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Gendered Household Labor Distribution & Morality: Social & Moral Reasoning about
Household Chores in Chinese & South Korean Families

By

Allegra Joie Midgette

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Larry Nucci, Co-Chair
Professor Kris Gutiérrez, Co-Chair
Professor Laura Nelson

Spring 2019

Abstract

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by

Allegra Joie Midgette

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Larry Nucci, Co-Chair

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Scholars have found that while women across cultures do on average 66% of all household labor, only 20-30% of women find these gendered distributions unfair. As scholars concerned with moral development, gender equality, and household functioning, we need to study the processes underlying the observed tension between the apparent inequality in housework distribution and the belief by family members that such distribution is fair and acceptable. A limitation of previous research has been that scholars mainly focused on only one of the members of a household's evaluations of gendered housework and primarily concentrated their research within the United States. In order to address these methodological limitations, this dissertation employed interviews, surveys, and observations of family meal preparations to investigate all the members of 12 Chinese and 12 South Korean families' social and moral reasoning about their own households' labor distribution. Furthermore, the home is where children first begin to learn about issues of justice and gender. Therefore, developmental implications were explored through interviews and surveys with 133 children, half from each country, investigating how they made sense of their homes' division of housework as well as their developing understandings of fairness.

Consistent with previous research, mothers in both countries were reported as doing the majority of housework. As anticipated, Korean mothers were reported as spending more time on housework than Chinese mothers. In line with this finding, Korean children and parents were statistically more likely to find their own family's division as unfair compared to Chinese participants. However, consistent with previous findings, only 39.58% of parents in both countries found their own family's division as unfair. Surprisingly, while the great majority of children (81.2%) found a hypothetical scenario in which the mother did the majority of housework as unfair, children were split when it came to evaluating their own household, and only 47.7% of children found their family's division unfair. Interestingly, no gender differences in fairness evaluations were found. Unexpectedly, interviews revealed that 20.83% of parents found their division neither fair nor unfair, and instead believed that it was reasonable. Thematic analysis of family interviews revealed that many parents in both countries did not believe that fairness should be used to evaluate a family's division of housework. However, both children

and adults who evaluated their division as fair were more likely to employ time-availability as a rationale for why mothers did more housework.

This study's findings have several implications. One, children in both countries did not significantly differ from their parents in how they perceived the amount of each family member's involvement in their family's housework distribution. Two, equity served as a justification for considering smaller proportions of inequality fair, while larger inequalities were considered unfair. Therefore, rather than relying on conventional norms to accept inequality, individuals employed moral justifications in their evaluations of the fairness of a gender unequal household labor division. Three, children's and adults' evaluations and reasoning regarding hypothetical scenarios differed significantly from their assessments regarding their own family's situation. This suggests the need for future research to go beyond relying on only hypothetical scenarios to investigate individual's evaluations of social issues, since individuals may be less morally critical of real situations than previously suggested from studies relying solely on moral evaluations of hypothetical situations. Four, individuals do not appear to connect their individual experiences of inequality with structural inequities. Educational efforts to encourage critical thinking should consider both domain-based moral educational approaches as well as critical pedagogical approaches. Finally, the results suggest that previous research was misleading in the assertion that the majority of adults find their division fair. Instead, in at least 20% of the cases, adults in both countries are not evaluating their division through an assessment of fairness at all. Future research should investigate how individuals coordinate not only moral concerns of fairness and conventional norms, but also values of intimacy and affect, which may at times take precedence over moral considerations.

Dedication Page

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my father Andre Spencer Midgette and my brother Anis Milani. I also dedicate this labor of love to all of the women in the world who are laboring for their families.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Previous research on moral reasoning about gender inequality has demonstrated that men and boys reason differently about these issues than women and girls. When asked about issues of traditional gender norms (Studies in Israel and Benin, West Africa), gender stereotypic activities (USA), and social exclusion (USA), boys and men tend to employ mostly conventional, or norm affirming (e.g., this practice is okay because it is the way things are), reasoning (Conry-Murray, 2009; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Schuette & Killen, 2009; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994). In contrast, women and girls tend to employ more moral reasoning, arguing that such practices are unfair. In other words, men and boys tend to be more accepting of the exclusion, control, and subordination of girls and women. This does not mean that women and men are not both capable of being critical or accepting of gender inequality. Instead, these findings indicate that in general women and girls have been found to be more critical of cultural practices that disadvantage them. Social domain theorists have employed the finding that women are morally critical of cultural practices to support the contentions that cultures are heterogeneous (in Egypt, Israel, USA, women were documented as critical of certain gender-based practices; Abu-Lughod, 2008; Okin, 1989), that morality is used to evaluate unfair cultural practices, and that those in subordinate positions are aware of their subordination (Turiel, 2002).

In line with these claims of cultural heterogeneity, social domain theorists have pointed to empirical evidence (collected in the USA and Israel) indicating that those in powerful positions, such as men, are less critical of cultural practices that benefit them (Turiel, 2002; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994). These findings of intra-culture heterogeneity in moral judgments, which served as a critique of previous anthropological research that assumed universal agreement about cultural practices within a culture (Turiel, 2002), pose an interesting paradox for developmental accounts of moral psychology. Given that previous research has shown that individuals in different cultures, such as those living in China (Yau & Smetana, 2003), South Korea (Kim, 1998; Song, Smetana & Kim, 1987), Brazil (Nucci, Camino, & Sapiro, 1996), ¹Nigeria (Hollos, Leis, & Turiel, 1986), United States (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014), draw distinctions among moral, conventional, and personal considerations (Turiel, 1983), the question becomes, “Why are individuals in positions of power across societies less likely to be critical of unfair social practices?”. More specifically, *considering developmental psychological processes, why are men and boys less critical of gendered practices?* In the case of gender inequality this question of the uneven application of moral criteria to social practices is especially vexing given the close emotional relationships that often exist across gender. In other words, why don't males, more generally employ moral reasoning for considering issues that affect their wives, daughters, sisters, mothers and friends?

Researchers, in the field of gendered household labor distribution are facing a similar quandary. They have found that while American hetero-married women (across races, but no emphasis on class) do on average two-thirds of all household labor (in many cases this is in addition to being employed outside of the home), only 20-30% of women find these gendered distributions unfair (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998). This pattern is not only found within the United States. For example, in China, husbands on average do only 29.6% of the housework (Hsu, 2008). Zuo & Bian (2001) found that despite the fact that 90% of married women work in

¹ The study conducted in Brazil actually explored class differences, and found the distinction between these theoretical domains to also be present in the reasoning expressed by parents.

China, most couples saw husbands' unequal involvement as fair. In other words, women in these two situations are less critical about what is considered clearly gendered unequal practices than the scholarship expected them to be based on their being in subordinate positions directly experiencing disadvantages. The question this poses for the field is one that is addressed in the present research: *Why might members of a household, including the women, judge that a gendered housework distribution is fair?*²

Furthermore, feminist scholars have recognized that unequal distribution of household labor in the family may be a source of confusion for children growing up in such households (Okin, 1989). In fact, social domain theorists argue that children are able to make moral judgments about social situations because they observe the inherent consequences that moral issues invoke (Turiel, 1983). This line of reasoning has argued that since females are more likely to have "experienced" the effects of certain unfair practices they become more critical of such practices (Killen & Rutland, 2011). In other words, as Patricia Hill Collins has pointed out "people who are oppressed usually know it" (Collins, 1990, p.10). Clearly, both boys and girls in homes in which there are two different-gendered adults living with them, are privy to the gendered distribution of housework everyday. In their daily life children observe their parents engaging in housework and are able to discern which parent does most of the housework and which parent is most likely to engage in conflicts with them about doing the chores (Smetana, 2011). However, despite both girls and boys "experiencing" unequal distribution of labor in the home, research with American children has suggested that children are more likely to believe that women should do the double-duty of paid labor and unpaid labor at home (Sinno & Killen, 2009). In other words, a tension exists between children's experiences of inequality and the judgments made by children about their family's household labor.

The challenge for social scientists is to ascertain how family members are coming to seemingly accept apparent unequal distribution of gendered housework. In other words, as scholars concerned with issues of social and moral development, gender equality, and household functioning, there is a need to identify and study the processes underlying this seemingly contradictory set of findings. Previously, scholars have focused on "experience" or "view-point" or "cultural context" as reasons for why individuals in the same household may make at times distinct gendered moral judgments. However, a limitation of previous research has been that scholars mainly focused on only one of the members of a household's evaluations of gendered housework (mostly women) and focused their research within the United States. The present study explored *the viewpoints of all the members of a family as they employed social and moral reasoning about their own household's labor distribution*. The participants in this research were outside of the United States *in China and South Korea*. The reasons for selecting these particular cultural settings will be addressed below. It is argued that it is in studying the process of meaning making and coordination of both judgment and action within a family's own home in two different cultures that we can come a step closer to answering the questions: *Why might individuals differ in their moral judgments about the gendered distribution of housework? And, Why do some individuals think the gendered distribution of housework is fair?*

In conclusion, there is a need to study how individuals make moral judgments about apparent, near ubiquitous, unequal distribution of gendered housework. While it is clear is that

² Please note that previous scholarship tends to ask participants: do you think this is fair? Without asking for participant's definitions of fairness. Instead, there are a variety of external theories used as rationales for why participants may suggest their current division is fair. These theories are reviewed later on in this chapter.

many times women, girls, boys, and men make different judgments about similar gendered phenomena, there is a need to explore why this is the case. In the next section I review how a variety of scholars across fields have grappled with the issue of gendered household labor and issues of justice and equality in the home.

1.1 Literature Review

1.1.1 Developmental Perspectives on Social and Moral Reasoning

The dominant paradigm on the development of social and moral reasoning in the United States is social cognitive domain theory (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 1983; 2002). Based on over 40 years of research, social domain theory has found that children across a broad range of cultures differentiate between the conventions of society, personal needs and desires, and moral concerns having to do with human welfare, justice/fairness and rights (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 1983; 2002). The central thesis of social domain theory is that individuals construct three distinct domains of social knowledge: conventional, personal and moral. The moral domain has to do with issues of harm, fairness, and other obligatory standards of human welfare (Turiel, 1983). The conventional domain is based on social systems standards and norms and leads to “uniformities in behavior of members of ongoing social systems” (Turiel, 1983, p. 37). Finally, the personal domain describes an area that falls neither within societal convention, nor universal moral standards of conduct. In other words, according to Nucci (2009), privacy and personal choice are part of one’s personal domain: the personal domain refers to actions that form the private aspects of one life’s, such as contents of a diary, and issues that are matters of preference and choice. In daily life individuals engage in coordinating and balancing issues within these domains in their evaluations of social practices, such as household labor distribution. Furthermore, as children develop and reach adulthood they become more adept at coordinating considerations across domains in generating their moral judgments (Nucci, 2014).

According to social domain theory, the moral domain is developed as children observe and make judgments about the inherent features of certain acts in social events. In other words, children develop judgments through abstractions from participating in and observing social experiences (Turiel, 1983). This occurs as children note the results and consequences of actions on others that cause pain, other harmful effects as well as the positive experiences, and consequences resulting from engagement in positive moral actions such as sharing. At the same time, children also develop concepts of rights as freedoms stemming from the development of their personal domain (Helwig, Ruck & Peterson-Badali, 2014; Nucci, 2014). This developmental theory, assumes that the development of such concepts is universal, as they are considered to be a distinction such as mathematical-logical cognition, occurring as a result of the individuals experiences with material objects and other individuals (Turiel, 1983). While this theoretical framework is based on a neo-liberal, Euro-American tradition, it provides a developmental frame for thinking through potentially, why individuals across contexts are able to be critical of the oppressions that they experience in daily life.

While, studies in the development of the moral domain are incomplete and ongoing, current general findings indicate that younger children focus on concrete concepts and results of harm and welfare, develop the understanding of the difference between equality and equity, and as they get older they become more aware of the complexities and ambiguities of contextual variation in moral decision making (Nucci, 2014). Central to this theory is a recognition that individuals vary in their reasoning and decision making based on the information available to

them at the time (Wainryb, 1991), cultural norms that place greater or lesser emphasis on certain aspects of the situation (Conry-Murray, Kim, & Turiel, 2015), and previous experiences of violence and larger contexts (Posada & Wainryb, 2008). This also holds true for children's conceptions of rights, which as children develop become less abstract and more situated based on context (Helwig, Ruck & Peterson-Badali, 2014). Therefore, in general it has been found that as children develop they become progressively more adept at balancing and coordinating their personal goals and desires with conventional standards, moral concerns and other contextual factors (Nucci, 2014). Differences in coordination then, are posited to lead to differences in moral judgments.

In addition to coordination, informational assumptions, or assumptions about facts or reality, have been shown to lead to differences in moral judgments (Turiel, 2002; Wainryb, 1991). For example, Nucci (2001) points out that even the moral concept of "harm" can be defined and extended based on the information that others in a society provide about reality. Collective practices may suggest that certain activities, beyond those the child has experienced are also harmful. Experiences of harm may also be highlighted by the communication of others, including parents and adults. The child then takes this information into their moral understandings. This in turn may lead to extension of what gets included as harm. For example, obvious signs, like crying, may not accompany an action in which another child's "feelings are hurt." Adult provided information will extend the child's interpretation of similar events as entailing harm, and thus a cause for moral concern. In a similar fashion children can be informed by adults and peers that harm can be caused post-hoc, after the other person finds out what happened (Nucci, 2001). Another example of the impact of informational assumptions comes from research done by Shweder and colleagues (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1987). Their research describes how different cultural beliefs about social practices may result in differences in moral judgments, such as how their Indian participants in Orissa in the late 1980's, believed that certain behaviors, such as a widow eating fish, may have harmful consequences to the spirit of her deceased husband. Therefore, while at that time in the U.S. eating fish may be considered a personal decision (if non-vegetarian), in Orissa it is seen as a moral decision with potentially harmful consequences. In the case of considering fairness of household labor distribution, it is highly likely that current informational assumptions related to gender, such as "women are naturally better at taking care of the household" may also play a role in the formation of moral judgments (Sinno & Killen, 2011).

Only recently have researchers from the social domain framework begun to consider how children are evaluating and developing moral judgments about gender inequality (Sinno, Schuette, & Killen, 2014). The little research that has been done has been mainly conducted in the United States and has mostly focused on beliefs about gender roles, gender stereotyping, and gender norm violations (e.g., Can boys play with dolls?; Sinno, Schuette, & Killen, 2014). When it comes to the issue of parental labor distribution in the home, most of the research has focused on American children's and adolescent's reasoning regarding parental gender roles when it comes to the division of childcare responsibilities (Brose, Conry-Murray, & Turiel, 2013; Sinno & Killen, 2009). Research into this area has found that young children (2nd and 5th grade) endorse both mothers and fathers being breadwinners, however they are likely to find it more acceptable for mothers be homemakers than fathers (Sinno & Killen, 2009). Despite this, Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel (2017) found that most seven and ten-year-old children found it acceptable for a father to want to be a homemaker. As children age they have been found to employ more flexible reasoning and to use fewer stereotypes when justifying domestic roles (Sinno & Killen,

2009; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017). In general, however, children (5th grade), adolescents (8th grade), and young adults (undergraduates) appear to prefer if the mother were to be the primary caretaker regardless of work arrangement (Sinno, 2007).

Sinno and Killen (2009) found that in general American children viewed their parent's domestic roles in fairly stereotypic terms. In a related study, Schuette and Killen (2009) studied children's judgments about hypothetical stereotypical scenarios where parents engaging in gender stereotypic household chores (i.e., mothers cooking and fathers fixing the oil of the car) had to choose either their son or daughter for help. One hundred twenty children, 40 in each of the following three age groups: 5, 8, and 10-year-olds, across racial groups, from middle-class backgrounds were asked to decide whom the parent should ask. They found that children followed stereotypical expectations and used social-conventional reasoning involving gender norms to explain their decisions. Particularly of interest, they found that boys viewed family roles in more stereotypic terms than girls, and they theorized that it may be as a result of boys' desires to have more freedom in the home context. They also found that social-conventional reasoning and stereotypic expectations increased with age. In other words, younger children (5-year-olds) were less stereotypic than the older children. Using counter-choice situations as a method to see if children's reasoning would change if provided with another alternative (what if some other father asked his daughter to help him?) a statistically significant number (but not the majority of children) showed a change in reasoning, where they accepted the decision and used moral justifications. However, Schuette & Killen (2009) pointed out that future research should ask children about their "actual experiences with chores to investigate their experiential knowledge about the role of gender in the division of labor" (p. 707).

In another study, Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel (2013) extended Schuette & Killen's (2009) work to examine American adolescents' reasoning about parental gender roles regarding which parent should stay home and care for a sick child. They interviewed 38 middle-class 16-year-olds from a variety of racial backgrounds about three hypothetical scenarios where parents have to decide to go to work or stay to care for a sick child. In addition to analyzing gender differences they also varied the age of the sick child from infant to being a preschooler, as well as varying the income of the parents, with one of the scenarios having the mother make more, one with the father making more and one with them both making the same amount. The results were that adolescents thought the child's needs should come before the parent's personal choice to work. Following this, most participants identified the mother as the one who should care for the infant, but when the child was a preschooler whoever made less income was considered the one who should care for the child (providing pragmatic reasoning). In this way they found that conventional sex roles, including the belief that mothers are better caretakers influenced their reasoning. It also showed that the role of "economic power," or pragmatic reasoning in deciding who should stay home to take care of the child. Similarly to Schuette & Killen (2009), they found that boys were more supportive of traditional gender roles than the girls, and therefore were more likely to believe that the mother had more of a responsibility to take care of the child. This supported their hypothesis that boys and girls reason differently about gender inequality.

Beyond traditional gender divisions of caretaker or breadwinner, many parents have to take on the duty of both breadwinner and homemaker, also known as the second-shift. The second-shift has been primarily used as terminology within the housework distribution field to describe women's double-burden of working outside and doing housework (Hochschild, 1989). Sinno & Killen (2011) evaluated two hundred ten-year-old and 13-year-old children's reasoning about second-shift parenting. Participants came from a range of racial backgrounds and from

both middle class and lower class backgrounds. Through surveys participants were asked to evaluate two hypothetical scenarios. In one scenario the father was engaged in second-shift parenting, where he both works and does all of the care taking of the children. In the other scenario the mother is doing the second-shift parenting. Participants were asked to evaluate what they thought of the scenario, if it was good or bad, and to explain why. As expected, participants expected mothers to be the ones to take on the second-shift role, and when fathers were portrayed to take on the second-shift parenting role participants used moral reasoning and stated that it was unfair. In other words, participants thought it was unfair to burden the father with the second-shift parenting role, but did not apply the same reasoning to the situation if mothers were to be similarly burdened. Instead, some participants relied on gender stereotypes to rationalize their belief that it is better if a mother does the second-shift of parenting.

Sinno & Killen (2011) also found significant age-related shifts in the application of moral and conventional reasoning that varied as a function of the gender of the parent. When considering the benefits of specific arrangements for the family in general, there was an increase with age in judgments focusing upon the importance of convention. This increased use of social-conventional reasoning was applied to mothers engaging in second-shift parenting, but not fathers. In other words, it was considered better for the functioning of the family (conventional reasoning) for the mother to do the second-shift. On the other hand, when reasoning from the perspective of the parent doing the second-shift the focus on moral reasoning increased with age. At the same time, however, participants considered it to be more unfair for the father to take the second-shift role than the mother. Although they had an even number of male and female participants, they did not explore potential gender differences.

Family structure and larger community context has also been found to influence children's evaluations and reasoning (Sinno & Killen, 2009; 2011; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017). Children from families in which mothers worked full-time or part-time were more likely to use moral reasoning and consider it unfair that the mother does the second-shift parenting (Sinno & Killen, 2011). On the other hand, children with only their father's working were more likely to employ social conventional reasoning when considering the mother's situation. In general when evaluating second-shift parenting as an arrangement in the family, individuals who reported that both their parents shared equally caretaking roles were more likely to employ moral reasoning, while individuals who had their mothers do most of the caretaking were more likely to employ conventional reasoning. Children who came from homes in which the mother was mainly a homemaker were more likely to find it unacceptable that a father be a homemaker and to hold gender stereotypic beliefs (Sinno & Killen, 2009).

Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel (2017) found that children from metropolitan centers, and from non-traditional families (mother also worked) were more likely to judge it acceptable that a mother wanted to become a breadwinner. Children from military-minded communities were more likely to use social conventional reasoning and to emphasize the importance of family functioning and convention when reasoning about parental gender-role negotiation. In other words, the division within the child's own family and the broader context in which they live in influence their evaluations and reasoning regarding parental distributions of labor.

The only study to my knowledge, that has directly studied individuals' evaluations regarding couple's engagement in housework from a social domain perspective, explored young adults reasoning from both Euro-Canadian and Asian-Canadian backgrounds. Gere & Helwig (2012) explored both European and Asian Canadian young college students' (N=224) reasoning regarding gender roles within the family through questionnaires and found that in general male

young adults were more likely in general to endorse traditional gender roles. However, when presented with the only item regarding housework “A husband should share equally in household chores if his wife works full time” both genders and both ethnic groups were likely to agree with this statement and use justifications that supported an egalitarian division. Both women and men used the same reasons for justifying their endorsement of egalitarian division, but women were found to be more likely to use fairness (references to ideas of equality and fairness) as a justification, while men were more likely to use the social organization, stating the current organization of society requires sharing (since women work they don’t have time to do housework, and so men have to share), well-being of the individual or the family, and the simple justification that things would be equal. In other words, when endorsing equal division men were more likely to rely on social conventional reasoning (women are working so don’t have as much time) where sharing was needed based on the organization of society), while women were more focused on the moral aspect of the situation (e.g., it is not fair for women do all the chores).

Gere & Helwig’s (2012) work also suggested that while both Asian and European Canadian young adults were more likely to endorse egalitarian statements, when it came to endorsing traditional role divisions in the family Asian young adults were more likely to justify such divisions based on social convention and gender stereotypes. Asian young adults were also found to be more likely to see traditional gender roles as positive both for familial well-being and the individual. However when justifying support for egalitarian divisions, Asian young adults were more likely to use biology and fairness as a justification while European young adults were more likely to use justifications based on social organizations that require equal divisions, personal choice, or similar capabilities between women and men.

To date, no study has directly explored how children and adolescents evaluate and reason regarding situations involving all of the family member’s behavior in dividing housework. Previous investigation has suggested that boys may hold more traditional evaluations than girls (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013; Schuette & Killen, 2009), that stereotypical thinking decreases with age in some contexts (Schuette & Killen, 2009), that children and adolescents are more likely to employ social conventional reasoning when evaluating mother’s gender roles than fathers, and that family structure, community context, and culture may influence moral evaluations and reasoning. This is a new area of study within the social domain approach, which came as a result of Goodnow’s (2004) call to bring in children’s perspective of the inequalities that have been documented at home. Therefore the focus of all of these studies has been exclusively on children’s reasoning instead of the whole family’s, or parents’ reasoning. Furthermore, so far the main method employed by this field has relied on hypothetical scenarios to explore children’s and adolescents’ reasoning about gendered household labor distribution. Scholars in this area have emphasized the need to for future research to explore how children are making sense of their day to day experiences as well as exploring the impact of other contextual factors, such as parent’s beliefs and the potential role that culture plays (Schuette & Killen, 2009).

1.1.2 Adults Judgments of Fairness about Housework

Research into adult’s reasoning about fairness recognizes that perception of the housework itself plays a central role (Coltrane & Shih, 2010; Goodnow, 2004). This conclusion emerged as a result of findings that the lack of the expected 50-50 divide of housework in most households is not considered to be unfair. Instead most American women (~70%) and even more men regard “unequal” divisions of labor fair (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998). As a result

researchers have engaged in studying a variety of factors that may be influencing how spouses are perceiving the “apparent” inequality in the home. Mikula(1998) points out, correctly, that most of the previous literature has primarily focused on women’s evaluations. With this caveat in mind, let us turn to a summary of empirical studies in this area.

Research into the evaluations of fairness of household labor distribution can be divided into two main approaches: fairness as connected to the actual division of labor and fairness as connected to the symbolic and relational aspects of housework (Nordenmark & Nyman, 2003). Research linking evaluations of the fairness of housework to actual housework distribution has followed the four main explanations also used to understand the reason for the unequal division of housework: time-availability, relative resource, economic dependence, and gender ideologies (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008; Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). According to a time-availability approach, whoever has the most time available will be the person to perform more housework (Becker, 1974). This choice is perceived to follow human capitalistic rational decision-making based on available time between market based and domestic work (Becker, 1974; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2000; Brines, 1993). This approach has been supported by some of the evidence, which has found that wives who have employment outside the home are more likely to have husbands who engage in a more fair division of housework (Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In other words, it is suggested that because women work fewer hours of paid work in general they are the ones to do most of the housework (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Coltrane, 2000).

In a similar vein, the relative resource approach suggests that the spouse who earns more does less housework (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014). This approach sees income as a resource that is employed by spouses to negotiate their involvement in housework (Brines, 1993). In testing out this theory it is assumed that the spouses’ absolute earnings will be what influences the distribution of housework. While income is normally considered the main resource, other resources a spouse can bring to the relationship includes education and social status (Davis & Greenstein, 2004). It is further assumed that housework is something considered by both spouses as something one wishes to “buy out of” (Brines, 1993, p.307). From this perspective spouses are always open to more negotiation, but since women in general bring “fewer” resources to the marriage they have less bargaining power (Greenstein, 2000). In general research has supported this approach and found that wives’ contributions to household income is related to the division of housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

The third main theory also follows an economic perspective, suggesting that women do most of the housework as a result of their being more likely to be economically dependent on their husbands (Brines, 1994).³ Similar to the previous approach, the spouse who earns less and is therefore more economically dependent on their spouse is expected to do more of the housework as part of their “duty” (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014). However, this perspective does not also hold true for husbands in the same way as it does for wives. While some research does support the idea that wives who are more economically dependent on their husbands do more housework, husbands who are more economically dependent on their wives

³ This economic framework is supposedly gender neutral in its approach. It also ignores issue of race, class, dis/ability, sexuality, and their intersections. However, as Glenn (2010) has pointed out, the home is a space that has been characteristically imagined with the US white-middle class context, as a space for women to do the care work, with the expectation by the state that women labor for their husbands.

do not necessarily do more housework (Brines, 1994; Greenstein, 2000). Brines (1994) found that men who are at either extreme of dependence do much less housework, while those closer to having equal share in providing household income are more likely to do more housework. Brines (1994) argues this to be as a result of traditional gender norms, where husbands attempt to have a traditional household as a way of continuing their gender display. Greenstein (2000) replicated Brines' findings, and suggested instead that spouses' amount of housework is linked to neutralizing deviant identity linked to gender expectations both at home and in the career space.

All of the above "theories" have been criticized for being gender neutral and for overemphasizing the importance of the economics to decision making (Brines, 1993; Coltrane, 2000). In fact, while all the theories do have some explanatory power, American women who work, have a higher paying job, and are not dependent on their husbands are still more likely to do the housework (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014; Brines, 1993; Coltrane, 2000; Hochschild, 1989; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). More recently, research has been supporting the idea that gender ideology or the beliefs about how to "do" or construct gender has a large influence on the actual distribution of labor in the home (Greenstein, 2000). Scholars who study gender ideology have normally assumed a socialization perspective on gender. Feminists have pushed back against this view, and have suggested that theorizing take a more performative perspective, where gender is seen as constructed in action (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). From this perspective beliefs about doing gender that see masculinity as connected with the role of being an economic provider, or the belief that women should be responsible for the home influences the housework performance by gender (Coltrane, 2000). On the other hand, both women and men who have more egalitarian gender ideologies are more likely to have a more equitable share of housework (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). This perspective is helpful for understanding how gender expectations may explain men's low involvement in the housework and why women may not try to negotiate out of their expected gendered involvement in housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). However, Bianchi and colleagues (2000) have suggested that husbands' egalitarian ideologies do not necessarily lead to an increase in their own housework, just a decrease in their wives' housework.

Research into the evaluations of fairness of housework division has found that the factors identified by each of the above explanatory approaches play a role in fairness evaluations. Spouses who share the housework, women who make more money, who have higher education, and who have more equitable gender ideologies are more likely to perceive unequal sharing as unfair (Greenstein, 2009; Jansen, Weber, Kraaykamp & Verbakel, 2016). Macro factors have also been found to influence perception of fairness, with countries that are more egalitarian having more men and women who think housework should be shared equally (Greenstein, 2009; Jansen, Weber, Kraaykamp & Verbakel, 2016). Although the findings are varied, Coltrane (2000) suggests that proportion of the housework that the husband does it the greatest predictor in a wife's evaluation of fairness.

More recently, empirical work has turned to cognition and how adults are giving meaning to housework. In this work, researchers have found that perception of appreciation for housework strongly correlated with perception of unfairness of the household labor division (Mikula, 1998; Mikula & Freudenthaler, 2002). Within approaches that consider issues of fairness of housework distribution related to symbolic and relational aspects, the most dominant theory is the distributive justice framework (Jansen, Weber, Kraaykamp & Verbakel, 2016). According a distributive justice framework, three factors are considered to contribute to a sense

of fairness: comparison references, outcome values, and justifications (Thompson, 1991). Comparison reference refers to the standard that individuals use to evaluate their situation. In other words, who is the wife or husband comparing themselves to? Is it feasible to receive what one desires? Outcome values means the desired outcome, what the individual wants or values from a situation or relationship. And finally, justifications refer to evaluations of how appropriate is the method or reason that created the current conditions one is facing. In other words, is the cause for inequality justifiable? Research in this area has shown that a simple rule of equality as 50:50 is considered impersonal, and that intra-gender and inter-gender comparisons are important (Nordenmark & Nyman, 2003). While this framework has been helpful in understanding fairness evaluations, its main limitation is that it focuses only on wives' perceptions (Nameda, 2013; Öun, 2013).

Issues of fairness in housework are also related to macro level factors such as egalitarian countries versus non-egalitarian as well as micro issues such as gender ideologies (Greenstein, 2009). One argument has been made that time-availability, resource dependence and gender ideology may be used by individuals themselves to "legitimize" the inequality they see in their homes (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008). Another method of legitimization connects to the macro-context, where individuals comparing one's situation to others in a country where most women work and have husbands who share more equitably would most likely see unequal sharing as unfair. In fact, Öun (2013) found that out of the 22 countries studied, countries in which gender equality⁴ was endorsed, men and women became more concerned with equality in the household. Indeed, Greenstein (2009) has argued that perceptions of fairness is situated in national context, to the extent that for women living in a low gender egalitarian country the extent of inequality of housework has very little effect on their perceptions of fairness. Greenstein (2009) goes so far as to suggest that individual gender ideology has no statistical significance when macro national levels of gender equality are considered. However, Greenstein's (2009) findings were based on survey materials collected only from wives' perspectives. Furthermore, it is difficult to separate gender ideologies held by individuals from those "generally" held.

In summary, it can be said with certainty that a variety of factors, both macro and micro, influence spouses' judgments about the fairness of the inequality of their household labor distribution (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008; Coltrane, 2000; Greenstein, 2009). In fact, outside of the factors previously mentioned, other factors such as sense of entitlement (Mikula, 1993), how important the marriage is, how loving their husband is outside of doing housework, also affect wives' judgments about the fairness of housework distribution (Coltrane, 2000). While, Mikula's (1998) overall review suggests that cognition methods, or the ways in which individuals are giving symbolic meaning to the activity of household labor is better able to predict and understand judgments about fairness than analysis of the time or effort required to do the housework itself, the multi-varied reasoning and multiplicity of factors connected with evaluations of fairness in the distribution of labor suggests difficulty in capturing wives and husbands' actual reasoning.

Overall, previous empirical work on the fairness evaluation of housework distribution has suggested some important factors, but has had several methodological limitations. As Mikula(1998) points out in his review, most of the work has studied which "variables" can

⁴ In these approaches gender equality is normally assessed based on Gender Empowerment Measures, which indicates women's opportunities for employment, economic power, and participation in politics (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

affect these judgments of fairness through regression analysis. Furthermore, most studies are unclear about their definitions of fairness or justice, and can confuse satisfaction with a sense of fairness. In other words, research into the “fairness” of housework division, has not had a clear theoretical definition nor a definite measurement (Coltrane, 2000). I argue that a unified theoretical framework that considers both spouses’ reasoning in a holistic and unified sense and differentiates between societal knowledge, personal preferences, and moral evaluations of fairness is needed. To truly understand individuals’ reasoning about whether a practice is fair or not, there is a need to understand how individuals are coordinating their distinct understandings of social reality, and how their judgments are connected to their evaluations of the social practices that they are engaging in as a whole.

In addition, several researchers are beginning to suggest that housework should be considered as a process, not as a fixed overall method (Mikula, 1998). In particular Goodnow (1998) suggests that perceptions of fairness are tied to the distribution of particular tasks and the use of particular procedures. Mikula, Freudenthaler, Brennacher-Kroll, and Schiller-Brandl(1997) suggest that the relationships and feelings within the family also influence perceptions of equality. In other words, “housework” is not a totality, but includes meaning making of particular tasks that are done and negotiated in certain ways within particular relationships within a family. Approaching the issue of the fairness of housework division through considering the process of meaning making and the differing values and emotions connected to this division as part of larger system is promising and goes well with methodology suggested in activity theory (reviewed later in methodologies) which suggests looking at various activity systems, such as the home, as a space involving various processes of negotiation and construction of meaning making (Engeström, 2014).

In summary, presently, there is little agreement about the “why” in evaluations of fairness in household labor division. Research using social domain theory has only explored American children’s reasoning about gender inequality in the home. As a result, research on adult’s social and moral reasoning from this theoretical framework is “missing.” On the other hand, household labor studies have focused primarily on Euro-American adult’s (mainly women’s) evaluations of fairness of their spouse’s involvement in housework using primarily rationalistic models. Both fields have also mainly employed surveys and quantitative analysis, with relatively few studies using interviews exploring deeper reasoning. At the same time, both fields recognize the importance of studying individuals cognition in context, in particular as researchers argued during the 2000’s, the allocation of household labor can not be thoroughly understood without taking into account the cultural context in which individuals are part of (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In fact, most of the work within this field has been done in Western countries (Greenstein, 2009; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In the next section I will briefly explore what little research has been done outside the United States on evaluations of fairness of housework distribution and move on to explain my choice in studying China and South Korea.

1.1.3 Researching Household Labor in the East Asian Context

“There is a dearth of internationally comparative studies on issues of perceived equity in the division of household labor” (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008, p.1146). Although the near universality of the unequal gendered distribution of housework is uncontested (Jansen, Weber, Kraaykamp & Verbakel, 2016), for example research has found that women do most of the housework in most European countries (Kil, Neels & Vergauwen, 2016), and in East Asian countries (Hsu, 2008; Oshio, Nozaki & Kobayashi, 2013), it remains to be seen if

individuals in different countries are making the same judgments for the same reasons about this near universal phenomenon. In this section I provide a brief overview of how scholars have attempted to push research beyond a focus on American households, explain my rationale for why I chose to study China and Korea, and then provide a brief review of the literature related to these two countries.

Almost all of the cross-national research that has been published in English of gendered household labor division has focused on macro-level variables such as economic and political structures, or have tested the economically driven theoretical explanations described previously, such as time-availability or relative resources (Cooke & Baxter, 2010; Fuwa, 2004; Hsu, 2008). Research conducted cross-culturally has normally employed large-scale quantitative surveys collecting participants' ideologies in addition to their reported experiences of housework division and then compared these to national differences in policies and market economies. In fact, it has become clear in the past decade that macro factors interact with individual level factors. A central point emerging from this work is that negotiations in individual homes are more likely to be successful in countries that are more egalitarian, defined according to Gender Empowerment Measures, which indicates women's opportunities for employment, economic power, and participation in politics (Fuwa & Cohen, 2007; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). This core finding has led researchers to emphasize the need for individuals and their families to be studied within their greater social and cultural contexts (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In addition, a review of the research done in the first decade of the 21st century has shown that most research trying to explain inequality of the home has focused on quantitative methodology. This has led critics to argue that "to gain a better understanding of the meanings that people attach to their division of labor patterns, more qualitative research needs to be conducted" (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010, p. 778).

The above review suggests that performing mixed method or qualitative research on both men and women's reasoning about household labor division in almost any country outside of the United States would be addressing a gap in the literature. Moreover, current research has established that a gendered division of household work occurs almost universally (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008; Cooke & Baxter, 2010), while the exact nature of that division varies by country and even by household (Fuwa, 2004; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Thus, there is good reason to engage in cross-cultural research employing mixed methods to explore the interaction of micro-level and macro-level factors involved in the production and alteration of gendered household labor distribution. Beyond exploring "difference" and "similarity," a well-implemented study of how individuals make sense of gendered housework in different countries can elucidate and expand our knowledge, impacting how scholars in the field think about gendered inequality in housework as both a cultural and location-specific phenomenon and a near-universal problem.

In this dissertation I examined how households in China and South Korea make sense of the potential inequality in the gendered distribution of housework. Previous studies in these two countries have typically employed the rationale that it is useful for Western scholars to study non-Western countries or cultures (Hsu, 2008; Kim, 2009), or that China is the "most populous nation in the world" (Leong, Chen & Bond, 2015, p. 78). When these two East Asian countries are studied together, the argument has normally followed that they should be studied together because they are both influenced by Confucianism (Hsu, 2008; Oshio, Nozaki, Kobayashi, 2013). Scholars in both the feminist, anthropologist, cultural psychological, and developmental fields have become critical of generalizing whole populations of individuals based on

geographical, racial, historical, gendered, economic similarities (Mohanty, 2003; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Turiel, 2002). At the same time, scholars in these same fields have acknowledged the usefulness and importance of studying practices, belief systems, and development in general in different “contexts” (Cole, 1998; Kim, 2009). One of these reasons comes from the recognition that there is human diversity, and that cultural practices vary in time and space (Saxe, 2012).

I, the researcher, a cis-hetero female mixed-race Brazilian-American, growing up both in Spain, Brazil, and different states in the USA, place myself in this field as someone who also believes that there is inherent value in studying variances and similarities of human experience and development across contexts. An additional reason that I have elected to move away from studying the United States comparatively with another country stems from a feminist desire to decenter (Mohanty, 2003) American narratives and center other experiences. With this reason in mind, my justification for studying China and Korea can be said to be twofold.

One, as a researcher I have studied the languages, learned some of the customs, and taken the necessary steps to familiarize myself with the historical and current conditions of these two countries. At the same time, as a researcher in these two countries I would be a peripheral learner (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003), where both the participants and myself are aware that I am a “learner” at that particular time and therefore do not speak from a place of authority, but instead as of a student. The second reason follows from my desire to capture the diversity of human experience as people engage in cultural practices distinct from those that are familiar to most of the researchers in the field of gendered housework division in the United States. In addition, I chose to study both China and Korea because I hope to be more nuanced in my analysis of how different households in these two countries make sense of gendered housework, and move away from the temptation to generalize these practices as “Asian,” “East Asian,” or as a direct result of Confucianism. China is a large country with 56 distinct ethnicities, and many regional cultures and dialects, and South Korea also has diverse regional cultures, dialects, and histories. Therefore, the research I am engaged in will not be representative of “China” or “Korea,” but instead will be specific to the families I will study in the urban center of Changchun and Seoul. I am assuming that since gendered housework in these two countries is experienced differently (Hsu, 2008; Oshio, Nozaki, Kobayashi, 2013), individuals engaged in housework will also make sense of these experiences differently.

Contextualizing localities. While I will go more in-depth in the following chapters, it is important to keep in mind the larger context from which I will be talking to my participants. China has a population of a little over 1.3 billion living within its borders (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011). Meanwhile, South Korea has a population of 51.44 million people (Statistics Korea, 2018). Any venture into describing these countries’ historical and socio-cultural context is by necessity summative and superficial, and needs specificity. Briefly summarized, it can be agreed that the main reviews conclude that the socio-historical factors that influence both country’s current general approach to the family are Confucianism and shifts in policies and approaches to social and economic development.

Confucianism, a “worldview, a social ethic... a way of life,” has traditionally impacted various aspects of Chinese life (Tu, 1998, p.3). While the influence of Confucianism in China has grown and waned throughout the 2,000 years since it first began, there is no doubt that it still has implications for Chinese people’s daily lives to this day (Tu, 1998). The aim of Confucianism was to allow people to live in harmony through a process of self-realization and

self-cultivation (Tu, 1998). Within this greater context, the role of the family was seen as a central location for self-cultivation and learning how to be human. This was particularly through the role of filial piety, where children respected and revered their parents for providing them with life. The family was seen as a place where children learned to embody ideals that allowed them to move away from self-centeredness (Tu, 1998). At the same time, traditionally, self-development was seen as part of the goals of the family in the case of men, as men would be the ones to continue the family's name. In the case of women, "her personal development may conflict with the responsibilities traditionally assigned to her by marriage" (Shen, 2004, p.249).

Therefore, traditional Confucian families included a value system in which family roles were specifically determined and assigned by age and gender. Traditionally Chinese families followed a patriarchal (male dominated), patrilineal (male inherits property), and patrilocal (family lives in male's hometown) system (Santos & Harrell, 2017). Within this system, through the combination of filial piety and respect for elders, male seniors had most of the power within the family. This familiar system was also reflected in the political spheres—"the ideal of the relationship between emperor and subjects was modeled on that between father and son or parents and children.... domestic and extra domestic structures reinforced each other" (Santos & Harrell, 2017, p.11).⁵ This particular family system was supported by larger social structures that legally supported the property ownership passing down from father to son.

