Sabatelli & Shehan 1993). Power also depends on constraints leading individuals to remain in a relationship. People endure more when the costs of withdrawing from the situation are high (Thibaut & Kelley 1959; Cook and Emerson 1978; Levinger 1979).

Having fewer resources reduces individuals' expectations of relationships, because it restricts the availability of rewards (Thibaut & Kelley 1959). Those having fewer alternatives also have lower expectations of a relationship, because they have more to lose from its disruption than those with more options. Fewer resources and alternatives also work to limit reference groups and individuals: people compare themselves to others in similarly restricted circumstances and thus expect less from any given exchange. In summary, a social exchange perspective suggests that fewer resources and options compromise expectations and thereby diminish the standards of fairness, while greater resources and options heighten expectations and raise standards of fairness. Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) and DeMaris & Longmore (1996) have recently articulated a social exchange perspective that suggests that key determinants of perceived fairness in household labor are women's resources and alternatives to remaining in the relationship. The fewer a wife's resources and alternatives to the relationship, the more dependent she is on it, and therefore the less power she has with respect to her spouse. Women in these straits have limited expectations for justice. Because they have little leverage with which to induce more cooperation from their husbands in housework (England & Farkas 1986), they instead redefine existing arrangements as "fair" to maintain cognitive consistency between behavior and belief.

Thus, theory and evidence converge to suggest that employed married women's perceptions of fairness are determined by their power as gauged by their resources and their alternatives to marriage. Having fewer economic resources than their husbands and trapped by limited options, women are induced to define an objectively unequal situation as just. However, this social exchange perspective has

not been tested by systematic empirical research designed to explain the evaluation of the division of housework by employed married women especially in Thailand, a focus of this present research.

Equity Theory

The focus of equity theory is on fairness or justice in relationships, within the framework of a reward-cost analysis provided by social exchange theory, a theory of social behavior based on the principles of economics and behavioral psychology. The theory was originally formulated by Adams (1965), and is based on the framework of social exchange theory presented by Homans. Adams adopted the exchange theory framework from Homans, and tried to interpret social framework as exchange where a person receives rewards in return for the contribution she/he made in the relationship.

Essentially equity theory deals with two questions: (1) What do people think is fair and equitable and (2) How do they respond when they are getting far more or far less from their relationships than they think they deserve? Equity theory focuses on the evaluation of fairness, and responses to it (Taylor & Moghaddam (1994). Equity theory proposes that people strive for justice in their relationships and feel distressed when they perceive an injustice. People define justice on the basis of an analysis of the inputs and outcomes for those involved in a relationship. Inputs are contributions that persons make in the form of attributes, abilities or efforts, and outcomes are rewards or punishments that may be tangible (such as pay, services) or intangible (such as status,

linking). Justice exists when the ratio of inputs to outcomes for one person is equal to the input/outcome ratio for the other (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). In general, when people find themselves participating in inequitable relationships, they will become distressed. The more inequitable the relationship, the more distress individuals will feel. People who discover they are in an inequitable relationship will attempt to eliminate their distress by restoring equity. The greater the inequity that exists, the more distress they feel, and the harder they will try to restore equity (Walster et al., 1978). There are two ways that persons can restore equity to a relationship: (1) the person can restore actual equity to the relationship, or (2) the person can restore psychological equity to the real relationship. People can restore actual equity by altering their own or their partner's relative gains in an appropriate manner. Psychological equity can be restored to a relationship by distorting reality in appropriate ways. For example, the individual can try to convince her/himself that the inequitable relationship is, in fact, equitable (Walster et al, 1978).

Gender Theory: A Cultural Perspective

A cultural perspective suggests that ideology rather than resource power underlies evaluations of fairness (Blair & Johnson 1992; Greenstein, 1996). Ideology is a conception of reality that emphasizes certain values and justifies an outcome (Turner & Killian 1972; Zurcher & Snow 1990). It is the framework, which makes some things important, and some things forgotten (Babitz 1979). Gender ideology is

how a person identifies herself or himself with regard to marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender. Goffman (1977) suggests that gender ideology can be distinguished from gender identity in that gender identities are self-definitions such as male or female, while ideologies are the elements that make up that definition. For example, two women who think of themselves as female (their gender identity) can have very different ideas about what being female implies (their gender ideologies). One woman may assert that being female means believing that domestic labor is women's work, while another woman may feel that being female means doing an equal share of household work. Marriage and other intimate relationships provide arenas in which these ideologies are played out. In addition to its manifest functions of providing emotional and economic support and enhancing childbearing and childrearing, marriage also serves the latent function of providing an opportunity for husbands and wives to behave in ways that validate their identities as male and female, that is, to display the visible aspects of their gender ideologies.

Some women believe that, even when employed, they should do most of the domestic work or that there are justifiable reasons why men do not participate equally (Thompson 1991). According to this theory, the more conventional their gender ideology, the more likely employed wives are to perceive an unequal division of household work as just, while the less conventional the ideology, the more likely the same division will be defined as unjust (De Maris & Longmore 1996; Gager 1998, Hawkins, Marshall & Meiners 1995; Lennon & Rosenfield 1994; Thompson 1991).

Through internalizing social norms of gendered behavior, individuals form expectations about their proper roles in marriage. Traditional norms encourage women

to be more nurturing than men and to care more about cleanliness and hygiene.

Traditional socialization introduces girls- more than boys- to housework at an early age, thereby promoting anticipatory socialization for the later role of housekeeper (DeMaris & Longmore 1996).

Distributive Justice Theory

The concept of distributive justice centers on the fairness of the distribution of the conditions and goods that affect individual well-being (Deutsch, 1985). It occurs not only at the societal level but also in intimate social relations. Close relationships involve both distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice refers to the fairness of the allocation of resources among people in a relationship. Procedural justice refers to the fairness of the process whereby decisions are made and resources distributed (Lerner & Lerner, 1981). Deutsch's (1985) concepts of distributive justice emphasize its differences with equity theory, which also deals with issues of justice. Deutsch asserts that equity is only one of many values that underlie systems of distributive justice. In family and other caring systems, "need" may be the dominant value of distributive justice. That is, when fostering individual development and well-being is a common goal among a group of people who care for each other, needs may be of primary concern, and self-sacrifice and selflessness are common (Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners 1995). Thus justice can still be a crucial element of caring systems, but it will operate in significantly different ways compared with systems in

which equity or equality is the predominant value. According to Major (1987) and Thompson (1991), the distributive justice framework suggests that a sense of fairness and entitlement depend on three elements: outcome values, comparison referents, and justifications.

Outcome values are the outcomes that individuals desire from their efforts (Major 1987). Thompson (1991) point out that scholars have been too narrowly focused on the outcome value of time and tasks to explain feelings associated with the division of domestic labor. Researchers need to ask what else women value about family work and what they want to accomplish with their labor. Thompson (1991) suggested that researchers should pay particular attention to the interpersonal outcomes women value from domestic labor, such as feeling appreciated, having peace in the home, enjoying serving the needs of loved ones, and confirming their sense of proper gender roles. Kessler & McCrae (1982) conclude that husbands' willingness to participate in housework is important to wives' in part because it carries a "symbolic meaning" for wives, such that their work is recognized and appreciated by the husbands. Thompson (1991) also argues that among the most important outcomes of the division of household labor are symbolic outcomes, particularly the significance of caring. The satisfaction involved in household work will be greatest when wives perceive that their work is, indeed, appreciated. Wives who do not perceive their household labor to be appreciated will be more likely to feel that the division of labor is unfair (Blair & Johnson 1992).

Comparison referents refer to the processes by which individuals evaluate outcomes (Major 1987). Researchers need to understand the comparisons women

make when they evaluate the fairness of the allocation of family work. Do they compare their husbands' domestic-labor contributions to their own contributions or to the involvement of other men, such as their fathers' or men in general, whom wives may perceive as less involved than their own husbands? . Moreover, part of the comparison process weighs the relative value contributions of paid and unpaid work to family life. Some wives devalue both their contributions to the family income and to unpaid domestic labor (Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners 1995). Despite the substantial contributions that dual-earner wives make to their families' incomes and standards of living, breadwinning still does not appear to be a major dimension of many wives' gender ideology (Perry-Jenkins & Crouter 1990; Potuchek 1992). Similarly, many men and women do not recognize that much of family work is "invisible" (DeVault 1987). The attentive and coordinate aspects of family work often are not included in the family calculus of the allocation of domestic labor. Thompson (1991) suggested that because family work is embedded in family relations and mingles work and love, women and others do not see it as necessary work. Wives who do not give full credit to the invisible work within the home underestimate their contributions to domestic labor.

Justifications refer to the appropriateness of the processes or procedures that produce outcomes. Numerous justifications may be accepted to account for the disparity in the amount of time husbands and wives typically spend on family work. Statement such as "It's okay for men to say they are incompetent at or do not like domestic work" or "wives have a greater personal need than husbands for a clean house" are used to excuse husbands from greater participation in family work

(Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners 1995). In addition, if a couple discusses the allocation of family work and comes to a mutually agreed-upon decision of how things will be done, then wives likely will feel things are fair, even if they are doing most of the work. Empirical data also support the evidence that there are relationships between valued outcomes, justifications and comparison referents and perceptions of fairness in the division of household labor (Gager 1998; Hawkins, Marshall; & Meiners 1995; Thompson 1991).

According to the distributive justice framework, wives who lack some valued outcome, who compare their husbands' contributions to their own and credit the invisible work embedded in their own domestic labors, and who reject common justifications for unequal participation are more likely to perceive the allocation of family work as unfair to them.

Summary of Theoretical Frameworks

In general, studies of the division of household labor and child care suggest that, as women increase the number of hours spent in the paid labor force, their time on housework has decline (Gershuny & Robinson, 1988). Nonetheless, these studies make it clear that women still continue to do significantly more housework than men do. Although there appears to be an increase in the proportion of egalitarian couples, many women continue to work full-time in the labor force and do more than 60% of the housework (Ferree, 1991; Hochschild, 1989; Perkins & DeMeis, 1996). However,

only 20 to 30 % of wives, both employed and unemployed rate the existing division of household labor and child care as unfair. There is little information on what determines women's sense of fairness in the distribution of housework. Various explanations have been offered for the lack of strong feelings of injustice on the part of women. Social exchange perspective suggests in general that power and dependency influence assessment of fairness. Exchange theory holds that power over others depends on individuals' resources and on their available alternatives to a situation or relationship (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Blau, 1964). Economic resources, in particular, are seen as a primary basis of power. The spouse who has fewer economic resources and who needs the other more has less influence on outcomes and decision making. These bases of power have implications for perceptions of justice. Thus, the theory suggests that employed married women's perceptions of fairness are determined by their power as gauged by their resources and their alternatives to marriage. Having fewer economic resources than their husbands and trapped by limited options, women are induced to define an objectively unequal situation as fair.

Resources can be time availability in doing housework. Perceptions of fairness depend on rational choices in the distribution of labor among household members. From this viewpoint, one must examine the total work effort in analyzing domestic labor: even employed women may perceive housework as a fair exchange if their husbands expend greater effort in paid work (Becker, 1991). Husbands who work more hours outside the home may thus be excused from doing housework. Thus, the smaller the proportion of hours wives spend in paid work as compared with the time their husbands spend, the more they are likely to perceive an unequal division of

housework as fair. Education could also be considered an indicator of individual resources and thus linked to potential dependence. Women's education can offer them access to opportunities for financial and status independence from men, and therefore we expect it to be positively associated with perceptions of unfairness.

From this perspective, relationship status is another indicator of dependence within the couple. Marriage represents entrenchment in a patriarchal, legal institution, and thus a more dependent status for women. One's emotional dependence on current partner and perceived social/emotional dependence may have a powerful effect on perceived fairness (England & Farkas, 1986; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). Therefore marital quality and also psychological well being of women might be potential determinants of perceived fairness.

A gender role ideology perspective suggests that ideology rather than power underlies evaluations of fairness. Some women believe that, even when employed, they should do most of the domestic work or that there are justifiable reasons why men do not participate equally. According to this explanation, the more conventional their gender ideology, the more likely employed wives are to perceive an unequal division of household work as fair, while the less conventional the gender ideology, the more likely the same division will be defined as unfair.

The distributive justice framework (Major, 1987; Thompson, 1991) offered a justice paradigm that has particular relevance for perceptions of fairness maintained by wives. The distributive justice framework pertains to (1) the outcome values, (2) the choice of comparison referents, and (3) the justification offered therein. Each of these factors should play a major role in determining the extent to which wives feel that their

circumstances are unfair. The outcome values of this perspective refer to the returns that wives seek from a particular situation or from their marital relationship. These include such returns as the sense of family unity, which might arise from the wife providing more care to individual family members. Comparison referents refer to the standards by which wives evaluate their own outcomes. If, for example, wives perceive that their husbands' contributions to household labor are less than their own, then they are likely to judge their circumstance as unfair. Justifications refer to the standards by which wives evaluate whether the processes that brought about their current outcomes are appropriate. Wives may, for example, perceive that the division of household labor is unfair, yet believe that it is acceptable, given that their husbands contribute greater earnings to the family (i.e., higher incomes).

This dissertation will extend previous research by examining whether evaluations of fairness in the division of household labor and child care of wives differ by their contexts. We assume that there is some true level of fairness, the distribution of which may vary by wives' contexts. These contexts might include wives' education and income, number of hours in paid work, gender ideology, outcome values, comparison referents, justifications, psychological well-being and marital quality. All three major frameworks: resource-social exchange theory, gender ideology, and distributive justice are used to explain and understand the contexts or the determinants that influence wives' perceived fairness in this dissertation. From these perspectives, the contexts or the determinants that are included in this study are wives' resources in terms of income, and time availability; interdependence and dependence factors in

terms of marital quality and wives' psychological well-being; outcome values, comparison referents, and justifications.

Empirical Studies

Since literature related to the determinants of perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care is limited in Thailand, empirical research on perceived fairness in the United States will provide the empirical basis for the study. Given the fact that only a small proportion of women regards the unbalanced division of household labor as unfair, the question arises as to what makes women perceive the unequal division of household labor as fair. The following review of research is organized around the four categories of theoretical framework. I will review the research chronologically. The order neither reflects the number of available studies nor any differential weighting of the evidence. It corresponds instead, to the historical development of relevant research.

Yogev & Brett (1985) investigated the relationship between marital satisfaction and the division of housework and child care from the theoretical perspectives of social exchange and equity. Their sample included 136 husbands and wives who were in dual-earner marriages. Their results indicated that marital satisfaction and the division of labor were significantly related for husbands and wives in dual-earner marriages. Husbands in dual-earner marriages tended to be most satisfied when

operating under the exchange theory, while wives in dual-earner marriages were happiest with the relationships, consistent with equity theory.

Keith & Schafer (1987) investigated the extent to which relative deprivation and perceptions of equity in an intimate relationship influenced the psychological well-being of men and women in one- and two-job families. Data were analyzed from interviews with 130 couples in one-job families and 135 couple in two-job families. The results indicated that both relative deprivation and perceptions of equity were associated with depression of individual in both family types. The study showed that subjective perceptions of life situations were more salient to psychological well-being than were objective status characteristics.

Rachlin (1987) also assessed the impact of perceptions of equity regarding facets of the entire marital relationship on marital adjustment in her sample of 70 dual-career and 42 dual-earner couples. Results indicated that conditions of equity affected marital adjustment for both dual-earner and dual-career husbands and wives. Specifically, husbands and wives reporting the most equity reported the highest levels of marital adjustment.

Duke (1988) investigated perceived equity in dual-earner marriages. The subjects of this study were 196 men and women currently in dual-earner marriage relationships, defined as relationships in which each spouse was employed at least 30 hours per week. The sample was drawn from the population of faculty, academic professionals, and civil service employees on the Twin Cities campuses of the University of Minnesota. The participants were asked to complete a questionnaire consisting of measures of global and rated equity, household tasks division, marital

adjustment, self esteem, sex-role orientation, and masculinity and femininity, as well as demographic and background data. The mean age of men was 40.7 years and the mean age of women was 38.1. While 71% of the men held a graduate or professional degree, only 41% of the women did. Yearly income of both men and women ranged from \$7,000 to \$99,999. The average for men was \$36,000, while that for women was \$27,400. The researchers found that husband's greater participation in traditionally feminine tasks was significantly related to their perception of global equity, but not rated equity, for both men and women. For men, greater husband participation in both traditionally feminine and traditionally masculine household tasks predicted perception of global equity. For women, marital adjustment alone was the best prediction model for both global and rated equity. Self-esteem was the only one of the individual variable that significantly predicted equity for both men and women.

Marshall (1990) studied housework in dual-earner families. This study explores the relationship between the division of household labor in dual-earner families, both spouses' perception of fairness of that division and the quality of family life in such families. A sub-sample of 1131 dual-earner families with at least one child under 18 living at home was drawn from the 1987-88 National Survey of Household and Families. The respondents were predominated white and 2/3 of the sample fell between not quite finishing high school and three years of college. The average age was 36.6 for husband and 34.2 for wife. The median income was \$18,000 for husband and \$19,370 for wife. The results showed that the time spent by husbands and wives in housework was very weakly related to the quality of family life. The spouses' perception of the fairness in the division of labor was related to the quality of family

life in more important ways. Most notably the wife's perception of fairness was related meaningfully to her marital satisfaction.

Thompson (1991) used a distributive justice framework to understand women's sense of fairness about family work. Family work is reviewed and organized around three factors that contribute to sense of fairness: Outcome values, comparison referents, and justifications. Women sense an injustice if they lack some outcome they desire, have a high standard for comparison, and believe there is no acceptable justification for being deprived of desired outcomes. To understand women's sense of fairness, she suggested that researchers need to consider (a) valued outcomes other than time and tasks, (b) between-and within-gender comparison referents, and (c) gender-specific justifications for men's small contribution to family work.

Blair & Johnson (1992) analyzed the determinants of wives' perceptions of fairness in the division of household labor. They argued that both ideological and material factors must be included in any analysis of housework. Data for this study were taken from the 1988 National Survey of Families and Household. The sample in this study was limited to 778 married white women and included only respondents who reported a weekly household labor performance of 120 hours or less. The results indicated that husbands' contributions to "female" tasks and appreciation of women's household labor were the most important determinants of wives' perceptions of fairness, with the strength of the association in some cases being greater for employed than for non-employed wives. The effects of perceived quality of household labor were minimal, except for an effect of loneliness for non-employed wives. The role of ideological factors appeared to be minimal.

Ward (1993) investigated marital happiness and household equity in later life. Data analyzed were from the National Survey of Families and Household, a survey conducted in 1987-88. The sample was 1,353 couples (primary respondents and their spouses) aged 50 or over. The results indicated that employment by respondents and their spouses was not directly related to marital happiness. Wives reported greater participation in household tasks and greater inequity in the division of household labor. The perceived fairness of household labor was related to marital happiness, but only for wives.

Lennon & Rosenfield (1994) examined the sources and consequences of employed wives' perception of fairness in the division of housework. Data for the study came from the National Survey of Families and Households, conducted in 1987-88 by the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. The sample included a main sample of 9,643 individuals selected to be representative of the U.S. populations and additional 3,374 individuals were selected to overrepresent minorities, one-parent families, families with stepchildren, cohabitators, and recently married couples. The total of 13,017 individuals represents an overall response rate of 74.4%. The findings supported a social exchange theory: Women who had fewer alternatives to marriage and fewer economic resources were more likely to view a given division of housework as fair, while women with more alternatives viewed the same division as unjust. Also, women who perceived an unequal situation as unfair experienced lower psychological well-being.

Gager (1995) examined the role of fairness in household labor allocation decisions and evaluations. The sample is 25 dual-earner married couples from

university affiliation center in Philadelphia. The majority of couples (17) had household incomes more than \$50,000 while 8 couples reported that their family income was between \$25,000 and 50,000 per year. The average number of hours worked by wives at their paid jobs was 37.8 hours, while husbands worked on average 41.3 hours. Respondents were asked to complete a short questionnaire about the demographics. After that they were interviewed in detail about marital happiness and perception of fairness. The results showed that valued outcomes, justifications and choice of comparison referents played important roles in explaining perception of fairness. Justifications and choice of comparison referents, both of which are influenced by dominant attitudes and expectations of the appropriate activities and traits for men and women, helped to explain the persistence of gender inequality in household labor. Social comparisons were the most salient factor in spouses' perceptions of fairness. This analysis confirms that same-sex and same status comparisons prevail. Wives feel fairness not because they value housework more than their husbands do but because they believe their situation is fair and proper based on comparisons to other overburdened women. Wives report that unequal division of labor is fair, when they feel powerless to equalize this division or they want to maintain marital harmony. The results also revealed that egalitarian wives are more likely to report unfairness. In addition, wives in happy marriages are more forgiving of their husbands' contributions to housework.

Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners (1995) designed a study to test empirically the value of the distributive justice framework in terms of understanding wives' sense of fairness about the division of family work, as recommended by Thompson. Data of

this study were collected from families residing in five major metropolitan areas in the Western United States in 1993. The sample was 234 dual-earner wives. Wives, on average, were 40 years old and had been married 15 years, with two children under the age of 18 living in the household. Most of them had received at least some college education. Most were Anglo-American. They were employed an average of 38 hours a week and reported spending approximately 37 hours a week in domestic labor. The results indicated that feeling appreciation was the strongest predictor of fairness. Deciding together how things would be divided was also a strong predictor. Other effects (such as wives' higher standard, family harmony, ministry of love etc.) on fairness were indirect, however; they affected the division of family work, which, in turn, influenced wives' sense of fairness.

Darragh (1996) investigated Thompson's model of fairness in terms of its contribution to perception of fairness, and to link both perceptions of fairness and the actual reality division of family labor to the outcomes of marital satisfaction and well-being for men and women in dual-earner families. The sample included 80 dual-earner parents of preschoolers. In home interviews, parents reported their perceptions of equity, actual the division of household labor and child care, marital satisfaction, well-being, comparison referents, and justifications. Prediction analysis indicated that men and women use differential justifications and comparison referents to explain the current division of labor at home. Men and women, who perceived the division of labor as fair, regardless to the actual division of labor, reported the highest levels of marital satisfaction and well-being. There are relationships between comparison

referents, justifications, and the actual division of labor, perception of fairness and the outcomes of marital satisfaction and well-being.

DeMaris & Longmore (1996) studied gender ideology, power, and equity by testing competing explanations for perceptions of fairness in household labor. The data for this study were drawn from the National Survey of Families and Households 1987-88. One individual per household was randomly selected as the primary respondent for face-to-face interviewing. The final sample consists of 2,109 husbands and 2,096 wives. The results indicated that for husbands, husbands' age, race, ideology, and their contribution to routine housework all had significant effects on husbands' perceptions of whether housework was unfair to wives. The older the husband, the less likely he was to consider housework to be unfair to his partner. Black and Hispanic men were less likely than Whites to consider housework as unfair to their wives. Men's contribution to routine housework had a significant effect on their perception of fairness. Of the ideology factors, both husbands' general sex-role egalitarianism and their endorsement of housework sharing had significant effects. The more generally egalitarian the husband, the more he sees housework as unfair to his wife. The more that he endorsed sharing in housework, the less likely he was to report that the existing arrangement was unfair to his partner. Of the wife's human capital factors; only her education was significant. The results for wives paralleled those for husbands in many respects. Hispanic wives were less likely to see housework as unfair to them than were White wives. Husbands' contribution to routine housework had the same effect in the wives' as in the husbands' equation: the greater his relative contribution, the less likely she was to see housework as unfair to her. The absolute number of hours she spent in

routine housework had no effect on her evaluation of housework justice. Of the ideology factors, only the endorsement of housework sharing by each partner had a significant effect on housework justice among wives. The more the wife endorsed sharing, the more likely she was to see the existing arrangement as unfair to her. Wives' human capital factors had little effect on their perception of housework justice, with the exception of their self-assessed health. The better a wife' health, the less likely she was to view housework as unfair to her.

Greenstein (1996) studied gender ideology and perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor: effects on marital quality. Data came from the National Survey of Families and Household. The sample was 4,960 married couples. They had been married an average of 22.9 years. Most of them were whites. The results indicated that wives who subscribed to nontraditional or egalitarian gender ideologies were most likely to view inequalities in the division of household labor as inequitable. Perceptions of inequity in the household division of labor affected marital quality more strongly for egalitarian or nontraditional wives than it did for traditional wives. Gender ideology served as a comparative referent to which married women compared their own division of labor. When their own outcomes were consistent with that comparative referent, the situation was likely to be judged as fair. When these outcomes were inconsistent with that referent, the situation was likely to be perceived as unfair. Traditional wives were less likely to judge their household division of labor as unfair than were nontraditional or egalitarian wives.

Sanchez & Kane (1996) examined women's and men's construction of perceptions of housework fairness. They explored how gender, time availability, and

the division of labor, individual resources and interdependence within the couple, gender and family attitudes; perceptions of the qualities of household labor affected perceptions of housework fairness for men and women in heterosexual couples, and partners' social interactions. Data in the study came from the 1987 National Survey of Families and Household. The sample used included currently married or cohabiting primary respondent women and men from the main sample ($n = 4,153$). The sample was restricted to couples in which both partners were under 65 years of age and in which the male partner was employed at least 20 hours per week. The results indicated that women did report higher mean perceptions of unfairness than did men. However, the majority of women and men reported that the division of labor was fair. Perceived housework qualities were as important for predicting fairness perceptions as any other factors. Perceived housework qualities were a stronger determinant of women's fairness perceptions than men's fairness perceptions. Social emotional independence within the couple also predicted perceived unfairness, but only for women. Women who perceived themselves as less dependent on their relationship were more likely to view the division of labor as unfair.

Yoo (1996) examined conjugal equality in the division of household tasks, perceived equity, open arguments about household tasks, and marital quality. Data from the National Survey of Families and Households. The study concentrates on four major theoretical frameworks – resource-power perspectives, sex-role ideology, life-cycle perspectives, and demand-response capability perspectives – in examining gender stratification within the family. In general, the findings lend substantial support to each theoretical framework. Equity perceptions depend more on the nature of the

tasks and the relative contributions of fulfilling the tasks than on the absolute time a person spends on a task. Marital arguments were associated with the degree of each spouse's perception of equity and their sex-role ideology. Marital quality reflects the effects of observed equality, perceived equity, and marital argument, as well as the effect of other individual and situational indicators.

Blair (1998) investigated work roles, domestic roles, and marital quality and perceptions of fairness among dual-earner couples. This study used data from the 1993 National Survey of Families and Households, based on a cross-sectional, nationally representative probability sample of 10,008 respondents. The current sample included 2,057 couples. The study indicated that wives were primarily affected by marital characteristics and perceptions of fairness, while husbands were primarily influenced by their employment characteristics. However, although wives' assessments of marital quality were substantially associated with their perceptions of fairness, they were also significantly affected by their sense of job satisfaction. Simply, happiness in their jobs was associated with a higher assessment of marital quality. Husbands and wives were clearly shown to be affected by employment characteristics, marital characteristics, and perceptions of fairness in a differential manner. Wives' employment hours, earnings, and overall contributions to household labor significantly affected husbands, while their husbands' job happiness and marital role ideology significantly affected wives. Although work roles outside the home may set the stage for the creation and continuing development of perceptions of marital quality, the home environment is clearly where the summation of work roles, domestic roles, and perceptions of fairness come together.

Freudenthaler & Mikula (1998) studied the factors that contribute to women's sense of injustice regarding the lopsided division of household labor. This study combined elements of the distributive justice framework of Major (1993) and Thompson (1991) and the two-factor model of relative deprivation (Crosby, 1982). The study was run with a convenience sample of 132 employed women. Women were recruited by a snowball method in an Australian town and met the following criteria: they had a workload of at least 20 hours per week (mean = 35.9 hours/week), they were between 20 and 50 years of age (mean = 34), they were married (n = 87) or cohabitating (n = 45) with employed men, and had either no children (n = 64) or children who were not older than 9 years (n = 68). The results of the study indicated that unfulfilled wants, perceived violations of entitlements, and attributions of blame directly affected women's perceptions of being unjustly treated by their partners. Beyond that, women's judgments of injustice were indirectly affected by the outcomes of various comparison processes through their impact on perceived violations of entitlement. Finally, attributions of responsibility and perceived lack of justifications contributed indirectly to the experience of injustice through their impact on the amount of blame attributed to the partner.

Gager (1998) examined the role of valued outcomes, justifications, and comparison referents in perceptions of fairness among dual-earner couples. This study was based on data collected using open-ended interviews with both husbands and wives in 25 dual-earner couples in Philadelphia. The sampling design involved non-probability purposive sampling. Most of the sample was middle class, non-Hispanic White. Most had household income of more than \$50,000. The average number of

hours worked by wives at their paid jobs was 37.8, whereas husbands worked an average of 41.3 hours. The purpose of the study was to identify dual-earner couples with children for in-depth interviews to understand how spouses make choices about the division of labor and how they perceive the fairness of this division. The results indicated that relational outcomes, as well as some task outcomes, of housework and child care were highly valued by both husbands and wives. These valued outcomes often minimized the importance of fairness when a spouse found that his or her outcomes were lower than what was expected or perceived to be deserved. Both husbands and wives chose same-sex and same-status comparison referents when making evaluations about the division of household labor. Most wives did not have to look too far to find a female comparison referent in similar unfair circumstances or a stereotypical image in similar unfair circumstances because the majority of women spend more time on family work than their husbands, even when they work full-time. Such comparisons led wives to evaluate their own outcomes more favorably because most of their friends performed more household work than respective husbands. Husbands also chose male comparison referents to make their own contributions to housework appear more generous.

Wilkie, Ferree, & Ratcliff (1998) investigated gender and fairness relative to marital satisfaction in two-earner couples. They examined the relationship between marital satisfaction and the family division of both paid work and domestic work, and they assessed whether value preferences for the gender division, the balance of power, and perceptions of equity and empathy mediate this relationship. This study used a 1989 telephone survey of a random sample of 550 employed, married, Connecticut

women and their husbands. The sample size was 382 couples. Fifty-seven percent of wives work full-time. Most of them were White and well educated. Median family income was \$52,875. The results indicated that division of labor and role preferences affected marital satisfaction mainly through perceptions of fairness, but what is fair is different for husbands and wives. The gendered meanings attached to domestic and paid work were important in understanding these differences and lend support to a gendered model of marital satisfaction.

Moore (1999) examined psychological distress in married couples: assessing adherence to distributive justice norms and perceived fairness of the division of housework. The data for this study were drawn from the first two panels of three waves of a longitudinal study of married heterosexual couples across the transition to first parenthood. The sample was 181 married couples who had been married an average of 3 years. Most of them were Caucasian and well educated. Family income range was \$51,000-75,000. The results indicated that for both wives and husbands, use of a communal norm by self and spouse in dividing housework was correlated with less psychological distress; the use of an equality norm by self and spouse was also associated with less psychological distress; and the use of an exchange norm by self and spouse was linked to more psychological distress. Perceived fairness of division of housework for wives and husbands was inversely correlated with their reported psychological distress such that the greater the participants' perceived fairness, the less psychological distress would be reported.

