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The division of domestic labor in Taiwanese households

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THE DIVISION OF DOMESTIC LABOR
IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS

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ABSTRACT

Using the 1995-1996 Taiwan Social Survey, this research applied major perspectives developed in the United States, the economic resources model and the gender ideology model, to the division of household labor in Taiwan, where gender norms have been strongly influenced by traditional patriarchal thinking while rapid economic growth in the past two decades has improved women's socioeconomic status. The results show that while men's economic resources and the gender ideology can explain their housework participation relatively well, the same variables for women explained their share of the housework rather poorly. I also examined the gender display/deviance neutralization model but failed to find any supports.

INTRODUCTION

With rapid economic development and its demand for women's labors, female labor force participation rates in Taiwan climbed from 35.8% in 1961 to 45.6% in 1998 (National Statistics of Taiwan, the Republic of China, 2000). Unlike the traditional gendered division of labor in which men dominate in the public and women in the private sphere, in Taiwan 46.1% of married women currently work outside the home[1] (National Statistics of Taiwan, the Republic of China, 2000). However, it remains questionable whether the change in women's economic status will inevitably produce a more equal division of household labor.

This research has two purposes. The first is to describe the general pattern of the division of domestic labor in Taiwanese households. Using the Value of Children Survey conducted in five developing Asian countries including Taiwan in 1975 and 1977, Sanchez found that despite the economic development, the traditional gendered division of domestic labor still persisted, so that only 22% of Taiwanese women reported their husbands' regular participation in housework (Sanchez, 1993). By analyzing the newest available data, the 1995-1996 Taiwan Social Change Survey, this research aims to answer whether the division of domestic labor in Taiwanese households becomes more equal after two decades.

The second objective of this study is to see how well two of the three major perspectives developed in the United States, the economic resource model and the gender ideology model, can be applied to the division of housework in a nonwestern, modified patriarchal society like Taiwan (Rodman, 1967; Xu and Lai, 2002). According to Rodman (1967, 1972), societies can be categorized into four types based on their locations on a continuum of patriarchy: fully patriarchal societies, modified

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[1] The actual percentage of married women's labor force participation may be higher than official statistics because many women work in the informal sector such as unpaid family work.

patriarchal societies, transitional equalitarian societies, and fully equalitarian societies. It is possible that the division of household labor may be governed by different sets of factors according to each society's position on the continuum. For example, wives' economic resources have been shown to have a significant effect on their husbands' housework participation in white American households (Ross, 1987; Kamo, 1988; Blair & Lichter, 1991; for review, see Shelton & John, 1996). It seems reasonable to question whether the effect found in a transitional equalitarian society is the same in other types of societies.

Taiwan was a traditional agricultural society before the 1960s. Deeply influenced by Chinese culture, gender norms were governed by traditional patriarchal thinking which devaluates women's status and highly emphasizes women's dependence upon men (Xu and Lai, 2002). The economic progress since the late 1960s has produced dramatic socioeconomic changes in Taiwan. Women's status has improved in terms of healthcare, education, and employment (Tam, 1996; Chen, Yi, and Lu, 2000). Public awareness of the importance of gender equality is also high.

However, some traditional practices and gender norms still exist. Despite the increasing number of women participating in the labor market, many people, especially the older generation, continue to believe that women's priority role should be in the family (Chen, Yi, and Lu, 2000). Women are encouraged to leave the labor market after their marriage or after giving birth. Even if they do work, many married women tend to choose part-time or time-flexible jobs that allow them to work and to take care of their families at the same time (Chen, Yi, and Lu, 2000).

The uniqueness of Taiwanese society also lies in its family structure. Like many other eastern Asian societies, in Taiwan the extended family is preferred and is

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viewed as the best living arrangement[2]. In the survey on living conditions of the elderly, more than 60% of respondents aged over 50 considered the extended family as their ideal living arrangement and there were more than 60% of respondents who currently lived in extended families (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, the Republic of China, 2000). The most common type of extended families is parents living with the family of their married sons. As a result, the division of housework may be influenced by the presence of the older generation and the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law.

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[2] For many years, the government also encouraged people to live in extended families. However, it has been criticized by feminists that the policy aims to privatize its responsibility to elderly care and to exploit women because they are usually the primary care providers in the household.

THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES MODEL

Since Blood & Wolfe's classic *Husbands and Wives* was published (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), three major perspectives, the economic resources model, the gender ideology model, and the time availability model[3], have dominated the study of division of housework. The economic resource model states that the division of housework follows the rules of exchange: husbands bring income to the household and wives do housework in return. According to this perspective, when wives are employed, husbands should increase their housework participation so that the balance between the spouses' contributions to the household is maintained. Using this model, resources such as employment status, income, and education are used to explain the division of housework. By assuming housework as a tiresome burden, the model hypothesizes that individuals with more resources can use them to reduce their contribution to housework. Consistent with the argument, empirical studies have shown that housewives, and women with lower income and/or education generally perform more housework than do their counterparts (Ross, 1987; Kamo, 1988; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; for review, see Shelton & John, 1996).

Based on this perspective, I developed Hypothesis 1: Absolute income is negatively related to individuals' share of housework; and Hypothesis 2: Absolute and relative occupational statuses are negatively associated with both men's and women's relative share of housework. While these hypotheses have been tested in much prior research, they have not been tested many times in an Asian culture.

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[3] Some scholars suggest that individuals' share of housework may not totally depend on their economic resources, but is associated with their available time. The time availability model predicts that the more paid hours one works, the less amount of time he/she spends in performing housework. Unfortunately, due to the lack of information about respondents' employment hours in the survey, this perspective will not be included in this research.