Santos and Harrell's (2017) analyses of patriarchy in Chinese families points out that age and gender interacted differently and was inconsistent: "Confucian maxims held that a woman should always be subordinate to a man—to her father when young, to her husband when adult, and to her son when old—and at the same time that the primary obligations of a son were to both his parents" (p.11). This allowed for power to be available to women once they aged, as mothers and mothers-in-law. However, this power was primarily within the family's domestic domain. This is in keeping with the old Chinese adage "Men outside/women inside." Women were expected to care for family affairs, while men worked outside. In sum, traditionally, Chinese families were hierarchically organized by age and by gender. Confucianism supported the hierarchy of the family through the emphasis of filial piety, requiring obedience to those older and male.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the family as a social institution, as well as the values placed on hierarchy and gender were greatly changed/challenged. From 1949 until 1977, China was under the Maoist era (Santos & Harrell, 2017). During this era, the Party had gender equality as one of its goals, which resulted in the 1950 Marriage Law which allowed adult children to choose their own partner (previously parents arranged marriages), and outlawed prostitution, child betrothal, and polygamy (Davis & Harrell, 1993). In contemporary China there is a series of contradictions in the family, along with rapid economic development, and women's high participation in the labor force legacy from the socialist period, there is also the resurgence of traditional Confucian values such as filial piety for the continued care of the elderly and the continued gendered expectations of women taking care of the family (Ji, Wu, Sun & He, 2017).

⁵ As Santos & Harrell (2017) point out in their well-argued introduction, the family and gender is produced through the interaction of various structures, such as the military and political positions only being available to men allowed for men to have more decision making power in the family. Though not reviewed here, it should be noted that other gendered traditions, such as foot binding also influenced women's position in the home. It was only in during China's Republican era (1919-1949) that foot binding was abolished and women began entering the industrial workforce.

Changchun (长春), meaning Long Spring in English, is a city located in the northeast of China, capital of Jilin Province. Changchun is a 2nd tiered city, with a population a little less than 8 million. Within China, the northeastern region is considered more traditional than other parts of China, especially when it comes to issues of gender. Moreover, Seoul, with a population of 10.29 million is the capital of South Korea. Seoul, like Changchun, is an urban center, which matches the experiences of most of the Korean population as the overwhelming majority (88.3 %) of Koreans live in urban settings (Young & Walsh, 2011).

In South Korea (hereafter written Korea)⁶, on the other hand, there has been a trend of more late marriages and no marriages at all. In 2016, Koreans had a 7% decline in marriages from 2015. This is as a result of an increasing belief, according to the media and popular opinion, that women have negative ideas about marriage (Salugsusan, 2017). This phenomenon is in keeping with the general lag between Korea's fast economic development, and the slow changes within the family regarding gender roles (Park, Lee-Kim, Killen, Park, & Kim, 2011). In keeping with this, South Korea in particular, has a relatively high Human Development Index (HDI) and the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) (Lee & Park, 2011). However, South Korea has been found to have one of the lowest male participation rates in housework out of 29 OECD countries (OECD, 2008/2009). Over the past thousand years, South Korea has been influenced by Chinese Confucianism, and has been considered as embracing Confucian traditions to a greater extent than the Chinese (Hyun, 2001). Confucianism has been particularly powerful in the realm of Korean families, where the emphasis has been on child bearing, and the social relationship expectations between husbands and wives (Park & Cho, 1995). Korean feminist scholar Lee(2005) points out that there is a "basic understanding of the Korean traditional culture as a patriarchal culture is the common premise of Women's studies in Korea" (p.70). She also points out that similar to the public/private spheres criticized by Western feminists, in Korea there was also a "distinction of space for the two aspects of life and activities to be conducted in each, according to gender" (p.81).

1.1.4 Research on Housework Distribution in China & South Korea

While not as abundant as research in the United States, previous empirical research published in English done on Chinese and South Korean gendered household labor division has demonstrated some important patterns. Oshio, Nozaki & Kobayashi (2013) collected surveys in 2006 from spouses in China(N=2,346), Japan(N=997) and Korea (N= 990) on their engagement in housework and their satisfaction with their marriage. They reported that 90% of married women in China worked outside of the home, while in Korea 50% of married women worked. Chinese couples were found to share the most equitably out of the three countries. Chinese husbands were reported to do 29.6% of the housework compared to Korean husbands (18.4%). It was found that higher share of housework was negatively associated with higher marital dissatisfaction only in Korea. In general, the findings suggest that Chinese couples are more egalitarian, while Korean couples are less egalitarian in their housework division, and Korean husbands are more likely to be in favor of divisions of labor where women do most of the housework.

⁶ North Korea is likely to have very different patterns of housework and of moral reasoning around it, but as far as I know no studies on this topic have been carried out in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In a mixed method dissertation study conducted on gender and household labor distribution in China, South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, Hsu(2008) found similar patterns as described above. In this study Hsu (2008) used both the traditional survey data collected from the East Asian Social Survey (EASS) carried out in 1997 and the 2002 Family and Changing Gender Roles III of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) along with a series of interviews. Descriptive analysis of the surveys suggested that Chinese wives spend 24 hours per week on housework, while Chinese husbands report spending 8 hours. Korean wives report spending 26 hours per week on housework, while husbands reported spending 2 hours (For purposes of comparison, in the U.S. women spend 13.5 hours per week on housework while men report doing 6.5 hours). Based on statistical analysis of the quantitative data, Hsu(2008) found that although South Korean women do most of the household labor, the more income a wife earns relative to her husband the less housework she does. However, neither Korean women's paid hours nor gender attitudes are related to their actual participation in housework. Furthermore, Korean wife's income does not affect the housework that their husbands do. Only the husband's education was associated with husbands' increased contribution to household labor. Meanwhile, Chinese husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes were found to influence how much housework they did.

As mentioned above, Hsu(2008) was also one of the few researchers to include interviews as part of the data collection across countries. Hsu interviewed eleven South Korean and eleven Chinese participants. From these interviews Hsu (2008) found that the most labor-intensive household work for Korean and Chinese participants was to prepare meals. However, Chinese participants reported eating out more often than Korean participants. Hsu found that although most of the wives reported doing most of the housework, half of the Korean participants rejected the gender division of labor. Korean wives were reported to ask their husbands for help if needed, and husbands reported being willing to help in household tasks including washing dishes, cleaning the house and preparing meals. Chinese husbands were found to also be willing to help with household tasks, though they also maintained traditional gender roles. In addition, those participants who did accept gender division of household labor expressed the importance of prioritizing family and children, believing that the family is the responsibility of the wife. Therefore, although a level of contradiction is present in the accounts of individuals reasoning and experiences, even in the same household, the general trend is one in which Chinese and South Korean couples describe the division of their household's labor to be based on gender differences. How these contradictions are considered through a moral lens was not addressed in this research.

Research on Chinese household's perspective of the fairness of division of labor is also relatively scarce. Zuo & Bian (2001) investigated 39 Chinese married couples' opinions of the fairness of housework division through in-depth interviews. They suggest that although wives still do most of the housework, despite the fact that 90% of women work in China, most couples saw this as fair. The reason for this perspective was theorized to be as a result of gender-role expectations, and the power that doing gendered housework provides wives who may be seen as demasculinizing their husbands by working outside the home or working on non-feminine jobs. It was suggested that gendered resources, such as providing income for husbands and housework for women was more important in deciding a sense of fairness than the unequal distribution of housework.

In support of these findings, other research has found that while Chinese households have relatively egalitarian levels of housework distribution, they are in general more traditional in

terms of their gender ideologies than American households (Wang, Schoebi, & Perrez, 2010). As a result, Chinese households provide a paradox for the theories that suggest gender ideologies are the most important micro-factor in household labor divisions (Leong, Chen & Bond, 2015).

Wang, Schoebi and Perrez (2010) suggest that not all American theoretical models can be used for the Chinese context, and that cultural ideologies and cultural practices, such as the fact that in Chinese families elders, such as grandparents also help with housework need to be considered.

In a similar vein, Kim (2009) argues that when considering gendered housework in South Korea and the United States, it is important to move away from economic models of explanations and to take a more feminist approach. Kim (2009) suggests the importance of gender ideologies, larger institutions such as schools, social and cultural customs, and avoidance of conflict all influence inequality of gendered housework. At the same time, a study exploring Korean fathers' involvement in housework suggests that while gender ideology is important, it is mediated by the very long hours that Koreans are expected to work (Moon & Shin, 2015). In other words, researchers studying both China and Korea are suggesting that the diversity in contexts and experiences need to be further explored.

In summary, previous research on Chinese and Korean housework distribution has found Chinese husbands to be more egalitarian than Korean husbands. However, wives in both countries still do most of the housework. Both wives and husbands tend to find the division of labor fair; however men tend to find it fairer than women. Research in this area is relatively new, and much less has been studied about how spouses are reasoning about housework distributions. An in-depth analysis of how married couples make sense of these divisions, the reasons they use, is rarely present.

1.1.5 Research on Children's Evaluations of Family Gendered Practices

In addition, little to no research exists on children's evaluations of the fairness of these gendered housework practices. Instead, researchers have recently begun to study Chinese children's involvement in housework. Research has found that fathers' involvement in housework influences boys' involvement in housework but not girls (Hu, 2015). However, research on children's thinking about housework is relatively scarce. Researchers suggest the need to study both behavior and ideologies to understand "the factors that impeded Chinese females from translating egalitarian domestic gender values into behavior" (Hu, 2015, p. 1140). As for Korean children, research on their involvement on housework or their perspectives of gendered housework division is almost non-existent. However, social domain research has found that South Korean children ages 5, 7, 9 who evaluated hypothetical gender norm violations were less accepting than American children (Conry-Murray, Kim, & Turiel, 2015). In other words, consistent with the research described above, South Korean children may be more accepting of gender norms.

Prior research exploring Korean and Chinese children's reasoning regarding parental gender roles and housework is scarce. Previous research has shown that Korean and Chinese children make the same social domain distinctions found by social domain theorists in the USA (Kim, 1998; Park et al., 2012; Yau & Smetana, 2003), and that they coordinate these domains when considering social issues, such as democratic and authority-based decision making (Helwig, Arnold, Tan & Boyd, 2003), parent-adolescent conflict (Smetana, 2011), judgments regarding peer exclusion (Park, Killen, Crystal & Watanabe, 2003) and gender norms violations in the case of helping another (Conry-Murray, Kim & Turiel, 2015). However, the research has rarely turned to children's evaluations of parental behavior in the home.

Despite research findings that Korean parents have more traditional gender beliefs than American parents (Conry-Murray, Kim, & Turiel, 2015) and Japanese parents (Sagara & Kang, 1998), a study into the social and moral reasoning of Korean children has found that they morally evaluate parental restrictions that are gender-stereotypic (Park et al., 2012). Park and colleagues (2012) investigated third (9-year-olds) and sixth grade (12-year-olds) Korean students' evaluations of whether a parent was allowed to prevent a child from engaging in counter-gender-stereotypic activities, such as preventing a daughter from playing soccer. The majority of children found this to be wrong, and used moral reasoning to justify their evaluation. Girls and older children were more likely to judge the parent's decision to exclude a child based on gender as wrong. Stereotypical reasoning was also found to decrease with age.

Research into the social and moral reasoning of Chinese children regarding family is also scarce, but one study has explored how children evaluate parental negotiation to engage a child to do a household chore (Bowes, San, Chen & Yuan, 2004). Bowes, San, Chen & Yuan (2004) studied 6, 8, and 10-year-old children's reasoning regarding the fairness of a vignette in which a child and friend created a mess in the table and the child was asked by the parent to do clean it all up. Children were asked to evaluate the reasons that the parent could potentially provide and which they found fair. Most children found reasons suggesting that 1) the child caused the mess, 2) the child is a part of the family, 3) the child is good at doing it, and 4) they were of a certain age, as fair reasons to make a child clean up. Most children also thought it was fair for a mother to say she is tired and needs help, but did not think it was fair for the father to use the same reason. Bowes, San, Chen & Yuan (2004) suggested children may have this gender-distinction as a result of reporting that fathers rarely use such reasoning with them. Even so, no research has directly explored how children in China (Mainland) and Korea reason about their experiences in the family, either regarding parental gender roles or housework distributions. Instead, most of the research has focused on parental socialization and parenting approaches (Bowes, San, Chen & Yuan, 2004; Chen, Dong & Zhou, 1997; Fung, 1999; Zhang, Kao & Hannum, 2007).

However, recent scholarship has begun to explore Chinese and Korean children's involvement in housework. Goh & Kuczynski (2014) studied urban Chinese families regarding housework and found that Chinese caregivers were more likely to see housework as a distraction from doing homework than as a means of socializing their children. However, Chinese girls have been found to do more housework than Chinese boys (Hu, 2015). Like their Chinese counterparts, Korean children are heavily involved in academic, and Korean girls have been found to do more housework than boys (Oh, 2004). Korean children ages 8-12 years old were found to most commonly spend their time not in school doing homework, followed by watching T.V. (Joo, Ahn, Yoo & Kim, 2015). Younger children and girls were more likely to report doing some housework than boys and 12-year-olds, but it was still done less than other activities (Joo, Ahn, Yoo & Kim, 2015). It is therefore quite likely that Chinese and Korean children do less than their American counterparts.

As of yet, on the other hand, no research has directly investigated Chinese and Korean (or American) children's and adolescent's social and moral reasoning regarding the gendered nature of the distribution of housework. While some studies have shown that children employ several domains of reasoning when considering parental behavior in the home, and that family structure and context matter, these studies have been limited in scope. Most of focus has been on two age groups reasoning about hypothetical situations regarding parental caretaking roles within mainly the US context. Research on Chinese and Korean children's reasoning has shown that they are

also capable of morally evaluating parental decisions and reasoning, but they have also been few in number. How children and adolescents are evaluating and reasoning about gendered housework distribution in the family has yet to be explored. Furthermore, beyond relying on just vignettes and hypothetical scenarios, which has been the exclusive method of the studies described so far, there is a need to consider how children are evaluating their own experiences of their household's distribution. The question remains, as to whether children are critical regarding the gendered distribution of housework, and whether they find one parent doing more than the other to be a moral consideration of fairness or to fall within other domains.

In the next section I describe how my study will begin to contribute to the literature by addressing both the need for research that explores and addresses cultural practices, and spouses and children's moral and reasoning about the experiences of gendered housework labor.

1.2 Overall Framework, Research Questions & Hypotheses

This dissertation explored the reasoning, or making sense processes, employed by husbands, wives, and their children about the gendered distribution of household labor in China and South Korea. This study addressed two main elements missing in most of the literature on gendered household distribution: social and moral reasoning about cultural practices, and developmental processes.

This study set out to explore how Chinese and Korean individuals' evaluations and reasoning regarding housework distribution may differ based on their country's unique (distinct) situations. Comparing these two countries' individual's reasoning can provide insight into how two countries that have shared cultural and historical roots through Confucianism (Kang & Kang, 2006; Kim, 1993; Park & Cho, 1995; Won & Pascall, 2004) and have undergone rapid economic development (Hu, 2018; Ji, Wu, Sun & He, 2017; Kim, 2017), but also have present day distinct social organizations of gender and labor (OECD, 2008/2009), can bring a more nuanced understanding regarding cultural influences on social reasoning beyond broad comparisons of "East" and "West," or "traditional" and "progressive." Considering the complexity of the structural and cultural context of children's lives, this study set out to explore Chinese and Korean individuals' evaluations and reasoning regarding their own and hypothetical gendered housework distributions in the family.

Employing a social domain theoretical (SDT) framework allowed for analyses of the domains of reasoning applied by each participant in their understanding of the fairness or legitimacy of housework division. Social domain theorists have shown that reasoning about gender is a multi-faceted, involving both societal expectations of performing gender and organizing society, moral issues of fairness and equality, and personal choices regarding how to perform gender (Sinno, Schuette, & Hellriegel, 2017). Previous research employing a social domain framework has been able to explore gender in the family and analyze both moral reasoning, social conventional expectations, personal preferences as well as gender stereotypes, and pragmatic considerations, such as financial welfare (Brose, Conry-Murray, Turiel, 2013, Schuette & Killen, 2009). SDT also allows for considering how cultural differences may result in informational assumptions about gender (gendered ideologies) that may be employed or rejected as individuals evaluate and make judgments (Brose, Conry-Murray, Turiel, 2013). As such, employing SDT allows for exploring nuances, informational assumptions, and domain coordinations in the justifications used by participants for their evaluations of the fairness of gendered housework distribution, as well as capturing developmental differences. Through such

an analyses we can come a step closer to understanding what domains and informational assumptions are considered as important in deciding and evaluating the fairness of gendered housework and explore gender, age, and national differences. This study also extends previous findings by inquiring after individual's thoughts on both hypothetical scenarios and their own family's distribution.

To understand the how individuals are reasoning about the fairness of household labor distribution this study investigated the following questions:

1.2.1 Research Questions

What is the reasoning/making sense employed regarding the fairness of gendered household labor distribution in the home?

- a) How do children and adults coordinate considerations of societal norms (conventions), personal preferences (personal), and issues of equality and equity (morality), monetary considerations (pragmatic), when they consider the issue of gendered household labor distributions?
- b) What role does positionality play in this reasoning? In other words, are there developmental, gender and national differences?
- c) What informational assumptions contribute to the current distribution of household labor? Do differing informational assumptions relate to different evaluations of the current distribution of household labor?
- d) Does the current division of labor (whether mother does more or not), or family structure, connect back to reasoning about whether the division is fair or not and what domain of reasoning is applied?
- e) Are there differences between how individuals evaluate and reason regarding a hypothetical situation and their own family's situation?

1.2.2 Hypotheses

Child reasoning. It was expected that the majority of children would find mothers doing more housework as fair and acceptable and use social conventional reasoning, based on previous findings suggesting that children are more likely to endorse mothers taking on the second-shift of parenting or being the primary caretaker (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013; Conry-Murray, 2015; Schuette & Killen, 2009; Sinno & Killen, 2011; Sinno, 2007). Older adolescents would be more likely than children to find it unfair that one parent does more than the other, and would be more likely to use moral reasoning, as stereotypical thinking decreases with age (Park et al., 2012; Sinno & Killen, 2009; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017). Based on findings that family structure influences social and moral evaluations (Sinno & Killen, 2011; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017), it was expected that children from families where the mother did most of the housework, would be more likely to find it fair that women do more than men (Sinno & Killen, 2009) and to use more conventional reasoning (Sinno & Killen, 2011). Children who reported their family was egalitarian would be more likely to use moral reasoning (Sinno & Killen, 2011). There would be no difference between hypothetical scenario fairness evaluation and reasoning, as children have been found to use similar reasoning and evaluation regarding real life transgressions and hypothetical ones (Turiel, 2008).

Based on the fact that community context influences children's social and moral reasoning (Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017), it was exploratively hypothesized that Korean children would be more likely than Chinese children to think that their women do more

housework is fair and use social conventional reasoning since Korean fathers do very little housework (OECD, 2008/2009). It was also hypothesized that girls would be more likely to find mothers doing more housework as unfair and employ more moral reasoning than boys, while boys would use more social conventional reasoning (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turie, 2013; Gere & Helwig, 2012). Children would be more likely find it unfair if they reported that their father does most of the housework, because it goes against gender stereotypes (Sinno & Killen, 2011).

There were several counter hypotheses. It is possible that the majority of children would find it unfair that mothers do more housework (Acar, 2017; Gere & Helwig, 2012; Park et al., 2012). Another counter hypothesis holds that adolescents would be more likely to find it fair that one parent does more than the other, and would use more conventional reasoning, as they become more adept at coordinating different considerations and have a greater understanding of the role of social conventions (Midgette, Noh, Lee & Nucci, 2016). It is also possible that Korean children would be more likely to find gendered housework distribution as unfair and use more moral reasoning as a result of observing a more extreme form of gendered housework distribution in their own homes (OECD, 2008/2009).

Adult reasoning. Based on previous research on adult reasoning about the fairness of household labor it was expected that most women and men would find the distribution of household labor as reasonable and fair using social-conventional reasoning and gendered ideologies (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998). It was expected that in households where the wife does the most housework, she would be more likely to use moral reasoning and find it unfair (Coltrane, 2000). It was also expected that men would be more likely to use conventional reasoning and to find gendered division of housework fair than women (Coltrane, 2000; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Smetana, 2011; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994).

Cultural differences. Based on previous studies comparing China and South Korea, it was expected that South Korean participants will show more conventional reasoning about gendered division housework, as they have been found to be more gender norm affirmative (Conry-Murray, Kim, & Turiel, 2015) and Korean households are less egalitarian than Chinese families (Oshio, Nozaki & Kobayahsi, 2013). It was also hypothesized exploratively that informational assumptions about the nature of housework and gendered stereotypes would play an important role in individuals' evaluations of the fairness of the household labor distribution.

In conclusion, this dissertation explored how individuals are reasoning about the gendered nature of the division of housework, what factors are prioritized, as well as what informational assumptions are being taken into consideration when evaluating the fairness of housework distribution in order to come a step closer to understanding how fairness, gender, and culture intersect as well as provide potential insight into potential educational interventions.

Chapter 2. General Issues of Methods & Identification of the Sample

This study explored developmental, gender, and cultural factors in the moral and social reasoning involved in evaluating issues of fairness in gendered household labor distribution. In order to explore these issues in-depth, this study employed a mixed-methodology. This chapter reviews the general methods used across sub-samples, that are later analyzed separately and described in more detail in the following chapters: children's social and moral reasoning (Chapter 3), adult couples' social and moral reasoning (Chapter 4), and thematic analysis of family members' conceptualizations of a fair household labor distribution (Chapter 5).

2.1 Participants

A total of 133 children and 24 adult couples, and an additional 2 elder women (grandmothers) participated in this study. Sixty-five of the children were Chinese and the other 68 children were South Korean, while half of the adult couples were Chinese and the other half South Korean. Out of the 133 children interviewed, 13 Chinese children and 16 Korean children were also part of family observations. The grandmothers only participated in the family interviews and observations. In China, as mentioned in the introduction, there are 56 ethnicities, and according to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2010) Han make up around 90% of the population. Out of the 65 participating Chinese children, 13.8% or nine were of ethnic minority descent (2 Huizu, 4 Manchu, 1 Chaozu, 1 Mengu, and 1 Miaozi)⁷. All participants were part of middle-class to upper-middle class families (based on their parent's reported occupation). Descriptive statistics of participating children's ages and gender are described in Table 2.1. As can be seen in Table 1, children in three age groups, 9-11, 12-14, and 16-18 years participated in the study. These ages were selected based on previous developmental research suggesting that these age groupings are associated with shifts in patterns of social and moral reasoning (Nucci, Turiel & Roded, 2017; Smetana, Jambon, Ball, 2014).

Table 2.1

Child Participant Descriptive Statistics

Age	South Korea		China	
	Female/Male	Average Age	Female/Male	Average Age
9-11	12/14	10.49(.73)	11/11	10.42(.71)
12-14	10/10	13.35(.54)	13/10	12.9(.98)
16-18	10/12	17.14(.46)	10/10	16.52(.49)
Total	32/36		34/31	

* In parenthesis are standard deviations.

⁷ The majority of Machus and Huizus live in the Northeast of China.

This study's 48 adult participants were made up of 12 heterosexual couples per country with children falling within the ages previously mentioned in order to also complete analyses of the entire household⁸. All 48 adults were interviewed in the context of family observations. An additional 2 grandmothers participated, but were only included in the analysis on family observations. Two of the adults, from different couples, and one grandmother, identified as Huizu. All participants were part of middle-class to upper-middle class families. For a complete description of average age, years of schooling, work and income for the adult participants refer Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Adult Participant Descriptive Statistics

China	Female	Male	Overall
Age	41.80(4.11)	43.87(3.62)	42.8(3.97)
Years of School	16.5(1.93)	16.3(1.87)	16.41(1.86)
Years of Work	15.41(6.96)	14.5(8.03)	14.95(7.36)
Hours worked per week	29.3(15.07)	41.1(3.8)	35.52(12.47)
Income (RMB)	125,833	205,833.33	165,833 (172,976.919)
In dollars	20,020.03	32,748.08	26,384.03(27,520.63)
Household Income(RMB)			267,500(153,940.982)
In dollars			\$ 42,559.25 (24,492.01)
Years married			16(3.5)
# of Children			1.2 (.41)
Korea	Female	Male	Overall
Age	45.49(4.75)	47.79(4.42)	46.64(4.64)
Years of School	16.41(2.06)	17.16(3.12)	16.79(2.62)
Years of Work	11.16(7.08)	17.62(6.95)	14.39(7.61)
Hours worked per week	28.33(21.59)	49.12(18.37)	38.72(22.29)
Individual Income (Won)	38,725,000	85,818,182	62,690,000 (41,783,475.70)
In dollars	36,378.26	80,617.60	58,890.99 (39,251.40)
Household Income			107,136,842 (37,600,475.92)
In dollars			100,644.35 (35,321.89)
Years married			18(4.69)
# of Children			1.91(.65)

2.2 Criteria for Sampling

The current study employed the following criteria for creation of a participant sample that had the potential of revealing gendered patterns of household labor, and that would allow for uncovering developmental patterns in children's understandings of the gendered nature of household labor. All participants were part of households that met the following criteria: 1) parents were married (cohabitation in South Korea and China is very rare, especially with children), 2) both parents lived at home at least part of the time, 3) had at least one child between

⁸ For this study's purpose a household was defined as a two-parent family with at least one child.

9-18 years, 4) families met criteria listed below for inclusion as middle class. The purpose of the third criterion was to allow observation of potential developmental trends in children's reasoning about their family. The fourth criterion limiting the sample to middle class families was included for the following reasons. Previous research in China and South Korea has suggested that there exist at times significant differences in the economic conditions, values, and experiences of rural households versus urban households (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Hong, 1997; McGee, 2008; Sicular, Ximing, Gustafsson & Shi, 2007; Zimmer & Kwong, 2003). There is also research suggesting that social class may result in developmental differences in social reasoning (Nucci, Camino & Sapiro, 1996). Middle-class households make up 60% of Korean families (Cha, 2015), and are in the rise in China (Barton, Chen & Jin, 2013; Zhou, 2008). Therefore, to avoid conflating cultural-political-historical differences with SES, this initial study focused on urban, consistency was sought by recruiting families from professional and white-collar households.

Adult couples and their children were recruited if they met the following requirements: 1) at least one of the parents had attended college; 2) one or both of the parents had a white collar profession (engineer, office worker, teacher, nurse, accountant, etc); 3) Household annual income in Chinese families ranged from 80,000 to 700,000 RMB and South Korean families ranged from 50,000,000 won to 190,000,00 won. These criteria were based on the standard set by previous scholarship suggesting that profession, education, and income are the markers for SES (Caro, McDonald, & Willms, 2009; Lareau, 2002; 李, 2016; Ravallion, 2010; Zhou, 2008). Within each country, scholars were consulted for what was considered a middle class/ white collar profession, and because of the variability of income in the middle class, especially in China's changing economy (李, 2016), more weight was placed on profession and education than income.

Parents working outside the home from 0-60 hours were sampled. As previously mentioned, China has a higher female participation in the labor force than Korea (Qian & Sayer, 2016). In an effort to have a wide sample of family formations, while maintaining the same class background, families with a diversity of works hours, from not working outside the home to full-time 40 hours and more were sampled.

In addition, the sample included 2 families in which grandparents also lived within the household. As has been mentioned previously, in China many families have grandparents as part of the household (Xie, 2013). At the same time, according to United Nations (1998) as cited by Hsu(2008), South Korean family structures have changed in the last 30 years so that most households are composed mainly of the nuclear family.

2.3 Recruitment

This study recruited two distinct sub-samples: 1) whole families who were visited at their homes and each member was interviewed, and 2) children who were interviewed solely to collect developmental data. The first sub-sample consisted of all couples and their children, and in the case of China two grandmothers. The second sub-sample involved recruitment of children in the age groups 9-11, 12-14, 16-18, at local schools in order to collect developmental data. Recruitment for Chinese participants occurred in the city of Changchun a 2nd tiered city and capital of Jilin province, located in the Northeast China and bordering North Korea. The main method of recruitment was through word of mouth and teacher recommendations throughout local schools and public schools attached to the main universities in the city. Half of the participants were recruited directly through classrooms per teacher recommendation and the other half were through parent networks and academy instructor recommendations. Most of the

family interview recruitment was through the same channels. Teachers connected with parents they considered might be interested in participating in the study. Parents also connected with other parents whom they thought might be interested in participating. Recruitment for Korean participants occurred in Seoul, where about 20% of South Koreans live (South Korea Population, 2016). Participants were recruited mainly through local public schools and teacher recommendations. Families were recruited through word of mouth.

2.4 Procedures

In Changchun, China, for developmental interviews, students and parents were informed about the study and after parental verbal consent and child verbal assent was provided participants filled out a Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and Daily Routine Survey Checklist. Children who were recruited at the school, after completing the questionnaire and survey participated in a 30 minute to 45 minute interview in a teacher office room individually during lunchtime. The interview was recorded. Children who were recruited through word of mouth were brought over by their parents to the researchers' office at one of the local universities after school or on the weekend. At the office, participants completed the questionnaire and survey, and then participated in a 30 minute to 45 minute interview in Mandarin Chinese. The interview was recorded. Children were offered 50RMB (~\$8), for completing the study, however most participants did not accept the money as it is not customary in China for research participants to be paid. For family interviews, the researcher came to the family's home and introduced the study, obtained parental consent, and each participant's verbal assent. Each family member completed the Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and a Daily Routine Survey Checklist. Then each family member was interviewed individually in one of the quieter rooms in the home. Each interview was recorded and took on average 45 minutes to one hour to complete. After completing family interviews, family members were observed as they prepared a meal. During meal preparation conversations were recorded, and the researcher completed field-interviews about their experience preparing the meal. The researcher took pictures of the meal preparation process. Meal preparation observation on average took one hour. Total time spent in the family home averaged 6.5 hours. Families were offered 325 RMB (~\$50) for their time, however most participating families did not accept compensation.

In Seoul, South Korea, for developmental interviews, standard research practice is to obtain approval from the child's school principal for research conducted at the child's school in lieu of parental consent. As a result, at each participating local school principal approval was obtained, and children's verbal assent received. Participating students completed a Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and Daily Routine Checklist Survey. After the questionnaire and survey were completed students were individually interviewed in a quiet room in the school, either an office or teacher resting area. Interviews were recorded. No compensation was offered to participants. Since I have limited fluency in spoken Korean (three years of language courses), interviews were conducted by a trained female Korean research assistant fluent in Korean and English, while I accompanied her and asked additional probing questions. For family interviews, the trained research assistant and I visited each family home and introduced the study, obtained parental consent, and each participant's verbal assent. Each family member completed a Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and a Daily Routine Survey Checklist. Then each family member was interviewed individually in one of the quieter rooms in the home. Each interview was recorded and took on average 45 minutes to one hour to complete. After completing family interviews, family members were observed as they prepared a

meal. During meal preparation conversations were recorded, and the research assistant completed field-interviews with family members about their experience preparing the meal. The researcher took pictures of the meal preparation process. Meal preparation observation on average took one hour. Total time spent in the family home averaged 5.5 hours. Participating families were compensated 100,000 KWON (~\$93.94) for their time.

2.5 Measures

2.5.1 Participant demographic information questionnaire. All 183 participants completed a basic questionnaire assessing participants' background characteristics such as age, gender, and family composition. Chinese and Korean scholars⁹ fluent in both their native tongue and English translate the participant demographic information questionnaire into Mandarin Chinese and Korean. Two types of questionnaires were provided: one for adults and one for children. In both types, the questionnaires asked for birth month and year (age in South Korea and China is described differently), gender, years of schooling, both parents' occupations, the composition of the family (i.e., who lived in the house) and which family member performed most of the basic chores assessed by previous research: cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, laundry, as well as taking out the trash and paying the bills. The questionnaire also asked whether the current distribution of housework, considering both unpaid and paid labor, in the house was fair. The question included a likert-scale to assess the level of fairness (1:Very Unfair; 3: So-So; 5 :Very Fair). Participants were then asked to explain their reasoning. In addition to the previously described questions, adult questionnaires also included questions about household income as well as individual income, years of working in current occupation, total hours worked per week, as well as years of marriage, and the number of children and their age. These were all variables normally assessed by researchers analyzing housework distribution (Coltrane, 2000). The only difference between the Chinese version and Korean version of the questionnaire was that that the Chinese version asked for participants' ethnicity.

2.5.2 Daily routine survey checklist. All 183 participants also completed a daily routine survey check-list that collected quantitative data on frequency and time spent by members of the household on housework as well as other related areas activities such as when they woke up, went to work/school, how many hours they spent on homework/ work at home, and how much time spent on leisure activities (e.g., watching tv, reading, etc) (See Appendix A for full survey). The survey was translated by fellow Korean and Chinese scholars from English into their respective languages. The survey check-list included questions on who completed daily chores, such as making breakfast, dinner, laundry, dishes, etc. Participants were also asked to estimate the time taken to complete these daily activities. Participants shared their own daily schedule, including when they usually woke up, attended work or school, arrived back home, time spent working or doing homework at home, leisure time, and bed time. The survey also collected participants' estimates of the total time spent on housework by the other family members each day. This survey allowed for calculations of estimated time spent on housework as well as

⁹ I would like to thank Professor Gaodi from Northeast Normal University and his graduate students for reviewing my questionnaires and interview questions and translating all my materials into Chinese. I would also like to thank Dr. Jeeyoung Noh for translating all of my questionnaires, surveys and interviews in Korean, and to my South Korean research assistants for reviewing the questionnaires and interviews again.

proportional analyses of time spent on housework by each family member, in order to capture “real time” spent on housework, similar to previous survey research in housework distribution (Coltrane, 2000).

2.5.3 Interviews. All 183 participants were interviewed regarding their evaluations about the gendered nature of housework as well as their own family’s distribution. The interview consisted of three portions: 1) two hypothetical scenarios regarding the fairness of the division of housework; 2) questions about the nature of their own family’s division and the fairness of this division; 3) questions regarding informational assumptions on the nature of gender, and general questions about the fairness of a gendered division of housework.

Hypothetical scenarios. Following previous moral developmental methodology (Nucci, Turiel, & Roded, 2017; Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014), participants were provided with two hypothetical scenarios regarding a household’s distribution of the housework (Scenarios can be read in Appendix A). They were asked to read the stories in a specific order. The first scenario states that there is a father and mother, both of whom are teachers. The father is a middle school teacher and the mother is an elementary school teacher. The father feels tired from teaching and grading and decides he can only do housework on the weekends, and will only do it if he remembers to do it or if his wife asks him to help her. In the second scenario, there are again two parents, but in this story, they work at the same company, begin and end work at the same time, and take turns doing the housework, including picking up their daughter and cooking dinner. On the weekends they avoid housework by eating out. They also take turns taking out the trash. Participants were asked their first impressions of each story, and to assess whether they thought the situation was fair and why. If they thought the story was fair, they were asked “how would you make this story unfair?” and “why would that be unfair?” If they thought the story was unfair, they were asked the reverse “how would you make this fair?” and “why would that be fair?” For the first story participants were asked “if there are 10 hours of housework, how should they divide the housework?” and “why?”. Following this, if participants did not note that the father was “busier,” they were given a counter-suggestion following Schuette & Killen’s (2009) methodology and asked, “Well, the father is a middle school teacher, and middle school teachers are generally busier than elementary school teachers, how should they divide the housework?” Finally, participants were asked to consider the reverse, “what if the father was an elementary school teacher and the mother a middle school teacher? How should they divide the housework?” Interview questions were designed to explore what individuals find fair, the domain of individual’s reasoning based on their justifications, how issues of time (based on the time-availability approach) and gender (based on gender ideology) came into play when assessing fairness, as well as what individuals considered to be important in considering what is fair or not fair in dividing the housework.

For the second scenario, in addition to general questions about the fairness of the situation depicted, how to make it unfair, and how they should divide the housework, participants were also asked to assess additional factors. Participants were asked to consider “If one of the spouses likes doing housework can they do more? And if so, is that fair?” in order to assess how they considered personal desires (the personal domain) to play into their assessment of fairness (moral domain). This is also relevant to previous literature that suggests that housework may not be seen as a negative activity, but as a source of enjoyment and a way of showing caring (Goodnow, 2004; Mikula, 1998). Participants were also asked to consider if the father made more money should this change the housework arrangement, in order to test whether

the relative resources theory (who brings in more resources to the family has more negotiating power) held any value in their assessment of how housework should be divided. In addition, participants were asked again to consider if the father worked longer hours than the wife how the housework should be divided as well as the rationale. Finally, participants were also asked to assess if the wife is a housewife, how the housework should be divided and why. This allowed for assessing beliefs about gender roles as well as the potential influence of the time-availability approach (who has more time), and economic dependence model (who brings in more money).

Own family's division. In addition to hypothetical scenarios, participants were asked about their own family's housework division. Participants were asked whether they thought each family member did the same amount of housework, and why their family had the current division that they had. Participants were also asked whether they believed the current division was fair, and if so why. To assess the value placed on fairness, participants were asked whether fairness was important in deciding how to divide housework. In the concluding section of this interview they were asked how they defined fairness.

Information assumptions about gender. In the third portion of the interview, participants were asked whether they thought that men and women had different abilities and capacities when it came to housework. Participants were asked to share whether they thought men or women were better at the following housework activities: childcare (classically a female stereotypical activity), fixing things around the house (classically a male stereotypical activity), cooking (neutral), cleaning (classically a female stereotypical activity), grocery shopping (neutral) and earning money (classically a male stereotypical activity) (Berk, 1985; Coltrane, 2000; Starrels, 1994; Twiggs, McQuilan & Ferree, 1999). Participants were asked to provide reasons for their judgments and whether these stereotypes also applied to their own family. These questions were designed to capture whether participants professed "traditional" or progressive assumptions about gender-based capacities and abilities. In other words, whether they were supportive of stereotypically gendered assumptions or not (Sinno & Killen, 2009). In the same vein, to capture whether issues of "pragmatics" or ability, played a role in deciding the division of housework, participants were asked "if someone did a particular housework well, should that be important in deciding who does the housework?" and " if the wife cooks well, does that mean she should do most of the cooking?" In the concluding section of the interview participants were asked two questions directly linked to gender and the division of housework: 1) " If in another country, men do most of the housework, and women do not, what do you think about that? Is that fair?" and 2) " In your country (China/ Korea), women do most of the housework. Why do you think that is? And is that fair?" The first question is a classical social domain question that allows for analyses of whether the participant considers the issue to be variable based on country or culture and therefore is using social conventional reasoning (Turiel, 1983). The second question was a direct approach to seeing how participants think about the issue of gender and the division of labor in a system's level (societal level). The interview concluded with a reflective question, where participants were asked if they had any other thoughts they would like to share, reflections, or questions they would like to ask.

Family specific interview. In addition to the interview described above, the 39 Chinese and 40 Korean individuals who agreed to participate as a family in this study, were asked an additional set of questions. Participants were also interviewed about the history and future of their family's housework division. Parents and grandparents were asked to share their own parents' division, whether they thought it was fair, and if they compared their parents' division with their own, did they think there was a difference. Parents were also asked to share their

expectations of their future division of labor once they were retired, as well as their wish for their own children's division of housework. Children were asked how they planned to divide the housework once they were married themselves. All participants were asked how their family decided the current division of labor. At the end, participants were also asked to reflect on the purpose of a household, or "What is the purpose and meaning of having a family?"

2.5.4 Observations of a meal preparation. 23 households (one Korean family only participated in the interviews) and 75 individuals were observed as they engaged in preparing a meal and field-interviewed. Each of the participating families were observed as they either prepared lunch or dinner. Families were asked to prepare the meal as they usually would, so at times one or another family member did not perform any activity related to the task of preparing a meal. As families were observed preparing the meal, they were asked their thoughts and opinions about the housework they engaged in, the reason they engaged in the housework, and whether they liked engaging in the housework. Observation also allowed for an analysis of the family's division of housework within the particular activity of meal preparation, as well as observation of collaboration in families where more than one member was engaged in preparing the meal. Pictures were taken of the individuals as they engaged in the meal preparation. Field-notes were written reflecting on the observations following the conclusion of the observation. Field-notes noted the nature of the tasks, who was present, the roles assumed, emotions expressed, and how the activity was accomplished (template taken from Gutiérrez & Vossoughi, 2010). Observations combined with interviews provided a unique methodological contribution to linking social and moral reasoning with social context and individual experience.