Naylor (1999) investigated social comparison, socialization, and perceived fairness of the gendered division of household labor. The data for this study were

drawn from the same sample used by Moore (1999). The results indicated that for wives, the less fair they perceived the division of household tasks, the less housework they would want to do if they could change the amount they did. Further, the less fair wives perceived the division of household tasks, the more housework participation they wanted and felt they deserved, from their husbands. Conversely, the less fair husbands thought the division of household tasks was, the more they would want to do, and the less housework participation they wanted and felt they deserved from their wives. Comparisons with spouses were linked to greater perceived unfairness. Enjoyment of household tasks was associated with greater perceived fairness for husbands and wives. The more one is good at household tasks, the fairer one will perceive the division of tasks.

Voydanoff & Donnelly (1999) investigated the perceived unfairness of paid work, household chores, and child care between self and spouse and its relation to psychological distress and marital quality. The sample consisted of mothers and fathers of children aged 10-17 years interviewed for the 1991-1994 National Survey of Families and Households. The findings indicated that perceived unfairness to self is positively related to psychological distress for mothers and negatively related to marital quality for mothers and fathers. Mothers' perceived unfairness of household chores to self exacerbate relationships between hours in household chores and psychological distress and marital disagreements, especially for mothers who held an egalitarian gender ideology.

Summary of Empirical Studies

The variables that have been considered as possible determinants of perceptions of fairness can be roughly grouped into four categories: Quantitative aspects of the division of household labor, family characteristics, individual differences, and cognition's about household labor. These categories resemble the three main theoretical frameworks discussed above. Quantitative aspects of the division of household labor and family characteristics fit well under the relative resources exchange theory and equity theory; the individual difference variables at least partly fit under gender ideology theory. The cognition variables can fit under the distributive justice theory.

Quantitative Aspects of the Division of Household Labor

A number of studies found significant associations between various quantitative characteristics of the division of labor and measures of perceived justice (e.g., Blair & Johnson, 1992; DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Greenstein, 1996; Hawkins et al., 1995; Ward, 1993). Considering the magnitude of correlations and the consistency of findings, the following variables proved to be predictors of perceived justice. The relative amount of participants' contributions to household labor is more predictive for the perception of justice than the absolute size, i.e., hours spent for housework (e.g., DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Hawkins et al., 1995; John et al., 1995;

Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). The amount of men's contributions to household labor shows higher correlations with women's rating of fairness and justice than the amount of women's contributions (Duke, 1988; Blair & Johnson, 1992; Demo & Acock, 1993; John et al., 1995; Sanchez, 1994). In addition, Naylor (1999) indicated that the less fair wives perceived the division of household tasks, the less housework they wanted to do if they could change the amount they did. Also, the less fair wives perceived the division of household tasks, the more housework participation they wanted, and felt they deserved, from their husbands. Measures of wives' and husbands' employment hours outside the home yielded inconsistent findings and low correlations, if they were significant at all. Two studies found that wives perceived less fairness when they worked more hours per week for pay (Demo & Acock, 1993; Greenstein, 1996). DeMaris & Longmore (1996) reported that wives perceived more fairness when the husband's number of hours in paid labor was greater, whereas wives' participation in paid work was not significantly related to men's perceptions of fairness. Finally, three further studies did not find any significant association between paid labor time and perceptions of fairness (Blair & Johnson, 1993; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; John et al., 1995). Moreover, DeMaris & Longmore (1996) found that certain contributions made by husbands (e.g., male chores, child care), which can be seen as compensating for men's smaller shares to routine or female household tasks, were positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness. According to equity theory, this could be seen as support for the notion that justice may be perceived if women's and men's unequal outcome/input ratios in one domain are counterbalanced by unequal outcome/input ratios in another domain (Mikula, 1998).

Family Characteristics and Marital Quality

Characteristics of the family or household system and marital quality have hardly been explored as predictors of perceptions of fairness. The sparse evidence does not permit any far-reaching conclusions. Demo and Acock (1993) compared women's perceptions of fairness with various family structures and found no differences between mothers in their first marriage and mothers in step-families. Studies exploring the role of the number of children observed no significant associations with perceived fairness (John et al., 1995; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). However, Sanchez (1994) found a positive correlation between parental status and perceptions of unfairness.

Several studies explored the association between individuals' earnings and their perceptions of fairness (DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; John et al., 1995; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Ward, 1993). Women who have fewer alternatives to marriage and fewer economic resources are more likely to view a given division of housework as fair while women with more alternatives view the same division as unjust (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). These suggest that the evaluation of given arrangements of household labor would be influenced by the participants' dependency on and power within their relationship, which in turn would depend on individuals' relative contributions to family income in addition to other factors.

There are a few studies examining marital quality as a predictor of perceived fairness (Gager, 1995). Most of the studies investigated marital quality as an outcome of perceived fairness. However, the spouses' perception of the fairness of the division of labor was related to the quality of family life in more important ways (Marshall,

1990). The results suggest that there is a positive relationship between marital quality and perceived fairness. The more wives report equity or fairness, the higher the level of marital satisfaction they report (Yogev & Brett, 1985). Duke (1988) found that, for woman, marital adjustment alone was the best prediction model for both global and rated equity. The wife's perception of fairness was related meaningfully to her marital satisfaction (Darragh, 1996; Marshall, 1990; Voydanoff & Donnelly, (1999); Ward, 1993). The reason was that wives in happy marriage are more forgiving of their husbands' lower contribution of housework (Gager, 1995). In addition, perceptions of unfairness in the household division of labor affected marital quality more strongly for egalitarian or nontraditional wives than it does for traditional wives (Greenstein, 1996). Social and emotional independence within the couple also predicted perceived fairness for women. Women who perceived themselves as less dependent on their relationship were more likely to view the division of labor as unfair (Sanchez & Kane, 1996). Moreover, marital arguments associate with the degree of each spouse's perception of fairness. Wilkie, et al., (1998) indicated that the division of labor and role preferences affected marital satisfaction mainly through perceptions of fairness. Marital quality reflects the effects of observed equality, perceived fairness, and marital arguments, as well as the effects of other individual and situational indicators.

Individual Differences

Gender

A number of studies found that women perceive the division of work less fair than men (Blair, 1993; DeMaris & Longermore, 1996; Grote & Clark, 1998; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; John et al., 1995; Sanchez & Kane, 1996; Ward, 1993). Since the gender inequality in housework places women at a disadvantage, this is in line with the equity theoretical prediction that underbenefiting inequity will be more easily recognized and lead to more distress than overbenefiting inequity (Walster et al., 1978).

Other Demographic Variables

A few studies explored associations between predictions of fairness and sociodemographic variables, such as race and ethnicity, social class, age, and education (e.g., DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Hawkins et al., 1995; John et al., 1995; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Ward, 1993). Most of studies considered these variables as control factors. However, a few inconsistencies suggest that older, less educated, and non-White people are less likely to consider a gendered division of housework unfair as compared with younger, more highly educated and White people. A possible reason might be that different groups attach different symbolic meanings to housework, which in turn are reflected in the perceptions of fairness (John et al.,

1995). In addition, Duke (1988) found that self-esteem was the only one of the individual variables that significantly predicted equity for both men and women.

Gender Ideology

A number of studies explored the association between gender ideology and perceptions of fairness. The assumption was that people with egalitarian ideologies evaluate existing arrangements – in which women do more of the work than men – to be unfair than those with more traditional ideologies. The evidence is mixed. Some studies found no significant associations between gender ideology and perceptions of fairness (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Ward, 1993). Other studies found significant support for the predicted relationship: Wives who subscribed to nontraditional or egalitarian gender ideologies were most likely to view inequalities in the division of household labor as unfair. (Blair & Johnson, 1992; DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Greenstein, 1996; Gager, 1995; John et al., 1995; Mikula et al., 1997).

Psychological Well-being

There were a few studies examining psychological well-being as a predictor of perceived fairness. Keith & Schafer (1987) found that subjective

perceptions of life situations such as relative deprivation and perceptions of equity were more salient to psychological well-being than were objective status characteristics. Also, women who perceived an unequal situation as unfair experienced lower psychological well-being (Darragh, 1996; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). The study of Moore (1999) and of Voydanoff & Donnelly (1999) indicated that perceived fairness of division of housework for wives and husbands was inversely correlated with their reported psychological distress such that the greater the participants' perceived fairness, the lower reported psychological distress.

Cognition about Household Labor

More recently, studies have increasingly considered various cognitions about the division of household labor as possible predictors of the perception of fairness. The distributive justice framework has guided the focus on cognition variables, discussed below.

Outcome Value and Symbolic Meaning of Housework. Based upon the notions of symbolic meaning and outcome value of household labor, some studies investigated whether women perceive the division of labor as more just when they feel their housework is appreciated by their partners or other members of the household (Blair & Johnson, 1992; Gager, 1998; Hawkins et al., 1995; Mikula et al., 1996). In line with the prediction, the studies consistently found that perceived appreciation of one's work was significantly associated with perceptions of fairness. Other indicators of outcome

value and symbolic meaning of household labor yielded less clear and consistent results. Hawkins et al. (1995), who provided the most comprehensive test of Thompson's (1991) distributive justice framework thus far, found "confirmation of one's gender role" and "ministering to family needs" to be unrelated to women's perceptions of fairness. Sanchez & Kane (1996) found that perceived housework qualities were as important for predicting fairness perceptions as any other factors. Mikula et al., (1996) reported that "liking to do housework" was a significant predictor of perceived fairness for employed women, while it was not significant for female students who shared the household with their boyfriends. Blair & Johnson (1992) found a significant correlation between perceived loneliness of household labor and perceptions of unfairness for nonemployed but not for employed wives. Enjoyment of household tasks was associated with greater perceived fairness for husbands and wives. The more one is good at household tasks, the fairer one will perceive the division of tasks (Naylor, 1999). No significant correlations were obtained between wives' fairness ratings and their perceptions of housework as being boring.

Comparison Referents. There is some evidence that perceptions of fairness correlate with making social comparisons. It is found that between-gender comparisons were significantly correlated to the perception of fairness: wives regarded the division of labor less fair the more they compared their husbands' contributions to housework with their own contributions and not with the contributions of other men (Gager, 1995; Hawkins et al., 1995; Naylor, 1999). Significant associations between frequency of social comparison and the perception of fairness were also obtained by Grote & Clark (1998). The author found that the frequency of making between-gender

comparisons with the spouse was negatively related to perceived fairness for both women and men. Interestingly, and contrary to what would be expected from Major's (1987) work, a higher frequency of within-gender comparisons was also linked to less perceived fairness. The latter result suggests an interesting alternative to the usual interpretation of the causal link between making comparisons and the perceptions of fairness. Instead of assuming that comparisons with particular referents (e.g., between-gender comparisons) lead to perceptions of unfairness, it might be more appropriate to assume that the perceptions of injustice of, or dissatisfaction with, a given state of affairs motivate people to make comparisons in order to obtain information that can be used for a proper evaluation of the given state (Grote & Clark, 1998). There is no evidence available that allows one to decide between the two possibilities. In fact, they are not mutually exclusive. It might well be that dissatisfaction and the perception of injustice motivate one to make comparisons, the results of which, in turn, increase the perception of injustice (Mikula, 1998).

Justifications. Hawkins et al. (1995) provided some support for the proposition that perceived reasons and circumstances which account for the unbalanced division of household labor contribute to the perception of justice. They found that women perceived more fairness when they reported that the division of household labor had been worked out together. Darragh (1996) found that men and women use differential justifications to explain the current division of labor at home. Contrary to the predictions, wives' higher standards for household labor relative to the standard of their husbands were negatively associated with perceived fairness.

Attributions and other Cognition's. Freudenthaler & Mikula (1998) tested a comprehensive theoretical model of women's sense of injustice that integrates assumptions of the distributive justice framework of Major (1993) and Thompson (1991) with the two-factor model of relative deprivation (Crosby, 1982) and Mikula's (1998) attribution-of-blame model of judgments of injustice. In line with their predictions, the authors found that women felt more unjustly treated by their partner (i) the lower the partners' actual contributions to the household labor were as compared to those desired by the women, (ii) the more the women perceived they did not get the amount of assistance from their partner they felt entitled to, and (iii) the more they blamed their partner for not doing more housework. Beyond that, the outcomes of various comparison processes indirectly affected women's judgments of injustice through their impact on perceived violation of entitlement. In addition, perceived lack of justification and attributions of responsibility to the partner for not doing more housework contributed indirectly to the experience of injustice through their impact on the blaming of the partner (Mikula, 1998).

The research reviewed above has identified a number of variables that significantly contribute to perceptions of fairness, even though the evidence is not fully consistent and many observed associations are rather weak. The main conclusion to be drawn is that the actual division of household labor is by no means the main determinant of perceptions of fairness. There are another variables from many theoretical frameworks that are able to explain more about it. However, this dissertation study will use the existing empirical data above as a guideline for setting the research hypotheses in order to test the model in the context of Thailand.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purposes of this study are 1) to explore Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care, 2) to investigate factors determining Thai's working wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care, and 3) to develop a model of the determinants of wives' perception of fairness.

Sample

The data are based on 600 employed wives from three different types of workplaces in Bangkok, Thailand: Governmental sector ($n = 214$), quasi-governmental sector ($n = 191$) and private sector ($n = 195$). Employed wives were recruited by purposive sampling from each workplace and met the following criteria: They had a workload of at least 3 hours per day, and they are married in a heterosexual relationship. In addition to quantitative methods, a qualitative methodology, including open-ended interviews, was used with a convenience sample of 30 employed wives selected by purposive sampling from a large sample of 600 employed wives. The present study will use both these approaches to understand more fully the determinants

of wives' perceived fairness and how they might explain inequality in the division of family labor. Twenty hypotheses will be tested. The results will be presented together with the data from qualitative method. To explain determinants of wives' perceived fairness the data from both modes will be analyzed.

Measures and Instruments

Measures and instruments of variables in the study are described as below. The instruments were pre-tested with a convenience group of 40 employed wives.

Cronbach's alpha was employed to test the reliability of the instruments.

Dependent Variable

Perceived Fairness. Wives' perception of fairness of the division of household labor and child care is measured with the following two questions:

1. Overall, how fair do you feel the division of child care tasks is in your family?
2. Overall, how fair do you feel the division of household tasks in your family?

Responses are on a 5-point scale, ranging from "very unfair to me" to "very fair to me". Total score is 10. High score (score more than 6) indicates wife's perception of

fairness. Low score (score below 6) indicates wife's perception of unfairness.

Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .882 for Thai wives.

Independent Variables

Wife's Income. This measure assesses the wife's personal monthly income in 1999 in bahts (unit of Thai currency, 1 baht = 40 - 42 U.S. dollars, Bangkok Bank, 2000).

Wife's Relative Income. This measure assesses the wife's personal income compared with that of her husband. The wife indicates the income category that most closely represented her husband's and her own personal income in 1999. Then, the husband's reported personal income is subtracted from the wife's. A positive value indicates greater personal income for the wife than for the husband; a negative value demonstrates the opposite.

Wife's Number of Work Hours at Paid Work. Wife's number of hours at paid work measures the total hours per day that the wife spends at her paid work.

Wife's Relative Work Hours of Paid Work. This measure assesses the number of hours of wives at paid work compared with those of their husbands. The wife indicates the number of work hours per day of her husband at paid work and her own in 1999. Then, the number of work hours of husband was subtracted from the wife's. A positive value indicates a greater number of work hours at paid work of wife relative to her husband's; a negative value demonstrate the opposite.

Wife's Gender Ideology. An indexed measure of wives' gender role ideology is created from responses to the five following questions:

1. It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and the family.
2. Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed.
3. Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.
4. In a successful marriage, each partner must have the freedom to do what he or she wants individually.
5. If a man and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally.

Wives answer each question on the basis of a 5- point scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Each item was coded appropriately with changes to some items stated in the reverse order. A high score (more than 15) indicates egalitarian gender role ideology, which means the wife did not identify herself as traditional with regard to marital and family roles. A low score (lower than 15) indicates a traditional gender role ideology, which means the wife identifies herself with marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender. Wife's gender ideology is the sum of the responses to the five items. Possible scores range from 5 to 25. Total scores of this measure are 25. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .539 for Thai employed wives.

Wife's Outcome Values. There are 4 indexes for wife's outcome values: Feeling appreciated, Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, ministering to family needs, and family harmony.

Feeling Appreciated. Feeling appreciated is measured by two items with responses ranging from 1 unappreciated by spouse to 7 = appreciated by spouse. Feeling appreciated is the summed scores of the responses of the wife to the following two items:

1. I feel appreciated/unappreciated by my spouse for how well cared for the house should be.
2. I feel appreciated/unappreciated by my spouse when I do housework.

Possible scores range from 2 to 14. A high score (more than 8) means the wife feels more appreciated by her husband for her effort in family work. A low score (less than 8) indicates the wife feel less appreciated by her husband for her effort in housework.

Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .922 for Thai wives.

Wife's Ascription to Traditional Women's Roles. Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles is measured by six items, responses ranging from 1 = not at all like me to 7 = very much like me.

1. I care about what my neighbors, extended family, and friends think about the way I perform my family work.
2. If visitors dropped in unexpectedly and my house was a mess, I would be embarrassed.
3. When my children look well groomed in public, I feel extra proud of them.
4. I know people make judgments about how good a wife/mom I am based on how well cared for my house and kids are.
5. Keeping everyone in the family happy is my job.
6. I do not feel like I am really the wife/mom of the family unless I am mostly responsible for the family work.

Possible scores range from 6 to 42. A high score (more than 24) means the wife is more likely to believe that doing housework is the proper role for women. A low score (less than 24) indicates the wife is less likely to believe that doing housework is the proper role for women. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .759 for Thai wives.

Ministering to Family Needs. Ministering to family needs is measured by five items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Ministering to family needs is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following five items:

1. Performing child care tasks provide an opportunity to develop a closer relationship with children.
2. It is important to me as the mother to be able to take care of family members who are sick, afraid, sad, or upset.
3. Being a good wife and mother is the most important thing I do.
4. Even if I do not enjoy a family work task I am doing, I still like the feeling of helping people I love.
5. I enjoy it when I perform child care tasks.

Possible scores range from 5 to 35. A high score (more than 20) indicates the wife is more likely to link her daily family work to positive feelings about ministering to family needs. A low score (less than 20) means the wife is less likely to link her daily family work to positive feelings about ministering to family needs. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .756 for Thai wives.

Family Harmony. Family harmony is measured by four items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Family harmony is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following four items:

1. I guess it is right to share but I just do not think about it much.
2. It is more important that we create a feeling of family than those tasks are equally divided.
3. The division of family work is important, but not important enough to argue over.
4. I think it is right to share but at the same time I feel that certain tasks should be done by the wife/mother

Possible scores range from 4 to 28. A high score (more than 16) indicates the wife is more likely to preserve peace and harmony in the home by doing family work. A low score (less than 16) means the wife is less likely to preserve peace and harmony in the home by doing family work. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .818 for Thai wives.

Cronbach's alpha for Wives' value outcomes scales (Sum of wives' total scores of feeling appreciated, wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, ministering of family needs, and family harmony) is .740 for Thai wives.

Wife's Comparison Referents. There are three indexes for wife's comparison referents: wife's value of housework, within-gender comparisons, and between between-gender comparisons.

Wife's Value of Housework. Wife's value of housework is measured by three items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. It is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following three items:

1. There is more to family work than the tasks themselves; it requires a lot of efforts in planning, managing, negotiating, and supervising.
2. The housework and child care I do make an important contribution to my family
3. Family work is as hard and demanding as the kinds of jobs people do for pay.

Possible scores range from 3 to 21. A high score (more than 12) indicates that the wife is more likely to recognize housework as important to the family as paid work and gives herself credits for doing it. A low score (less than 12) means the wife is less likely to recognize housework as an important work for the family as is paid work and gives herself credits for doing it. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .686 for Thai wives.

Within-gender Comparisons. Within-gender comparisons is measured by two items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Within-gender comparisons is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following two items:

1. I am lucky because my husband does more housework and child care than most other husbands I know.

2. I am lucky because I do less housework and child care than most other wives I know.

Possible scores range from 2 to 14. A high score (more than 8) means the wife is more likely to compare her contributions to family work with other women or compare her husband's contributions to family work with other men when she evaluates the fairness of the division of family work. A low score (less than 8) indicates the wife is less likely to compare her contributions to family work with other women or compare her husband's contributions to family work with other men when she evaluate the fairness of the division of family work. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .828 for Thai wives.

Between-gender Comparisons. Between-gender comparisons is measured by one item, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Between-gender comparisons is the score of the responses of the wife to the following item:

1. When deciding if the division of labor is fair, I compare my husband's time in family work with my time, not with other men.

Possible scores range from 1 to 7. A high score (more than 4) indicates the wife is more likely to compare her husband's contributions to family work with her contributions when she decides if the division of family work is fair. A low score (less than 4) means wife is less likely to compare her husband's contributions to family work with her contributions when she decides if the division of family work is fair

Cronbach's alpha for Wives' comparison referent scales (total scores of invisible work recognition, within-gender comparisons and between-gender comparison) is .715 for Thai wives.

Wife's Justifications. There are three indexes for wife's justifications: Wives' standard of housework, men's incompetence at housework, and deciding together.

Wife's Standard of Housework. Wife's standard of housework is measured by five items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. It is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following five items:

1. I have higher standard than my husband for doing housework and child care
2. I often redo some household tasks that my husband has not done well enough.
3. It is too hard to teach my husband or other family members the necessary skills for doing well in household tasks and child care, so I do it by myself.
4. My husband is not so good at doing housework as I am, so I do it by myself.
5. I like being in charge when it comes to domestic responsibilities.

Possible scores range from 5 to 35. A high score (more than 20) indicates wife is more likely to use the reason that wives have higher standards for the performance of housework than husbands to justify her husband participating less in household labor and child care. A low score (less than 20) indicates wife is less likely to use the reason that wives have higher standards for the performance of housework than husbands to justify the husband doing less household labor and child care. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .793 for Thai wives.

Men's Incompetence at Housework. Men's incompetence at housework is measured by three items, responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Men's incompetence at housework is the summed score of the responses of the wife to the following three items

1. My husband hates doing housework, so I do it by myself.
2. My husband's job is hard and very demanding so he needs to relax at home in the evening.
3. For a lot of reasons, it is harder for men than women to do housework and child care.

Possible scores range from 7 to 21. A high score (more than 12) indicates the wife is more likely to use the reason that men are unable to do housework because it is harder for men to do, or they hate it, or they feel too tired to do, etc. to justify the husband's less involvement in housework. A low score (less than 12) indicates wife is less likely to use the reason that men are unable to do housework because it is harder for men to do, or they hate it, or they feel too tired to do, etc. to justify the husband's lower involvement in housework. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .801 for Thai wives.

Deciding Together. Deciding together is measured by one item with responses ranging from 1 = not like me to 7 = very much like me. Deciding together about housework is the score of the responses of the wife to the following item:

1. My husband and I make decision together about how housework and child care tasks are divided.

Cronbach's alpha for Wives' justification scales (total scores of wives' higher standard, men incompetence at housework and deciding together) is .800 for Thai wives.

Wife's Psychological Well-being. To assess psychological well-being, 11 items from the CES-D scale (Radloff, 1977) that Ross & Mirowsky (1984) found to be unbiased by gender are used. These items predominantly measure depressive symptomatology and include the following items:

1. You were bothered by things that usually do not bother you.
2. You felt lonely.
3. You felt that you could not get rid of the blues, even with help from your family or friends.

4. Your sleep was restless.
5. You felt depressed.
6. You felt that everything you did was an effort.
7. You felt fearful.
8. You had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing.
9. You talked less than usual.
10. Your appetite was poor.
11. You could not get going.

Wives are asked to report the number of days in the past week that they had had each symptom. Answer is coded ranging from 0 (never) to 7 (seven days). Possible scores range from 0 to 77. A high score (more than 44) indicates the wife is more likely to be depressed. A low score (less than 44) indicates the wife is less likely to be depressed. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .709 for Thai wives.

Wife's Marital Quality. This study uses a multiple-measure approach to the assessment of marital quality. That is, rather than focus on a single measure of marital quality, it is proposed here that marital quality encompasses numerous dimensions of the marital relationship and should be measured as such (see Crohan & Veroff 1989; Fowers 1991; White & Keith 1990). Marital quality is measured by four indexes: Frequency of disagreements, divorce possible, daily contact, and marital happiness.

Frequency of Disagreements. Frequency of disagreements is the wives' responses taken from the following six questions:

How often, if at all, in the last year have you and your husband had open disagreements about each of the following?

1. Household tasks
2. Money
3. Spending time together
4. Sex
5. In-laws
6. The children

Responses ranged from never (1), less than once a month (2), several times a month (3), about once a week (4), several times a week (5), to almost everyday (6). These areas of disagreement are combined into a single measure, resulting in a scale ranging from 6 to 36. A high score (more than 13) indicates that the wife often had open disagreements with her husband. A low score (less than 13) indicates the wife rarely had open disagreements with her husband. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .778 for Thai wives.

Chance of Divorce. Chance of divorce is based on responses to the following question:

1. It is always difficult to predict what will happen in a marriage, but realistically, what do you think the chances are that you and your husband will eventually separate or divorce?"

This measure is coded on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 very low to 5 very high. A high score (more than 3) indicates wife's report high possibility of divorce. A low score (less than 3) indicates wife's report low possibility of divorce.

Spending Time Together. Spending time together is taken from responses to the following question:

1. During the past month, about how often did you and your husband spend time alone with each other, talking, or sharing an activity?

Responses ranged from 0 never to 5 almost every day. A high score (more than 3) indicates the wife and her husband often spend time alone with each other, talking, or sharing an activity? A low score (less than 3) indicates the wife and her husband rarely spend time alone with each other, talking, or sharing an activity.

Marital Happiness. Marital happiness is taken from responses to the following question:

1. Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage?

This measure is coded on a 7-point scale, ranging from very unhappy to very happy. A high score (more than 4) indicates the wife describes that her marriage is very happy. A low score (less than 4) indicates the wife describes her marriage is unhappy.

Data Collection Procedures

A letter of introduction, and a written consent form, along with a ten-page questionnaire (see details in appendix 1) were distributed to a purposive sample of 800 employed wives from three types of workplaces. 600 employed wives returned the questionnaire, representing a response rate of 75% of questionnaires distributed. A qualitative method, including open-ended interviews from 13 sets of questions (see details in appendix 2) was used with a convenience sample of 30 employed wives selected by non-probability purposive sampling from the large sample of 600 employed wives. This qualitative method was designed to address why the employed wives perceived their existing division of household labor and child care as fair for them; and how they defined fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Because the notions of fairness are symbolically created and unique for each person, this paradigm provides the unique benefit of individual experience and meaning. It

helps to identify more details than one can get from aggregate data using a quantitative method.

Before interacting with any participants, the researcher submitted a human subject form to Oregon State University Human Subjects Review Committee, which was approved. The form outlined the purpose, procedure, and the means through which confidentiality was maintained in the study. I had three research assistants from the department of psychology, Kasetsart University helping me collect the interview data. The researcher and her research assistants spoke with the participants on the telephone to schedule the interview session with them. Furthermore, they were informed that their input would be kept confidential and an audiotape would be used for subsequent transcribing by the researcher. The interview would last approximately one hour (ranged from 35 minutes to one hour). The respondents chose the location for the interview. In most cases the interview took place at their offices during their lunch hour. Only one wife was interviewed over the telephone. All interviews were tape-recorded with the respondent's consent.

Data from returned questionnaires were coded into computer files structured from SPSS program. Data were checked to ensure accuracy. Cases with missing data were omitted from data analyses, resulting in a variance in the number of cases for different scales. Cases with missing data were very small about 8.3 %. The data from interviewing were sorted and coded by content analysis.

Data Analysis

Quantitative Data Analysis. The primary goal of this study is to identify the factors that may determine wives' perceived fairness in division of household labor and child care between spouses. For this purpose, descriptive analyses will be conducted first to find out the characteristic of the sample and the variables. Stepwise multiple regression is used in this study because it makes it possible to determine what combination of independent variables provides the best explanation for variation in perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Looking at combinations rather than the effects of single variables is appropriate for the complex phenomena under consideration in this study. For stepwise regression, the predictor variables are entered one at a time, beginning with the one that best accounts for variations in the criterion variable. The next variable to enter the equation is the one that best explains the remaining variance unaccounted for by the first, and so on for each step of the procedure. If the additional variance explained by them does not meet the criterion for significance, one or more variables will not be entered into the equation. The resulting model best accounts for the criterion variable. Stepwise multiple regression analyses will be applied to evaluate the predictive ability of each independent variable to the dependent variable, perceived fairness. Stepwise multiple regression is a technique to find the best equation by entering independent variables in various combinations and orders. Stepwise multiple regression combines the methods of backward elimination and forward selection. The variables are, in turn, subject first to the inclusion criteria of forward selection and then to the exclusion procedures of

backward elimination. Variables are selected and eliminated until there is none left that meet the criterion for removal. Via stepwise regression, the procedure determines the order of the variables in the regression equation (Vogt, 1999).

The predictive ability of each independent variable to the dependent variable can be described either with the standard regression coefficient (beta or beta weights) of the independent variable or with the increase in R^2 due to adding that independent variable to a model containing all of the other independent variables (Grimm & Yarnold, 1997; Rawlings, Pantula, & Dickey, (1998). The statistical significance test of each regression coefficient at the alpha level of .05 will be conducted, using the t-statistic for all study hypotheses. The explained variance (R^2) approach for the description of the effects of independent variables is recommended, together with the standard regression coefficient for describing the predictive ability of each independent variable (Grimm & Yarnold, 1997; Rawlings, Pantula, & Dickey, 1998). To assess the overall strength of the relationship between independent variables and the dependent variable, the R, the coefficient of multiple determination, will be used. The R^2 for the multiple regression equation indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable explained by all the independent variables. The R^2 for the equation will be tested with the F-statistic at the alpha level of .05.

Before proceeding with the stepwise multiple regression analyses, the possibility of problems of high multicollinearity will be examined. In regression analyses, multicollinearity will cause unreliability in the parameter estimate (i.e., regression coefficients) which will typically result in an equation with a substantial R but statistically insignificant coefficient. A frequent practice for detecting

multicollinearity is to examine the bivariate correlations among the independent variables, looking for coefficients of about .80 or larger and smaller “Tolerance value” (Grimm & Yarnold, 1997; Rawlings, Pantula, & Dickey, 1998). In multiple regression analysis, the “Tolerance” is the proportion of the variability in one independent variable not explained by the other independent variables. The bigger the tolerance, the better the analysis; the smaller the tolerance, the higher the collinearity. Then, if none is found, one goes on to conclude that multicollinearity is not a problem (Vogt, 1999). In this study, a bivariate correlation matrix and the “Tolerance” value will be used (see details in appendix 5 and 6). The correlation matrix in stepwise multiple regression in the present study show the correlation coefficients (r) among the independent variables (predictors) to be not more than .80 (r between .10 and .65), and the “Tolerance” value is larger (the value between .60 and .95). These results indicate that multicollinearity is not a problem in this study. Thus, all the independent variables (predictors) will be entered in the analysis.