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THE GENDER IDEOLOGY MODEL

Both the economic resources and the time availability perspectives fail to explain the division of housework satisfactorily. They are unable to answer some fundamental questions such as why employed women still do the majority of housework even if they earn as much as, or more than their husbands. This lack of explanatory power is due to their neglect of gendered and gendering processes of household labor. Hence, the gender ideology model became another main focus of housework study. This argument suggests that people with more egalitarian gender role attitudes perform a more equal share of division of housework. Most research has shown that husbands' egalitarian gender role attitudes are positively associated with their share of housework (Ross, 1987; Kamo, 1988, Blair & Lichter, 1991; Presser, 1994, but see Brayfield, 1992). A few studies also found a negative relationship between women's gender role attitudes and their housework time (Brayfield, 1992; Presser, 1994) although others found no relationship (Ross, 1987; Shelton & John, 1993a). Based upon this perspective, I developed Hypothesis 3: Egalitarian gender role attitudes are positively related to men's relative share of housework but negatively related to women's.

COMBINING TWO PERSPECTIVES

Scholars in the 1990s started to question whether these two perspectives, the economic resources model and the gender ideology model, could be examined separately. They argued that housework not only produces goods and services, but also reproduces gender. In other words, individuals express and reinforce their gender identity to themselves and others through performing specific family tasks. They also considered economic resources and gender ideology as intertwined, rather than independent of each other. For example, according to the economic resources model, men should increase their housework participation when they earn less than their wives. However, after adding gender role attitudes into consideration, we may find that husbands with more traditional gender role attitudes refuse to increase their share of housework despite their lower income.

Following this new perspective, Brines' (1994) research showed that the effects of relative income advantage[4] on husbands' housework time and wives' differ. For wives, the effect is liner. Wives' housework time increases when their relative income advantage decreases. For husbands, the effect is curvilinear. Men with lowest and highest relative income advantage (economically dependent and breadwinning husbands) perform the least housework (Figure.1). Brines argued that the curvilinear effect indicates a gender display mechanism in which dependent husbands compensate for their loss of breadwinner status by resisting doing housework.

Greestein was also interested in the relationship between economic resources and gender ideology. He replicated Brines' work and questioned her findings. Greenstein claimed that the absolute measures of individuals' housework time are problematic because the total amount of time each household devoted to housework varies

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[4] To avoid misunderstanding, I use the term to replace "economic dependency" in Brines' and Greestein's researches.

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Hours Spent in Housework

Wives

Husbands

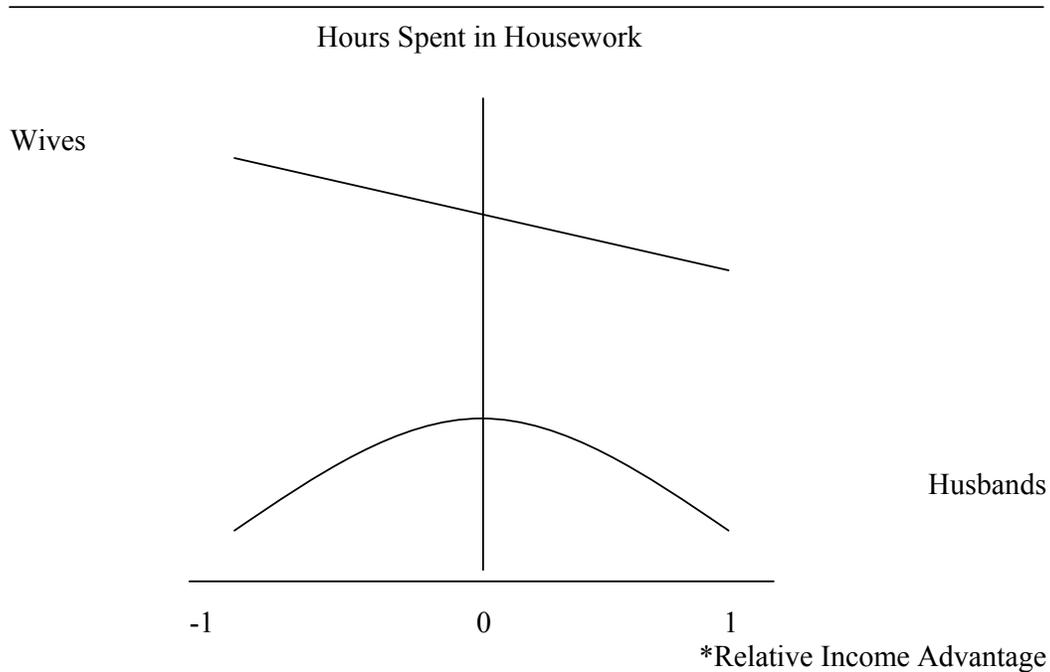-1   0   1

*Relative Income Advantage

Figure 1. The Relationship between Individuals' Income Advantage and Their Housework Hours in Brines'Study
* Relative income advantage = (earnings$_{self}$ - earnings$_{spouse}$) / (earnings$_{self}$ + earnings$_{spouse}$).

dramatically. In addition, the relative share of housework is a more appropriate indicator of the division of household labor because it can better capture each partner's contribution to family tasks within the household (Kamo, 1988; Brayfield, 1992; Greenstein, 2000). By using proportional share of housework as the dependent variable, Greenstein demonstrated that neither wives' nor husbands' share of housework can be fully explained by the economic resource model; breadwinning wives tend to increase their share of housework and dependent husbands tend to decrease their share of it (Figure. 2).