2.6 Data Reduction & Analyses

2.6.1 Participant demographic information questionnaire. Basic statistical analyses of background information and likert-scale assessment of fairness were performed across the participant samples. Regression analyses were run on independent variables such as age, gender, and nationality against the fairness scores provided by participants. T-tests were performed to analyze the differences in report of which family member did most of the housework by activity: laundry, cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, paying the bills, and taking out the trash. In other words, tests were run to see whether mothers are more likely to be reported as being responsible for specific housework activities, versus fathers, children or grandparents. Analyses were also run to see if there were national differences in reports, which were averaged to decrease individual bias (Coltrane, 2000), as well as if there age or gender differences in the reporting of who does the most of these housework activities to explore potential issues of overreporting or underreporting of time spent by gender or age (Achen & Stafford, 2005)

2.6.2 Daily routine survey checklist. Regression analyses and t-tests were run on the time and frequency engaging in specific housework tasks, with a special focus on housework tasks known to be to occur daily and to be more time consuming, such as cooking, washing dishes and cleaning, and doing laundry (Coltrane, 2000), by age, gender, and nationality. Analyses allowed the study of the "actual" and proportional time reported by participants of each of their family member's engagement in specific housework tasks, as well as the overall time spent on housework. These analyses provided quantitative data that supplemented reports by participants in their interviews.

2.6.3 Social domain analysis of interviews. Chinese and Korean interviews were transcribed by Chinese and Korean native speakers, respectively. Both Chinese and Korean transcriptions were coded in their original language. Coder reliability for Chinese data was established between me and a 2nd trained Chinese coder. Coder reliability for Korean data was established between two trained Korean research assistants. For both countries, coder reliability was calculated based on 20% of the interviews completed in each country. For Chinese data, the overall coder reliability had a Cohen's Kappa score of .85 for domains and .83 for justifications. For Korean data, the overall coder reliability had a Cohen's Kappa score of .88 for domains and .86 for justifications. Each hypothetical scenario was coded for initial judgment: fair/ not fair, and a following response to the question "Why or Why not?" were coded as a justification (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013). Justification types were coded based on previous social domain work exploring social and moral reasoning about gender roles and morality (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013; Sinno & Killen, 2009; 2011), with additional codes adapted to the current topic of housework (For coding scheme see Appendix B).

Each justification type was coded as falling within one of the four domains described in social domain theory: moral, conventional, personal, and pragmatic (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 1983). Justifications involving issues of rights, welfare, justice, and equality were coded as moral. Justifications involving issues of maintaining the family, societal expectations, and gender norms were coded as social conventional. Justifications involving issues of personal desire, will, and hobbies were coded as personal. Justifications that involved issues of feasibility and ability were coded as pragmatic. Other justifications falling outside of the four domains, were developed based on the responses provided by participants, including justifications revolving around conflict/ harmony and affect. In terms of participant's own family situation, including which family member did the most work, as well as whether it was considered fair/ not fair, and the justification and domain of justification were all coded.

As for the gendered informational assumptions, participants' response to whether they believed men and women differed in terms of their ability to perform specific household labor tasks were coded for their gender assumptions (women are better=1, men are better=2, they are the same=3; 4= they are different (without specifying which is better)). Additional family interviews on the historical and future goals of housework were coded for presence of change or continuity.

Following social domain theory based conventional statistical analyses (Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa & Smith (2001), proportions of total justifications types were calculated and a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) run on family structure, age, gender, and nationality with justification type as the repeated measure. Analyses of statistically significant results were run through follow up with Tukey Honest Significant Tests (HSD) and pairwise comparison test of means.

2.6.4 Thematic analysis of interviews completed by family members. The 12 Chinese and 12 Korean family member's individual interviews including hypothetical scenarios and the additional family specific interviews) were also analyzed by a separate set of research assistants for independently developed themes. Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich detail)" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). Transcriptions of each interview (either in Chinese, Korean, or with some English) were read over several times by the research assistants and myself. Two research assistants native to Korea, and two research assistants native to China were trained by me and we worked together on developing codes for the interview data from each

respective country. Each research assistant was instructed to read over each individual interview and create codes based on the concepts or “ideas” that participants were giving in each interview. Codes such as “sacrifice” were developed, defined such as “presenting evaluation of the situation as involving sacrifice” and subcodes were further created such as “sacrifice as expected/ not ideal.” We met and refined codes based on discussion and agreement on the definition of each code and an example of the application of the code in the data.

Each research assistant then created their own codebook (Boyatzis, 1998), where they wrote down the name of the code, the definition of the code based on what concept that was being captured by the code, and provided examples from the interview data that would fall within the code. For each country data set, the two research assistants each created their own codebook independently, and then we came together and discussed and finalized a uniform codebook. Based on the tentative finalized codebook created for each country’s data, the research assistants tested the codebook on 10% of the interviews and modified the codes and definitions if they could not agree on its application or definition. Based on this finalized codebook, through discussions, the research teams applied the codes to 20% of the data. Following this, coder reliability was established using Dedoose to calculate agreement on excerpts taken from 20% of the interviews. For the Korean team, coders had a Cohen’s Kappa of .85-.86 (R1, R2). For the Chinese team, coders had a Cohen’s Kappa of .81-.90 (R1, R2). Following the establishment of coder reliability, each research assistant coded half of the remaining data.

Following the development of a codebook and its application to each interview, through Dedoose I collected the frequencies of each code application. The top 30 most applied codes for each country’s data were chosen in order to focus the analysis on concepts that were used frequently, and therefore hold some salience, and are likely to suggest patterns (See Appendix C for Codebooks). The applications of these salient codes were also indexed according to their usage by the sex of participants (F or M), and by age-associated role: (grandmother, parent, \ elementary school student, middle school student, and high school student). Furthermore, the clustering of codes and relationships (such as co-occurrence) between them were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software *Dedoose*. Themes were developed based on the indexing of codes, their usage during interviews, and the relationships between codes and their co-occurrence, as well as how they related to each family member’s conceptualization and application of fairness to the issue of household labor distribution. This method allowed for the analysis of in which families, and which family members, and in what situations were the codes mentioned in order to capture consistencies and variations in how families and individuals made sense of matters such as fairness, and smaller themes such as father laziness.

2.6.5 Analysis of observations. Field-notes were written following observing families. Field-notes were analyzed for corroboration of family interviews on the family’s division of labor (who was observed doing what household tasks, for how long, etc). Photos were analyzed for how they captured reported family practices, such as how children were involved in the housework, as well as gender differences in engagement in specific household tasks.

The following chapters of this dissertation describe the resulting data collected from the methods discussed in this chapter. Chapter 3 discusses the findings of 133 Chinese and Korean children’s reasoning about the fairness of gendered housework division through analyses of the Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire, Daily Routine Survey Checklist, and interviews collected. Chapter 4 discusses the findings collected from the 24 Chinese and Korean couples, or 48 adults’ experience of the division of housework and moral reasoning of the

gendered division of housework through analyses of Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire, Daily Routine Survey Checklist, and interviews collected. Finally, Chapter 5 presents analyses of 24 households' experiences and conceptualization of the fairness of the division of household labor through thematic analysis of both children's, parents', and grandparents' interviews, Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire, Daily Routine Survey Checklist, and observations of 23 of household's one-time meal preparation.

Chapter 3. Chinese and South Korean Children's Social and Moral Reasoning about Housework Distribution

As outlined in the methods section, an aspect of this study was to explore children's perspectives regarding their family's housework distribution, as well as their general moral reasoning regarding how housework should be distributed. In this chapter I present the findings collected from questionnaires, surveys, and interviews that all 133 children studied completed (a subset of these children will be included in the chapter that includes families observed). Chinese children's reports confirmed previous statistical findings that most Chinese mothers work (OECD, 2008/2009). Only three out of sixty-five (4%) Chinese participants reported having a mother who was a housewife. On the other hand, twenty-two out of sixty eight (32.3%) Korean participants reported having mothers who were housewives. All participants reported having fathers who worked. Most parents worked either as office workers, educators, or as civil servants.

3.1 Overall Housework Engagement

In the Daily Routine Survey Checklist, participants reported the overall amount of time that they perceived each of their family members to be engaging in housework per day (for average time reported for each family member by country refer to Table 3.1). Consistent with previous findings (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), mothers were reported as doing significantly more housework than fathers ($t=9.70$ $p<.00$). As expected, there were significant country differences in reporting mother's involvement in overall daily time spent on housework (OECD, 2008/2009). Korean children perceived their mothers as significantly more involved in doing housework each day than Chinese children ($F(4,128)=72.72$, $p<.00$), $N^2=.36$. No gender or age differences in reporting mother time spent on housework were found. Interestingly, there were no country, gender, or age differences in reporting fathers and children's involvement in housework. Surprisingly, there were gender differences in reporting grandparent involvement in housework, $F(1,41)=4.37$, $p<.04$, $N^2=.09$. Female participants were more likely to report their grandparents spent more time on housework than male participants ($Male_{Mean}=60min$, $SD=55.56$; $Female_{Mean}=97.61min$, $SD=64.08$). There were no age, country, or gender differences in reporting grandparent involvement.

Table 3.1

Children's Report of Family Members' Time Spent (in minutes) on Housework Daily by Country

	Mothers	Fathers	Child	Grandparents
Overall	103.9 (60.1)	42.74(35.15)	18.73(20.29)	77.17(61.89)
China	67.58(40.82)	39.23(29.46)	19.18(15.36)	73.28(58.49)
South Korea	138.67(54.94)	46.10(39.78)	18.30(24.19)	86.07(70.55)

Note: Standard Deviation in parenthesis.

3.1.1 Family member's engagement in specific housework tasks. In general, children's reporting of each family member's engagement in housework tasks appeared to follow the gendered lines also found in the US (Coltrane, 2000). Participants were given a Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and asked to report which family member did most of

the following common household tasks: cooking, laundry, cleaning, grocery shopping, taking out trash, and paying bills. In general, mothers were reported to engage in doing most of the cooking, cleaning, and grocery shopping. Contrary to American findings, taking out the trash was also mainly reported as the mother's responsibility. Also surprising, while in the US laundry has been found to be mainly a female task (Coltrane, 2000) in China fathers were reported as engaging in doing laundry more often than mothers. In both countries, paying the bills was a task fathers mainly carried out.

Country differences. Chi-square analysis of the reported frequency of which family member most engaged in specific routine housework tasks revealed significant country differences, but no differences in reporting by gender or age (See Table 3.2 for all percentages). Korean children were significantly more likely to report that their mothers did most of the cooking, $X^2(1)=6.18$, $p<.01$. On the other hand, while in Chinese households mothers did most of the cooking, compared to Korean children Chinese children were twice as likely to say that their fathers cook most, and three times more likely to say their grandmothers did most of the cooking, $X^2(3)=12.43$, $p<.00$. Grandmother's greater involvement in Chinese families is reflective of the fact that Chinese children were more likely to report having their grandmothers live with them.

This pattern in which in Chinese children were more likely to report other family members outside of the mother as also being involved in housework tasks was found in other specific tasks. Korean children were almost eight times as likely to say their mother did most of the laundry, while Chinese children were almost five times more likely to say their fathers did most of the laundry, and nine times more likely to report children as doing most of the laundry, $X^2(3)=53.22$, $p<.00$. Reports of which family member was primarily responsible for paying the bills also differed significantly by country, $X^2(3)=18.13$, $p<.00$. Korean children were much more likely to say that their mothers pay the bills. Chinese children were much more likely to say both parents paid the bills.

Significant country differences were also found in reporting who took out the trash most frequently ($X^2(5)=19.06$, $p<.00$). Surprisingly, Korean children were more likely to report they (the children) took out the trash most frequently, and almost four times more likely to say their fathers took out the trash. On the other hand, Chinese children were also much more likely to say mothers were primarily responsible for taking out trash, $X^2(1)=9.82$, $p<.00$.

Country differences in reporting which family member did most of the grocery shopping were also found, $X^2(5)=20.51$, $p<.00$. Chinese participants were three times more likely to say everyone (including children) participated in grocery shopping, while Korean participants were more likely to say only parents went grocery shopping.

No country differences were found in reporting which family member cleaned the house the most.

Table 3.2

Family Member Who Does Most of Housework Tasks in Percentage by Country

Task	Most Involved Family Member					
	Mother	Father	Parents	All	Grandmother	Child

Cooking	61.60	15.70	12.03	1.00	9.70	.00
China	46.15	21.54	15.38	1.50	15.38	.00
Korea	76.47	10.29	8.82	.00	4.41	.00
Laundry	39.09	21.80	9.00	9.00	6.00	15.03
China	9.23	36.92	7.69	12.30	6.15	27.69
Korea	67.64	7.35	10.29	5.88	5.88	2.94
Clean	58.40	7.70	12.30	11.50	6.90	3.00
China	65.10	4.70	14.20	7.90	6.30	1.60
Korea	52.20	4.40	4.40	14.90	7.40	4.40
Grocery	42.80	7.50	16.50	21.00	5.20	6.70
China	33.80	7.70	7.70	32.30	7.70	10.70
Korea	51.40	7.30	25.00	10.30	2.90	2.90
Trash	33.00	21.00	31.00	11.20	3.70	9.70
China	40.00	9.20	26.10	16.90	3.00	4.60
Korea	26.40	32.30	16.10	5.90	4.40	14.70
Bills	21.90	37.10	34.80	5.30	1.00	.00
China	9.20	36.90	43.00	9.20	.00	.00
Korea	34.3	37.30	26.80	.00	1.51	.00

3.1.2 Overall fairness evaluation of family division. Children's perception of the fairness of their household's distribution was assessed with a five point Likert scale (1=very unfair, 3=so-so, 5=very fair) included within the Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire. For each group's mean fairness evaluation refer to Table 3.3. Analysis employing one-way ANOVAS revealed that in general, Chinese children were significantly more likely than Korean children to evaluate their family division as fair, $F(1, 128)=10.75$ $p<.00$, $N^2=.07$. Contrary to expectations, no age or gender differences in evaluating the fairness of family household work distribution were found.

Table 3.3

Participants' Fairness Evaluation Means

Age	South Korea	China	Overall
9-11	3.26(1.28)	4.04(1.33)	3.63(1.34)
12-14	3.00(1.16)	4.00(0.69)	3.52(1.06)
16-18	3.31(1.28)	3.40(0.99)	3.35(1.14)

Overall 3.20(1.24) 3.83 (1.06) 3.51(1.19)

Note: Standard Deviation in parenthesis.

3.2 Reasoning about Hypothetical Situations

3.2.1 Scenario 1: gender unequal division. Contrary to this study's hypothesis, the majority of children found the 1st hypothetical scenario, depicting a gender unequal household labor division where both parents work but the mother did the majority of housework, unfair. In general 81.20% of children evaluated the 1st scenario as unfair (For a breakdown of fairness evaluation across countries, gender, and age refer to Table 3.4). Binomial probability test found this difference to be different from chance (assumed $p=.5$, observed $p=.18$). Interestingly, chi-square analysis revealed significant family structure differences in fairness evaluations ($X^2(1)=3.55$, $p<.05$), but no significant country, gender, or age differences. As hypothesized, children from families in which the mother was reported as doing most of the housework were significantly more likely to evaluate the story as fair. Although not statistically significant, as can be seen by Table 3.4, middle school children appear to be slightly more likely to consider the 1st story fair than the other age groups. Unexpectedly, significant age differences were found within the female population, $X^2(2, N=67) = 6.27$, $p <.04$. As can be seen by Table 3.4, 12-14-year-old girls were found to be more likely to say the story is fair than the other two age groups. However, no age differences were found within the male population, $X^2(2, N=66) = 1.13$, $p <.56$. Intriguingly, although not statistically significant, Korean participants (23.5%) were almost twice as likely to evaluate the 1st story as fair compared to Chinese participants (13.85).

Table 3.4

Children's Fairness Evaluations of First Story in Proportions, by Age, Gender, Family Structure and Country

Grouping	Fairness Evaluation		
	Not	Fair	Total
Age Group			
9-11	89.8(44)	10.2(5)	100 (49)
Female	91.6(22)	8.4(2)	100 (24)
Male	88.0(22)	12.0(3)	100 (25)
12-14	71.4(30)	28.6(12)	100 (42)
Female	63.6(14)	36.5(8)	100 (22)
Male	80.0(16)	20.0(4)	100 (20)
16-18	81.0(34)	19.0(8)	100 (42)
Female	85.0(17)	15.0(3)	100 (20)
Male	77.3(17)	22.7(5)	100 (22)
Country			
China	86.1(56)	13.9(9)	100 (65)
Korea	76.5(52)	23.5(16)	100 (68)
Gender			
Female	80.3(53)	19.7(13)	100 (66)

Male	82.1(55)	17.9(12)	100 (67)
Family Structure			
Mother does most	76.6(69)	23.3(21)	100 (90)
Other division	90.5(38)	9.5(4)	100 (42)
Overall	81.2(108)	18.8(25)	100 (133)

This study employed repeated-measures ANOVAs to test the relationship between justification type, fairness evaluation (Fair/ Not Fair) and children's characteristics including age group(3), country (2), and family structure (2 mother does most housework or not) and gender (2). The use of repeated-measures ANOVA is generally accepted in the analysis of reasoning, especially within developmental data involving within-subject design (Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa & Smith, 2001). To interpret the effects found within ANOVAs, post hoc Tukey HSD and pairwise comparisons using independent-samples t-test were conducted.

The repeated-measures ANOVAs revealed that justification types varied at statistically significant levels, $F(3, 520)=173.34$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.50$ (Refer to Table 3.5 for justifications breakdown). Post hoc tests showed that for the 1st story *equality* (i.e., expectation that sameness in conditions should result in the same amount of involvement in housework) was significantly more likely to be used than any other type of justification. To explore possible interactions that may be obscured, repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted for justifications with gender, country, family structure, and age as factors interacting with justification types. This analysis revealed a significant interaction between justification type and age group, $F(6,520)=2.40$, $p<.02$, $N^2=.02$. Consistent with previous findings (Nucci, Turiel & Roded, 2017), post hoc tests revealed that the youngest participants, 9-11-year-olds were significantly more likely to employ *equality* as a justification than the other two age groups. No country, gender, or family structure differences were found.

Table 3.5

Gender Unequal Division Hypothetical Scenario Justifications in Proportions by Age, Country, Gender, and Family Structure

Grouping	Justifications			
	Participation	Equality	Equity	Family Membership
Age Groups				
9-11	.07(.247)	.80(.34)*	.02(.14)	.01(.07)
12-14	.10(.30)	.635(.44)	.10(.27)	.05(.14)
16-18	.06(.22)	.67(.43)	.08(.24)	.07(.20)
Country				
China	.05(.19)	.68(.38)	.06(.21)	.07(.20)
Korea	.10(.30)	.73(.43)	.06(.24)	.00(.05)
Gender				
Female	.09(.27)	.68(.42)	.07(.21)	.05(.17)
Male	.06(.24)	.73(.39)	.06(.23)	.03(.11)

Family Structure				
Mother does most	.10(.30)	.68(.43)	.06(.22)	.04(.15)
Other division	.02(.10)	.75(.36)	.07(.23)	.03(.12)
Overall	.07(.25)	.71(.41)	.06(.22)	.04(.14)

Note. Standard deviation in parenthesis. * denotes statistical significant difference at $p < .05$.

To explore the relationship between fairness evaluations and justification type, repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with fair (2x) justification (4x) and fair x justification interaction, with justification type as the repeated factor. The model showed that there was a justification by fairness evaluation interaction, $F(3, 524) = 135.07, p < .00$. The interaction had an effect size of $N^2 = .43$. Such an interaction, although not consistently explored in other social cognitive domain empirical studies, is not entirely unexpected, as previous research has also found an interaction between evaluation and reasoning type (Mulvey & Killen, 2016). Post hoc pairwise comparison showed that the usage of different justifications significantly varied based on whether children evaluated the story as fair or not. *Participation* ($t = 8.45, p < .00$), or the justification that there should be involvement in housework without reference to the amount of involvement, and *equity* ($t = 6.11, p < .00$), or the expectation that differences in condition, such as time-availability should result in differences in time spent on housework, were significantly more likely to be employed as justifications when a child evaluated the story as fair. On the other hand, *equality* was significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as not fair ($t = 17.29, p < .00$). No significant differences were found in the use of family membership as a justification.

In order to explore the significant effect of the interaction between fairness evaluation and justification type usage, a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted separately examining the interaction between age X justification, gender X justification, family structure X justification, and country X justification, when the story was evaluated as fair=1, and when the story was evaluated as unfair=0. Surprisingly, this analysis found a significant country x justification interaction, $F(3, 424) = 10.30, p < .00, N^2 = .06$, for children who evaluated the story as not fair (fair=0). Post hoc comparisons revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be used in Korea than China ($t = 5.05, p < .00$). On the other hand, family membership was significantly more likely to be used in China than Korea ($t = 2.27, p < .02$). In other words, Chinese children who found the first story unfair were more likely to use the justification that a family member has the responsibility to contribute to the family, while Korean children were more likely to argue that there should be equal (same amount) involvement between the father and mother. For participants who evaluated the story as not fair (Fair=0), there were also age X justification interactions, $F(6, 420) = 2.14, p < .04, N^2 = .02$. Consistent with previous findings, post hoc pairwise comparisons revealed that 9-11-year-olds were significantly more likely to employ *equality* than 16-18-year-olds ($t = 2.26, p < .02$). Interestingly, it was also found that 16-18-year-olds were significantly more likely to employ *family membership* as a justification than 9-11-year-olds ($t = 2.51, p < .01$).

For those who said the story was fair ($N = 25$), there were no significant interactions found, likely as a result of a small sample size ($N = 25$).

Table 3.6

Justifications by Fairness Evaluation in Proportions by Country and Age

Grouping	Justifications			
	Participation	Equality	Equity	Family Membership
Country				
China				
Not Fair	.01(.06)	.78(.31)	.02(.11)	.08(.20)
Fair	.27(.43)	.05(.16)	.33(.42)	.05(.16)
Korea				
Not Fair	.00(0)	.94(.20)	.00(0)	.01(.06)
Fair	.46(.49)	.06(.24)	.27(.44)	.00(0)
Age Group				
9-11				
Not Fair	.01(.07)	.90(.22)	.00(0)	.01(.07)
Fair	.59(.54)	.00(0)	.19(.44)	.00(0)
12-14				
Not Fair	.00(0)	.85(.26)	.01(.09)	.05(.15)
Fair	.37(.47)	.08(.28)	.33(.43)	.04(.14)
16-18				
Not Fair	.00(0)	.81(.34)	.03(.12)	.09(.22)
Fair	.31(.45)	.06(.17)	.31(.45)	.00(0)
Evaluation				
Not Fair	.00(.04)	.86(.27)	.01(.08)	.05(.16)
Fair	.39(.47)	.06(.21)	.29(.42)	.02(.09)

Note. Only justifications with overall usage of .05 or higher presented.

Summary of findings. As found in previous research examining adult self-reports, the majority of child participants in the present study reported that their mothers engaged in doing most of the housework. In general, specific housework tasks were found to follow traditional gendered expectations, where mothers were reported to engage in doing most of the grocery shopping, cooking, and cleaning. Also consistent with previous survey data, Korean children perceived their mothers as engaging in more time spent on housework than Chinese children. However, across countries the majority of participants reported that mothers spent more time doing housework than fathers. In keeping with Korean children perceiving their mothers as engaging in more housework than Chinese children, Korean children were less likely to evaluate their family's division as fair than Chinese children.

Contrary to this study's hypothesis, the majority of children found the story where the mother and father both work but the mother does most of the housework as unfair. However, children from families in which the mother was reported as doing most of the housework were more likely to find this story fair. For this hypothetical scenario, the main justification used was equality (i.e., they have sameness in condition, work, and yet one person is doing more). As expected, younger participants (9-11 years of age) were significantly more likely to employ

equality as a justification. Interestingly, there was a significant interaction between fairness evaluation and justification used. Equality was significantly more likely to be employed by participants who evaluated the story as unfair, while participation and equity were significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as fair. For those who found the story not fair, Korean participants were significantly more likely to employ equality as a justification, while Chinese participants were more likely to use family membership as a justification. For those who evaluated the story as fair, older participants (16-18-year-olds) were significantly more likely to employ family membership as a justification than younger participants (9-11-year-olds), who were more likely to use equality.

3.2.2 Scenario 2: strictly equal division between parents. Nearly all participants (98.5% of 131) found the second hypothetical scenario where both parents work at the same company for the same hours and divide the housework 50-50, as describing a household work distribution that was fair (i.e., when asked, “is this story fair?” children responded in the affirmative). This lends support to Gere & Helwig’s (2012) findings that individuals endorse the equal division of housework. There were no significant differences based on age, gender, country, or family structure. This sweeping support of an equal division of housework provides further evidence to social domain theory’s assertion that individuals across cultures are able to evaluate straightforward moral situations (Nucci, Turiel, & Roded, 2017). Universally, participants who evaluated the story as fair, used equality as a justification for their evaluation (i.e., they both work, they both do the same amount of housework; they take turns). Only two participants did not find the story fair (1 in Korea, 1 in China). The reasons given were, 1) both are having to work too hard, and will be too tired; 2) a little unfair, since men are stronger and therefore if they both work the same, he should do a little more.

3.2.3 Time availability, money, and personal enjoyment as factors. To test whether several factors previously theorized to affect adult’s decision-making in dividing the housework (Coltrane, 2000) influenced children’s evaluations and reasoning, participants were asked to consider whether the following situations should lead to changes in the housework distribution: 1) the father working more than the mother, 2) the father making more money than the mother, and 3) one parent enjoying doing housework and wanting to do more.

Working hours as a factor. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, 87.7% (116) of participants said that if the father worked longer hours than the mother, the mother should do more housework. Only 10.62% (14) of participants said that even if the father worked longer hours, both parents should do the same amount of housework, while 1.52% (2) said that the couple should discuss and decide between themselves what should be done. Interestingly, no differences in country, gender, age, or family structure in evaluations were found.

On the other hand, a repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between justification type and evaluation, $F(4,383)=75.38$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.44$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that those who said it shouldn’t change were significantly more likely to employ equality as a justification (they should equality divide it) than those who said it should change ($t=12.00$, $p<.00$) or that the two should discuss ($t=4.62$, $p<.00$). As expected, equity was significantly more likely to be employed by those who believed that the mother should do more if the father worked longer hours than those who said it should stay equally divided ($t=12.05$, $p<.00$), or that it should be discussed ($t=5.21$, $p<.00$).

Interestingly, significant justification and country interactions were found, $F(2, 389)=5.24$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.02$. When asked to justify their evaluation, perspectivism (i.e., wife should understand her husbands situation and needs) was significantly more likely to be mentioned as a justification by Chinese participants ($t=2.37$, $p<.01$) than Korean participants.

There was also a significant age and justification interaction, $F(2, 386)=208.58$, $p>.00$, $N^2=.04$. Post hoc pairwise comparison, unexpectedly showed that younger participants, 9-11-year-olds ($t=3.41$, $p<.00$) and 12-14-year-olds ($t=3.08$, $p<.00$) were significantly more likely to employ equity than older participants (16-18-year-olds). No gender or family structure differences were found.

Money as a factor. Contrary to previous theorizing that money is an important factor in deciding who does the housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), 91.73% (122) of participants stated that if the father made more money, it should not impact the family's distribution of housework. Only 8.27% (11) of participants suggested that money would impact the family's distribution of housework. Evaluations of whether money should change the distribution did not vary significantly by country, gender, age, or family structure.

Repeated measures analysis of the interaction between justification type usage and evaluation of whether making money should make a difference, revealed a significant interaction between justification used and evaluation, $F(3,524)=18.20$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.09$. Post hoc analysis revealed that participants who evaluated that money shouldn't change the division were significantly more likely to use the justification that there is no relationship between money and housework ($t=3.15$, $p<.00$), and work amount is the same and has not changed ($t=4.97$, $p<.00$). Not surprisingly, those who said money does change the housework distribution were significantly more likely to use the justification that making more money means that the father is working harder/more, or has more stress ($t=4.84$, $p<.00$).

Surprisingly, significant interactions between country and justification type were also found, $F(3,524)=3.44$, $p<.01$, $N^2=.02$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that Chinese participants were more likely to say there is no relationship between housework and money ($t=1.91$, $p<.05$), and making more money doesn't mean that the father has a higher status in the family ($t=2.02$, $p<.04$). South Korean participants were more likely to say both are still working the same amount of time ($t=1.19$, $p<.05$). A small justification and gender interaction was also found, $F(3,524)=2.60$, $p<.05$, $N^2=.01$, where girls were more likely to use the justification that they still work the same amount than boys ($t=2.02$, $p<.04$). No family structure and justification interaction were found.

There were also significant interactions between age and justification type ($F(6,520)=2.61$, $p<.01$), $N^2=.03$. Younger participants, 9-11-year-olds ($t=2.11$, $p<.03$) and 12-14-year-olds ($t=3.00$, $p<.00$) were more likely to say that the working amount hasn't changed than 16-18-year-olds. Consistent with previous research suggesting that by mid-adolescence children are better able to understand hierarchy and social systems (Midgette, Noh, Lee & Nucci, 2016), 16-18-year-olds were more likely than 9-11-year-olds to state that the status of the father isn't higher because he earns more ($t=1.97$, $p<.04$).

Personal enjoyment as a factor. The great majority of participants (92.97%) judged that if one of the parents liked doing housework, they could do more. Evaluations did not significantly differ by country, gender, age, or family structure. Repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between evaluating whether the division can change and

justification used, $F(1,250)=325.95$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.56$. Those who said they can do more were significantly more likely to use personal justifications (the person likes doing it and wants to) ($t=13.54$, $p<.00$). Those who said the division can't change despite the parent enjoying doing housework, were significantly more likely to use equality as a justification ($t=11.94$, $p<.00$). No age, family structure, country, or gender effects were found.

Furthermore, participants were asked to evaluate whether it was fair if as a result of an individual liking doing housework they do more housework. Interestingly, 79.23% of participants (103) evaluated it as fair if one of the parents does more housework as a result of enjoying doing housework, while 20.77% (27) of participants evaluated it as not fair. Evaluations did not differ significantly by country, gender, age, or family structure.

Repeated-measures ANOVA analysis of justification proportion usage, justification type and fairness evaluation revealed significant interaction between justification type and evaluation whether fair or not, $F(4,381)=79.93$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.45$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that those who evaluated doing more because one likes it as fair were significantly more likely to employ enjoyment ($t=13.12$, $p<.00$) and willingness ($t=2.15$, $p<.03$) as justifications. Consistent with reasoning about the unfairness of other situations described previously, equality was significantly more likely to be used as a justification by those who evaluated the situation as unfair ($t=12$, $p<.00$). There was also a significant interaction between gender and justification type, $F(2,387)=5.61$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.02$. Surprisingly, Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that girls were significantly more likely to employ enjoyment as a justification ($t=2.34$, $p<.01$), and boys were more likely to use equality ($t=2.28$, $p<.02$). No significant family structure, country, or age differences in justification usage were found.

Summary of findings. As expected, the majority of participants, independent of gender, age, country, or family structure, found a strict 50-50 equal division of housework as fair. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, the majority of participants found that if the father worked longer hours it should affect the division of housework. There was a significant evaluation and justification interaction, with equality being more likely to be used as a justification by those who evaluated that the father's longer working hours should not change the division of housework. On the other hand, equity was the main justification used to explain why the father's longer hours should change the division of housework. Surprisingly, equity was significantly more likely to be employed by younger participants (9-11 and 12-14-year-olds) than older participants (16-18-year-olds).

Unexpectedly, the majority of participants did not believe that if the father made more money that it should impact the housework distribution. There was a significant interaction between justification and evaluation of whether money affected the distribution. Those who said that money shouldn't change the division were significantly more likely to use the justifications that 1) there is no relationship between money and housework and 2) that the amount of work needed around the house is the same irrespective of income. Those who said money would change the housework distribution were significantly more likely to use the justification that making more money means that the father is working harder/more outside of the home, or has more stress.

The great majority of participants judged that if one of the parents liked doing housework, they could do more, and the majority found this fair. The main justification employed by participants for why enjoyment can be a reason for an individual to do more housework was personal (the person likes doing it and wants to). The few who did not believe enjoying doing housework is a legitimate rationale for one parent to do more housework than

another provided equality as the main justification. Unexpectedly, gender differences were found in justification usage, with boys more likely to employ equality as a justification while girls were more likely to employ enjoyment as a justification.

3.3 Reasoning about One's Own Household

Consistent with participants' survey reports on the time spent on housework by each family, most participants 68.7 % (N=90) reported during their interviews that their mothers did most of the housework. Almost fifteen percent (14.5%) of participants reported that their fathers did most of the housework, while 10.7% stated their grandmothers did most of the housework, the remaining 6.11% of participants reported that the division was evenly split (For specific breakdown by family member and independent variables refer to Table 3.7). As expected, country differences in reporting who did most of the housework were found, $X^2(3)=8.48$, $p<.03$. Consistent with our hypothesis, and previous survey data (OECD, 2008/2009), Korean children were significantly more likely to report that their mothers did most of the housework. However, there were no gender or age differences in reporting.

Table 3.7

Description of Who Does Most of the Housework in Percentages

	Family Member Who does Majority of Housework			
	Mother	Father	Grandmother	Equal
Country				
China	.57(37)	.20(13)	.15 (10)	.08(5)
South Korea	.80(53)	.09(6)	.06(4)	.05(3)
Gender				
Female	.74(48)	.11(7)	.14(9)	.01(1)
Male	.63(42)	.18(12)	.07(5)	.10(7)
Age Group				
9-11	.68(32)	.08(4)	.17(8)	.06(3)
12-14	.64(27)	.21(9)	.07(3)	.07(3)
16-18	.73(31)	.14(6)	.07(3)	.04(2)
Overall	.69(90)	.14(19)	.10(14)	.06(8)

Note. Frequencies in parenthesis.

3.3.1 Justifications for family's current division. Repeated-measures ANOVA analysis found significant differences in usage between justification types, $F(4, 629)=65.64$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.29$, (Refer to Table 7 for justification type usage). Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that equity was significantly more likely to be used than any other justification type, as the rationale for participants' current

division of labor. Participants' justification type usage did not differ significantly by age, gender, or country.

As expected, there was a significant interaction between reporting who does the most housework (family structure) and the justification type used, $F(4,624)=3.10$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.05$. Post hoc pairwise comparisons revealed that equality was significantly more likely to employed when the housework was described as equally divided across family members. On the other hand, equity was significantly more likely to be used for any other distribution type (mother does most, father does most, grandmother does most) than an equal division. Feasibility (i.e., it can't be helped) was significantly more likely to be used to explain why the grandmother does most housework than for mother ($t=2.21$, $p<.02$) or father($t=2.05$, $p<.04$).

Table 3.8

Justifications for Current Family Division in Proportions by Age, Country, Gender and Family Division

Characteristics	Justifications				
	Equality	Equity	Feasibility	Gender	Perspectivism
Age					
9-11	.08(.28)	.52(.47)	.15(.34)	.11(.31)	.02(.10)
12-14	.02(.15)	.61(.42)	.09(.27)	.13(.31)	.05(.15)
16-18	.03(.16)	.44(.48)	.11(.30)	.12(.32)	.03(.11)
Gender					
Female	.03(.17)	.60(.44)	.15(.33)	.09(.29)	.05(.15)
Male	.06(.24)	.52(.47)	.09(.27)	.15(.33)	.01(.08)
Country					
China	.09(.29)	.55(.44)	.12(.30)	.07(.23)	.06(.16)
Korea	.57(.47)	.12(.31)	.18(.37)	.00(0)	.00(0)
Family Division					
Mother	.02(.15)	.60(.45)	.11(.30)	.13(.33)	.02(.09)
Father	.00(0)	.54(.49)	.07(.24)	.15(.33)	.05(.15)
Grandmother	.00(0)	.48(.39)	.28(.42)	.07(.26)	.07(.18)
Equal	.50(.52)	.27(.45)	.06(.17)	.12(.31)	.06(.17)
Overall	.05(.21)	.56(.45)	.12(.31)	.12(.31)	.03(.12)

3.3.2 Family fairness evaluation. Unlike in the case of hypothetical scenarios, there was no clear majority in participants' evaluation of their own family's division of housework. Out of 132 children (1 did not answer) 47.73% (63) of children stated that their family division was not fair, while 50 %(66) thought their family's division of housework was fair. An additional 2.27%(3) children were unwilling to evaluate their family's situation as 100% fair, but believed the situation to be reasonable or okay. Evaluations of fairness differed significantly by country, $X^2(2)=11.67$, $p<.00$. Consistent with this study's survey likert-scale findings, Korean children

were significantly more likely to say their family's division of housework is unfair. As hypothesized, there were also significant differences between family fairness evaluations and family structure, $X^2(2)=8.59$, $p<.01$. Participants were more likely to say the family division is unfair if the mother was reported as doing most of the housework. Contrary to expectation, no statistically significant gender or age differences were found.

While not statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 3.9, there appears to be a general age trend of younger children (9-11-year-olds) being more likely to find their family's division as fair, and as they grow older to become less likely to find their family division fair. While also not reaching statistical significance, male children appeared more likely to say their family division was fair than did female children.

Table 3.9

Children's Evaluation of Own Family Division Fairness (Percentages)

Characteristics	Fair	Not Fair	Reasonable
Age Group			
9-11	60.0(29)	40.0(19)	.00(0)
12-14	50.0(21)	48.0(20)	2.0(1)
16-18	38.0(16)	57.0(24)	5.0(2)
Country			
China	61.5 (40)	33.8(22)	4.0(3)
South Korea	38.8(26)	61.2(41)	.00(0)
Gender			
Female	44.0(29)	53.0(35)	3.0(2)
Male	56.0(37)	42.0(28)	2.0(1)
Family Division			
Mother	41.0(37)	56.6(51)	2.0(2)
Father	68.4(13)	31.6(19)	.00(0)
Grandmother	57.3(8)	35.7(5)	7.0(1)
Equal	87.5(7)	12.5(1)	.00(0)
Overall	50.0(66)	47.7(63)	2.27(3)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

3.3.3 Justifications following fairness evaluation. There were significant differences in usage of justification types, $F(5, 756)=9.31$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.05$ and significant interactions between justification type and country, $F(5, 763)=9.04$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.05$. However no gender, age, or family structure differences were found (Refer to Table 10 for all justifications). Tukey HSD post hoc tests on justification type usage revealed that equality, followed by equity were significantly more likely to be employed than any of the other types of justification. Interestingly, post hoc pairwise comparison analysis of country differences revealed that Chinese participants were more likely to use participation (they are participating, doing something and amount doesn't

matter) as a justification ($t=3.07, p<.00$). Korean participants were more likely to use equality as a justification ($t=5.11, p=.00$). Chinese participants were also more likely to use equity ($t=2.03, p>.04$) overall.

As found in hypothetical scenarios, there were significant interactions between fairness evaluation (fair/not fair) and justification types, $F(10, 756)=25.74, p<.00, N^2=.25$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that those who evaluated their household as having a fair distribution were significantly more likely to employ participation as a justification ($t=2.82, p<.00$). Those evaluating their family's division as not fair, were significantly more likely to employ equality than those saying it was fair ($t=13.53, p<.00$) or reasonable ($t=4.26, p<.00$) as justifications. Equity was significantly more likely to be used by those who say their family is fair ($t=6.60, p>.00$), and those who say it is reasonable ($t=2.81, p<.00$) than those who said not fair. Feasibility was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying the situation is reasonable instead of fair ($t=3.22, p<.00$) or not fair ($t=3.60, p<.00$).

Table 3.10

Justifications for Fairness Evaluations of Own Household by Age, Gender, Country, and Family Structure

Grouping	Justifications					
	Part	Equality	Equity	Perspectivism	Contractual	Feasibility
Age						
9-11	.07(.25)	.48(.47)	.20(.38)	.06(.20)	.02(.14)	.02(.10)
12-14	.07(.25)	.60(.46)	.18(.36)	.01(.07)	.02(.15)	.02(.10)
16-18	.11(.30)	.56(.47)	.12(.32)	.05(.15)	.07(.25)	.04(.17)
Gender						
Female	.10(.30)	.53(.47)	.21(.38)	.03(.15)	.03(.17)	.02(.14)
Male	.06(.22)	.57(.47)	.13(.33)	.05(.15)	.04(.21)	.03(.12)
Country						
China	.16(.35)	.40(.44)	.21(.37)	.06(.16)	.00(0)	.05(.17)
Korea	.01(.12)	.70(.44)	.13(.34)	.02(.13)	.07(.26)	.00(.06)
Family Structure						
Mother most	.06(.23)	.57(.47)	.18(.37)	.03(.15)	.05(.20)	.04(.15)
Other division	.14(.33)	.49(.45)	.15(.32)	.06(.16)	.02(.15)	.01(.08)
Overall	.08(.27)	.55(.47)	.17(.36)	.04(.15)	.04(.19)	.03(.13)

As a result of the significant interaction between justification used and fairness evaluation, a repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted of justifications as a function of country, gender, age, and family structure when fairness evaluation was fair and when fairness evaluation was not fair. There were significant country justification interaction for those evaluating their family's division as not fair, $F(5,364)=4.02, p<.00, N^2=.05$. Pairwise comparison

tests revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be employed by Korean participants ($t=2.59$, $p<.01$). Perspectivism was significantly more likely to be employed by Chinese participants ($t=3.20$, $p<.00$).

Interestingly, there was a significant interaction between gender and justifications used for those evaluating their family's division as fair, $F(5,368)=2.19$, $p<.05$, $N^2=.02$. Post hoc pairwise comparisons revealed that female participants were significantly more likely to employ equity as a justification compared to boys ($t=2.51$, $p<.01$). No other age, gender, country, or family structure interactions were found.