Qualitative Data Analysis. The analysis begins with the data itself, not with hypotheses to be tested. From these data, theoretical categories and relational propositions are built (Boyatzis, 1998). These patterns and categories are distinguished through the techniques of domain analysis. Content analysis is used in order to increase the reader’s understanding of an individual’s categories of meaning. The process of this analysis is a search for characteristic phrases which are included in larger categories based on some conceptual similarity(Boyatzis, 1998). Content analysis takes into account the naturalist’s belief that meanings are created through

conversation between the respondents and the researchers (my research assistants or me). Subsequently, it is the conversations between the two parties that are analyzed.

In order to establish a domain of meaning, developing themes and a code is used (Boyatzis, 1998). The first step of developing themes and a code involved transcribing the audio taped recordings onto paper. The researcher then translated Thai transcribed interview into English. Then she identified and underlined characteristic phrases that constructed the bases for domain categories or cover terms. Identification of such phrases occurred through a mixture of intuition and systematic processes. A cover term represents a larger category of information under which multi sub-units of this term exist.

The researcher used her knowledge to classify phrases into initial categories based on a “look right” basis. Such phrases may have been those that were repeated by the respondents (similarity) or those that the respondents emphasized as important. These statements were synthesized and noted in the margins of the transcribed interviews. As the researcher clustered these phrases, cover terms or concepts naturally evolved. For example, within the present study, a cover term or concept identified was “fairness and its several meanings”. Under this cover term are multiple quotes from different women representing their thoughts on the definitions or justice rules that they used to justify the division of household labor and child care as fair.

Later, the researcher built and refined the clusters by comparing a phrase with previous phrases in the same and different groups coded in the same category. By doing this, the researcher could see the semantic relationship that linked the cover term to all the sub-units in order to interpret the pattern and describe it.

Research Hypotheses

Wife's Resources

1. Wives' monthly income is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.
2. Relative income is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.
3. Wives' number of hours spent in paid work is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.
4. Relative number of hours spent in paid work is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

Gender Ideology

5. Gender ideology is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

Outcome Values

6. Feeling appreciated is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.
7. Wife's ascription to traditional woman's role is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.
8. Ministering to family is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

9. Family harmony is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

Comparison Referents

10. Within -gender comparison is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

11. Wife's value housework is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

12. Between-gender comparison is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

Justifications

13. Wives' standard of housework is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

14. Men' s incompetence at housework is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

15. Deciding together is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care.

Psychological Well-being

16. Wives' psychological well-being is negatively correlated with their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Marital Quality

17. Disagreement between couples is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

18. Chance of divorced is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

19. Spending time together is positively correlated with their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

20. Marital happiness is positively correlated with their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

The results of the analyses will be presented in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The aims of this study are 1) to explore Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household division of labor and child care, 2) to investigate factors determining Thai's working wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor, and 3) to develop a model of the determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The results of the study are reported as follows. First, a socio-demographic of the sample is presented. Second, Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is reported and discussed. Third, the investigation of factors determining Thai's working wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care is reported and discussed. Fourth, stepwise multiple regression is used to illustrate a model of the determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care by using the survey data. Fifth, content analysis delineates the details of the determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care based on the qualitative interview data.

General Characteristics of the Sample

The subjects in the sample for this study resided in Bangkok, Thailand. The participants consisted of 600 employed wives in three workplace sectors: 35.7% of the sample worked in governmental service areas ($n = 214$), 31.8% in quasi-governmental sectors ($n = 191$), and 32.5% in private sectors ($n = 195$). Most of wives are middle age. The range in age for the total sample is 22 to 59 years with a mean 39.59 and standard deviation of 8.01. On average, they have more than ten years experience in the workplace. The mean number of years of working was 14.03 years with a standard deviation of 8.96. The average work hours/day of these wives is 8 hours, which is less than their husbands by only 10 minutes. These wives are better off in terms of educational level compared with the national average of employed wives. Seventy-three percent of the sample received the bachelor degree, 4.5 % had a master's degree, and only 11% had a high school education level. Much of this difference is due to a better-educated urban sample than national data would predict. Because they are well-educated persons, their monthly income is higher than the national average of employed wives. On average, these wives have a monthly income about 17,434.98 bahts. However, their monthly income is still very far lower than their husbands. The average difference of monthly income between husbands and wives is 11,296.01 bahts. The data indicate that a gender-earning gap between men and women still exists in Thai society. On average, they were married for more than 10 years. The length of married time ranged from 1 to 37 years, with a mean of 12.96 and standard deviation of 7.90. Only 23% of these wives had a length of married time between 1-5 years. On

average, they have one child to care for. Even though the mean age of the youngest child is 8, the mode is 4 years old. The data show that most of them have to take responsibility for a small child. The mean household monthly income of 45831.70 bahts with a median of 36,000 bahts, indicates that these families are middle-income class.

On average, these wives hold an egalitarian gender role ideology, which means they are less likely to identify themselves with regards to marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender. They are more likely to link their daily family work with ministering to family needs, preserving peace and harmony in the home by doing family work, and feeling appreciated by their husbands for their efforts in family work. They are more likely to use both within-gender comparisons and between-gender comparison as the standards to evaluate the fairness of the division of family work. Moreover, they recognize that housework is as important for family as paid work and give themselves credit for doing it. They are more likely to use the reasons of “men incompetence at housework” and “wife and husband makes decision together about how housework is divided” than “wife’s standard of housework” as their justification for the husbands’ lower involvements in housework. On average, psychological well-being of these wives is good. They reported very low scores of depression. They perceived their marital quality as good. They reported they seldom had open disagreements with their husbands. Therefore, the probability of divorce is very low. They also have some time to spend with their husbands. When taking all things together, they described their marriages as very happy. (See the details of the data in tables A, B, and C in Appendix 3).

Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care of Thai Employed Wives

Table 1: Comparison of Actual Division of Household Labor and Child Care with Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care

Who is primarily responsible for the household work and child care? (n = 598) ¹			Perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care (n = 598) ¹		
	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
Wife	427	71.2	Very unfair	37	6.2
Husband	50	8.3	Unfair	75	12.5
Equal	78	13.0	Neutral	172	28.8
Relatives	37	6.2	Fair	312	52.2
Servants	2	.3	Very Fair	2	.3
Wife and relative	4	.7			
			Mean	= 6.54	
			Median	= 7.00	
			SD	= 1.73	
			Range	= 8	
			Min/Max	= 2 to 10	

¹The Total number is not 600 due to missing data in each item.

Table 1 indicates even though Thai employed wives are primarily responsible for the household work and child care, the majority of them perceive this division of labor as fair for them. Only 18.7% reported it unfair and very unfair. The data support US empirical research that a large majority of women do not regard the existing unequal division of housework in their household as unjust (see e.g. Berk, 1985; Blair,

1993; Blair & Johnson, 1992; DeMaris & Longmore; Demo & Acock, 1993; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Mikula et al., 1996; Thompson, 1991; Sanchez, 1994).

The basic premise of resource exchange theory is that all social behavior is an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons (Homans, 1961). A relationship is considered to be equitable (fair) when participants are receiving equal relative outcomes. Stated differently, when the relationship between what participant A gives and what he/she receives is equivalent to the relationship between what participant B gives and what he/she receives, the situation is seen as equitable. Crucial to the idea of equity theory is that, for justice to exist, the outcomes for those in a relationship need not be equal; rather, it is the ratio of outcomes to inputs that must be equal.

The data from the study support the idea that the actual amount of housework is not a concern for most women. Although resource exchange theory and equity theory assumes that people move forward along rational paths to arrive at a definition of justice, it does not assume that the notion of justice necessarily corresponds with objective reality. Thompson (1991) showed clearly that perception of fairness, and even of justice in gendered settings, is not tied to any objective equality in outcomes. It is not the actual unequal division of labor that affects many marriages negatively, but the perception of fairness. In other words, if the woman feels that her husband is performing a fair share of household labor whether that is egalitarian or not, she is more apt to be accepting of the majority of the inequality. Therefore, perceived fairness is a perception of fairness in division of household labor and child care based upon a subjective belief of equality, not necessarily on an objective reality of equality.

Equity or equality considerations do not appear to operate in a family arena.

Perceptions of, feeling of, and the meanings that wives attach to exchanges in an intimate relationship appear to intervene relative to a straight calculation of one's own gain and loss. The results suggest that equality considerations alone do not inform the perception of fairness in intimate relationships.

Factors Determining Wives' Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care

The determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care are organized into 7 groups: wife's resource, wife's gender ideology, wife's outcome values, wife's comparison referents, wife's justifications, wife's psychological well-being, and marital quality. The basic individual correlations of each determinant factor with perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is investigated by using Bivariate correlation. The results show that most of the determinants are individually related to wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care (see Table H in Appendix 5).

However, the basic correlations between each independent variable and perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care do not control for other variables which may be the primary cause of perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Therefore, in order to avoid spurious effects, a stepwise multiple regression was used to control other variables and to determine what combination of independent variables best explains the variation in perceived fairness

scores in the division of household labor and child care. The descriptive data of all predictors and the dependent variable in the stepwise multiple regression analysis are showed in Appendix 4. Means and standard deviations of the variables in this analysis are similar to those of the sample. The number of case in the analysis drops to 550, due to the missing data in each variable. The “exclude cases listwise” method is employed to control missing data in the regression analysis. This method computes each correlation coefficient using only the cases that have valid data for all variables in the matrix, so that the coefficients in the matrix are all based on the same cases. Before the predictors of perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care are examined, the correlations among independents variables are tested in order to understand the effect of multicollinearity. No correlations among the predictors are high and the “Tolerance” value is bigger. Thus, multicollinearity is not a problem (a complete correlation matrix and Tolerance value is provided in Appendix 5 and 6).

The results of the stepwise multiple regression are shown in table 2 and table 3. Table 2 presents the partial standardized regression coefficients of all predictors. But only predictors that are statistical significance were included in the model of determinants predicting perceived fairness. Table 3 shows the combination of determinant factors which best explains the variation in perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Table 2 Partial Standardized Regression Coefficients between Each Independent Variable and Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care (n = 550, *p<.01, **p<.05)

Research hypotheses	Independent variables	Hypothesized direction	Partial standardized regression coefficients (β)	P value
	Wives' resources			
1	Monthly income	Negative	-.049	.200
2	Relative monthly Income	Negative	-.044	.246
3	Work hours/day	Negative	.110*	.003
4	Relative work hours per day	Negative	.056	.159
5	Gender ideology	Negative	.003	.928
	Wives' outcome values			
6	Feeling appreciated	Positive	.222*	.000
7	Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles	Positive	.111*	.006
8	Ministering to family needs	Positive	-.008	.862
9	Family harmony	Positive	.093**	.021
	Wives' comparison referents			
10	Wife's value of housework	Negative	-.164*	.000
11	Within-gender comparisons	Positive	.243*	.000
12	Between-gender comparisons	Negative	-.025	.520

Table 2 continued

	Wives' justifications			
13	Wife's standard of housework	Positive	.051	.287
14	Men's incompetence at housework	Positive	-.078**	.043
15	Deciding together	Positive	-.038	.323
16	Psychological well-Being	Negative	-.022	.610
	Marital quality			
17	Disagreements	Negative	.044	.261
18	Chance of divorce	Negative	-.057	.207
19	Spending time together	Positive	.147*	.001
20	Marital happiness	Positive	.162*	.000

The results from table 2 will be discussed by research hypotheses as follows.

Hypotheses 1 to 4 predict that wives' monthly income, relative income, work hours/day and relative work hours/day are negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficients for wives' monthly income, relative income and relative work hours/day were not statistically significant at an alpha level of .05. Thus, hypothesis 1, 2, and 4 were not supported. Wives' monthly income, relative income and relative work hours/day do not have effects on wives' perceived fairness. The regression coefficient for work

hours/day was positive and statistically significant with an alpha level of .05. Thus, technically, hypothesis 3 was supported but in the opposite direction to that expected. Wives who worked more hours/day would perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Time availability connects nonmarket behavior within the family, to the structure and functioning of the paid labor market. If individuals make greater investments in human capital and can earn a higher wage, they should concentrate their time in the paid labor market (Arrighi & Maume, 2000). But when married women enter and remain in the paid labor force, the rule does not follow. They still direct their energy to the domestic sphere. However, this perspective implies that there should be a strong negative association between the number of hours a wife works outside the home and the number of hours she spends doing housework (Becker, 1991). Most studies find that employed wives spend decreased number of hours doing housework, compared to non-employed wives and husbands of full-time employed wives are more likely to participate in housework chores (Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2000). Spending more work hours/day provides the bargaining resource that may allow wives to affect the household's arrangements. The relative resources (or resource bargaining) approach takes an exchange-based perspective. The division of household labor is seen to result from implicit negotiations between spouses over inputs (e.g., earnings) and outcomes (e.g., who does the housework) in the household. In general, the research literature supports this perspective (e.g., Blair & Lichter, 1991; Ferree, 1991; Kamo, 1988). Therefore, housework remains the work of wives because wives have fewer resources to negotiate with their husbands. Even though, on average,

these wives have a monthly income higher than national average of employed wives, their monthly income is still very far behind their husband. The average difference of monthly income between husbands and wives is 11296.01 bahts. But wives' work hours/day is only 10 minutes less than their husbands. This indicates that Thai employed wives may use time spent at paid work to leverage to their negotiations in marriage. Such bargaining may provide them with enhanced power to achieve desirable outcomes. Therefore, time spent in paid work may be a good resource for wives to use to bargain about the division of labor at home. Most notable is a change from a normative division of labor and responsibilities to a power-bargaining arrangement of household activities. From this perspective, paid employment may grant women the resources that allow them to negotiate the household's division of activities and responsibilities (Brayfield, 1992; Ferree, 1991; Shelton & John, 1996). Although employed wives still carry a disproportionate share of the burden of housework compared to their husbands, time limitations that result from their market activities impel husbands to increase their participation in child care and other home activities (Baxter, 1992; Brayfield, 1992; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Kalleberg & Rosenfield, 1990; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987; South & Spitze, 1994). Women who work on a full-time basis will be in a position to bargain for increasing control over the household management (Morris, 1990; Vogler & Pahl, 1993; Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2000). For these reasons, when wives have more work hours/day, they are more likely to perceive the division of household labor and child care in their household as fair for them.

Hypothesis 5 predicts that wives with more egalitarian gender ideology would perceived less fairness in the division of household labor and child care. That prediction is not supported by this study. The gender ideology variable appears to explain very little of the variation in wives' perceived fairness. The result is in contrast to the study of Blair & Johnson, (1992), DemMaris & Longmore (1996), Gager (1995), Greenstein (1996), Mikula et al. (1997), who found that gender ideology was a significant factor affecting the perception of justice in housework of wives. However, the previous empirical evidence is mixed. Some studies found no significant associations between gender ideology and perceptions of fairness (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Ward, 1993). On average, Thai employed wives hold egalitarian gender role ideology, which means they are less likely to identify themselves with regards to marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender. However, when considering specifically the household division of labor and child care, they are more likely to believe that doing housework is a proper role for women. The data indicate there might be contradictions between what they believe about marital roles in general and how they seem to feel personally about those roles. The dynamics of gender ideology is very complex. Like Hochschild reported (1989), these wives seem to be in the category of egalitarian "on top" but traditional "underneath". They want to identify with their roles at work as well as at home. They identify both with the caring for the home, and with helping their husbands earn money, but want their husbands to focus on earning a living

Hypothesis 6, 7, 8, and 9 predict that feeling appreciated, wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, ministering to family needs, and family harmony are

positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficient for feeling appreciated was positive and statistically significant with an alpha level of .05. Therefore, hypothesis 6 was supported. Thai employed wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care when they feel more appreciated by their husbands for their efforts in family. The less appreciation from their husbands the wives sense, the more unfair they report the allocation of family work to be. Thus, perception of fairness has to do with the symbolic value of men's demonstration of their appreciation for wives' efforts in doing housework. Rather than belabor time and tasks as valued outcomes, relationship outcomes are more important than task outcome. Most women experience family tasks as essential work done for people they love (Thompson, 1991). The interpersonal outcome of family work that women value is "care", especially from their husbands. Their sense of fairness rests more firmly on the distribution of this outcome values than on time and tasks. Some scholars have suggested that feeling appreciated is the "symbolic meaning" of husbands' willingness to share family work and that is important to their wives (Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983) or acts are less important than what their husbands express. Husbands' appreciation means, "I care about you, I know I am taken care of, and I feel gratitude for you doing that" to wives. Lack of appreciation means "husbands lack of consideration, attentiveness and responsiveness". Some wives experience their husbands as responsive in family work even if they do no household tasks. These husbands display their responsiveness by appreciation for the family work their wives do. Such husbands give attention, if not assistance (Hochschild, 1989). Backett (1987) found that if husbands listen to their

wives talk about the children and give their wives a respite from minding the children when they really need to get out of the house, then wives believe husbands are involved fathers – even if the men rarely do any child care. Scanzoni (1978) found that wives tend to overlook injustice and see their husbands as fair if they believe their husband understand their problems and feelings. Many women seem to be saying that it is appreciation and responsiveness that matter in family work, not simply who does the tasks (Thompson, 1991). Women tend to feel aggrieved, resentful, and treated unjustly relative to household arrangements if they sense an uncomfortable discrepancy between what they have and what they want (Crosby, 1982). What matters to them, however, is not simply how many tasks their husbands do and how much time their husbands spend in these tasks. What matters is feeling that their husbands appreciate them, and are responsive, and attentive to them. Equality and equity are much more complicated than a simple rule 50-50 implies. Along with equality and equity, judgments about need and outcome values may underlie the perception of fairness.

The regression coefficient for wife's ascription to traditional women's role was positive and statistically significant with an alpha level of .05. Thus, hypothesis 7 was supported. Thai employed wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care responsibilities, when they believe that doing household work and caring for a child are proper roles for women. It is plausible to think that beliefs about the appropriate roles of women affect their perception of fairness in the allocation of family work. Household work and child care are central facts of women's lives. Taking care of the home and looking after children are work which women are

expected to carry out as a labor of love (Shalala, 1995). They are seen as a duty, for which women can expect to receive neither wages nor a great deal of thanks. Family work is not just the experience of taking care of home and caring for a child; they are also an identity which, in Thai society, is necessary for full adult status as a normal feminine woman. Nurturance and care become part of women's personality because the process of identity formation in girls takes place through continuous attachment to and identification with their mother (Everingham 1994). Traditionally a Thai woman's life's worth has been associated with her motherhood over and above all other roles. Only after giving birth to a child does a woman become a ' full person' in the family. Thai women have traditionally derived both public status and respect as well as a personal sense of self- worth from their roles as mothers. They believed strongly that motherhood is a natural and appropriate role for women and women can do it better than men. Women's place has been that of nurturer, caretaker, and helpmate. People respond to the structure within which they live in complex ways; they create, and have created for them, ways of thinking and acting which embody ideas, beliefs, values, notions of right and wrong (Gordon 1990). This comes as no surprise that when wives believe that doing household works and caring for a child are proper roles for normal feminine women, they overlooked the imbalance, which, in turn, increases their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care responsibilities. As long as women embrace the notion of men as providers, men can avoid doing housework. As long as women, in particular, are taught that they have the primary obligation for housework, they will come to the "bargaining table" with lowered expectations of "profits". Under such conditions, they will come to accept

housework arrangements that are imbalanced in favor of men as “fair” (Bielby & Bielby, 1992).

The regression coefficient for ministering to family needs was not statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 8 was not supported. Ministering to family needs does not affect wives’ perceived fairness.

The regression coefficient for family harmony is positive and statistically significant at an alpha level of .05. Thus, hypothesis 9 was supported. Thai employed wives perceived greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care when they preserve peace and harmony in the home by doing family work. Keeping peace at home is more important to most women than getting their husbands to do their share of tasks (Berheide, 1984; Horschild, 1989). Rose (1986) reported that some women do their domestic work when their husbands are not around. Given the new experiences of gender equality, these wives spare their husbands from guilt by carefully hiding how much work has to be done. Although marriage is an institution structured to facilitate childbearing and produce material necessities of life, entering into an intimate union with another person also provides a setting for the enactment of displays about one’s identity as a man or as a woman (Berk, 1985; Ferree, 1990). That is, in the course of daily interaction with another person, one’s definitions of what men and women should be is negotiated in a process that West and Zimmerman (1987) called “doing gender”. Housework is an activity infused with gender meaning; it is the symbolic enactment of gender relations (South & Spitze, 1994). The allocation of family labor clearly shows that it serves the dual purpose of producing goods and services and of maintaining and reinforcing one’s gender identity (Berk, 1985).

Traditionally, women have viewed housework as both an expression of love for other family members and menial work that must be accomplished. When viewed in the former context, attention to housework carries the symbolic meaning of being a good wife and mother in accordance with the ideology of domesticity (Hareven, 1992) as well as the process of maintaining successful families (DeVault, 1990). Even when feeling subordinated by housework, several studies report a tendency for women to suppress their resentment by thinking of it as labor that flows out of their desire to care for their loved ones or as part of the price that must be paid to maintain domestic harmony (DeVault, 1990, 1991; Komter, 1989).

Hypothesis 10 predicts that within-gender comparison is positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficient for within-gender comparison is positive and statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 10 is supported. Thai employed wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care, when they compare their contributions to family work with other women or compare their husbands with other men for evaluating the fairness of the division of family work.

Comparison referents refer to the standards wives use to judge their existing division of labor at home. To whom or what do they compare themselves when judging the fairness of family work? How do they judge what they are entitled to receive? Evaluations of fairness depend on individuals' expectations, which, in turn, are based on social comparisons. Women tend to make social comparison with other wives who are similarly powerless. Hence, they may see their division of labor as satisfactory in spite of considerable objective inequities in housework, simply because

they do not feel entitled to more (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). Major (1987) found that one reason women do not have a greater sense of entitlement about housework, even though they have to do more housework, is because women compare themselves to other women rather than men. They also make within, rather than between, gender comparisons when they judge the fairness of family work. And these within-gender comparisons undermine their sense of entitlement. Hochschild (1989) suggested that there is a “double standard of virtue” in marriage. Partners have the notion that women and men cannot be compared. A within-gender comparison referent that many women use is the ideal of “superwomen”. They compare themselves to other women and congratulate themselves on how much they accomplish, how “organized and energetic” they are. When women use the superwoman standard, they cut back on or completely deny their own needs. Gender ideology serves as a comparative referent to which married women compare their own division of labor. When their own outcomes are consistent with that comparative referent, the situation was likely to be judged as fair. Women also make within-gender comparisons of their husbands to other men, who may do even less around the house, and judge that their own circumstances are not so bad (Hochschild, 1989; Hood, 1983). When these outcomes are inconsistent with that referent, the situation is likely to be perceived as unfair (Greenstein, 1996).

Hypothesis 11 predicts that wife’s value of housework is negatively correlated with wives’ perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficient for wife’s value of housework is negative and statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 11 is supported. Wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care, when they are less likely to recognize

housework as important work for the family as paid work and give themselves credit for doing it. The more wives gave themselves credit for the housework inherent in family and acknowledged that family work is “real work”, the greater the unfairness they perceived in family work. To understand how these comparisons contribute to women’s sense of fairness, we have to know what the outcome values are and exactly when and how women make these comparisons. Part of comparison process is to consider what one has to contribute to deserve something in return. The devaluation of housework undermines wives’ sense of entitlement; thereby increasing their perceived fairness in the household labor and child care. Ferree (1988) contended that it is not simply employment that makes women feel entitled to more help at home, but how women think about their contribution to their families. For women to recognize the injustice of the division of family work, they must recognize necessary family work as valuable work. Work is how people earn their keep in collective life; recognition of an activity as work gives it moral worth, force, and even dignity (Daniels, 1987). But much of family work is invisible, even to the women who do most of it (DeVault, 1987). What women and men get credit for in family work is strongly gendered (Thompson, 1991). Women do not get credit for necessary family work, but men get credit for doing a few household tasks for their wives. In the case of both wages and family, gendered interpretations of necessary work, credit, sacrifice, and gratitude undermine women’s sense of entitlement. Women who do not believe they deserve more than they have are unlikely to judge their domestic work as unfair.

Comparison referents reveal what outcomes wives feasibly imagine themselves receiving. Ferree (1988) argue that we can enhance women’s sense of entitlement by

demonstrating that there are some husbands who carry a good share of the responsibility for family work, thus raising the standard of what wives can imagine their husbands contributing. It is through between-gender comparisons that women develop a strong sense of entitlement about family work. However, the results do not support hypothesis 12: between-gender comparison did not contribute to wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Hypothesis 13, 14 and 15 predict that wife' standard of housework, men's incompetence at housework, and deciding together are positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficients for wife's standard of housework and deciding together are not statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 13 and 15 are not supported. Wife's standard of housework and deciding together do not account for much of the variation in wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficient for men's incompetence at housework is negative and statistically significant with an alpha level of .05. Thus, hypothesis 14 is supported, but in the opposite direction from that predicted. Men' s incompetence at housework is negatively correlated with wives' perception of fairness in the division in the division of household labor and child care. The more wives adhere to the reason of "men incompetence at housework" to justify the husbands' lower participation in housework, the less fair wives reported the division of household labor and child care responsibilities to be. Justifications refer to the appropriateness of the procedures that create existing outcomes (Major, 1987). Do wives believe that there are reasons and circumstances that adequately account for why husbands do not contribute more to

family work? One possible explanation for this pattern might be that the more they believe that men are incompetent at housework, the more they do household work and child care compared to their husbands, which, in turn, leads to decreasing feeling of fairness. The other possible explanation is to consider the relationship between this variable with other variables. It is found that the variable of men's incompetence at housework has a negative correlation with marital happiness and within-gender comparison (see correlation matrix, table I in Appendix 5). Wives who strongly believe in the reason of men's incompetence at housework are more likely to report unhappy marriages and are less likely to compare their contributions to family work with other women. Putting these results together, it is possible to argue that wives who believe most that men are incompetent at housework perceive less fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Hypothesis 16 predicts that wife's psychological well-being is negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficient for wife's psychological well-being is not statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 16 is not supported. Wife's psychological well-beings does not have an effect on wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Hypothesis 17 and 18 predict that disagreement between couples and the chance of divorce are negatively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficients for disagreement between couples and chance of divorce are not statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 17 and 18 are not supported. Disagreement between couples and

chance of divorce do not affect wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Hypothesis 19 and 20 predict that spending time together and marital happiness are positively correlated with wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The regression coefficients for spending time together and marital happiness are positive and statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 19 and 20 are supported. Among the four components of marital quality, only spending time together and marital happiness have significant impacts on wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Thai employed wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care when they often spend time together with their husbands, and report a happy marriage. The results support previous research in the US that found a strong positive association between overall marital happiness and wives' perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Wives in a happy marriage have greater perceived fairness in the division of labor at home (e.g., Blair, 1994; Darragh, 1996; Duke, 1988; Marshall, 1990; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Rachlin, 1987; Sutor, 1991; Ward, 1993; Yogev & Brett, 1985).

While other family functions have declined over the course of a century, the demand for intimate and durable interpersonal relationships within marriage and the family has tended to increase (Turner, 1970; Erickson, 1993). Reflecting this trend, couples have experienced a general shift from marriage based on "instrumental" functioning to those that emphasize the role of "companionship". The family thus has become the setting for emotional expression and communication, and family life alone was believed to provide individuals with the emotional resources they need to live and

work in modern society (Erickson, 1993). Because emotion has been an integral part of modern family life, marital happiness and spending time together would help wives feel satisfied with their marriage, which, in turn, would make them feel good about their lives. Gager (1995) explained that wives in happy marriages are more forgiving of their husbands' lesser contributions to housework. Thus, wives in happy marriages tended to be easier "graders" than wives who were in unhappy relationships. Happier wives tended to overlook the imbalance because they are satisfied and fulfilled with their marriage relationships. Wives in happy marriages seemed to use different measures when evaluating fairness in the division of household labor and child care than did wives in less happy marriages. Wives who reported being happy with their marriage also indicated that they often spent time together with their husbands. Thus, they could share a mutual understanding of their marriage and of the other's needs, which, in turn affects on how they evaluate fairness of division of labor. This should come as no surprise as happier marriage are those characterized by good communication, in which couples mutually create shared understandings and perceptions of their marriage. Close relationships between husbands and wives are a source of happiness, comfort, and joy in marriage life. Some scholars believe that those who have good intimate relationships are better able to cope with stress that happen in their families (Frude, 1991) because good relationships can enhance an individual's growth, making them more resilient in the face of stress. Even though wives might feel stress when they have to do more at home, marital happiness and often spending time together with their husbands serves to reduce conflicts between husbands and wives. In close relationships, benefits are derived from such sources as

happiness, enjoyment of mutual activities, supportive communications, and display of physical affection. Costs may result, for example, from conflicts or divorce.

In summary, of the 20 hypotheses, 7 were supported as written, 2 were supported, but with a significant was opposite of what was predicted, and 11 were not supported by this data set.

Model of Determinants Predicting Wives' Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care.

By stepwise multiple regressions, the determinants that are not statistically significance are excluded from the model determinants predicting perceived fairness. The model includes the combination of determinant factors that provides the best explanation for the variation in perceived fairness. The model begins with the determinant variable that best accounts for perceived fairness, followed by the determinant factor that best explains the remaining variance unaccounted for by the first, and so on. The model is presented in table 3.