After including individuals' gender role attitudes in the analysis, he found that economically dependent husbands with egalitarian attitudes and those with traditional gender attitudes do not have any difference in terms of their relative share
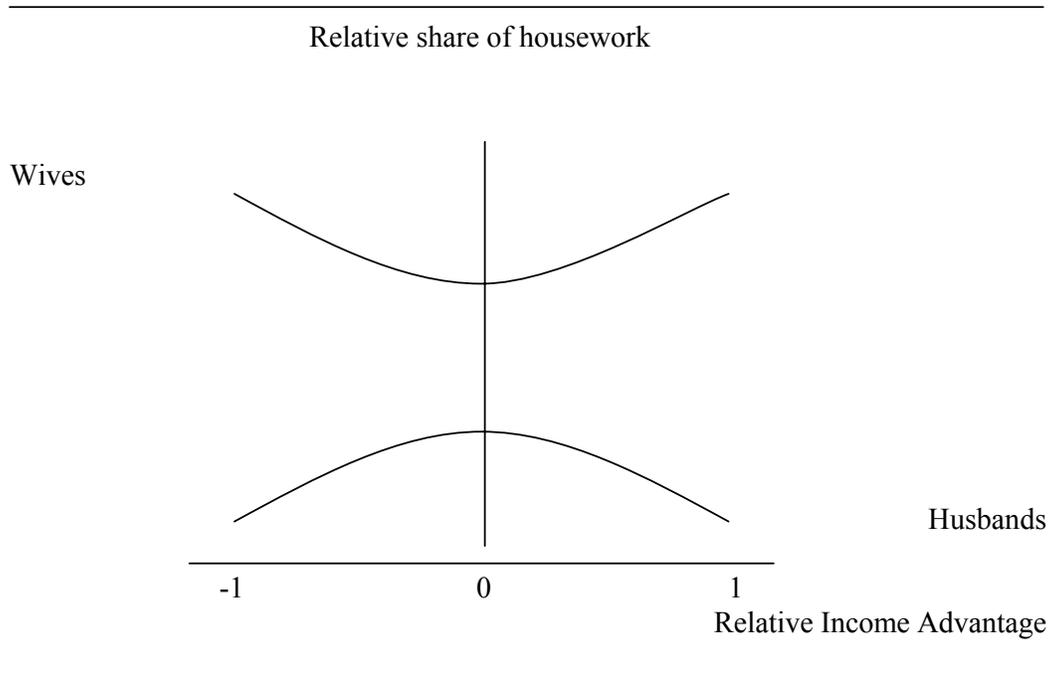
Relative share of housework

Wives

Husbands

-1   0   1

Relative Income Advantage

Figure 2.   The Relationship between Individuals' Relative Income Advantage and Their Relative Share of Housework in Greenstein's Study

of housework; the relative share of breadwinning wives with more egalitarian attitudes is the same as those with traditional attitudes. The result doesn't support the gender display model, which predicts that people with traditional gender attitudes are more constrained by traditional gendered division of housework. Hence, he argued that the mechanism involved in the division of housework of these status-reversed couples should be interpreted as the process of deviance neutralization rather than gender display. In other words, status-reversed couples try to neutralize their deviance by conforming to the traditional gendered division of household labor, regardless of their gender role attitudes.

Asian societies including Taiwan are known to have a strong pressure for conformity. Hence, the motivation for deviance neutralization must be stronger for Taiwanese couples than American couples. Following Greenstein's argument, I

derived Hypothesis 4: The relationship between individuals' relative income advantage and relative share of housework will be curvilinear. For women, the regression curve is U-shaped: women with highest and lowest relative income advantages have the largest relative share of housework. For men, it is inversed U-shaped: men whose relative income advantage is 0 have the largest share of housework.

Tang and Parish (2000) utilized Brines' model and found that the division of domestic labor in Taiwan did support her gender display argument. However, their research suffered from the same criticism Greenstein made on Brines. First of all, they used absolute time measures rather than proportional measures of housework participation as the dependent variable. In addition, several important variables such as individuals' gender ideology, occupational status, and ethnic backgrounds are missing in their model. Thus, the nonlinear effect they found may not remain once we take care of these concerns.

Instead of using absolute housework time, individuals' relative share of housework is used as the dependent variable in the present study. Individuals' gender role attitudes are also added to the analysis. As Figure 3 shows, the present research applies both economic resource and gender ideology models to Taiwanese society. Individuals' absolute and relative employment statuses are added because they are important measures of economic resources other than earnings (Brayfield, 1992). A few variables such as ethnicity and family structure that are unique to Taiwanese society are also controlled.