Table 3.11

Justifications for Fairness Evaluations of Own Household by Fairness Evaluations

Grouping	Justifications					
	Part	Equality	Equity	Perspectivism	Contractual	Feasibility
Country						
China						
Fair	.22(.40)	.21(.39)	.31(.43)	.05(.15)	.00(0)	.05(.15)
Not Fair	.06(.23)	.76(.33)	.02(.10)	.09(.19)	.00(0)	.00(0)
Reasonable	.00(0)	.11(.19)	.22(.19)	.11(.19)	.00(0)	.44(.50)
Korea						
Fair	.03(.19)	.28(.43)	.33(.47)	.06(.47)	.06(.22)	.16(.37)
Not Fair	.00(0)	.94(.21)	.02(.15)	.00(0)	.02(.15)	.00(0)
Reasonable						
Gender						
Female						
Fair	.20(.40)	.17(.36)	.42(.46)	.03(.18)	.03(.18)	.01(.09)
Not Fair	.02(.16)	.84(.30)	.04(.18)	.03(.11)	.03(.16)	.00(0)
Reasonable	.00(0)	.00(0)	.16(.23)	.16(.23)	.00(0)	.66(.47)
Male						
Fair	.15(.34)	.24(.40)	.32(.44)	.05(.18)	.06(.24)	.04(.13)
Not Fair	.02(.13)	.88(.27)	.02(.14)	.03(.12)	.02(.12)	.00(0)
Reasonable	.00(0)	.11(.19)	.22(.19)	.11(.19)	.00(0)	.44(.50)
General						
Fair	.15(.34)	.24(.40)	.32(.44)	.05(.18)	.06(.24)	.04(.13)
Not Fair	.02(.13)	.88(.27)	.02(.13)	.03(.12)	.01(.12)	.00(0)
Reasonable	.00(0)	.11(.19)	.22(.19)	.11(.19)	.00(0)	.44(.50)

Note. Empty cells represent no justification used, because none of the participants evaluated it as reasonable.

Summary of findings. Most participants described their mother as doing most of the housework. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, most participants described their family's current division to be based on equity (who had more time did more). In homes where the family was described as having an equal division, equality was the main justification used.

Surprisingly however, participants were almost evenly divided on their evaluation of whether they found their family's current division as fair. However, in families where the mother was reported as doing the bulk of the housework, participants were more likely to evaluate it as unfair (although not universally). Consistent with this finding, as Korean participants were more likely to report that their mothers did the most of the housework, they were also more likely to find their family's division unfair. Justifications for evaluating one's family's division varied significantly by country. Chinese participants were more likely to use participation and equity as a justification, while equality was significantly more likely to be used by Korean participants.

When justifying their fairness evaluation of family practices, participants who evaluated their family's division as fair were more likely to use (lack of) equality as a justification, while equity was the main justification used to justify why the current division was evaluated as fair. When evaluating their family's division as not fair, Korean participants were more likely to employ equality as a justification, while Chinese participants were more likely to employ perspectivism (i.e., they need to think about the other's needs) as a justification. Interestingly, when evaluating the division as fair, girls were more likely to employ equity as a justification as compared to boys.

3.4 Fairness Evaluation Across Situations

Interestingly, children's evaluations across the two hypothetical scenarios and their own family's division all significantly differed from each other, $X^2(4)=177.30$, $p<.00$. As expected, participants were much more likely to say the story of strict equality was fair and the story where the mother does the bulk of the housework was unfair (Refer to Table 3.12 for breakdown). Furthermore, as anticipated, children were significantly more likely to find the hypothetical scenario of perfect equality as fair than their own family's division, $X^2(2)=78.44$, $p<.00$.

However, contrary to previous findings (Turiel, 2008), participants did not evaluate the hypothetical scenarios and their own family's divisions similarly. Although most children reported having family situations where the mother did most of the housework, surprisingly children were much more likely to say that the hypothetical scenario in which the mother did most housework was unfair than they were to say their own family's situation was unfair, $X^2(2)=33.33$, $p<.00$.

Table 3.12

Fairness Evaluation Across Situations (Percentages)

Situation	Evaluation		
	Not Fair	Fair	Reasonable
Gender Unequal Situation (1 st)	.81(108)	.19(25)	.00(0)
Perfect Equality (2 nd)	.01(2)	.98(131)	.00(0)
Own Family	.48(63)	.50(66)	.02(3)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

3.5 Changing Family Division

Most participants believed that their family's household labor division should change. Most (64.1% of 133) of participants stated that they thought their family's situation should change, while 35.8% of participants stated that they did not think their family division should change. Surprisingly, no gender or age differences were found (Refer to Tables 3.13 and 3.14 for details). However, consistent with country differences found in fairness evaluations, country differences were found in evaluations of whether family division should change, $X^2(1) = 10.84$, $p < 0.00$. Korean participants were significantly more likely to believe that their family division should change.

Table 3.13

Evaluations of Whether Family Division Should Change (Percentages)

Grouping	Change	
	Yes	No
Age		
9-11	59.6(28)	40.3(19)
12-14	57.2(24)	42.8(18)
16-18	76.2(32)	23.8(10)
Country		
China	50.0(32)	50.0(32)
Korea	77.6(52)	22.4(15)
Gender		
Female	69.7(46)	30.3(20)
Male	58.5(38)	41.5(27)
Family Division		
Mother	71.9(64)	28.1(25)
Father	42.1(8)	57.9(11)
Grandmother	71.4(10)	28.6(4)
Equal	25.0(2)	75.0(6)
Overall	64.1(84)	35.8(47)

As expected, participants who evaluated their family division as not fair were significantly more likely to believe their current family division should change, $X^2(2) = 52.77$, $p < .00$. Furthermore, family structure significantly affected evaluations of whether current family division should change, $X^2(3) = 12.05$, $p < .00$. Participants were significantly more likely to say that the family division should change if the mother was reported as doing most of the housework. Interestingly, participants were also more likely to say the family division should change if the grandmother was reported as doing most of the housework.

Table 3.14

Evaluations of Whether Family Division Should Change by Fairness Evaluation (Percentages)

Grouping	Change	
	Yes	No
Fairness Evaluation		
Fair	36.9(24)	63.1(41)
Not Fair	95.2(60)	4.8(3)
Reasonable		1.0(3)

Note. Empty cell represents no cases of those who evaluated it as reasonable and thought the division should change.

3.6 Assumptions about Gender

Contrary to expectations, most participants believed that women and men are both equally capable of engaging in housework in general, and in specific tasks (Refer to Table 3.15 for percentages for each task). No country, gender, age, or family structure differences were found in assessing both genders as equally capable for most tasks. One of the significant reported differences in housework tasks were in the task of fixing things. To “fix things” was the only activity that the majority of participants believed men to be naturally better at accomplishing.

Interestingly, significant country differences were found, $X^2(2)=9.72$, $p<.00$. Korean children were significantly more likely to say that both genders were equally capable of doing repairs/fixing things around the house, while Chinese participants were significantly more likely to say that men were naturally more capable of fixing things.

The only other difference in assumptions about gender-based differences in task ability was in terms of grocery shopping. Significant age differences were found in reporting gender-based differences in grocery shopping, $X^2(4)=9.76$, $p<.04$. Young adolescents (12-14-year-olds) were significantly more likely to report that women were better at shopping than the other two age groups. Consistent with previous literature on stereotypical thinking (Sinno & Killen, 2009; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017), older adolescents (16-18-year-olds) were significantly more likely to report that both genders are equally capable of doing grocery shopping.

Table 3.15

Gender Differences in Abilities to Engage in Particular Tasks in Percentages

Does Most	Household Task						
	Housework	Childcare	Cook	Clean	Fix	Shop	Earn Income
Same	66.4(87)	59.9 (79)	68.9(89)	73.1(95)	34.6(45)	60.7 (79)	75.5 (99)
Women	29.0 (38)	37.9(5)	28.7(37)	21.5(28)	.08(1)	33.8(44)	.08(1)
Men	2.29 (3)	1.52(2)	1.5(2)	4.6(6)	64.6(84)	5.38 (7)	23.7(31)
Different	2.3(3)	.08(1)	.08(1)	.08(1)			

Total	131	132	129	130	130	130	131
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Note. Empty cells represent no cases.

3.7 Discussion

This chapter's findings lend further support to previous research on the gendered nature of housework distribution. However, the results expand previous research that has mainly focused on adult's reports. The findings suggest that, like their parents, children are perceiving their mothers as engaging in doing the bulk of the housework. Also consistent with Chinese and Korean adult survey reports (OECD, 2008/2009), Korean children were more likely to report their mothers as doing most of the housework as compared to Chinese children. Unexpectedly, and contrary to the hypothesis, Korean children were more likely to judge their family's division as unfair than Chinese children. Korean children's greater likelihood to find their family's division unfair, suggests a connection between experienced family division and fairness evaluation. Furthermore, contrary to the hypothesis that children would be more likely to be in support of stereotypical consistent behavior (Sinno & Killen, 2011), especially as a result of their own family's stereotypical division (Sinno & Killen, 2011; Sinno, Schuette & Hellriegel, 2017), independent of country, children who report their mother as doing most of the housework were more likely to evaluate their family's division as unfair. Also, contrary to hypothesis, no gender differences were found in children's evaluations of the fairness of their family's division, nor was one gender found to use more conventional or moral reasoning than the other (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013; Gere & Helwig, 2012). Consistent with this surprisingly negative evaluation of the mother doing most of the housework, children who reported their mothers as doing most of the housework were more likely to believe that their family's division should change. Children who believe their family's division should change were also more likely to have evaluated their family's household labor division as unfair.

However, it should be noted that, while in both countries mothers were reported as more likely to do the bulk of the housework, and across countries fathers were reported as engaging in the same amount of housework a day, Korean mothers were reported as spending significantly more time on housework than Chinese mothers. In support of the counter-hypothesis that Korean children's actual observation of extreme differences in gendered labor would result in more morally critical evaluations and reasoning, it is likely that Korean children's greater likelihood of finding their family's division as unfair may also be a result of not only mother's greater involvement (like their Chinese counterparts), but also the greater proportion of time that Korean children reported their mothers spending on housework relative to Korean fathers. In other words, Korean children may be more likely to consider a division unfair as a result of the greater visibility created by the larger discrepancy of involvement between spouses.

The findings suggest a strong connection between children's evaluations regarding the fairness of situations and their justifications. In situations that children evaluate as unfair, they were significantly more likely to employ the justification of equality (should have sameness of condition). If the situation is evaluated as fair children were more likely to rely on equity (differences in situation/time should lead to differences in doing housework). When children found the family household labor division unfair, interestingly, Chinese children were more likely to employ perspectivism as a justification, while Korean participants were more likely to use equality as a justification.

As expected, in general children found a strictly equal division of housework in which both parents work the same and do the same amount of housework as fair. However, of note, children believed that time-availability (father works more) and personal preferences (parent enjoys doing housework) were legitimate factors that should result in a difference in housework distribution. Interestingly, they did not consider income as a sufficient factor to warrant differences in housework distribution.

However, contrary to previous findings that suggested that children used same evaluations regarding hypothetical and real transgressions (Turiel, 2008), unexpectedly children did not apply the same evaluations across hypothetical and their own family's situation. While children were almost universally evaluating a hypothetical scenarios in which both parents work and the mother does most of the housework as unfair, and a situation in which both work and both do the same housework as fair, they were almost 50-50 split in their fairness evaluations regarding their family's division of housework. Furthermore, while in the hypothetical scenario in which the mother was reported as doing the majority of housework, consistent with Sinno & Killen's (2011) work, children from family structures in which mothers did the majority of the housework were more likely to find the story fair, the same evaluation and reasoning did not directly translate to their own family's division. In other words, while children who reported that their mothers did the majority of the housework were more likely to find a hypothetical scenario that had a gender unequal division fair, they were just as likely to find their own family's division as unfair. However, as the split in fairness evaluations of one's own family labor division attests, perceiving the mother as doing most of the housework was not in itself sufficient to cause children to consider their family's division as unfair. Although children were rarely reporting equal divisions of housework in their family, they were only slightly more likely to find their mothers doing most of the housework as unfair. Interestingly, they were even less likely to find their fathers or grandmothers doing most of the housework as unfair. Furthermore, when questioned about their gender assumptions, most children were surprisingly non-stereotypical. Explicit gender stereotyped- thinking then, did not appear to be a main factor in reasoning regarding the acceptability of an uneven distribution of housework.

Finally, it should be noted that while equity was the most often employed rationale to justify an unequal division of housework in the family, when reasoning about time-availability, younger participants (9-11 and 12-14) were more likely to employ equity as a justification than older participants (16-18). Furthermore, when reasoning about income as a factor older participants (16-18) were more likely to be critical and reason that income should not change the status of the father within the family. In addition, while not statistically significant, consistent with the initial hypothesis, with age there was a general trend towards participants becoming less likely to evaluate their family's division as fair. The findings suggest that not only are young participants using similar rationales as adults by employing equity as a reason to justify inequality, but that as children age and become more critical, they are more likely to be leery of using equity as a justification. Contrary to developmental findings that suggest that employing equity is a sign of greater moral understanding, in the case of housework, it is actually employing equality as a justification that shows a greater understanding of systemic inequality. In other words, older adolescents may be a little more likely to recognize what OECD(2008/2009) statistics suggest, which is that when you combine hours laboring in the workforce and laboring in the home, women still end up laboring more.

Chapter 4. Chinese and South Korean Adults' Social and Moral Reasoning about Housework Distribution

As reviewed in the introduction, most of the literature on adults' experiences about their housework distribution has relied upon survey data from Western samples of female participants. In this chapter I present the findings regarding perceptions of the distribution of housework obtained through a combination of questionnaires, surveys, and interviews conducted with couples heading households in two East Asian locations. A total of 24 men and 24 women from 12 couples in China and 12 in South Korea comprised the sample for this part of the research. Self-reports obtained through the Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire indicated that all but one of the Chinese women in this sample worked outside of the home. (At the time of this research one Chinese mother in the study was currently on motherhood leave¹⁰). These findings with the present sample are consistent with previous survey research indicating that most mothers in China work (OECD, 2008/2009). Similar to previously reported Korean population statistics, 5 of the 12 women of the couples interviewed in Korea considered themselves housewives¹¹. All fathers in both of the countries studied worked full-time.

4.1 Overall Housework Engagement

The Daily-Routine Survey Checklist obtained participants' self-reports of the overall amount of time that they perceived each of their family members to be engaging in housework per day. (For average time reported for each family member by country refer to Table 4.1). Time reported spent on housework significantly differed by family member, $F(3,144)=39.10$, $p < .00$, $N^2 = .44$. Consistent with previous findings (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), Tukey HSD post hoc analysis revealed that mothers were reported as doing significantly more housework than fathers and children. As expected and consistent with prior research (OECD, 2008/2009), there were significant country differences in reporting mother's involvement in overall daily time spent on housework, Korean participants reported significantly more time spent by the mother doing housework than did Chinese participants ($t=3.70$, $p < .00$). Interestingly, no significant differences were found in reports of father and child time spent on housework. No gender differences in reporting family member involvement were found.

Table 4.1

Participants' Report of Family Members' Time spent (in minutes) on Housework Daily by Country

	Mothers	Fathers	Child	Grandparents*
Overall	96.66(50.9)	36.77(37.53)	15(15.17)	63.75(77.5)
China	72.5(33.8)	43.12(47.77)	14.34(11.8)	63.75(77.5)
South Korea	120.83(54.18)	30.41(22.64)	15.71(18.45)	--

* Two Chinese households had grandparents living in residence, while none of the Korean households observed had grandparents living in the same house.

¹⁰ All participants from China were Han, except for one father and one mother (from different couples) who identified as Hui.

¹¹ It should be noted that identifying as a housewife at the time of the survey did not mean that these mothers did not or had not worked outside of the home. All of them either assisted their husbands in their careers, worked part-time on and off over the years, or had previous careers that they took a break from to educate their children.

4.1.1 Family member's engagement in specific housework tasks. Participants were given a Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire and asked to report which family member did most of the following common household tasks: cooking, laundry, cleaning, grocery shopping, taking out trash, and paying bills. Interestingly, reports on which family member engaged in doing most of these daily housework tasks did not differ significantly by country or gender of respondent. This indicates that the perception of who was doing the housework, mothers or fathers, was independent of the role of the person providing the information. The reports of the distribution of specific household tasks appeared to follow previous research on gender differences in housework tasks (Coltrane, 2000). Cooking was primarily reported to be the mother's responsibility. Although not reaching statistical significance, $X^2(3)=6.75, p<.08$, Chinese participants were more likely to report fathers as doing the primary aspect of cooking than Korean participants. Across countries taking out the trash was more likely to be reported to be a task done by fathers. Cleaning and doing the laundry were more likely across countries to be reported to the mother's responsibility.

Table 4.2

Family Member Who Does Most of Housework Tasks in Percentages

Task	Mother	Father	Grandmother	Parents/Equal	Child
Cooking	76.60	17.02	4.26	2.13	0
Trash	19.15	40.43	0	29.79	10.6
Laundry	78.26	8.70	4.35	8.69	0
Cleaning	56.52	13.04	2.17	19.57	8.70
Shopping	35.42	14.58	2.08	47.92	0
Bills	21.28	44.68	0	34.04	0

4.1.2 Overall fairness evaluation of family division. Participants' perception of the fairness of household distribution was assessed with a five point Likert scale (1=very unfair, 3=so-so, 5=very fair) included within the Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire. The average overall reported fairness evaluation of one's own family division was 3.43(SD=1.18). No significant gender differences in fairness evaluation were found. On the other hand, country differences in fairness evaluation reached borderline statistical significance ($t=1.87, p<.06$), with Chinese participants being more likely to perceive their distribution as fair. For each group's mean fairness evaluation refer to Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Participants' Fairness Evaluation Means by Country & Gender

Characteristics	Mothers	Fathers	Overall
Country			
China	4.00(0.95)	3.50(1.31)	3.75(1.15)

Korea	2.83(1.26)	3.41(0.99)	3.12(1.15)
Combined	4.10(1.24)	3.45(1.14)	3.43(1.18)

Note: Standard Deviation in parenthesis.

4.2 Reasoning about Hypothetical Situations

4.2.1 Scenario 1: gender unequal division. Contrary to this study's hypothesis, the majority of participants found the 1st hypothetical scenario, depicting a gender unequal household where both parents worked but the mother did the majority of housework, unfair. In general 75% of parents evaluated the 1st scenario as unfair (For a breakdown of fairness evaluation across countries, and gender refer to Table 4.4). Unexpectedly, when asked whether the situation described in the story was fair or not, 10.4% of participants refused to evaluate the story as either, suggesting that the story was neither fair or unfair, just reasonable or so-so. Interestingly, chi-square analysis revealed no significant family structure, country, or gender differences. Intriguingly, although not statistically significant, Chinese participants were almost 20% less likely to evaluate the 1st story as unfair compared to Korean participants.

Table 4.4

Fairness Evaluations of First Story in Percentages, by Country, Gender, and Family Structure

Fairness Evaluation	Fair	Not Fair	So-So
Country			
China	16.6(4)	66.6(16)	16.6(4)
Korea	12.5(3)	83.3(20)	4.2 (1)
Gender			
Female	20.8(5)	75.0(18)	4.2(1)
Male	8.3(2)	75.0(18)	16.6(4)
Family Structure			
Mother does most	16.6(6)	75.0(27)	8.3(3)
Other Division	9.1(1)	81.8(9)	9.1(1)
Overall	14.58(7)	75.0(36)	10.4(5)

Note: Frequency in parenthesis.

This study employed repeated-measures ANOVAs to test the relationship between justification type, fairness evaluation (Fair/ Not Fair) and participants' characteristics including country (2), and family structure (2 mother does most housework or not) and gender (2). The use of repeated-measures ANOVA is generally accepted in the analysis of reasoning, especially within developmental data involving within-subject design (Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa & Smith, 2001). To interpret the effects found within ANOVAs, post hoc, Tukey HSD and pairwise comparisons using independent-samples t-test were conducted.

The distribution of justifications provided for judgments of the situation in Story 1 is provided below in Table 4.5. The repeated-measures ANOVAs revealed that justification types varied at statistically significant levels, $F(6,314)=3.30$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.06$. Post hoc tests showed that for the first story *equality* was significantly more likely to be used than any other type of justification. To explore possible interactions that may be obscured, repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted for justifications with gender, country, and family structure factors interacting with justification types. This analysis revealed a significant interaction between justification type and country, $F(6,321)=2.05$, $p<.05$, $N^2=.03$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that *equity* was significantly more likely to be employed by Chinese couples than Korean couples ($t=1.95$, $p<.05$). On the other hand, *equality* was significantly more likely to be employed by Korean couples than Chinese couples ($t=2.07$, $p<.03$). Surprisingly, no gender or family structure interactions were found.

Table 4.5

Gender Unequal Division Hypothetical Scenario Justifications in Proportions by Country, Gender, Family Structure

Grouping	Justifications						
	Equality	Participation	Equity	Perspective	Contractual	Gender	Family Membership
Country							
China	.46(.47)	.01(.06)	.12(.26)	.03(.11)	.10(.25)	.08(.23)	.09(.18)
Korea	.65(.45)	.12(.33)	.00	.09(.28)	.04(.20)	.01(.06)	.06(.22)
Gender							
Female	.63(.45)	.10(.28)	.04(.13)	.03(.11)	.02(.10)	.02(.10)	.11(.24)
Male	.48(.48)	.04(.20)	.08(.23)	.08(.23)	.12(.30)	.07(.22)	.04(.14)
Family Structure							
Mother most	.61(.48)	.09(.28)	.06(.20)	.05(.19)	.04(.18)	.05(.18)	.03(.17)
Other	.43(.41)	.00	.04(.15)	.09(.29)	.13(.31)	.00	.21(.24)
Overall	.56(.47)	.07(.24)	.06(.19)	.06(.21)	.07(.22)	.05(.17)	.07(.20)

Note. Standard deviation in parenthesis. Only justifications above .05 presented in this table.

To explore the relationship between fairness evaluations and justification type, a 2 (Fairness Evaluation) X 4 (Justification) repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted with justification type as the repeated factor. The model showed that there was a justification by fairness evaluation interaction, $F(12,314)=9.98$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.27$. Such an interaction, although not consistently explored in other social cognitive domain empirical studies, is not entirely unexpected, as previous research has also found an interaction between evaluation and reasoning type (Mulvey & Killen, 2016). Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that equity was significantly more likely to be employed by those that evaluated the story as fair than those that said it was unfair ($t=2.80$, $p<.00$). Gender was significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as fair than those who said unfair ($t=2.15$, $p<.03$). Similarly, participation was significantly more likely to be employed as a justification by those who said

fair than those who said unfair ($t=2.49, p<.01$) and reasonable ($t=2.12, p<.03$). On the other hand, contractual was significantly more likely to be employed by those evaluating the story as neither fair or unfair (reasonable), than fair ($t=3.90, p<.00$) or not fair ($t=5.64, p<.00$). Moreover, equality was significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as unfair than those that said fair ($t=5.83, p<.00$) and reasonable ($t=6.20, p<.00$).

In order to explore the significant effect of the interaction between fairness evaluation and justification type usage, a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted separately examining the interaction between age X justification, gender X justification, and country X justification, when the story was evaluated as fair=1, and when the story was evaluated as unfair=0. Interestingly, this analysis found a significant country by justification interaction, $F(6, 34)=3.00, <.01, N^2=.34$, for adults who evaluated the story as fair (fair=1). Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed equity was significantly more likely to be used by Chinese couples ($t=2.33, p<.02$). Moreover, Korean participants were significantly more likely to use participation as a justification ($t=2.59, p<.01$). In other words, Chinese participants who found the first story fair were more likely to use the justification that the father was busier than the mother and therefore could do less, while Korean participants were more likely to argue that the story was fair because the father was participating in doing some of the housework. For participants who evaluated the story as not fair (Fair=0), there was also a family structure X justification interaction, $F(6, 420)=2.14, p<.04, N^2=.02$. Family membership was significantly more likely to be employed as a justification by participants who had a family housework division in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework ($t=3.88, p<.00$).

Table 4.6

Justifications by Fairness Evaluation in Proportions (by country)

Grouping	Justifications						
	Equality	Participation	Equity	Perspective	Contract	Gender	Family Membership
Country							
Korea							
Fair	.33(.57)	.66(.57)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)
Unfair	.73(.41)	.05(.22)	.00(0)	.11(.30)	.00(0)	.01(.07)	.07(.24)
So-so	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.99(0)	.00(0)	.00(0)
China							
Fair	.00(0)	.00(0)	.37(.25)	.12(.25)	.12(.25)	.37(.47)	.00(0)
Unfair	.70(.41)	.02(.08)	.03(.12)	.02(.08)	.00(0)	.00(0)	.13(.21)
So-So							
Overall							
Fair	.14(.37)	.33(.51)	.21(.26)	.07(.18)	.07(.18)	.21(.39)	.00(0)
Unfair	.71(.40)	.03(.17)	.01(.08)	.07(.23)	.00(0)	.00(.05)	.10(.22)
So-so	.00(0)	.00(0)	.19(.44)	.00(0)	.59(.41)	.10(.22)	.00(0)

Note. Only justifications that occurred overall more than 5% of the time are included in this table. Empty cells represent no justification used, because none of the participants evaluated it as reasonable.

Summary of findings. As found in previous research examining adult self-reports, the majority of participants in the present study reported that the mothers engaged in doing most of

the housework. In general, specific housework tasks were found to follow gendered expectations, where mothers were reported to engage in doing most of the cooking, cleaning and laundry. Meanwhile, fathers were reported as more likely to take out the trash. Also consistent with previous survey data, Korean mothers were reported as spending significantly more time on housework each day as compared to Chinese mothers. Interestingly, no country or gender differences were found in reporting the fairness evaluation of their family's current housework division.

Contrary to this study's hypothesis, the majority of participants found a gender unequal division of labor hypothetical scenario unfair. Surprisingly, around 10% of participants considered the story neither fair nor unfair (reasonable). In their reasoning regarding a gender unequal division of labor, participants were most likely to use equality (expectation of sameness) as a justification. For example, many participants stated both spouses were described as both having a full-time profession, and therefore the couple should be equally sharing the housework. Korean participants were found to be significantly more likely to use equality as a justification compared to Chinese participants.

Interestingly, there was a significant interaction between fairness evaluation and justification used. Equality was significantly more likely to be employed by participants who evaluated the story as unfair, while participation, equity, and gender were significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as fair. Significant country differences were found in justification usage when the story was evaluated as fair. Within the group of participants that evaluated the gender unequal division as fair, Korean participants were significantly more likely to employ participation (i.e., it is fair because all family members are doing some labor) as a justification, while Chinese participants were more likely to use equity (i.e., it is fair because the husband is working longer/harder at his job) as a justification. Furthermore, it is contractual (i.e., it is agreed between the two parties) was significantly more likely to be used as a justification by those who evaluated the story as neither fair nor unfair, but reasonable. Within the group of participants who evaluated the story as not fair, those who came from a family in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework were significantly more likely to employ family membership (i.e., they should all participate in the housework division since they are family members) as a justification.

4.2.2 Scenario 2: strictly equal division between parents. The great majority of participants (89.58%) found the second hypothetical scenario where both parents work at the same company for the same hours and divide the housework 50-50, as describing a household work distribution that was fair. This lends support to Gere & Helwig's (2012) findings that individuals endorse the equal division of housework. There were no significant differences based on gender, country, or family structure. Moreover, while an additional 6.25% found the story to be neither fair nor unfair, but reasonable, only 4.17% found the story unfair. This sweeping support of an equal division of housework is consistent with prior findings that individuals across cultures agree in their evaluation of straightforward moral situations (Nucci, Turiel, & Roded, 2017).

Repeated-measures ANOVAS revealed that justifications following fairness evaluations varied significantly from each other, $F(2,135)=5.45$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.07$ (Refer to Table 7 for justification usage). Tukey HSD post hoc tests revealed equality significantly more likely to be employed than any other justification.

Table 4.7

Equal Division Hypothetical Scenario Justifications in Proportions by Country, Gender, Family Structure

Grouping	Justifications		
	Equality	Gender	Harmony
Country			
China	.82(.34)	.06(.22)	.08(.27)
Korea	.84(.34)	.04(.20)	.00(0)
Gender			
Female	.92(.22)	.04(.20)	.00(0)
Male	.74(.41)	.06(.22)	.08(.27)
Family Structure			
Mother does most	.82(.35)	.06(.24)	.02(.16)
Other division	.85(.32)	.00(0)	.09(.29)
Overall	.83 (.34)	.05(.21)	.04(.19)

Note. Justifications only with a .05 proportion or higher presented in table.

Repeated-measures ANOVA revealed a significant justification and fairness evaluation interaction, $F(4, 135)=18.86, p<.00, N^2=.35$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying it was fair than those saying it was not fair ($t=6.12, p<.00$). Gender was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying it was not fair ($t=3.15, p<.00$) or reasonable ($t=2.50, p<.01$) than those saying fair. On the other hand, harmony was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying the story was reasonable than those saying it was fair ($t=2.45, p<.01$). Interestingly, there was also a significant gender and justification interaction, $F(2,138)=3.46, p<.03, N^2=.04$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that women were significantly more likely to employ equality than men ($t=2.39, p<.01$).

Table 4.8

Equal Division Hypothetical Scenario Justifications in Proportions by Fairness Evaluation

Fairness Evaluation	Justifications		
	Equality	Gender	Harmony
Fair	.90(.24)	.01(.07)	.02(.15)
Not Fair	.00	.49(.70)	.00
Reasonable	.33(.57)	.33(.57)	.33(.57)

Note. Justifications only with a .05 proportion or higher presented in table.

4.2.3 Time availability, money, and personal enjoyment as factors. To test whether several factors previously theorized to affect adults' decision-making in dividing the housework (Coltrane, 2000) influenced couples' evaluations and reasoning, participants were asked to consider whether the following situations should lead to changes in the housework distribution: 1) the father working more than the mother, 2) the father making more money than the mother, and 3) one parent enjoying doing housework and wanting to do more.

Working hours as a factor. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, 95.83% of participants stated that if a husband works longer hours the wife should do more housework. No differences in country, gender, or family structure in evaluations were found.

On the other hand, a repeated measures ANOVA revealed that justification usage significantly varied, $F(3,179)=14.50$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.19$ (Refer to Table 4.9 for breakdown of justification usage). Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that equity (acceptance of difference based on differences in time availability) was significantly more likely to be employed than any other reason.

Interestingly, significant justification and country interactions were found, $F(3,183)=6.45$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.09$. In this context, post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that equity was significantly more likely to be employed by Korean participants ($t=3.38$, $p<.00$). On the other hand, feasibility (e.g. it isn't possible to do it another way since the father is absent and can't do the housework) was significantly more likely to be employed by Chinese participants ($t=2.25$, $p<.02$).

Table 4.9

Justifications of Whether Working Longer Hours Can Change Division in Proportions by Country, Gender, Family Structure and Evaluation of Whether Distribution Can Change

Grouping	Justifications			
	Equity	Perspectivism	Feasibility	Affect
Country				
China	.37(.44)	.22(.35)	.26(.38)	.06(.22)
Korea	.76(.41)	.08(.23)	.06(.16)	.04(.13)
Gender				
Female	.47(.48)	.20(.35)	.20(.32)	.08(.23)
Male	.67(.53)	.09(.24)	.12(.30)	.02(.10)
Family Structure				
Mother does most	.60(.46)	.15(.30)	.11(.23)	.06(.20)
Other division	.52(.47)	.16(.32)	.27(.40)	.00
Can Distribution Change?				
Yes	.60(.46)	.13(.28)	.17(.31)	.05(.18)

No	.00	.49(.70)	.00	.00
Overall	.57(.46)	.15(.30)	.16(.31)	.05(.18)

Money as a factor. Contrary to previous theorizing that money is an important factor in deciding who does the housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), 87.50% of participants evaluated that money should not affect the division of housework. Evaluations of whether money should change the distribution did not vary significantly by gender or family structure. However, interestingly, significant country differences in evaluating the influence of money on housework distribution were found, $X^2(1)=6.85$, $p<.00$. Only Chinese participants reported believing that money should be a factor in deciding the division of housework in the family.

A repeated measures ANOVA conducted on justifications revealed that justification type usage differed significantly, $F(3, 183)=7.93$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.11$ (Refer to Table 4.10 for justifications). Tukey HSD post hoc tests revealed that this overall effect was due to the more frequent use the argument that “money doesn’t affect the hours worked.” “Money doesn’t affect the hours worked” was also significantly more likely to be employed than “money doesn’t make their status higher within the family.”

Repeated measures analysis of the interaction between justification type usage and evaluation of whether making money should make a difference, revealed a significant interaction between justification used and evaluation, $F(3,183)=12.60$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.17$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that “no relationship between housework and money” was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying that money should not change the distribution of housework ($t=2.59$, $p<.01$). “Money doesn’t mean working more hours than the spouse” was also significantly more likely to be employed by those saying money should not change the division of housework ($t=2.37$, $p<.01$). “Making more money means working more hours” was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying that the division should change ($t=5.03$, $p<.00$).

Interestingly, significant interactions between country and justification type were also found, $F(3, 183)=15.74$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.20$. Pairwise post hoc comparison revealed that Chinese participants were significantly more likely to employ “no relationship between housework and money” as a justification ($t=2.99$, $p<.00$). Korean participants were significantly more likely to say that “making more money doesn’t mean that the individual worked more hours than their spouse” ($t=5.60$, $p<.00$). Chinese participants were more likely to employ “making more money means working more hours” as a justification ($t=2.40$, $p<.01$).

There were also significant interactions between family structure and justification type, $F(3,179)=3.74$, $p<.01$, $N^2=.05$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that “making more money means working more hours” was significantly more likely to be employed by those in families with family structures in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework ($t=2.27$, $p<.02$). Moreover, “making more money doesn’t mean that the individual worked more hours than their spouse” was significantly more likely to be employed by those in family structures in which mothers were reported as doing the majority of the housework ($t=2.40$, $p<.01$).

Table 4.10

Justifications in Proportions by Country, Gender, Family Structure of Whether Making More Money Should Change Housework Division

Grouping	Justifications			
	No Relationship Between Money & Division	Money Doesn't Mean Working More Hours	More Money Means Working More Hours	More Money Doesn't Gives Higher Status at Home
Country				
China	.55(.50)	.04(.20)	.24(.43)	.12(.33)
Korea	.24(.43)	.61(.48)	.00	.00
Gender				
Female	.33(.47)	.33(.47)	.16(.37)	.12(.33)
Male	.47(.50)	.33(.47)	.08(.27)	.00
Family Structure				
Mother does most	.36(.48)	.41(.49)	.05(.22)	.05(.22)
Other division	.45(.51)	.09(.29)	.36(.49)	.09(.29)
Should Division Change?				
Should	.00	.00	.82(.40)	.00
Should Not	.44(.49)	.37(.48)	.02(.15)	.07(.25)
Overall	.40(.49)	.33(.47)	.12(.33)	.06(.24)

Note. Justifications only with a .05 proportion or higher presented in table.

Personal enjoyment as a factor. All participants believed that if one of the spouses enjoys doing housework, they could do more housework. The universal justification given fell within the personal domain (Nucci, 2014), “the person enjoys/likes it” (M=.98). Consistent with their evaluation of the acceptability of doing more housework if one enjoys it, 89.13% of participants evaluated that if a spouse enjoys housework and they did more housework it would be fair. Only 6.52% of participants evaluated it as not fair, and 4.35% evaluated it as reasonable. No significant gender, country, or family structures differences were found. Interestingly, although not statistically significant, all of those who said a situation in which a person does more housework because they enjoy it is not fair, were Korean and from a family housework division in with the mother did the majority of the housework.

Repeated-measures ANOVA of justification usage varied at significant levels, $F(2,132)=59.22, p<.00, N^2=.47$ (Refer to Tables 4.11 and 4.12 for justifications). Tukey HSD post hoc tests revealed that “likes/enjoys it” was significantly more likely to be employed than any other justifications. No significant country, gender, or family structure differences were found. In addition, a significant interaction between fairness evaluation and justification type was found, $F(4, 129)=2.61, p<.03, N^2=.07$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that enjoy/likes it was significantly more likely to be employed by those that found the situation fair than unfair ($t=4.13, p<.00$) or reasonable ($t=3.49, p<.00$).

Table 4.11

Justifications in Proportions by Country, Gender, Family Structure of Whether Enjoyment Changes How Housework Can be Divided

Grouping	Justifications			
	Likes	Choice	Equality	Relational
Country				
China	.60(.43)	.06(.23)	.00	.15(.32)
Korea	.78(.41)	.08(.27)	.08(.27)	.00
Gender				
Female	.77(.38)	.04(.20)	.04(.20)	.06(.22)
Male	.62(.45)	.10(.29)	.04(.20)	.08(.24)
Family Structure				
Mother does most	.74(.40)	.05(.22)	.05(.22)	.05(.19)
Other division	.54(.49)	.14(.33)	.00	.14(.33)
Overall	.69(.42)	.07(.25)	.04(.20)	.07(.23)

Note. Justifications only with a .05 proportion or higher presented in table.

Table 4.12

Justifications in Proportions by Fairness Evaluation of Whether Enjoyment Changes How Housework Can be Divided

Grouping	Justifications			
	Likes	Choice	Equality	Relational
Evaluation				
Fair	.73(.40)	.08(.26)	.00	.08(.24)
Not Fair	.00	.00	.66(.57)	.00

Note. Justifications only with a .05 proportion or higher presented in table.

Summary of findings. As expected, the great majority of participants, independent of gender, country, or family structure, found a strict 50-50 equal division of housework as fair. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, the majority of participants found that if the father worked longer hours it should affect the division of housework. In further support of the time-availability hypothesis (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), equity was the main justification used to explain why the father's longer hours should change the division of housework. Interestingly, equity was significantly more likely to be employed by Korean

participants, while feasibility was significantly more likely to be employed by Chinese participants.

Unexpectedly, the majority of participants did not believe that if the father made more money that it should impact the housework distribution. Interestingly, Chinese participants were more likely to report that money should be a factor in deciding how to divide the housework within the family. Therefore, Chinese participants were also more likely to argue that “making more money means working more hours” than Korean participants. On the other hand, Korean participants were more likely to employ the justification that “making more money does not mean working more hours,” while Chinese participants were more likely to suggest that “there is no relationship between housework and money” as a justification. There was also a significant interaction between justification and evaluation of whether money affected the distribution. Those who said that money shouldn’t change the division were significantly more likely to use the justifications that 1) there is no relationship between money and housework and 2) that making more money doesn’t imply working more hours. Those who said money would change the housework distribution were significantly more likely to use the justification that making more money means that the father is working more.

Surprisingly, although not the most often used justification, “making more money means working more” was significantly more likely to be employed by those in families where the mother did not do the majority of the housework. On the other hand, families where the mother did the majority of the housework were more likely to suggest that “making more doesn’t affect the hours worked.”

Suggesting the importance placed by individuals on their personal domain (Nucci, 2014), all participants judged that if one of the parents liked doing housework, they could do more, and the majority found this fair. The main justification employed by participants for why enjoyment can be a reason for an individual to do more housework was personal (the person likes doing it and wants to). Those who evaluated it fair that a person who enjoys doing housework can do more were significantly more likely to enjoy “enjoys/likes it” as a justification than those who evaluated the situation as unfair or reasonable.

4.3 Reasoning about One’s Own Household

Consistent with participants’ survey reports on the time spent on housework by each family, the majority of participants, 76.60%, reported that mothers did most of the housework. However, family housework divisions where the mother did not do the majority of the housework were also reported. Almost thirteen percent (12.77%) of participants reported that their fathers did most of the housework, while 6.4% stated their grandmothers did most of the housework, the remaining 4.26% of participants reported that the division was evenly split (For specific breakdown by family member and independent variables refer to Table 4.13). As expected, country differences in reporting who did most of the housework were found, $X^2(3)=8.48$, $p<.03$. Consistent with our hypothesis, and previous survey data (OECD, 2008/2009), Korean participants were more likely to report that mothers do most of the housework than were Chinese participants, $X^2(3)=7.46$, $p<.05$. However, there were no gender differences in reporting.

Table 4.13

Who Does Most of the Housework in Percentages

		Family Division			
		Mother	Father	Grandmother	Equal
Country					
	China	60.9	17.4	13.0	8.7
	Korea	91.7	8.3	0	0
Gender					
	Female	75.0	12.5	8.3	4.2
	Male	78.3	13.0	4.3	4.3
Overall		76.6	12.8	6.4	4.3

4.3.1 Justifications for family's current division. Repeated-measures ANOVA analysis found significant differences in usage between justification types, $F(4,215)=16.84$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.23$ (Refer to Table 4.14 for justification type usage). Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed that equity was significantly more likely to be used than any other justification type, to explain the rationale for participants' family's current division of labor. Participants' justification type usage did not differ significantly by gender or family division. However, a significant country and justification interaction was found, $F(4,215)=3.43$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.05$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that Chinese participants were significantly more likely to employ equity as a justification than Korean participants ($t=2.83$, $p<.00$).