Table 3 Model of Determinants Predicting Wives' Perceived Fairness about the Division of Household Labor and Child Care (n = 550, *p<.01, **p<.05)

Predictor Variables	Partial Regression Coefficients	t
	Standardized (β)	
Feeling appreciation	.222	5.296*
Marital happiness	.162	3.633*
Within-gender comparisons	.243	6.454*
Wife's value of housework	-.164	-4.183*
Spending time together	.147	3.439*
Work hours/day	.110	2.943*
Family harmony	.093	2.306**
Wife's ascription to women's roles	.111	2.778*
Men's incompetence at housework	-.078	-2.028**
R = .575 Adjusted R ² = .319 R ² change = .005 F (df. 9, 540) = 29.598*		

Excluded variables from the model (non-significant variables)

Wife's monthly income
 Relative income
 Relative number of work hours/day of wife
 Ministering to family needs
 Between-gender comparison
 Wives' standard of housework
 Deciding together
 Wives' psychological well-being
 Disagreement between couples
 Chance of divorced
 Gender ideology

The results in table 3 indicate that 9 of 20 independent variables (predictors) enter the model at a statistically significant level of .05 or above. The model accounted for 31.9 % of the variability in the perceived fairness in division of household labor and child care (adjusted $R^2 = .319$, $F = 29.598^*$, $df (9,540)$, $p < .01$). The overall relationship of all predictors to the perceived fairness in division of household labor and child care was fairly high with a statistical significance at the level .01 (multiple $R = .575^*$, $p < .01$). Feeling appreciated is the best predictor for explaining the variance of the perceived fairness in division of household labor, followed by marital happiness, within-gender comparison, wife's value of housework, spending time together, work hours/day, family harmony, wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, and men's incompetence at housework. The result also supports the study of Blair & Johnson, 1992; Darragh, 1996; Gager, 1998; Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners (1995); Mikula et al. (1996), who found that feeling appreciated was the strongest predictor of fairness. More specifically, Thai employed wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor when they feel more appreciated by their husbands for their efforts in family work, describe their marriage as happy, compare their contributions to family work with other women or compare their husbands' contributions to other men when judging the fairness of the household division of labor, do not recognize housework as important work for family as paid work, and do not give themselves credit for doing it, often spend time together with their husbands alone talking or sharing activities, work more hours/day, achieve a sense of harmony with family members over the performance of family work, believe that doing household work and child care are

proper roles for women, and are less likely to use “men’s incompetence at housework” to justify the husbands’ lower participation in housework.

This study provides support for the usefulness of the distributive justice framework, resource exchange theory, and gender role theory in understanding wives’ perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. The study is able to account for a substantial proportion of the variance (32 %) of wives’ perceived fairness. This study suggests that much of what is important about family work has to do with perception and affection factors rather than objective measures of fairness. The impact of this study reinforces the findings of other researchers on the importance of expressions of a spouse’s appreciation for domestic labor. In systems of distributive justice where personal development and nurturance are primary, such as family, the sense that you are able to respond effectively to the personal needs of those you love makes all that hard work worthwhile and, indeed, fair. It may be easier for the dual-earner wife to say her second-shift cooking chores are fair when family members rave with evident pride about how she is the world’s best cook (Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners, 1995).

Another predictors of sense of fairness are marital happiness and how often couples spend time together talking or doing an activity. When wives report that they often spend time with their husbands, then they report greater feelings of fairness in the division of household labor and child care. This finding indicates that couples with a shared social intimacy are more comfortable with the division of tasks, or perhaps more likely to communicated to each other about perceived injustice. It could be that spending time together fosters a shared, positive interpretation of the relationship and

a greater investment in preserving that interpretation. Or it could reflect the process related to Hochschild's economy of gratitude. If partners feel validated in their relationship, whether through gratitude and appreciation, or through time spent socially together, they may be less concerned about who does what. On the other hand, it is possible that couples spend more time together because they have a more positive image of the fairness of their relationships. In addition, spending time together was also linked to reports of greater marital happiness, which, in turn, increases wives' perceived fairness. Thus, happiness in marriage is a very important factor when considering the degree of perceived fairness.

Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles and family harmony are also predictors of wives' perceived fairness. Although gender ideology did not have a significant effect on wives' perceptions of fairness, wife's ascription to traditional women's role did have an effect. Psychometric problems could have reduced "true" associations to nonsignificance; in that it is possible that wife's ascription to traditional women's roles overwhelms the effect of gender ideology. A person can be quite "modern" on some issues pertaining to the sexes, have a middle-of-road view on others, and be old fashioned on still other gender-related topics (Ashmore, 1990).

Another determinant is wife's value of housework, but the effect is moderate compared to the effects of feeling appreciated and marital happiness. Wives perceive greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care when they do not recognize housework as important work for family as paid work, and do not give themselves credit for doing it, which was associated with a decreased sense of fairness about family work. The other variable is within-gender comparison. The more wives

compare their contributions to other women or compare their husbands' contributions to other men, the greater they perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. It supports the distributive justice theory that when women make same-sex comparisons about the division of household labor and child care rather than comparisons with their spouse, they are likely to perceive their housework role arrangements as more fair because other women are typically doing the same amount or more work than they are.

Two significant associations with fairness were contrary to expectations. First, wife's work hours/day is predictive of perceived fairness in housework, but in the opposite direction to that expected. Wife's work hours/day is positively correlated to wives' perception of fairness of household division of labor and child care. It supports an argument that spending more work hours/day provides the bargaining resources that allow wives to affect the household's arrangements. Compared to economic resource (income, earning), it is possible for these wives have a greater structural resource than their husbands. Therefore, time spent in paid work is a good resource for wives to bargain about the division of labor at home, which, in turn, increases perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Second, wives who are more likely to excuse their husbands' lesser participation in household work and child care because husbands are not competent in housework, were less likely to say that the division of household labor and child care responsibilities in their families were fair, perhaps because accepting these justifications made more work for them, which, in turn, led to a greater sense of unfairness.

This study extends the knowledge that the division of domestic labor alone is not the primary predictor of wives' perceived fairness in family work to another society and culture. The models from this study incorporate both time availability as well as symbolic meaning approaches. Ferree (1991) argues that the fact that housework is defined as women's work shapes psychological assessments of fairness, and her repercussions on how other factors affect perceptions. She suggests that "gender analysis", by considering such symbolic as well as structural obstacles to equality, provides an explanation that complement rather than contradict the resource model. My empirical analysis supports this conclusion. The study reinforces that addressing time availability, the division of labor, individual resources and gender-role attitudes only provides a partial picture of individuals' complex constructions of perceived fairness within intimate relationships. Understanding wives' outcome values, comparison referents, justifications, and marital quality help us understand why increases in relative equality are not leading directly to greater perceived fairness (Gager 1998; Hawkins, Marshall; & Meiners 1995; Major 1987; Thompson 1991).

Qualitative Results

In this section, a description of the demographic data in the qualitative sample will be reported first, followed with the results from content analysis. Most wives are middle age. On average, their monthly income was 16982.67 bahts. Most of them have monthly incomes lower than their husbands', but have to work the same number of

hours per day as their husbands. The average number of working hours per day is 8. On average, these wives are well educated, with a minimum of a bachelor degree. The majority of wives in the qualitative sample were employed in managerial and professional occupations. Twelve were in managerial and administrative positions (three Vice directors, three department heads, five personnel administrators, and one manager). Eight were accountants. Three were teachers in public high schools. The rest were as follows: one budget analyst, one policy analyst, one secretary, one statistician, one social worker and two-sale representatives. Their family structures ranged from nuclear family, with a husband, wife and children, to extended family, which included husband, wife, children, and relatives. The mean household monthly income of 39369.67 indicated that on average their families are middle-income class. Most had 2 children and the age of the youngest child was 5 years old. Most of wives maintained primary responsibility for the housework and child care but perceived it as fair for them. Eight persons reported unfairness about the household division of labor and only six persons reported the unfairness for the child care (see details of the data Appendix 2: table D and E). Overall, the demographic data of the interview sample is similar to that of the survey sample. Most of them were enthusiastic to tell their thinking and feeling about the division of household labor and child care in their families. Only 2 persons did not pay much attention to the interview, gave a short answer for each question and refused to explain more details.

The results from the qualitative interviews are reported as follows. First, I present findings to explain how symbolic meanings and feelings attached to housework relate to wives' perceive fairness in the division of household labor and

child care. Second, I present findings to explore how wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is related to three factors: outcome values, justifications, and choice of comparison referents. Third, the findings are presented to help explain the influence of society norm and value about gender and gender ideology on the perception of fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Fourth, I present findings to illustrate how wives' resources in terms of income, education, and number of working hours can help to explain their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Fifth, I present findings to show how wives' psychological well-being may relate to their perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Finally, I present data to identify the strategies that wives used to help them cope with the lopsided division of household labor and child care in their families.

Symbolic Meanings and Feelings Attached to Housework

Housework is work done for the care and maintenance of a home. It may include child care as well as preparing food, doing laundry, cleaning and maintaining the home. It is also gendered labor, that is, a set of culturally specific tasks that convey social meanings about masculinity and femininity. Housework, however, appears to contain to a special degree a link between work arrangements and feelings about the way one is regarded: about the extent to which people care and are cared for in both a physical and an emotional sense. It has been found that housework holds different

meaning for different individuals. What symbolic meanings and feelings are especially attached to it would provide an understanding about the degree of fairness that women perceive in the division of household labor and child care. Four major sets of questions were used to capture the meanings and feelings attached to housework. First, do you perform more or less housework now as compared with when you were single? And how do you feel about it? Second, are there any chores you want to do? If yes, what are they? And why? Third, are there any chores you do not want to do? If yes, what are they? And why? Fourth, how do you feel while you are doing housework? And how do you feel when it is finished?

Marriage And Housework

As far as we know, marriage, the joining of a woman and a man in a socially recognized union, is universal. Almost universally, marriage necessarily implies sexual intimacy between the couple and marriage is used to legitimize children resulting from this union (Shalala, 1995). Marriage is like an institution. It is the way that society legalizes and regulates private relationships between couples. Like other cultures, Thai cultural traditions stress the importance of the family that consists of mother, father and children. Thai society expects women to be married; therefore, Thai women seek social approval by marrying. By marrying, women enter in the marital contract set by society. Two people, but with differentiated roles, have generally characterized the institution of marriage: wife and husband. Each role is assigned its

own sphere of rights and obligations, activities, and patterns of behavior. The marital image in Thai society ties the status of 'wife' to the role of unpaid domestic work as 'housewife'. In this study, all of wives reported that they did more housework and child care than when were single.

The institutional aspects of marriage importantly shape behavior and attitudes. Because the definition of marriage is an institutional one, there are cultural scripts that inevitably affect individuals. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, described this situation this way:

I think I do it more than when I'm single. Before getting married, I only did my studies. My parents did it. I was not serious about it because I think the role and duty of people depends on their age. At that time I take the role of children, so I did not have to do housework since it's the duty of parents to do. But now I am a mother. I have to take care of my kids and to do housework also. Sometimes I feel too tired and feel that I have too many responsibilities, but I have to do it, no choice, because society expects the wife to do family work. The husband can avoid it but not the wife. If she did not perform it, it's the wife whom society blames, not him. It's ok for husband to avoid it, but it's not ok for wives. Generally I'm fine, and accept it. But if I feel too tired, I feel it's unfair for me to do it alone.

The husband is entitled to unpaid domestic service from his wife. This constraint is, of course, supported by other economic, social, and psychological pressures, which weigh the balance firmly in favor of the equation "wife equals housewife". Even though wives feel that they are too tired to do that, most of them accept it and continue to do it. Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, said

I think I do it more now but that's fine for me. I do not feel anything, just do it because it's my duty, it's the duty for wives, for women. My mom told me that women should do housework and child care. Good women have to be good at home and good at housework.

The marriage institution is a way of life that is very resistant to change. People know about it; they can describe it; and they have spent a lifetime learning how to react to it. The idea of marriage is larger than any individual marriage. The role of wife or husband is greater than any individual who takes on that role (Unger & Crawford, 1996). Marriage, then, is both a personal relationship and a scripted social institution. Most Thai wives are trapped by the definition of the marriage institution. The images of wives are as responsible for home and child care while the images of husbands are as breadwinners. Even though modern wives work outside the home, these changes do not mean that marriage based on traditional beliefs and values are entirely a thing of the past. By marriage agreement, the wife's job is less important than the husband's - he is the breadwinner, and she is working to "help out" or to provide "extra". Most wives internalize these ideas and accept that their main responsibilities are housework and child care. For these reasons, the wives in this sample did not feel unfairly treated even if they had to do more at home. Some wives felt empathy for their husbands who work hard outside and express their gratitude to the husbands by doing more housework and child care. Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, told me that

Before I got married, I did not do housework much because my mom did it. After marriage, I have to do it more than before. But I think it's fine for me because my husband works very hard to earn money. To have two ill children in the family costs a lot of money. I feel empathy with him. He is too tired to do more housework at home. I am willing to do it.

The marriage institution in Thai society gives a general picture of wives in terms of their roles in the family and their beliefs about the housework and child care, which helps us understand why they might fail to view an unequal division of household labor between a husband and a wife in the family as unfair.

Feelings While Doing Housework

When I asked wives how they felt while performing housework, a majority reported positive feelings. They reported that housework made them feel happy, good, and relaxed, that housework was enjoyable and fun. For example Lumpoon, a personnel administrator, and a mother of two expressed her feelings while performing housework this way:

I feel happy and enjoy doing housework. I feel good to cook for my husband and my kids. I want other people feel the same way because we would have safe and healthy food for them. I want other women to feel good about housework. I feel happy and comfortable when I have finished it.

Of those wives who expressed positive feelings toward housework, several mentioned that they feel proud of themselves. Some reported feeling good about it, feeling like they are real women. Maprang, a budget analyst, and a mother of two said that

Even though I feel tired when I do more family work, I feel proud of myself when it's finished. I am proud to do my duty and I am happy when everybody feels comfortable at home. I feel happy when my house is clean and tidy. I am proud of myself every time when I see my husband and my kids happy at home.

I feel happy when my house is clean and tidy. I am proud of myself every time when I see my husband and my kids happy at home.

Being rewarded by society can make wives feel proud of them when they can do well both at home and at paid work. The image of super mom, which can combine career success with being a good housewife reinforces some wives who feel good about themselves, and are willing to do more at home. Pikun, a vice-director, and a mother of two said that

I am proud of myself that I can do well both at home and at work. I can take care of my children well. My kids improve a lot. They can learn well, and can adapt well to other people and other kids. When other people tell my husband that “you’re really good at raising kids”; he would often tell them that “it’s because I have a good wife”.

The stereotyped of real woman or real mother was another reason to make wives willing to do the greater share housework and child care. Most of the wives I interviewed performed more household tasks and spent more time with their children because they thought it was the right thing for women to do. Gender norms prescribe that good wives should pay attention to the family. Nok, a financial counselor, and a mother of two told that

I feel happy while I am doing it because it’s my duty and I feel relief when it’s done. I feel like I am doing the right thing. I feel like I am a real woman, a real mother.

Malai, a policy analyst, and a mother of two said

While doing household tasks, I feel I am doing the duty of good wife and at the same time I feel my husband should help me do it, I should not do it alone. I feel relaxed when I finish.

In contrast, only six wives reported negative feelings, feeling tired, frustrated, tense, bored, unhappy, stressed, or anxious while doing household work, finding housework

unpleasant and unenjoyable. Housework is the duty that they want to get done as soon as possible. If they cannot finish it, they feel like they have unfinished business. So they want to finish it as best as they can. Nid, a vice-director, and a mother of two said

... I do not have fun doing it. So I do it because I have to, no choice. I feel like it's the duty to be finished as soon as possible.

Neung, a project analyst, and a mother of two said

While I am doing housework, I feel tired and sometimes feel bored with it. I want to get out of it as soon as possible.

Sometimes, negative feeling comes along with feeling a need to be perfect at the tasks they do. As, Kulab, a sale representative, and a mother of one, described her situation

I feel anxious while I'm doing it because I want to finish it as soon as possible, and I want it perfect. If I delay in any task, I would be late at work. So after I finish it, I feel relieved and can be on time at work.

A third group of wives expressed mixed feelings, both positive and negative toward housework. Jin, a high school teacher and a mother of two explained that

...sometimes I enjoy it, but sometimes I feel bored with it and think when it will be finished. When it's finished, I feel relieved, and feel good when seeing that a house is clean, food is already served, clothes are already washed, etc. If I do not do it, I feel like I have unfinished business and it makes me feel unhappy about it.

Six wives reported that they feel nothing, just do it. They feel only it's their duty and their obligation to do it. The words that they often used are "I do not feel anything, just do it, and feel relief when it's finished". Wipa, a social worker and a mother of three explained

I do not feel anything while I'm doing family work. I only do it on and on. Mostly, I will set a plan in the morning and begin to do it. I feel relief when it is finished because it is time for me to take a rest.

Two wives reported that they feel like it's a part of their daily life. Aree, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said

I think I feel like it's a normal thing that I do it in daily life. It is my duty. I do my best. I told my husband before we got married that I was not good at housework so do not expect me to do such a great job on it. He understands and accepts me. So I do it without any pressure to be good. When I finish it, I feel happy and relief.

Feelings After Finishing Housework

Most of them feel relief and happy when they finished doing it. Bua, a secretary, and a mother of one said

While I am doing it, I want to finish it as soon as possible. So I will set the motivation for myself. For example, if I finish it I can take a rest or do anything else to entertain myself. About my feeling after it's done, I feel relaxed and relieved, yes very happy.

Meanings Attached to Housework

Most of wives reported that performing housework and child care is a way to express love and care for their husbands and their child. Wasana, a manager department, and a mother of one said

...I feel like I want to do it. I want my husband and my child happy. I feel glad for them to be comfortable at home. I feel

happy to see them eat the food that I cooked. I feel happy when they said they liked it. When it's done I feel happy and healthy.

Some of them said that family work means you can be your own boss. Autonomy is the most valued quality of housework. Autonomy is the sense of freedom from supervision and ability to determine one's own work schedules. A sense of having freedom makes wives feel good about it. Nong, a bank employee, and a mother of one explained that

Even though I have to do more housework, I do not get stress or tension about it because I do it when I want to do, no fixed schedule. It's flexible, depending on me. So I do not feel that I was forced to do it. I feel like it's a part of my daily life. I think it's the responsibility of every woman to do it.

However, the sense of being one own boss adds to, rather than subtracts from, the psychological pressures to do housework. Thus, this other side of housework is the thing that women want to avoid. Positive feelings of women about housework and child care are a conditioned feeling, which depends on many factors such as availability of time and having helpers. Noy, an accountant, and a mother of two, said

My feeling about housework depends if I have more available time. If I have more time, I feel happy while I am doing it; but if I do not have enough time and I need a rest, I feel frustrated and want to finish it as soon as possible. When it's finished I feel happy.

Jeab, a statistician, and a mother of two, said that

...if I have anyone help me doing it, I feel enjoyable about it. It's fun, though. If I have to do it alone, I feel angry and upset while I have to do it. And I feel relief, happy, and not angry when it's finished.

A few wife thought that housework and child care were women's obligation. Mai, a head department and a mother of two said

I feel nothing after I finish each household task. I feel only it's a duty and obligation for me to do. I think I do more housework and child care than when I was single and feel that it's a responsibility for me to do that. If I did not do it, no one would do it. Sometimes I have felt tired. Even the weekends or holidays, I still have to do it...

The housewife, therefore, is 'free from' but not 'free to'. That is, she is exempt from supervision but not wholly free to choose her own activities, due to the fact that housework is not a single activity, but a collection of heterogeneous tasks, which demand a variety of skills and kinds of actions. Thus, there were wide variations in preferences for household chores. A task that one respondent ranked as her favorite might be the least favorite of another. Ironing is most disliked: three-quarters of the sample report a negative attitude. It is disliked because it is physically an exhausting activity; requiring a lot of energy and needing careful attention. Wasana, a department manager and a mother of one said that

I do not want to do ironing because it takes times to do it. I think I do not have a skill in it. I have a short concentration. That's why I think I cannot do it well. It's not fun to do it. I feel hot while doing it. But I have no choice.

Laundry-washing up is the next of disliked jobs because it is boring, demanding and time consuming and needs a delicate skill. Malai, a mother of two reported that

...the tasks that I do not want to do are washing clothes and washing dishes. I used the washing machine instead. I think they are time consuming. I have to do them often, everyday, and have to do them right away; while repairing and fixing, which are men's work are the tasks that we do not do often, not everyday, do not need to do them right away. We can delay them until we are available.

Cooking is the most enjoyable activity for most wives. Maprang a budget analyst and a mother of two, said that

I like cooking because I am not good at it. I want to practice it. It is not a repetitive job. I can do it in different styles. I feel happy while I am cooking food and feel good when seeing my husband and kids eating it and liking it. I have fun doing it.

Lumpoon, a personnel administration and a mother of two, reported that

I think I like cooking because I enjoy doing it. I do not like repetitive tasks. I think cooking is fun for me. Even though I have to cook food everyday, I am not bored with it because I can cook food in different styles. I like my husband and kids eating food that I cooked at home. I do not like to buy some food outside because it's not clean and not good for health. If we cook food ourselves, we can select healthy ingredients and eat whatever we want.

Cleaning is the next liked job. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said that

...I like cleaning house because I want to see the house clean and tidy all the time

One participant reports child care a task that she likes. Neung, a project analyst and a mother of two, told that

...the task that I want to do is child care because I want to be close with my children. I want to do good things for them. I do not trust other people to raise my kids. I have three housemaids to do housework but they do not do it like I want them to. So I have to tell them again and again, sometimes I get bored with them.

Domestic labor may involve enjoyment or boredom or fulfillment or exhaustion, depending on each task that women do. Perceptions of domestic labor are complex and depend on the particular activity. However, housework does not have a neutral meaning, but rather its performance by women and men contributes to defining and expressing gender relations within the household. Cleaning and cooking are intimately

ted to the role of “good” wives and mothers. That is, women’s performance of household tasks is not neutral behavior, but subjectively represents caring for the family and displays femininity.

In sum, while some aspects of housework were lowly valued, most of wives feel positively about household work and child care. Performing family work is the duty of good wives. In other words, wives are displaying their proper gender roles according to gender norms through the large amount of household work and child care they perform. Most of them enjoy doing it, are satisfied with household cleanliness and are glad to see everybody in their family happy. Meanings and feelings attached to housework and child care can determine the ideas about what a division of household labor and child care should be. Berk (1985) suggested that a great part of housework’s meaning is to construct and to display gender within relationships and to display dominance and submission: Housework is, in part, a symbolic terrain of interaction, expressing information about the relationship and about masculinity and femininity. Thompson (1991) and Hochschild (1989) considered attitudes toward housework as an important potential source of fairness perceptions. Individuals vary in the degree to which they consider housework a positive experience. If housework is more than just a pragmatic set of tasks to be done, but also part of the symbolic terrain that produces and reproduces gender (Berk, 1985), then women especially should find it satisfying to engage in housework as long as they perceive it as valuable and as positively valued by others. The ideas about justice in general were mitigated by other factors like positive attitude toward family work or ideas about appropriate gender roles. Sanchez & Kane (1996) found that perceived housework qualities were as important for

predicting fairness perceptions as any other factors. Mikula et al., (1996) reported that liking to do housework was a significant predictor of perceived fairness for employed women, while it was not significant with female students who shared the household with their boyfriends. Enjoyment of household tasks was associated with greater perceived fairness for husbands and wives. The more one is good at household tasks, the fairer one will perceive the division of tasks (Naylor, 1999).

Wives' Outcome Values and Justifications

Wives' Outcome Values

As discussed in Chapter 2, outcome values are the outcomes individuals want or desire for their effort. It represents how women value the family work and what they want to accomplish with their labor. Further, it is the subjective evaluation of outcomes rather than their objective status that determines whether a person feels fairly or unfairly treated, satisfied, or deprived (Gager, 1995). If wives receive the outcomes that they want or desire, they would feel fairness about the division of household labor and child care. Outcome values of household work and child care can explain why wives accept an unequal division of family work. The participants response to the question of “ what outcomes do you want from doing more on housework and child care? And how is it important to you?” By identifying the outcome values, we can further understand why a seemingly unequal division of labor between dual-earner couples might be perceived by wives as fair for them.

Family Happiness and Peacefulness

My findings showed that even though wives value several outcomes of household work and child care, most of them reported that family happiness and peacefulness were a valued outcome of housework and child care for them. Kaew, a high school teacher and a mother of two said

The outcome that I get from doing family work is the happiness of my family. Housework is a part of my life that I have to do. I cannot avoid it. Moreover, I raise the kids because I want them to grow up to be good persons and I think mothers are close to the children more than fathers. I do not know, I mean household works means a lot to me. Even though I feel tired about it, I'm glad to cook foods for my husbands and my kids, I'm willing to take care of the house. I'm willing to do it look good. Just to see everybody is happy at home, that's it. I think it's worth for me.

Pimol, a vice-director and a mother of two described the sense that doing housework and child care reflected positively on her and revealed that receiving the happiness, the peacefulness, and the harmony in the family for her hard work made her very happy for it:

The outcome that I receive from doing housework is the happiness of my family, the peacefulness, and the harmony in the family. My children grew up to be good persons. I wanted them be good at their academic, top of the class. I used to think why I have to do more housework and child care, but not often, just thinking. I did not pay attention to it much. I think I am not a too much thinking person. It might be because the outcomes that I get have a lot of meaning for me. I am happy for that.

Women take family work for granted. They do not want anything back from doing more of it. The only thing that they want is the happiness of their family and of them.

Kan, a sale representative and a mother of one, said

I did not want anything back from doing it because housework and child care are women's work. Working outside is men's work. To see everybody in my family happy make me feel happy about it, and willing to do more. I think doing it makes me feel happy because I serve my family and do my duty.

The happiness of everybody in the family is the best outcome value for wives. They sacrifice themselves for others. They do family work to please others, to make others happy. It seems like they care about other people more than themselves. Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I want happiness and the peace for my family. Housework and child care have a lot of meaning for every woman. I have to do it as best as I can. Even though I do it more, I'm ok with it if it makes everybody at home happy. I'm happy to see my husband and my kids eat the food that I cooked. I'm happy that my kids have clean clothes to wear, have a comfortable house to live. I do not care much about fairness. If it's a company where I work, I might think it's unfair, but not for my family, you know I can do anything for my kids, for my husband, to make them happy at home.

Those examples demonstrate the role that outcomes values play in an unequal work situation in the family. To the extent that wives define housework and child care as something they do for the happiness of their family, they are less likely to see the situations that they do more at home as unfair to them.

The High Value of Children

Quality of children is another outcome that wives get or want when they do child care and housework. Children are like the heart of the family. Researchers have also suggested that care is a highly valued interpersonal outcome of

housework in families (Thompson, 1991, Hochschild, 1989). Besides taking care of home, providing care for kids is a valued outcome of family work. Taew, a teacher and a mother of two, said that

The most important thing that I want is that I want my children to grow up to be good persons. I want them having more education. I want them to be successful in school and career. I want them happy. I think I will do everything for them to make them happy.

The roles of mother do have an influence on women's feelings and attitudes. To be mothers is to love their children infinitely and unreservedly, to be glad to devote themselves completely to their roles, and to be with their children at all times. Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, told that

The most important thing that I want is for my child to have good health. They can learn as a normal child. They can live in the society without any problems. I want them to be normal. I want other people accept them, understand them, and treat them well.

Sometimes, providing care for kids is a price of gratitude that women pay to their husbands. Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one, described that

I want my child happy. I want him to be a good kid. I want him be successful in his academics. That's why I raise my child by myself. I do housework because I want to cook food for other people. I want my house clean and lively. I want other people feeling good and have a good of image of my house. I accept it and do not complain about doing more housework and child care than my husband. I think he earns more money than I. He has an occupation more privileged than I. So I do not feel that I am taken advantage of when I have to do more housework and child care than he.

As Hochschild (1989) concluded, "to most people the tasks of the second shift either meant 'I am taken care of' or 'I am taking care of someone'" (p.188). If wives view their contributions to housework as their providing care for children, then they will be

less likely to perceive an unequal distribution of housework as unfair. In this sense, wives perceived household work and child care as a way to provide care for one's family, not as work. And the extent to which providing care for children is an outcome value of housework, wives will be inclined to view their larger share of housework as a burden or unfair to them.

Getting psychological Rewards from Husbands

Some wives reported that they perform more housework and child care in order to get attention from their husbands, and they get it. Rewards that they receive are not in terms of money, but in terms of psychological rewards such as appreciation, praise, or sympathy. Those rewards especially from the husbands motivate wives to willing do more at home. Nong, a bank accountant and a mother of one explained that

I want to be praised or appreciated by my husband. I want him to see that I can make it even though I have to work outside. Housework means a lot to me. It makes me an important person at home; I feel that I am useful person. I can make other happy. I do more housework and child care than my husband because it's the main responsibility of every woman.

Some wives wanted sympathy from their husbands. Doing more at home is a cost that women want to do in order to get loyalty from the husbands. It is something that women do to keep husbands with them. It is the way that women use to make husbands see the goodness that they have. As Lumpoon, a general administrator and a mother of two, said that

I want everybody in the family, especially my husband, to feel sympathy for me. I want them to see that I do my best, so he cannot complain about me. If my husband has another woman, I want him not to leave me. I want him to think about my goodness. I think housework and child care have a lot of meaning to me because other people in the family cannot do it. If I can do it, it means that I am the important person in the family. Doing housework and child care is more important than not doing anything at home.

Sometimes, love is stronger than a sense of justice at home. Neung, a project analyst and a mother of two said that she loves her husband more than thinking about fair or unfair:

Housework and child care mean a lot to me because it's my life. It's a part of my life. I love my children. I want them to be good. I will do anything to make them happy. I love my husband. I do not care much if I have to do it more than he does. I want only that he appreciates the things that I do for him and feel some empathy with me. That's it. That's what I want.

Some wives do more housework and child care because they want husbands to pity them and want to help them do it. When it does not work, they blame themselves more than blaming their husbands or they rationalize to make themselves feel good about it. Therefore, it is their fault, not their husbands. Jeab, a statistician and a mother, explained that

I want sympathy from my husband. He should help me do it or share the role. I have to tell him every time I want him to do it. He likes to sit and does nothing. Sometimes I feel upset and have a really bad mood and talk to him with harsh words, which make tension between my husband and me. I think I should adjust and talk to him in a polite way; it might be better. I think I have to do housework and child care more than my husband because I have more time to spend at home. I think the thing that causes me more trouble about it is my personality. I am a perfectionist. So I have my own standard. I have to do it by myself because I think I can do it better than my husband.

Even though he never blames me or complains to me if I did not do it or did it slowly, I usually expect that the house has to be clean and tidy all the time, which causes me trouble too.

Interestingly, wives' self-esteem depended on reactions of their husbands. It was clear that their self-esteem not only depend on their feelings and meaning attached to housework but was also closely tied to their appreciation from their husbands. This suggest that wives whose self-esteem is derived from psychological rewards from their husbands, may be more inclined to overlook the unbalanced division of labor and may be more inclined to report that division of labor is fair for them.

Feel Superiority and Important at Home

Some wives reported that they do more housework and child care because they feel superior at home. They feel like a head of the house. Everybody in the family depends on them. For example, Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, said that

I want my family happy and tidy. If I did not do it, my house would be messy, untidy and dirty. I know that my husband will not do it. Family work has an important meaning to me. I think it's the main responsibility for me. I feel like head of the house when I am at home. Everything and everyone depends on me. I control it. Even though I feel some conflicts about it, I feel superior. I am the most important at home. Everybody needs me. Without me home is not home.