Thus, four hypotheses will be examined in this research. Hypothesis 1 and 2 were from the economic resources perspective. They are (1) The higher income the individual have, the less housework they perform; and (2) Individuals who have

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┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│  Economic Resource Model        │
│                                 │
│  Relative Income Advantage      │
│  Absolute Income                │
│  Absolute and Relative-         │
│  Occupational Status            │
└─────────────────────────────────┘


┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│                                 │         Relative Share
│  Gender Ideology Model          │              of
│                                 │          Housework
│    Gender Role Attitudes        │
│                                 │
│                                 │
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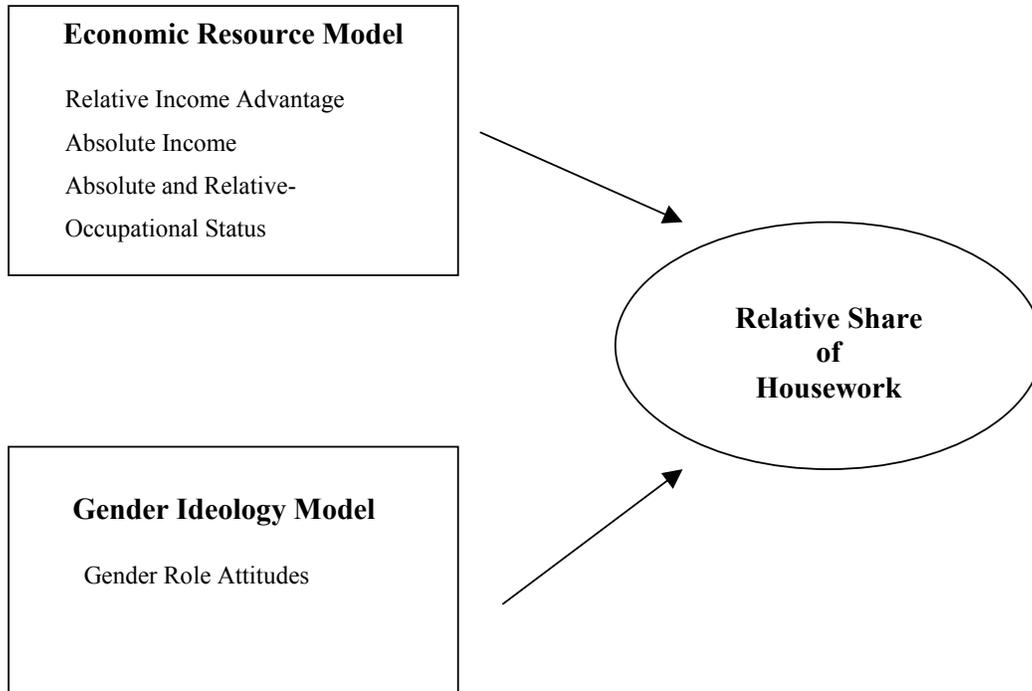
Figure 3. Research Model of Division of Housework in Taiwanese Households

higher occupational status perform less amount of housework. From the gender
ideology perspective, Hypothesis 3 predicts that men with more egalitarian attitudes
perform more housework while women with more egalitarian attitudes perform less.
Finally, based on the gender display/deviance neutralization model, Hypothesis 4
states that the relationship between relative income advantage and people's relative
share of housework is curvilinear.

DATA AND METHODS

The data for this research are from the 1995-1996 Taiwan Social Change Survey, year two, cycle three, conducted by the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica of the Republic of China. The survey has been conducted annually since 1990 and produces a large representative sample in Taiwan. Focusing on the topic of the family, the 1995-1996 survey consisted of 1008 male and 916 female respondents between 20 and 75 years old. For the purpose of this research, only married respondents who currently lived with their spouses were selected, thus yielding 1394 individuals[5].

The dependent variable was respondents' relative share of housework. Respondents were asked to answer who performs the following ten tasks most often: (1) shopping for groceries and cooking; (2) dishwashing; (3) doing laundry; (4) housecleaning; (5) home improvement or house repair; (6) driving other household members to work and school; (7) participating in community meeting; (8) tutoring children; (9) taking care of children; and (10) attending PTA. These ten tasks include childcare, which has been neglected in many housework studies (Coltrane, 2000). Six response categories were provided: (1) respondent; (2) spouse; (3) both respondent and spouse; (4) other household members; (5) others; and (6) not applicable. For every task, two points were assigned to respondents who answered "respondent"; one point to "both respondent and spouse"; and zero to "spouse," "other household members," "others," and "not applicable." The sum of points for the ten tasks is the respondents' absolute scores for their participation in housework. Respondents' relative share of housework is created by (absolute housework participation scores) / (total applicable housework scores), which range from 0 to 1. For example, if eight of

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[5] The information about spouses came from their partners being surveyed. The major shortcoming of this is that we are unable to compare both spouses' reports and to evaluate the accuracy of the information they provided. We can't compare the effects of husband's and wife's attitudes in the same equation, either, since attitudinal questions were asked to the respondent only.

the ten tasks apply to a couple and the husband did one task by himself and three tasks with his wife, his relative share is $(1*2+3*1)/(8*2)=.31$. For ease of interpreting regression coefficients, I multiplied these values by 100, which represents percentage of the total housework load they shared.

In the survey, respondents were also asked to report the total hours of housework they perform per week and the total hours their spouses perform per week. Thus, another way to measure respondents' relative share of housework is by (respondents' housework time)/(both respondents' and their spouses' housework time). However, since they were not asked to specify the time they spent in each specific family task, the validity of this global measure is questioned. I calculated the Pearson correlation coefficient between these two relative measures, and it was .39 for female respondents and .32 for male respondents. I then ran regression analyses using the two measures. My measure from ten household tasks yielded R^2s of .082 and .101 for women and men, respectively. The second, global measure yielded R^2s of .059 and .070. Furthermore, the pattern of significant predictors was similar to each other, though my measure was a little more sensitive than the global measure. Thus, I made a decision to use the measure based on ten household tasks, referring to the result based on the global measure, if necessary.