Table 4.14

Justifications for Current Family Division in Proportions by Country, Gender, and Family Division

Grouping	Equity	Feasibility	Gender	Perspective	Habit	Lazy	
Country							
	China	.65(.41)	.06(.23)	.02(.10)	.06(.23)	.09(.24)	.06(.17)
	Korea	.38(.44)	.21(.38)	.19(.38)	.04(.20)	.08(.24)	.02(.10)
Gender							
	Female	.45(.45)	.15(.31)	.04(.21)	.11(.30)	.11(.26)	.04(.14)
	Male	.58(.43)	.12(.34)	.17(.35)	.00	.06(.22)	.04(.14)
Who Does Most							
	Mother	.55(.44)	.17(.35)	.11(.30)	.00	.08(.25)	.03(.11)

Father	.24(.41)	.00	.16(.40)	.33(.51)	.16(.25)	.00
Grandmother	.50(.50)	.16(.28)	.00	.16(.28)	.00	.16(.28)
Equal*	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Overall	.51(.44)	.14(.32)	.11(.29)	.05(.21)	.08(.24)	.04(.14)

*Equal division only used equality as a justification, however this justification occurred less than .05.

4.3.2 Family fairness evaluation. Unlike in the case of hypothetical scenarios, there was no clear majority in participants' evaluation of their own family's division of housework. Around forty percent (39.58%) of participants found their family division fair, while 39.58% found their family division as unfair, and the remaining 20.83% found the division neither fair nor unfair, but reasonable. Evaluations of fairness differed significantly by country, $X^2(2)=11.28$, $p<.00$. Chinese participants were significantly more likely to find their family's division as fair, while Korean participants were significantly more likely to find their division as unfair. Evaluations also differed significantly based on family division, $X^2(2)=5.89$, $p<.05$. Participants were more likely to find their family unfair if the mother was reported as doing most of the housework than other family divisions. Contrary to expectations, no statistically significant gender differences were found.

Table 4.15

Evaluation of Own Family Division Fairness in Percentages by Country, Gender and Family Division

	Fairness Evaluation		
	Fair	Not Fair	Reasonable
Country			
China	50.0(12)	16.6(4)	33.3(8)
South Korea	29.2(7)	62.5(15)	8.3(2)
Gender			
Female	50.0(12)	41.7(10)	8.3(2)
Male	29.2(7)	37.5(9)	33.3(8)
Who Does Most Housework			
Mother	50.0(18)	33.3(12)	16.7(6)
Father	66.7(4)	0	33.3(2)
Grandmother	66.7(2)	33.3(1)	0
Equal	50.0(1)	0	50.0(1)
Family Structure			
Mother most	50.0(18)	33.3(12)	16.7(6)
Other division	63.6(7)	9.1(1)	27.3(3)
Overall	39.6(19)	39.6(19)	20.8(10)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

4.3.3 Justifications following fairness evaluation. There were significant differences in usage of justification types, $F(6,315)=4.49$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.07$, and significant interactions between justification type and family structure $F(6,315)=3.38$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.06$. However no gender or country differences were found (Refer to Table 4.16 for all justifications). Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be employed than any other justification. Interestingly, post hoc pairwise comparison analysis of family structure revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be employed by those in families where the mother does the most than other family structures ($t=2.88$, $p<.00$). Perspectivism was significantly more likely to be employed by those in family structures in which mothers did the majority of the housework ($t=2.37$, $p<.01$). Contractual (i.e., it was agreed upon by the two of them) was significantly more likely to be employed by those in a family structure in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework ($t=2.09$, $p<.03$).

Table 4.16

Justifications for Fairness Evaluations of Own Household by Country, Gender and Family Structure

Grouping	Justification						
	Equality	Equity	Perspective	Contractual	Family Membership	Feasible	Affect
Country							
China	.24(.34)	.19(.37)	.08(.16)	.07(.22)	.04(.20)	.15(.30)	.12(.24)
Korea	.43(.49)	.04(.20)	.22(.41)	.04(.20)	.08(.23)	.06(.22)	.00
Gender							
Female	.36(.46)	.09(.28)	.17(.34)	.05(.21)	.08(.27)	.01(.06)	.08(.23)
Male	.36(.40)	.13(.33)	.13(.30)	.06(.22)	.04(.13)	.20(.35)	.03(.11)
Family Structure							
Mother does most	.41(.44)	.10(.28)	.20(.35)	.00(.05)	.04(.18)	.07(.21)	.04(.12)
Other division	.13(.32)	.18(.40)	.00	.22(.40)	.13(.31)	.13(.32)	.13(.31)
Overall	.34(.43)	.11(.30)	.15(.31)	.05(.21)	.06(.21)	.11(.27)	.06(.18)

As found in hypothetical scenarios, there were significant interactions between fairness evaluation (fair/not fair) and justification types, $F(12,315)=5.07$, $p<.00$, $N^2=.16$. Post hoc pairwise comparison revealed that equality was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying not fair than fair ($t=5.35$, $p<.00$) or reasonable ($t=4.84$, $p<.00$). Equity was significantly more likely to be employed by those saying fair than not fair ($t=2.50$, $p<.01$). Contractual was significantly more likely to be employed by those evaluating their family division as reasonable than not fair ($t=2.06$, $p<.04$). Feasibility was significantly more likely to be employed by those evaluating their family division as reasonable than fair ($t=2.17$, $p<.03$), or

not fair($t=2.81$, $p<.00$). Affect was significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as fair than those who evaluated as not fair($t=2.08$, $p<.03$).

Table 4.17

Justifications for Fairness Evaluations of Own Household by Fairness Evaluation

	Justification						
	Equality	Equity	Perspective	Contractual	Family Membership	Feasible	Affect
Evaluation							
Fair	.11(.20)	.22(.41)	.13(.27)	.05(.22)	.07(.24)	.06(.16)	.13(.27)
Not Fair	.70(.44)	.00	.18(.37)	.00	.07(.24)	.02(.11)	.00
Reasonable	.08(.17)	.13(.31)	.13(.31)	.18(.33)	.00	.34(.46)	.03(.10)

Summary of findings. Most participants described their mother as doing most of the housework. Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, most participants described their family's current division to be based on equity (who had more time did more). In homes where the family was described as having an equal division, equality was the main justification used. Surprisingly however, participants were almost evenly divided on their evaluation of whether they found their family's current division as fair. Interestingly, 20.83% of participants rejected the dichotomous assignment of fair or not fair, and instead evaluated their division as reasonable. However, in families where the mother was reported as doing the bulk of the housework, participants were more likely to evaluate it as unfair (although not universally). Consistent with this finding, as Korean participants were more likely to report that mothers did the most of the housework, they were also more likely to find their family's division unfair. Justifications for evaluating one's family's division varied significantly by country. Chinese participants were more likely to use equity as a justification than Korean participants.

When justifying their fairness evaluation of family practices, participants were more likely to use (lack of) equality as a justification than any other justification. Equality was most likely to be used as a justification by those evaluating their division as unfair, while equity was significantly more likely to be used as a justification by those who evaluated their family division as fair. When evaluating their family's division as neither fair nor unfair, but rather reasonable, participants were more likely to employ contractual and feasibility as justifications. Moreover, affect (they love each other) was significantly more likely to be employed as a justification by those who evaluated the division as fair than those who evaluated it as unfair.

Interestingly, justifications varied significantly by family structure. Families who had a household labor division in which the mother did the majority of the housework were more likely to employ equality and perspectivism (he isn't thinking about her needs or feelings) as

justifications. On the other hand, contractual was most likely to be employed as a justification by those from families in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework.

4.4 Fairness Evaluation Across Situations

Interestingly, participants' evaluations across the two hypothetical scenarios and their own family's division all significantly differed from each other, $X^2(4)=63.97$, $p<.00$. As expected, participants were much more likely to say the story of strict equality was fair and the story where the mother does the bulk of the housework was unfair (Refer to Table 4.18 for breakdown). Furthermore, as expected, participants were more likely to find the hypothetical scenario of perfect equality as fair than their own family's division.

However, contrary to previous findings (Turiel, 2008), participants did not evaluate the hypothetical scenarios and their own family's divisions similarly. Although most participants reported having family situations where the mother did most of the housework, surprisingly participants were much more likely to say that the hypothetical scenario in which the mother did most housework was unfair than they were to say their own family's situation was unfair, $X^2(4)=11.34$, $p<.02$.

Table 4.18

Fairness Evaluation Across Situations in Percentages

	Fairness Evaluation		
	Not Fair	Fair	Reasonable
Gender Unequal Situation (1 st)	75(36)	14.5(7)	10.5(5)
Perfect Equality (2 nd)	4.1(2)	89.6(43)	6.3(3)
Own Family	39.6(19)	39.6(19)	20.8(10)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

4.5 Changing Family Division

Participants were also almost evenly divided regarding whether their family's current division should change. A little over fifty percent (53.2%) of participants stated that they thought their family's situation should change, while 46.8% of participants stated that they did not think their family division should change. Surprisingly, no gender or country differences were found (Refer to Table 4.19 for details). However, a significant relationship between fairness evaluation and an evaluation of whether the family division should change were found, $X^2(1)=21.21$, $p < 0.00$. Participants were significantly more likely to say their family's division should change if they thought that their family division was not fair. All those who evaluated the family division as reasonable did not believe the family division should change. Furthermore, family structure significantly affected evaluations of whether current family division should change, $X^2(1)=4.27$, $p<.03$. Participants were significantly more likely to say that the family division should change if the mother was reported as doing most of the housework.

Table 4.19

Should Family Division Change (Percentages) Evaluation by Country, Gender, and Family Structure

	Change	
	Yes	No
Overall	53.2(25)	46.8(22)
Country		
China	43.5(10)	56.5(13)
Korea	37.5(9)	62.5(15)
Gender		
Mother	58.3(14)	41.7(10)
Father	47.8(11)	52.2(12)
Family Structure		
Mother does most	88(22)	12.0(3)
Other division	61.9(13)	38.1(8)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

In addition, those who evaluated that fairness was important in deciding how to divide the housework were significantly more likely to believe that the family division should change, $X^2(1)=4.85$, $p<.02$. Chinese participants were significantly more likely to consider fairness as not important in considering how to divide the housework, $X^2(1)=12.00$, $p<.00$ (# of Participants that found Fairness Important: China=6; Korea=18). Those who evaluated that fairness was important were significant more likely to evaluate their family division as unfair, $X^2(2)=8.33$, $p<.01$, (Important: Fair=8; Unfair= 14).

Table 4.20

Should Family Division Change (Percentages) Evaluation by Fairness Evaluation and the Importance of Fairness

	Change	
	Yes	No
Fairness Evaluation		
Fair	42.1(8)	57.1(11)
Not Fair	89.5(17)	10.5(2)
Reasonable	.00	100.0(9)
Fairness Important?		
Yes	69.6(16)	30.4(7)
No	37.5(9)	62.5(15)

Note. Frequency in parenthesis.

4.6 Assumptions about Gender

When it came to stating whether they believed there to be naturally occurring gender differences in abilities to perform certain tasks, participants provided distinctly gendered responses. (Refer to Table 4.21 for percentages for each task). Surprisingly there were no gender differences in reporting gendered beliefs regarding task ability. However, the majority of participants believed that women were better able to care for children, while men were believed to be naturally better at fixing things around the house. While 43.75% of participants that men and women were both naturally good at doing housework, a slightly higher percentage (47.92%) believed women were better able to do housework in general. Participants were also evenly divided on whether men and women were equally able to clean, or whether women are better at cleaning. On the other hand, around 60% of participants believed men and women were equally able to cook, make money, or to shop for groceries.

Interestingly, significant country differences were found. Country differences were found in reporting gender competence in fixing things (23 out of 24 adults in China believed men did it better), while in Korea they were almost equally divided (11 thought it was the same 13 thought men did it better), $X^2(1)=11.11$, $p<.00$. Country differences were also found in assumptions about gender-based differences in ability to make money, $X^2(2)=7.96$, $p<.01$, South Koreans were significantly more likely to report that there are no gender differences (same=19, female=1, male=3), while Chinese participants were significantly more likely to report that men are better at making money (same=12, male=12).

Table 4.21

Gender Differences in Abilities to Engage in Particular Tasks in Percentages

	Housework	Childcare	Cook	Clean	Fix	Shop	Earn Income
Same	43.75	37.50	25	59.57	46.67	61.70	64.96
Women	47.92	56.25	0	36.17	42.22	31.91	2.13
Men	2.08	4.17	75	4.26	11.11	6.38	31.91
Different	6.25	2.08	0	0	0	0	0

4.7 Discussion

This chapter's findings lend further support to previous research on the gendered nature of housework distribution. As expected, the majority of participants reported that women did the majority of the housework (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In addition, mothers in South Korea were more likely to be reported as doing the majority of the housework, and to be spending more time each day doing housework than Chinese mothers (OECD, 2008/2009). This suggests that despite rapid economic changes, the gendered distribution of housework remains a relatively stable phenomenon.

However, contrary to this study's hypothesis, the majority of participants found a gender unequal division of labor hypothetical scenario unfair. Interestingly, there was a significant interaction between fairness evaluation and justification used. Equality was significantly more likely to be employed by participants who evaluated the story as unfair, while participation, equity, and gender were significantly more likely to be employed by those who evaluated the story as fair. Therefore, while as expected conventional reasoning expressed through using

conventional gender norms as a justification, was more likely to be employed in support of an uneven distribution, moral considerations such as participation (regardless of amount) and equity (expected difference based on different circumstances) was also supportive of inequality. In addition, as hypothesized, country differences were found. For those who found the story fair, Korean participants were significantly more likely to employ participation as a justification, while Chinese participants were more likely to use equity as a justification. However, unlike the hypothesis, Chinese and Korean participants did not differ in the domain of reasoning used, but the type of justification within the moral domain. That is, both employed moral reasoning to make sense of the hypothetical scenario, but differed in their focus on either participation (i.e., both spouses are doing something) versus equity (i.e., they differ and therefore the amounts they do differ).

As expected, in general participants across countries found a hypothetical scenario involving a strictly equal division of housework in which both parents work the same and do the same amount of housework as fair. However, in support of both the time-availability hypothesis and social domain theory's emphasis on importance of exploring the coordination of the personal domain and the moral domain (Nucci, 2014), adults believed that time-availability (father works more) and personal preferences (parent enjoys doing housework) are legitimate factors that should result in a difference in housework distribution. Interestingly, they did not consider income as a sufficient factor to warrant differences in housework distribution. While the majority of participants were likely to believe that time-availability was a legitimate reason for differences in housework, interesting country differences were found. Korean participants were more likely to justify an uneven distribution to be an issue of equity (the spouses have differences in time-availability), while Chinese participants were more likely to justify an uneven distribution to be an issue of feasibility (e.g. the circumstances don't allow it to be any other way). This suggests the importance of considering the role that issues of how pragmatic considerations play a role in justifying gender differences in different social contexts (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013).

Surprisingly, and contrary to this study's hypothesis, no gender differences were found in either evaluating or reasoning regarding the fairness of hypothetical or own family divisions of housework (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turie, 2013; Gere & Helwig, 2012). Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, most participants described their family's current division to be based on equity (who had more time did more). However, and also contrary to hypothesis, participants were evenly split regarding whether the gendered division of housework in their home was fair or not. In addition, unexpectedly, 20.8% of participants did not consider their own family's division as an issue of fairness, and instead suggested it was a reasonable division. Unlike previous findings then (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998; Zuo & Bian, 2001), it cannot be said that there is a clear majority that believes that their family's division is fair. Rather, individuals appear to be almost evenly divided in their evaluations of their family's division as fair, unfair, or neither fair nor unfair.

It was anticipated that Korean participants, who had more gender unequal family structures, would be more affirmative of gender norms in their evaluations of how housework should be divided. Instead, they were found to be more critical of gendered divisions of labor and employed mainly moral reasoning for their justifications. Consistent with Coltrane's (2000) suggestion that men's proportional involvement in housework is one of the greatest predictors of whether women find the distribution fair, Korean participants were more likely to report that mothers did the most of the housework, but they were also more likely to find their family's division unfair. In addition, justifications for evaluating one's family's division varied

significantly by country. Chinese participants were more likely to use equity as a justification than Korean participants. This might suggest that a greater proportion of inequality may not be justifiable based on differences of time-availability alone.

Interestingly, justifications regarding the fairness of one's own family division varied significantly by family structure. Families who had a family structure in which the mother did the majority of the housework were more likely to employ equality and perspectivism (i.e., he isn't thinking about her needs or feelings) as justifications. On the other hand, contractual was most likely to be employed as a justification by those from family structures in which the mother did not do the majority of the housework.

Surprisingly, assumptions about gendered abilities did not appear to play as an important role as expected when reasoning regarding housework distribution. Although when directly asked, as described in the gender assumptions section, participants held gendered assumptions regarding skills surrounding housework tasks, most participants, whether finding gendered divisions of labor fair or unfair, employed moral reasoning (e.g., equality or equity) as their justifications and did not focus on explicit gender norms.

These findings provide additional insight to previous research on distributive justice and housework distribution (Mikula, 1998). For example, in direct contrast to the relative resource hypothesis (Aassve, Fuoichi, & Mencarini, 2014), at least in this Korean and Chinese sample, the majority of participants did not believe that income should be a factor in deciding how the housework should be divided. Furthermore, when discussing why they found their family division fair, none of the participants made social comparisons with others as a rationale for their acceptance (Nordenmark & Nyman, 2003; Thompson, 1991). However, a great majority of participants' believed that time-availability was an important factor in both deciding housework and justifying an uneven division of labor (Becker, 1974). Most of their justifications in support of an unequal division resulted from assumptions of differences in time-availability. Therefore, time-availability by itself, and not resource dependence or gender ideology, appears to be one of the main approaches used by individuals to "legitimize" the inequality they see in their homes (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008).

The overall findings regarding fairness evaluations of the gendered housework distribution suggests a more complicated picture than previously suggested. One, the fact that 20.8% of participants found their distribution neither fair nor unfair, suggests that relying on a dichotomous survey of "fair" or "not fair" is not providing an adequate assessment of individual's actual evaluation of their family's division. The findings also suggest a strong connection between individual's evaluations regarding the fairness of situations and their justifications. In situations that participants evaluated as unfair, they were significantly more likely to employ the justification of equality (should have sameness of condition). If the situation was evaluated as fair participants were more likely to rely on equity (differences in situation/time should lead to differences in doing housework). However, contrary to previous findings suggesting that individuals evaluate hypothetical and real observed transgressions similarly (Turiel, 2008), similar to findings in the children's results chapter, Korean and Chinese adults did not apply the same evaluations to their own family's division as they did to a hypothetical scenario that also involved a more gender unequal division of labor.

Finally, individuals appeared to assume that the issue of the gendered distribution of labor was an issue between two gender-neutral individuals. As shown in the gender assumptions section, while participants hold gendered assumptions regarding natural abilities to engage in specific housework tasks, rarely were these gendered capabilities directly referenced in their

justifications for how the housework should be divided within their own home. Individuals expected their housework's distribution to be resolved mainly through equality, equity, or contractual agreement. Rarely did participants acknowledge the societal forces in place that made it so that the majority of mothers so happened to do the majority of housework. The findings suggest that the evaluation of the fairness of one's housework distribution can appear gender neutral (without direct references to gender), and as a straightforward moral issue of equity or equality, because many times participants do not consider the societal structures in place that make it so "mother's have time."

Chapter 5. Thematic Analysis of Family Members' Conceptualizations of a Fair Household Labor Distribution

In this chapter, I explored how the individual members of the 24 Chinese and Korean families I interviewed and observed approached the issue of dividing household labor fairly. As mentioned in the introductory literature review, no one previous theory has been able to fully explain the continued gendering of housework distribution or why individuals might find this fair (Coltrane, 2000). In addition, rarely have studies explored all of the family members' experiences and reasoning for the gendered division of labor that they experience (Beagan, Chapman, D'Sylva, & Bassett, 2008). Furthermore, the majority of social domain theoretical studies, as well as the previous chapters were limited to describing evaluations and justifications of a fair division of household labor in generalized and abstracted terms. Infrequently has the literature turned to how individuals are conceptualizing fairness and the underlying expectations and assumptions that individuals hold regarding the context (such as the family) that they are asked to evaluate and reason about.

Through a thematic analysis focused primarily on 39 Chinese and 40 Korean family members' interviews, I examined in greater detail how individuals are conceptualizing the issue of a fair division of household labor. Through such an analysis, it was possible to go beyond understanding just direct evaluations (fair or not fair) and a supporting justification (it should be equal), to also foreground the underlying concepts, ideas, and narratives that support individuals' moral evaluations and justifications. In particular, extending and heeding social domain theory's emphasis on the importance of context, this chapter analyzed how individuals contextualized their evaluations and reasoning, through analyzing when they consider certain evaluations appropriate and the intermingling of assumptions that can help explain inconsistent fairness evaluations across families and individuals. In the following pages, I present findings on how individuals conceptualized a fair division of household labor, why individuals may be accepting of an uneven/unequal distribution of labor, and cultural and gender assumptions that underlie their reasoning regarding how the household's labor should be divided.

5.1 Within-Family Agreement on Reported Household Labor Division & Fairness Evaluation

Supporting previous research on household labor distribution (Coltrane, 2000; OECD 2008/2009), in the majority of participating families, women were observed and reported as doing the bulk of the housework. In all observed Korean families except for one, the mother did most of the housework. In one Korean family, the father did most of the housework. Mothers were reported as doing most of the housework in seven out of the 12 Chinese families. Two families that had grandmothers living with them reported the grandmothers as doing the bulk of the housework (mainly cooking). Of the remaining three Chinese families, in two of them the father did most of the housework, while in one both parents reported an even division between them. Interestingly, although interviewed individually, there was almost universal agreement between family members regarding which family member did most of the housework. In only four out of the 24 families was there disagreement about who did most of the household labor. In all cases, parents agreed. In four families the children disagreed, reporting the father as more involved than the parents reported.

However, there was much less within-family agreement when it came to evaluation of the fairness of the family's division of household work. In ten out of the 12 Chinese families (83.3%), there was within-family disagreement on whether the family division was fair. In nine out of 12 Korean families (75%) members disagreed with each other about the fairness of the division. Overall, 41.7% (33) of participants said their family division was not fair, while 48.2%(38) said the division was fair, and 10.1%(8) said that the division was neither fair nor unfair, but reasonable.

While rarely explored, this study suggests that although most family members are in accord with who they perceive as doing the most housework, how they make sense of the division and their reasoning regarding such divisions markedly differ. This indicates, that as found in prior research, perceiving differences in housework involvement is not a sufficient cause for evaluation of the division as unfair (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier & Baumgärtner, 2008; Lachance-Grzela, McGee & Ross-Plourde, 2019). In order to better understand and account for inconsistencies in how individuals within these families make sense of the issue of fairness in the division of housework, it is important to first understand individuals' expectations regarding how household labor should be divided.

5.2 Amount Doesn't Really Matter, but it can't be Nothing

In evaluating the fairness of different divisions of housework, one main theme participants provided was an (minimum) expectation of involvement. When presented with a scenario in which the father decided he was only going to do housework on the weekends if he remembered to, the majority of participants expected that he be more proactively involved, and at least help do *some* of the housework. For example, a Chinese 12-year-old boy argued, "The man also can't let the woman do everything, he should also take on *some* of the woman's burden, although there is a big burden on their (man's) shoulder." (男人也不能光全都让女人做, 他也得帮着女人分担一点, 虽然肩上扛着那么一大块).

As alluded to in the boys' statement above, participants expected a minimum of involvement in household labor participation independent of the other factors that might be affecting a spouse's ability to fully engage in household tasks, such as being busy, being tired, or making more money. Emphasizing that being busy does not excuse one from doing housework, a Chinese mother argued:

It doesn't matter if I am busy at work, or not busy, the family is communal/ shared. Actually, if he is tired from work and does housework, that is a way of participating in the family. It should be this way.

那不管我的工作忙也好, 不忙也好, 家庭是, 共同的, 其实他工作很累做家务, 是对家庭的参与, 应该是这样的。

As illustrated in the above two excerpts, the majority of participants believed that the burden of housework should be shared. **No involvement was almost universally accepted as unfair.** For example, a Chinese father stated: "That is a family right? It is formed by both parties. *It doesn't matter how much*, you still have to do it (housework). Rather it shouldn't be not doing even a little bit, that is not very reasonable" (那家庭吗, 是双方共同组建的家庭, 无论做的多少, 还是要做的。而不是应该一点都不做, 这个是不合适的). As can be seen by the

father's statement, participants tended to argue that since one is a member of the family, one should do at least some housework. However, at the same time as participants emphasized the importance of participation, they tended to de-emphasize the need for considering "how much" housework the family member who was expected to participate should engage in.

Hand in hand with statements declaring the need for family members to engage in their household labor, were concurrent statements that specifying how much housework each family member completed was unimportant or unnecessary. Explicit statements of the non-importance of quantifying amount of housework involvement were mainly found within Chinese families. Echoing the previous statement by a Chinese father illustrated above, a Chinese mother argued:

I think when it comes to a family, it should be both people together put in effort, although *I don't care –don't fuss over how little or much effort one of the people put in*. But, you can't say you won't do even a little (won't do anything at all).

我觉得对于一个家庭来说应该是两个人共同付出，虽然不在乎不计较就是其中一个人付出的多与少，但是不能说一点你都不干。

Rather than the amount of housework that each family member completed, participants argued that what mattered was that a family member should do something¹². Chinese participants expected that each family member "participate" in doing the housework, since household work was seen as all family members' responsibility. However, they did not quantify or qualify the type of participation, or specifically stated that they believed the amount did not matter. Underlying such an approach was a greater emphasis on the importance of "doing something" rather than "doing how much." For example, at 16-year-old Chinese daughter stated "Every person should take on some of the burden, I can't really say specifically how much" (每个人都是要承担一点的，承担多少真的是说不准). The Chinese daughter's statement was typical of the majority of statements in which an expectation of participation was mentioned. Participants tended to either dismiss the amount of participation expected, or to leave out the expectation of amount of involvement altogether in their responses.

5.2.1 Even Steven: rarely even. As illustrated by the above excerpts, the expectation of involvement was often characterized in unclear and undefined terms regarding the **amount** of involvement. Participants rarely explicitly suggested the amount of housework that family members should engage in. When amount of housework was specified, it was in terms of an even split. Although most statements regarding involvement of housework tended to not specify the amount of labor expected, a strictly 50-50 division of housework was expected when both spouses were seen as being in the same situation, either through both being income earners, working full-time, or being seen as equally tired. For example, in Korean households, if a couple were both income earners and both worked, participants were more likely to believe that their family's housework should be equally divided. As a Korean mother pointed out "Anyways, since we do the same work with each other and work together, we are able to divide the work between ourselves. It fits. So I think we have a good division" (아무튼 보니까 어- 같이 똑같이 일을 하고, 같

¹² Housework was seen as a form responsibility towards the family.

이 일을 하니까 어 분담해서 어 어쨌든 이렇게 맞춰 가면서 한거잖아요. 맞춰서. 그러니까 그게 분담이 잘 이뤄지는 것 같아요).

For Korean participants, children were more likely to mention an expectation of a 50-50 division than their parents. Of the total times that “even split” was mentioned in the interviews, 64.2% of the mentions were made by children rather than by their parents. Children were more likely to believe that a fair division is one in which there is an even split. For example, a Korean 9-year-old-boy pointed out “Neither of them should be doing more work than the other, but rather be fair and do the same amount” (둘다 많이하면 안되고 공평하게 똑같이 하면 될것같아요. ... 하는 양이 똑같다는거요). This may be as a result of children’s greater emphasis on equality, and less consideration for other factors that may complicate how the division should be made (Nucci, Turiel, & Roded, 2017), or in support of previous research that has found that Korean children reject inequality solely based on gender (Noh & Midgette, 2018). Parents less frequent mentions of an equal division seems to suggest a gap between children’s and adult’s expectations, with adult Korean participants being less likely to expect an equal division of labor.

On the other hand, Chinese families seemed more likely to expect equality within the family than Korean participants in general, especially in situations where both spouses were described as working full-time and equally tired. For example, a Chinese mother stated: “Actually both of them are teachers, both of their work is tiring. Then, when it comes to housework, I think it should be equal” (其实两个人都是老师, 工作都是很累的。那么针对于家务活儿这一块儿, 我觉得应该是平等的). As can be seen in the Chinese index of code application usage (Appendix C), Chinese children and adults were equally likely to expect a 50-50 division. A little over half (54.8%) of all mentions of an even split were made by adults, while the remaining 45.2% were made by children. This suggests a greater agreement within Chinese families regarding an expectation of equality within circumstances that are seen as similar, as well as a potential greater agreed upon expectation of equality in the division of labor. In another family, a Chinese father shared his thoughts on the expectation of an even division “It should, it should, if their work time is the same, they should do the same, the same amount of housework” (应该是, 应该, 如果两个人工作时间 (一样多), 应该是做的一样的。同样的家务).

Table 5.1

Frequency of instances of mentions for different forms of participation in household labor by country

Form of Participation	Country	
	Korea	China
To Help	463 (1 st)	402 (3 rd)
To be Proactive	--	374(4 th)
To Participate	--	289(6 th)
To Collaborate	159(6 th)	211(8 th)
Even Split	67 (15 th)	170 (9 th)

Note. In parenthesis is the rank of most frequent application within each countries’ dataset (1st is the highest).

However, in their interviews participants were more likely to consider that no involvement in household labor is unfair, than to emphasize that a fair division of labor is one characterized by an even division. Participants' greater emphasis on the importance of (an unspecified) participation rather than in an "equal" participation is best illustrated by the rarity of mentions of an expectation of equality. As presented in Table 5.1, both Chinese and Korean participants rarely mentioned an expectation of an even split. Furthermore, suggesting a greater cultural acceptance and expectation of equality in housework division, Chinese participants were more likely to expect an "even split" than Korean participants. As can be seen by the table, an even split was the 15th most commonly used code in Korean families, while it was the 9th most applied code in Chinese families. On the other hand, other forms of participation that were not explicit on their amount of involvement, were much more common. For example, in Korean interviews "to help" was the first most applied code, while "to collaborate" was the 6th most applied code (See Table 1 for frequencies). Similarly, within Chinese interviews "to help" was the 3rd most applied code, followed by "to be proactive" as the 4th most applied code, "to participate" as the 6th most applied code, and "to collaborate" as the 8th most applied code.

5.2.2 Doing something, rather than doing equally: how fathers and children meet their obligations. As presented above, rather than strict equality, the majority of participants expected various non-specified amounts of participation. As evidenced in Table 5.1, in both countries, the main expectation of some involvement tended to be described through the terminology of "help." As previous researchers have argued (Beagan, Chapman, D'Sylva, & Bassett, 2008; Zuo & Bian, 2000), "help" is a conceptually murky term that does not place full responsibility on the "helping" family member to be as much engaged in the housework as the other family member being "helped".

This clear conceptual difference between taking full responsibility for the housework versus helping can be best illustrated by one of the Chinese father's explanations: "Housework should be something you sometimes help to do, or help do a little, even if it is not your main responsibility, but you should help together, together do housework, I think it should be done this way" (家务这块应该是偶尔帮一下, 或者是帮一下做, 即使是不是主导, 但要帮一起, 一起做家务, 我觉得这个应该是应该这样去做). As argued previously, this father expected that individuals be involved in doing some housework, but was careful in not clarifying how much housework should be done. Rather, the focus in this father's explanation of how housework should be divided, was less on "division" and more on a vague expectation of a form of limited involvement that can be considered a joint activity, where the spouses are seen as doing the housework "together."

The expectation to "help" tended to be almost always applied to the family member that was reported as having limited involvement in household labor. Help was thus seen as an expectation for meeting a minimal standard of participation. The following statement by a Korean mother describing her husband's participation captures the notion that helping to do housework was not considered to be synonymous with taking an equal share in household responsibilities, "I obviously think we're supposed to do it together, but the other person thinks of it as helping me out."(나는 당연히 같이 해야한다고 생각 하는데 상대방은 날 도와준다고 생각하거든요). Thus, those described as helping or expected to help, were often those that did less housework.

In both countries fathers were much more likely to be described as the one who should “help.” Thus, fathers, who were often reported as doing less housework than mothers, were expected to make up for their lower involvement by “helping.” As can be seen in Table 5.2, it was significantly more likely for participants to expect that the one who should help should be the husband/father, followed by children, and least of all wives/mothers¹³. Out of all the utterances that were coded for suggesting that a family member should help the other, 83.8% of Korean and 51.9% of Chinese helping utterances specified that fathers should be the one to help. Korean participants specified that a child should help 14.6% of the time, while Chinese participants were slightly more likely to believe that the child should help, by specifying the expectation that the child should help in 31.5% of the utterances. Mothers were least likely to be expected to help. Thus, less involved family members were more likely to be expected to help. However, reflecting the fact that in a few Chinese families fathers did more housework, in Chinese families 16.6% of the helping utterances specified expectations for the mother to help, while in Korean families 1% of utterances expected mother’s to “help.”

Table 5.2

Instances of Statements Specifying Who should Help with Housework (Percentages) by Country

Who Should Help	Country	
	Korea	China
Father	83.8	51.9
Child	14.6	31.5
Mother	1.0	16.6

As presented in Table 5.2, Chinese children were slightly more likely to be expected to help do the housework. Much of this expectation came from children themselves. In Chinese families, 65% of the statements made regarding an expectation that children should help were made by children. Surprisingly, 75% of statements made expecting children to help were made by female participants. This may be as a result of the societal and cultural practice that encourages and results in daughters’ greater involvement in housework (Hu, 2018). On the other hand, in Korean families, parents were slightly more likely to believe that children should help with housework than their children. 62.1% of statements suggesting children should help were made by parents. This may be as a result of Korean children’s relatively low involvement in housework compared to other countries (Rees, 2017).

5.2.3 Collaborative meal making: a gendered practice. The general expectation that a family member who does not do the bulk of the housework should “help” do some of it was accompanied by other expectations for involvement expressed through statements revolving

¹³ Country differences in reporting expectation in father’s involvement in housework because in China fathers are more likely to do more housework, and in some families, mothers did less housework than other family members.

around participation. These included the notion that “people should do something” and engage in “collaboration.” Collaboration, or doing the housework jointly, in particular, was used frequently in both Chinese and Korean households in conjunction with the concept of helping (See Table 5.1). For example, a Korean father stated, “That’s why they need to help out with the housework. That’s why the men – is the expression “helping” the (right) one? – should do it together... together. Even if they’re exhausted.” (그니까 집안일을 도와줘야죠. 그러니까 남자가- 도와준다는 표현이 좀 그런가? 같이 해야죠 같이. 힘들더라도). The father’s statement helps illustrate how “to help” and to “do it together” were seen as conceptually synonymous, while also revealing how “to do it together,” similar to “help” were described as behaviors that still assumed that one family member would still be taking on the majority of the household labor.

The majority of behaviors described as involving a form of participation, such as helping, engaging in doing the housework jointly, and other forms of engagement tended to be described in generalized terms, without specifying or assessing the extent of the participation. The generalized expectation that a family member should do “something” without specifying how much or how often, is well illustrated by one of the Chinese mother’s statement “I think the husband should still jointly take on the burden with his wife. You can’t say the wife should keep going on like that. Um, I think if he proactively goes on to take on the housework, the wife will be much happier” (我想这个丈夫还是应该和妻子共同的去承担, 不能说一直让妻子这样做。嗯, 我想如果他能够主动的去承担这个家务的话, 妻子的幸福感会比较高)。As can be seen by the Chinese mother’s statement, proactive engagement, helping, and jointly taking on the burden, were all forms of participation expected of those who did less housework. However, such terms were employed and described in ways that masked the actual amount of participation that could or should be expected.

Observations of families as they prepared a meal revealed, that just like “helping” had gendered differences in its application, collaborative or joint engagement in housework was also distinctly gendered. While participants tended to report that they were jointly engaged in making meals, observational data revealed some interesting gendered patterns in the collaborative activity of meal making. For example, in both countries, if fathers participated in meal-preparation, they tended to be in charge of the frying/ cooking of the dishes, while mothers tended to prepare all the ingredients, by taking them from the refrigerator or pantry, washing them, cutting them, and getting the spices, while the men “manned” the stove. In this manner, mothers (and at times grandmothers) tended to take on many more actions while the fathers tended to focus on frying/cooking. If the father did the frying/cooking, mothers tended to put the dishes on the table, while if the father did not assist with cooking he would put the dishes on the table (see Figure 5.1). Therefore, while fathers could be described as “cooking,” they were more peripherally engaged in preparing the meal, rather than would be expected by the neutral description of “we cook together.”

Figure 5.1 Gendered Collaboration of Tasks in Meal Making

Family 1: Korean family with 13-years-old daughter: Mother prepares, father cooks, mother sets table.



Mother prepares



Father fries meat



Mother sets table.

Family 2: Korean Family Son 10-years-old– Mother does the cooking, father sets table



Mother serves rice



Mother cooks



Children and father set table

Family 3: Chinese Family Daughter 16-year-old - Mother cooks, father sets table



Mother cooks



Mother serves food

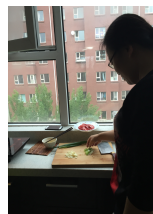


Father sets table

Family 4: Chinese Family- Son 12.7 05/14 Father fries, mother prepares, all set table



Father fries



Mother cuts ingredients



Mother and son set table



Father sets table

Overall, observations suggested the gendered nature of “collaboration” that in interviews was masked by gender-neutral statements such as “we should do it together” “it should be done jointly.” Observations of family collaborative involvement in meal preparation revealed the often times gendered division in meal preparation, where mothers tended to prepare ingredients, while fathers cooked/fried the food on the stove or helped set the table. Therefore, while family members were co-present in the process of meal making, they were not equally involved.

5.2.4 Summary of expectations of how household labor should be divided. Rather than a strictly 50-50 equal division, the majority of participants expected family members to engage in different forms of participation in household labor in which the amount was not specified. The most common forms of expected participation found in both countries, such as “to help,” and “to collaborate,” were vague in their description of the amount of involvement expected. An expectation to help was mainly used to describe expectations for fathers and children, but not mothers. Also gendered, was the actual division of labor within “collaborative” activities, such as meal making, in which fathers specialized in a few tasks, while mothers tended to take on more of the meal preparation. Chinese participants in particular, were explicit in their statements what mattered was that each family member participate in housework, rather than the amount of participation. While participants expected each family member to do some housework, rarely did they expect an even division of labor. It was only mainly in situations where spouses were described as having the same working situation, working the same number of hours, and being equally tired, that participants described expecting an even distribution. However, rather than sameness or equality, participants were consistently more likely to assume that there would be differences between family member’s involvement in doing housework.

5.3 Gendering Equity: Accepting Gendered Differences

Underlying many of the evaluations of how housework should be distributed was the assumption and acceptance that there would be **differences** between family members in how the housework was divided. As mentioned previously, participants rarely expected an even split in the division of housework, instead they assumed that one family member would end up doing more housework than the others. From a moral reasoning perspective, the expectation that individuals should differ in the rewards, labor, or resources they receive, based on their differences in effort or need or resources has been termed equity (Nucci, Turiel & Roded, 2017; Rizzo & Killen, 2016). In the case of household labor, equity theory (Adams, 1965; Walster, Walster & Berscheid, 1978) would suggest that a fair distribution is one in which there is an equal ratio of “input and output” between partners (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner, 2008). For example, Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgärtner (2008) argued that from an equity perspective, individuals would find it fair if there is difference in the housework division based on the fact that the other spouse spends more time working. In other words, differences in time spent in paid-labor served as a legitimizing reason for differences in time spent on housework.

Participants shared several main factors believed to legitimize an unequal division of labor. The main factor believed by family members in both countries to create and result in a fair yet unequal division of housework were the differences between family members’ time availability. Other factors included differences in energy levels, ability or skill, and sense of responsibility (See Table 5.3). However, while these factors appeared to be and have been

treated theoretically as gender neutral (Coltrane, 2000), participants consistently employed these factors in gendered ways.

5.3.1 Differences in time: women have time to labor, men are too busy. Time availability, or the suggestion that differences in available time at home should result in differences in involvement in household labor (Becker, 1974), was one of the most frequent rationales for a fair but unequal division of labor made across countries. As can be seen in the Chinese Index (Appendix C), in Chinese families, time availability was the most frequently applied code (1149 mentions), making up 20% of all code applications from the top 30 codes applied to family interviews. In Korean families (refer to Korean Index Appendix C), time availability was the second most frequently applied code, making up 10.1% of all code applications applied by the top 30 codes. An exemplary statement of time availability can be seen by the following Chinese father's statement "At home it's just who has time, does a little more, who is busy does a little less" (在家里就是谁有时间, 多做一些, 谁忙就少做一些).