Noy, a financial counselor and a mother of two described that

I do not want anything back from doing housework and child care. To take care of my family and raise my kids makes me

happy. It means a lot to me. I feel fulfilled to be a woman, a mother. Sometimes I feel like I have power in the family, I can control everything in the house. And I have an authority to manage the home. It's the place where I am number one. These might be the reasons why I have to do more.

Other researchers have found that the ability to control housework may help explain why women may not want to surrender their hold over household tasks (Ferree, 1987). Because women are more likely to be employed in lower-status or part-time jobs than men, which offer little control over the workplace, housework might offer them the opportunity for control and being boss at home. Hence, housework offers wives a way to gain a sense of control in their lives.

Self-worth from Doing Women's Job

Housework and child care offer wives a way to gain a sense of self-worth. For some wives, family work was a main responsibility for them to do and their work was secondary. To do family work makes them fulfilled about being a woman or a mother. Therefore, housework and child care are value for them. For example Moon, a teacher and a mother of one, said

Housework and child care mean a lot to me. If I do not do it, I feel that I lack a sense of responsibility to my family and my child. I feel like I do woman's duty. I perform the role of wife and a mother. I would feel upset and irritable when my house is dirty and untidy.

Porn, a general administrator and a mother of one said

It means a lot to me. It makes me happy. I proud of myself that I can do well both outside and inside the home. I feel like I do my duty. I want my family happy. My husband and my kids live in a good house and have good health.

This suggests that wives whose self-worth is derived from the home sphere are more likely to see positive aspects of household work and child care. The more positive aspects of family work they emphasized, the more likely they report that the division of household labor and child care is fair for them.

Tidy and Clean Home

Some wives reported that they do more housework because they want their home tidy, clean and neat. They raise their kids because they love them and want them to be good persons. For example Pink, a personnel administrator and a mother of two said that

I want a clean house, good environment, like home sweet home. Home is for everybody in the family. A clean house makes everybody feel comfortable to sit or sleep. Everyone wants to come home. I want to prepare food for my husband and my kids. Food is ready to be served to them when they come back home. I feel warmth and I love to raise my kid. I love to feed everybody at home.

Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, explained

I think I do it because it's my responsibility. I want my house clean, tidy, and not messy. It feels comfortable to sit or sleep at that kind of place. I take care of my kids because I Love them

and want them to be good. I'm willing to do it and want to do it the best I can.

The satisfaction that they want in terms of a tidy and clean house provides a self-reward in doing housework for wives. They are happy about it. However, they are guilty, worried, or not happy when they have an unhappy outcome such as dirty house, messy or untidy home.

The data from outcome values relates to perception of fairness. If wives gains something from performing housework and child care or value an outcome from doing it, then they will be less likely to perceive the division of household labor and child care, of which they do more, as unfair to them. Next I will introduce the idea that justifications are another mechanism used by wives to evaluate the fairness of the division of household labor and child care in their households.

Wives' Justifications

Justifications refer to various reasons that wives use to account for the inequality division of household labor and child care and make it acceptable or legitimate. They use their justifications to accept men's small contribution to family work and make them feel it is fair for them to do more housework and child care. As I outlined in chapters 1 and 2 perceived fairness is based upon a subjective belief of equality, not necessarily on an objective reality of equality. Thus, the ideas about what is fair and unfair are not always based on "objective" housework arrangements, as the proponents of equality and exchange theories posit, but rather are influenced by the

way one defines a fair division of housework and child care. The participants were interviewed using the following questions: How do you divide the responsibility for household labor and child care? , how do you decide who will perform each task?, in your opinion, are there any chores that women do better? why?, are there any chores that men do better? why?, how do you feel when your husband is doing less housework and child care?, Why do you think the division of household labor and child care in your family is fair?, and how do you define a fair division of household labor and child care? Those questions were aimed at identifying the justice principles or rules that guide the decision of household tasks. The data show how wives thought about fairness and how they defined fairness with regard to division of household labor and child care and also how important fairness was to them.

Individuals may be confronted with situations that they initially evaluate as unfair. After this initial evaluation, they can either accept or reject the unfairness of their situations (Gager, 1995). When they reject that situation, they may try to change the situation or they may reevaluate it. Individuals in the reevaluation process would use justifications in order to make that situation more favorable or just. For example, the situation in which wives do more housework and child care, in and of itself, appears unfair. However, wives may reevaluation that situation by using their own justifications and ignoring the smaller contribution in family work of their husbands in order to decrease perceived unfairness. I will now describe these justifications and identify other reasons used by wives to justify an unequal division of labor. Further, I will describe how these justifications related to wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care.

Gender Stereotyped in Terms of Roles Specialization

In this study, I found that most wives still perceive husbands as the “provider” or the “breadwinner” in families, and still believe that they are responsible for the home sphere. The results support research documents that, despite major changes in the lives of individuals, traditional gender role attitudes for men and women still persist (Okin, 1989; Hochschild, 1989; Fan & Marini, 1994; Suito, 1991). Gender role attitudes are often supported by dominant macro-level gender norms in Thai society. Such norms are that men are heads of family and women are housewives and mothers at home. The power of these norms influences individual behaviors at the micro-level, such as family. This study supports the idea that justification plays a major part in wives’ evaluations of what constitutes a fair division of labor. For example, Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one said

My family uses the suitability of each person according to society norms, to justify who should do housework and child care. The society inoculates the gender-stereotypes that the housework and child care are the responsibility of women. So I do almost everything at home.

Bua, a secretary and a mother of one, further explained that she thought using gender expectation was the best way to solve problems in the division of household labor and child care. She said

I think gender is the best way to make decisions about who should do what in the household because men and women have different abilities and skills, which are suitable for different household tasks. For example, women should be responsible for the delicate tasks like washing clothes, preparing food, or ironing. I think I can do better than my husband does. My husband will take responsibility in the task that needs a lot of energy to do such as cleaning care or repairing something etc.

I think women and men know it by their own feelings about what tasks each should do. Dividing it by the ability is fair, but we should be flexible about it. I think the most important thing is both husband and wife should be comfortable about it. So they should make decision about it together.

Abilities and Aptitudes

Some wives reported that they used the abilities and aptitudes of each person to make decisions about who should do what in their families. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two said

It's based on each person's aptitude. For example, preparing food, sewing, and washing dishes is women's works, while watering plants, gardening, repairing, and fixing are men's work. For child care I think both my husband and I share responsibilities. I teach them do homework and am a tutor while my husband plays with them because the boys should play with dad. They would have a suitable model.

Taew, a high-school teacher and a mother of two, described that

My family used the type of tasks to evaluate who should do what and how. I think each person is suited for household tasks that are different in nature and in the time to do it. My husband will do electrical repair, fixing and washing the car, motorcycle and bicycle. My daughters help me to do laundry and cleaning house. I do preparing food, ironing, and washing clothes.

Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, said

I divided the household tasks by the abilities and skills of the person. My husband will only take care of bills especially for doctor's fee, and cost of living. I am responsible for child care, and other household tasks by having the housemaid help me. I think women are more suitable for those tasks than men because women are good at understanding children. They are kind, soft and warm. The kids need those characteristics. Men do not understand the children. They tend to ignore the problems, and

they are not sensitive to the children's needs. Women are quick enough to detect the problems and they are better in solving them. I have my own standard so I raise my kids by myself.

These stories give us an important picture of how making decisions based on the aptitudes and abilities of each person relates to the way they divide the household labor and child care. Most wives in the study had the same opinion, that women have better skills in household tasks. The tasks they thought that women can do better than men are those tasks requiring delicate skills such as neatness, careful consideration, tolerance, endurance, and kindness. These include cooking, laundry, cleaning, washing, and even child care, while the men's tasks required high energy and mechanical skills such as fixing, repairing or gardening. Their perceptions are well matched to the stereotyped ideas about gendered-jobs. For example, Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, reported that

I think most of housework including child care women can do better than men because women are more delicate, and careful. For example women would swept the floor and clean the house better than men do. Men can do better in the tasks that need a lot of energy to do such as repairing or fixing something because they have more strength and have more abilities in mechanical areas.

Noy, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I think women will do well on child care because women have a sense of being mothers, or having maternal instinct. They can know well about the children's needs. They are soft, kind and warm. I think the child need these characters, which we can find less in men. For men I think they can do well on repairing or fixing something because they have more skills and some men have more technical knowledge.

However, some wives said that there is not any task that men or women can do better. They thought that men and women can do well in any household task if they have an

intention to do it. It depends on the socialization about gender roles that both women and men get. They thought that men and women can do equally well in housework and child care. It depends if she/he wants to do it. However, it may be that husband can do housework well but they do not have enough time at home. It might be that men are better at tasks such as house repairing because he has the skills for it but, overall, men and women can do well in any task. Therefore, the justification in terms of the inability of men to do household work and child care is hard for these wives to accept.

Available Time

Available of time of each person is the next reason that wives used to reevaluate unequal situations. They have to do more housework and child care because they have more time at home, compared to their husbands. Kaew, a high-school teacher and a mother of two said

It is an automatic process for dividing the household labor. It depends on available time of each person. The person who has more free time will do more in housework. I did not ever talk about the division of household labor and child care with my husband before we got married. After our marriage, I perform it as usual. It's just a normal process and I feel ok about it. I do more at home because I have more time at home, that's it.

Tip, an accountant and a mother of one said

To make decisions about who does household tasks and child care, my family uses the available time of each person. Whoever has more time at home will do more. My husband does less at home because he finishes work late, which makes him have less time at home.

Use Practicality

Some wives reported that they did not use any specific criteria to make decisions about who should do what at home. Whoever is the first person coming home does it and they would help each other during the weekends. It depends on who is available at that time. Some of them said if they cannot do it, they might hire a housemaid to help them. Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, explained that

My husband and I did not use any criteria to divide the household tasks. We use our common sense for it. Whoever got up early or who have available time would do it. We do not have fixed task to do. When each person saw any task having nobody do it, that person would do it. We do it automatically; do not have somebody telling you to do. However, the task that I often do is preparing food.

Neung, a project analyst and a mother of two, said

I think it's based on the availability of each person at that time. For example it's easy for my husband to pick up the children because his office is close to their school. I cook the food because I came home earlier than he. I think women feel obligation to do it while men have many excuses to justify their doing less at home. If women did not do it, they would feel guilty about it.

The majority of wives said that they did not talk with their husbands about the division of household labor and child care before they got married. Therefore, fairness in the division of labor at home is not the important issue in married life. They seemed more concerned about money in the household. Kulab, a sales representative and a mother of one said

Before I got married, I never talked with my husband about the division of household labor and child care. My husband and I, we talked and discussed only about money management for example how much money can we use to support our own mom.

Some wives accept that housework and child care is women's work. Therefore, it is not necessary to talk about it. The situation of Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, is a good example for it. She said

I did not ever talk to my husband about it before I got married because I had already known that it would be me who has to do it. It is a cultural expectation. Women are responsible for taking care of home and children. So I suppose to do it. I know that it's not fair if anyone has to do it all but I'm too tired to think about it. I only do my best. My family has to go on. I do not want to waste my time to think about it. That's fine. He does his duty. I do mine. The thing that I concern more is my child. I do not want to have any problems in my family. By the way, it's not too hard for me to do.

Some wives said that they get used to it. They did it since they were single. They saw their parents doing it. So it is ok for them if they have to do it now. Only one wife said she talked about it with her husband before getting married. However, they could not follow the agreement that they made and finally they accepted that each person has different abilities in household work. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, said

Before getting married, we talked about sharing responsibility with each other but it does not work. We knew that each person has different aptitudes in household tasks, which make us like each task differently. So we do the task that we have a skill in. For example I want the kids be good at academics and I like teaching, so I teach them to do homework. The division of labor is based on the aptitude of each person.

When I asked them about how they feel about the division of labor in their households, the majority of wives felt that the division of household labor and child care in their families is fair for them. They did not feel upset or have regrets about their husbands doing less or participating less in housework and child care. They had many excuses for their husbands about it such as they work hard outside, they earn

more money, or they spend less time at home. Those excuses make them feel better about it. They used those reasons to justify their husbands' behavior but the same reasons cannot apply to them. The words that they used most when they answered the question about the fairness of the division of household labor and child care are "I feel nothing or I did not feel anything about it; I'm ok; I think I get used to it".

Interestingly, even though most of them accept the gender stereotype that men and women have different abilities in household work, they rarely used it to excuse their husbands lower contribution. The excuses that they used most are more income of husbands, or less time at home. It might be a good bargain between the good provider role and the housewife-mother role in terms of fair and unfair issues. Maprang, a budget analyst and a mother of two, said

I did not feel anything about my husband doing less housework and child care because my husband works hard outside and I think family work is my responsibility to do, and I do it best. I think the current division of household labor and child care in my household is fair enough for me. I feel satisfied with it because I do my duty at home. I think the division of labor is not necessary for my family because we feel happy about the way it goes. It depends on the common sense of each family.

Two cases below help to explain why there is a good trade off between husband's good provider role and wife's good homemaker role. Lumpoon, a personnel administrator and a mother of two, explained that

I think I can accept it because my husband works hard outside. and as long as he is responsibility in his duty, I think it's fine for me to do family work. I think it's fair for me. I am satisfied with the role of my husband. He is good to me. He gives all money that he can earn to me. He does not blame or complain when I use it a lot. He buys a house and a land for our family. So I do not feel that I lose the advantages or my husband get advantages from me.

Noy, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I do not feel anything, that's ok for me as long as my husband does his duty and takes care of the family. He is a good provider. He works hard to earn the money for us. Overall, it's fair for me.

Furthermore, the situation in each family, such as having children sick at home, has influence in the perception of wives toward the division of labor. Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, said

Before I had a child, my husband did the tasks that required a lot of energy such as cleaning and repairing the house, and I did the light tasks such as cooking and washing clothes. After I had children, my husband had to make more money to treat my children who have a chronic illness (one child is hyperactive, and the other has heart disease), and I take the responsibility of raising them. We hire one housemaid to help us do the household tasks. I do not feel anything about his doing less family work because he is a very good provider. He works very hard for it. He is responsible for doctors fees, and hospital fees, and medicine fees for our kids, and also the expenditures for the cost of living. I am ok to be responsible for household work and child care. This division of labor at home is not a problem of my family. I feel satisfied with the current role and the duty that my husband. I think it's fair for me. He works very hard outside and I work very hard at home.

Some wives accept their situations if their husbands are a good helpers at home.

Therefore, wives do not pay much attention to the amount of time husbands spend at housework and child care. They emphasize, more, the willing of their husbands to help her. Wipa, a social worker and a mother of three, said

I think the division of household labor and child care in my family is fair for me because my husband and I take responsibility in different tasks in a proportion that each person can accept. I think I can accept it. Even though I have to do more, I feel good about it if he does as some and is willing to help me if I need it.

Or Kong, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I think I'm lucky because at least my husband helps me in family work. If one person is working on one household task, other person will do another task. For example, if I prepare the food in

the kitchen, my husband will take care of my children. I think it's fair for me because we help each other doing it. Even though he might do it less than I, it's ok because he is a good helper.

Some wives try to see the positive side of her doing more housework and child care for example; it's good for children. Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one, said

I think it's a normal thing that the husband does less housework and child care. I do not think it's a problem for me. I never think to dispute or bargain or complain about it. I think it's better for me to have time to take care of my family, do housework and raise my children. I think it's fair for me. I have enough time to do it. I can get help from my mom when I need it.

Some wives like Bua, a secretary and a mother of one, offered husbands' earnings to explain why they think their division of labor at home is fair. She explained her situations that

I did not feel anything about doing less housework and child care of my husband because I understand that he sometimes feels tired from his work. He worked hard to earn more money. For me if I feel tired, I will not do it also. I think the division of labor in my family is fair for me because I can manage it. There is not anything much to do. If I do not have time, I can postpone it or do it later. I think I'm ok. I'm not serious about it.

Those examples might suggest that justifications used by wives acted as an intervening variable between the actual division of labor and their perceived fairness of the division of labor. Justifications offered by wives were sufficient to account for their husbands' lesser contributions. This suggests that these justifications may decrease wives' sense of unfairness in the division of household labor and child care. For all wives that I talked to, only six wives reported that the division of household labor and child care in their families is unfair for them. They felt upset about it, and they wanted their husbands to participate more in the family work. Perceived

unfairness is the only emotion that women feel. They cannot change it. It's just a feeling and they have to accept it as the way it is. Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, described her situation

I have no choice and accept it and try to think that each person comes from a family that has different in child rearing and socialization. In my husband's family, men did not have to do housework and child care. I think it's unfair for me because it seems that only women do housework and child care although both men and women work outside.

Some wives try to understand their situations and use other reasons to excuse their husbands doing less at home. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said that

I feel angry that my husband does less but I try to understand that he has to work more hours to earn money to support our family. So I have to accept the way it is. I think it is not fair for me because I have to do all of it alone. My husband should help me, but it is not possible for him to do that because he works outside more than I do. So I have no choice about it.

One wife explained that she wants her husband help doing things at home just because it makes her feel that he still cares and loves her. Aree, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said

I feel that my husband is selfish. He does not show empathy to me. If he were willing to give me some help, it would make me feel better. It makes me feel that he still cares for me, that does not want to see me troubles and he wants to reduce my burdens. To see my husband doing less in the housework and child care makes me sick and upset.

Feeling upset about the husband doing less at home of happens especially when the wife is too tired from doing family work. It suggests that psychological well-being might relate to perceptions of wives. I will discuss more about it in section 5. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, explained that

I do not feel very much upset about my husband doing less housework. It might be because he was at home less than I am. I feel very upset only when I am too tired and need help but having no one. My sons identify my husband as a role model. They do not want to do housework. Sometimes everyone is available but no one is willing to help me. I feel tried alone. However, I think child care is fair for me. I am comfortable with being in the mother role and I think I do it well but doing housework is not fair for me because women's tasks have to be done everyday. It's time demanding and time consuming while men's tasks do not have to be done everyday. Men could do it when they want to do but women have to do it even though they do not like it or are too tired. No choices for women, but many excuses for men to avoid it.

Fairness and Its Several Meanings

I will next consider the meaning of fairness or definitions that wives use when assessing whether division of labor at home is "fair", concentrating on the meanings that have implications for whether they feel satisfied or not with their relationship. I find several meaning about fairness.

Fairness 1: Dividing Tasks by Abilities and Skills.

The majority of wives agreed with this rule. It means that who can do well in that task would or should do it. Behind this meaning is the assumption that people have different skills and abilities in doing different household tasks. And usually the

abilities and skills in family work are consistent with the gender stereotyping about household tasks. For examples, Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, said that

Fair division of labor means to divide the household tasks by the abilities and skills of each person. The tasks that need a lot of energy should be men's work, but the tasks that do not need a lot of energy and require the ability of delicate and fine skills should be women's work. Today both men and women work outside, so they should do household work according to their abilities and skills at home. If they cannot, they should hire somebody to do it.

Housework is a gendered activity, particularly for those in marital relationships (South & Spitze, 1994). Not only is the bulk of housework performed by women, but these tasks are also allocated disproportionately according to gender. Many researchers (e.g., Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Mederer, 1993) have noted that housework remains highly segregated by sex. Women are chiefly responsible for tasks such as cooking, washing dishes, doing laundry, and cleaning house while men tend to be responsible for tasks such as home repair, automobile maintenance, and yard work. In general, women take responsibility for routine work which must be done daily, whereas men do the other tasks that allow greater flexibility in scheduling. Porn, a general administrator and a mother of one, gave a reason that to do family work by a person's abilities makes her/him feel good about it, because he/she can do things that he/she likes:

Fair division of labor means to divide it by the ability and skill of each person because it makes that person feel good about doing it because he/she can do it well and the outcome would be good for all.

Fairness 2: Helping Each Other Doing It.

Fair division means role sharing between husband and wife. It is not based on the proportion of time, money, or skills. Role sharing in this sense means wives and husbands help each other doing housework and child care. There are no specific tasks for men or women. If one person is not available, the other can substitute and do it because both husband and wife work outside. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said

Fair division of labor is not necessary to be divided exactly or fixedly. It should be in the way of helping each other between husband and wife. If anybody sees which tasks are not being done, he/she should do it. He/she does not have to wait until he/she was told to do it. I have to tell my husband every time when I want him to do it. If I do not tell him to do, he does not do it. I think dividing it by the ability of each person is unfair because housework and child care can be trained and practiced. Everybody can do it.

Fairness 3: Making Things Equal.

Keeping things equal in this sense refers to keeping them equal in terms of time spent in doing it. For example, Neung, a project analyst and a mother of two, said that

I think fair division of household labor and child care is dividing 50-50 because we should sharing it equally not letting anyone do it alone while the other one sit and does nothing. I think my husband and I, we take equal responsibility in housework, but for child care, I do it more than my husband because it's the normal thing that the main responsibility for child care is the mother's. For example, for housework, my husband and I divide

it by the time spent in each household task. If I prepare food, it takes me about two hours; my husband will clean the house and water a garden, and he spends the same amount of time in that activity as I do. We do not fix the task for each person. We might rotate and take turn to do each activity, but the main part is the time spent in doing it should be equal. Sometimes, my husband does more than two or three tasks while I do one task because my task took a long time to do.

Fairness 4: Available of Time at Home.

Fairness in this sense refers to whoever has more time at home should or would do more family work. Fair division of labor is distributing the household tasks by the available time at home of each person and by suitable time of each person for each task. It's not 50-50 because each task has different time needs. For example, my husband usually comes home late. My child is already asleep, and she goes to school before he wakes up. So, raising the child would be my responsibility. For example, Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, described that

I think the fair division of labor is based on the number of hours working at the workplace. It is not necessary to divide it equally. Whoever works more in the workplace, that person should do less in housework and child care because he/she has less time at home. I think it should not divide the specific tasks to any person because it would be the obligation for him/her to do it. If the husband or the wife does not do his/her task, the other one will be angry that he/she does not have the responsibility and begin to quarrel with each other. So I think it should be flexible for every person to do it.

Fairness 5: Being Able to Replace or Substitute for Other.

Fairness means husband and wife can replace or substitute each other to do family work if anyone is not available. For example, Taew, a high-school teacher and a mother of two, explained that

Fair division of labor means the husband can replace or substitute for the wife in doing women's tasks and the wife can replace or substitute for the husband in doing men's tasks. Both husband and wife can substitute with each other in doing household tasks. When anyone is not available, the other one should replace him/her to do it.

Fairness 6: Personal Preference.

In this case, fairness is doing the things that they are satisfied with. It does not matter that they have to do more. If they feel happy about it, it's ok. Lumpoon, a personnel administrator and a mother of two, explained that

In general, most people usually think that fair division of labor is to divide it half-half. But for me I think to divide it by the suitability and preference of each family is better. In my family my husband takes responsibility for outside home and I take responsibility at home. Each person does well in his/her own part. My husband is good at making money. I do not doubt it. He works hard. I am willing to do it all at home and I try to do it best. I do not feel that I have a conflict about it. I am satisfied and happy about my situation. I have good kids and I have a good husband. I do not care if I have to do more at home. I might look stupid in the eyes of other people. But no one knows my family as I know it. Sometimes, we do things that we feel comfortable about it; and sometimes, the things that we received back from doing those kinds of things make

us happy. We are glad to do it. So please do not judge other people if you do not know exactly about it.

Justifications and outcomes worked closely to explain wives' perceived fairness. As Thompson (1991) argues, in order for justifications to decrease wives' perceived unfairness, they must be satisfied with the outcome values from housework and child care. Therefore, the more positive the outcome values, the more convincingly the justifications help to mitigate the perception of unfairness among wives. This suggests that while justifications may decrease wives' sense of unfairness, these justifications do not always get rid of the perceptions of inequity. The more negative wives' outcomes, the harder it becomes to find justifications to account for their unfair circumstances.

Choices of Comparison Referents

Evaluations of fairness depend on individuals' expectations or prior experience, which, in turn, are based on social comparisons. Perceptions of justice result from a comparative process. This process entails the comparison of the outcomes of one individual with those of another person (the comparison referent). Comparison referents are the standards people use to judge their existing outcomes (Gager, 1995). Such judgments can occur only after an individual locates himself within some frame of reference. Thus, the affective and behavioral reactions to injustice require some type of comparative appraisal. Comparison referents are the mechanisms individuals employ to define what it is they deserve. These subjective

evaluations occur from a comparison process in which inputs and obtained outcomes are compared to those of a referent (Major, 1989). Major (1989) and Thompson (1991) argue that comparison are most likely occur with members of in groups than with outgroup members. This comparison reflects within-gender comparison. According to this principle, most women will compare themselves to other women they feel are similar to themselves—and thus, provide evaluations of their outcomes. In this section, the participants were interviewed in the following questions: how much do you think the division of labor that your parents had affects the way you divide housework and child care in your own household?, what comparison referents do you use when you evaluate how fair division of household labor and child care in your family is?

My findings suggest that the majority of wives use their own feelings and satisfaction as a comparison referent when they evaluate the fairness of the division of household labor and child care. They perceive the division of labor as fair if they feel happy and satisfied with it, even though they have to do more at home. Normative comparisons based on traditional values about gender role is the next referent they use when they appraisal the fairness of their household arrangements, followed by within-gender comparison, between-gender comparison, and parental model. The details of each comparison referent are as follows.

Their Own Feelings and Satisfaction

Most wives use their feelings and satisfactions to define whether their division of labor at home is fair or not. According to this referent, wives will ask themselves how they feel about their household arrangements such as happy or not happy, good or bad, satisfied or unsatisfied, angry, or pleasure. For examples, Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one said

I think it depends on how the husband and wife feel about it. If they feel satisfied with their situation, their family would be happy. It does not matter how it was divided or if there is a sharing responsibility between husband and wife. If both of them feel ok and accept it, I think it can make a family happy.

Nong, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said that

I use my feelings and my satisfaction to justify the fairness of it. I'm happy to do it. I think fair or unfair are not the serious issue in my family. We are not the business sector, which has to think about the costs and benefits all the time. I do it because I want to and I think I can do it. If I did not feel good about it one day I would stop doing it. But right now I think it's ok.

The degree of perceived fairness depends on the degree of positive feelings that they have about their division of labor. The way they feel or think about doing more housework and child care would reflect how they perceived it as fair. They did not compare themselves to anyone. Doing housework is the issue of whether it is suitable for them to do it. They think it's the right thing for them to do. They are satisfied with the role of their husbands to earn more money to support the family. Overall, they measured the fairness of the division of household labor and child care by satisfaction. One wife said that she felt comfortable about it. She did what she wanted. She could

work with her full capacity outside. She had a good husband and a good child. “What more do I want? I think I am happy about it”. These wives had no clue or standard to evaluate fairness. It depended on the comfort of both husband and wife. They did not pay much attention to the quantity of work that their husbands or they did. They emphasized the quality of family life and satisfaction of everyone in my family. The comparison referents made can be interpreted as a self-protective device that wives use to protect them from conflicts with their husbands. These wives feel ok with their situation right now. But in the future, if they did not feel good or happy about it, they might perceive the same situation as unfair.

Normative Comparison Based on Traditional Value about Gender Role

Normative comparison refers to a person’s awareness of the gender norms, which in turn affect what person feels or perceive in that particular situation. Kan, a sales representative and a mother of one, said

I use my own belief, my own value as the comparison referent. I believed that men and women have different skills in doing housework and child care. For example cooking, cleaning, raising kids are suitable for women to do it. So it’s fair for them to do those kinds of jobs. But it’s not unfair for them to do men’s tasks such as repairing, fixing or gardening because they are tough for women to do. For me I think the division of labor in my family is fair for me because my husband does those tasks that required a lot of energy.

Most wives like Kan believed that husbands are the main breadwinners in the families while wives are expected to do emotional work like housework and child care. Wives

are expected to know more or have good abilities or skills in housework and child care while husbands are expected less or were perceived as having less capable or skilled at family work. These attitudes and stereotypes served to reinforce the belief that an unequal division of household labor and child care is acceptable and fair. Factors such as dominant beliefs, attitudes and norms that legitimize gender inequality at home that operate at the macro-level help influence micro-level decision-making and sustain inequality in families.

Within-gender Comparison

Within-gender comparison refers to the comparisons that more likely to occur with other people similar to themselves such as comparing a women's situations with other women. This comparison is like a defense mechanism that wives use to make them feel good or better about their situations. For example, Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, said that

I compare myself with other women, especially with my friends. I think I feel lucky because at least my husband help me do it. Some of my friends, their husbands do not participate in it. They do it alone. I feel ok with helping from my husband even though it is not much. I think it better than if he did not do anything. He works hard and has less time at home. I know he had less skill in household tasks but he tries to do it

“Other women”, whom wives often compare with, usually are their friends. For them to compare with someone who was worse off than them makes them more likely to think their own division of labor is fair. Some wives compare their husbands with

other women's husbands, such as husbands of their friends. The degree of perceived fairness depends on whom they pick to compare to. If her friend's husband did not participate in housework and child care, she would feel better because at least her husband help her some. Bua, a secretary and a mother of one, said that

I think I compare my family with other families where their husbands did not do housework and child care. I feel good about my family, at least my husband helps me doing some family work. Even though it's not much compared to me, but I am ok about it.

However, if her friend's husband does more than her husband, she would feel upset about it, which in turn makes her feel unfair about her situation. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said that

I often compare my husband with other men who do family work. And I feel it's unfair for me to do more at home. I think it's because my husband is a Thai-Chinese man, who was taught by his family not to do the family work. He believes that housework and child care is not men's work. Thai-Chinese men normally believe that a good husband has to be a good provider, and be able to earn more money. A good wife has to support her husband by taking care of the family and kids. I think socialization that men get from their parents is very important for their ideas about family work. To change them to participate more at home, we should change the way we teach the boys. Parents should teach boys and girls equally in doing housework, which can make the children, especially boys, have positive thinking about family work.

Between-gender Comparison

Between-gender comparison refers to wives compare their contribution at home with their husbands. My findings suggest that the more wives compare

themselves with their husbands, the more they perceived their division for labor at home as fair for them. The reasons that they gave is that it's fair because their husbands earn more money and have less time spent at home. Lumpoon, a personnel administrator and a mother of two, explained that

I think the division of labor in my family is fair for me. I did not feel anything about doing less of my husband. I think he deserves for it. He works hard outside and earns a lot of money. Besides, he has less time to spend at home, compared to me. I have more time at home. So I have to do more at home. However, when he stays home, he helps me do it. He is a good helper. I am satisfied with his role.

Parental Model

Parental models affect wives' perceptions about family work in several ways. First, these models make them feel good about it. Some wives reported that their parental model helped them adapt to their roles more easily. They were trained by their parents, especially their mothers, to do household work. Therefore, childhood socialization had an effect on wives' perceived fairness, even though parental models were not related directly to the perception of fairness, but rather were subject to feelings of wives, which might influence their reevaluation process. Several wives feel good and appreciate the role of their mothers as housewives, mother and homemakers. For examples, Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, said

My mom is a housewife so she did almost everything at home and I helped her do it. When I have my own family, it's easy for me to do it because I used to do it at my home. I think

it's ok for me because it's the way that women do in the family. I try to be good at it like my mom.