The major independent variables are respondents' relative income advantage, absolute income, their absolute and relative employment status, and their gender ideology. The measurement of respondents' relative income advantage is identical to that of economic dependency originally suggested by Sorensen and McLanahan (1987), and later used by Brines (1994) and Greestein (2000). Relative income advantage is equal to $(\text{earnings}_{self} - \text{earnings}_{spouse}) / (\text{earnings}_{self} + \text{earnings}_{spouse})$, which range from –1 to 1. Because spouses' income was not available in the survey,

in this research, it was measured by subtracting respondents' income from the total family income as the proxy[6].

Individuals' absolute employment resource refers to their occupational status, which is coded into four categories: (1) unskilled workers, (2) industrial, service workers and clerks, (3) technicians and associate professionals, and (4) managers and professionals. Respondents who were not employed were coded zero. Their relative employment resource is obtained by comparing their own occupational status to their spouses', which is coded into three categories: higher than their spouses', equal, and lower than their spouses'.

Respondents were asked how much they agreed with nine statements related to gender role ideology, such as "women are born to be better at taking care of family than men" and "wives should not work outside the home if it will hinder her taking care of family or husbands' careers." The response categories ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (1 to 5). The sum of these nine statements, which range from 9 to 45, is the scores for respondents' gender ideology. Higher scores indicate that the respondents have more egalitarian attitudes.

Personal and household characteristics were controlled in the analysis. Respondents' education was controlled and considered an indicator of life style, rather than a measure of individuals' resources because previous research showed that education has a positive effect on husbands' housework participation (Ross, 1987; Kamo, 1988; Brayfield, 1992; Brines, 1993; Presser, 1994; But see Kamo, 1991 and 1994) but has a negative effect on wives (Huber & Spitz, 1981; Kamo, 1988; Brines, 1993). Number of children and its squared term were included due to a possible nonlinear effect of children on the division of housework (Kamo, 1991). Age may

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[6] This measure is reasonable since almost 75% of respondents answered that themselves, their spouses, or both of them were primary breadwinners.

also affect the division of housework because older generations generally have a more traditional gender ideology and enactment. In addition, it has been found that younger women do less housework and share more of it with their husbands in the United States (Coltrane, 2000). Finally, ethnicity and family structure (extended or nuclear family) were included because they reflect social and cultural context of Taiwanese society. Some anthropological studies showed that three major ethnic groups[7], native Taiwanese, Hakkas, and citizens from other Chinese provinces, have their own subcultures and norms regarding females' status in the household (Chen, Yi, and Lu, 2000). Controlling for family structure was also necessary because husbands living with their parents (in extended family) tend to perform less housework than those in nuclear family due to the presence of their parents.

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[7] Aboriginals are excluded in the analysis because there are not sufficient aboriginal respondents in the survey.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of all the variables in the analysis. On the average, male respondents are almost three years older than females and they have slightly more years of education. However, the gender difference in egalitarian attitudes is small. The average number of children respondents have is 2.74. The percentages of respondents in extended family and their ethnic background are also nearly identical for male and female that two out of three Taiwanese households are extended family and more than 70% of respondents considered themselves as native Taiwanese[8].

There are great gaps between male and female respondents' occupational status, income, and relative share of housework. Nearly one out of two married Taiwanese women were housewives, which shows that the traditional value regarding women's primary responsibility as taking care of their family still prevails. As in many other countries, women in Taiwan were also underrepresented in higher level jobs. This kind of disadvantage in the labor market directly contributes to their lower income (less than a half of their male counterparts) and negative value of relative income advantage, which leads to their economic dependence on husbands. Thus, 60% of men had higher occupational status than their wives and generally possessed an income advantage over them.

The gap between the percentages of relative share reported by female and male respondents represents their different perceptions about their housework contribution. According to women's reports, they performed 72% of housework while their husbands did 28%. However, the average percentage of housework share males

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[8] The lower percentage of female citizens from other Chinese provinces may be partially explained by the fact that the majority of immigrants to Taiwan with the military in 1949 was male.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Female and Male Respondents

	Mean		Std. Deviation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(N= 650)	(N= 575)		
Relative Share of Housework	.35	.72	.22	.21
Age	45.48	42.58	11.25	11.36
Years of Education	10.07	8.72	4.11	4.61
Family Structure:				
Extended Family, up	.42	.41	.78	.72
Extended Family, down	.23	.26	.67	.77
Ethnic Background:				
Hakkas	.13	.11	.33	.31
Citizens from Other Chinese Provinces	.13	.08	.34	.28
Employment Status:				
Not Employed	.03	.45	.17	.50
Unskilled Workers	.03	.03	.18	.17
Technicians and Associate Professionals	.15	.04	.36	.19
Professionals and Managers	.12	.07	.32	.26
Relative Occupational Status:				
Inferior	.06	.48	.23	.50
Superior	.60	.11	.49	.31
Egalitarian Attitudes	24.37	25.39	4.28	4.73
Number of Children	2.74	2.74	1.31	1.42
Absolute Income	44799.07	21391.30	37070.01	25388.51
Relative Income Advantage	.43	-.28	.61	.69

claimed was 35%. The sum of 72% and 35% exceeds one hundred percent. It is difficult to tell whose responses are more accurate, but this interesting result supports previous finding in the United States that, due to social desirability (a good husband should be willing to help his wife doing housework), dislike of performing housework, or insufficient knowledge on spouses' behavior, husbands tend to overestimate their own housework contribution (or wives tend to underestimate their husbands' housework participation) (Kamo, 2000).