Table 5.3

Instances of Gendered Applications of Main Factors in Expectation of Difference (Percentages)

Factors that Differ per Individual	Country	
	Korea	China
Time availability		
Husband busier/ Wife More Time	88.6%	57.6%
Wife busier/ Husband More Time	11.4%	24.5%
Both are busy	--	17.9%
Tiredness		
Wife is tired	55.2%	43.9%
Husband is tired	44.8%	47.3%
Both are tired	--	8.8%
Household Labor Skills		
Women better	81.1%	47.2%
Men better	18.9%	52.8%

However, as evidenced by Table 5.3, time availability, along with other factors, was consistently gendered in its application and in its underlying assumptions. While theoretically time availability could be gender neutral, most participants assumed that women had more time than men, while men were seen as busier. Korean participants in particular, were most likely to point out that the father is busier than the mother. This time availability difference tended to be used as a rationale for why mothers/ the wife would end up doing a little more housework¹⁴. For example, a Korean mother stated, "Naturally, the wife would do more housework because she

¹⁴ Children were also seen as not having the time to do much housework because they had to study. *Korean (28) Chinese (35)

spends more time at home.” (아무래도 부인이 집안에 집에 있는 시간이 많으니까 가사일도 당연히 좀 더 많이 하겠죠). While it seemed “natural” that the wife should do more housework, since she has “more time,” few participants considered the structural factors in place that made it so that women were more likely to work less paid-hours.

In addition, similar to the case of an expectation of participation, participants did not clarify to what extent mothers should take on more of the housework. For example, a Chinese father said “In our house the mother does more (housework) and the father less, because the mother has more time and the father has less time, it’s based on their time” (我们家里是母亲做的多父亲做的少, 因为母亲时间多, 父亲时间少, 根据他们时间来). Such statements of “more” and “less” obscured the fact that if paid and non-paid household labor are combined, both Korean and Chinese women on average work more total hours than men (OECD, 2008/2009). While mothers were expected to pick up the slack, rarely did participants mention the need for fathers to make up the differences in laboring hours once they were back home.

Discursively, a father’s greater involvement in the paid-labor force seemed to give carte blanche in terms of his lesser (or non) involvement in housework, while naturalizing the fact that mothers took on the majority of the housework. For example, a Korean son (9 years) stated, “Since the mother has more time, she is bound to do more work. Even if the father wants to help, he can’t because of work” (엄마가 좀더 시간이 많으니까 좀더 많이 할수밖에 없을것같고, 아빠는 도와주고싶어도 일때문에 못도와주기때문에). Rather than a strict sense of equity (combining the hours of labor), greater involvement in paid labor seemed to remove the expectation for the father to do a specified amount (if any) of household labor. For example, a Korean father stated, “On top of that, well, on weekdays the husband comes back from the office, exhausted after working, so I don’t think he would have time to do a lot of housework... he probably doesn’t have any time to spare.” (또 뭐 평일 날 같은 경우는 남편이 직장에서 일 하다 힘들게 왔으니 많이 할 시간조차... 시간조차 여유가 없을 것 같은데). However, observations of Korean families revealed that even when “free” during the weekend, fathers did not make themselves available to do housework. It would seem that rather than a strict move towards equity, time differences in paid labor was used as a method for justifying and accepting women’s greater involvement, without strict monitoring or expectation of an equitable involvement on the father’s side.

5.3.2 Gendering tiredness: home as a place of rest (for men). In addition to time availability, tiredness and differences in energy levels were described as important factors in influencing how the housework should be divided. However, while both parents of both genders were thought to be tired (Table 3), the cause of their tiredness was distinctly gendered. Fathers were in general, described as tired as a result of their work. For example, a Korean father pointed out “If the husband has a lot of work outside the house, wouldn’t he be tired when he comes home?” (그 남편도 밖에서 하는 일이 많으면은 집에 오면은 피곤할 거 아니에요). On the other hand, mothers were primarily described as tired as a result of doing the housework, or as a result of the double burden of both work and household labor. As a 13-year-old Chinese boy said “Because they have the mother do all the housework, this way the mother is very tired, more and more tired.” (因为他们全都由母亲做家务, 这样母亲就很累, 越来越累-).

While both genders were considered to be tired, men’s tiredness was seen as a rationale for why they did not have to do (much) housework. Chinese father explained his situation:

Well, for example, I am very busy, I am actually very busy, I am also tired, so maybe when I come back home I just don't have any energy (strength) to do it (housework). Maybe coming back home I need to "have a rest," then my wife can do a little more, take care of me

那比如说我很忙，我确实很忙，我也很累，可能我回到家我就可能没有力气去做了。可能我回到家可能需要have a rest,那我的妻子就多做一些，照顾一下我。

As seen by this father's explanation for his lack of involvement, being tired from laboring in the marketplace freed him up to rest at home, while the mother (who also worked), was expected to do "a little more" and take care of the husband so that he could rest. Another Chinese father echoed how his tiredness prevented him from participating in making dinner:

My wife is a little tired, but I often arrive home more tired, and have the habit of just, no, I am too tired, I am going to lie down, maybe just sleep. When they come over they will just wake me up tell me its time to eat.

妻子累一点，我平时回到家，比较累了，很习惯的就是，不行，太累了，我要躺着，可能就睡觉了，他们过会就会说起来吧，吃口饭吧。

The home space was seen as a place where overworked fathers could come to rest, rather than to labor, however mothers were not given the same consideration. Mothers were seen and expected themselves to protect men's time and health. A 65-year-old Chinese grandmother explained the expectation for women to take on men's burden: "She has to think about how very tired her husband is, in order to reduce her husband's burden she can do a little more housework" (因为她考虑丈夫太累呗，为丈夫减轻一些负担，多做一些家务). In another more extreme example, a Korean mother stated:

I think people who work relatively less hours at their workplace would have a higher chance to help out in the house, take a break or spend time for themselves. That's why. However, it's the norm to work until later hours in a lot of private companies in Korea, and they usually end up coming home around 10 pm on weekdays. Forcing them to do the same amount of housework as me during weekdays is like telling them to go die
아무래도 직장에서 덜 시간적으로 덜 일하는 사람은 집에서 집안일을 하고도 조금 거나 나를 위해 할 수 있는 가능성이 많아지잖아요. 그 이유죠. 근데 직장에서 굉장히 늦게까지 일하는 게 보통 대한민국의 사기업들이고 보통 집에 10시쯤 오거든요. 평일에는. 그런 사람한테 집안일을 평일에도 나랑 똑같이 하라고 강요하는 건 그 사람한테 죽으라고 말하는 것 같아요.

On the other hand, a mother's tiredness was given as a reason for why the father should "help" do housework. For example, a Chinese mother pointed out "The husband can also participate in doing some housework. From Monday through Friday the mother is doing all the housework, so maybe this wife is also very tired" (丈夫也能参与些家务活。周一到周五之间都是妻子来完成，也许这个妻子也是挺累的). A Korean father agreed with this sentiment "If

the wife is having a hard time and is asking for help, then of course you would help her.” (아내가 힘들다고 그러면 좀 도와달라고 할 때는 도와줘야죠). However, while as illustrated by both of these examples, fathers were expected to help, a mother’s tiredness did not receive the same level of protection as did father’s tiredness. Considering his own mother and father’s division of labor, a Korean father reflected:

I guess my father could have done more. My father used to run his own business and I think he was stressed a lot while running it. He was stressed, but in retrospect, he could have done more. Because, when I was in college my mother had been hospitalized and I sometimes think that maybe if my father had supported her more back then she would have been healthier than she is now.

아버지가 더 하실 수 있었는데, 아버지는 이제 사업을 하셨어요. 하셨고 이제 스트레스도 사업을 하면서 많이 받으셨던 것 같아요. 그랬어요. 그랬지만, 더 하실 수 있었던 있었을 것 같아요. 지금 생각해보면. 왜냐면 또 어머니가 제가 이제 대학 다닐 때 또 병원에 입원하신 일이 있었는데, 아버지가 좀 더 도와주셨으면 어머니가 좀 더 건강하시지 않으셨을까, 이런 생각도 들어요.

As illustrated by this excerpt, a mother’s wellbeing was not necessarily protected to the same extent as fathers. Fathers were expected to help, but tired mothers were still expected to do more if not most of the housework. In summary, differences in energy level as a result of working harder, undergoing more stress, or being tired in general, was believed to result in differences in how the housework should be distributed. Men were, in general, perceived to be more tired as a result of their work, while women were seen as being tired from doing all of the housework, or having to balance doing housework and also working. Men’s tiredness was believed to legitimize women doing more housework, while women’s hardship in doing housework was used as a rationale for an expectation that men should help do *some* housework. However, while both genders were recognized as being tired, it was assumed that women would end up doing more housework than men, which ultimately prioritized giving men the opportunity to rest.

An expectation that father’s rest should be prioritized occurred despite recognition by participants that the required balancing of childcare, housework, and laboring in the market had caused mothers to face serious health issues within their own families, such as the aforementioned hospitalization of the father’s mother (Korean father 09/29), a miscarriage (Korean mother 09/29), as well as high levels of stress (two Chinese families). An extreme example of the devaluing of women’s well-being in the home can be seen in the case of one family Korean family (10/11), where we observed the mother wear a cast as a result of breaking her leg two months prior, and yet, she was still expected to and did do the majority of the housework. In other words, women’s health and exhaustion was not given the same value or similar expectation of protection as men’s wellbeing. This lack of consideration for women’s well-being is supported by recent research that has found that Korean women who were unhappy with their husband’s involvement in housework were 2.6 times more likely to have suicidal thoughts than those who were happy with their husband’s participation (Lee et al., 2018).

5.3.3 Gendered notions of ability. In addition to assumptions about differing levels of available energy and time, participants also assumed differences in terms of ability in

accomplishing certain housework tasks. Presumed differences in ability (or skill), tended to follow gendered lines. Overall, in both countries men were believed to be physically stronger than women. On the other hand, women were believed to be more attentive to detail and meticulous. A Chinese father summarized this distinction “I think in terms of physical strength and nature, women are naturally more attentive than men, while men are naturally physically stronger than women. How can you talk about fairness? When there is a competition they compete separately” (我是觉得在体力和秉性来说, 女生天生比男生细心, 男生体力天生比女生要好。你怎么能说公平呢? 比赛的时候他也不再一起比赛).

These assumed differences in ability were translated in gendered expectations for household labor involvement. Men in particular were believed to be better suited for household tasks that required strength and/or height, such as fixing things around the house, or vacuuming. For example a Korean mother stated “Men would have the advantage in tasks involving general repair and machinery since the work usually requires strength and men apparently have better space perception and are more skilled in those fields” (일반 수리에 대해서는 힘도 들어가야 되고, 기계 쪽 관련된 거는 그런 쪽 관련된거는 남자들이 좀 뛰어나다고, 공간 지각 뭐 이런 거 더 뛰어나다고 들어서, 남자들이 좀더 유리할 거 같아요). Moreover, women were believed to be better suited for tasks that required attention to detail, or meticulousness, such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare. For example, a Korean father stated,

Because I do most of the heavy lifting, replacing light bulbs and cleaning. My wife is in charge of cooking, laundry, and then organizing the children’s clothes. I can never do that – ever – because my wife has to decide whether the clothes would fit the children or it should be thrown away. That way I can choose to throw it away or not and figure out how to take care of it.

왜냐하면 큰 물건 옮기는 거나 전등 가는 거 청소 하는 거 이런 것들은 거의 제가 하거든요. 집사람이 할 수 있는 부분들은, 요리, 세탁, 그 다음에 인제 애들 옷 정리해서 빼내는 거. 그건 제가 못해요 절대 못해요. 왜냐하면 애들한테 인제 맞는 옷인지 아닌지 이걸 버릴 옷인지 결정을 집사람이 해줘야 돼요. 그래야 그 집사람이 해줘야 내가 그걸 가지고 버리든가 뭘 하든가 조치가 나오거든요.

Being better at different types of household tasks, often translated into the expectation that those who were more skilled at particular tasks did more of that task. For example, a Chinese mother described her own household’s situation:

I am good at cooking, so I can cook a little more, if I like it. If I am willing to clean the bathroom, I can do it a little more. The dad can do (tasks) that requires a little strength, like fixing things, or replacing something the house needs, or fixing/ maintaining the car, the like. He is better at those things.

我擅长做饭的话我就可以做饭多一点, 我要是喜欢做的话。如果我愿意打扫卫生, 我可以多承担一些。爸爸可以做一些比较强力的, 像维修啊, 或者是更换家里什么事情。或者是维修车啊之类的。他比较擅长的事情。

Overall, these gendered assumptions were translated into action as evidenced by my family observations in which mothers did the majority of cooking, cleaning, and childcare while fathers did household repairs. This gendered division of housework also occurred in a household where the mother reported that at the beginning of their marriage both spouses did not know how to cook (Chinese Family 04/02) and the mother ended up teaching herself. In addition, because “heavy” or physically taxing household tasks identified by participants, such as doing repairs tended to occur less frequently in the household, these assumptions about gendered skill differences required less of father’s involvement and more of women’s involvement (mothers and grandmothers) in doing housework. Men’s assumed lesser ability in doing most household tasks was then used as an explanation for their lower involvement. An example of such reasoning is provided by one of the Chinese mother’s explanations for her family’s current division:

For example the father isn’t very good at doing housework, just there are some things, he completely doesn’t know how to do, and he needs you to remind him, even if you remind he will forget, and doesn’t do it. So I naturally, because these things need to get done, so then I will just do it myself. If I have energy and the strength to do it I will proactively go do it, and I don’t have to make him do it. So when it comes to housework, he does little housework.

比如说孩子爸爸不是很擅长做家务，就是有些事情，他压根儿就不知道有这些事儿，然后需要你提醒，提醒了他可能也忘记，也没做。那我自然就会，因为有些事得需要做呀，然后我可能自然就做了。有力气有精力的情况下我会主动地去做，就不要求他去做了。所以就是在家务这一块儿，他爸爸做得少。

As observed in the mother’s explanation, as in the case of men’s lack of time, and lack of energy, mothers were expected to make up for fathers’ lack of skill. However, even in situations in which men had the time, the energy, and the skill, they did not necessarily participate in household labor. In one Chinese family I observed, for example, the father was home for the weekend, well rested, and described himself as the better cook in the family. To avoid cooking, the father strategically picked up their baby, while his 65-year-old mother cooked the meal, and his wife set the table. The below pictures illustrate how rather than directly relying on traditional gender ideologies, the father uses holding his baby as a way of making himself unavailable for housework. While the husband holds the baby to play, and avoids cooking, when the mother holds the baby, she also makes the time to change the toilet paper roll in the bathroom.

Figure 5.2 Gendering of Baby Holding



Mother hold baby and changes toilet paper roll



Father holds baby while his mother cooks

5.3.4 Gendered responsibilities. In addition to a belief in differences in ability, participants also referenced culturally agreed upon norms regarding gendered differences in responsibilities (Nordenmark & Nyman, 2003). While not as commonly used as an explanation as could be expected (refer to Appendix C for frequency of mentions), both Chinese and Korean participants referenced the Confucian tradition of “men work outside, women work inside,” as one of the reasons why men traditionally put more effort into the workplace, while women are expected to put more energy into the family (Zuo & Bian, 2001). For example, reflecting a more traditional ideology, a Korean father stated, “Housework is a woman’s job, earning money outside is a man’s job” (가사일은 여자가 할 일, 바깥에서 돈 버는 일은 남자가 할 일). Presenting a similar mentality, a Chinese 12-year-old boy stated,

I feel it is quite fair, because men are bound to be the main supporter of the family, to have a good career and to make the family prosper. Then the woman is at home, doing some housework, and earning a small amount of money. Men go out to earn money, and women take care of their homes.

我觉得挺公平的，因为男人嘛，就是出去顶天，就是创，创家立业嘛。然后女人在家里，做些家务啥的，零零碎碎挣点小钱就行。男人就出去打拼，女人就照顾好家里。

As evidenced by the Chinese son’s statement, those who employed this traditional gender ideology, tended to argue that since there is a balanced division of labor, one working outside, and another working at home, the household’s division was fair. Rather than strictly citing “tradition,” traditional justifications assumed that both genders were involved in laboring in some form. However, as presented in the previous pages, the majority of participants relied on gendered time differences, rather than explicit gender ideologies in their reasoning of a fair household labor distribution.

5.3.5 Summary of gender(ing) equity. In this section, it was illustrated that for many family members, considerations of differences in time, energy, or skill and ability were gendered in their application. Equity, as practiced by participants, was applied in distinctly gendered ways that supported the continuing gendered and uneven distribution of household labor. Participants tended to describe fathers as having less time, having less energy for housework, and lacking the

necessary skills to do the majority of the household tasks. Meanwhile, women were described as being more available to do the housework, less tired from laboring in the workplace, and more attentive to detail and therefore more skilled in doing many of the household's required tasks. Participants recognized that as a result of compensating for father's low involvement in household labor, mothers might be tired, and therefore fathers were expected to help and do some household tasks. However, participants did not attempt to describe how "much" should fathers "help," nor did they consider how much more mothers would end up laboring in total with only partial help from fathers.

In sum, in the majority of cases in which differences in household labor was expected, participants tended to prioritize men's experiences, and set their time, energy, and skill as the standard for deciding how the housework should be divided. Rather than relying directly on gender ideologies, participants relied on at times seemingly gender-neutral differences in time, energy, and skill as justifications for a division where mothers were expected by their family members and expected themselves to do more housework. Participants rarely considered the larger societal forces in play that made it so that men appeared busier, tired, or were believed to be less skilled, and rather treated their own family as having made the division based on their own unique situation. As a result, in the majority of families, participants reasoning regarding an equitable arrangement continued to support mother's greater involvement in household labor, as well as greater time spent laboring overall.

5.4 Belief that There is No Such Thing as Absolute Fairness in the Family Context

In line with participants' lack of expectation of equality, and acceptance of (gendered) difference, this study instead found that a strict notion of fairness was not the primary criterion considered as suitable for evaluating a family's household labor. Rather, the majority of adult participants in both countries argued that a strictly fair division was not the end goal or particularly desirable. Instead, participants suggested that rather than fairness, the division of housework should be flexible and evaluated for whether it was accepted by the other family members, emotionally satisfactory, or reasonable (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4

Mentions of Statements that Argue for Other Values rather than Strict Fairness (Percentages)

Statement	Country	
	Korea	China
Can't Apply Fairness to the Home	8.5%	12.9%
It is Reasonable/ Emotionally Satisfactory	26.5%	20.3%
Acceptable	11.9%	11.0%
Home as not a place for Reason	---	2.0%
It is about Love	9.5%	11.7%
It is about Happiness & Satisfaction	15.0%	18.1%
Should be Flexible	28.6%	24.0%

Note. Percentages calculated from total frequency of statements within the table.

Some participants disagreed with the notion that fairness could or should be used to evaluate a family's division of labor. Chinese fathers in particular were reluctant to apply the notion of fairness to the family context. For instance, when asked whether the family's division was fair, the Chinese father stated, "Fairness? When it comes to the home there is no such thing as thinking fair or not fair" (公平呢, 就是在家庭里没有什么公平不公平的说法). The home tended to be described as an environment incompatible with an expectation of fairness. Echoing the Chinese father's sentiment, a Korean mother stated, "I don't think household chores need to be divided up equitably/fairly- at least in our family's house, in our environment" (저는 집안일 분담을 공평하게 해야 한다고 생각하지는 않아요. 저희 집 가정에서는, 환경 속에서는).

A rejection of the application of fairness to the family seemed to be linked with the notion that the family is a unique context in which couples reached a form of emotional balance or acceptance. For example, another Chinese father stated, "In the family there is no saying fair or not fair. Fairness should be, in a family's environment (context), reaching a relational/emotional balance, at work it is win-win (collaborate and collectively win)" (在家里里面没有公平可言, 公平应该是, 在家庭的环境里, 达到一个感情的平衡, 在工作上就是合作共赢). The relational and intimate nature of the family was considered by participants to be incongruous with fairness.

Specifically, participants seemed leery of an "absolute" fairness ideal being applied to evaluate a family's division. For example, a Chinese mother stated, "There is no absolute fairness. So I am saying that there is only tacit understanding, only balance. There is only a kind of balance, and there is no absolute fairness" (对没有绝对的公平。所以说就是只有默契只有平衡, 只有一种平衡, 而没有绝对的公平). Rather than fairness, participants argued that the family was a place where balance should be reached.

Participants tended to emphasize that fairness was not relevant in the life of a couple. In another Chinese family, the father pointed out, "This, I think this still rather something between two people, because this thing (housework), has no absolute fair or not fair" (这个我想就是还是两个人的事吧, 因为在这种东西下, 没有绝对的公平不公平). Participants appeared to treat "absolute fairness" as an outside evaluation that was unnecessary in influencing the decisions between a couple. For example, a Korean mother stated, "Is equity always fair/equitable? Is it like that in life? It's not like that when couples live together" (공평하는 게 꼭 공평해야 돼? 삶에 있어서? 부부 생활이라는 게 꼭 그렇게 되지 않아요.) Couples then, were considered to lead a life in which fairness was neither expected nor considered as an appropriate factor in making decisions.

5.4.1 Family as a place of love & happiness rather than fairness & equality. A strict sense of fairness in which each individual was treated equally or the same was believed to be more appropriate for the workplace rather than the home. Rather, participants tended to reject expectations that housework be strictly divided 50-50, or that there be clearly a clear detailing or tallying of who should do how much of each household chore. For example, a Chinese father stated, "I think between a wife and husband it doesn't matter, who does more, who does a little less, I don't think it matters. Between a husband and a wife you shouldn't be counting (measuring) these things" (我认为在夫妻之间是无所谓的, 谁多做一点, 少一点, 我觉得都没什么的。夫妻之间不应该计较这些).

When presented with a scenario in which the spouses who worked the same hours at the same company decided to divide the housework 50-50, some participants believed that this form of fairness made the family appear too much like a workplace, and lacked the “familial warmth” that is normally present in the family. For example, after reading the scenario a Korean mother stated, “It (the 50-50 situation) can appear reasonable, but I think it lacks affection” (합리적으로 보여질 수는 있지만 정이 없는 것 같아요). In their rejection of a 50-50 division, participants argued that rather than a strict and absolute fairness, a family’s situation should be decided based on love and happiness. For example, a Chinese mother stated:

In China there is an old saying “ the home isn’t the place where you talk about reason.” In other words, everyone can find a balance, so you can accept, I can also accept, he can also accept. And then harmoniously get along, you don’t have any disputes, just have a point of balance, finding a balance point is enough. There is no absolute fairness. 中国有句老话叫做“家不是讲理的地方”。就是说大家能找到一个平衡点，就你也能接受，我也能接受，他也能就接受。然后和睦相处，就是不要有争执，这就是一个平衡点，找到这个平衡点就可以了。没有绝对的公平。

As can be seen from the excerpts above, participants argued that the intimacy of the family made it an inappropriate place for expecting a reason-based, absolutely fair division of labor. As household labor was seen as a form of caring labor (Glenn, 2010), motivated by love, it was seen as incompatible with the standards set for the workplace. In other words, participants created a dichotomy between affection and intimacy in the family and the expectation of evenly dividing housework.

5.4.2 Affect rather than fairness as maintaining balance. Rather than principles of fairness or equality participants relied on affect and affection as the main method for influencing and maintaining a balanced division of labor. Participants mentioned two factors/mechanisms other than fairness that were assumed to prevent one family member from being overly burdened within the family: 1) understanding and consideration, and 2) consultation.

Understanding. Within the family context, in both countries, adults were more likely to suggest that a balance in labor would be achieved through understanding and consideration of each partner’s needs. For example, a Chinese mother stated “You don’t have to deal with it so strictly. I think this. If the wife can understand, understand, and support his work, I think there should be no problem. That is to say, the husband can choose to do less or not do it” (可以不用那么严格分配吧我想这个呢如果妻子能够了解，理解，支持他工作的话，我想应该是没有问题的。就是说丈夫可以选择少做，或者是不做). Interestingly, in both countries, mothers were more likely to be the one’s describing the expectation that there should be understanding (Korea-65.4% female, China- 76.4% female). Part in parcel with this, in general mothers were also more likely to be the one expected to be the ones understanding of their partner’s needs. Another Chinese mother described this gendered expectation:

I think a family should understand each other. When the father is busier at work, maybe he will do less housework, only on the weekends he can help a little. Then the wife may

assume the role of mother. She will take care of the whole family and let her husband work with peace of mind.

我觉得一家人互相理解嘛。爸爸在工作方面比较忙的时候他可能分担家务会少一点，只有周末来帮忙分担，然后妻子可能就是承担妈妈的角色，她会多照顾到家里的全面，让丈夫安心工作这样。

Although participants tended to use gender neutral language that implied mutual understanding and consideration, such as by stating that “there should be understanding” or “consideration for each other,” when it came to explaining the current division, women were described as, as well as expected themselves to be understanding and caring (and therefore take on a greater share of the housework). Underlying the expectation of understanding, was the recognition by some participants, that women *had to be understanding*, because any higher expectations would lead to conflict and eventual divorce. For example, a Korean mother stated:

Because if you start nitpicking on this and that and the equal division of chores, married couples are bound to have a lot of fights. I think, based on the people around me, the more the parents argue, the worse it is for their children. So rather than arguing for the equal distribution of household work, since I’ve seen people around me get divorced because of it, they have to be more understanding of things. Household chores aren’t a critical part of marriage. If they love each other and understand each other a little bit more, make sacrifices and devote themselves to their marriage, it would be fine. It can always be a “I’ll do the cooking, you do the dishes” kind of dynamic.

왜냐면 이 평등 이것 이 가사일의 평등 이것 따지다 보면 부부 간의 싸움도 많이 일어나고, 내 생각에 이 주위의 사람들 이렇게 보면, 싸움이 잦아지면 아이들한테도 안좋고 많이 안좋으니까 어 그러니까 웬만하면 인제 그러니까 이 가사일의 평등보다는 왜냐면 내 주위에서 그런 사람들 이 있어서 이혼한 사람들이 있었고 근데 가사 노동은 이렇게 중요하지 않기 때문에 서로 사랑 하면~ 이해하면~ 이해하면 조금만 이해하면 되거든요~ 물론 뭐 살다보면 많이 싸우기도 하지만, 조금만 내가 희생하고~ 헌신하고 하면~ 가사 일은 충분히 내가 밥먹고 니가 설거지 니가 하면 되잖아.

Understanding then, rather than fairness, served as a form of care labor expected from women to create a “balance” that would prevent the dissolution of the family. However, as previously mentioned, family members expected that the actual division be decided as a result of agreement.

Consultation. In both countries, adult participants suggested that consultation would be a primary mechanism for creating a good division of household labor. Despite the relative resources hypothesis regarding negotiating power, most participants did not acknowledge actual power differentials within marriage, instead describing consultation as occurring between two equal partners. For example, a Chinese father stated:

Because the family is, how do you say it? Just that a family is made up by us coming together and creating this whole (unit). If there is a problem we can discuss it, talk more

about it, it is not maintained by this system, just based on a shared understanding to maintained the life of this family.

因为家庭是一个怎么说呢，就是家庭是一个由我们共同来完成的一个整体，有问题了咱们可以商量，多谈多交流，不是按这个制度来维持，是靠共同的理解来维持这个家庭的生。

Participants assumed that if there was a problem in the family's division, the family would come together and discuss the changes that should occur. For example, a Chinese mother pointed out:

I think its normal, just that I can bear it. Let me put it this way, maybe if there is a day I can't bear it anymore, maybe I will organize a big meeting, redistribute again, basically it is like this.

我觉得一般吧，就是我能承受得了。这么说吧，如果要是我有一天承受不了的话，我可能就会组织他们召开会议，重新分配，基本上也就这样。

The onus to change the housework is based on the expectation that the family would come together and discuss it. However, underlying the consultative process, is the expectation that one member who is dissatisfied will be the one to bring on the consultation—to ask to change. For example, a Korean father stated, “When my wife complains about certain issues, she addresses them because she has problems with it” (와이프가 좀 불만이나 이런 부분들이 바뀌었으면 좋겠다 하는 그 부분들이 있다고 하면 아무래도 불만이 이제 있는 거니까 뭐 그거까지 생각하는 거잖아요.). Similar to the mechanism of understanding, is the making invisible of the expectation that the one with the problem will have to bring it up for discussion. Interestingly, the majority of participants also acknowledged that they did not themselves discuss how the division should be divided, and instead noted that it occurred naturally. When asked about how they decided to divide the housework a Korean father replied:

To be honest, I have never seriously talked to her about this before. We just implicitly, just know. I passively do things when told and my wife always seems to have a general plan for household chores and completes them without hesitation.

사실 이런 식으로 진지하게 얘기를 해본 적은 없어. 그냥 서로 알아서 그냥 묵시적으로 그냥 나는 수동적으로 시키면 하고 그런 식이고 와이프는 이제 어차피 다 가사 일에 전반적으로 플랜을 갖고 짝 하는거고.

5.4.3 Summary of No Such thing as Absolute Fairness in the Family. In support of Okin's (1998) assertion that the home is rarely considered a site for justice, parents in both countries did not always agree with a strict or absolute ideal of fairness when it came to deciding how to divide the housework. Participants assumed that when asked whether the division of housework was fair, that “fair” meant sameness, or completely equitable, based on a standard set outside of the family. At the same time, participants did not believe that a strict form of equity was a requirement of fairness either. Many participants did not believe that a calculated and abstract form of “fairness” was either practical or ideal within the family context. Instead,

participants believed that a fair division should be conceptualized as any division that was accepted by the family members or could be agreed upon. From a social domain theoretical framework, this meant that participants were refusing to use a moral evaluation (based on abstract rules) and rather preferred to rely on a couple's agreement or conventional reasoning as the standard for assessing the family's division.

An expectation that values in the family such as love, happiness, tolerance, emotional satisfaction, or flexibility, should be used to evaluate and decide how to divide the housework, reframed the current divisions as acceptable, rather than fair or not fair. The rejection of an absolute conceptualization of fairness, of measuring or tallying the housework also allowed for the continued burden of the majority of the housework to be placed on one family member's shoulders (mainly the mother). Furthermore, the reliance on affect-based mechanisms of understanding, as well as discussions between spouses and complaint to change problematic divisions of housework, also served to continue to put the emotional burden of managing and dividing the housework on women's shoulders.

5.5 Discussion

Overall, thematic analysis of Chinese and Korean family interviews revealed three main themes: 1) expectation of at least minimum involvement, 2) expectation of a gendered division based on equity, and 3) no absolute fairness in the family. The themes suggested that when it comes to housework, each family member is expected to be involved, however involvement levels were expected to differ on gendered differences in time availability, tiredness, or skills. Furthermore, parents in particular, were slightly weary of the assumption that an "absolute" or measureable form of fairness should be applied to the family context. They were likely to argue that fairness in the family was relational, relative, and up to each family to agree upon. This study's findings shed light on the initial research questions in several important ways.

5.5.1 Conceptualizing fairness. First, most parents in both countries rejected an absolute ideal of fairness when it came to applying it to the family. Participants held the belief that there was basic minimum level of involvement required of each family member, but tended to be weary of suggesting that a particular amount of housework was required. As suggested by Okin (1989), family members appear to conceptualize fairness in the family in a distinctly different way than they do in terms of other societal spaces. Parents in both countries in particular, argued that a strict level of fairness should not be applied to evaluate the case of the family. Rather, fairness was redefined to mean whatever was agreeable to the family members within a particular family. In other words, a fair division was one in which everyone was happy and satisfied, rather than equitably or equally engaged in household tasks.

This finding complicates previous research that has relied on simple questionnaires or surveys to ask is the division "fair or not fair." When I asked participants to say whether the division was fair or not, while some directly rejected the question (10.1%), those who did say it was fair tended to reframe the definition. As shown by the excerpts presented above, participants argued that a division was fair if everyone was satisfied, agreed upon the division, or had no complaints. In other words, it is likely that when previous survey research was collected using a dichotomous or scaled approach (Mikula, 1998), research participants (mostly women) were not necessarily agreeing that the division was "absolutely fair," but rather had their own definition. An important extension of this study's findings is to consider more qualitative approaches that go

beyond force choices or scales indicating fairness levels. For example, a Chinese mother stated “I think that when it comes to the family its not completely possible to use a scale to measure fair or not fair” (我觉得在家里来说不可以完全用尺度来量公不公平). Researchers may also consider being upfront of their own definition of fairness, so it is clear that the participant is answering the question based on an agreed definition.

5.5.2 Reasons for accepting gendered inequality. Second, family members were accepting of mothers doing the majority of the housework, and considered it fair as a result of several gendered assumptions. In general, participants expected a difference in involvement in housework, because they perceived each family member as having different opportunities and burdens in terms of their time-availability, their available energy, their capacities and skills, and responsibilities. In this study, most participants did not acknowledge the gendering of time availability or energy level, and considered that their family’s division was a “natural” result of one parent working more hours and being more tired. However, mothers were less likely to be seen as having the lack of time or energy to engage in doing housework, while fathers were more likely to be given a free pass. In terms of skills, mothers were in general, seen as more skilled in doing a majority of household tasks. Gendered assumptions revolving time-availability, energy level, and skills allowed for participants to consider their family’s gendered division as acceptable. These findings corroborate Beagan, Chapman, D’Sylva, & Bassett’s (2008) findings that rather than appealing directly to gender roles, family members rely on superficially appearing gender-neutral rationales such as time-availability that are actually based on unspoken assumptions of gender roles to rationalize why mothers take on the majority of labor at home.

In addition, the rejection of measuring each family member’s involvement, and at times the belief that a strictly equal sharing of housework was impossible to attain, also supported participants’ belief that an unequal sharing of housework should be expected. In particular, the beliefs that there should be flexibility in the family, that family members should help each other, and be understanding of each other, prevented any particular family formation from being considered unfair except for extremes (i.e., in one where the family member did nothing at all). Participants’ expectations that there should be difference, many times in response to society created differences (Ji et al., 2017), supported their beliefs that differences in the amount of housework labor was acceptable and fair. In other words, many participants did not expect there to be an equal division of housework. Future research should investigate a greater subset of families that have an equal division, to understand what are the motivating factors for such an equal division. In particular, the rejection by parents that housework could be measured, and researchers’ previous experiences with the unreliability of time spent on housework reports, suggests an interesting avenue for future exploration. Especially because of the gendered nature of time availability presented in surveys, it would be interesting to explore other methods for measuring involvement in housework labor.

5.5.3 The Influence of cultural ideologies. Third, although not as influential as previous research suggested it may be (Ji et al., 2017) one of the main cultural ideologies present in both Chinese and Korean households was the Confucian ideology of “men outside, women inside” (男主外女主内). This cultural expectation was used by participants to explain men’s greater mental and physical involvement in the workforce and women’s resulting greater physical, mental, and affective involvement in home life. A few participants relied on this ideology in their evaluations of whether the family division was fair.

Another cultural rationale present in Chinese interviews, was the idiom “the home is not a place for discussing reason” (家不是讲理的地方). Chinese fathers in particular, used this idiom to explain why fairness, or a strict sense of fairness, could not be applied to the family. As the family was not a place to be considering issues of reason and logic, but rather a place for affect and love, Chinese participants argued that fairness was not an issue. Very similarly to work done in the US (Glenn, 2010; Okin, 1989), this Chinese idiom suggests that the family is not compatible with ideas of justice. This cultural logic was best represented by a 16 year-old-Chinese boy when asked about thinking about fairness between a couple:

Because I think husband and wife are like one person, they, just for example I write with my left hand, my right hand can take things, but I use my right hand more than my left, this does not involve fair or not fair.

因为我觉得夫妻就像一个人，他们，就比如说我左手写字，我右手可以拿东西，但是我右手用的比我左手多，这个就不涉及什么公平与不公平了。

Ultimately, the rejection of applying fairness to the relationship between family members, and a couple in particular, supports the continued reliance on affect. This in combination with the cultural expectation that women invest more to family life, contributed to women’s greater involvement in the current division of labor in the home. In Korean families, women were also more likely to describe themselves as sacrificing for the family. Underlying these cultural ideologies is the assumption that women’s labor is the foundation of the family. In other words, as the Chinese participant put it, mothers are the “right hand of the family.”¹⁵

5.5.4 Conclusion. In line with previous research suggesting adult’s general acceptance of an unequal division of labor, the majority of family members interviewed in this study did not expect that a family’s division of household labor should be equal. While participants did find their own family’s division unfair if there was very little involvement in the housework, very few thought a fair division should include equal participation between spouses. Rather, the majority of couples appeared to rely on subjective, emotional factors to maintain a “reasonable” balance within the family. Women in particular, were expected to be understanding of the current division, and this understanding allowed for the perpetuating of the gendered division of labor in larger society, maintaining the status quo. Very few participants actually addressed how society influenced the division of labor so that in the majority of these families, women took on the bulk of the housework. Therefore, by relying on affect and intimacy, the majority of participants were unwilling to measure, apply fairness to, or consider how the division perpetuated gendered unequal divisions of labor.

¹⁵ While the literature’s focus on housework is mainly on women’s experiences, it should be noted that most men and children in these families are also overworked. Several fathers reported working over 90 hours a week, and many had to commute at least one hour to work each way. In addition, in both countries, men were expected to stay after work and to “network” through the socially acceptable means of drinking. The drinking culture was particularly pronounced in Korean society, where men were expected to stay up until 12am or later and drink with their co-workers.

Children in both countries attended many hours of school, in addition they attended academies until 6-8pm at night, and then spent the rest of the evening doing homework. In Korea, I had a very hard time finding high school students to participate in my study because they had to prepare for the national entrance examination. One high school student came home just to participate in the interview on a Sunday night from 8:30pm-9pm, and then went back to her school to continue studying.

This study's findings complemented previous research on housework distribution, by showing underlying assumptions made by family members that created and supporting divisions in which mother's (and at times grandmothers) would take on the majority of the household labor. Previous theorization has yet to find one clear theory that can explain why women do the majority of the housework (Coltrane, 2000; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Research has shown that while women are more likely to engage in doing housework if they work more less paid hours (time-availability), have less negotiating power or bring in less money (relative resource), or have more traditional gender ideologies, we are still unclear why women do the majority of the housework when none of these are the case. Furthermore, research has shown (Fuwa, 2004), that macro factors, such as a country's gender equality index, are at times stronger factors in deciding how a family's housework distribution is divided rather than the micro (individual) factors mentioned previously.

The themes in participants' interviews, however, provide insights into the quandary created by previous findings. Based on this chapter's findings, I would suggest that previous research findings can be understood if we take into account two mechanisms occurring in the home: 1) the rejection of measurement/quantifying the amount of participation in housework by family members, and instead a reliance on affect and affection as mechanisms for balance; and 2) using gender neutral expectations of time availability, energy, and skill that masks society's already pre-constructed gendered division of labor. These mechanisms allow for women to, in general, do the majority of the housework both through the culturally constructed nature that women rely on love and affection as motivators to engage in labor in the home (Glenn, 2010), and the society constructed conditions that make it so that men in general are given higher paying positions, are more likely to be promoted, expected to go on business trips and meet with other high-ranking men, that create value of men's tiredness, and doesn't require them to learn household skills.

Therefore, in a "typical" household, as the research has shown, men appear to "be busier" and have more "resources" to negotiate, and therefore although "progressive" in their gender ideologies women do most of the housework. However, this chapter's findings, help explain how in families in which both men and women have the "same time," and "resources," and skills, and are gender ideologically progressive, women are still more likely to engage in the bulk of the housework. By making the home a place that is free from justice (Okin, 1989), from measurement, where flexibility, affect, and understanding are required, the responsibility for "loving" the family through labor "ends up" falling on women's shoulders. In other words, "fairness" in the family is applied only in a superficial sense of equity where gender neutral theories of difference allow for men to do less, while such application in the case of women are met with expectations of "affection" and "understanding."

In sum, these two mechanisms "affect and understanding from women" in intimate relationships, and an expectation of difference as a result of society constructed expectations in the market-place, make it so that even in gender progressive households and/or gender progressive societies, women will end up taking the majority of the housework. Relying only on participation, understanding, and consultation are insufficient for a truly justice-oriented family (Kleingeld & Anderson, 2014), because they rely on micro-interactions in the home without recognizing both the gendered expectations of intimate relationships, as well as the gendered division of labor in society at large. If families are unwilling to use measurement, schedules, and detailed analysis of how the housework should be decided, then feminist scholars should

consider arguing that rather than “justice-oriented families,” we should consider how reciprocity can be encouraged in equal measure within gendered loving relationships.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This dissertation set out to investigate how children and adults view the gendered distribution of household labor and provide an account of some of the key factors that were presumed to contribute to individuals being accepting or critical of a gendered distribution of household labor. Through 183 individual interviews of Chinese and South Korean family members, observations of the distribution of household labor within 23 families and surveys and questionnaires, I explored how individuals perceived, evaluated, and reasoned about their experiences of equality and inequality in their divisions of domestic labor. In this study, the main focus was on the influence of development, gender, and culture on individual's moral evaluations of household labor. This dissertation's findings raised important implications for moral developmental theory, methodology, theorization of the relationship between culture and development, and educational interventions.

6.1 Implications for Moral Developmental Theory

Social domain theorists have long argued that individuals across cultures are critical of social inequality (Turiel, 2002; Turiel, Chung, & Carr, 2016, Wainryb & Turiel, 1994). It has been contended that much of societal change is a result of individuals' (especially members of the younger generation), ability to be morally critical of their social world. However, concurrently, particularly in the case of gender inequality, individuals have also been found to be accepting of inequality and to even find it fair (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). For social domain theorists, coordination, or the balancing of different considerations (moral, conventional, and personal) is the process that can best account for individual's variability in their evaluations of social inequality. In addition, informational assumptions, or beliefs about the facts of the situation have also been shown to play an important part in individual's evaluations of social issues (Turiel, 2002; Wainryb, 1991). This dissertation's findings extend previous SDT research by suggesting new avenues for both theoretical and methodological consideration.