Lumpoon, a personnel administrator and a mother of two, described her situation

My mom is diligent. She did everything in the household. My dad did not do anything at home. I get used to this picture; that's why I do not feel anything when I have to do more or all at home.

Among those, one wife got an idea about how to distribute household tasks to other family members. Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one, said that

My parents divided the household tasks for everyone in the family to do. My mom prepared the food. My sister washed the dishes. My brother cleaned the house. My dad drove the kids to school. I who was the youngest daughter, has to take care of myself not to be a burden for other people. I got an idea about it and have it as the model of my family. I think the division of labor in my family is fair for me. My husband helps me some. Even though it's not much right now, I feel ok about it. I do it as best as I can. And I think he will help me more in the future.

However, some wives reported that parental models created some conflicts in their minds. They have an ambivalent feeling about housework and child care. The socialization they got from their mothers has a conflict with their feelings. The idea from their parents comes first when they deal with their own division of labor. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, said that

I think the division of household labor from my parents affects the way I think about it. I feel conflicts between what my mom said and my emotion or my thinking. I was socialized that a good wife should be good at home. So sometimes I feel it's unfair for me because I have a higher education degree than my husband. I should not do more housework than my husband. And some tasks are not suitable for women. My husband should help me do those tasks. I think I have two feeling at the same time. One part of mine, I feel ok to do it. I accept to do more. But the other part of me, I feel against and reject it. I think it comes from the traditional

value that I received from my parents. I feel ambivalence about it. I think for me, there is no standard to compare to. I do my best.

Parental models might play a role in shaping wives' expectations and ideologies, which in turn affects their perception about their own division of labor at home.

Wives sense of fairness derives from a comparison process. This result suggests that Thai employed wives generally not make between-gender comparisons but rather compared themselves with their own feelings and other women by having traditional gender roles as their frame of references when evaluating the fairness of the division of family work. Major (1987) argued that the awareness of what is a social acceptable or appropriate distribution can also shape women's ideas of what they and their partners should contribute to household labor and child care. This study reveals that traditional norms for gender roles are still prevalent in Thai society.

The Influence of Traditional Values and Culture and Gender Ideology

Through internalizing social norms of gender behavior, individuals form expectations about their proper roles in marriage. Traditional norms encourage women to be more nurturing than men and to care more about cleanliness and hygiene. Traditional socialization introduces girls- more than boys- to housework at an early age, thereby promoting anticipatory socialization for the later role of housekeeper (DeMaris & Longmore, 1996). Clearly socialization relates to gender expectations, affects individuals' ideas of who should do housework and what constitutes a fair

division of labor. Gender norms also influence an individual's gender ideology and gender attitudes. Gender ideologies are how a person identifies herself or himself with regard to marital and family roles that are traditionally linked to gender. A person's gender ideology may guide household labor allocation and perception of fairness. In this section, two main questions were used to interview the participants. They were "does your attitude toward gender roles have an effect on the division of household labor and child care in your family? If yes, how?; in your opinion, how do Thai values and culture affect the division of household labor and child care in your family? These questions determine the importance of social norms, values, and culture at the macro-level, which in turn influence micro-level allocation decisions as well as the perception of fairness of family members.

Thailand has been a patriarchal society for a long time. The influence of Indian (Buddhist) and Chinese (patrilineal) cultures is deeply rooted in Thai culture. In particular, the idea of women's inferiority has been ingrained. This male-dominated system is pervasive in all traditional Thai customs and culture such as proverbs, folk tales, and literature including Buddhist doctrine (Gardiner, 1968; National Commission on Women's Affairs, 1992). For instance, in one proverb, the women's role in Thailand, as a whole, is compared to that of the hind legs of an elephant, while men are the forelegs, connoting male domination (National Commission on Women's Affairs, 1992). The role of men and women in Thai society are clearly determined by customs and culture. It is acceptable that wives take care of and manage domestic work while husbands work outside to earn income and communicate with the outside society. In other words, society stipulates the roles of the husband as a leader and of

the wife as a follower. Traditional gender roles in Thai society center around the division of labor in the family. These roles prescribe behavior regardless of marital status and age, but they are most centrally concerned with the gender based breadwinner-versus-homemaker specialization. This prescribed division of labor is often justified by belief about innate sex differences and may, in turn, justify differential opportunities and rights for sexes outside of the home (Andersen, 1993).

Throughout this section, the data demonstrate that macro-level structures, norms and gender stereotypes permeate and influence micro-level household decisions and evaluations of fairness. It was clear that most of wives had internalized gender norms that wives should have the primary responsibility for the home and that husbands' role are as helper. Therefore, wives are expected to do housework and child care. Most wives internalize those beliefs into their own and justify their husbands doing less housework and child care. Wipa, a social worker, and a mother of three explained that

Thai value has an effect on the division of household labor and child care in that women have a main responsibility in home and men have a main responsibility outside home. This value comes from the value in the past. And I think attitude toward gender roles affects the division of household labor and child care because women can do better than men in housework and child care.

Wives' concepts about the family can mitigate their perceived unfairness about the division of household labor and child care in which wives have to do more in the household. When I ask wives about their definition of a happy marriage, the majority of them perceived that a happy family should have love, understanding and peacefulness. A happy family should not have conflicts or arguments between

husbands and wives or among family members. Happy families should have dad, mom and kids living together with love and better understanding. Divorce is the last thing that they think about. They try to keep their marriage as best as they can. Those concepts make them ignore their feelings about what is fair or unfair in their families. They are willing to do more in the household if it can bring their family together. This suggests that they are concerned with family happiness more than their feelings.

Pimol, a vice-director and a mother of two, explained

A happy family is the wife and the husband having a good understanding with each other, not having arguments, forgiving when anyone makes a mistake. The most important thing is being calm and tolerate. A family without peacefulness is not a happy family.

Kids are very important for them. Wipa, a social worker and a mother of three, said that

A happy family is being together. Husband, wife and kids understand each other. The important part of the family is kids. Family without kids is not a family. Kids are the most important things in the family.

A happy family is a family without conflicts. Nong, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said that

A happy family is the family without conflicts among family members. The components that make a family happy are money because we would have enough money to spend and get what we want. A happy family should have understanding among family members. When there is some conflict, we can solve it easily because we have a better understanding with each other. A happy family also should have justice in the division of household labor at home. It would reduce tensions and stresses, which happen when any person has to do it alone.

With these ideas, it seems that family myth might be the obstacle to equality.

Hochschild (1989) explained that when a tension exists between the more equal

division of household labor and child care that wives desire and the housework that their husbands are willing to do either the marriage would end or a family myth would be created. The family myth is a version of reality that obscures the truth in order to manage a family tension. In some wives, this family myth creates a reality of fairness in the division of household labor when this equality has not really been attained.

Financial security is the next thing for the happiness of the family. Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, said that

A happy Family is being together, having a good understanding, not having an argument, being able to consult with each other, being able to forgive if someone makes a mistake and having good kids. The most important thing is having enough money to spend and fulfill family needs.

Therefore, the husband being a good provider can compensate for the unfairness of wives toward the lopsided division of household labor and child care. In the next section I will describe the strategies that wives use to cope with the unequal division of household labor and child care.

Traditional values and norms create family myth for wives. According to Blain (1993), family myth serves not only to structure the talk of men and women, but their perceptions of everyday situations, and ultimately, their practices. These family myths are a vehicle for constructing meaning and truth, and ultimately a means of justifying truth in behavior. Entitlement of wives, however, is often shaped by family myth based on society norms that assert that housework and childrearing is women's work. And it is entitlement that shapes individual perceptions of fairness—persons will feel their conditions are fair if they meet what they feel they deserve. Conversely, if a person feels they are entitled to something they are not receiving, they will perceive it

unfair (Major, 1989). My findings suggest that there are many beliefs and discourses within these family myths.

Discourse 1: Roles and Specialization

Roles and specialization refer to the division of labor at home resulting from differential specialization of breadwinner-versus-homemaker. Roles and specializations are based on a traditional division of labor resulting from differential socialization or training of men and women. It becomes right and proper to have two parents in a family, each with different areas of influence and expertise. The requirements of maintaining the physical and emotional health of the family in this discourse need a division into instrumental breadwinner and expressive/affective nurturer. Taew, a high school teacher, and a mother of two agreed that

Traditional values believed that women were homemakers and men were breadwinners. Women were taught and trained to be a good housewife. It affects the division of household labor and child care in that it's the women who do more at home. I think it's a good thing. Women have to be responsible for the housework and child care. This value should be preserved because it represents the unique culture in Thailand.

Pink, a personnel administration explained more that

The belief that men are the head of the family and good providers, and women are at home doing family work, and good at home making; this belief puts women in disadvantages situation and it's unfair for women.

Discourse 2: Individual Ability

Discourse of individual ability deals with the concept of one gender excelling in an area, supported by gender stereotyping. This discourse believes that men and women have different abilities and skills in housework and child care. The second discourse deals with the concept of one gender doing it better. Kong, an accountant, and a mother of two said that

I think attitudes of women toward gender roles have a great effect on the division of household labor and child care, if it is a hard, tough task like repairing the house, it should be the men's job. I used to do it, but I can't, so I think it's not suitable for women. Value and culture also affect it. Most men dare not to touch women's clothes. They think touching women's clothes especially women's underwear can bring bad luck. They do not want to do the laundry.

This discourse shifts the focus from individuals with particular unique preferences to collections of individuals, men and women with specific abilities, and to the psychology of sex differences. Ying, a personnel administrator, and a mother of one said

Overall I think the factors that cause women to do more housework and child care are that husband can not do it or he does not have the skill for it, husband think it's the woman's work or woman's duty, and husband has a value that the housework is not the issue that men have to take responsibilities for.

Hochschild (1989) has commented on how women describe themselves as "lucky" in some way, whatever their circumstances. A discourse of different abilities sets the stage for this kind of evaluation. If men "don't mind dirt" and yet a husband helps

clean the house, the woman can describe herself as lucky. Even if he only takes care of his shoes off at the door, she is lucky.

Discourse 3: Women and Myth

The discourse of myths about women refers to the concept that a good woman should be a good wife and a good mother, taking care of home and children. It is natural for the mother to have more to do with the child. A good wife should obey the husband, be tolerant and accept every situation. This assures that wives avoided the problems at home by doing it all. Pimol, a vice-director, and a mother of two described that

Traditional values also have a great effect on it. Thai value says that a good wife should obey the husband, be tidy, stay at home and take care of children and household tasks, be tolerant and accept every situation at home. It affects gender role attitudes in those women are good at housework more than men.

The discourse of the woman's myth usually comes with the idea of family values. A sense of family values is strengthened by women practices, by the women's greater presence at home, and by her giving comfort and care. Jeab, a statistician, and a mother of two, described that

Culture expects that it is women's role to do family work. Women should be "Kunlasuttee", (which means good women have to take care of home and child). "Supasit Son Ying, Thai women's bible, taught that "puying (women) have to be "mae ban mae reung" (homemaker). Parents taught the girls to believe like that; it is the thing that women have to do. If I do not do it, I feel guilty. Even though there is no one forcing me to do, I feel the obligation to do it. Traditional values also affect it because it is believed that housework and child care are

women's work. It sticks strongly to Thai society; it's difficult for women to change it. It is the traditional way that Thai people do in the family. We emphasize family values. The family bond is too important for women to break the traditional rules. They sometimes feel that they want to change it but they are concerned more about family peaceful. They are concerned about the kids and also their husbands. Loving them might be stronger than women's sense of justice and their feeling.

Women would feel guilty if they cannot do it well. Nong, an employee of the bank, and a mother of one said that

women have a value that women should get married and be a good housewife, taking care of their families. I had not ever felt upset or frustrated about it because I agree with this value. It might be because women were taught to do that and women did accept it, and believed that it's the right thing for them to do it. They might feel guilty if they cannot do it well or avoid doing

Or another way, if they avoid or get away it, they would be blamed by other people.

Women have to do it more because they do not want to look bad in the eyes of other people. Noy, an accountant, and a mother of two explained that

Mostly, women usually have the idea that it's an obligation for women to do it. If they avoid or get away from it, other people would blame them. They do not want to be bad or look bad by society. This idea keeps them at home, and they have to do it without complaining.

Discourse 4: Conditioned Beliefs

The discourse of conditioned beliefs deal with the idea that traditional value affect the division of labor at home in terms that women do more but they feel ok

about it if the husband is good provider and does not have affairs with other women.

Malai, a policy analyst, and a mother of two explained

Traditional value and culture affect the division of household labor and child care. It's accepted that family work is women's work. Women's place is at home, not at paid work. If you cannot do it well, you would be bad in society's eyes. Parents socialize the daughters about it. The idea is like the framework that guides the women's life at home, especially when they get married; the role of wife is different from the role of husband. Our religion teaches us that the wife should obey the husband. However, skills, satisfaction and liking might help the couple solve these problems. I think attitudes of women toward gender role do affect the division of household labor and child care. Some women, even though they have more income than their husbands, they do more family work. In these senses, they would be frustrated and conflicted but they have to do it because they already knew that husbands would not help her. Even though my husband and I used to talk about sharing responsibilities in family work before getting married, we can not follow the agreement. We found that each person has different skills in household tasks. So we do it by our skills. Even though I have to do more, I do not feel upset about it. Actually, I feel that way sometimes, especially when I am too tired. But in general, I am ok. My husband works hard. He is a good, very good provider. And he is sincere. I can trust him. He never cheats on me. Having affairs with other women could not happen. I can count on him. He is a good man.

Some wives agreed that socialization has an effect on the way women believe about gender norms but they're ok if their husbands can be good providers. Pikun, a vice-director, and a mother of three said

...it depends on the socialization that women and men get from their family. Currently, women have to work outside so the role of men and women at home should be equal. I think traditional value that taught men not to be responsible for housework and child care makes them feel that housework and child care are not their work, and they can use it as their excuse to avoid doing them. However, I do not feel anything about it if they can be good providers.

Discourse 5: Want to Change But Do Not Know How

This discourse deals with the idea that women do not agree with the traditional family values and gender norms but they do not know how to change it; therefore, they have to accept it or find some reasons to justify their situations. Kulab, a sales representative, and a mother of one said

Yes, I think women's attitudes toward gender role affect their idea about how to divide the responsibility of household labor and child care. Women who believe in the equality between men and women would have an idea about sharing responsibilities or equal responsibilities. Traditional value and culture also affect the way that household division of labor and child care is. For example it's said that "puying tng tum jhan ban" (women must do housework). A good wife has to do well at it. If any woman did not do it and let her husband did, that woman would be a bad wife. I agree with it in some points, but not all because today women have to earn money outside home. To take all responsibilities at home is too much for them. This value traps women at home. It should be changed but it's hard to do that because it is ingrained in our culture for a long time. At least I think I'm lucky. My husband helps me do some. I do not have to tell him to do this, to do that. He does it by himself. For example if he saw that I was doing laundry, he would clean the dishes.

Kan, a sales representative, and a mother of one said

I think the main factor that determines that the wife has to do more housework and child care than the husband is traditional values that are taught to women from generation to generation. It is believed that the wife is like the hind legs but the husband is like the front legs. So women should stay at home and do family work while men should work outside. It's ok for women in the past because she did not work outside, but now the role of women has been changed. They also work outside to support the family but the value has not changed, which causes a lot of burdens for women who have to do both work and family at the same time.

Traditional values through these discourses affect everyday interactions and practices of women and men in Thai society. It determines who should do family work and who should not. Traditional values, which believed that real women should or have to do housework and child care while men can avoid it without any blame from society, cause women more trouble because they have to do more or do all of the family work. Most men use it for their excuses to avoid doing it. Women use it to justify that doing it is the right thing for them and fair for them. Most women are trapped with these values and attitudes and feel guilty if they do not do or avoid doing housework. The mechanism used by women to deal with their situations is accepting it by using justifications or comparing themselves with other people to make them feel fair about it. Traditional values and culture about gender role act as a frame of ideas and beliefs for wives' justifications and comparison referents, which shape their perceptions about what is fair in the division of labor at home.

How Wives' Resources Relate to Perceived Fairness

Exchange theory holds that power over others, which depends on individuals' resources and on their available alternatives to a situation or relationship, influence assessments of fairness. In this section, several questions focused on how wives' resources in terms of income, education, and hours spent in paid employment influenced their perception of fairness. These questions are "how do your incomes affect how your family divide household labor and child care, and your evaluation of

fairness?, how does your educational level influence how your family divide household labor and child care, and your evaluation of fairness?, and how does the number of hours spent in paid employment influence how your family divide household labor and child care, and your evaluation of fairness?

The exchange theory perspective views the division of household labor as the result of a bargaining process between husbands and wives who use whatever resources they possess to maximize their self-interest. Those with fewer resources will perform housework and child care for those with more resources (Gager, 1995). Those resources might include earnings, educational level, or occupational status. Furthermore, within a household system, the person having more time available will do a large share of the household labor. Fewer resources and options compromise expectations and thereby diminish the standard of fairness. Evidence from these interviews indicated that most wives did not use equity or equality principles to distribute household works. Therefore, the level of contribution to housework and child care of wives is not proportional to the amount of income earned or time spent at paid work. All of the wives reported that it does not matter how much money they earn, how high their educational level, or how many hours they work outside; they still do a greater share of housework and child care at home. Maprang, a budget analyst and a mother of two, said

No matter what money or income women get, they still have to do more family work. It's the main duty for women. Working outside is the secondary job for women. The primary tasks for women are doing housework and child care. Income might reduce the wife's burden by being able to hire someone to help them.

Or Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said

It does not matter what level of education women get or the higher education they have, they have to do family work. It is a rule that we have had for a long time, from one generation to the other generation.

However, they perceived it as fair for them. The equity equation is applied only to husbands. They are entitled to do less housework and child care because they earn more income and spend more time at work. Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, described that

Persons who have more income should do less at home. In my family, my husband worked hard outside because he works in the business company. He has a lot of responsibilities. He works until 8pm, and he often goes out of country. He does not have much time at home. So it makes sense for him not to do family work or do it less. But I think it's ok because I do not work hard outside. I finished my job around 4pm. Moreover, I earn less than he does. So income affects how much we do family work. Even though I have higher education than my husband, I have a master degree while my husband has only a bachelor degree; I have to do more at home. I think it's because I have more available time at home.

By definition, equity is to be achieved in an exchange whenever each partner's outcomes are proportional to their inputs (Adams, 1965; Sprecher, 1986). Outcomes are the rewards one receives from an exchange. Inputs are one's own contributions to exchange (Walster, Walster & Berscheid, 1978). In an intimate relationship, a husband's input is usually the wife's outcome, while the wife's input is, correspondingly, the husband's outcome (Cook & Hegtvedt, 1983). It is rarely the case that partners either make absolutely no contribution to a particular domain of their relationship or that they make exactly equal contributions to each domain. Instead, partners usually make some contribution to every aspect of the relationship, but one

partner's input in a given area usually outweighs the others'. Hence, outcome/input in a given area, such as time in spent housework, is usually unequal. Nevertheless, equity can be achieved if an unequal ratio in one domain – such as housework – is counterbalanced by an unequal ratio in another domain – such as paid work – in the opposite direction. Therefore, both partners may feel it equitable if the wife does more housework but the husband spends more time in paid work or earns more money. Hence, to the extent that wives perceive husbands as compensating for a low input in household labor with greater inputs in other important domains of the relationship, such as paid work, wives will feel that their own greater contributions to housework are justified. Most wives reported that income and educational level of the wives or the amount of time they spent in the paid work did not relate to the amount of housework and child care they did, but it related to the way they handled it. They think that the more money they had, the less energy they lose in the family work, the more educational level they received, the higher quality of family work they got; and the more time they spent at paid work, the more exhausted they were from doing family work. Most of them thought that housework and child care was a natural work for women to do it. Rin, a financial counselor and a mother of two, said

Doing housework and child care comes from the spirit of each person. If he/she thinks it's worth doing it, he/she will do it. It comes from the heart not the brain. And I think women have more heart than men. So only they are willing to do it.

The roles income, education, and working hours/day of wives play in the allocation of their household work and how they feel about it are described as follows:

More income, More Ways to Get Help

Most wives reported that their income could help them perform housework easier in terms of saving their time and energy. They can afford household equipment or hire somebody to help them. Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, said that

In my opinion, I think women's income affects the division of household labor and child care in that if women have more or enough income, it's easy for them to have or buy good household equipments to help them do household tasks. They can have money to hire a nanny take care of the kids.

If they have less income, they have to do it all by themselves. Nid, a vice-director and a mother of two, explained

If woman has less income, she has to do all family work by herself. But if she has more income, she can hire someone to help her do it or she can buy the powerful household equipment to reduce her burden and save her time and energy.

Some wives feel self-worth if they have more income. Kan, a sales representative and a mother of one, said

If women have more income, it will increase money available to fulfill family needs and also can reduce the burden of her husband. I can help him more to support the family. I can prove myself that woman can do many things more than cooking or cleaning at home. I can work and earn money like my husband.

Money can make woman more powerful in the household. Pimol, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

If a woman has more income, her husband would let her control everything in the household. Like me, I control everything in my family.

They can fulfill their needs if they have more income. Taew, a teacher and a mother of two, said

To have more money means that we can fulfill family needs.
The kids have more materials to play with. We have more money
to entertain ourselves.

Gender role attitudes have more importance than women's income. Ying, a personnel administrator and a mother of one, said that

It does not matter how much money women get, they still have to do housework and child care more than their husbands. I think family work is women's work; the work that women should or have to do. They should not dispute or bargain anything about it because men do their duty outside to earn money. For me, it is not the issue of fairness or not. To do family work is the issue of if it's appropriate for woman not to do. You know, family work is women's work. It is the way that we do from generation to generation. If the woman thinks about fair or not fair all the time, who would take care of the kids. I think we should be concerned a lot about our kids. I think I feel ok about it.

Higher Education, Better Skills in Household Management and Child Care

Most wives believed that a woman who has more education could manage a household well. Women who have high educational levels can do better or have better skills in child rearing and in household management. If women have higher education, they have more alternatives to do housework and child care, and could get better outcomes in terms of having good kids because they can teach them well. They do not think that they are disadvantaged. Educational level of women affects the quality of housework and child care women do, and affects the ability of women to

do family work. Women who have more education have more creative thinking. They know how to design and decorate the house to look good. They know how to raise the children to be good and they have more knowledge to make decision and solve problem efficiently. Overall, educational level makes well-educated women feel that they are better off than low educated women. Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one, said that

Educational level of woman does not affect the division of household labor and child care because housework and child care are women's work. They have to do it. The difference between high-educated women and low-educated women is only the way they deal with it and the quality of housework and child care.

Maprang, a budget analyst and a mother of two, said that

The more education women get, the better they can perform housework and child care. They can teach and raise the children well. They can provide the good things for kids and the family. They can know which food is better for health. They can choose the oven that save the electricity. Overall, well-educated women can manage household tasks and child care more efficiently.

Most wives are concerned more about the quality of housework and child care they perform than the quantity of time they spent doing family work. Taew, a teacher and a mother of two, said

Educational level of women is an important thing for family management. If women have more education, they can do well in the family. I had knowledge in child psychology, which I think is useful for me to understand child development. I can apply the knowledge for raising my children. I understand them well, and know how to take care of them to develop to be a good person in the future. Education can help me know how to manage my house. Compared to my friends, I think I can do it well. I can do well both at home and at work. I think women should know how to manage their time and have to be on time and being responsible for their schedules.

Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, said

Educational level of women influences the quality of housework and child care that women perform. The higher educational level that they get, the more quality of housework and child care there is. The well-educated women will have good knowledge about how to manage household tasks efficiently. They can solve the problems in the household efficiently. They also have more knowledge about child rearing. They know about child development so they can be good mothers.

More Time Spent Outside, Exhausted at Home

Spending more time at work makes women exhausted at home. They have to be quick in doing household work. Kan, a sale representative and a mother of one, said that

If women have to spend more time working outside, they will have less time to spend at home. I have to wake up early in order to finish the housework before I go to work. I have to drive my kids to school. I rush in everything in order to be on time at work. Sometimes, I have a meeting at work in the evening. I came home late. I finished cooking lately, which means I, my husband and my kids have dinner late. I finish everything in the kitchen late, which means I finished teaching homework for my kids late. I go to bed late. I would have less time to take a rest. I feel too exhausted and sometimes I do not want to go to work.

Even though they felt exhausted at home, they reported that they had less time to spend at home. Time spent at paid work can be traded for time spent at home. Many wives are more likely to think in terms of time spent at work as the deciding factor in allocation decisions. They reported that even though they work more outside, or they feel exhausted at home, they feel good about it because they spend time less in doing household work. Time spent outside might be a good bargain for wives to do less

housework, compared to women who do not work outside. Most wives have lower income than their husbands; therefore, it's difficult for them to use their income to negotiate, or as an excuse from doing it. Pimol, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

Women who work more hours at the workplace would have less time to do housework and child care at home. And they would finish household tasks late. But I think it's a good excuse for women to do less at home. If my husband complains about having food to eat late or seeing an untidy home, I have my excuse that I came home late. So for housework I do my best. I am only concerned about my children. I want to spend more time with them. I think they need me. Normally children need a mother to take care of and spend time with them.

Ying, a personnel administrator and a mother of one, said

The number of hours women work outside affects the capacity of women to do housework and child care. The more hours they work outside, the less capacity and less efficiency to do family work because they are too fatigue and too exhausted. I think it might be good for women. I am not pressured with the wife role or mother role as society or my husband expect. I would have an excuse for it if I did not do it well because I have to work more outside.

Aree, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said that

The number of hours women work outside affects the time they spend doing housework and child care. The more hours they spend working outside, the fewer hours they spend working at home. It seems like I take responsible at home less, but actually I am still in charge of it. I have to manage time to do them both. The less time I have, the more tired I am to finish the same amount of household activities and child care. But I am ok about it at least I do it less than some wives who do not work outside home.

Some wives thought that working outside could help them improve quality of life.

They did not feel upset to do housework. In contrast, to do both of them increased their self-worth. Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, said

It does not matter how many hours I spent at paid work. Even though I do more at home, I am still ok about it. I think it depends on the skill of time management. I distinguish between home and work. When I am at work, I am not worried about home. When I am at home, I am not worried about work. They are different parts, which should not interfere with each other. I think women should know how to deal with it. I think I can handle both of them well. I cannot imagine how my life would be if I did not work outside and would have to stay home all the time. I think it might be a boring life. Working outside improves my quality of life. I have an opportunity to know and talk with other people. It makes me feel like my life is worthy for other people. I can help my husband earn money to support my family and my children.

Only one wife, Tom, a department head and a mother of two, reported that women should do housework and child care less than before because they have to work outside and earn more money. But it's not true for me. I have to do everything in the family. I think it's not fair for me.

In sum, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the relationship between higher income, education, or working /day of wives and the ideas about the fairness of the division of labor at home. The descriptions of the wives with whom I and my research assistants interviewed showed that it does not matter how high the income, education or hours per day at paid work, wives still perform more housework and child care than their husbands. However, most of them reported it's fair for them. These explanations indicated that the wives compare themselves with other women more than their husbands in terms of income, education or number of hours/day at paid work. Wives who have more income, education, or working hours/day perceive themselves and others as better off than those wives who do not have them. Resource factors of wives help them cope with the lopsided responsibilities that they have to handle at home.

How Perceived Fairness Relate to Psychological Well-being and Marital Quality

As I outlined in chapter 2, perceived fairness is the subjective evaluation that is influenced by emotional needs as well as irrational judgments of justice rather than objective reality. Feeling of fairness is based upon an individual's perception of the overall balance of rewards and constraints in a situation (Thompson, 1991). It is individuals themselves who determine the value and the relevance of the various inputs and outcomes based on their own individual needs and values, and therefore, the individuals themselves who determine whether their relationship is fair or not. In this section, I would explore how wives' quality of life in terms of both physical and psychological well-being influence the way they perceived the fairness of household division of labor and child care affect their perceived fairness of family labor. The major questions were "do you ever have conflicts or arguments about division of housework and child care with your husband? If yes, how do you feel?, do you feel conflict between work demands and family demands?, does doing more housework and child care than your husband affect your quality of life?, if yes how?

The majority of wives reported that they rarely have an argument with their husbands about doing housework, but they have more arguments about child care. Overall, they perceived the division of household labor and child care as fair for them, even though they have to do more at home. They sometimes have thought that it's unfair for them to do more housework and child care than their husbands, but only when they were overly tired and exhausted about it. When they feel well, they say

they're willing to do it and are happy about it. Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, reported

I never have an argument with my husband about doing housework and child care. I think it's a tiny thing, less important for me to argue about it. I do not want to have a problem in my family. I used to complain about it once, but when I felt tired. However, I still do it and try to accept it.

Feelings of unfairness relate to feeling too tired of women. Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I used to have an argument with my husband about doing more housework than he did, but not often. It happened when I was feeling too tired and too irritable, having a bad mood so I complain about it but not in harsh words. When I am happy or enjoy doing it, and am not too tired, I think I am ok about it.

Fairness is not an issue for a serious argument for wives. Nid, a vice-director and a mother of two, said that

I have only a little conflict about it, not a big deal. For example, my husband might complain about the messy and untidy house. But when I did it, he stopped complaining about it. Or when I have to work out of town and came back home to see the messy and untidy house because no one did it, I try to accept it and get used to it later.

Some wives reported that housework is not the issue of arguments between their husbands and them. They would have more arguments about child care. It usually comes from different standard and expectations between wives and husbands. Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, described that

I did not have the conflicts about doing housework with my husband. We used to have some arguments about the kids. My husband expected too much about their abilities. He did not understand clearly about the limitation of them, I mean about the nature of their illness. I have to explain it to him and make him understand. Overall, I feel ok for me. We do our own parts as best as we can. I did my job at home; my husband did his job outside. We have an important thing

to consider more than the division of household labor and child care. That thing is our kid whom we have to take care of as best as we can. My husband worked hard to earn money, and he did it well. So I did not care who did more or less housework and child care.

Some wives like Taew, a teacher and a mother of two, accept their situations and do not complain about it. They try to understand that the husbands have their own peer groups. They have to work hard outside. Taew explained that

I know that my husband has his own society. He sometimes has to have parties outside the home. I understand that point and never block him from that. I never complain about doing more family work. I accept it as long as he does his part well.

Some wives avoid having conflicts with their husbands over this issue by doing it.

They want peace and happiness in their family. Wasana, a manager department and a mother of one, said that

I have only a little argument about it, but not a conflict. Usually I compromise with him. For example, if he were too tried to do his tasks, he would tell me to do it. I'm ok to do it. I was sometimes too tried to have an argument with him. I think if we still quarrel with each other, we would not be happy at home. I want to be happy at home. I do not want a problem. So I do it.