Regression Analysis

Table 2 represents the correlation matrix for all predictors in the model. Based on the examination of the correlations, there was no indication of multicolinearity. Two separate regression analyses for female and male respondents were conducted, as shown in Table 3. Contrary to Hypothesis 4 derived from the gender display model and the deviance naturalization model, using my dependent variable (relative share of housework from ten housework items), the nonlinear relationship between relative income advantage and relative share of housework found by Tang and Parish disappeared. The non-significance persisted even when the second relative measure composed directly from global time estimates was used. Therefore, the squared term of relative income advantage was dropped from the analysis due to its non-significance.

One of the most important variables that affected female respondents' relative share of housework was the number of children, a relationship that is an inversed U-shaped (second-order) curve. Their relative share of housework rose with the increasing number of children and reached the highest point when they had 5 or 6 children[9]. After that, the more children they had, the smaller their relative share. Figure 4 represents predicted values depending on the number of children, if these women have the mean value for all other predictors.

Surprisingly, contrary to Hypotheses 1, 3, and 4, egalitarian attitudes, personal income and relative income advantage did not have any significant impact[10]. Only Hypothesis 2 is supported: The relative housework participation decreased when

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[9] It is obtained by the formula, $x = -b_1/2b_2 = -0.0392/(2*-0.03408) = 5.75$.

[10] Using global time-based measure, however, egalitarian attitudes showed a negative relationship with female respondents' relative housework share as predicted.

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Table 2. Correlation Matrix for All Independent Variables in the Model
(The table is divided into two regions by the diagonal elements 1.000's. The upper right region is for men and the lower left region is for women)

	Age	Education	Extended Family-Up	Extended Family-Down	Hakkas	Mainlander	Un-employed	Unskilled Workers
Age	1.000	-.345	-.294	.362	-.002	.080	.106	.016
Education	-.584	1.000	.114	-.224	.049	.279	-.190	-.099
Extended Family- Up	-.338	.145	1.000	-.095	.006	-.035	-.039	-.031
Extended Family- Down	.387	-.325	-.137	1.000	-.011	.002	.086	-.023
Hakkas	.004	.051	.030	-.021	1.000	-.148	-.068	-.043
Mainlanders	-.008	.184	-.016	-.021	-.104	1.000	-.017	-.046
Unemployed	.130	-.192	-.059	.047	-.059	-.055	1.000	-.033
Unskilled workers	-.071	-.041	-.020	-.035	-.029	-.054	-.161	1.000
Semi-professionals	-.065	.172	.011	-.068	.049	.038	-.179	-.036
Professionals	-.044	.371	-.050	-.026	.055	.133	-.251	-.050
Lower than Spouses	-.182	.103	.055	-.115	-.061	-.014	.607	.047
Higher than Spouses	.102	.085	-.066	.024	.112	.073	-.317	.000
Egalitarian Attitudes	-.287	.352	.104	-.178	.052	.051	-.242	-.025
Number of Children	.563	-.510	-.166	.323	-.024	-.126	.122	.047
(Number of Children)^2	.462	-.405	-.124	.301	-.001	-.090	.098	.012
Monthly Income	-.166	.351	.039	-.122	.027	.119	-.387	.006
Relative Income Advantage	-.028	.070	-.016	-.128	.020	.009	-.347	.036

(Table continued)

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	Semi-Professionals	Professionals	Lower than Spouses	Higher Than Spouses	Egalitarian Attitudes	Number of Children	(Number of Children)^2	Monthly Income	Relative Income Advantage
Age	-.071	-.002	-.014	.066	-.028	.506	.470	-.243	-.274
Education	.339	.415	.047	.045	.253	-.409	-.375	.431	.064
Extended Family-Up	.017	-.058	-.030	.038	-.008	-.165	-.142	-.008	-.002
Extended Family-Down	-.050	-.052	-.084	-.004	-.053	.267	.264	-.150	-.235
Hakkas	.032	-.035	.048	-.005	-.005	.001	-.010	.031	.064
Mainlanders	.084	.200	.021	.032	.115	-.154	-.127	.062	-.046
Unemployed	-.076	-.065	.225	-.219	.012	.097	.093	-.133	-.205
Unskilled workers	-.078	-.066	.143	.007	.013	.017	.004	-.086	-.054
Semi-professionals	1.000	-.155	.134	.079	.141	-.188	-.160	.142	-.045
Professionals	-.056	1.000	-.089	.109	.147	-.104	-.070	.390	-.018
Lower than Spouses	-.102	-.271	1.000	-.301	.122	-.047	-.052	.009	-.179
Higher than Spouses	.218	.389	-.341	1.000	-.103	-.007	-.009	.022	.208
Egalitarian Attitudes	.087	.234	-.104	.064	1.000	-.138	-.103	.102	-.150
Number of Children	-.046	-.141	-.042	-.001	-.253	1.000	.937	-.195	-.170
(Number of Children)^2	-.050	-.104	-.027	.001	-.222	.897	1.000	-.197	-.193
Monthly Income	.202	.369	-.157	.167	.261	-.132	-.057	1.000	.303
Relative Income Advantage	.138	.101	-.218	.165	.118	-.010	.034	.661	1.000

Table 3. Regression Coefficients for Female and Male Respondents' Relative Share of Household Work