6.1.1 How much inequality is too much? In this study it was found that both Chinese and Korean children reported that their mothers spent more time on housework than their fathers. This inequality in itself was not sufficient cause to condemn it. Chinese children reported that their mothers spent on average two times the amount of time on housework than their fathers. However, the children were evenly split in their fairness evaluations of their family's situation. By contrast the Korean mothers were reported to spend three times as much time on housework as fathers. Korean children were significantly more likely than Chinese children to find their family's division of household labor unfair. Based on the comparison between Korean and Chinese participants, it is suggested that the *proportion of inequality* rather than inequality per se is an important factor in influencing how individuals evaluate the fairness of social inequality (Coltrane, 2000).

The greater acceptance of "minor" inequality than "greater" inequality is further suggested by differences found in justifications following fairness evaluations. Children who evaluated either a hypothetical gendered unequal labor division or their own family's division as fair were more likely to employ equity as a justification. Conversely, when evaluating these situations as unfair, participants were more likely to employ equality as a justification. Mirroring fairness evaluation differences, Chinese children were more likely to employ equity (and

participation) as justifications, while Korean children were more likely to employ equality as a justification. In other words, Chinese children, who in general reported less of a disparity between parents' involvement, were significantly more likely to find their family's division as fair, and to use equity as a justification. It seems that *equity served as a justification for the fairness of (relatively) small inequality between spouses*. On the other hand, when evaluating their own family's division as unfair, Korean children were more likely to argue that the division was unequal, while Chinese children were more likely to argue that one of the partner's was not considering the other's needs (perspectivism). This may suggest that a greater disproportionate division of labor may be evaluated as (too) unequal, or (too) inconsiderate of the partner who does the majority of the housework's needs.

Moreover, adults followed similar patterns of reasoning. Korean participants reported a greater ratio between women and men's time spent on housework (4:1) than Chinese participants (~1.7:1), and were significantly more likely to report that find their family's division unfair. In addition, Chinese participants were more likely to use equity as their justification for their fairness evaluation. Therefore, like in the case of their children, this suggests that while a smaller proportion of inequality may be justified based on the principles of equity, a greater proportion of inequality may not be so justified.

Overall, it is argued that individuals' evaluations and justifications for gender (or social) inequality may be tempered by/ influenced by "how much" inequality is being perceived. As most children reported an unequal distribution of labor in their home (95.74%), and yet were almost 50-50 split in their fairness evaluations of their family's division, it would suggest that some other factor outside of an unequal division of labor was influencing their evaluations. The main justifications following a fairness and unfairness evaluation relied on principles of justice falling within the moral domain. Therefore, while previous SDT research is correct in stating that individuals use moral reasoning to evaluate their society's social inequalities and become critical of unjust cultural practices, it seems that moral reasoning is also employed to support some forms of inequality.

An implication from this finding is the importance of considering the spectrum of the inequality that the individual is evaluating. Rather than suggesting inequality will be morally critically evaluated in most straightforward situations, it may be that a *disproportionate* level of inequality is considered "straightforward," while smaller inequalities (the one thousand paper cuts), are accepted and not-critically considered (i.e., the husband works a little longer every week, so of course the wife should do a little more housework every week). For example, previous SDT research on women's critical moral evaluations has mainly focused on very patriarchal societies (such as Korea), where the social inequality that women face is great and disproportionate. In such contexts, as also found in this dissertation, women have been consistently found to be critical of such inequalities and find it unfair (Abu-Lughod, 2008; Turiel, Chung & Carr, 2016). On the other hand, American children (like the Chinese children in this study), who face less (obvious) extreme forms of inequalities between genders (for example, OECD, 2008/2009), have been found to be more accepting of gendered unequal parenting roles (Sinno & Killen, 2009; 2011). These differences in fairness evaluations may be as a result of the fact that the inequality in these situations may be seen as "slight," (or considered an acceptable form/level of inequality).

Future research. Based on the findings that individuals accept social inequalities on the lower end of the inequality spectrum, the next question to be asked is "How much inequality is fair?" While this dissertation found that equality (a strictly 50-50 division between parents) was

almost universally considered fair across age groups, genders, and cultures, and almost 50% of participants found their family's division unfair, another 50% considered their family's division fair. In addition, as the thematic analysis found, the majority of family members across countries found the failure to contribute to household labor (no participation) unfair. Therefore, between the extremes of perfect equality, and extreme inequality in which there is no participation on one end, based on the principle of equity (i.e., individuals differ in their situations and therefore should differ in their expected behaviors) a good portion of individuals appear to find certain forms and proportions of inequality fair. Future research should investigate what proportion of inequality is acceptable and what is the cut off point within a given context. In particular, where and when do experiences of inequality become too much?

Moreover, I caution against suggestions that, if participants are saying that their division is fair as a result of equity, that the division is actually equitable¹⁶. In the next section I argue that reliance on *equity reasoning is supportive of greater forms of inequality, by accepting lesser day-to-day inequalities*. In fact, the overall use of equity as a justification revealed that the majority of participants did not think of their family's division or day-to-day actions as part of a larger structural system—one in which women are systematically disadvantaged.

6.1.2 Thinking within social structures: how “fair” families support unequal systems. Based upon this study's findings, it is argued that individuals are not as adept at thinking “critically about social systems and social relationships” or in resisting unfair cultural practices as previously suggested (Turiel, Chung, Carr, 2016, p. 26). In the case of evaluating the fairness of their family's division of labor, the majority of participants did not connect their own or their family's behavior with an unjust or gender unequal social system in which the majority of women did the majority of housework. For example, most participants in China were surprised when told at the end of the interview that in fact most women in China do the majority of the housework. Rather, as mentioned previously, the majority of participants justified their fairness evaluations based on straightforward principles of equality or equity between the two spouses, without considering or mentioning larger societal factors. As a result, participants rarely coordinated considerations of societal gendered organizations with their own family's division.

The lack of connection between individual family's divisions and larger societal structures and gendered patterns of behavior were rarely considered throughout both hypothetical and own family's division. The disconnect between a family's division of labor and larger societal inequalities and gendered patterns of behavior, were most clearly manifest in two primary ways: 1) justifying the division based on individual choice or an individual's job without questioning or connecting their family's division with the gendering of hiring practices, promotions, social functions, etc; and two, 2) accepting small inequalities based on the assumption that those inequalities evened out—primarily through assuming that equity was fair.

For example, as reviewed in Chapter 5, particularly in China, participants justified their family's division based on assumed individual gender-neutral differences within their own family's situation, such as time-availability (i.e., in our family, my husband works longer, so

¹⁶ It should be noted that I, along with the majority of researchers in the field of housework distribution, assume that an “equitable” and therefore “fair” division of labor is one in which a family has “an **equal** distribution of benefits and burdens, as well as ... **equal** consideration of every individual's freedom, needs and interests” (Kleingeld & Anderson ; 2014, p.322). To assess whether this is an equal division, the majority of research, including this study, has primarily relied on self-reports of time spent on housework, rather than other possible measures (e.g., energy, etc).

naturally I do more), without recognizing that in the majority of households in the country men were expected to, and encouraged to be busier through a variety of social practices (Ji et al, 2017). Therefore, the family's narrative was that the mother "so happened" to have more time in this particular family, without consideration of how many women in their society are made available through economic and social practices that create such "availability." Furthermore, participants did not connect the fact that their mother's had more time, or had to make up for their father's busyness with doing more housework, resulted in their mother having less time to work.

Moreover, equity was consistently used to justify unequal divisions of housework without being critical of the source of such inequalities. Individuals assumed that, in general, the father was busier, and therefore the mother was expected to labor more in the household. However, participants did not consider how this social practice supported fathers to be free to have more time to labor, travel for business, or network through social dinners, and resulted in women having less opportunities to be seen as equally busy. Furthermore, essential to the assumption of equity was that at the end of the day, the laboring of the father at work and the laboring of the mother at home + work evened out. None of the participants that employed equity as a justification were critical of whether in the end mothers did end up laboring the same as men, or whether in fact fathers were indeed busier if the mothers were doing the majority of the housework. *Instead, I would argue, equity was a justification that not only supported inequality in household labor within many of these families' homes, but also served as a narrative of acceptance of difference in labor that actually results in supporting the greater gendered pattern in society in which women end up laboring more.*

Essentially, the assumption that equity between spouses meant that women should do more housework because their husbands are busier is a logic that contributes to women systematically and consistently picking up the slack. A quick foray into the most recent cross-national time-use surveys (OECD, 2008/2009), reveal that despite the greater day-to-day proportion of household labor inequality between Korean parents than Chinese participants, Chinese women are actually spending more time laboring than all other groups overall. Combining paid and unpaid labor, Chinese women work on average 525 minutes a day, Korean women work 500 minutes a day, Chinese men work 481 minutes a day, and Korean men work 467 minutes a day. In other words, despite the fact that Chinese men report engaging in 2 times the amount of housework a day than Korean men, *Chinese women are more overworked than their Korean counterparts.* Therefore, the smaller proportion of inequality in housework distribution between Chinese men and women belies the greater overall inequality in their total laboring time.

If we think of the daily hour differences in total laboring time by gender, and consider it systematically, as of the Time Survey collected in 2008 and 2009, both Korean and Chinese women are working several weeks longer than their male counterparts. Chinese women on average are working a total of an additional 267.66 hours a year, while Korean women are working an additional 200.75 hours a year compared to their male counterparts. This difference is equivalent to Chinese women laboring an additional six and a half 40-hour work-weeks, and Korean women laboring an additional five 40-hour work-weeks. This gendered inequality in laboring time suggests systemic differences, rather than individual choices that vary by family. It also demonstrates how Chinese families' employment of equity as a justification for the (relatively) small proportion of their household's labor inequality, is actually occurring and

inadvertently supporting a larger system in which Chinese women are laboring more than both men and women in China and Korea.

I argue that rather than being critical of social practices, at least in the case of housework, individuals neglected to coordinate systematic gender inequalities and the inequality within their own household. Individuals rarely considered how their families' inequality helps perpetuate gender inequality within society (i.e., that mom has to leave early to make lunch = women shouldn't get promoted since they are busy taking care of the home), or how gendered societal practices influence their own family's division (i.e., discriminatory hiring practices leading to their mother being less likely to be promoted or hired to a white-collar job). As a result, since individuals only focus on inequality between the two spouses, and did not consider systemic inequalities and how their justification of equity contributes to gendered social patterns, their behavior and reasoning contributes to the gender unequal patterns rather than changing or being critical of such patterns.

Implications & future Research. The fact that in most cases, small inequalities within the family were considered fair, and justified through the application of a moral justification further complicates our understanding of moral reasoning. In particular, instead of employing gender stereotypes, or relying on notions of tradition and convention, the majority of participants employed equity, a moral justification, as a method for legitimizing inequality. In other words, the majority of participants were reading a gendered division of labor as a moral issue, however *employing moral reasoning, is not a sufficient indication(cause) that an individual will be critical of social issues or unequal social practices.* Instead, largely as a result of individuals not connecting their experiences within their home with larger structural inequality, equity served as a justification that made individuals complacent to their family's inequality and the resulting larger societal inequality. Contrary to previous SDT theorizing then, moral reasoning is not in itself a cause or direct contributing factor to societal change. *The fact that individuals do not necessarily see their behavior and individual choices as part of a system that perpetuates inequality may help explain a variety of phenomena. In particular, the disconnect between individual behavior and societal inequality may help explain how despite individuals' capacity to reason morally societal injustice and inequality is perpetuated throughout generations.* Future research and theory should investigate when individuals do connect their behavior with larger social structures, as well as what may cause individuals to become unaware or disconnect their understanding of larger societal inequalities with their individual behaviors and justifications.

6.1.3 Affect, affection and kinship: how intimate relationships influences moral reasoning. While as presented above, the majority of the participants employed equality or equity in evaluating a gendered distribution as fair or unfair, 20.8% of parents considered their family's division as falling outside of the scope of fairness (or morality). Adult participants argued that the expectations between family members, especially between spouses, were incompatible with notions of fairness or strict notions of equality. As presented in Chapter 5, participants seemed to imply that the family was a unique context in which, as a result of intimacy, affection, and love, neither morality nor society should primarily dictate their behavior. Participants' reasoning made it clear that, individuals are not only living in a world where human behavior and reasoning is affected by morality, convention, or personal preference, but also by human connections and relationships, in which affection, happiness, love, avoidance of conflict, and fear play motivating and important roles. The family then, is a complex relational context in which individuals' desires to maintain intimacy and their relationship plays an important role in

their behavior and evaluations of their family's situation. This finding is in support of recent research that argues that interpersonal values and affect, such as mother's sense of whether they mattered to their family members, should be studied as factors influencing fairness perceptions (Lachance-Grzela, McGee & Ross-Plourde, 2019).

For many adult participants, rather than an emphasis on equality or equity, their reasoning focused on the connection between spouses and the factors that maintained or prevented intimacy. For example, a spouse may say that a division is unreasonable since "if this happens, then people will fight, and there will be conflict in the family." Or, a family's division is considered reasonable because a wife loves her husband. In other words, rather than a focus on social organization (i.e., they have responsibilities since they are members of a family they decided to create together), moral welfare or justice (i.e., one person will be more tired than the other), or personal preferences (i.e., if she likes doing the housework she can do more), many adults participants seemed to argue that as a result of the intimate relationship between spouses, neither societal expectations, nor issues of justice, or just one individual's preference, had ultimate say in the relationship or how the spouses decided to divide the housework between themselves, or whether this was acceptable.

The delineation of intimate kin relations as untouched from outside standards was used as a justification by the majority of participants who were skeptical of being asked to define whether their family's or another family's division of household labor was fair. As reviewed in Chapter 4 and 5, adult participants, particularly Chinese fathers, were uncomfortable with the notion that there be a strict equality between partners, and that the amount of housework be measured. Rather, the family, and the relationship between spouses was seen as separate from and at times incompatible with notions of equality and fairness. In addition, when asked to evaluate their family's division, many spouses seemed to associate evaluating their division as unfair with implications that their relationship was not good. At the same time, mothers and at times fathers, mentioned that unless they wanted to get divorced or were willing to engage in conflict, they would have to accept the division as it was. While Turiel, Chung & Carr (2016), mentioned women accepting inequality to be a case of pragmatics (fear of severe consequences), in the case of inequality in Korean and Chinese families, it seemed that mothers had to coordinate their desire for and fear of losing intimacy, harmony, and maintaining a loving relationship with their spouse (relational concerns), with their concerns for equality (moral concerns). Therefore, by relying on notions of maintaining intimate relationships as dichotomous from expectations of strict equality, inequality was maintained.

In addition to illustrating individual's valuing of relational considerations, I think it is important to highlight the largely neglected emotional investment that individuals have in their relationships as well as the emotional exhaustion that comes from attempting to fight inequality. While rarely mentioned in the social domain literature, participants were hesitant, at times hostile, when asked to describe or evaluate their family's household labor division. Throughout my interviews, I saw individuals (primarily mothers) having to be reminded or confront the fact that in their family they are expected to labor more, to make more sacrifices, and getting either angry, defensive, or defeated and accepting. Many parents were evasive of answering the question, and those who did the majority of the housework mentioned attempts to change their division throughout the marriage, being unsuccessful, and therefore ultimately letting go of the issue and accepting it. In one particularly memorable family interview, after speaking with a Chinese mother for a couple of hours while she cooked, I started interviewing the son. As I did the interview, we could hear the mother in the next room starting to berate the father for his lack

of involvement in cooking. Those who labored more seemed to have to choose between being angry and upset all the time, or choosing to be accepting for their own well-being or for the sake of their relationship.

Implications & future research. As a social domain theorist, I would argue that it is important to place greater consideration on the role that affect, affection, and intimate relationship play in individuals' experiences and reasoning. The findings that the intimate relationship between spouses or family members was seen as separate and at times in contrast to expectations of equality, may help explain why individuals may be accepting of gender inequality in the household (Glenn, 2010; Lachance-Grzela, McGee & Ross-Plourde, 2019). The relational nature, and the gendered expectations for the maintenance of the relationship between spouses, may explain in part why men have been found to be disproportionately accepting of gender inequality in other contexts (i.e., she doesn't mind, she loves me; Turiel, Chung & Carr, 2016). In other words, the very fact that women and men are often in intimate romantic relationships, the nature of which participants expect to be harmonious and long-lasting (and therefore conflict free), the gendered nature of affective expectations within such relationships (i.e., the wife should be loving to her husband), and the disconnect between having an intimate relationship and justice (i.e., we love each other, why should fairness matter?; Okin, 1989), may help explain why some individuals may consider inequality between spouses as factoring outside of the moral domain.

Furthermore, my observations and interviews across families suggest the importance of considering the roles that affect, affection, and maintaining harmonious relationships play in individuals' choices. When coordinating their reasoning, individuals are not only considering moral, conventional, or personal considerations, but are also valuing and considering their relationship with their spouse and the emotional labor and costs of changing their situation. In other words, we may have underestimated the power of intimacy and emotional needs when considering how inequality is perpetuated. The fact that parents are in an actual intimate relationship, and have an additional factor to consider, may help explain why parents were found in general to be less critical of their family's division than children in general. Future research should investigate the influence of intimacy, affect, and affection in individual's reasoning about issues of fairness, rights, and welfare within their own lives. In particular, it would be an important area of study to see if in different kinds of relationships, varying levels of intimacy and maintaining such intimacy are prioritized over moral considerations.

6.2 Methodological Considerations

As hinted in the previous section, this dissertation's findings hold several important methodological implications. The analysis of participants' interviews, surveys, questionnaires, and observations of family members' behavior revealed the situated and complex nature of individual's social and moral reasoning. For example, as mentioned above, because of the semi-structured and open nature of the interviews, I was able to observe participants' push-back against evaluating the fairness of their family's division. Overall, three main implications for future methodology in the study of moral reasoning are suggested.

One, fairness evaluations and the resulting justification significantly interact. A fairness evaluation and justification interaction were found across the board; in both children's and adult's judgments following both hypothetical and real-life situations, certain types of justifications were more likely to be employed based on whether the participant found the

division fair, unfair, or at times reasonable. Currently, the interaction between fairness evaluation and following justification types are rarely analyzed by social domain theorists, although it has been done before (Mulvey & Killen, 2016). Through the analysis of the interaction between fairness evaluation and justification type usage, other forms of interaction, such as between country and justification following a fair=1, or unfair=0 evaluation, were also revealed. These findings suggest that it is likely that previous research on justification usage that has not investigated the possible interaction between evaluation and justification may be missing or masking other forms of interactions. Future research into children's and adult's social and moral reasoning should consider investigating the interaction between individual's moral evaluations and acceptability judgments and their justification usage.

Two, presenting participants with only a likert scale or dichotomous survey option to evaluate a situation as fair or unfair may lead to misleading findings. While in general, participants' fairness likert-scale evaluations and their interview evaluations were consistent, particularly in the case of children, likert-scale evaluations did not fully represent a portion of adults' actual fairness evaluations. As reported previously, thematic analysis of adult's reasoning revealed not only their preference to answer neither fair or unfair, but if they did evaluate the division as fair, many of the participants reinterpreted fair to mean satisfactory, acceptable, or tolerable, among other redefinitions. In addition, as also reviewed in Chapter 5, a portion of adult participants were against the notion that there existed a quantifiable way to evaluate fairness, or that principles of justice should be applied to the family in the first place.

As a result of these findings, I would question previous research findings that a relatively high percentage of adults find their family's division fair (Mikula, 1998; Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier & Baumgärtner, 2008). Since the majority of previous data on fairness evaluations have relied on forced answer likert-scale questions (i.e., do you do more/about/less than your fair share of housework?), without defining what is meant by fair, it is possible that rather than a moral evaluation, a portion of surveys are actually evaluations representing that participants are unwilling to complain about their family's division, or that they find their division tolerable, among other possibilities. Future research on fairness evaluations, particularly cross-cultural survey gathering, should consider defining what is meant by fair, as well as providing a possible "other" category, where participants are able to provide their own evaluation of their family's division or their participation in the housework (i.e., tolerate, acceptable, reasonable). Such an approach (i.e., clarifying wording, making clear definitions, allowing for non-dichotomous answers) may provide greater insight into the ideologies that support and justify the gendered division of household labor.

Three, of particular relevance to research on children's social development, I would caution against mainly or solely relying on hypothetical scenarios to investigate children's social and moral reasoning. Much of social domain theoretical research has relied on hypothetical scenarios to evaluate children's fairness and acceptability judgments (Conry-Murray, Kim & Turiel, 2015; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin & Stangor, 2002; Schuette & Killen, 2009; Sinno & Killen, 2011; Turiel, 2008). While Turiel (2008) found that American children were able to differentiate between domains (moral and conventional) and to make domain-consistent justifications of transgressions in both hypothetical and real situations, the study did not investigate whether fairness evaluations different from a hypothetical scenario and a situation in their own lives. However, in this dissertation it was found that both children and adults differed in the fairness judgments regarding a hypothetical gendered distribution of labor, a hypothetical strictly equal division, and their own family's distribution. These findings suggest that while

similar reasoning may be used to justify to both hypothetical and real scenarios (i.e., equality and equity were consistently applied to both hypothetical and real-lived situations), children do not make the same fairness judgments regarding hypothetical scenarios as they do their own lives. Children were found to be more critical of hypothetical scenarios than they were about the inequalities that they face in their own family. Therefore, I caution against assuming that the previous findings on social exclusion (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin & Stangor, 2002), gender norms (Conry-Murray, Kim & Turiel, 2015), and gendered parenting roles (Brose, Conry-Murray & Turiel, 2013; Schuette & Killen, 2009; Sinno & Killen, 2011) that have mainly relied on hypothetical scenarios, may reflect children's evaluations of real life situations. As a result, future research should consider further investigating both children's moral judgments and justifications of both hypothetical scenarios as well as situations in their own lives.

6.3 Complicating Notions of Culture

One of the primary goals of this dissertation was to complicate how cross-cultural research and notions of culture are conceptualized. As sociocultural historical theorists have long argued, culture is a process of repeated use and recreation of material and ideological artifacts produced through collective human activity (Cole, 1998; Rogoff, 2003; Saxe, 2012). Furthermore, as a feminist scholar, this dissertation was an attempt to study non- WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic) countries, and therefore contribute to the literature by considering uniformity and variance across cultural contexts (Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan, 2010).

Rather than primarily focusing on China or Korean "traditional norms" or ideologies, the focus of this dissertation was on the present social organizations of gendered labor. I argue that current developmental theory overemphasizes traditional norms, and under-theorizes the role that social economic order and other forms of social organization play in structuring individual's lives, and shaping their acceptance or criticalness of social inequalities. I would argue that Chinese women's historical high participation in the labor force as a result of socialist policies is as much a cultural element as the resurgence of Confucian ideologies that encourage women to take care of the home (Ji et al, 2017).

This dissertation's findings on country differences in justifications also highlight several components of cultural life. While participants in both countries brought in different cultural ideologies, such as "the family is not the place to discuss reason," or "men work outside, and women work inside," participants were much more likely to rely on seemingly gender-neutral and "tradition" free notions of time-availability and equality. In other words, how each country (city) organized labor, the hours that family member's worked, among others, are all cultural (human) activities that support a discourse that naturalizes differences in time, energy or skill. For example, in the majority of Chinese families, both mothers and fathers labored full-time, however as noted by participants because of social practices such as business trips (which appeared to be more frequent than in the US), social work dinners, among other practices, men tended to work a few more hours than women. As a result, these social practices gave children and adults the impression that women had more time. This resulted in the logic that it was equitable that women work a little more at home, while men work a little more outside. This logic of differences in time-available was as much culturally (created by the social practices and conditions of the people living in China) constructed as notions of traditional and current gender roles.

Meanwhile, in the case of Korea, the social organization of gendered labor, where women face greater barriers to be full participants in the labor market (Qian & Sayer, 2016; Kim, 2013), men work many hours and are expected to socialized by drinking with their co-workers (World Health Organization, 2010), and around 50% of women are not employed (Statistics Korea, 2018), are all social institutional practices that organized family life in such a manner that men's little involvement in housework was so disproportionate (Cheung & Kim, 2018) that children were critical of such a division and were more likely to argue that it was unequal. Therefore, the lives of both Korean and Chinese children were influenced not only by traditional ideologies regarding gender norms, but also by the cultural practices that influenced how their parents labored, when they labored, and how they ultimately practiced a gendered divisions of household labor.

Ultimately, based on this dissertations findings, I would emphasize how culture is not only reflected by traditional ideologies, idioms, and gender norms, but also present in the practices of the gendering of the labor force, social policies, and notions of time, intimacy and family. Participants in both countries relied on both traditional gender ideologies, while also making sense of their family's division based on social practices that made one form of division more prevalent in one society than the other. Reliance solely on classic notions of culture would suggest that since both countries have been influenced by Confucianism, that reasoning about and evaluating gender and gender inequality should be similar, which was not the case. Rather, in addition to Confucian ideologies, differences in social practices in economic organization, gendered laboring divisions, among other practices, resulted in differences in how family's divided their housework, and how they came to evaluate such divisions. Future social and moral developmental cross-cultural research should consider not only the role of traditional norms in influencing children's experiences, but also other structural and local social practices that create and discourage different forms of inequalities.

6.4 Educational Implications

This dissertation's findings revealed important implications for educational efforts. Firstly, based on the findings with children, a belief in gender equality or non-stereotypical thinking is not predictive of being critically evaluative of gendered inequality in daily-life. Therefore, directly educating children about non-stereotypical thinking is not sufficient. Rather, since children and adults do not necessarily connect their individual experiences with societal practices and organizations, children need to be made aware of structural inequalities in addition to countering stereotypical thinking. In addition to encouraging children's awareness of structural inequalities, children need to connect their daily experiences of social inequality with larger structural inequalities. As a result of these findings, I would argue that a combination of a social domain based moral education (Ilten-Gee & Nucci, 2019; Midgette, Ilten-Gee, Powers, Murata & Nucci, 2018; Nucci, Creane & Powers, 2015) and current critical pedagogies (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kumashiro, 2000) may be one of the best approaches to encouraging moral criticalness of social inequality.

Children and adults would benefit from being encouraged to discuss and think through how their individual life experiences can challenge and transform current social inequalities. However, as suggested by my findings, the sociocultural context that they are individual are in, their own experiences of the proportion of inequality they experience, their age, as well as how they value their intimate relationships and the emotional investment that they have in those

relationships all influence their moral reasoning and how critical they will be. As a result, critical pedagogues should not only rely on individual's own experiences as repertoires for being critical of inequality, but also consider the developmental and contextual factors (i.e., how social labor is organized in their communities; their family's division of labor, etc) that may be informing their students' moral reasoning and may encourage them to be less or more accepting of inequality. On the other hand, domain based moral educational approaches would benefit from critical pedagogy's emphasis on the relationship between individual experiences and societal structures. From my interviews, I believe that use of autoethnography (Camangian, 2010) as a pedagogical strategy, where students write about themselves as part of a larger social group, may be a particularly useful method for developing conversations of how individual lives may be supportive or repeating larger structural inequalities.

Finally, based on interviews with parents in particular, it is argued that discussing concrete moral issues, such as how to divide the housework should be part of a socially critical/moral education. For example, many parents suggested that an ideal method for deciding how to divide the housework should be through discussion. However, the majority of parents admitted to never having discussed how the housework should be divided before getting married. In other words, there is a need for individuals to question and discuss how to best approach decision-making problems that for a majority of individuals are so taken for granted, that they naturally perpetuate gendered (and other) unequal experiences. Therefore, I caution against critical or moral pedagogies that overemphasize social problems that are "out there," and therefore appeal for activists in society, while encouraging complacency in their own homes. Instead, pedagogical efforts to address social inequalities should encourage not only critical awareness about societal issues, but also critical and moral consideration of students' their day-to-day life choices. After all, as feminists have long argued, individual's personal lives are also political.

6.5 Limitations

As a result of its exploratory nature this dissertation had several limitations. This study's primary limitation was that it had a relatively small sample size. In Chapter 3, a few developmental, gender, and country trends were found, but did not reach statistical significance. Future research should investigate if with a larger sample size, more developmental, gender, or country patterns become apparent. In addition, the study's sample was limited to urban middle-class families. Future research should investigate the influence of social class and locality in individual's experiences and reasoning regarding the division of gendered housework. Furthermore, while this study investigated whether moral reasoning and judgment varied between hypothetical and real-life situations, the hypothetical scenarios presented were few. Future research should investigate a greater number of hypothetical scenarios, as well as investigate whether there are differences between hypothetical and real-life situations across a variety of situations, not just in the case of housework. Finally, this study was limited to studying Chinese and Korean heterosexual families with children. Future research should investigate different family formations as well as whether this dissertation's findings are applicable in other countries.

6.6 Conclusion

Ultimately, this dissertation set out to investigate how individuals reasoned about the fairness of a gendered distribution of housework. This study found that contrary to expectations, in general, a participant's gender did not influence either children's or adult's fairness evaluations or justifications regarding how housework should be or is divided. Furthermore few developmental findings were revealed, as in general, children found a hypothetical division of housework unfair, a hypothetical equal division of labor fair, and were equally divided regarding their own family's housework. However, older children appear to be more critical of income and time-availability as factors that should influence how the housework is divided, and although not statistically significant to be less likely to find their family's division as fair. On the other hand, compared to children, adults were found to be more likely to find a gendered division of labor as fair, and to be more likely to argue that a family's household labor division is neither fair nor unfair, but rather reasonable. Surprisingly, personal preferences (i.e., one of the spouses likes to do housework, so they do more) were almost universally prioritized over considerations of equality when evaluating how the housework should be divided. On the other hand, income was not considered to be a valid factor in deciding how to divide the housework. Time-availability, or the justification that whoever has more free time should do more housework, was consistently considered to be a legitimate reason for how housework should be divided.

Consistent country differences were found. For both child and adult samples Korean participants were significantly more likely to evaluate their own family's division as unfair. Chinese participants were more likely to find their family's division as fair and to employ equity as a justification. Contrary to expectations then, participants employed moral reasoning for both fair and unfair evaluations. On the other hand, as expected the actual division of labor did influence fairness evaluations and reasoning. Participants who reported that the mother did the majority of the housework were more likely to evaluate the division as unfair and to employ equality as a justification. Furthermore, explicit assumptions about gender and traditional gender ideologies played a less important role in participants' reasoning than expected. Instead, participants were more likely to employ gender-neutral justifications of time-availability and tiredness levels as justifications for how housework should be divided. Moreover, contrary to expectations, there were significant differences in how individuals evaluated hypothetical situations and their own family's situation.

Although, consistent with previous findings (OECD, 2008/2009; Oshio, Nozaki, & Kobayashi, 2013), participants in both countries reported a gender unequal division of labor, participants were evenly divided on whether that inequality was considered fair or not. Despite the finding that in 2017, in both China and Korea there continues to be a stalled gender revolution (England, 2010; Hochschild, 1989), families are dynamic systems. I would like to end this dissertation with a glimmering of hope. In one Chinese family in particular, the family reported having changed their division of housework three months previously. Formerly, the mother, a professor, did all the housework both on the weekdays and weekends because of her more flexible schedule. However, the mother heard that in Shanghai, husbands who worked long hours and held high status positions still did housework. With this knowledge in hand, the mother held a family meeting at the beginning of the Chinese New Year and said that the situation had to change. As a result, the husband now does the cooking during the weekends. Before this family meeting, the father reported that he had never thought in the last 22 years of marriage about the fact that his wife did the majority of the housework. However, he said that once it was explained to him during the family meeting that he should participate, he thought it was reasonable for him to more and he did. While change did not occur in the majority of

families, some did report changes. Rather than just focusing on processes that continue to support a stalled revolution, future research should also investigate what processes support families to have micro revolutions of their own.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Protocols

Protocol Developmental Interviews & Family Interviews

Hypothetical Scenarios: two hypothetical scenarios involving gendered housework distribution.[4]

I will be presenting some stories and ask you to share what you think about the story.

Scenario 1)

A husband and wife both work as teachers. The wife is an elementary school teacher and the husband is a middle school teacher. They have an 8 year old son. The husband sometimes has to stay up long hours grading homework. Everyday after they both come home from work the husband goes to his office to grade the homework and the wife makes dinner. After dinner, the wife cleans the dishes and the husband plays with their son. After this he prepares to go to bed. The husband, tired from teaching and grading homework decides that he will do housework on the weekends, and unless he remembers to do it, he will only do it if his wife asks for help.

- What do you think about this? (prompt) –Why do you think this?
- Is there a problem in this story?
- Is this fair? Why or why not?
- Counter-consideration: he is actually very tired and is busier than the mother, what should he do?
- What would have to happen for this distribution to be fair/unfair?
- If it takes 10 hours to do housework a week, how should the family divide it? Why?
- What if it was the other way around, and the wife taught middle school and the husband taught elementary school? Would it make a difference?

Scenario 2)

A husband and wife both work in the same company. They work everyday from 8am-5pm. They have a 5 year-old daughter. The husband and wife decided that they would share the housework by each person doing the housework every other day. On Mondays the wife drops off and picks up their daughter from school and the husband goes grocery shopping and cooks dinner. While the husband puts their daughter to bed the wife cleans the dishes and clears the table. On Tuesdays the husband drops off and picks up their daughter from school and the wife makes dinner and puts their daughter to bed. On Wednesday they switch again. During the weekends they eat out so no one has to cook dinner and they take turns taking out the trash.

- What do you think about this?
- Is there a problem in this story?
- Is this fair? Why or why not?
- What would make this unfair? What would have to happen for this to become unfair?
- What if a person likes doing housework, should they do more or should it stay the same? Is it okay for them to do more? Is this still fair if they do more because they like it?

- If the husband makes more money than the wife does this make a difference? Why?
- If the husband works longer hours does this make a difference? Why?
- If the wife doesn't work (is a housewife) does this make a difference? Why?
- If one family member likes doing housework can they do more? Why? Is that fair? Why?

Fairness about own Household Labor Distribution:

Thank you for answering my questions so far. Now, I am going to ask you some questions about your opinions about the housework division in your own home.

Fairness:

- Do you think everyone in your family does the same amount of chores? If not, why not? And if so, is it fair?-
- Who does the most, the least housework? Why do they do it this way? Why do you do the amount of housework that you do?
- Should the distribution change? Why?
Is it possible to make the arrangement more fair? What would a more fair household labor distribution look like?
- Do you think fairness is important in deciding how to divide the housework? Why or why not? If not, what is important?
- How do you define fairness?

INFORMATIONAL ASSUMPTIONS

Some people claim that males and females are just naturally better some things. Other people argue that males and females are equally good at everything.

In general, would you say women or men are better at doing housework, or are they both about the same?

- Why?

Would you say that women/ men are better at the following or are they equal:

- Taking care of the child: mother father equal
- Making repairs in the house: mother father equal
- Prepare meals/Making meals: mother father equal
- Clean the house: mother father equal
- Shopping: mother father equal
- Making money: mother father equal

Why do you think that?

Your own family:

Do you think this is true for your own family?

Do you think being good at something is important in deciding who does the housework?

If the mother is better at doing most of the housework, should she do most of it? Is that fair?

- If in another country men do all the housework and women don't is that okay? Is that fair? In China/ Korea, women do most of the housework, why do you think that is?
- Do you have any more thoughts or suggestions or anything you would like to add?

Additional Interview Guide for Family Members who Participated in Observations

Historical reflection (Retrospective interview): recollections of genesis.

- Who did the housework in your family when you were growing up? Were you involved in doing any of the housework? What was the reason for why you did it the way you did?
- How did your parents engage in doing housework? What did you think of your parents' distribution?
- Was anyone else living in the house that helped out? Like grandparents and other relatives?
- How are things now compared to then (comparing your parents' distribution with your own)? How did you come to decide to do the housework distribution you do now? Do you think things are better now, the same, or better back then?
- How would you like to have the housework distributed? Why?

Future:

- What do you expect your children to do? What do you hope their distribution will be like?
- Do you expect your current arrangement to change? If you changed your career or as your children grow older?

(Child version) Future:

- When you have your own household how do you plan to distribute the housework? Why?

General Questions:

- What's the purpose of housework? Why do you do chores?
- What chores do you normally do? Like dishes, cooking, cleaning, etc?
- Do you do chores by yourself or does someone else help you? Why?
- Do you like doing housework? Is there one that you like to do more than others? Do you do the ones you like?
- Do you think housework is important?

Gender Issues:

- In general would you say men and women are treated equally? Equal in what way?
- Considering the norms in your culture, if you had a chance to be born again, would you rather be a man or a woman? Why?
- If in another country men do all the housework and women don't is that okay?
- Previous research has found that men and women think it is fair that men do less housework than women. What do you think?

Why do you think the current housework distribution in your home is the way it is?

- Finally, what is the purpose/goal of having a family?
- Do you have any final questions, thoughts, or opinions you would like to add about this research experience?

Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire: Adult

Please answer some questions about yourself below. Please fill out as truthfully as possible. If you have any questions feel free to ask the researcher.

What is your sex _____ What is the month and year of your birth: _____

(Chinese only) What is your ethnicity: _____

How much education have you completed?

- Elementary School
- Middle School
- High School
- Community/Junior College
- College. How many years? _____
- Masters/Doctorate/ Professional degree. If so, what degree _____

Please indicate what your job is _____ For how long have you worked in this job? _____

How many hours of paid work do you do in a typical week? _____

What is your annual household income (before taxes)? _____

How long have you been married? _____ (years)

How many children do you have? _____

What are their ages? 1st child: _____ 2nd child: _____ 3rd child: _____

How much money do you make per year (before taxes): _____

Family history & Household:

When you were growing up what was your mother's profession?
? _____

When you were growing up what was your father's profession? _____

Did you do household chores when you were growing up? _____

Who lives with you in your house right now: _____

What neighborhood do you live in: _____

Do you own or rent your house/ apartment: _____

What is the square meterage of your house/apartment: _____

Who in your family normally does the following:

Cook _____ Wash Clothes _____

Clean the room _____ Take out the trash _____

Go Grocery shopping _____ Pay bills _____

When you consider the total number of working hours (paid and unpaid work), do you feel the division of labor in your household is fair?

1 2 3 4 5
Not fair at all So-So Very Fair

Please explain

Considering all of your responsibilities (related to work, the household), which is most important and why?

Participant Demographic Information Questionnaire (Child Version)

Below are a few questions regarding your background. Please fill out as truthfully as possible. If you have any questions feel free to ask the researcher.

What is birth date: _____ What is your gender: _____

(Only for Chinese) What is your ethnicity: _____

What grade are you in _____

What are your living arrangements? (Do you live with your parents, at school, with grandparents, etc.) _____

What are your parents' jobs: Mother _____ Father _____

Who lives with you in your house right now: _____

What neighborhood do you live in: _____

In your household who normally does the following:

Cook _____ Take out the trash _____

Wash Clothes _____ Grocery shopping _____

Clean Rooms _____ Pay bills _____

When you consider the total number of hours working (paid and unpaid work), do you feel the division of labor in your household is fair?

1 2 3 4 5

Not fair at all

Fair

Please explain

Daily Routine Survey Checklist : Lets talk about your normal Monday....**When do you normally wake up?** < 5 am 6 am 7 am 8 am 9 am>**Do you make your own breakfast?** Yes No**Who makes the breakfast:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other_____**Do you make the bed?** Yes No**Who makes the bed:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other_____**When do you leave the house:** _____**How do you go to work/school:** Car Subway Bus Walking Other_____**Does someone go with you:** Yes No**If so who:** Grandparent Mother Father Sibling Other_____**When do you start work/school:** _____**How many hours do you spend working/ school:** <5 hours 6-8hours 9> more than 12 N/A**How do you normally eat lunch:** at home cafeteria restaurant homemade**a)If homemade: who makes your lunch** _____**When do you end work/ school:** _____**When do you arrive home:**_____**What do you do first when you get home:** _____**Who makes dinner:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other_____**How much time spent doing this:** <10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1hour>**If different people normally do it:** How often does each person make it (in a week), write frequency (total 7 of a week)

Me: _____ Grandparent___ Mother___ Father___ Child_____ Other_____

How often do you eat at home: 1-2 days 3-5 days 6-7 days rarely eat at home**Who clears away the table:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other_____**How much time spent doing this:** <10min 15min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1hour>**Who does the dishes:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other**How much time spent doing this:** <10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1hour>**How much time do you spend doing work/homework at home:** 0 20< 30-1 hour 2-3 4>**What housework do you usually do and when:** None Some All dayPlease say how often you do the following activities during a regular week: For example:
Groceries 2 times.