Only one wife reported that she had many conflicts about it with her husband because she feels it's unfair for her to do it all alone. But she still does it. She said complaining makes her feel better. The arguments can release her tension and stress from family work. Rin, a financial counselor and a mother of two, said

I have many conflicts about it with my husband. While I am doing housework, my husband does not take care of children, so they interfere with my job. I have to tell him to play with them. He does it for a short period, and then he watches television or read the newspaper instead. He ignores them. I'm often angry with him. I am furious that I have to tell him many times about it. I'm too tired. So we often have an argument when I do housework at home. But it's just arguments but nothing happens, nothing changes. I have to do it as usual. So I think to complain some

times make me feel better. I think “Bun’ Bang Kor Yong Dee”, which means it’s better to complain than not do anything.

Most wives reported that being more responsible in family work has a great impact on their quality of life. Even though they feel bored doing it, they feel good about themselves while doing it. They often complain about their physical health from doing it, such as having back pains, a headache or feeling too tired. But psychological rewards can compensate those problems and they’re willing to sacrifice themselves for it. Kaew, a high-school teacher and a mother of two, described that

Being more responsible in family work did not affect my work outside home because I will do it when I have free time from paid work. So I do not feel any conflict between them. Sometimes doing more has had an effect on my health. I do not have enough time to take care of myself. I feel bored and tired. I relaxed myself by listening to music while I am doing it. However, doing those kinds of things makes me feel close to my child and my family. My child is not a problem child. So it’s a great bargain. I’m glad to sacrifice myself for someone that I love most.

They usually said that doing more family work might affect their physical health but not their mental health. Lumpoon, a personnel administrator and a mother of two, said that

To do more housework and child care might affect my physical health, but not my mental health. I feel good about it. I enjoy it and am happy while I am doing it. I have a happy family. Even though I do most of housework and child care, it does not bother me at all. I feel happy and everyone in my family is also happy.

Bua, a secretary and a mother of one, explained more about this issue that

For me doing more housework and child care does not affect my work or my life because I think home and work are different part. It can not interfere with each other if we can manage them well. I think doing housework can reduce my tensions or stress from work. It helps me to concentrate on the task that I am doing. For child care I think it’s my duty that I have to do as best as I can. Doing more family work might affect my physical health such as

body aches, or back pain but not for my mental health. If I have that problem, I will take a rest for a while or do it less, may be two or three days doing it once. In general, doing more at home can make women feel fatigue and exhausted. But for me it does not affect much because there are not many things to do at my house and I will do it as best as I can. I will do it if I want to do or have enough time to do it. Otherwise I postpone it or do it later. About food, if I do not have time to cook it, we I mean my husband, my kid and I will eat outside. That's it. If we are not serious about it, it cannot be the problem for us. Take it easy and do as we want and can.

Some wives said that doing housework and child care are good for their health

because they exercise while they do family work. Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, explained

To take responsibility more on housework and child care did not affect my job much because I can manage my time between family and work. I did not feel any conflicts between family work and paid work. I might have some irritability when I came home lately and have to do household tasks and child care at home. I do not think that to do both of them would affect my health. I think it might be better for my health because it's like doing exercise while I am performing it.

Some wives said they have a good skill in time management. They can set priorities of things to do and do it by order. They did not think doing more at home effect their life because they get used to it. Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, said

I think I use an efficient time management. I would finish my housework before I go to work and usually I might complete it before the expected time so it would not interfere with my job. By the way, I sometimes feel conflicts between home and work. For example, If don't feel well when I came home and I have to do housework at home, at first I try to do it because I feel it's my responsibility. But if I cannot, I will tell my husband to do it instead. Normally, when I am doing fine, I am willing to do it. I think the Wife who is not willing to do it would be irritable, and in a bad mood. She is easy to quarrel with her husband and finally her family is not happy. But if she's willing to do it, enjoy it, or volunteer to do it, I think doing more housework and child care cannot affect her life at all.

Pikun, a vice-director and a mother of three, gave additional ideas that

For me it did not affect my health both physical and mental because I work hard until I get used to it. I think I feel ok. I accept my situation right now. I think it depends on women's mind. If we are tolerant and endure with it, it will not be a problem. I think I have a good family. We are happy right now. Moreover, I have my friend whose her child has the same illness as mine, we can talk and share the ideas and experiences about it. This thing encourages me to do my duty at home as best I can.

To do housework and child care can have a positive effects on their lives. Nong, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said

It affected my work at the beginning of my marriage. It might be because I could not adjust myself to it. But after that the problem was gone. I can manage it so no problem for me. I think to do housework and child care would have positive effects on the quality of life of women because by doing it, women could get a chance to take care of the family, to cook for other people, and to take care of other people's health, which in turn makes them happy.

Even though they become too tired doing it, they solve this problem by accepting it or trying to ignore their negative feelings from doing family work by doing it as best as they can. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said

I feel conflict sometimes, especially when I have to do a lot of work at my office that day. I feel too tried to do housework at home, but I have to do it. It causes more stresses for me. I try to help myself by ignore my feelings and doing it as best I can.

Only 4 wives reported that they feel too upset about it. And when they have negative feeling about family work, they think it is unfair for them to do more or all at home. It affects their mental health and devalues their self-esteem. They sometimes felt inferior. Tom, a department head and a mother of two, said

Even though I do housework, it does not interfere with my paid work because I can manage my time and do it after work in the evening and during weekends, doing more of it makes me feel

too tired, and upset about it, especially when I have to do it alone while other people in the family do not helping anything. I think to do more housework and child care makes the wife too tired, too irritability, too emotional, finally becoming depressed and having bad mental health. I think I am just only the housemaid or the servant at home, not the wife or the mother. I think women should have more value than that.

Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, explained more, that

Doing more housework and child care affects my health both physical and mental health, being too tired, fatigues, having body aches, and being too irritable. It makes women exhausted, and they feel sensitive, small-minded. Every time I feel like that I often think that it's unfair for me. I have to keep asking myself why do I have to perform it alone?

Nid, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

To do the greater share of housework and child care might make them feel too tired and exhausted to work outside efficiently. I often have a time conflict between work and family, which make me feel unhappy about it. I have tensions and stresses because I have to do them well, and from this point it's easy for me to quarrel with my husband even in the tiny thing and finally the relationship within the family is not good. I feel it's unfair for me to face those kinds of problems alone.

Malai, a policy analyst and a mother of two, said

I had a lot of conflicts. Time conflicts often happen between work demands and family demands, especially when I had a kid. At that time I was a graduate student. I had a small kid. My husband went abroad and my dad was dead. It's a crisis time for me. I did not know how to do. I did not know how to divide myself to do both parts of my life, between my academic progress and my family. I think having more responsibilities at home affects the progression of my job. I mean, reducing the possibility to progress at work. For example I used to get a scholarship for a short training in England. I asked myself what should I do. I made my mind not to go abroad because I am concerned about my family and my kids. If it was my husband's case, I think he can go without any worry about his family because the main responsibility of men is outside home, but for women, it's at home. I think it's not fair for the women. My mom used to say to me that women's life outside home stopped when they got married.

Psychological well-being of wives is closely related to their perceived fairness in the division of family work. When they feel good, it is ok for them to do a greater share of housework. When they feel tired, they see it as unfair. The findings support the previous empirical data that perceived fairness of division of housework for wives was inversely correlated with their reported psychological distress such that the greater the participants' perceived fairness, the less psychological distress would be reported (Darragh, 1996; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Moore, 1999; Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1999). This suggests that perceived fairness is an issue that deals with emotion and feeling of women, and also housework can be an emotional work.

Wives' Coping Strategies

Besides knowing the determinant factors that might explain their perceptions, knowing the mechanisms that they use to cope with their existing household arrangement helps us understand more about how they deal with the unbalanced division of household labor and child care but still feel fair about it. Two major questions in this section were "how do you compromise or manage between paid work and housework and child care?", and what do you think about hiring somebody else to do housework and child care for you? My findings indicate that wives use several strategies to deal with their situations. All of these strategies deal with themselves, not their husbands.

Time Management

Most of the wives reported that they used time management to deal with the lopsided housework and child care. Time management deals with setting priorities for household work. Kulab, a sale representative and a mother of one, said

Women should know their duties. So we know that housework and child care are our main responsibilities. When the husband sees us doing it, he would feel respect for us and is willing to help us as he can. By doing this, we do not have to tell him to do it. We should manage time well. For example, to set priorities of household tasks. While cooking and waiting for the water boil, we can wash the clothes, after the washing machine starts working, we can go back to cook. By this means, we can do both tasks at the same time. We can finish the tasks on time and it cannot affect the working time outside. The most important thing is we have to get enough rest in order to have enough energy for doing it; otherwise we would be too tired and too exhausted.

It might deal with getting up early in order to have more time to do it. Kan, a sale representative and a mother of one, said

I think women should learn how to manage time efficiently in order not to have any time conflicts between family and work. For example, they might have to wake up early in order to have more time doing housework and child care and still get to work on time.

It might deal with doing it right away, not procrastinating. Wasana, a department manager and a mother of one, said

I think women should be good at time management. They should not procrastinate the job. They should finish it right away. When they are at home, they are not concerned about work issues. They should pay attention only to the household tasks that they do. They should spend time during weekends to do some household tasks such as cleaning house or washing clothes or do laundry in order to reduce the load during the weekday.

Accepting and Feeling Good About It

This strategy is to accept the way it is and to feel good about it. Kaew, a high-school teacher and a mother of two, said

I relax while performing housework. Try not to feel tension and stress with it by accepting it and feeling good about it. I think to think positively help me feel good about family work. I would see only the positive thing that I get from doing it. It is not useful for my health if I think often about the negative side. I have no choice. I have to do it. So why do I have to think of the thing that makes me feel unhappy, right?

Some wives accepted their situations by being a good wife. Pimol, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

I do my duty as best as I can. When I am at the workplace, I have to do well at my work. When I am at home, I also have to be a good housewife. To be successful in my life, I have to do good both at work and home.

Some women accepted their roles by mentioning the important of their family. For example, Nong, an employee of the bank and a mother of one, said

Women should do it by heart, not by duty. Women should remind themselves all the time that family is the most important thing for them so they do not forget to spend their time with their families.

Maprang, a budget analyst and a mother of two, said

I have an idea that even though women have a job outside, they should do housework well at home. They should think that family is the most important for them and they have to pay attentions to it. Women have a great responsibility to hold love and warmth in the family.

Wives, like Wan, an accountant and a mother of two, said

I think women should not think too much about it, not seriously, and make themselves happy and feeling good about it.

Hiring Somebody to Help

The third mechanism is to hire somebody to help, especially when they have more income to do that. Bua, a secretary and a mother of one, said

I think women should do it as best as they can. If it's too hard for them or they feel too tired to do it, they should hire somebody to help. If they do not have enough money, they can hire her for some specific tasks that bother them or take their time. They can hire her in specific time such as pay her per week or per day.

Ning, a general administrator and a mother of one, said

I think the best solution for women in this issue is time management, setting job priorities. If they have more money, they should hire somebody to help them or to buy technology and equipment for housework.

Porn, a general administrator and a mother of one, said

I think women should accept it. If the family income is low; women have to do everything at home. If the family income is high, women can hire someone to help them or do it for them. So women should "Tum Jai", which means accepting that it's the way that women are, there is no choice for them.

However, most of them agreed that it is good to hire somebody to help them for household tasks but not for child care. This suggests that most wives have a motherhood myth about child care. They have strong beliefs that a bond between mother and child is primary, and that therefore, the mother should be with the children or doing things for them. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said

I agree to hire someone to take care of housework, but not child care. I think mothers should raise their children by themselves. It is important for the kids to be cared by their mothers not by somebody else. And it costs a lot of money to hire a nanny.

Moon, a teacher and a mother of one, said

I do not agree with the idea of hiring a nanny to take care of my kid because no one understands my kid as well as I can. I do not trust somebody else. I am concerned about the safety of my child.

They felt that the mothers should take care of their children by themselves because children need their mothers to take care of. They did not trust other people to do it.

They would hire the housemaid to help them for household work but not child care.

Stress Management

Wives uses many methods to reduce their stresses such as exercise, meditation, shopping, seeing a movie or talking with friends. Jib, an accountant and a mother of two, said

To do both jobs at home and work, women should be good at time management. They should know how to release their tension and stress and feel good about it. When I have a tension from family work such as feeling too tried, I will stop it for a while. Take some rest, watching TV, listening music and then come back to do it. Before going to bed I meditate five or ten minutes, and it works for me. It helps me feel better and have more energy to deal with it tomorrow.

Decrease the Standard

Some wives set low standard for them such as cleanliness, and change them to be more tolerate with the messiness and dirt of the home. Nid, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

When I feel too tired about it. I decrease my standard of household work. I would do it as best as I can. I would “Tum Jai” for the messy house and do it when I’m ready. I think women should not be perfectionists all the time. We are humans, not machines. So when we are tired, we should take a break and do something else to make us feel better.

Begging Their Husbands to Help

Some wives said that they would beg their husbands to help them but it is the last choice for them. Jeab, a statistician and a mother of two, said

I think women have no choices, we have to do it. If I were too tired, I would beg my husband to help me. So I think we should control our anger and upset, and talk to our husbands with sweet words when we beg him to help us do housework and child care. We should decrease our standard and accept the way he does it. He can do it in his own way. If he does not get tense and has fun while doing it, he might change his attitude toward family work.

Neung, a project analyst and a mother of two, said

I want men to feel empathy with women. I want them to understand that women also have to work outside, so men and women should share housework and child care. I want men to do it. I want them to know how hard and tired women are, which makes them understand women and want to reduce women’s burden,

Sharing Responsibility

A few wives mentioned sharing responsibilities between husbands and wives to reduce the burdens on wives relative to housework and child care. They agreed that

participation in housework and child care, especially from their husbands showed love and caring for them. These wives feel that doing this would create good relationship between husbands and themselves. Sharing responsibilities creates the bond, understanding, and sympathy between husband and wife, and also brings the marital happiness. Wipa, a social worker and a mother of three, said

Sharing responsibility between the husband and wife is important for marital happiness because if anybody has to do it alone, it seems like other people take advantage of her. If somebody helps her, especially her husband, it would help the wife feel better, and happy because she feels that her husband loves her and has sympathy for her. At the same time it shows the responsibility that a husband feels for the family.

Some wives mentioned that participation of husbands should not be forced. Kulab, a sales representative and a mother of one, described that

Sharing responsibilities between husband and wife is important for the happiness of the family. But it has to be an automatic process, not forced. If any task has no one to do, whoever is available at that time does it. If the division of labor were in this way, it would make everyone in the household happy. But to divide the household tasks by having the fixed or specific tasks for each person can create conflicts between the couple.

The benefit of sharing responsibility between husbands and wives reduces the bad feeling of wives about family work. Nid, a vice-director and a mother of two, said

I think it relates to happiness within the family. If there were no division of labor at home, the burden of it would be the responsibility of only one person, which normally is a woman. To take advantage all the times especially, by the person who lives in the same household, might create a bad feeling between the couple and finally a good relationship cannot result.

Overall, most wives used strategies to deal only with themselves. This suggests that getting more help from their husbands was the last strategy for them. It might be

because they did not know how to negotiate with their husbands or partly they thought housework and child care were the work that they had to be responsible for.

Integrated the Results from Both Quantitative and Qualitative Data

Both data sources reinforce that wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is a result of subjective perceptions, influenced by emotional needs as well as irrational judgments of justice, that form the basis of social action; and such subjective perceptions can, and often do, deviate from objective reality. It must be remembered that it is individuals themselves who determine the value and relevance of the various inputs and outcomes based on their own needs and values, and therefore, the individuals themselves who determine whether their relationship is equitable or not. Equity is in the eye of the beholder. The key to understanding equity in the intimate relationship is the idea that the division of household labor and child care are judged as fair or just by wives when they feel like they get what they deserve. The ideas about what is fair and unfair are not always based on "objective" housework arrangements, as the proponents of equality and exchange theories would posit, but rather are influenced by the way one justifies the division of housework (Hochschild, 1989). The study suggests that the model of wives' perceived fairness and interview data moves beyond a 50-50 equality principle to include other determinants that contribute to wives' perceived fairness such as feeling appreciated, marital happiness, spending time together with their husbands,

within-gender comparisons, etc. My findings suggests that value outcomes, marital quality in terms of marital happiness and spending time together with husbands, and choice of comparison referents all play important roles in explaining wives' perception of fairness.

Among these determinants, outcome values are the most important determinants of wives' perceived fairness. Certain aspects of household work and child care are highly valued by Thai employed wives. They reported positive feelings while they perform housework. Value outcomes always minimize the importance of fairness when wives find that their outcomes are lower than what they expected. To the extent that wives gained something from performing household work and child care such as feeling appreciated, marital happiness, family harmony, a sense of providing care etc., they were less likely to translate an unbalanced of division of labor into unfairness. Wives reported that an unequal division of household labor as fair when they felt powerless to equalize this division or they wanted to maintain marital harmony. Thus, for these wives, marital happiness or love outweighed their sense of justice. The survey data also indicate that spending time together with husbands is another strong determinants of wives' perceived fairness. Housework has a symbolic meaning. If wives' perceived fairness depends on feeling appreciated by their husbands, then it is reasonable to expect that intimate social interactions within couples could affect fairness perception of wives, as well. As Thompson (1991) highlights, it is not just the objective division of labor that is relevant here but also more symbolic issues. Therefore, wives with greater personal contact should receive greater appreciation for their housework efforts. This suggests that feeling greater

connection and closeness at least spending more time together, should increase women's fairness perceptions and acceptance of the gendered division of labor.

Justifications and choice of comparison referents, both of which are influenced by dominant attitudes and expectations of the appropriate activities and traits for men and women, help to explain the persistence of gender inequality in household labor. Social comparisons are also a salient factor in wives' perception of fairness. This study confirms that same-sex and same status comparisons prevail. Wives feel fairness not because they value housework more than their husbands do but because they believe this situation is fair and proper based on comparisons to other overburdened women. The interview data also suggests that besides within-gender comparison, wives compared themselves with their own feelings, which were based on traditional values and norms about gender roles. Even though the study does not find gender ideology to be statistically significance in the model, the interview data strongly suggest that these attitudes and stereotypes served to reinforce wives' beliefs that an unequal division of household labor and child care was both acceptable as well as fair for them. Gender stereotypes related to women's and men's traits and abilities influenced wives' perceived fairness. Gender role definitions about the appropriate roles for women and men guided wives' choice of comparison referents and justifications to accept the unbalanced division of labor as fair for them. Wives who did express their satisfaction with the division of household labor and child care would accept gender stereotypes as their justification and response, which further undermined their sense of unfairness.

Interview data also suggest that justifications are another possible mechanism by which wives translate unfair outcomes into fair ones. Thai employed wives offered justifications such as roles specialization, individual abilities and aptitudes, availability of time, and husbands' earnings to explain why they devoted more time to housework and child care. The survey data also indicate that men's incompetence at housework has a negative relationship to wives' perceived fairness in household division of labor and child care. The more wives use the reasons of men incompetence at housework to justify the husbands' lower participation in housework, the less fair wives reported in household work and child care responsibilities. Women who find justifications unacceptable should have a stronger sense of unfairness. The possible reason is that the variable of men incompetence at housework has a negative correlation to marital happiness and within-gender comparison. Wives who strongly believe that men were incompetent at housework would have unhappy marriages and would be less likely to compare their contributions to household work and child care with other women. In contrast, they were more likely to compare their contributions to child care with their husbands. With these results, I argue that justifications and outcome values work closely together to explain wives' perceived fairness. In order for justifications to increase wives' perceived fairness, they must satisfy the outcome values from housework and child care. Therefore, the more positive the outcome values, the more convincingly the justifications help to mitigate the perception of unfairness among wives. This suggests that while justifications may decrease wives' sense of unfairness, these justifications do not always erase the perceptions of inequity. Therefore, the more negative wives' outcomes, the harder it becomes to find justifications accounting

for their unfair circumstances. This study argues that Thai employed wives value the interpersonal outcomes of family work more than labor time and the task outcomes.

My findings do not support the resource exchange theory that wives' perception of fairness are related to wives' earnings. The only resource that wives use to help them do less housework, compared with other non-employed wives, is number of working hours/day. The survey data find that wives perceived greater fairness in the division of household labor and child care when they spent more hours at paid work. My findings confirm that Thai employed wives use non-justice based considerations to justify the division of labor in their households. They reported that a fair division of labor is to divide it according to individual skill and abilities, availability of time, or individual preferences. Equity or equality justice applied less in their households. Considerations of justice are just one of several determinants the allocation of household labor decisions. My findings also indicate that many wives were unaware of processes operating at the macro-micro level, which constrained their personal and family choices. Rather, allocation decisions were attributed to an individual's differential abilities, or enjoyment of tasks. Only few wives connected their doing greater share of housework within the family to constraints placed upon them by the larger society.

Reconciliation of the Empirical Evidences with Existing Theories

The resource and exchange theoretical frameworks are useful for us to explain Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care in some points. The theory state that wives' perceived fairness is determined by their power as gauged by their resources and their alternatives to marriage. Having fewer resources than their husbands and trapped by limited options, women tend to define an objectively unequal situation as fair. In this study Thai employed wives seem to use the number of work hours/day as their resource to negotiate with their husbands to do less housework. The more time they spend at paid work, the greater fairness they perceive. It's impossible for most Thai employed wives to use their economic resource to bargain as equal with their spouses about household work and child care because they have less monthly income than their husbands. However, while the resource and exchange theoretical frameworks recognize power differences between husbands and wives, they fail to recognize the origins of these differences and mask the unbalanced nature of power. People are portrayed as free to make choices in their own best interest, without consideration of how differences in power shape choices and set limits on the ability to act in one's own interests (Glenn, 1987).

This study supports gender theory in that both macro and micro-level processes influence the gender differences. The macro-level comprises those structures and processes such as institutions, organizations, and communities, as well as accepted definitions such as gender ideology and norms. The micro-level refers to face-to-face interactions that occur between individuals or in families (Chafetz, 1984). Traditional

values and norms about gender roles have a great impact on wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Even though gender ideology is not statistically significant in the quantitative analysis, the interview data reinforce its importance. In addition, wife's ascription to traditional women's gender roles is good evidence to support it. Clearly, traditional values and norms related to gender expectations affect wives' ideas about who should do housework and what constitutes a fair division of labor. Socialization is a life long process through which individuals acquire culturally defined gender-specific behaviors, traits, and attitudes. This process takes place in a variety of spheres, beginning in the family and continuing in educational settings and throughout adulthood in the workplace and through interactions with family and friends (Gager, 1995).

This study also supports the distributive justice theory, which attends to the meaning which wives ascribe to family work. While resource and exchange frameworks assume that housework is unpleasant and boring, and that anyone with power avoids doing it, distributive justice theory asserts that housework carries symbolic meaning for wives. In this study, Thai employed wives do housework as a form of expression of love and care. An outcome value that wives desire for doing housework, comparison referents that wives use to compare with themselves when evaluating the fairness in the household, and justifications that wives accept to justify lesser participations of their husbands, along with marital happiness and spending time with their husbands all help us to explain wives' perceived fairness. These factors act like as micro-level processes. These macro and micro-levels are salient determinants of wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. This

study confirms that equity or equality based on resource exchange theory is only one of many values that underlie the system of distributive justice. Personal need might be the predominant value of distributive justice in the family or other caring institutions that foster personal development and personal welfare. Distributive justice will help scholars understand more clearly the empirical connections between the allocation of housework and wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care. Wives' perceived unfairness are based on the lack of a desired outcome, unfavorable comparisons with referents others, and unacceptable justification for being deprived of a desired outcome.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is examined along with factors determining the perceived fairness. The survey data were based on 600 employed wives from three different types of workplaces in Bangkok, Thailand. The qualitative data were collected from a convenience sample of 30 Thai employed wives selected by purposive sampling from the same sample of 600 employed wives. Research findings can be summarized as follows:

Survey Data Findings

1. Perceived fairness in the division of household labor was positively correlated with feeling appreciated, marital happiness, within-gender comparison, wife's value of housework, spending time together, work hours/day, family harmony, wife's ascription to traditional women's roles, and men's incompetence at housework.
2. Feeling appreciated is the best predictor for explaining the variance of the perceived fairness in division of household labor and child care, followed by marital happiness, within-gender comparison, wife's value of housework, spending time together, work hours/day, family harmony, wife's ascription to traditional women's

roles, and men's incompetence at housework. The model accounted for 31.7 % of the variability in the perceived fairness. The overall relationship of all predictors to perceived fairness is fairly high.

Interview Data Findings

1. Most wives did not think a just allocation, either equity or equality was important for their household allocations. They thought little about fairness in the area of family life. This lack of a sense of fairness helps explain why so few wives report that the division of household labor and child care is unfair to them. They explained justice or fairness in general, but in practice, these ideas were mitigated by other factors like concern for family harmony, family happiness, or ideas that conform to gender role norms. Most wives have positive feelings and attitudes about housework and child care. The data demonstrate that outcome values often minimize the importance of fairness in the division of household labor and child care. To the extent that wives gained something from performing household work such as family happiness, self-worth, or a sense of highly valued children, they were less likely to translate an unequal distribution of labor into a sense of unfairness.

2. The interviews indicated that wives have many justifications such as different abilities and skills at housework and child care, time availability at home, or gender expectations to explain why they contribute more at home and why they accept a lower contribution of their husbands as fair. Justifications and outcomes worked

together to explain wives' perceived fairness. Therefore, the more positive the outcome values, the more convincing were the justifications to mitigate the perception of unfairness among wives. This suggests that while justifications may decrease wives' sense of unfairness, these justifications do not necessarily mitigate perceptions of inequity. Therefore, the more negative wives' outcomes, the harder it becomes to find justifications to account for their unfair circumstances. In addition, justifications used by wives acted as an intervening variable between the actual division of labor and their perceived fairness of the division of labor.

3. My findings suggest that the majority of wives use their own feelings and satisfaction as a comparison referent when they evaluate the fairness of the division of household labor and child care. They perceive the division of labor as fair if they feel happy and satisfied with it even though they feel they must do a greater share of housework. Normative comparison, based on traditional values about gender role, is the next referent they use when they appraisal the fairness of their household arrangements, followed by within-gender comparison, between-gender comparison, and parental model.

4. Gender role attitudes are often supported by dominant macro-level gender norms in Thai society. Such norms are that men are the head of the family and women are the housewife and mother at home. Also, wives' concepts about the family can mitigate their perceived unfairness about the division of household labor and child care when wives do more in the household. The data demonstrate that macro-level structures, norms and gender stereotypes permeate and influence micro-level household decisions and evaluations of fairness. It was clear that most wives had

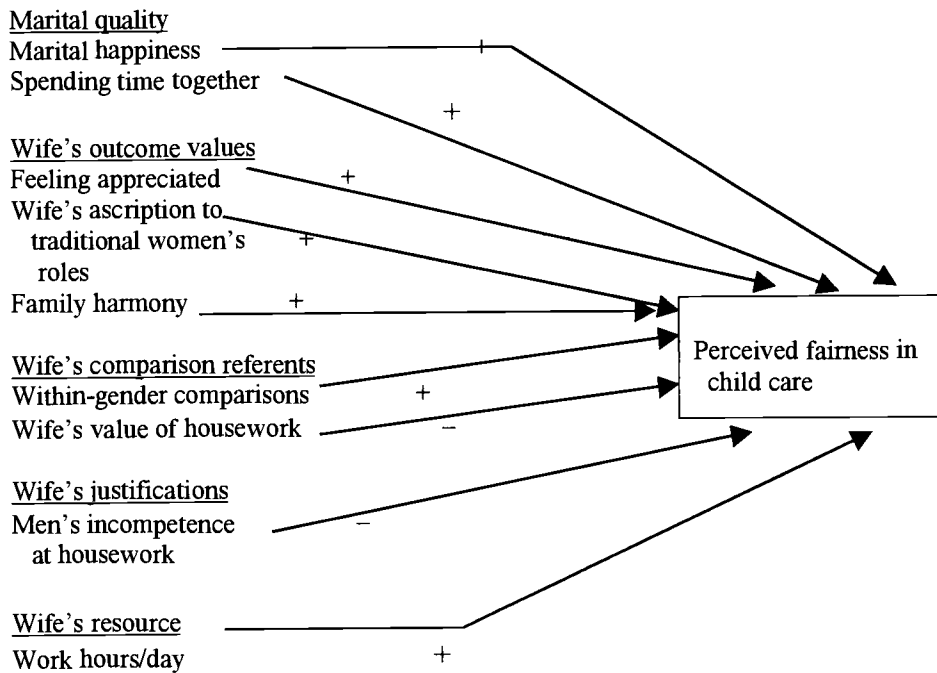
internalized the gender norm that wives should be primarily responsible for the home and the husbands' roles were as helpers. Therefore, wives expected to do housework and child care. Most wives internalized those beliefs into their own and justified doing more housework and child care than their husbands.

5. Feeling upset about the husband doing less at home happens especially when the wife is too tired from doing family work. It suggests that a sense of injustice might relate to wives' emotions. They sometimes thought that it was unfair for them to do more housework and child care than their husbands, but were thinking this only when they were especially tired and exhausted. When they felt well, they said they were willing to do it and were happy about it. Most wives reported that being more responsible in family work had a great impact on their quality of life. Even though they felt bored and very tired from the work, they felt good about themselves while doing it. They often complained about their physical health from doing it, such as having back pain, a headache or fatigue. But, psychological rewards that they got seemed to compensate those problems and they were willing to sacrifice themselves for it.

The question "Is family beyond justice?" is not easy to answer because it deals with the complicated setting of the family. Hence, distributive justice in this arena is different from any workplace in society. One possible reason is that the family is a unique institution. It is a "gender factory", where the polarization of masculine and feminine is created and displayed (Berk, 1985). Work in the family is also unique. What makes work in the family context distinctive is a sense of stewardship accompanied by solemn obligations, intense loyalties, and moral imperatives

(Elshtain, 1990). In other words, goals in the workplace are primarily individualistic: social recognition, wages, opportunities for advancement, and self-fulfillment. But the family is about collective goals, building life's most important bonds of affection, nurturance, mutual support, and long-term commitment (Blankenhorn, 1990). People feel strong emotional attachments to family members for whom they have labored. Working together doing household chores is a way to integrate the family and to build family cohesiveness (Berheide, 1984). Therefore, considerations of fairness and justice have to do with issues of the virtue, goodness, or transcendent value of the human interaction associated with family work. Conceptualizing housework as moral interaction in a communal relationship encourages expanding the economic discourse to include dimensions of work not considered in economic or power models. Among these are characteristics of relationships such as responsiveness to family traditions, fulfillment of obligations to kin, and contributing without reference to personal cost. This study confirms that work in the family called "housework" has symbolic meaning attached to it. Although gender is theorized as being forged at all levels of social life (Lorber, 1994), it is perhaps most evident in the family and other intimate relationships where gender is still seen even ideologically as a reasonable and legitimate basis for the distribution of rights, power, privilege, and responsibilities (Thompson & Walker, 1995; Komter, 1989). To answer questions about fairness issues in family has to do with perceptions and emotions of wives based on their subjective feelings, which are different from one to another. The model of determinants for Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care is presented in figure 1 as below.