	Females		Males	
	b	ß	b	ß
Economic Resource				
Monthly Income	.00	.075	.00	-.003
Relative Income Advantage	-1.92	-.062	-4.92	-.137**
Occupational Status				
(service, industrial workers and clerks as reference):				
Not Employed	9.56	.224***	-6.13	-.049
Unskilled Workers	14.10	.115**	-4.96	-.040
Technicians & Associate Professionals	-.25	-.002	-1.30	-.022
Professionals	-8.68	-.106[+]	.07	.001
Relative Occupational Status (same as spouse as reference):				
Lower than Spouses	-3.41	-.080	4.57	.049
Higher than Spouses	-.49	-.007	-.47	-.011
Gender Ideology				
Egalitarian Attitudes	.06	.015	.44	.087*
Control Variables				
Respondents' Age	.05	.026	.04	.020
Years of Education	.07	.015	.61	.116*
Family Structure (nuclear family as reference):				
Extended Family, Up	.52	.017	-1.24	-.044
Extended Family, Down	-1.64	-.059	4.35	.134*
Ethnic Background (Taiwanese as reference):				
Hakkas	-3.99	-.058	2.33	.036
Citizens from Other Chinese Provience	4.79	.062	1.98	.031
Number of Children	3.90	.262*	-6.00	-.363**
Number of Children^2	-.34	-.198*	.68	.293**
Intercept	.556		.284	
R^2	.082		.101	
Adjusted R^2	.054		.077	
N	575		647	

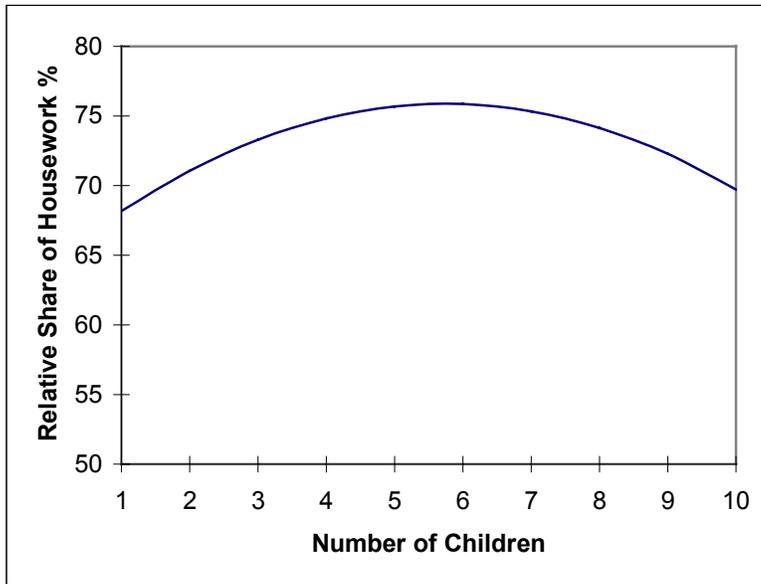Notes: [+]$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Figure 4. Estimates of Female Respondents' Relative Share of Housework by Number of Children

women had higher occupational status. Housewives' relative share of housework was 9.56 percent higher and non-skill workers' was 14.1 percent higher than that of those who work as industrial, service workers, and clerks. However, the impact of women in semi-professional and professional positions was not significant. The relative share of women in professional positions was 8.7 percent lower than that of the reference group, though the relationship was not statistically significant (p=.051).

The pattern of regression coefficients for men is more consistent with findings in the United States. R^2 for men's equation is also larger than that for women's. First of all, men's relative share of housework decreased when their relative income advantage increased. In other words, the result supports the economic resource model stating that husbands have more power to avoid doing housework if their wives are more economically dependent on them. The gender ideology model is also supported. Men with higher education and more in favor of egalitarian attitudes had higher relative share of housework. Similar to the finding for women, the effect of number of
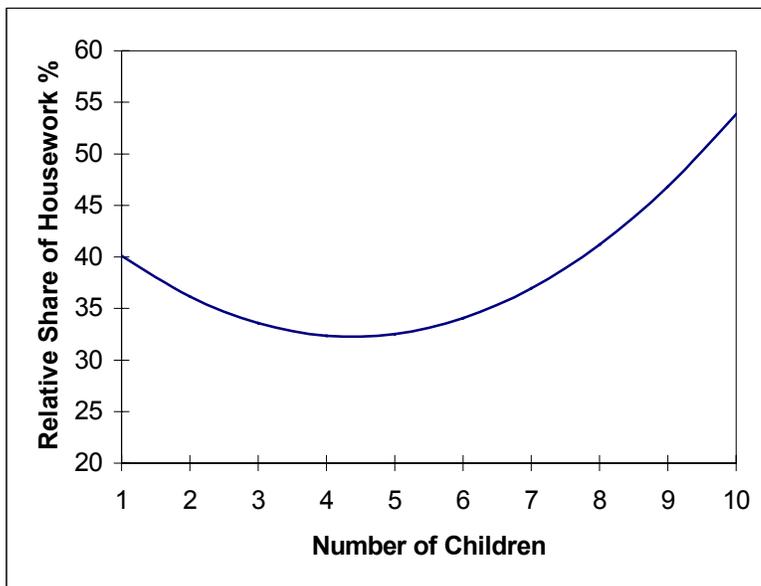
Figure 5. Estimates of Male Respondents' Relative Share of Housework by Number of Children

children was nonlinear but with opposite direction: men's relative share decreases at first with every additional child they have but starts to climb after they have five or more children[11]. Figure 5 represents predicted values depending on the number of children, if these men have the mean value for all other predictors.