Grocery Shopping _____ Dishes _____ Set the Table _____ Take out Trash _____

Cleaning _____ Clean Table _____ Put clothes away/Fold _____ Clean Room _____

Cook Breakfast _____ Cook Lunch _____ Cook Dinner _____ Fix Broken things _____

Pay Bills _____

Childcare _____ Washing Clothes _____

How do you end your day: reading/ computer spending with family homework/work
Other _____**How much time spent doing this:** <10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1hour>**Who does the laundry:** Me Grandparent Mother Father Child Other**How much time spent doing this:** <10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1hour>**How much time, in general, do you spend doing housework each day:** <10min 20-30 min
45min-1hour 1hour>**How much time do you think your spends doing housework each day:**

Mother: 10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1-2hours 3hour>

Father: 10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1-2hours 3hour>
 Child: 10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1-2hours 3hour>
 Grandparents: 10min 20-30 min 45min-1hour 1-2hours 3hour>

When do you go to bed: 8-9pm 10-11pm 12am-1am 1am>

Which day of the week do you do the following:

What day of the week do you spend doing the most work: _____ Least: _____

Day spent on housework the most: _____ Least _____

Time spent with family most: _____ Least: _____

What about Saturday and Sunday?

How much time do you spend normally doing the following:

	Sat	Sunday
Personal Leisure:	_____	_____
Cooking:	_____	_____
Cleaning:	_____	_____
Eating Breakfast:	_____	_____
Eating Lunch:	_____	_____
Eating Dinner:	_____	_____
Working/ Homework:	_____	_____
Spending time with family:	_____	_____
Shopping:	_____	_____
Other:	_____	_____

Appendix B

Social Domain Reasoning Coding Scheme

Domain	Justification Category & Examples
Moral	<p>EQUITY: taking into account time and each other's situation, capacity, needs, it ends up balancing out. Example: Whoever is freer does more. Whoever is busier does less.</p> <p>EQUALITY- sameness in condition, situation, turn taking/ sharing, amount, (strict equality). Example: can't have one person relaxing, while the other is working hard. They should do the same—they are equal. They are both working, so they should do the same.</p> <p>PARTICIPATION: does not take amount into consideration, rather, the focus is on the fact that all family members are doing some housework. For example: They are all participating. They are all doing something.</p> <p>PERSPECTIVISM: assertion that, in making a decision, the person accounts for and accommodates to the other person's needs or wishes. To help the other person. Example: the other person needs to rest; needs help. I want to help them, so I do more. You need to understand him.</p>
Conventional	<p>FAMILY MEMBERSHIP: As a member of the family one should do their portion. Family is made up of its members. As a member of the family, they should do housework. Example: they made up this family, they have the responsibility to do their part.</p> <p>CONTRACTUAL: It is up to both of them to decide. Its up to each family to decide. If that works for that family. If it has been agreed upon.</p> <p>TRADITION: It is the way things are done. It is tradition. customs/ traditions: the basis for the decision is the existing custom or tradition (e.g., mothers always have done the housework). Men are supposed to work outside and women inside.</p> <p>GENDERED COMPETENCE: assertion that a person can do something because of a special competence or responsibility associated with a specific role/gender (e.g., she is the mother so she should do the childcare)</p>
Personal	<p>CHOICE: It is their choice. If he/she want to do it. If they are not forced to do it. personal choice: statements about an individual's personal choice, priorities, desires or needs (e.g.,</p>

he can do it if he thinks it's more convenient). Example: She is willing to do it. She is okay with doing it.

Pragmatic /Practical

FEASIBILITY: Because they can do it/ unable to do it. Situation doesn't allow it. They aren't home, so its not possible. Example: The work can't be accomplished by one person. Need other people to participate. There is a need to do the housework.

MONEY: one person brings more money/ less money.

HABBIT: this is just the way we have been doing it.

Other Justifications

AFFECT: Describes the behavior as motivated by or influencing the love between two or more people. Examples: They should do it because they love each other; it doesn't matter how they divide it because she loves him.

CONFLICT/ HARMONY: Describes the behavior as motivated by or influencing the relationship between two people and either causing unity or disunity. Example: If this happens than people will fight, and there will be conflict in the family.

Appendix C: Thematic Analysis Thesauri and Code Application Index

Korean Thesaurus

ID	Code	Definition	
1	Help	Mentions one person is or should (not) help or assist another family member.	I obviously think we're supposed to do it together, but the other person thinks of it as helping me out. 나는 당연히 같이 해야한다고 생각 하는데 상대방은 날 도와준다고 생각하거든요.
1.1	Husband should help	Describes expectation that husband/father help do housework.	Then, the wife has no choice but to do more. I think the husband should help do some work – even a little – because if the wife were to do all of the work on her own, it would be too draining. 그때는 아내가 더 많이 할수밖에 없어요. 남편도 조금 일을 해야될것같아요. 조금이라도 했으면 좋겠어요. 왜냐하면 그렇다고 아내가 다하면 너무 힘들것같아서 남편도 도와줘야된다고 생각해요.
1.2	Child should help	Describes expectation that child should help do housework.	The amount of help kids are able to do 약간의 아이들이 할 수 있는 정도의 도움 Give the 8-year-old child do some housework. (In English)
1.3	Wife should help	Describes expectation that the wife or mother should help do housework.	If she helps me a little, I'm okay with that. 대신 여자도 조금 도와준다면 저는 괜찮다고 생각해요.
2	Time Availability/Busy	Mentions that person who has more time (usually who leaves the office earlier) should be responsible for more household work Uses more or less time as rationale for involvement in other labor.	They don't have enough time because they get home late. 집에 오는 시간이 늦어서 시간이 부족하다
2.1	Men are busier	Describes father/men as busier, or busy. Suggests that mothers/women have more time.	The wife naturally would do more housework because she spends more time at home. 아무래도 부인이 집안에 집에 있는 시간이 많으니까 가사일도 당연히 좀 더 많이 하겠죠.
2.2	Women are busier	Describes mother/women as busier, or busy. Suggests that father/men have more time.	Well, she needs to like, she's a professor and she needs to grade or writes things. And she has a deadline, and when it's close to the deadline, she really becomes much busier. (in English)
3	Tiredness	Describes that the tiredness	If the husband has a lot of work outside

		(fatigue) should be a factor when dividing the housework.	the house, he would be tired when he comes home. 그 남편도 밖에서 하는 일이 많으면은 집에 오면은 피곤할 거 아니에요.
3.1	Wife is tired	Describes wife as tired.	I think the husband should help out to a certain degree since expecting the wife to work as a housewife would burden her too much. 아내가 가정주부로서 계속 일만 하는 것은 아내한테 너무 힘들 것 같아가지고 남편도 어느 정도는 도와줘야 된다고 생각해요.
3.2	Husband is tired	Describes husband as tired.	Since the husband does more work, when he comes home late, he would be exhausted. 남편이 직장 일을 더 많이하니깐 집에 오면, 또 귀가 시간도 늦고, 몸도 지치고 힘들었을테니깐
4	Responsibility	Mentions that someone is responsible for housework or what happens at home.	Ever since I was a child, I had always thought that housework is a woman's responsibility. 일단은 가사 일은 전적으로 인제 우리가 지금까지 뭐 이렇게 어렸을 때부터 가사 일은 여자의 몫이다 라고 인제 생각을 해왔기 때문에
4.1	Wife's responsibility	Describes the wife as having responsibility to do the housework.	The wife is obligated to protect the house/ do the housework. 아내는 집안을 지켜야 되는 의무가 있기 때문에
4.2	Husband's responsibility	Describes the husband as having responsibility to do the housework.	If you were to take care of the housework for the weekend, it wouldn't be so much work but the husband would still have a sense of responsibility. 주말에 이틀을 가정일 한다면은 이것도 그렇게 크지는 않는데 책임감이 있는 거 같아요 가정에.
5	Culture/ Tradition	Mentions culture or tradition as a major factor for explaining individual's decisions.	You know that Korean traditional society is patriarchal, right? So my grandmother she did not like my grandfather coming into the kitchen. 우리나라 전통 사회가 가부장적이잖아요? 할머니 할아버지께 부엌에 들어오는 걸 싫어하셨어요.
6	Collaboration	Mentions that husband and wife should share the housework, or do it together.	That's why they need to help out with the housework. That's why the men – is helping out an awkward expression? – should do it together... together. Even if they're exhausted.

			그러니까 남자가- 도와준다는 표현이 좀 그런가? 같이 해야죠 같이. 힘들더라도.
7	Skills	Implies decisions should be based on who is more skilled.	Even if there is a gap in the ratios, you have to decide based on what you are good at and what you like. 비율에서 격차가 나더라도 본인이 잘하는 것, 좋아하는 것, 소질이 있는 것을 고려해서 정해야 한다
7.1	Women better at housework	Suggest women are better skilled at specific housework tasks.	My wife is in charge of cooking, laundry, and then organizing the children's clothes. I can never do that – ever – because my wife has to decide whether the clothes would fit the children or it should be thrown away. That way I can choose to throw it away or not and figure out how to take care of it. 집사람이 할 수 있는 부분들은, 요리, 세탁, 그 다음에 이제 애들 옷 정리해서 빼내는 거. 그건 제가 못해요 절대 못해요. 왜냐하면 애들한테 이제 맞는 옷인지 아닌지 이 건 버릴 옷인지 결정을 집사람이 해줘야 돼요. 그래야 그 집사람이 해줘야 내가 그 걸 가지고 버리든가 뭘 하든가 조치가 나오거든요.
7.2	Men are better	Suggest men are better skilled at specific housework tasks.	Men would have the advantage in tasks involving general repair and machinery since the work usually requires strength and men apparently have better space perception and are more skilled in those fields 일반 수리에 대해서는 힘도 들어가야 되고, 기계 쪽 관련된 거는 그런 쪽 관련된거는 남자들이 좀 뛰어나다고, 공간 지각 뭐 이런 거 더 뛰어나다고 들어서, 남자들이 좀더 유리할 거 같아요
8	Understanding	Indicates understanding as the required course of action in deciding how to divide the housework.	In that part, I think that it will become a part that understands a little understanding, understanding the position of the other side. 그 부분에서는 조금 양해를, 이해를, 상대방의 입장을 이해해주는 부분에서는 되게 되지 않을까 생각이 들어요.
9	Complain	Uses complaint as a measure for whether the division is fair or not.	I think it is fair (if there are) no complaints between each other. 서로 서로 간에 불만이 없는 게 공평한거

			라고 생각해요.
9.1	Wife complain	Describes wife as complaining.	If the wife complains about something or addresses things she would like to change... 와이프가 좀 불만이나 이런 부분들이 바뀌었으면 좋겠다
9.2	Husband complain	Describes the husband as complaining.	If I were told to do half of the work, I would have a lot of complaints. I don't think I would've been happy. 반하라고 하면 되게 불만이 많을것같아요. 행복하지 않을것같아요
10	Hardship (Facing Difficulty)	Describes one of the individuals working harder or facing greater harsher conditions/ greater difficulty.	The man still thinks that he should go out to society, work harder and try to earn more money. 남자는 그래도 사회 나가서 돈을 더 벌고 더 고생한다는 생각이 아직까지는 있지요
10.1	Husband is working harder	Suggests that men are working harder.	Men earn money and face more hardships in society. 남자가 사회에서 돈을 벌고 더 고생한다
10.2	Wife is working harder	Suggests women are working harder.	Even if it is tough, even if it is (a little) difficult for the woman, I prefer if the woman does a little more work. 찌끔 힘들더라도 여자가 힘들더라도 감안해서, 여자가 조금 더 일을 했으면 그런 바람이 있죠.
11	Dual Income Family	Describes expectations for a family in which both parents work.	For two income households, I believe that the man should participate in the housework. 맞벌이를 하게 되면은 가사 분담을 남자가 해야 되는데 맞아요
12	Flexibility	Claims that the division of housework should be more flexible, rather than being too specific or detailed.	The division, depending on the situation, needs to be divided according to the situation. Because every day changes. 나누는 거는, 상황에 따라 상황에 따라 나눠어져야 되죠. 하루하루가 바뀌니까
13	Consultation	Mentions the need for mutual consent on housework divisions/ mentions that there should be agreement.	I think the husband and wife should negotiate on the matter together, but housework should be divided fairly. 저는 사람 그 부부가 같이 협의를 해야 되겠지만은 가능한, 가사일은 공평하게
14	Emotionally Satisfied/Reasonable	Describes as the decision of housework to be based on	It's emotionally fair. We're trying to find a way for the workload to seem fair

		how individuals feel and whether they are satisfied or consider it reasonable. Describes satisfaction from coming by feeling like the other has the intention or attitude of being helpful.	when we do it together. 감정적으로 공평해지는 거죠. 함께 했을 때 느낌이 공평해지는 방법을 찾는 거죠 I think it's fair if they mutually agree and if they are satisfied. 서로 합의해서 만족을 하면 공평하다고 봐요
15	Even Split	Describes that the situation should be divided exactly 50-50	5 hours and 5 hours 다섯시간 다섯 시간 Anyways, since we do the same work with each other and work together, we're able to divide the work between ourselves. 아무튼 보니까 어- 같이 똑같이 일을 하고 , 같이 일을 하니까 어 부담해서 어 어쨌든 이렇게 맞춰 가면서 한거잖아요. 맞춰서. 그러니까 그게 부담이 잘 이뤄지는 것 같아요
16	Stress	Mentions stress as a factor in deciding how the housework should be divided.	Thinking that the husband must do the housework too stresses me out. 그래서 그냥 내가 남편도 꼭 해야 돼 이런 생각을 가지면 스트레스가 되니까.
17	Money/ Income as Factor	Claims that income should (not) be a factor when deciding who should be responsible for the household work more.	The housework should not be divided based on how much income one makes. 소득의 차이로 집안일 부담에 차이가 있는건 아닌 것 같아요.
18	Societal/ Change	Mentions that recent society change led change in housework division towards non-traditional way; men do more housework than in the past.	I think the social atmosphere has changed a lot. Compared to before, men are much more involved in household chores. 사회적 분위기가 많이 달라진 것 같아요. 전에 비해서는 남자의 집안일 참여도가 훨씬 높아졌어요.
19	Father playing with children	Describes father playing with children same as doing the housework or as a kind of housework.	The father is also playing with his son during this time, so it is okay. 아빠도 그 동안 아이랑 놀아주니까 괜찮아요.
20	Efficiency	Mentions how housework can be done faster and more effective ways if they are good at it.	If someone who is good at housework does it, they would be able to complete the task faster. 집안일을 잘 하는 사람이 맡으면 더 빨리 할 수 있으니까.
21	Sacrifice	Describes someone as sacrificing for the family.	The wife, naturally, should sacrifice a little more.

			아내가 아무래도 조금 더 희생을 해줘야지 .
22	Family membership	Describes family as a group which requires participation and collaboration and cooperation. Therefore as a family member there are certain expectations of involvement.	They should help each other since they both live together. 같이 사는 집이기 때문에 서로 도우면서 살아야 한다.
23	Happiness	Implies that the happiness of the family is most important.	For the future happiness of the family... 가정 안에서 미래에 대한 행복 이런 것 때문에
24	Conflict/ Fights	Implies that housework division can lead to fights or conflicts.	Unfair division of workload would cause conflicts and cause discord within the family. 공평하지 않게 일하면 갈등이 생기고 집 안에 불화가 생긴다.
25	Expectation/ pressure	Mentions the existence of prevailing expectation/ pressure on women to be more responsible for housework	I think there still is this implicit expectation or pressure in our country that a woman should concede if there are conflicts between work and family. 아직도 우리나라에서는 일과 가정이 충돌하고 있을 때 여자가 양보를 하는 게 맞다는 식의 암묵적인 기대감이나 압박이 있는 것 같아요.
26	Men Work Outside/ Women Inside	Describes how the husband's and wife's roles are divided by expectation that men put more energy into working as paid laborers and women labor more at home.	The father goes out to work and the mother only does household chores. 아버지는 밖에 나가서 일을 하시고, 어머니는 집안일만 하시고
27	Don't want to do housework	Describes a family member as unwilling to do the housework.	Men can actually do it, but they deliberately leave it up to the women. 그게 남자들이 할 수 있는데 일부러, 남자들이 하기가 싫다고 덜하고, 그냥 부인이나 여자들에게 다 맡기는 그런게 있어서.
28	Men are stronger	Describes men as physically more powerful/ strong.	Men are usually stronger 남자가 힘이 더 세고
29	Should do something	Statements made regarding an expectation that a person engages in doing some housework, since they can't sit around while the other is working.	It would be unfair if the husband came home, does his own work, stands around, or watches tv, while the woman does all the work. 남편이 뭐 집에 와서 자기 일을 하거나 가만히 있거나 티비를 보고 있거나, 뭐 여자는 일을 다 하게 되면 불공평하게 되었겠죠?
30	Accept	Individual is conveyed as being able to tolerate or accept	I just put up with it even if I do more work during the weekends. I just

		the way things are.	tolerate it. 제가 평일에 조금 더 많이 해도 그냥 참는 거죠. 참는 편이죠.
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Korean Index

ID	Code	Count	Gender & Age Index (Percentage)
1	Help	463	F=53.6;M=46.4 P=78.5;H=5.7;M=4.5;E=11.3
1.1	Husband should help	166	F=47.6;M=52.4 P=80;H=4.1;M=4.8;E=11
1.2	Child should help	29	F=48.3;M=51.7 P=62.1;H=13.8;M=10.3;E=13.8
1.3	Wife should help	3	F=66.7;M=33.3 P=66.7;H=0;M=0;E=33.3
2	Time Availability/Busy	352	F=50.4;M=49.6 P=75;H=5.2;M=8.2;E=11.6
2.1	Men are busier	101	F=43.6;M=56.4 P=62.4;H=6.9;M=6.9;E=20.8
2.2	Women are busier	13	F=46.2;M=53.8 P=69.2;H=0;M=15.4;E=15.4
3	Tiredness	338	F=50.8;M=49.2 P=75.4; H=4.4;M=4.4;E=15.8
3.1	Wife is tired	85	F=56.5;M=43.5 P=76.5;H=4.7;M=7.1;E=11.8
3.2	Husband is tired	69	F=44.9;M=55.1 P=72.5;H=2.9;M=4.3;E=20.3
4	Responsibility	330	F=55.4;M=44.6 P=88.1;H=1.1;M=2.8;E=7.9
4.1	Wife's responsibility	142	F=56;M=44 P=88.7;H=.7;M=3.5;E=7.1
4.2	Husband's responsibility	6	F=25; M=75 P=50;H=0;M=0;E=50
5	Culture/ Tradition	169	F=52.6;M=47.4 P=82.9;H=3.9;M=5.9;E=7.2
6	Collaboration	159	F=51;M=49 P=76.9;H=4.8;M=10.9;E=7.5
7	Skills	157	F=48.5;M=51.5 P=74.8;H=10.7;M=4.9;E=9.7
7.1	Women better at housework	43	F=48.8;M=51.2 P=76.7;H=14;M=0;E=9.3
7.2	Men are better	10	F=30; M=70 P=50;H=20;M=0;E=30
8	Understanding	123	F=63.7;M=36.3 P=78.4;H=7.8;M=7.8;E=5.9
9	Complain	105	F=55.4;M=44.6 P=90.5;H=0;M=4.1;E=5.4
9.1	Wife complain	26	F=65.4;M=34.6 P=92.3;H=0;M=0;E=7.7
9.2	Husband complain	5	F=80;M=20 P=100
10	Hardship (Facing Difficulty)	103	F=55.4;M=44.6 P=75.4;H=4.6;M=4.6;E=15.4
10.1	Husband is working harder	31	F=54.8;M=45.2 P=71;H=6.5;M=6.5;E=16.1
10.2	Wife is working harder	6	F=66.7;M=33.3 P=66.7;H=0;M=0;E=33.3
11	Dual Income Family	97	F=47.4;M=52.6

			P=89.7;H=5.2;M=1;E=4.1
12	Flexibility	84	F=56;M=44 P=94;H=0;M=1.2;E=4.8
13	Mutual Agreement/ Consultation	80	F=52.5;M=47.5 P=93.2;H=5.1;M=0;E=1.7
14	Emotionally Satisfied/Reasonable	78	F=59.2;M=40.8 P=90.1;H=7.0;M=2.8;E=0
15	Even Split	67	F=40.3;M=59.7 P=35.8;H=13.4;M=16.4;E=34.8
16	Stress	76	F=63.3 ;M=36.7 P=91.8;H=0;M=8.2;E=0
17	Money/ Income as Factor	75	F=63.5 ;M=36.5 P=80.8;H=5.8;M=7.7;E=5.8
18	Societal Change	52	F=46.2;M=53.8 P=88.5;H=7.7;M=1.9;E=1.9
19	Father playing with children	57	F=59.6;M=40.4 P=84.6;H=3.8;M=1.9;E=9.6
20	Efficiency	49	F=65.3 ;M=35.7 P=67.3;H=6.1;M=4.1;E=22.4
21	Sacrifice	49	F=64.5 ;M=35.5 P=96.8;H=0;M=0;E=3.2
22	Family membership	45	F=73.3 ;M=26.7 P=84.4;H=0;M=8.9;E=6.7
23	Happiness	44	F=68.2 ;M=31.8 P=88.6;H=0;M=2.3;E=9.1
24	Conflict/ Fights	41	F=63.4 ;M=36.6 P=70.7;H=7.3;M=4.9;E=17.1
25	Expectation/ pressure	40	F=69.6 ; M=30.4 P=91.3;H=0;M=4.3;E=4.3
26	Men Work Outside/ Women Inside	40	F=28.6;M= 71.4 P=71.4;H=9.5;M=4.8;E=14.3
27	Don't want to do housework	39	F=47.8;M=52.2 P=60.9;H=13;M=8.7;E=17.4
28	Men are stronger	38	F=31.6; M= 68.4 P=65.8;H=7.9;M=13.2;E=13.2
29	Should do something	36	F=50; M=50 P=47.2;H=8.3;M=22.2;E=22.2
30	Accept	35	F=48.6;M=51.4 P=100

Chinese Thesaurus

ID	Code Name	Definition	Example
1	Time Availability	Describes that whoever has more time does more.	Who has time should go (do it). 是谁有时间谁去.
1.1	Husband is Busier	Describes husband as busier/ having less time.	Maybe it's because my husband often has business trips, so at work he is a little busier. 我老公可能是经常出差，所以工作也比较忙
1.2	Wife is Busier	Describes wife as busier than husband.	Because the husband is not as busy as the wife with work. 因为丈夫的工作没有妻子的工作忙。所以说他就应该多做一点家务
1.3	Both are Busy	Describes both husband and wife as equally busy.	Right, it is, that woman also need to be cared for, she also works outside, works eight hours. Man and women are both outside. 对，是，那女人也需要照顾啊，女人也一样在外面工作八个小时，男人女人都在外面，
2	Tiredness	Describes an individual as being tired/ having worked hard.	My wife is a little tired, but I often arrive home more tired, and have the habit of just, no, I am too tired, I am going to lie down, maybe just sleep. When they come over they will just wake me up tell me its time to eat. 妻子累一点，我平时回到家，比较累了，很习惯的就是，不行，太累了，我要躺着，可能就睡觉了，他们过会就会说起来吧，吃口饭吧。
2.1	Father/Husband is tired	Evaluates father or husband as tired. (implies that they should do less (house) work)	Because the husband works longer than the wife, so he, he is more tired than the wife. 因为丈夫那个工作时间比妻子长，所以他那个就是，他就比妻子更累一点
2.2	Mother/Wife is tired	Evaluates mother or wife as tired. (implies that they should do less (house) work)	The husband should help her because the wife is more tired. 丈夫要帮她因为妻子比较累嘛
2.3	Both are tired	Evaluates both spouses as tired/ having worked hard.	Look everyone is pretty tired. 你看大家都比较累
3	Help	Expectation that another family member should assist in the housework.	When the father is busier at work, maybe he will do less housework, only on the weekends he can help a little. 爸爸在工作方面比较忙的时候他可能分担家务会少一点

3.1	Husband Should Help	Describes expectation that father should help with the housework.	The husband should help her because the wife is more tired. 丈夫要帮她 因为妻子比较累嘛。
3.2	Child Should Help	Describes expectation that child should help with the housework.	I think the child should help do things that are within his ability. 觉得孩子就应该可以帮忙的，他力所能及的做一些工作
3.3	Wife Should Help	Describes expectation that mother should help with the housework.	Because they are a family, so they, because the wife has more time, she can help the husband do a little. 因为他们是一家人，所以说他们的，因为妻子空余时间比较大，可以帮助丈夫做一些
4	Proactive	Suggests the importance of being proactive of voluntarily and individually taking the step to do the housework.	I think the husband should still jointly take on the burden with his wife. You can't say the wife should keep going on like that. Um, I think if he proactively goes on to take on some of the housework, the wife will be much happier. 我想这个丈夫还是应该和妻子共同的去承担，不能说一直让妻子这样做。嗯，我想如果他能够主动的去承担这个家务的话，妻子的幸福感会比较高。
5	Skills	Mentions skill and being good at particular tasks as an factor in making housework decisions.	I am good at cooking, so I can cook at little more, if I like it. If I am willing to clean the bathroom, I can do it a little more. The dad can do (tasks) that requires a little strength, like fixing things, or replacing something the house needs, or fixing/ maintaining the car, the like. He is better at those things. 我擅长做饭的话我就可以做饭多一点，我要是喜欢做的话。如果我愿意打扫卫生，我可以多承担一些。爸爸可以做一些比较强力的，像维修啊，或者是更换家里什么事情。或者是维修车啊之类的。他比较擅长的事情。
5.1	Men are more skilled	Suggest men are better skilled at specific housework tasks.	I think in terms of physical strength and nature, women are naturally more attentive than men, while men are naturally physically stronger than women. 我是觉得在体力和秉性来说，女生天生比男生细心，男生体力天生比女生要好。你怎么能说公平呢？比赛的时候他也不再一起比赛。

5.2	Women are more skilled	Suggest women are better skilled at specific housework tasks.	Um, maybe women naturally just like a few details, she will spend time focusing on details, better able to organize clothes, men on the other hand are more power types, they don't like to do those types (detail) things. 嗯，也许女性天生就爱一些细节的东西，细节的她会舍得花时间去关注这些细节的东西，更擅长整理啊衣服啊，男性的话呢他是力量型的，他不喜欢做这些
6.	Participation	An individual is expected to do housework, though the amount is not important. What is not okay, is for a person to not do any housework.	I think in terms of a family, it should be both people put effort together, although I don't care the details of who does how much or how little, but you can't say they don't do anything at all. 我觉得对于一个家庭来说应该是两个人共同付出，虽然不在乎不计较就是其中一个人付出的多与少，但是不能说一点你都不干
6.1	Husband should at least do something	Describes expectation that father should do at least some housework.	So the husband should still bear some (of the housework). 所以说丈夫还是应该承担一些的。
7	Money	Describes income and its role (or lack) in affecting how the housework should be divided.	I feel quite fair, because men are just going out to the top, creating a family. Then the woman is at home, doing some housework, and earning a small amount of money. 我觉得挺公平的，因为男人嘛，就是出去顶天，就是创，创家立业嘛。然后女人在家里，做些家务啥的，零零碎碎挣点小钱就行。男人就出去打拼，女人就照顾好家里。
8	Collaboration	Suggests that housework should be done jointly, or shared between the at least two of the family members.	但要帮一起，一起做家务，我觉得这个是应该这样去做。 but you should help together, together do housework, I think it should be done this way
9	Even Split	States that there should be the same amount, same expectations of work.	It should, it should, if their work time is the same, they should do the same, the same amount of housework. 应该是，应该，如果两个人工作时间（一样多），应该是做的一样的。同样的家务
10	Flexibility	Implies that the division should be more flexible.	I think you don't have to divide it so strictly. 可以不用那么严格分配吧，

10.1	Too Detailed/ Specific	Argues against housework division arrangements that are too detailed, rigid, or specific.	Is he or isn't he living with his family.. it feels like it doesn't have that time , intimate or, at home, anyway, it feels like it has become a job, live has become a type of job, you give it to me, I give it to you. Everyone dividing, divide it too clearly. 他就是不是一家人在一起生活，好像感觉就没有这种，没有这种，额，额，亲情或者在里面，反正感觉就是变成一种工作了，生活就变成一种工作了，你分给我，我分给你的，大家这么分分的太清楚，对
11	Understanding	Expectation that one of the partners will be understanding of the other's situation or needs.	<u>I think a family should understand each other.</u> 我觉得一家人互相理解嘛。
11.1	Husband should be understanding	Describes the husband as being understanding of the wife's needs.	I think its this way, the husband should really understand his wife, if the wife- she is—measure is small, the husband should help his wife do things. 我觉得这样，丈夫应该是很了解妻子的，如果妻子她就是，度量有点小的话，丈夫就是，他就应该就是多帮妻子做活儿。
11.2	Wife should be understanding	Describes the wife as being understanding of the husband's needs.	Well, for example, <u>I am very busy, I am actually very busy, I am also tired</u> , so maybe when I come back home I just don't have any energy (strength) to do it (housework). Maybe coming back home I need to "have a rest," then my wife can do a little more, take care of me. 那比如说我很忙，我确实很忙，我也很累，可能我回到家我就可能没有力气去做了。可能我回到家可能需要have a rest,那我的妻子就多做一些，照顾一下我
12	Men Work Outside, Women Work Inside	Expression used to convey that men's focus is on work, while women's focus is the home.	The Chinese traditional thinking is still "men mainly work outside, women mainly work inside." The housework is still women shoulder it a little more, men just work outside, and give the money to the wife so she is happy. 中国的传统思维还是男主外，女主内。家务还是老婆分担得多一点，男人就在外工作，钱给老婆她才高兴。

12.1	Housework is women's work	Statements suggesting that housework is women's area of responsibility. Points out that traditionally women should do most of the housework.	I think in terms of the Chinese traditional thinking, women do a little more housework. Everyone think its more reasonable for women to do more housework. 我觉得中国的传统观念来说，女性家务工作分配比较多一些。大家认为女性做家务更合理一点。
13	Reasonable	Suggests that situation is reasonable, can be understood, but not necessarily fair.	They both think its correct, then its reasonable, although one person does more, another does less, but both think this is correct, then it is reasonable. 双方都认为是正确的就是合理的，虽然一个人多，一个人少，但是双方都认为这个事情是正确的那就是合理的。
14	Happiness/Satisfaction	Places importance or value on happiness or satisfaction, and everyone being happy.	At home there is no fairness, since I make you very happy, you just do a little more and you make me very happy. 在家庭里面没有公平，我让你非常高兴，你就多做一些，你让我非常高兴
15	Limited Capability/Ability	People do what they are able to based on their abilities (which is limited).	Because everyone does what they can do within their ability. 因为每个人都干他力所能及的事情呀
16	Responsibility	Describes individual member's responsibilities to engage in particular forms of labor.	Both people all have the shared responsibility to make their family carry forward. 两个人都有共同的一个责任去把这个家庭让他，努力的往前发展，
17	Children Should do Housework	Children should do housework, either for their own development or to help other family members.	Because the child can learn to understand his parents in the process of doing housework, he is able to cultivate his life ability, and in the process of doing housework, he is also a kind of learning, so the child should still do it. 因为孩子在做家务的过程中，他能学会理解父母，就是能够培养他的生活能力啊，而且在做家务的过程中，他也是一种学习呀，所以孩子还是应该做的
18	Laziness	Judges another/self as being lazy. Laziness described as a reason for not doing housework.	Because, since men are more lazy.. 因为，就是男人惰性比较大，
18.1	Men/Fathers	Describes men in general or the father in a family as lazy.	Because I am a lazy man. 因为I am a lazy man. (said in English)
18.2	Children	Describes child as lazy.	I think if I have more time and if I wasn't so lazy, I should do more. (

			Child said in English)
18.3	Wife/ Mother	Describes mother as lazy.	Actually maybe this will make the wife become lazy. 确实可能会让wife 变得很懒。
19	Can't Apply Fairness	Rejects the idea that fairness can be applied to the situation or the family.	公平呢，就是在家庭里没有什么公平不公平的说法 Fairness? When it comes to the home there is not such thing as fair or not fair
19.1	No absolute fairness	Question the existence or application of an absolute fairness.	This, I think this still rather something between two people, because this thing (housework), has <u>no absolute fair or not fair</u> 这个我想就是还是两个人的事吧，因为在这种东西下，没有绝对的公平不公
19.2	Hard to measure	Argues that fairness is difficult to measure or quantify.	很难量化，有的时候说不清楚，谁做的多谁做的少 It is very hard to quantify, sometimes it is not clear, who does more and who does less.
20	Family Membership	Mentions the responsibilities or expectations of individuals based on being part of the family, being a member of the family.	Because as a member of a family, we should share everything, including housework and the other things (said in English)
21	Consultation	Suggests that the division of labor is up to the family or couple to decide between themselves.	<u>Family life is still based on the husband and wife, two people, both coordinating to the level that they are both satisfied.</u> 家庭生活还是以夫妻两人双方能够协商到双方满意的程度为止.
22	Mutuality/Reciprocity	Implies that the issue is based on mutuality between two people. Couples (sometimes family) are expected to mutually care for each, understand each other, interact with each other.	<u>I think a family should mutually understand each other.</u> 我觉得一家人互相理解嘛。
23	Love	Mentions love as a motivator, or reason for why one does (more) housework.	This is not a problem of fair or not fair. This is just about you love or don't love your wife, or to say, your wife can't or can't understand your hard work. 这个就不是公平不公平的问题了。就是你爱不爱你的妻子，或者说你的妻子能不能体谅你的辛苦。
24	Family & Work are Different	Comparison between family life and work life. Argues that they are distinct. Statements include, the family isn't a company.	I think between a wife and husband if they divide these tasks, if these tasks are like the ones in a company, like coworkers, then you can't call them husband and wife. Then you can't call

			that a family. 我觉得夫妻之间如果分配这些tasks，这些任务如果像这个公司那样同事那样，那就不叫夫妻了。那就不叫家庭了。
25	Conflict	Describes how housework can connect to conflict (such as fighting, arguing)- -either requiring equality may cause conflict, or one person doing more may cause conflict or ruin relationships.	Because a family needs stability, if he wants to do more, or if he wants to do less, then the family will have conflict. If you want the family to go longer and be more stable, you should do more chores. 因为一个家庭你需要稳定嘛，他要是多干，或者他要是少干的话，那家庭会产生矛盾，如果你要是想让这个家庭走的更长远，更加稳定的话，你势必你的家务就要多分担。
26	Accept	Individual is conveyed as being able to tolerate or accept the way things are.	I think its normal, just that I can bear it.我觉得一般吧，就是我能承受得了
27	Men as Strong(er)	Implies that women are weaker than men. In different situations suggests that men do the hard/heavy work and women do the easier/lighter work.	Because the dad is strong, he should do the physical(heavy) labor, and the mother is better at hand -coordination, so she should do light labor. 因为爸爸比较壮，应该干体力活，然后妈妈动手能力强，应该干轻活。
28	Work Decides Situation	Describes the family division as influenced by (at least) one of the family member's work situation.	I do less housework, the reason being my work. 我做的家务比较少一些，原因就是因为我工作
29	Habit	Things are the way they are as a result of habit.	But he already is used to it. 但是他们已经习惯了
30	Harmony/Peace	Suggests the importance of harmony or peace in the family.	It does not affect the stability, peace, and harmony of our family as a whole. 没有影响到我们家庭整体的这个稳定和和谐、和睦

Chinese Index

ID	Code Name	Count Total	Gender & Age Index (Percentage)
1	Time Availability	1149	F=51.9; M=48.1, P=55.9, G=13.5, H=7.1, M=12.5, E=11
1.1	Husband is Busier	277	F=50, M=50; P=55.5, G=14.7, H=6.7, M=11.1, E=12
1.2	Wife is Busier	118	F=57.4 M=42.6; P=50.4; G=14.2; H=9.4; M=12.6; E=13.4
1.3	Both are Busy	86	F=51.4, M=48.6; P=61.8; G=6.7; H=7.9; M=15.7; E=7.9
2	Tiredness	476	F=46.7;M=53.5; P=60.4;G=8;H=6.2;M=13.9;E=11.5
2.1	Father/Husband is tired	225	F=47.3;M=52.7; P=57.4;G=10.1;H=4.2;M=13.9;E=14.3
2.2	Mother/Wife is tired	209	F=46.1;M=53.9; P=63.7;G=5.6;H=8.4;M=14;E=8.4
2.3	Both are tired	42	F=61.5 ;M=38.5; P=30;G=32;H=0;M=20;E=18
3	Help	402	F=61.5 , M=38.5; P=42.2;G=16.4;H=8.9;M=16.9;E=15.5
3.1	Husband Should Help	94	F=56.3;M=43.7; P=55;G=12;H=8;M=14;E=11
3.2	Child Should Help	57	F=75 ;M=25 P=25;G=10;H=16.7;M=16.7;E=31.7
3.3	Wife Should Help	30	F=54.5;M=45.5 P=31.4;G=28.6;H=5.7;M=31.4;E=2.9
4	Proactive	374	F=48.2;M=51.8 P=61;G=11.6;H=6;M=13.9;E=7.6
5	Skills	339	F=53.8;M=46.2 P=61.9;G=15.3;H=5.7;M=9.3;E=7.9
5.1	Men are more skilled	57	F=52.4;M=47.6 P=72.9;G=6.8;H=3.4;M=1.7;E=15.3
5.2	Women are more skilled	51	F=55.4;M=44.6 P=54.2;G=27.1;H=1.7;M=13.6;E=3.4
6	Participation	289	F=55.8;M=44.2 P=60.9;G=8.6;H=4;M=17.2;E=9.3
6.1	Husband should at least do something	88	F=58.3; M=41.7 P=60.2;G=10.8;H=2.2;M=21.5;E=5.4
7	Money	252	F=44.41;M=55.9 P=80.6;G=4.5;H=1.5;M=7.5;E=6
8	Collaboration	211	F=52.8;M=47.2 P=67.3;G=5.5;H=12.4;M=9.2;E=5.5
9	Even Split	170	F=43.3;M=56.7 P=49.1; G=5.7;H=12;M=16.6;E=16.6
10	Flexibility	161	F=57.1;M=42.9 P=88.6 ;G=3.5;H=2.6;M=3.5;E=1.8
10.1	Too Detailed/ Specific	49	F=41.4;M=58.6 P=91.8;G=0;H=4.1;M=4.1;E=0
11	Understanding	160	F=76.4 ;M=23.6 P=78.7;G=9.8;H=0;M=11.5;E=0
11.1	Husband should be understanding	24	F=80 ;M=20 P=79.2;G=0;H=0;M=20.8;E=0

11.2	Wife should be understanding	20	F=65.1 ;M=34.9 P=63.6;G=18.2;H=0;M=18.2;E=0
12	Men Work Outside, Women Work Inside	156	F=50.5;M=49.5 P=79;G=9.5;H=1.9;M=6.7;E=2.9
12.1	Housework is women's work	56	F=55.3;M=44.7 P=75;G=13.3;H=1.7;M=8.3;E=1.7
13	Reasonable	137	F=28.3; M=71.7 P=86.2;G=5.5;H=5.5;M=0;E=1.8
14	Happiness/ Satisfaction	122	F=54.4;M=45.6 P=76.8;G=4.8;H=13.6;M=4.8;E=0
15	Limited Capability/Ability	119	F=48.1; 51.9; P=67.6; G=5.4;H=5.4;M=3.6;E=18
16	Responsibility	110	F=40.9;M=59.1 P=78.6;G=3.6;H=6.3;M=5.4;E=6.3
17	Children Should do Housework	109	F=58.9%, M=41.1% P=72.1; G=3.6; H=4.5, M=8.1, E=11.7
18	Laziness	95	F=59.5;M=40.5 P=68.6;G=0;H=11.8;M=13.7;E=5.9
18.1	Men/Fathers	37	F=48.5;M=51.5 P=73;G=0;H=13.5;M=8.1;E=5.4
18.2	Children	4	F=100 ;M=0 P=25;G=0;H=0;M=75;E=0
18.3	Wife/ Mother	3	F=100 ;M=0 P=33.3;G=0;H=33.3;M=0;E=33.3
19	Can't Apply Fairness	87	F=49.6, M=50.4%; P=86.4; G=2.3; H=9.1;M=1.1;E=1.1
19.1	Hard to measure	14	F=37.5;M=62.5 P=85.7;G=0;H=14.3;M=0;E=0
20	Family Membership	85	F=67 ;M=33 P=73.3;G=2.3;H=10.5;M=10.5;E=3.5
21	Consultation	85	F=52.1;M=47.9 P=88.5;G=4.6;H=4.6;M=2.3;E=0
22	Mutuality/Reciprocity	81	F=65.5 ;M=34.5 P=75.3;G=18;H=0;M=5.6;E=1.1
23	Love	79	F=48.9;M=51.5 P=86.1;G=0;H=8.9;
24	Family & Work are Different	76	F=28.2; M=71.8 P=63.6;G=2.6;H=20.8;M=3.9;E=9.1
25	Conflict	76	F=35.5; M=64.5 P=84.6;G=5.1; H=1.3;M=7.7;E=1.3
26	Accept	74	F=39.2; M=60.8 P=89.2;G=0; H=6.8;M=4.1;E=0
27	Men as Strong(er)	71	F=35.6; M=64.4 P=63; G=5.5;H=5.5;M=5.5;E=20.5
28	Work Decides Situation	70	F=47.3; M=52.7; P=86.1, G=5.6, H=1.4, M=5.6, E=1.4
29	Habit	68	F=40.1;M=59.9 P=80.8;G=13.7;H=1.4;M=4.1;E=0
30	Harmony/Peace	64	F=63.8 ;M=36.2 P=74.6;G=19.7;H=1.4;M=4.2;E=0