Figure 1 Model of Determinants for Thai Employed Wives' Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child Care



Placing family work in a moral context reduces the salience of cost-reward analysis, and may make such analysis irrelevant to considerations of meaning and purpose. Economic costs and benefits are sometimes relevant, but often they are weak motivators and more characteristic of persons acted upon, or driven to act, than of persons whose actions are voluntary choices with reference to obligations, sentiments, customs and commitments (Ahlander & Bahr, 1995). Models of technical equality or even equity of distribution have limitations as predictors of Thai employed wives' perceived fairness in the division of household labor. A fuller account must also consider other socio-psychological determinants. What this study is proposing would take into account both the context and the meaning of work in the families, and by so doing would allow discourse on variations in how family work is structured. Inherent

in consideration of the implications of family work is latitude for and appreciation of variations between and within cultural groups. The model presented in this study encourages attention to the cultural and personal meanings of activity, interaction, and sentiment. This model does not reflect a traditional division of labor by sex. Instead, it emphasizes the inherent worth of all activity essential to life, in accordance with Bellah et al.'s (1985) statement that "the obligations traditionally associated with 'women's sphere' are human obligations that men and women should share (p.111). Finally, the concept of division of labor is less appropriate than that of shared participation in family life, for it is "the nature of division sooner or later to destroy what is divided" (Berry, 1981). The issue is not so much the nature of housework itself, but the ways it links or fails to link individuals to one another (Bellah, 1985).

Limitations of the Study

The sample utilized in this study is limited to Thai employed married wives in Bangkok, Thailand. They are middle class and well educated. These women are better off in terms of education and income, compared with national average of employed women. Thus, the results may not be representative of Thai employed women in different socio-demographic backgrounds or in different types of workplaces.

Study Implications for Future Research, Policy and Education/Training

Future Research

Taken together, the quantitative and qualitative findings suggest several future areas of inquiry. First, other socio-demographic groups should be explored more fully as well such as employed wives in rural area, wives in lower status and lower-paying jobs, women in cohabitate relationships or in other alternative relationships.

Second, more work should be done on development of research instruments. My findings show that outcome values, comparison referents, marital quality and justifications along with gender ideology play important parts in determining wives' perceived fairness. Future research should construct research instruments for other outcome values, comparison referents, and justifications, and test them with empirical data. We need additional research on the factors that encourage a sense of entitlement among women and on the factors that encourage men to also participate more in household work and child care.

Third, the qualitative findings suggest that gender ideology plays an important role in wives' perceived fairness, but the survey data did not support the statistical significance of this variable. Future research should be done using a revised gender ideology instrument. More work needs to be done on investigating changes in ideology overtime that might suggest changes in perceived fairness.

Fourth, the quantitative data indicate that work hours/day of wives is also an important factor determining wives' perceived fairness. Future research should be conducted with wives with full and part-time jobs and with full-time housewives to

determine if there are additional factors affecting their sense of justice in the division of labor at home.

Finally, future research should emphasize people's definitions of the situation as well as the meanings they find in, or attribute to, activities and events. More work should be done to ground research in the context and language of the people we are trying to understand. The researchers should be more sensitive to the distortions and losses that can occur as they fragment family experience by imposing technical language and conceptual frameworks.

Policy Recommendations

Housework has several faces, which have yet to be integrated into Thai governmental policy. As a form of labor, housework is connected with the organization of the larger economy. Under this face, housework may be understood as a means by which the wage labor force is maintained and reproduced. Housework is also closely related to the internal emotional lives of Thai families. Purchased goods cannot fully replace it. Moreover, activities in the home (household work, consumption, child care), which are mostly done by women, serve to maintain and reproduce the labor force. Wives provide unpaid support services for their husbands' careers, for example, by caring, by doing unpaid secretary work for them at home, and so forth. This challenges any simple understanding of the family as isolated and set apart from the rest of society. Instead, families are in continuous interaction with other institutions, such as work organizations, schools, and the political system. With more

and more women in the paid labor force, to understand women's lives is to uncover relationships between family and paid work. When the wife has primary responsibility for the home, she can engage in paid labor only after making sure the necessary housework activities are done. The demand by the women's movement for economic independence and the equalization of sex roles has sharpened the contrasts between the home economy and the market economy. The differences between the two economies have helped to perpetuate inequality between the sexes. As the number of paid work hours per family has grown, the time available for non-market work, for interpersonal relationships, and for family life in general has declined. How can we get off this treadmill? The decisions of each family and society as a whole are interrelated. The labor movement and the government could both promote social discussion of policies that would allow families greater flexibility in work schedules, in organizing the husband's and wife's work, and simultaneously encourage a better balance of paid and nonpaid work. The government could also provide child care centers that have both quality and accessibility. The lives of wives in dual-earner families are highly stressful. With access to affordable and reliable child care, many working parents find it possible for both husband and wife to succeed in full-time jobs. Planning and development activities by government agencies, social institutions, and business enterprises must take into consideration the issue of gender to ensure that women have the opportunity to contribute their talents, share in the benefit of economic activities and, at the same time, not carry a heavier burden. Examples include maternal leave policy or subsidized child care.

The link between work and family is also clear with regard to equal pay. Women's economic behavior is not the result of economic factors alone, but also attributes to social structures, particularly Thai traditional values and cultures. If women continue to take the primary roles in household work and child care, the goal of equal pay can never be achieved. Women will still earn less than men within occupations if they decrease their work hours or commitment to their jobs due to greater family responsibilities. Women's choices are constrained by role expectations about who should be the primary caretaker in the family. Even with increased workplace flexibility, women will continue to earn less than men and remain dependent on marriage unless men and women are committed to equal sharing of both family work and paid work. Such macro level changes in attitudes are harder to enact than changes in organizational policies. Such change entails a reexamination of normative attitudes and beliefs regarding the proper roles of women and men, which are deeply embedded in Thai society. If our society moves toward more equal work roles between men and women, we will necessarily move toward increasing the work done by men within the home and the time spent by men in family life or find ways to reduce the work done in the home.

Education/Training

This study confirms that Thai employed wives lack a sense of entitlement. Therefore, we need to encourage a sense of entitlement among women and also

encourage men to perceive their role in the household as one that helps build family cohesiveness. The most salient issue concerns the equal role of women in Thai society. The propensity of married women to alter their aspirations in the face of family responsibilities suggests that society loses out on a large share of the population's creative or intellectual capacity. Traditional values for women and men must be changed by promoting and educating the general public and by raising social awareness of the roles of men and women, which should not be limited by the nature of work or by gender. It is very important to find methods to raise women's consciousness about equal rights and economic equality both in the family and in society as a whole. My findings show that most women did not see the connection of factors between micro and macro levels. This illustrates that the interrelationship between work and family as micro-level choices made by some women may be generalized to all women.

More education and training should be done on changing attitudes of society toward housework. In Thai society, paid work is the work that is most highly valued and rewarded and has the money value assigned to it. Family activities and family relationships, traditionally not valued in economic terms, tend to be undervalued in such a society. Using an economic explanation, the way to avoid housework is to buy comparable goods and services, or to earn enough money or control enough resources to negotiate a division of family labor that frees one from household tasks. The emphasis on work as an activity generating economic value overlooks a major feature of the activities usually labeled as non-economic work, namely relationships among the people involved. Much family work differs from work in other settings in that the

economic outputs are secondary to matters of ritual, association affection, and obligation (Ahlander & Bahr, 1995). Family happiness can be achieved by participation of every family member, not only wives and mothers, but also husbands and fathers. Doing family work together reinforce a mutual relationship between husband and wife as well as the output of that family work to a society. It is family work; work essential to the physical, mental, and spiritual maintenance of a family group that merits the status of noneconomic work. It is family work that creates strong bonds of kinship and friendship and life-giving rituals of remembrance (Berry, 1990). Shared in a going process, it produces many of the stories and rituals that celebrate family identity and reinforce affectional ties (Coontz, 1992). Participating in family work fosters helpfulness, value congruity, and cooperative spirit in children. Doing housework fosters responsibility and moral development, self-control, family commitment, and altruism, especially among children (Goodnow, 1988; Ahlander & Bahr, 1995). Among the pleasurable products of family work, a fundamental and inescapable work, are well-socialized children who have the moral, ethical, commitment and altruism characteristics needed to be good citizens of the society in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:
Written and Oral Consent Forms

Written Consent Form

Is Family beyond Justice? : Exploring Determinants of Wives' Perceived Fairness about the Division of Household Labor and Child Care in Thailand Project

I agree to participate a research about how employed married women think about the perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor and how they think about their individual well-being and their marital well-being. I will participate under the following conditions:

* I agree to allow Tippavan Surinya to use the information from the questionnaire in the research project, report and in any publications that might arise. However, I understand that disguising names and any other identifying information will protect my privacy and confidentiality.

* I understand that I have a right to receive and review a written account or analysis of the questionnaire. After reviewing and discussing these with Tippavan Surinya, I can suggest modification for the interpretation, accuracy, clarity, or new information. A negotiated consensus will be reached here and I have the right to withdraw my participation from the project at any time with no negative consequences or penalties.

Signature

Date

If you have any questions or comments about this project, please feel free to contact Dr. Geraldine Olson, Human Development and Family Science; Mlm 323B College of Home Economics, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97330. Tel. (541) 7371070, 7374765 or e-mail address/ olsong@ccmail.orst.edu. Or contact Tippavan Surinya, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Thailand. Tel. (662) 5613480 , (662) 5525685.

Oral Consent Form

Is Family beyond Justice? : Exploring Determinants of Wives' Perceived Fairness about the Division of Household Labor and Child Care in Thailand Project

I agree to be interviewed by the researchers about how employed married woman thinks about the perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor and how she thinks about her individual well-being and her marital well-being. I will participate under the following conditions:

* I agree to allow Tippavan Surinya to use the information from the interviews in the research project, report and in any publications that might arise. However, I understand that disguising names and any other identifying information will protect my privacy and confidentiality.

* I understand that I have a right to receive and review a written account or analysis of the interview. After reviewing and discussing these with Tippavan Surinya, I can suggest modification for the interpretation, accuracy, clarity, or new information. A negotiated consensus will be reached here and I have the right to withdraw my participation from the project at any time with no negative consequences or penalties.

Signature

Date

If you have any questions or comments about this project, please feel free to contact Dr. Geraldine Olson, Human Development and Family Science; Mlm 323B College of Home Economics, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97330. Tel. (541) 7371070, 7374765 or e-mail address/ olsong@ccmail.orst.edu. Or contact Tippavan Surinya, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Thailand. Tel. (662) 5613480 , (662) 5525685.

Appendix 2:
Research Questionnaires and Interview Questions

Family Resource Development Graduate Program, Human Development and Family Sciences Department, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97330. 541-737-1070.

January 29, 1999

Dear Participants:

Do you ever stop and ask yourself “How do we do it all?” Between your job, child care, housework and other activities, it’s a wonder you have time to sleep. Some of you may not. Many working wives today face time shortages as they try to balance work and family. Here is your chance to share some of your experiences and be apart of a new study that will look at how working wives manage their lives.

Specifically, this study will focus on how working wives divide housework and child care and how do they feel about it? Some of the questions I seek to answer are: How do women come to beliefs about housework and how it should be divided? How important is fairness in this area? Do working wives compare themselves to others when evaluating their own division of labor? and So on?

I am a Ph.D. student at Oregon State University and I have recently stayed in Bangkok. I am asking your help in determining some of the characteristic concerning your family as well as your opinion about division of household labor and fairness. I would appreciate it if you would take about 30 minutes to respond to this questionnaire. Your responses, together with others, will be combined and used for statistical summaries only. By participating, you will be a part of an exciting project that will eventually be published as a book. Only a small sample of working wives in Bangkok would have an opportunity to participate in this project, so your participation is vital to the study.

The answers you provide are strictly confidential and special precautions have been established to protect the confidentiality of your responses. The number of your questionnaire will be removed once your questionnaire has been returned. We use the number to contact those who have not returned their questionnaire, so we do not burden those who have responded. Your questionnaire will be destroyed once your responses have been tallied.

If you have any questions about the survey, please contact me at 561-3480. If I am not available when you call, please leave a message and I will call back.

I sincerely hope you decide to help me learn more about the important area of family research. Thank you very much for your help. I appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Tippavan Surinya

Research Questionnaire

I. Please check or fill in the answer that best describe your situation

1. How old are you?

2. What is your highest level of education?
 ----- 1. Below elementary school
 ----- 2. Elementary school
 ----- 3. High school
 ----- 4. Bachelor degree
 ----- 5. Master degree
 ----- 6. Doctoral degree
 ----- 7. Others
3. What is your husband highest level of education?
 ----- 1. Below elementary school
 ----- 2. Elementary school
 ----- 3. High school
 ----- 4. Bachelor degree
 ----- 5. Master degree
 ----- 6. Doctoral degree
 ----- 7. Others
4. What is your occupation?

5. What is your husband occupation?

7. What is your monthly personal income?

8. What is your husbands' monthly personal income?

9. What is your monthly family income?

10. How many hours per day do you spend in the paid work?

11. How many hours per day do your husband spends in the paid work?

12. How many children do you have?

13. What is the age of your youngest child?

14. How many years do you and your husband live together?

15. Regardless of who perform the tasks, who is primarily responsible for the housework and child care?
 1. You
 2. You and your husband

3. Your husband
4. Your relative
5. Others (Please specify_____)

II. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below? (SA = Strongly agree, A = Agree, N = Neutral, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly disagree)

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| 16. It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes cares of the home and the family | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 17. Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mothers are employed | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 18. Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 19. In a successful marriage, each partner must have the freedom to do what they want individually | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 20. If a man and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally | SA | A | N | D | SD |

III. What is your response to those following items?

21. I feel appreciated/unappreciated by my spouse for how well cared for the house should be.

Unappreciated by 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Appreciated by spouse
spouse

22. I feel appreciated/unappreciated by my spouse when I do housework

Unappreciated by 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Appreciated by spouse
spouse

23. I care about what my neighbors, extended family, and friends think about the way I perform my family work.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

25. If visitors dropped in unexpectedly and my house was a mess, I would be embarrassed.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

26. When my children look well groomed in public, I feel extra proud of them

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

31. I know people make judgments about how good a wife/mom I am based on how well cared for my house and kids are.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

32. Keeping everyone in the family happy is my job.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

33. I do not feel like I am really the wife/mom of the family unless I am mostly responsible for the family work.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

34. Performing child care tasks provide an opportunity to develop a closer relationship with children.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

35. It is important to me as the mother to be able to take care of family members who are sick, afraid, sad, or upset.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

36. Being a good wife and mother is the most important thing I do.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

37. Even if I do not enjoy a family work task I am doing, I still like the feeling of helping people I love.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

38. I enjoy it/do not enjoy it when I perform child care tasks.

I do not enjoy it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I enjoy it.

39. I guess it is right to share... but frankly, I just do not think about it much.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

40. It is more important that we create a feeling of family than those tasks are equally

divided.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

41. The division of family work is important, but not important enough to argue over.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

42. I think it is right to share... but at the same time I feel that certain tasks should be done by the wife/mother.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

43. There is more to family work than the tasks themselves... A lot of effort goes into planning, managing, negotiating, creating, and supervising.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

44. The housework and child care I do make an important financial contribution to my family.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

45. Family work is as hard and demanding as the kinds of jobs people do for pay.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

46. I am lucky because my husband does more housework and child care than most other husbands I know.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

47. I am lucky because I do less housework and child care than most other wives I know.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

48. When deciding if things are fair, I compare my husband's time in family work with my time, not with other men.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

49. I have higher standards than my husband for doing housework and child care.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

50. I frequently redo some household task that my husband has not done well enough.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

52. It is too hard to teach other family members the skills necessary to do jobs right, so I do it by myself.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

53. My husband does not really know how to do a lot of household chores, so I do it by myself.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

54. I like being in charge when it comes to domestic responsibilities.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

55. My husband hates doing housework, so I do it by myself.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

56. My husband's job is hard and very demanding so he needs to relax at home in the evening.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

57. For a lot of reasons, it is just harder for men than woman to do housework and child care.

Not at all like me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much like me

58. My husband and I make decision together how housework and child care tasks are divided.

Not true 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 True

IV. How do you feel about the following question? (1 = very unfair to me, 2 = somewhat unfair to me, 3 = fair, 4 = somewhat unfair to my husband, 5 = very unfair to my husband)

59. Overall, how fair do you feel the division of child care tasks is in your family. 1 2 3 4 5

60. Overall, how fair do you feel the division of household tasks is in your family. 1 2 3 4 5

V. How many days in the past week do you have the symptom in each following item? (0 = never, 1 = one day, 2 = two days, 3 = three days, 4 = four days, 5 = five days, 6 = six days, 7 = seven days)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 61. You were bothered by things that usually do not bother you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 62. You felt lonely | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 63. You felt that you could not shake off the blues, even with help from your family or friends. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 64. Your sleep was restless | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 65. You felt depressed | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 66. You felt that everything you did was an effort. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 67. You felt fearful. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 68. You had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 69. You talked less than usual | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 70. You did not feel like eating | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 71. Your appetite was poor | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 72. You felt sad. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 73. You could not get going | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

VI. What is your response to the following question?

74. How often, if at all, in the last year have you had open disagreements about each of the following tasks: 1 = Never, 2 = Less than once a month, 3 = Several times a month, 4 = About once a week, 5 = Several times a week, 6 = Almost everyday

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Household tasks | | | | | | |
| Money | | | | | | |
| Spending time together | | | | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| In-laws | | | | | | |
| The children | | | | | | |

75. It is always difficult to predict what will happen in a marriage, but realistically, what do you think the chances are that you and your husband will eventually separate or divorce?

1. Very low
- 2 Low
- 3 Undecided
4. High
- 5 Very high

76. During the past month, how often did you and your husband spend time alone with each other, talking, or sharing an activity?

1. Never
2. Less than once a month.
3. Several times a month
4. About once a week.
5. Several times a week
6. Almost everyday

77. Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage?

Very unhappy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very happy

Interview Questions

1. Do your income, educational level, and the number of work hours/day affect how your family divides household labor and child care? And how?
2. Does your attitude toward gender roles have an effect on your family division of household labor and child care or decide what is fair? And how? ; In your opinion, do Thai value and culture affect the division of household labor and child care? How?.
3. Are there any chores you want to do? What are they? Why? ; are there any chores you do not want to do? What are they? And Why? ; How do you feel while you are doing housework? How do you feel when it is finished?
4. What outcomes do you want from doing more on housework and child care? How is it important to you?
5. How much do you think the division of labor that your parents had affects the way you divide housework and child care in your own household? ; What comparison referents and justification do you use when you evaluate how fair division of labor in your family is?
6. How do you divide the responsibility in household labor and child care? How do you decide who will perform each task? ;In you opinion, are there any chores that women do better? Why? And are there any chores that men do better? Why?
7. Did you talk about the division of household labor and child care before you got married? ; How do you feel when your husband doing less housework and child care? ; Why do you think the division of household labor and child care in your family is fair/unfair/or neutral? ; In your opinion, what is the meaning or your definition of a fair division of household labor and child care?
8. Do you ever have any conflicts or arguments about division of household labor and child care with your husband? If yes, how do you feel?
9. Do you think doing more housework and child care than your husband affects your paid jobs? How? ; Do you feel any conflicts between your work demands and family demands? ; How does doing more housework and child care than your husband affects your psychological well-being, your quality of life or your family?
10. Do you think the way your family divides household labor and child care affect marital happiness? And how? ; What is your definition of a happy marriage? ; What components make up a happy marriage?
11. Overall, what is the major factor causes the wife does more housework and child care than her husband? And how?

12. What is your opinion about how to compromise between family demands and work demands?

13. What or how do you think about hiring somebody else to do housework and child care for your family?

Appendix 3:
Descriptive Statistics of the Sample and Descriptive Statistics of the Variables

Table A Mean and Standard Deviation of the Demographic Data of the Sample

Demographic data	Mean	Median	SD
Age (n = 598)*	39.59	39	8.01
Household monthly income (n = 580)*	45831.70	36000	55498.49
Number of year working (n = 595)*	14.03	10	8.96
Length of marriage (n = 598)*	12.96	11	7.90
Number of child (n = 599)*	1.62	1	.79
Age of youngest child (594)*	8.68	6.00	6.90

*The Total number is not 600 due to missing data in noted item.

Table B Frequency of Some Demographic Data of the Sample

Demographic Data	Frequency	Percent
Kinds of workplace (n = 600)	214	35.7
- Governmental service sectors	191	31.8
- Quasi-governmental sectors	195	32.5
- Private sectors		
Education level (n = 600)		
- High school	66	11
- Bachelor degree	438	73
- Master degree	27	4.5
- Others	69	11.5
Age groups (n = 598)*		
- 21-30 years	83	13.8
- 31-39 years	221	36.8
- 40-49 years	230	38.3
- 50-59 years	64	10.7

Table B continued

Level of relative income (n = 562)*		
- Wife's income lower Than husband's	395	65.8
- Both equal	44	7.3
- Wife's income higher Than husband's	123	20.5
Level of relative number of working hours (n = 574)*		
- Wife's number of Working hours lower Than husband's	134	22.3
- Both equal	349	58.2
- Wife's number of working hours higher Than husband's	91	15.2

*The Total number is not 600 due to missing data in noted item.

Table C Mean and Standard Deviation of the dependent and independent variables (N = 600)

Variables	Mean	Median	SD	Range (Min-Max)
Perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care (n = 598) ¹	6.54	7.00	1.73	2 to 10
Wife monthly income (n = 595) ¹	17434.98	15000.00	10238.05	1542 to 80000
Relative monthly income (n = 562) ¹	-11296.01	-3005.00	49837.37	-470000 to 50000
Wife's working hours per day (n = 597) ¹	7.97	8.00	1.44	4 – 20
Relative working hours per day (n = 574) ¹	-.16	.00	2.10	-14 to 11
Gender ideology	16.86	17.00	2.74	7 – 25
Feeling appreciate	9.85	10.00	3.85	2 – 14
Wife's ascription to traditional women's gender roles	29.98	29.00	6.34	6 – 42
Ministering of family needs	29.16	30.00	4.79	14 – 35
Family harmony	21.54	22.00	4.55	4 – 28
Wife's Value of housework	14.58	15.00	3.90	3 – 21
Within-gender comparisons	8.73	8.00	3.25	2 – 14
Between-gender comparison	4.75	5.00	1.88	1 – 7

Table C continued

Wife's standard of housework	18.35	17.00	7.00	5 – 35
Men's incompetence at housework	11.78	12.00	4.18	3 – 21
Deciding together	5.79	7.00	1.61	1 – 7
Wife' psychological well beings	12.93	10.00	12.38	0 – 77
Disagreement between couples	4.99	4.00	4.92	1 – 27
Chance of divorced	1.80	1.00	1.08	1 – 5
Spending time together (n = 599) ¹	2.87	3.00	1.75	0 – 5
Marital happiness	5.33	6.00	1.74	1 – 7

¹The Total number is not 600 due to missing data in noted item.

Table D Mean and Standard Deviation of the Demographic Data of the qualitative sample (n = 30)

Demographic data	Mean	Median	SD
Age	38.07	37	7.18
Monthly income	16982.67	13680.00	9435.01
Relative income (29)*	-5272.41	-3010.00	9972.93
Household monthly income	39369.67	31500.00	19966.52
Number of year working	12.67	10.00	6.80
Work hours/day	8.00	8.00	1.14
Relative work hours/days	-.57	.00	1.12
Length of marriage	11.33	10.00	7.29
Number of child	1.73	2.00	.69
Age of youngest child	7.47	5.50	6.07

*The Total number is not 30 due to missing data in noted item.

Table E Frequency of Some Demographic Data (n = 30)

Demographic Data	Frequency	Percent
Kinds of workplace		
- Governmental service sectors	7	23.3
- Quasi-governmental sectors	15	50.0
- Private sectors	8	26.7
Education level		
- High school	3	10.0
- Bachelor degree	22	73.3
- Master degree	1	3.3
- Others	4	13.3
Level of relative monthly income (29*)		
- Wife's income lower Than husband's	22	75.9
- Both equal	2	6.9
- Wife's income higher Than husband's	5	17.2
Level of relative number of working hours/day		
- Wife's number of number of working per day lower than husband's	10	33.3
- Both equal	18	60.0
- Wife's number of working per day higher than husband's	2	6.7
Overall, how fair about the division of household labor and child care		
- Very unfair	2	6.7
- Unfair	6	20.0
- Neutral	12	40.0
- Fair	10	33.3
- Very Fair	0	0

Table E continued

Who is primarily responsible for the housework? (n=30)		
- Wife		
- Husband	22	73.3
- Relatives	2	6.7
- Servants	5	16.7
- Equally between husband and wife	0	0
	1	3.3

*The Total number is not 30 due to missing data in noted item.

Appendix 4:
Descriptive Data of All Variables in the Stepwise Multiple Regression

Table F Means and Standard Deviations all Variables in the Stepwise Multiple Regression of Perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care (n = 550)

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
1. Perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care	6.51	1.76
2. Wife monthly income	17773.18	10431.58
3. Relative monthly income	-11443.33	50361.44
4. Wife's working hours per day	7.94	1.33
5. Relative working hours per day	-.16	2.01
6. Gender ideology	16.91	2.74
7. Feeling appreciated	9.81	3.57
8. Wife's ascription of women's roles	29.34	6.16
9. Ministering of family needs	29.13	4.86
10. Family harmony	21.62	4.56
11. Wife's value of housework	14.59	3.90
12. Within-gender comparison	8.79	3.23
13. Between-gender comparison	4.76	1.87
14. Wife's standard of housework	18.19	6.96
15. Men's incompetence at housework	11.75	4.18
16. Deciding together	5.81	1.59
17. Psychological well-being	12.57	11.98
18. Disagreement between couples	5.05	4.93
19. Chance of divorced	1.78	1.07
20. Spending time together	2.91	1.72
21. Marital happiness	5.35	1.69

Appendix 5:
Correlation Matrix of All Variables in the Stepwise Multiple Regression

Table H Pearson Coefficient Correlation between each independent variable and perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care (n = 550, *p<.01)

Independent variables	Perceived fairness in the division of household labor and child care
<u>Wife's resources</u>	
Monthly income	-.19*
Relative monthly income	.02
Work hours/day	.15*
Relative work hours/day	.16*
<u>Wife's Gender ideology</u>	
<u>Wife's Outcome values</u>	
Feeling appreciated	.40*
Wife's ascription to Traditional women's roles	.15*
Ministering to family Needs	.14*
Family harmony	.14*
<u>Wife's Comparison's referents</u>	
Wife's value of housework	-.04
Within-gender comparisons	.34*
Between-gender comparisons	.04
<u>Wife's Justifications</u>	
Wife's standard of housework	-.07*
Men's incompetence at housework	-.06
Deciding together	.06
Wife's psychological well- Beings	-.22*

Table H Continued

<u>Marital quality</u>	
Disagreements	-.11*
Chance of divorce	-.25*
Spending time together	.31*
Marital happiness	.37*

Table G Correlations Matrix Among All Variables in the Stepwise Analysis on Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child care (n = 550)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	1.0																				
2	-.19*	1.0																			
3	.02	-.11*	1.0																		
4	.15*	-.25*	-.16*	1.0																	
5	.16*	-.01	.03	.32*	1.0																
6	-.06	.09**	-.04	-.10*	-.19*	1.0															
7	.40	-.16*	.01	.25*	.26*	-.08**	1.0														
8	.15*	-.14*	.05	-.08**	-.02	.02	.15*	1.0													
9	.14*	-.16*	.30*	-.08**	-.06	.11*	.25*	.46*	1.0												
10	.14*	.09**	.14*	.03	.11*	-.05	.31*	.26*	.40*	1.0											
11	-.04	.06	.12*	-.07*	.17*	.02	.18*	.24*	.26*	.38*	1.0										
12	.34*	-.15*	.17*	-.05	.19*	-.16*	.25*	.16*	.03	.05	.16*	1.0									
13	.04	-.20*	.09**	.001	-.03	-.10**	-.001	.22*	.05	.11*	.20*	.30*	1.0								
14	-.07*	-.07**	.03	-.05	-.05	.01	.003	.39*	.19*	.11*	.17*	-.07	.18*	1.0							
15	-.06	-.04	-.17*	-.09**	-.11*	-.02	.08**	.37*	.08**	.10**	.07	-.02	.16*	.61*	1.0						
16	.06	-.06	.14*	-.11*	.11*	-.02	.19*	.12*	.21*	.18*	.30*	.22*	.20*	-.09**	-.02	1.0					
17	-.22*	-.12*	.10**	.08**	.01	-.13*	-.21*	.17*	-.001	-.08**	-.02	-.18*	.05	.26*	.12*	-.08**	1.0				
18	-.11*	-.05	.10*	.15*	.15*	-.09**	-.14*	-.19*	-.15*	-.16*	-.03	-.10**	-.03	.09**	-.10**	-.05	.40*	.28*	1.0		
19	-.25*	.01	.09**	.02	.02	-.03	-.14*	.03	-.09**	.02	-.04	-.15*	.001	.21*	.09**	-.05	.49*	.28*	.37*	1.0	
20	.31*	-.16*	.09**	-.03	-.03	.05	.17*	.08**	.18*	-.03	.03	.13*	-.02	-.12*	.04	.07**	-.33*	-.16*	-.37*	.55*	1.0
21	.37*	-.06	.05	-.05	-.07	.03	.29*	.03	.17*	.04	-.01	.20*	.03	-.25*	-.09**	.11*	-.52*	-.37*	-.62*	.55*	1.0

*p<.01, ** p<.05

Appendix 6: Collinearity Statistics

Table I Collinearity Statistics of the Predictors in the Stepwise Multiple Regression of Perceived Fairness in the Division of Household Labor and Child care (n = 550)

Predictors	Collinearity Statistics Tolerance
Wife income	.844
Relative income	.882
Work hours/day	.882
Relative hours/day	.787
Gender ideology	.946
Feeling appreciated	.708
Wife's ascription to traditional women's roles	.772
Ministering to family needs	.644
Family harmony	.758
Wife's value of housework	.805
Within-gender comparisons	.875
Between-gender comparisons	.827
Wife's standard of housework	.546
Men's incompetence at housework	.836
Deciding together	.851
Wife's psychological well-being	.657
Disagreements	.797
Chance of Divorce	.604
Spending time together	.682
Marital happiness	.624