The most interesting result is the relationship between extended families and men's relative housework participation. The relative share of men living in extended families with the next generation is 4.4% higher compared to those who lived in nuclear families. My tentative explanation is that their higher relative share of housework may not result from their direct increasing participation in housework; rather, their wives' decreasing housework participation due to the help of their daughters-in-law may be the real cause. When the relative share of housework measured by time estimates is used, married men living with the previous generation

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[11] The lowest point is obtained by the formula, $x = -b_1/2b_2 = -.06009/ (2*.006848) = 4.39$.

do significant less than those men in nuclear family. This may support my contention about the effect of being in an extended family. However, since no corresponding result was found for women that women living in extended family with their married children have lower relative share of housework, further study is required to examine the validity of the finding and/or explanation.

Finally, respondents' ethnic background shows no significant effects on their relative share of housework, which contradicts the common impression that, compared to women from other ethnic background, Hakka women are more family orientated and have lower status in their households.

Note that the R^2, especially for women, are relatively low, which supports my concern that models developed for white American households may not be able to explain the division of domestic labor in Taiwanese households satisfactorily. With the relative measure composed from global time estimates, R^2 was even smaller at .059 and .070 for women and men, respectively. Consequently, this alternative measure produced fewer significant findings.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The focus of this thesis was to explain how well major housework theories developed in Western societies can be applied to the division of household labor in Taiwan, and which factors are most influential in explaining married women's and men's relative housework participation.

Similar to findings in many other countries that married women perform the majority of housework, in Taiwan, they are responsible for about 70% of housework while married men only do about a third of it. Compared to Sanchez's (1993) finding that only 22% of Taiwanese men regularly participating in housework in the 1970s, this study shows that after two decades, men's housework participation in Taiwan is still small and far from gender equality. One of the most important factors which affected both male and female respondents' relative share of housework was the number of children they have. Unlike many previous studies that only focus on its liner effect on housework participation, the present research shows that the relations between men's and women's relative share of housework and the number of children are nonlinear, second order curves. In addition, since 9.7% of women and 8.7% of men in this research had 5 or more children, the right half of the curves for both women and men are meaningful. The inversed U-shaped curve for women indicates that their relative housework participation increases with every additional child they have but drops after having six children. The curve for men is almost a mirror image of women's: their relative share decreases at first but rises after having five children.

According to Kamo's study of American couples (1991), this nonlinear effect can be explained by spouses' different reactions toward increasing housework demands. Because the presence of each child dramatically increases the housework load, and traditionally women are primary childcare providers and more responsible for

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housework indirectly related to children, their housework time rises with the increasing number of children in the household. However, the absolute time men devoting to housework usually remains unchanged. As a result, women's relative share of housework goes up while men's declines with the appearance of their first few children. However, after having certain number of children- five to six in Taiwan and two to three in the United States, the amount of housework will reach a point that women can no longer increase their housework time to perform all the tasks themselves and men will have to increase their housework participation in order to meet the housework demand. This is why the right hand side of the curves shows that women's relative share of housework decreases while men's increases after having five to six children. Compared to American husbands, Taiwanese husbands seem to be more reluctant to increase their share of housework. This may be explained by the traditional thinking that views childcare exclusively as women's responsibility.

Based on my analysis, I conclude that there is no curvilinear relation between relative housework participation and relative income advantage in Taiwanese households. No support of gender display or deviance neutralization model is found in this research, as long as we measure the housework participation in relative terms. It seems that status-reversed couples in Taiwan do not change their housework behaviors in order to express and reinforce their gender identity or to conform to traditional genderd division of housework. In this research, 30% of female respondents have higher relative incomes than their husbands and 22% of male respondents earn less than their wives. Thus, the lack of finding here is unlikely due to the small number of economically dependent husbands or high income wives in Taiwan as some may suspect.

It is interesting to note that men's and women's relative shares of housework are influenced by different sets of variables. The variation in men's relative housework participation can be well explained by economic resources and gender ideology. However, these two factors lose their explanatory power for women. Instead of egalitarian attitudes and relative income advantage, women's relative share of housework is better explained by their occupational status. Because individuals' high workplace authority can be viewed as a resource that also enhances their high authority in the household, women in higher occupational positions may have more power to negotiate the division of housework with their husbands. On the other hand, since these women's employment hours are not controlled in the analysis, we can not exclude the possibility that the negative relation between their relative share of housework and their occupational status may reflect a simple fact that women in higher positions often have less time to devote to housework, which indirectly supports the time availability model.

To conclude, in this study, I found that in Taiwanese households, the burden of housework continuously falls on women much like other societies. For both men and women, the number of children they have has a nonlinear effect on their relative housework participation. The variables that affect male respondents' relative housework participation are virtually the same as those found in the United States. Men with higher education and more egalitarian attitudes are more likely to have a larger share of housework. The larger relative income advantage men have, the lower their relative housework participation is.

There are also some unique results not found in the United States that may result from the special social context in Taiwan. First, the relative housework participation of men in extended families living with their married children is higher than that of

men in nuclear families. Second, unlike Xu and Lai's (2002) finding that the resources and gender ideology women have significantly affect their marital power, these classical models don't seem to explain women's relative share of housework in a satisfactory fashion. Except the number of children, the only set of variables that has a substantial impact on women's relative share is their occupational status. Housewives and those who work as unskilled workers have the highest relative housework participation.

The economic resources, time availability, and gender ideology model were developed in the United States and focused primarily on the division of domestic labor of white Americans. Their applicability has been questioned for African Americans (Kamo, 1998), Japanese (Kamo, 1994), and other countries (Sanchez, 1993). My finding in Taiwan adds another case to the list. We may need to go beyond the existing models and develop a new perspective in order to better understand the housework behavior of men and women other than white Americans.

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